INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

NOTE TO USERS

Copyrighted materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation at the author's university library.

Illustration pages: 345 - 473

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI®

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

THE INFLUENCE OF *JAPONISME* ON THE AMERICAN IMPRESSIONISTS AND THEIR CIRCLE, 1893-1915

by

LAUREL LYMAN

Volume One

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

2004

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 3115270

Copyright 2004 by
Lyman, Laurel

All rights reserved.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3115270
Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

©2004

LAUREL LYMAN

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1/5/04
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

1/9/04
Date

Executive Officer

Professor Sally Webster

Professor William H. Gerdts

Dr. Bruce Weber
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to Professor Kevin Murphy, who stepped in at the eleventh hour as my dissertation Advisor and served as Chair of my Dissertation Examining Committee. I would like to thank my entire committee, which also included Professor Sally Webster, Professor William H. Gerdts, and Dr. Bruce Weber. Each gave my dissertation a careful reading and made helpful suggestions for its improvement.

I am especially indebted to Professor Gerdts for his exceptional knowledge and understanding of art and his generosity in sharing his knowledge as well his extensive library of both archival and secondary source materials with his students. Courses taken with Professors Gerdts and Webster gave impetus to this dissertation. In addition, Bruce Weber, who had written his dissertation on Robert Blum, was a continuing source of knowledge, advice and support throughout the dissertation process. Elizabeth Tenenbaum, who oversaw the Dissertation Workshop also provided considerable advice and support, for which I am very grateful. The other members of the workshop generously read and made recommendations concerning several chapters.

Useful information and continued support were also provided throughout the process by a number of my colleagues. Andrea Husby and Deborah Frizzell stand out especially in this regard. I frequently discussed my ideas with both of them. Members of my dissertation support groups were also invaluable in terms of sharing information, asking the right questions, and causing me to set deadlines for specific areas to be worked on. They included Gina D'Angelo, Cynthia Sanford, Kathy Kienholz, Giovanna Fiorino-Iannaci, Elizabeth Clark, Danielle Hughes and Kathy Doyle.

Professor Ülkü Bates was my advisor and mentor at Hunter College, where I did my master's degree on a related topic. She has continued to be a valued friend and advisor during this process. I am also indebted to Professors Murase, Varley and Sensebaugh,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from whom I took courses related to Asian art and culture at Columbia University. In addition, Christine Hagan has helped with the translation of a lengthy article in French on the Jing-lar Society and Elizabeth Madsen with proof reading and editing suggestions.

Writings on *japonisme* by Gabriel Weisberg, Julia Meech, Siegfried Wichmann and Klaus Berger were foundational to this study. The New York Public Library and the Mina Reese Library at the CUNY Graduate Center, as well as the Archives of American Art, the Library at the Frick Museum, the library at the Freer Gallery, the Making of America web site, the Metropolitan Museum library, and the Avery and Starr libraries at Columbia University have all provided excellent research material. Numerous museums and societies in the United States, Europe, and Japan have also proven invaluable resources.

Finally, and most importantly, my eternal gratitude goes to my husband, William Lyman, for his support throughout my studies. He helped in so many ways, not the least of which were his enthusiasm for the subject, his assistance acquiring materials and his editing suggestions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume One

Acknowledgements iv

Table of Contents vi

List of Illustrations viii

Introduction 1

Chapter I: *JAPONISME* IN CONTEXT: ISSUES AT PLAY 14

Chapter 2: SPREADING THE WORD: THE EUROPEAN ART EXPERIENCE 32

Chapter 3: THE TEN AMERICAN PAINTERS: THEIR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES TO *JAPONISME* 95

Chapter 4: AMERICAN ARTISTS IN JAPAN: THEIR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES TO JAPANESE ART 171

Chapter 5: WAYS BY WHICH JAPANESE ART AND *JAPONISME* WERE KNOWN 204

Conclusion 252

Appendix Forward 257

Appendix 1: "THE ERRAND-BEARERS" 259

Appendix 2: GENERAL HISTORICAL TIMELINE RELATED TO THE REOPENING OF JAPAN AND ITS EFFECT ON AMERICAN ART 262

Appendix 3: TIMELINE OF WESTERNERS IN JAPAN 269

Appendix 4: TIMELINE OF WESTERN WRITINGS ON JAPAN, JAPANESE ART, AND *JAPONISME* 278

Appendix 5: TIMELINE OF JAPANESE ART GOODS FOR SALE IN THE WEST 319

Appendix 6: TIMELINE OF WESTERN SOCIETIES ASSOCIATED WITH *JAPONISME* 324

Appendix 7: TIMELINE OF PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OF JAPANESE ART AND *JAPONISME* IN THE WEST 326

Appendix 8: TIMELINE OF MUSEUM AND PUBLIC COLLECTIONS AND DEPARTMENTS OF JAPANESE ART IN THE WEST 332

Appendix 9: EMERSON'S POEM "DAYS" 337

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix 10: TIMELINE OF WESTERN EXHIBITIONS OF JAPANESE ART 338

Volume Two

Illustrations 345

Bibliography 474

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CP	Color print
C/P	Color on paper
C/S	Color on silk
I/P	Ink on paper
I/S	Ink on silk
I-C/P	Ink and color on paper
I-C/S	Ink and color on silk
O/C	Oil on canvas
O/P	Oil on panel
P/P	Pastel on paper
W/P	Watercolor on paper

AAG	Aberdeen Art Gallery, Scotland
AIC	Art Institute of Chicago. Illinois
BM	Brooklyn Museum, New York
CAM	Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio
CG	Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.
CLAG	Canajohanie Library and Art Gallery, New York
CMA	Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio
FC	Frick Collection, New York
FG	Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
GKM	Konstmuseum, Goteborg, Sweden
IMA	Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indiana
MFAB	Fine Arts Museum, Boston
MM	Musée Marmottan, Paris
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MOP	Musée d'Orsay, Paris
NGA	National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
NGL	National Gallery, London
NMAA	National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian, Washington, D.C.
PAFA	Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts
PAM	Parrish Art Museum, Southampton
PC	Private Collection
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art
RISD	Rhode Island School of Design, Providence
SMAG	Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska
TF	Terra Foundation, Giverny
TMAA	Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago
WA	Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut
WAM	Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts

1. Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *Honfleur: Calvary* (1830), O/P, MMA

2. James McNeill Whistler, *Caprice in Purple and Gold, The Gold Screen* (1864), O/P, FG

3. Harry Humphrey Moore, *Japanese Views* (n.d.), exhibited at 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, unlocated

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4. Frank Duveneck, *The Turkish Page* (1876), O/C, PAFA

5. Winslow Homer, *The Haymaking* (1867), O/C, CMA

6. Jean-Françoise Millet, *Woman With a Rake* (1856-7), O/C, MMA

7. Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Going to School* (Grez, 1882), O/C, AAG

8. Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Pauvre Fauvette* (Grez, 1881), O/C, Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow, Scotland

9. Jean-Charles Cazin, *The Gossips* (Grez, n.d.), O/C, PC

10. Jean-Charles Cazin, *Ulysses After the Shipwreck* (1880-1884), O/C, NGL

11. Carl Larsson, *Little Suzanne* (Grez, 1885), O/C, GKM

12. Carl Larsson, *Contemporary Art* (1888, center section from a triptych), Oil, GKM

13. Bruno Liljefors *By the Stream, A Spring Day* (Grez, n.d.), O/P, PC

14. Karin Larsson, *Cherry Blossoms* (Grez, 1884), O/P, PC

15. Louis Ritter, *Barley Fields at Giverny* (1887), O/C, PC

16. Claude Monet, *Alice Hoschedé in the Garden* (1881), O/C, PC

17. Ando Hiroshige, *Namazu* (No. 13 from the "Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido Road" series, Hoeido edition, 1831-4), CP

18. a. Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), *Mt. Fuji from Fukagawa in Edo* (No. 5 from the "Twenty-four Views of Mount Fuji" series, 1823-30), another twelve views were later added and the title changed to "36 Views of Mount Fuji." [Monet owned nine prints from the Mount Fuji series. Hokusai did over 100 views including Mount Fuji.], CP
    b. Katsushika Hokusai, *Evening View Across the Ryogoku Bridge* (No. 22 from the "Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji" series, 1823-30), CP
    c. Katsushika Hokusai, *Busha Tamagawa* [*View from Tama River in Musashi Province*] (from the "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" series, 1823-30), CP

19. Ando Hiroshige, *Fuji from Motosu Lake - Misaka Pass* (No. 30 from the "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" series, 1858), CP

20. Suzuki Harunobu (1725-70), (from the "Beautiful Women" series, ca. 1764-1770), CP

21. Kitagawa Utamaro, *Sugatami Shichinin Kesho* (from the "Seven Women Applying Make-up in the Mirror" series, mid-1790s), CP

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

22. Ando Hiroshige, *Kameyama* (No. 47 from the "Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido Road" series, Hoeido edition, 1831-4), CP

23. a. Theodore Robinson, *Hillside Near Giverny* (1891), O/C, Spanierman Gallery, NY
    b. Kunisada Utagawa (1786-1865), *Landscape in Fog*, CP

24. a. Willard Metcalf, *A View of the Village* (Giverny, n.d.), O/C
    b. Katsushika Hokusai, *The Falls of Yoro, Province of Mino* (from the "A Journey to the Waterfalls of all the Provinces" series, ca. 1827), CP

25. Sadahide Hashimoto, *A Prussian Merchant and His Wife* (1861), CP

26. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Portrait of Madame de Senonnes* (1814-16), O/C, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, France

27. Pieter de Hooch (1629-84), *A Woman Drinking with Two Men* (1658), O/C, NGL

28. Sadahide Hashimoto, *Yokohama Pleasure Quarters* (1863, triptych), CP

29. Ando Hiroshige, *Night View of Saruwaka-Machi* (No. 90 from the "One Hundred Famous Views of Edo" series, 1856-8), CP

30. Claude Monet, *Hotel des Roches Noires, Trouville* (1870), O/C, MOP

31. John Leslie Breck, *The River Epte, Giverny* (1887), O/C, PC

32. Theodore Robinson, *Port Ben, Delaware and Hudson Canal* (1893), O/C, SMAG

33. Theodore Rousseau, *Village of Becquigny* (1858-64), O/P, FC

34. Claude Monet, *Water Lilies (The Clouds)* (1903), O/C, PC

35. a. Katsushika Hokusai, *Crysanthemums and Bees* (from the "Large Flowers" series, 1832), CP
    b. Katsushika Hokusai, *Peonies and Butterfly* (from the "Large Flowers" series, 1832), CP

36. Ando Hiroshige, *Birds and Wisteria* (1817-58), CP

37. Claude Monet, *Irises* (1924-5), O/C, MM

38. Katsushika Hokusai, *Irises and a Grasshopper* (from the "Large Flowers" series, 1832), CP

39. John Leslie Breck, *Yellow Fleurs-de-Lis* (1888), O/C, TF

40. Fidelia Bridges, *Daisies and Thistles* (1871), W/C, NMAA

41. Theodore Robinson, *Valley of the Seine from Giverny Heights* (1892), O/C, CG

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

42. Theodore Robinson, *Afternoon Shadows* (1891), O/C, RISD

43. Theodore Robinson, *In The Garden* (1889), O/C, BM

44. Theodore Robinson, *Two in a Boat* (1891), O/C, Phillips Collection, DC

45. Theodore Robinson, *Correspondence* (1895; reproduced in *Scribner's*, June 1896)

46. a. Theodore Robinson, photographic study, PC
    b. Theodore Robinson, *In the Sun* (1892; reproduced in *Scribner's*, June 1896)

47. Claude Monet, *Boating on the Epte* (1890), O/C, Museu de Arte de Sao Paulo, Brazil

48. Hiroshige, *Mitsuke* (No. 29 from the "Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido Road" series, Hoeido edition, 1831-4), CP

49. Lilla Cabot Perry, *Angela* (1891), O/C, PC

50. Lilla Cabot Perry, *Stream Beneath Poplars* (Giverny, 1890-1900), O/C, Hunter Museum of American Art, TN

51. Frederick Carl Frieseke (1873-1939), *The Green Sash* (1904), O/C, TMAA

52. Frederick Carl Frieseke, *Through the Vines* (1908), O/C, Akron Art Museum, OH

53. Frederick Carl Frieseke, *Lady Trying on a Hat* (1909), O/C, AIC

54. Frederick Carl Frieseke, *The Yellow Room* (1913), O/C, MFAB

55. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *The Coast of Brittany* (1861), O/C, WA

56. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White, No. 1, The White Girl* (1862), O/C, NGA

57. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Variations in Flesh Color and Gold: The Balcony* (1867-8), O/P, FG

58. J. Alden Weir, *Silver Chalice, Japanese Bronze and Red Taper* (ca. 1884-9), O/C, PC

59. J. Alden Weir, *The Laundry, Branchville* (1894), O/C, Weir Farm Trust, CT

60. Thomas Dewing, *The Piano* (1891), O/P, FG

61. Thomas Dewing, *Four Sylvan Sounds* (1896-7), pair of 2-fold screens, O/P, FG

62. M. Dornac, photograph of Whistler in his Paris studio with *Blue and Silver: Old Battery Bridge* screen in background (1894), FG

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

63. Thomas Dewing, *The Hermit Thrush* (1890), O/C, FG

64. J. Alden Weir, *The Red Bridge* (1895), O/C, MMA

65. Ando Hiroshige, *Plum Estate, Kameido* (No. 30 from the "One Hundred Views of Edo" series, 1857), CP

66. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861), *Act Eleven, Scene Two: Moronao's Head* (from the "The Loyal League of Forty-seven Ronin" series, c. 1854-4), CP

67. Claude Monet, *The Bridge at Argenteuil* (1874), O/C, NGA

68. Claude Monet, *Poplars* (Along the Epte) (1891), O/C, NGL

69. Camille Pissarro, *Le verger, côte Saint-Denis, à Pontoise* (1877), O/C, Polish National Museum, Warsaw, Poland

70. Claude Monet, *Le pont de Rome (Gare Saint-Lazare)* (1877), O/C, MM

71. John Twachtman, *Ship and Dock, Campo Santa Marta, Venice* (1877-8), O/C, PC

72. a. John Twachtman, *Japanese Winter Landscape* (1879), O/C, PMA
    b. John Twachtman, *Along the River, Winter* (1887-1888), O/C, High Museum, Atlanta, GA

73. John Twachtman, illustration of Mount Fuji (*Scribner's*, September, 1888)

74. John Twachtman, *Fujiyama* (1885), O/C, CAM

75. John Twachtman, *Arques-la-Bataille* (1885), O/C, MMA

76. John Twachtman, *Springtime* (1884), O/C, CAM

77. John Twachtman, *On the Terrace* (1897), O/C, NMAA

78. Hokusai Katsushika, *Great Wave Off Kanagawa* (No. 1 from the "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" series, 1831), CP

79. Hokusai Katsushika, *Poppies* (from the "Ten Large Flowers" series, 1832), CP

80. John Twachtman, *Sailing in the Mist* (1890-1900), O/C, PAFA

81. John Twachtman, *Round Hill Road* (1890-1900), O/C, MMA

82. Anonymous, *Uji Bridge and Willows* screen (Momoyama Period,1573-1615), pair of 6-fold screens, Ink and color and gold on paper, WAM

83. Willard Metcalf, *Cornish Hills* (1911), O/C, PC

84. John Twachtman, *Snow* (late 1890s), O/C, PC

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

85. Willard Metcalf, *The White Veil, No. 1* (1909), O/C, RISD

86. Willard Metcalf, *Icebound* (1909), O/C, AIC

87. John Twachtman, *Icebound* (1890-95), O/C, AIC

88. Willard Metcalf, *Frozen Pool, March* (1909), O/C, PC

89. Childe Hassam, *Grand Prix Day* (1887), O/C, MFAB

90. Childe Hassam, *Moonlit Seascape* (1905), O/C, PC

91. Childe Hassam, *Provincetown, No. 1* (1900), O/C, CLAG

92. Childe Hassam, *Mill Pond, Cos Cob* (1902) O/C, Bruce Museum, Greenwich, CT

93. Ando Hiroshige, *The Ekoin-ji at Ryogoku and the Moto-Yaniga Bridge* (1857), CP

94. Thomas Dewing, *The Days* (1886) O/C, WA

95. Thomas Dewing, *The Letter* (1889), O/P, CLAG

96. Edmund Tarbell, *Girl Crocheting* (1905), O/C, CLAG

97. Johannes Vermeer, *The Lacemaker* (1669-70), O/C, Louvre, Paris

98. Edmund Tarbell, *The Breakfast Room* (1903), O/C, PAFA

99. Edmund Tarbell, *In the Orchard* (1891), O/C, TMAA

100. Edmund Tarbell, *Mother and Child in a Boat* (1892), O/C, MFAB

101. Edmund Tarbell, *Three Sisters, A Study in June Sunlight* (1890), O/C, Milwaukee Art Museum, WI

102. Edmund Tarbell, *Across the Room* (1899), O/C, MMA

103. Edmund Tarbell, *The Bath* (1892-93), O/C, PC

104. Edmund Tarbell, *Girls Reading* (1907), O/C, PC

105. Frank Benson, *Sunlight* (1909), O/C, IMA

106. Frank Benson, *Hilltop* (1903), O/C, PC

107. Frank Benson, *Red and Gold* (1915), O/C, Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, OH

108. Claude Monet, *Woman with a Parasol* (1886), O/C, MOP

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

109. Frank Benson, *Point Legere* (n.d.), O/C, unlocated

110. Frank Benson, *The Sisters* (1899), O/C, TF

111. Kuniyoshi Utagawa, *Spring Holiday* (from the "Children at Play in the Four Seasons" series, 1850-80), CP

112. a. Shuntei Miyagawa (1873-1914), *Making Shadows* (from the "Children's Life and Manners" series, dated March, 1897), CP
b. Ishosai Yoshimune, *Children Playing in Spring* (Meiji Period, 1868-1912), CP

113. Frank Benson, *Girl in a Red Shawl* (1890), O/C, PC

114. Frank Benson, *The Black Hat* (*Lady Trying on a Hat*, 1904), O/C, RISD

115. Joseph DeCamp, *The Blue Cup* (1909), O/C, MFAB

116. Joseph DeCamp, *Roses* (1909-10), O/C, PC

117. Joseph DeCamp, *Gloucester* (1900), O/C, CAM

118 Joseph DeCamp, *Jetty at Low Tide* (1901), O/C, TMAA

119. Joseph DeCamp, *The Farewell* (1900-02), O/C, PC

120. Joseph DeCamp, *Sally* (1907), O/C, WAM

121. Robert Reid, *Opal* (1895), O/C, PC

122. Robert Reid, *Fleur-de-Lys* (1899), O/C, MMA

123. Edouard Manet, *Le Chemin de Fer* (1872-3), O/C, NGA

124. Robert Reid, *Against the Sky* (1911), O/C, Brigham Young University, UT

125. Robert Reid, *The Violet Kimono* (1910), O/C, NMAA

126. Robert Reid, *The Mirror* (1910), O/C, NMAA

127. Robert Reid, *The Japanese Screen* (1910), O/C, PC

128. Vincent Van Gogh, *The Courtesan* (After Eisen, 1887), O/C, NGA

129. Edward Emerson Simmons, *Night, St. Ives Bay* (n.d.), O/C, PC

130. Edward Emerson Simmons, *The Carpenter's Son* (ca. 1888), O/C, First Unitarian Church, New Bedford, MA

131. William Merritt Chase, *The Blue Kimono* (1888), O/C, PAM

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

132. William Merritt Chase, *The Japanese Print* (n.d.), O/C, unlocated

133. William Merritt Chase, *Still Life with a Brass Bowl* (1903), O/C, IMA

134. a. Photograph of William Merritt Chase's Tenth Street Studio (1890)
b. Close-up Photograph of Chase Tenth Street Studio (1890)

135. William Merritt Chase, *In The Studio* (1881), O/C, BM

136. Edouard Manet, *Emile Zola* (1867-68), O/C, MOP

137. William Merritt Chase, *Dorothy* (1892), O/C, Creekwood Art Museum, Nashville, TN

138. a. William Merritt Chase, *In the Studio* (1884) O/C, Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, NC
b. Detail.

139. William Merritt Chase, *Hide and Seek* (1888), O/C, Philips Collection, DC

140. Edgar Degas, *Dancers in the Old Opera House* (1877), P/P, NGA

141. John Singer Sargent, *The Daughters of Edward Boit* (1882), O/C, MFAB

142. Diego Velasquez, *Las Meninas* (1656), O/C, Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

143. John LaFarge, *Fisherman, Sunlight* (1888), W/P, Farnsworth Museum, Rockland, ME

144. John LaFarge, *Stable of Sacred Horses* (*Century Magazine*, April 1890)

145. a. Entryway, "The Creek," the home of Albert and Adele Herter in East Hampton, New York (*House Beautiful*, April 1919)
b. Dining Room, "The Creek"

146. a. Adele Herter, murals paintings for the Dining Room of Amy du Pont in Montecito, California (*House* Beautiful, May 1931)
b. Second View -- Screen painted by Adele Herter to blend with wall murals

147. Ogata Korin (1658-1716), *Snow and Bamboo*, 2-fold screen, color and gold on paper, unlocated

148. Albert Herter, title and date unknown. Woman seated in profile with Japanese prints on the wall behind her.

149. Robert Blum, *Flower Market in Tokyo* (1892), O/C, Manoogian Collection

150. Robert Blum, *Venetian Lacemakers* (1887), O/C, MMA

151. Robert Blum, *The Emigrant Model* (1882), O/P, New Britain Museum, CT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

152. Robert Blum, *A Daughter of Japan* (1893), (*Scribner's Magazine*, April 1893)

153. Henry P. Bowie, *On the Laws of Japanese Painting*, Plate LII (1911)

154. Arthur Wesley Dow, *The Derelict (The Lost Boat)* (1916), CP, Amon Carter Museum, TX

155. Theodore Wores, *Returning From the Cherry Groves* (1887) (*Century Magazine*, September 1889)

156. John LaFarge, *Sunrise in Fog Over Kyoto* (1886), W/P, Currier Gallery, NH

157. John LaFarge, *The Fountain in our Garden at Nikko* (1886), O/P, PC

158. John LaFarge, *Hollyhocks* (1863), encaustic on wood, PC

159. John LaFarge, *Paradise Rock, Study at Paradise, Newport, Rhode Island* (1884), gouache and gum arabic on paper, MMA

160. John LaFarge, *The Tomb of Iyeyasu Tokugawaa* (1888), W/P, MMA

161. John LaFarge, *Inside the Cat Gate* (*Century Magazine*, October 1890)

162. John LaFarge, *The Great Avenue of Cryptomeria* (*Century Magazine*, March 1890)

163. John LaFarge, *Daibutsu* (*The Great Statue of Amida Buddha at Kamakura*) (1887), W/C, MMA

164. Robert Blum, *The Ameya* (1890-92), O/C, MMA

165. Albert Herter, *A Rest in the Woods* (*Monthly Illustrator*, July 1895)

166. Adele Herter, *Okami-san* (*Monthly Illustrator*, July 1895)

167. Lilla Cabot Perry, *Mount Fuji: Spring Azaleas* (ca. 1898-1901), O/C, PC

168. Lilla Cabot Perry, *The Trio (Alice, Edith and Margaret Perry)* (1898-1900), O/C, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, MA

169. John LaFarge, *Kwannon Meditating on Human Life* (1908), W/P, Bowdoin College Museum, ME

170. Maruyama Okyo (1733-95), *Kannon* (*Century Magazine*, June 1890)

171. Minchô (Chô Densu), *White Robed Kannon* (1421), I/P, Atami Museum of Art, JP

172. Mokkei (Mu Chi), *Crane, Kannon and Monkey* (ca. 1279), triptych, I/S, Daitoku-ji, Kyoto, JP

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

173. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *Adams Memorial* (1886-91), Rock Creek Cemetery, D.C.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

INTRODUCTION

This study explores the phenomenon of *japonisme* and its influence on American artists during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The term "*japonisme*" refers here to the use of Japanese motifs, techniques and concepts by non-Japanese artists.[1] While *japonisme* found adherents in the United States during the period, it never became the cohesive movement in America that it did in France. The American painters influenced by *japonisme* tended to be centered around the circle of the American Impressionists, which was most strongly identified with The Ten American Painters, a group formed to exhibit together (beginning in 1898).[2] This group of artists and several others in their circle will be the focus of this study. Members of The Ten included Childe Hassam (1859-1935), J. Alden Weir (1852-1919), John Twachtman (1853-1902), Willard Metcalf (1858-1925), Edmund Tarbell (1862-1938), Thomas Dewing (1851-1938), Frank Benson (1862-1951), Joseph DeCamp (1858-1923), Robert Reid (1862-1929) and Edward E. Simmons (1852-1931). In 1904, William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) joined the group, replacing John Twachtman who had died in 1902.[3]

American *japonisme* of the period often had as much to do with European and American art traditions and practices as with Japanese art. At a time when many American painters sought to emulate the French example, those practicing *japonisme*

---

[1] Although Japanese motifs were sometimes employed in *japonisme*, as used here, the term implies that the influence of Japanese art goes beyond the superficial quoting of objects. The term "*japonisme*" was used by Emile Zola (1840-1902) in a review of the Salon exhibition that appeared in *L'Evénement Illustré* (May 10, 1868). He first used it two years earlier in a small pamphlet written in defense of Manet. The French art critic, Philippe Burty (1830-1890) first used the term in an article titled "Japonisme" which appeared in *La Renaissance artistique et littéraire* (mai 1872-février 1873) and subsequently in an article for the English journal *The Academy* (August 17, 1875). The previous year, in the same journal (May 30, 1874), Burty had written a review of the first French Impressionist show that discussed how that group of artists had been inspired by Japanese art.

[2] For an explanation of the character of the group and why it was formed, see: William Gerdts, et al., *Ten American Painters* (NY: Spanierman Gallery, 1990).

[3] Winslow Homer and Abbott Thayer were invited to join initially but declined. Theodore Robinson, who died in 1896, was never a member.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

generally did so only after exposure to the art of *japonistes*[4] working in Europe, most notably Claude Monet (1840-1926) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1910). The Americans' responses were in keeping with their individual personalities; they adopted and adapted *japonisme* accordingly, leading to very different results.

Although Whistler and Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) were leading American-born *japonistes* of the period, as both spent virtually their entire careers in Europe, they are considered here as European rather than American practitioners of *japonisme*. Whistler lived in England but also resided part of the time in France and was in close association with most of the leading French *japonistes* of the day. Mary Cassatt was accepted into the circle of the French Impressionists[5] and has also been recognized for her *japonisme*;[6] however, she has not been included here because, unlike Whistler, her *japonisme* was not a major influence on painters working in the U.S.

American painters' second-hand form of *japonisme* was generally neither as deeply felt nor as thoroughly explored as first-hand European forms of *japonisme*. As

---

[4] The term "*japoniste*" was first used by Burty in the 1860s as part of his signature in correspondence. He was identifying himself as one who had come under the influence of Japanese culture. In this paper, the term is used to refer to artists who were directly influenced by their contact with Japanese art.

[5] Cassatt exhibited in the fourth, fifth, sixth and eighth Impressionist Exhibitions.

[6] Although the volume of literature on Mary Cassatt and her *japonisme* is too enormous to list here, several works should be cited, including: Nancy Mowll Mathews, "Mary Cassatt in the 1890's: The color prints in context." *The Magazine Antiques* 136 (October 1989): 860-71; Elliot Bostwick Davis, "Mary Cassatt's Color Prints," *The Magazine Antiques* 154/4 (October 1998): 484-93; Colta Feller Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 45-55; Nancy Mowll Matthews and Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 57-87; *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected* Letters, Ed. Nancy Mowll Mathews (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 219; Klaus Berger, *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse*, trans. David Britt (Munich, Germany: Prestel-Verlag München, 1980, reprinted Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 188, 195-8, 264; Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art Since 1858*, (Herrsching : Schuler Verlagsgesellschaft, c1980, trans. Mary Whittall, et al., and reprinted New York: Harmony Books, 1980), 214-15; Gabriel Weisberg, Phillip Dennis Cate, Gerald Needham, Martin Eidelberg and William R. Johnston, *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-190* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 123-4; Julia Meech and Gabriel Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 116; William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990), 87, 99; William H. Gerdts, *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865-1915* (Chicago: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992), 44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the title of this dissertation indicates, often it was the *japonisme* of other artists rather than Japanese art that influenced American artists. William Merritt Chase was a *japonismiste*,[7] exemplifying American second-hand *japonisme*. The *japoniste* John LaFarge, possibly due to family ties to Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry,[8] was the most notable exception to the rule. He came to *japonisme* independently, at about the same time and in much the same way as did French artists of the period.[9] The distinction is an important one. While *japonismiste* artists might reproduce the look or visual effects of Japanese art, *japoniste* artists were more likely to capture its spirit. The *japonisme* of the first group was generally detectible through visual analysis but that of the second group was often difficult if not impossible to detect by that means alone. Emphasizing the distinctions among its varying types demonstrates that the phenomenon of *japonisme* in the period was a complex one and that each artist involved with it must be considered individually; they cannot all be understood according to one definition.

Existing European and American art coincided with many elements of art that have been associated with *japonisme*, pre-conditioning artists' eyes and minds to be receptive to such elements. For instance, in 1830, before the reopening of Japan and the discovery of Japanese art by French artists, Camille Corot (1796-1875) had already created asymmetrical compositions and used severely cropped foreground trees that established the picture plane and placed the viewer within the pictorial field (fig. 1). Paintings with women looking at themselves in mirrors had existed as part of the *vanitas* tradition long before Japanese *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints) by Utamaro were introduced.

---

[7] "*Japonismiste*" refers here to an artist who has been only indirectly influenced by Japanese art, through the *japonisme* of another artist.

[8] Commodore Perry's involvement in the reopening of Japan after two centuries of self-imposed isolation is discussed in Appendix 2.

[9] Robert Blum (1857-1903) also developed an enthusiasm for Japanese art after seeing examples at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and began practicing *japonisme* before going abroad.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This does not mean that *japoniste* artists did not absorb these elements from *ukiyo-e* and other Japanese sources. It may, however, help to explain why such artists found certain Japanese techniques and themes appealing. It may also help to explain why determining the extent of *japonisme* in a work of art is not always straightforward. Further, not everything that might seem to come from Japanese art did. Often, what appears to be *japonisme* is related instead to general practices of the period, which themselves had been affected by Japanese models to varying degrees. In fact, aspects of Japanese art without obvious Western counterparts, such as the practice of Zen ink painting as a meditative religious exercise, did not influence American painters until the middle of the twentieth century.[10] During that post-World War II period, American artists found a deeper level of engagement with Japanese art when they immersed themselves in its religious-cultural underpinnings, not simply its effects.

Japonisme was a complex phenomenon that was part of a larger matrix of multiple artistic trends coalescing at the end of the nineteenth century. Photography was among the elements circulating within this matrix that overlapped and reinforced *japonisme*. Artists, such as the French Impressionists Claude Monet and Edgar Degas (1834-1917), employed photography at the same time that they were drawing inspiration from Japanese prints. The two media shared many effects, among which were object cropping, oblique angles, asymmetrical compositions, flattening, and the freezing of a spontaneous moment. Artists in Europe and America used photography as a tool for recording scenes for later use, and both photography and Japanese prints were used for compositional ends.

---

[10] Zen art practice was taken up by American artists who studied Eastern philosophical and religious teachings in the mid-twentieth century. The Seattle artist, Mark Tobey (1890-1976), for instance, spent several months studying at a Zen monastery near Kyoto in 1934. The following year, Morris Graves (1910-2001), studied Zen Buddhism in Seattle. Another of the West Coast artists studying Asian concepts was John Cage (1912-1992), who brought these ideas East to his teaching at Black Mountain College in North Carolina. One of the students influenced by him toward Zen ideas and practices was Robert Rauschenberg (b. 1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Photography was among the technological advances of the period that helped to reshape the way people perceived their world. Another such technological advance was train travel, which caused people to view their surroundings quickly and essentially[11] rather than at a pace that would allow them to take in minute detail. Riding the train also had the effect of removing travelers from the environment they were traveling through, effectively making them viewers of, rather than participants in, that environment.[12] Artists began to question art's relationship to the new removed and momentary way of experiencing people, places, and things that resulted from such advances. Some artists sought alternative formal and technical means for picturing their new reality. In fact, it was the informal, spontaneous, "captured" character of the figures in Katsushika Hokusai's (1760-1849) *Manga* (sketch books) that first drew the admiration of *japoniste* artists and writers in France to Japanese art as a source in the 1850s and 1860s.[13] Similarly, the "slice of life" treatment of scenes in *ukiyo-e* looked very similar to photographs taken in Japan by Felice Beato (1825-1904) and others in the 1860s.[14] Because of these similarities between the Japanese prints and photography, both offered *japoniste* artists a new visual vocabulary for picturing their fast-paced modern way of life.

---

[11] "Essentially" here refers to taking in only the most immediately apparent elements of what was being seen (i.e. its essentials), resulting in generalized rather than closely-studied impressions.

[12] To a certain extent, carriage travel might similarly remove journeyers but unless they were among the few who could afford an enclosed carriage, they would still experience the sounds, smells, temperatures and possibly dust of the environment and thus feel themselves somewhat within rather than removed from it.

[13] Gabriel Weisberg, et al., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 3. Weisberg says that Félix Bracquemond has been credited with initiating the French interest in Japanese art with his discovery of a copy of Hokusai's *Manga* at the shop of the printer Auguste Delâtre (1822-1907) in 1856. It is worth noting that Delâtre printed Whistler's early etchings and Whistler was friends with Bracquemond. In addition, Siegfried Bing animated the pages of his journal *Japon Artistique* (1888-1891) with free-floating images excerpted from Hokusai's *Manga*. Translated versions of Bing's journal were available in the United States.

[14] Beato's photographs of Japan were included in *Le Japon illustré* by d'Aimé Humbert, a two-volume set published in Paris in 1869. Humbert was the Swiss Minister to Japan and the set was illustrated with facsimiles of Japanese art, Beato photographs, and sketches by Charles Wirgman, an artists-correspondent for the *Illustrated London News*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Post-Civil War American painters tried to accommodate the growing imperative to establish themselves as internationally viable while creating a distinctly American expression.[15] Many of the American painters who went to Europe for training and polishing returned to the United States to apply the lessons they had learned, including those of *japonisme*, to create paintings specific to their own country; their techniques were European and their subjects American. Their strong landscape tradition, represented by the Hudson River School in the earlier part of the century, predisposed many returning American painters to choose landscape subjects.[16] A number of artists from the Boston area, where a strong Colonial American tradition of portraiture existed, chose to paint figural works instead. Both landscape and figural paintings also happened to be leading genres in contemporary French painting at a time when history painting in the eighteenth-century tradition was losing its momentum.[17] Among the painters of the American Impressionist circle, lessons of *japonisme* were employed to varying degrees for both genres.

An important difference between early practitioners of *japonisme* in Europe and in the United States, and one not previously explored in the existing literature on

---

[15] The artists wanted their work to be accepted in an international arena, which at that time meant European, because that set the standard by which they and most American art patrons would judge their work.

[16] Sally Mills, *Japanese Influences in American Art, 1853-1900* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1981), 27.

[17] Emphasis shifted from depicting the glorious past – especially ancient times – of Western culture as an exemplar for the present to depicting disappearing cultures, like that of the American Indian, and fading cultural practices, as exemplified by Barbizon sentimental scenes of agrarianism that was dying out due to industrialization. Rather than looking primarily at Greece and Rome, late-nineteenth-century history painters often focused on their own countries' recent pasts, such as the Franco-Prussian War and late-eighteenth-century revolutions in France and America. Lois Fink attributed this shift in the 1880s and 1890s, in part, to new Darwinian thinking: Elizabeth Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 186-187. Linda Nochlin relates the changed approach of history painting of the period, resulting in historical genre scenes rather than depictions of grand military or political events, to the new Realism propounded by Hippolyte Taine. According to Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1971, reprint 1978), 23, "It is hardly paradoxical that the era in which history was canonized as a scientific (or pseudo-scientific?) discipline also saw the end of History Painting – that time-honoured pictorial assertion of permanent values and eternal ideals centered around the nexus of heroic antiquity."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American *japonisme*, was that a number of the American-based artists actually traveled to Japan. Some of the American painters who went to Japan were already practicing *japonisme* and all of them had been exposed to Japanese art and *japonisme* in Europe and America before they went. They included John LaFarge, Theodore Wores (1859-1939), Robert Blum (1857-1903), Albert Herter (1871-1950), Adele Herter (1869-1946), Lilla Cabot Perry (1848-1933) and Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922). The effects on their art of their first-hand experiences of Japanese art *in situ* ranged from minimal to profound.

The phenomenon of *japonisme* in American painting has not previously been written about as comprehensively as it is in this study. There are several excellent writings on *japonisme* in America that do not, however, focus on painting. Clay Lancaster's *The Japanese Influence in America* (1963) is primarily concerned with architecture. Lancaster briefly considers some American painters but does not look at the Impressionists.[18] The Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition catalogue, *In Pursuit of Beauty* (1986), explores the decorative and print arts.[19] William Hosley's Wadsworth Atheneum exhibition catalogue, *The Japan Idea* (1990), is also primarily engaged with the decorative arts, although it does include mention of Twachtman and Weir in a brief passage on painting.[20] Julia Meech's and Gabriel P. Weisberg's *Japonisme Comes to America* (1990), a Jane Vorhees Zimmerli Art Museum (Rutgers University) exhibition catalogue, considers the graphic arts and provides considerable information on dealers of Japanese art and some information on collectors and exhibitions.[21] While each of these books provides background information about the impact of *japonisme* in America

---

[18] Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963).
[19] Doreen Bolger Burke, et al., *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Rizzoli, 1986).
[20] William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford: The Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990).
[21] Julia Meech and Gabriel Weisberg, *Japonisme Come to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876-1925* (NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1990).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in general, none deals extensively with *japonisme* as a phenomenon in American painting.

Two important books on *japonisme* have been translated into English from German. Siegfried Wichmann's *Japonisme* (1970; 1984 English translation) includes architecture, decorative arts, graphic arts and painting. Wichmann takes a thematic and a visually analytical approach and relates Japanese prints and paintings to Western painting, but when he includes Americans, they are graphic artists or twentieth-century abstractionists such as Mark Tobey and Franz Kline. Mary Cassatt, who spent her career in Europe, is the only American-born Impressionist included.[22] Klaus Berger's *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse* (1980) includes a chapter titled "The Situation in England and America," which discusses Whistler, LaFarge, Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1985) as disseminators of appreciation for Japanese art and aesthetics. Berger draws a fine distinction between *japonisme* and *japonaiserie*, as is generally done in writings on *japonisme* and which this study will do in relation to the circle of the American Impressionists.[23] Berger treats Chase briefly -- along with the Europeans Alfred Stevens (1817-1876) and James Tissot (1836-1902) -- as a fashionable painter using Japanese decorative items as signifiers of social standing. J. Alden Weir's interest in Japanese prints and Whistler's influence on Weir's art are also briefly discussed. No mention is made of Theodore Robinson (1852-1896), Twachtman, Dewing, Tarbell or others of their group who will be dealt with here.[24]

---

[22] Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Hershing: Schuler Verlagagesellshaft mbH, 1980; trans. Mary Whitall, James Ramsy, Helen Watanabe, Cornelius Cardew and Susan Bruni, London: Harmony Books, 1981; reprinted New York: Park Lane, 1984.

[23] "*Japonaiserie*" refers to the employment of Japanese accents for decorative effect or class signification. "*Japonisme*" (defined in footnote 1), when used in comparison to *japonaiserie*, implies a sensitive response to the underlying aesthetics of Japanese art, which occurs at the intuitive level and may or may not involve quoting.

[24] Klaus Berger, *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag München, 1980; trans. David Britt, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992; reprinted New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A generalized study in English, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (1973, 1989 revised edition) by Michael Sullivan, a specialist in Chinese art history, includes in its last chapter a section on "Japan and the Impressionists," which discusses the influence of *japonisme* on French Impressionists, and another section on "The American Response to Oriental Art," which looks primarily at Mark Tobey and Morris Graves. Sullivan's cross-cultural study takes the Asian art viewpoint.[25]

Books on American Impressionism by William Gerdts,[26] Richard Boyle,[27] Ulrich Hiesinger,[28] and Donelson Hoopes[29] touch only briefly on *japonisme* and do not fully develop the theme. They are valuable sources for determining the general milieu in which the Impressionists and their circle worked, and for other influences that might explain characteristics sometimes identified as relating to *japonisme* -- such as flattening, color patches, bird's-eye perspective or diagonal organization. William Gerdts' *American Artists in Japan*, a gallery exhibition catalogue (Hollis Taggart, 1996), includes most of the American artists discussed here, but focuses on their influence on Japanese art rather than the impact of the Japan experience on their work.[30]

---

[25] Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western in Art* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973, revised 1989).

[26] William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984); *Artistic Transitions: From the Academy to Impressionism in American Art* (Jacksonville, FL: The Cummer Gallery of Art, 1986); "Frank Benson – His Own Man: A Study of the Artist's Development and Its Critical Reception," in *Frank W. Benson: The Impressionist Years* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1988), 28-48; *Impressionist New York* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994); *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865-1915* (Chicago: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992); *Masterworks of American Impressionism* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990); *Monet's Giverny: An Impressionist Colony* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993); and, *Theodore Robinson, American Impressionist, 1852-1896* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc, 1966).

[27] Richard Boyle, *American Impressionism* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974); and, Richard Boyle with Mary Baskett, *John Henry Twachtman: A Retrospective Exhibition* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1966).

[28] Ulrich Hiesinger, *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist* (New York: Jordan-Volpe Gallery, 1994); and, *Impressionism in America: The Ten American Painters* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991).

[29] Donelson Hoopes, *The American Impressionists* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1972).

[30] William H. Gerdts, *American Artists in Japan* (New York: Hollis Taggart Galleries, 1996).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Monographs on Chase (by Ronald Pisano and Barbara Gallati),[31] Weir (by Doreen Bolger Burke),[32] and Twachtman (by Lisa Peters)[33] make reference to the influence of Japanese prints on these artists but, as is often the case when *japonisme* is included by authors not fully engaged with the subject, loose interpretations can result. For instance, in her 1995 CUNY Ph.D. dissertation, *John Twachtman (1853-1902) and the American Scene in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Frontier Within the Terrain of the Familiar*, Lisa Peters, writing about Twachtman's *Along the River, Winter* (1887-88), states that "his understanding of the aesthetics of the Japanese print is seen in his delicate arrangement of shapes and lines. Sinsai Ryuryuko's (ca. 1765-1830) ukiyo-e print has a similar composition and evokes a comparable feeling of solitude ..." However, it had not been established that Twachtman was likely to have seen Sinsai Ryuryuko's work. In this dissertation, a section on William Merritt Chase and *japonisme* (see Chapter 3) demonstrates that simply finding visual correspondences between *ukiyo-e* and particular paintings by Chase is an insufficient method for proving that *japonisme* was the cause of these correspondences. Other factors are shown to have been as, if not more, likely to have influenced characteristics cited as evidence of Chase's *japonisme* by a number of writers.

An excellent essay by Doreen Bolger, "American Artists and the Japanese Print: J. Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson and John H. Twachtman," (1990) relies heavily on Theodore Robinson's diary entries and provides strong documentary evidence of these

---

[31] Ronald G. Pisano, *A Leading Spirit in American Art: William Merritt Chase*, 1849-1916 (Seattle: Henry Art Gallery, 1983); and, Barbara Gallati, *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1995).

[32] Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983).

[33] Lisa Peters, "John Twachtman (1853-1902) and the American Scene in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Frontier Within the Terrain of the Familiar" (Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York, 1995), 236.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artists' collection and use of Japanese woodblock prints.[34] Susan Larkin's catalogue for the National Academy of Design, *The Cos Cob Art Colony: Impressionists and the Connecticut Shore* (2001), discusses these same three and other artists who engaged with *japonisme* during the time they spent working at Cos Cob.[35] Bolger and Larson will be expanded upon by considering the artists they covered in relation to others of the Impressionist circle and in relation to the European roots of their *japonisme*, and in Larson's case, by considering not only their Cos Cob works but those produced throughout their careers.

Sally Mills is one of the few authors who have written about *japonisme* as an important phenomenon in American painting. In her twenty-eight-page catalogue essay for the Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, *Japanese Influences in American Art: 1853-1900* (1981), she focuses primarily on LaFarge, Whistler and Dow. She identifies Dow's teaching of a synthesis of East and West in art practice as foundational to twentieth-century abstraction, as practiced by such students of his as Max Weber (1864-1920) and Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986).[36] This dissertation significantly expands upon Mills' treatment of the phenomenon of *japonisme* in American painting, contextualizing it both historically and in terms of the American art *milieu* in which it was practiced.

This study goes beyond all of the literature listed above in its breadth and its contextualization of *japonisme* in American painting. American *japonisme* is viewed in terms of U.S.-Japanese relations, European *japonisme*, the Western painting tradition, the American painting tradition, the American painters who visited Japan, and the milieu of the American Impressionist painters and their circle in the United States. Included are

---

[34] Doreen Bolger and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "American Artists and the Japanese Print: J. Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson, and John H. Twachtman," in *American Art around 1900: Lectures in Memory of Daniel Fraad*, Studies in the History of Art 37 (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990), 15-27.
[35] Susan Larkin, *The Cos Cob Art Colony: Impressionists and the Connecticut Shore* (New York: The National Academy of Design, 2001).
[36] Mills, 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

what was written about Japanese art and *japonisme* in the period, how and where relevant ideas and information were disseminated, and where Japanese art and examples of *japonisme* in painting were viewed by artists and writers. Using visual analysis, contextualization, and an archival approach, this study defines and exemplifies the variety of forms and the extent of the influence of *japonisme* and Japanese art on individual American painters. In addition to considering the question of whether what appears to be *japonisme* is truly that, or if it may be wholly or partially accounted for by concurrent native and European influences, it also looks at whether apparent Japanese thematic and visual influences might rather have been coincidences between Japanese and European-influenced American art. It is confined to a discussion of easel painting by American artists belonging to the circle of the Impressionists.

The timeframe of this paper is from 1893 to 1915. The year 1893 witnessed the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which marked the beginning of a clear acceptance of Impressionist art as a primary style in America. In the year 1915, the Panama-Pacific Exposition was held in San Francisco, and this event marked the apogee of Impressionism. Toward the end of the period, in 1913, the Armory Show ushered in a new way of looking at art and its place in society, and, in so doing, made the once *avant-garde* art of the Impressionists seem old-fashioned and tied to a genteel tradition that was receding in America. Although Impressionism ceased to be a dominant art form in America after 1915, *japonisme* continued to be incorporated into a number of subsequent developments in American painting, such as the nature studies of Georgia O'Keefe and the abstract paintings of the 1950s and 1960s, as mentioned previously.

Chapter 1 of this study provides the background necessary to understand the context in which *japonisme* in American painting began and developed prior to 1893. Chapter 2 traces the European roots of American *japonisme*. It also considers the ways

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in which Japanese art intersected Western painting traditions and contemporary practices. Chapter 3 considers the individual responses of The Ten American painters, the core group associated with American Impressionism, to Japanese art and *japonisme*. Chapter 4 discusses the various types of responses by American artists who visited Japan and experienced its art *in situ*. Chapter 5 examines what Japanese art and *japonisme* was available as a visual source in the U.S. and how and where it could be seen and discussed by artists, writers, collectors, dealers and the general public, all of whom were in a symbiotic relationship regarding the acceptance of American *japonisme*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 1

JAPONISME IN CONTEXT: ISSUES AT PLAY

Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century American *japonisme* can only be understood as a significant artistic phenomenon by presenting it in the context in which it emerged and developed. This chapter provides a background for what was happening politically, economically, culturally, and artistically in America, in Europe and in Japan at that time to create an environment conducive to the transmission of Japanese art concepts and techniques -- from Japan to Europe and America, and from Europe to America.

A Special Relationship between the United States and Japan

From 1639 to 1852 Japan enforced a national policy of self-imposed Isolation. It did not permit its citizens to travel abroad and allowed only the Chinese and the Dutch to enter the country for trade purposes, restricting them to Deshima, an artificial island in Nagasaki harbor. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Japan was forced by both internal and external events to reconsider its policy. In a period of European and American maritime expansion, Russia and England were threatening her shores and American ships had begun attempting to make contact as early as 1791.[37] In 1844, King William II of Holland sent a letter to the Tokugawa Shogun, Japan's military ruler, warning him that Japan could no longer ward off encroachment by foreign commercial interests that were backed by superior naval and military means.

The Shogunal government (*bakufu*) had been in turmoil for some time. Within the country a powerful faction, nostalgic for the past, began to agitate for the return to power of the Emperor, who had been reduced to a religious figurehead in the thirteenth

[37] Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1989), 118-20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

century. Another influential faction, made up primarily of adherents of "Dutch learning" (*Rangaku*), recognized the threat to Japan, due to its lagging technology, from encroaching foreign interests. They advocated an end to the policy of Isolation.[38] By the middle of the nineteenth century each of these opposing factions had gained strong popular support.

The United States, believing itself to have been imbued with a moral imperative to spread Western civilization, religion and progress, had recently secured ports on the Pacific Coast and was seeking new trade outlets in the Far East. It was also in economic competition with European nations and saw the Pacific as the natural extension of its drive toward "Manifest Destiny" and expansion of trade. In addition, the United States wanted to establish relations with Japan so that American whalers and traders shipwrecked in Japanese waters would receive more humane treatment. In the winter of 1850-51 Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858), with considerable military-diplomatic success in the Caribbean, Africa and Europe, wrote to the Secretary of the Navy under President Millard Fillmore, recommending a mission to obtain a treaty with Japan. He was commissioned to head the resulting naval expedition.[39]

On July 8, 1853, Perry's four "black ships"[40] anchored off Uraga in Edo Bay where, despite their anticipated arrival, they encountered little of the challenge previously afforded ships breaching Japanese waters.[41] The Dutch in Nagasaki had sent advance notice to the government in Edo that the Americans would be coming to

---

[38] H. Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture*, 3rd Ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 203.
[39] Samuel Eliot Morison, *"Old Bruin": Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry 1793-1858* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1967), 160-1. Also, William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History*, 5th Edition, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972), 919, Commodore John H. Aulick had been commissioned in November of 1851 to open relations with Japan but was succeeded in March of 1852 by Commodore Perry.
[40] They were called "black ships" in reference to the black smoke emitted from the steam ships among them.
[41] Edo (known as Tokyo today) was the Shogunal capital of the country. The Shogunal capital is differentiated from the Imperial capital in Kyoto. At that time, the Emperor was merely a figurehead and the effective governing body was the military Shogunate.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

present official letters from their President, and word had arrived from Okinawa that Perry was approaching.[42] Due to an accident of timing[43] and the fact that the United States had no history of imperialism in Asia, a special relationship between America and Japan was born. In 1854, the Treaty of Kanagawa (also called the Friendship Treaty) was signed, and by 1858, a commercial pact, favorable to the United States, was secured by Townsend Harris, the first American Consul.[44]

The Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France soon signed their own pacts with Japan that were based on the Harris treaty model. However, the fact that the United States had no negative history in the region put it in the preferred position as ally and partner with Japan. It is possible that Japan also discerned that America's relationship with Europe was very similar to its own with China. Europe and China were the primary progenitors, respectively, of mainstream American and of Japanese culture.

It is significant to note the great difference between Japan and the Asian nations colonized by European countries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Globally, colonized countries were generally modernized through Westernization, but they were forced to do so by direct intervention and eventual loss of political control. Japan, on the other hand, embraced modernization as its own choice. Modernization at that time meant seeking the West's advanced technology, but it was Japan itself that determined to what degree the lessons of the West would be adapted to Japanese modes of thought and use.

The first official Japanese delegation to the United States arrived in Washington in 1860 to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of Edo. After completing their business in

---

[42] Morison, 318-19.
[43] Japan was ready to enter the international field at just the moment when America was seeking to establish Asian ports (especially in Japan), Russia had been diverted by Napoleon's invasion, and the British were engaged in China (especially during the 1839-42 Opium Wars).
[44] Varley, 204; and, Langer, 919. It is worth noting that by this time in Japan a strong anti-foreign movement had coalesced around the *sonnô* movement (which sought the return of imperial rule).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the nation's capitol, they traveled on to New York where they were given a ball and paraded up Broadway, accompanied by seven thousand troops. Hundreds of thousands of spectators turned out to see them and Walt Whitman published a poem in *The New-York Times*, "The Errand-Bearers," to commemorate the event (see Appendix 1).

Japan was eager to become a world power and rapidly sought as much advanced knowledge as it could acquire. "The speed with which Japan met these challenges startled the world... For whatever reason or combination of reasons, Japan's reaction to the impact of the West was rapid and purposeful from the start... Between 1894 and 1905, having defeated China and Russia in war and having concluded a treaty of alliance with Britain, Japan could sense that it had joined the Western powers on their own terms."[45]

America Artists in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: Growing Cosmopolitanism

Prior to the Civil War, exposure to foreign art and art training was unusual for American artists.[46] There was scant art training available within the U.S. and few artists travelled abroad for such training. There were exceptions, but this was the rule. In addition, there were no great art collections or museums as repositories for study in America prior to the Civil War. Exhibitions held by organizations such as the NAD showed contemporary American art. Portraiture and landscape painting were perhaps the "strongest" traditions in American art, but with few exceptions they may not have been as well developed as in Europe due to the lack of rigorous training of the majority of the artists practicing in those genres in the U.S. The use of the word "strong" in

[45] John Whitney Hall, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies at the University of Michigan, 1991), 247.

[46] America was a fledgling nation, still struggling to establish its institutional and cultural forms while becoming sufficiently economically and politically viable to be welcomed among what were then deemed to be the leading nations of the world, all of which were European. Culturally, it still looked to Europe, from which most Americans or their ancestors had come.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relation to portraiture and landscape painting traditions in America, then, is a relative one. Portraiture and landscape painting may have been the strongest genres in the U.S. but that doesn't mean they were all that strong by European standards of the time.

After the Civil War, American artists became much more cosmopolitan in their outlook, commonly traveling to Europe to further their training and art exposure. Adoption and adaptation of multiple European methods and subjects by American artists helped to condition their receptivity to other foreign models, such as Japanese art. In fact, *japonisme* became a phenomenon in the United States primarily due to the exposure of American artists to *japonisme* while they were in Europe.

Prior to the Civil War, American artists such as Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868) and Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) studied at the Düsseldorf School. It was natural that during the 1870s and 1880s a number of Midwestern artists, such as Frank Duveneck (1848-1919), William Merritt Chase, Joseph DeCamp and John Twachtman, gravitated to the Royal Academy at Munich, which had supplanted Düsseldorf in importance, to study with German masters such as Karl von Piloty (1826-1886).[47] Piloty was a history painter who admired such Old Masters as Rubens and Veronese. His work tended toward the theatrical, deviating from historical fact to add emotional emphasis to his German-nationalist themes.[48] By the time of Duveneck's arrival at the Academy, however, the direction of history painting had shifted toward the employment of skillful technique for creating powerfully realistic genre paintings.[49]

---

[47] All of the artists mentioned here, except for Chase, came from Cincinnati, which had a substantial German population. Theodore Wores from San Francisco became part of the group, some of whom would later be associated with *japonisme*. Although Robert Blum didn't go to Munich to train, he had studied with Duveneck in Cincinnati and the two maintained a close relationship. In addition, Chase was one of Blum's closest friends. Both Wores and Blum spent time in Venice with Duveneck and Chase.

[48] Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, *19th-Century Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984), 266-7.

[49] Michael Quick, *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987), 16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Duveneck had taught art classes in Cincinnati between his stays in Munich, where many of the American students continued to take lessons from him outside of the Academy. A number of the American art students in Munich formed a group around him that came to be known as the "Duveneck Boys."[50] Duveneck admired and emulated the German artist Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900). Leibl had studied with Piloty at the Royal Academy in the 1860s, but had subsequently gone to Paris, at the invitation of Gustave Courbet (1819-1877). During his nine months there, Leibl paid particular attention to the work of both Courbet and Manet. When he returned to Munich, he brought with him a new Realist style. It drew its impetus not only from Courbet's fluidity, naturalism, and attention to everyday incidental details, but also from the emphasis on character and use of black with strong highlights of such Dutch masters as Frans Hals (1580-1666) and Hans Holbein (1497-1593).[51] He also studied the work of the Baroque masters Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Anthony Van Dyke (1599-1644) and Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velásquez (1599-1660). Leibl and his followers employed this new Realist style for genre scenes or figure studies painted in dark tones employing bravura brushwork (Ill. 4).[52] Emphasis was placed on rapidly capturing the character traits of a limited range of figural types. Duveneck adopted Leibl's new Realist style and advocated it to his followers. This Leibl-derived Duveneck approach of spontaneous essentialism would have prepared the way for acceptance by

---

[50] In addition to teaching in Munich, Duveneck was accompanied to other locales in Bavaria, Holland and Italy during breaks from the Academy.

[51] Leibl's Realism was a marked departure from the sentimentality and idealized romanticism typical of German painting in the nineteenth century. An academically-trained and accomplished painter, he offered a viable alternative to progressive artists in Germany in the 1870s, 80s and 90s. A number of German artists gathered around him and they became known as the "Leibl Group." Duveneck was able to be at the edges of the group because of his fluency in German. The "Duveneck Boys" who were not fluent in German generally took their lessons from Leibl at second-hand, through Duveneck.

[52] In fact, these so-called "genre scenes" were usually costume pieces in which local peasant men and boys were depicted in exotic attire, sometimes with faint allusions to foreign settings.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Duveneck's colleagues and followers (such as Blum, Wores, Twachtman, and Chase) of the look and techniques of Japanese ink painting.

When Duveneck ventured to Polling in Bavaria during summer breaks to practice *plein air* painting, other Americans accompanied him. The effects of these trips on their painting included a lightening of the palette and greater emphasis on bold blocks of color. Such effects were reinforced when many of these same Americans accompanied Duveneck to Florence in Italy for summer lessons, beginning in 1878. It was during their second summer there, in 1879, that they decided to abandon Florence for Venice. This relocation led to their encounter with the expatriate-American Whistler, who was there to execute his famous series of etchings of Venice. This was a critical encounter with perhaps the foremost *japoniste* of the day (see Chapter 2). The rapid capturing of character traits (essentializing) the Americans picked up from Leibl, the lightened palette and emphasis on bold blocks of color they developed at Polling and advanced in Italy, and their introduction to Whistler in Venice would all have combined to prepare them for acceptance of Japanese art and *japonisme.*

By the early 1880s, Paris had completely eclipsed Munich as the artistic destination of aspiring American artists. The government-supported École des Beaux-Arts was very selective and few Americans were admitted. The École was the most important contemporary art venue; it set the standard for official recognition, which brought with it repute and salability. Many Americans studied in the studios of renowned French painters such as Thomas Couture (1815-1879), Jean-Leon Gérôme (1837-1904) and Emile Auguste Carolus-Duran (1838-1917) with the hope of showing at the annual Salon and eventual admittance to the École. The majority attended the less rigorous Académie Julian, which turned few students away. Even if they didn't obtain the important credential of the École, their art shared the same general qualities. The European academies emphasized technique based on draftsmanship, the figure as the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ideal of beauty and the basis for art, high-minded content, good "finish,"[53] and emulation of the techniques of the Old Masters and often of one's instructors.

In Paris the American students were exposed to the art of the past and of the present, including those styles officially sanctioned by the École and those of the *avant-garde*. They visited the Louvre and other museums where they studied and copied the art of the great masters. They interacted with the most respected artists of the day, who were often their instructors. They went to galleries and exhibitions. Many of them learned to speak and read French and could keep abreast of what was current, not only in the art world but also in society in general. They habituated cafés where they shared their ideas and information, often among themselves, but sometimes with artists from France and other countries. During summer breaks they might travel to view art or to work in other countries, or they might gather at one of the art colonies in Brittany, Normandy or further afield. In the colonies they worked and played in the company of *ad hoc* international coteries of like-minded artists (see Chapter 2). They lived and breathed the art atmosphere of Paris, of France, of Europe.[54]

Japan and Western Art

Japan's reopening sent reverberations throughout the world, including the Western art community. Its re-emergence[55] coincided with what Klaus Berger has identified as an artistic crisis in France.[56] By the middle of the nineteenth century, Europe and America were undergoing tectonic changes resulting from new technology

---

[53] A canvas with good "finish" was one on which the paint had been thinly applied so that the surface was smooth. Once dry, a glazed coating was applied to give depth, warmth, unity of effect and protection.

[54] J. Alden Weir's letters home to his parents and his brother John Ferguson Weir (Archives of American Art, Reel 71) are full of descriptions of these activities. For instance, he studied at the Gérôme atelier and summered in Brittany with his fellow student and close friend Bastien-Lepage.

[55] Japan had undergone voluntary cultural isolation on several occasions throughout its history.

[56] Berger, 2, refers to "The crisis in Western painting which opened the way to the Japanese visual influx..."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and improved scientific understanding of the natural world and how it worked.[57] In a period of rapid change, many progressive young painters felt that the prevailing academic system and its products belonged to an earlier age. The old historical-literary-religious themes in art and literature no longer seemed relevant to the realities of the exciting modern times in which they lived.

France, like the United States, was moving toward becoming a democratic society, even if, off and on, a king or emperor was head of state.[58] Both countries had revolutions to precipitate the transformation from monarchic to democratic rule and, consequently, the people of both countries tended to distrust intrusive government. This added to the *avant-garde*'s discontent with the academic system of training and advancement in art. *Avant-garde* artists began to experiment with new subjects and means but the academic system was generally intolerant of such change and those in authority rejected their work. Refusing to accede to academic strictures, they developed new ways of exhibiting their work.[59] Realists such as Courbet and Manet set up their own temporary galleries to coincide with major art events.[60] Rejected by the Salon, a group of artists, who would become known as the Impressionists, began holding their

---

[57] This was the period in which efforts were made internationally to identify and classify natural phenomena, and to determine how they functioned in relation to a unified system.

[58] Although a constitutional monarchy was established by Louis XVIII (King of France, 1814-1824), it did not necessarily guarantee equality. For instance, his brother Charles X (King of France, 1824-30) dissolved the newly-elected chamber, strengthened the clergy, strictly controlled the press, indemnified the land confiscated during the Revolution, and restricted suffrage. These acts resulted in the July Revolution, which ended his monarchy.

[59] When in 1863, three hundred fewer paintings were selected by the Salon's hanging committee than had been shown the previous year, artists such as Manet and Pissarro protested and Napoleon III intervened, providing them with the adjunct Salon des Refuses, at which the rejected artists exhibited.

[60] In 1855, because the Salon had rejected his work, Courbet set up his own "Pavilion of Realism" and exhibited such works as *Burial at Ornan* and *The Stone-Breakers* (both of 1850) and *The Painter's Studio; A Real Allegory* (of 1855). Similarly, in 1867, having been rejected by the Art Committee for that year's Paris Exposition Universelle, Manet opened his own pavilion adjacent to the fair grounds where he showed works such as *Olympia* (1863) and *Christ Mocked* (1865), which had received scathing comments at the 1865 Salon. In 1863 he had exhibited *Dejeuner sur l'Herbe*, rejected by the Salon, at the Salon des Refuses.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

own annual exhibitions in 1874.[61] The French Impressionists and their circle, including James Abbott McNeill Whistler and Edouard Manet (1832-1883), were among the first to employ *japonisme* in their work.

The American art students in Paris knew and discussed what was happening -- most significantly, the crisis in art and the various experiments that were being made to find alternative avenues for expression. They were well aware of the "new" sources being considered. Work done during the seventeenth century in Spain and in Holland overtook the Italian Renaissance and French Neoclassical traditions in importance. Velásquez and Hals became key exemplars from the past. The American Impressionist William Merritt Chase (see Chapter 3), who had been in Munich with Duveneck and was influenced by Leibl, and who later traveled to Holland with Whistler, admired both Hals and Velásquez and acknowledged their influence on his work.[62] Gérôme, who ran one of the most successful *ateliers* in Paris, advised a number of his students, including the Americans J. Alden Weir and Thomas Eakins, to visit Spain and study the work of Velásquez. Artists were also looking at a newly-discovered source outside of Europe -- the art of Japan -- that had remained virtually unknown for the past two hundred years. This was especially exciting because the art looked totally new to unaccustomed Western eyes. *Avant-garde* artists such as Degas were also experimenting with photography and its uses for painting.[63] As mentioned, photography was one of the technical advances that had a significant impact on art. Not surprisingly, it caused a great deal of questioning by artists who had spent years training to draw accurate likenesses. "Because naturalism had declared itself to be more or less identical to

---

[61] *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886* (Seattle, DC: University of Seattle Press, 1986).
[62] Gallati, 20. Chase began his collecting of other artists' works in 1878 with his purchase of Leibl's *The Coquette* (1869). Once Chase gave up his teaching at Shinnecock, he took his students to Europe for summer training and introduced them to the work of Hals in Holland and of Velásquez at the Prado in Spain.
[63] See also the discussion on Theodore Robinson in Chapter 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

illusionism, it was under constant threat from its 'mechanical' rival, photography. The scene was set for the demolition of illusionism, and with it for the appearance of things Japanese."[64]

The pattern of development of *japonisme* was set in France. It involved an initial borrowing of Japanese motifs and objects (following the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle), eventually developing into an absorption and adaptation of Japanese principles (from about 1880). The earliest borrowings were in the decorative arts (from the late 1850s), followed by those in painting. In its early phase *japonisme* was easily detectable but in its later phase became essentially invisible to the uninitiated. This was also the course of development that *japonisme* followed in America. However, in America it happened a decade and a half to two decades later than in France (or with Whistler in England).[65] Klaus Berger has pointed out that in its later phases in France, when taken up by the Symbolists, Nabis and others, *japonisme* operated at second-hand, with artists not necessarily even being aware of the original Japanese sources for the visual effects they employed.[66] Much of American *japonisme*, as mentioned, operated on this level.

America's Exposure to Japanese Art: The First Phase, 1854-1876

The first phase of *japonisme* in America lasted from the opening of Japan by Perry in 1853 until the Centennial Exposition, which was held in Philadelphia in 1876. The arts of Japan were almost, but not totally, unknown in America at mid-century.

---

[64] Berger, 10. Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981), 29. According to Galassi, in its early development, photography was artistically hindered by its inability to compose. He likened it to the *étude* or oil sketch made by artists for recording purposes. What the *ukiyo-e* could provide as a visual resource was the same type of fragmentary view but in an essentialized and composed form.

[65] John LaFarge, of course, is the exception to the rule in his early employment of *japonisme*. William Morris Hunt helped to introduce the trend in America. As a generalized phenomenon, however, there was a distinct lag time from the development of *japonisme* in France and its broad employment in this country.

[66] Berger, 190.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Japanese arts and crafts – especially porcelains, furniture, lacquerware and silks – had been imported into Europe by the Dutch throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Small numbers of these gradually made their way to America, although European *chinoiserie* and japanning were far more popular.[67] Between 1797 and 1807, due to the Napoleonic Wars, Dutch ships were unable to make their yearly runs to Nagasaki and the Dutch East India Company used American ships out of Boston, Salem (Massachusetts) and New York instead.[68] Fine Japanese lacquers and other quality goods, including five *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints), thus entered America directly for the first time. It is interesting to note that although it has generally been accepted that Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold, a doctor at the Dutch factory at Deshima, was the first person to have "systematically created a [Japanese] collection and then bequeathed it to an institution," in fact, "an American collector, Captain James Devereaux ... had acquired Japanese objects and donated them to a museum a generation before Siebold's arrival in Japan." These objects were put on public display at the East India Marine Society in Salem in 1800. There was, however, no subsequent unmediated contact with Japan until the Perry Expedition, half a century later.[69]

Between 1853 and 1876, there were many American and European visitors to Japan, a number of whom wrote articles and books on various aspects of its culture,

---

[67] "Japanning" refers to a European furniture finish (based on asphaltum) that emulates Asian, especially Japanese, lacquer. It began to be produced in the United States in the seventeenth century.

[68] Christine Wallace Laidlaw, "The American Reaction to Japanese Art, 1853-1876" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1996), 6. There were nine visits to Japan by American surrogates for the Dutch East India Company between 1797 and 1807 (see Appendix 3).

[69] Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 14-15; and, Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, "The accessioning of Japanese art in early nineteenth-century America: *Ukiyo-e* prints in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, " *Apollo* 145/421 (March 1997): 23-29. The five multi-colored *ukiyo-e* and other decorative arts and ethnographic objects brought to Salem by Captain Devereaux of the Franklin were given to the East India Marine Society of Salem in 1800 and led to the founding of what is today the Peabody Essex Museum.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from the political and military to the artistic (see Appendixes 3 and 4).[70] Although art commentary was not a major emphasis in most of these early works, a number were illustrated with reproductions of Japanese prints. In America and England, these were heavily weighted toward Ando Hiroshige (1797-1858), one of the leading later *ukiyo-e* artists. The illustrations, however, were often so poorly rendered or altered to such an extent that their finest aesthetic qualities were lost.[71] There were a few serious American considerations of Japanese art -- by the critics Russell Sturgis (1836-1909) and James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888) and by the artist John LaFarge (see Chapter 5).

Japanese prints were first "discovered" in the mid-1850s in France and in the U.S. By the late 1860s these prints started to become widely distributed among collectors of Japanese art objects and bric-a-brac as well as artists in Europe and, to a lesser extent, in America.[72] As mentioned, American artists were exposed to, and sometimes influenced by, the Japanese art they saw in France, especially color prints.

---

[70] There were a number of writings on Japan in English available in the United States. Further, France was the favored destination for many traveling to Europe after the Civil War and among the well-to-do and educated, the ability to read French was not uncommon. The most numerous and well-informed articles on Japanese art in this period were published in French and would have been available to Americans traveling in France. Writings produced in England, another popular destination for American tourists, would have been all the more easily accessible.

[71] Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B., *Japanese Fragments, with Facsimiles of Illustrations by Artists of Yedo* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1861), includes a number of illustrations that appear to relate primarily to Hiroshige and Hokusai. Some seem to be direct reproductions but some are quite clumsily rendered. On page 89, for instance, is a vignette of two Japanese gentlemen encountering two Japanese ladies. The figures are portrayed according to Western ideas of bodily proportions and the faces look more Western than Eastern. Japanese figures are generalized and produced according to a different ideal of beauty. They are more slender and elongated, perhaps in response to the *geta* footwear that would add height to a woman while being concealed by her *kimono*. The changes made by the Western artist here destroy the elegance of effect expected from such figural renderings by Japanese artists. Even in what appear to be direct reproductions (see page 41, for instance), there is a stiffness uncharacteristic of Japanese originals that renders them lifeless by comparison.

[72] H. Wayne Morgan, *New Muses: Art in American Culture, 1865-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 64-5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

America's Exposure to Japanese Art: The Second Phase, 1876-1893

Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and the Fashion for Things Japanese

The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition has been credited with bringing about a surge in popular awareness of Japan and its artistic qualities in America (see Chapter 5). This Exhibition was the first major international fair in the United States, and the poor craftsmanship and aesthetic qualities of America's manufactures stood out in comparison with those not only of Europe but also of Japan. This was the first time most Americans were directly exposed to Japanese manufactures and art objects. Their positive response may have been partially conditioned by the English artist and writer John Ruskin's (1819-1900) pleas for a better sense of craftsmanship. Although the general public may not have been aware of Ruskin, his thinking influenced many of the writers for popular magazines.

Japonisme was omnipresent on both sides of the Atlantic following the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (see Chapter 5).[73] It entered many aspects of life, from interior decoration and fashion to the decorative and fine arts. *Japonisme* and Japanese-influenced elements of art were pervasive to the point of being difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. After 1876, Japanese decorative qualities were actively sought in the design and decoration of manufactured household goods. To be fashionable in Paris (and to a lesser extent in England), and therefore in America, visible decorative references to Japan were employed. Wallpaper, furniture and decorative objects employing *japonisme* were used in newly popularized interior decorating. By the 1880s, objects from Japan became widely available in the United States.

---

[73] Berger, Chapter 4, "The fashion for things Japanese, 1867-88," pp 66-71. Following the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, there was an immediate generalized public response (which had already begun among a select group of artists, critics and writers) to Japanese art and especially decorative items for the person and the home. Following the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, a similar "fashion for things Japanese," took hold in the United States. This was fueled not only by the exhibition but also by the French fashion and by the 1878 Universal Exhibition, which Berger has called its "strongest stimulus" in France.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This fashion for Japanese decorations was reflected in paintings of the period. Following the European example, American artists who painted society portraits often posed their sitters in settings that included Japanese fans, umbrellas, ceramics, metalwork, *byobu* (folding screens), *kakemono* (hanging scrolls), and *ukiyo-e*.[74] Models for chic figure paintings were often dressed in *kimono* and situated in similar settings. To be pictured in association with Japanese decorative items, reflecting sophisticated European taste, was indicative of modernity and social status.[75]

Folding screens, in use in Europe for centuries, were generally employed to shelter sitters from drafts.[76] At a time when the English elevation of arts and crafts by the designer William Morris (1834-1896) had a strong impact in America, up-to-date members of the newly established middle class made their own screens, often in imitation of Japanese ones. They might paint them, but more often they attached Japanesque fabrics or wallpapers to wooden frames. When screens were depicted as part of the setting for a portrait or figure painting, it is generally possible to tell whether they were of this type or were crafted in Japan. It is less easy, however, to determine whether a screen of Japanese origin was made for the home market, according to Japanese tastes, or for export, taking Western tastes into account. The latter tended to be of a rather poor artistic character and did not reflect the aesthetic qualities prized in fine Japanese arts and crafts.

---

[74] The omission of a pluralizing "s" at the end of Japanese words will be practiced throughout this paper, to accord with Japanese usage, in which no distinction is made between singular and plural other than the context in which words are used.

[75] Paris was seen as "the" arbiter of good taste in America and so the Japan craze there led to the perception in America that anyone associated with Japanese art and art objects in paintings must be aware of this French fashion. Anyone so up-to-date with the latest European trend would be considered wealthy enough or of sufficient social standing to be able to keep up (though travel and associations) with what was "going on" abroad.

[76] This was a way in which they were also used in Japan. Another way screens were used in Japan was to divide the large open space of Japanese interiors into smaller, more intimate ones.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Whistler – Things Japanese and Aesthetic Choices

James Abbott McNeill Whistler had an enormous impact on the American Impressionist painters in terms of *japonisme* (see Chapter 2). He also represents the most highly developed *japonisme* on view in the United States between the 1870s and 1890s.

Generally, how successfully a Western painter depicted Japanese art objects -- capturing the look and feel of such objects -- reflected how attuned that painter was to the Japanese aesthetic. James Abbott McNeill Whistler, for instance, sketchily depicted *ukiyo-e* in his 1864 painting *Caprice in Purple and Gold No. 2: The Golden Screen* (Ill. 2) so effectively that it is possible to identify Hiroshige as the artist, as well as specific images by Hiroshige that were in Whistler's collection.[77] The equally sketchy golden screen of the title, though less meticulously executed, is identifiable as having a Tosa School antecedent. It functions both compositionally and decoratively in the painting.[78] When juxtaposed with such obvious Japanese references, the subtler aspects of Whistler's *japonisme* become apparent – his use of unifying red highlights, his shallow pictorial space with recession on an upward-sloping diagonal, his architectonic divisions of space within the picture, his asymmetrical distribution of compositional elements, and his extreme cropping. This indicates that by 1864, contrary to most interpretations,[79] Whistler had already begun to absorb some of the lessons of Japanese art and was not simply quoting or imitating it. Nevertheless, the crowding of numerous elements and the

---

[77] Hiroshige's water scenes depicted in *The Gold Screen* may have prefigured Whistler's tonal marine paintings.

[78] The screen's dominant gold background had the effect of pushing toward the picture plane and worked with the placement of the screen to create a very shallow space.

[79] For instance, a recent legend accompanying this work at the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, indicates that *Caprice...* represents the early phase of Whistler's *japonisme*, when he was merely including Japanese objects in paintings without having as yet absorbed the technical or underlying aesthetic lessons from Japanese art. Further, according to Jacques Dufwa, *Winds from the East: A Study in the Art of Manet, Degas, Monet and Whistler 1856-1886* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1981), 163, "Here the reference to Japan is more in content than in form."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

abundance of colors that are not truly harmonized[80] show that he had not as yet fully absorbed the lessons he would eventually take from exposure to Japanese sources. His early-stage quoting is still obvious, of course, from the inclusion of numerous Japanese objects such as the *kimono*, the *byobu*, the *ukiyo-e*, the lacquer chair, the porcelain, and the lacquer table. Thus, this picture is indicative of a relatively early phase of *japonisme* in a particularly sensitive artist for whom it would soon become profound and, therefore, much less detectable. By the late 1880s, Whistler had already had an impact on many of the American artists who have come to be associated with *japonisme*, as well as on many who have not (see Chapter 2).

American Artists Go To Japan

In the 1880s, several American artists traveled to Japan (see Appendix 3 and Chapter 4). These early artist-visitors saw it as their "mission" to record what was perceived to be a dying civilization, much as the Realist artists of France were doing in Barbizon and in the coastal towns of Brittany and Normandy. The Japanese- rush toward Westernization was well known in Europe and America.[81] To record what was left of pre-Westernized Japan, American artists generally employed the Western techniques in which they had been trained (Ill. 3). While in Japan they made sketches, photographs and oil paintings. Once back home, the sketches and photos would be placed in image banks, from which the artists could draw for subsequent paintings and illustrations. John LaFarge's paintings of Kannon (Ill. 169) and designs for the *Adams*

---

[80] Whistler has, for instance, juxtaposed non-analogous, non-complementary colors such as the bright blue of the prints against the dull ochre of the carpet. By placing the bright orangey-red of his model's garment sash and trim against white and black backgrounds he achieved a brilliant effect rather than the softer effect of placing the red-red against the ochre of the carpet, which would have given a softer, more harmonized effect.

[81] Sturgis and Jarves, for instance, had written of the loss of true artistry in Japan that would inevitably occur in response to adjusting production methods to meet increased Western market demands.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Memorial (Ill. 173), for instance, were done after his return to the U.S. using such sources (see Chapter 4).

Summary

The second phase of interest in Japanese art in America was closely related to the craze for Japanese decorative objects and motifs. Artists engaged with this type of *japonisme* incorporated Japanese objects and motifs in their paintings but had not yet absorbed the technical, compositional and aesthetic lessons from Japanese art, which, in Europe, were beginning to become invisible due to assimilation. There was generally a lag-time between artistic developments in Europe and in America and that was certainly true in the case of *japonisme*. The second phase of *japonisme* in America can be identified with *japonaiserie* rather that true *japonisme* (see Introduction).[82]

American *japonisme* can only be understood in the context of U.S.-Japanese relations, of European *japonisme*, and the artistic and cultural climate of the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. The exposure of American artists to the avant-garde art of Europe was a key factor in their subsequent practice of *japonisme* (see Chapters 3 and 4). World's fairs in Europe and America (see Chapter 5) fueled the Japan craze in the U.S., which created an environment conducive to such practice.

[82] Although LaFarge visited Japan in 1886, the results of his more developed form of *japonisme* resulting from that visit were not available in American until the 1890s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 2

SPREADING THE WORD: THE EUROPEAN ART EXPERIENCE

This chapter is devoted to the European experience as foundational to the influence of *japonisme* on the American Impressionists and painters of their circle. The transmission of *japonisme* to these artists often occurred outside of Paris – especially in the French art colonies (of Normandy and Brittany), in London, and in Venice. The two European-based *japonistes* who had the strongest impact on these Americans were Claude Monet and James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Receptivity to the lessons taken from Japanese art by these *japonistes* and their American followers was often preconditioned by existing forms within the Western tradition, and, for the Americans, by their native landscape tradition, especially as practiced by the Hudson River School.[83] As the result of interactions among an international coterie of artists, the intermingling of past, present and foreign concepts and practices was evident in the art produced at the summer colonies and subsequently by the artists who had worked in the colonies.

American *japonisme* was not an isolated phenomenon. Japanese art and *japonisme* were ubiquitous in France from the 1870s through the 1890s and they coincided with while supporting past and current practices. Often, influences were interwoven to the point of being indistinguishable. The *japonisme* already assimilated into current art practice often became invisible. As a result, the influence of *japonisme* could be felt without any awareness on the part of the artists impacted or their audiences.

---

[83] Although the American landscape artists of the period who trained in Europe did so as a conscious rejection of the Hudson River School formula, that approach to landscape painting had become so much a part of the American collective unconscious that whether these artists were aware of it or not, the American landscape tradition helped to condition their acceptance of certain aspect of contemporary French landscape practices, and through those of *japonisme*. William H. Gerdts has written about the possibly-unconscious predilection for the Hudson River School's panoramic view on the part of North American artists painting at Giverny. William H. Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny: An Impressionist Colony* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), 99.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first deals with a number of the French art colonies outside of Paris. It relates to the complex, often indirect, process by which the lessons of Japanese art and *japonisme* were absorbed and transmitted. It lays the groundwork for what follows by demonstrating that receptivity to one type of art could help to condition the acceptance of another. The second section discusses the American art colony at Giverny and the role of Claude Monet in making Japanese art and the practice of *japonisme* available to American artists there. Several of those artists are considered individually – Theodore Robinson, Lilla Cabot Perry and Frederick Frieseke. In the third section, the role of James Abbott McNeill Whistler in transmitting *japonisme* to American artists is considered. His contact with and impact on those artists both in London and in Venice is considered. In addition to considering the influence he had on J. Alden Weir in London, on Thomas Dewing in London and Paris and on Robert Blum and Theodore Wores in Venice, there is a discussion of John Twachtman in Italy. Twachtman is included because he would have been introduced to Whistler's ideas at second-hand through fellow artists who had spent time with Whistler in Venice, and to demonstrate that there already existed a like-mindedness between Twachtman and Whistler prior to any influence the latter may have had on the former. A chronological development is followed in the organization of the three sections of this chapter.

The French Art Colonies

Many of the American artists who went to study in France spent time at various art colonies outside of Paris, usually during their summer breaks but sometimes for more prolonged periods. These colonies were located in the French countryside at such places as Barbizon, Pont-Aven, Concarneau, Grez-sur-Loing and Giverny. Generally

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

originally and often primarily French art colonies,[84] they came to take on an international character as students from around the world gravitated to them. The colonies represented an opportunity to work with and to exchange ideas with other artists of various artistic persuasions and cultural backgrounds. Interacting with artists from many backgrounds helped to pave the way for acceptance of foreign ideas in general. In that environment, American artists also often found that their own cultural traditions converged with both older and newer European traditions, leading to an acceptance of many of the visual and thematic aspects of Japanese art that either influenced or coincided with the art being produced in the colonies. Lines of influence from Japanese to American art were often complex and indirect. The French art colonies were one avenue, among many, that led American artists of the period toward an acceptance of Japanese art and *japonisme*. One appeal of the colonies' locales was their picturesqueness, which was employed as a nostalgic theme by those wanting to record a rapidly disappearing way of life associated with the pre-industrial past. Coincidentally, this was the same appeal that Japan held for many of the American artists who visited there.

Barbizon

The scenic French village of Barbizon, thirty-four miles southeast of Paris in the Forest of Fontainebleu, gave its name to a school of realist *plein air* landscape and rural genre painters in the mid-nineteenth century. Jean-Françoise Millet, Charles-François Daubigny (1817-1878), Théodore Rousseau (1812-1867), Jean-Baptiste Corot, Jules Dupré (1811-1889) and Constant Troyon (1810-1865) were among the Barbizon School artists inspired by seventeenth-century Dutch landscape artists' and John Constable's

[84] Grez was the exception; it was a foreign art colony from the beginning.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1776-1837) dedication to observation and accurate depiction of nature.[85] They worked outside the Academy, eschewing formulaic landscape conventions. Their works can be seen as forerunners of Impressionism because they worked out-of-doors and because of their interest in recording natural effects.[86] They can also be viewed as forerunners of Tonalism based on their poetic evocations of the personal moods of nature.[87]

Several American students in France were strongly influenced by artists of the Barbizon School and followed them to the country. William Morris Hunt (1824-1879), in France to study with Thomas Couture, was drawn to Barbizon in 1853 by his admiration for the work of Millet.[88] When he returned to New England in 1856, he carried home an important collection of Barbizon paintings, especially strong in Millets. Barbizon characteristics would have helped to condition Hunt's acceptance of Japanese art's simplification through suppression of detail, flattening through silhouetting and reduction of *chiaroscuro*, suggestiveness, poeticism, and nocturnal and agrarian genre themes. *Winged Fortune* (1878, oil study, Cleveland Museum)[89] is only one example of this type of Japanese-cum-Barbizon-influenced work by Hunt. His *Peasant Girl* (1854, Musée d'Orsay) also incorporates those aspects mentioned above that related the Barbizon School to Japanese art.

---

[85] This is only a short list of the artists who frequented Barbizon from the 1820s on. More academically inclined artists such as Gérôme, Boulanger, and Barye (an early teacher of Hunt) also visited the locale repeatedly. Monet and Bazille also visited in 1863.

[86] Gerdts, *American Impressionism*, 13.

[87] Wanda Corn, *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism 1900-1910* (San Francisco: M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, 1972). Corn identifies two primary sources for American Tonalism's poetic evocations of the personal moods of nature – George Inness and James Abbott McNeill Whistler. George Inness was strongly influenced by the art of the Barbizon School, especially that of Theodore Rousseau, which he encountered in France in 1851 and 1853-4 (see below in this chapter). The influence of Whistler toward a Tonalist approach as it related to Japanese precedents is perhaps most evident in the paintings of Thomas Dewing (see Chapter 3).

[88] Millet and Hunt had Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) in common. Millet had become disillusioned with his formal academic training under Delaroche, just as Hunt had under Couture, who had himself studied with Delaroche. It should be noted that heavy *impasto*, a hallmark of Couture's approach as well as Millet's, was to become an important aspect of Impressionism.

[89] This was an oil-on-canvas study for Hunt's ceiling mural for the Assembly Chamber at New York's state capitol in Albany, now concealed due to damage.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hunt, almost as significant a teacher as he was a painter, actively promoted the Barbizon School and its precepts among his pupils and collectors in the Boston area. A number of artists subsequently became "infected" with the Barbizon aesthetic due to Hunt's influence. Although they may not have been conscious of the fact, Barbizon-influenced American artists would also have been exposed to the style's characteristics that related to those found in Japanese art. Artists from other areas who employed elements of the style in their work, such as George Inness (1825-1894), were drawn to the Boston area as an environment sympathetic to his Barbizon-influenced subjects and style.

By the 1880s, Barbizon paintings were quite popular among American collectors. If Boston's early association with French art was due in large part to Hunt's infectious enthusiasm, so was the early embrace of Japanese prints by artists in the Boston area. Hunt was a collector of Japanese prints and also preached their value to his pupils and artist friends. His interest in and use of Japanese art are evidenced in part by his painted sketch of *The Flight of Night* (ca. 1863, Museum of Fine Arts Boston) on a Japanese tea tray.[90] The use of the Japanese (left-to-right) format[91] by Hunt's pupil Helen Knowlton (1832-1918), when she compiled his *Talks on Art* into an eight-volume set of books,[92] reflects the Japanese influence he brought to his students. This early Japanese allusion was recognized in a review at the time of the initial publication of the set in 1875.[93] At the time of its second publication in 1878, the artist John Ferguson

---

[90] This is a format previously used by his "pupil" and colleague LaFarge, indicating an interaction between these two artists vis-à-vis Japanese art.

[91] Japanese books are organized to be read from left to right, with the binding of the closed book on the right. Each page is generally organized in vertical columns which are read from right to left. This represents the exact opposite organization from that used in the Western.

[92] According to a review of *Talks on Art* by Professor John F. Weir, in the *New Englander and Yale Review* 37/143 (March 1878): 160, the 1877 H. O. Houghton edition was in 8 volumes and consisted of 75 pages.

[93] "Culture and Progress -- Talks on Art," *Scribner's* 10/6 (October 1875): 786-90. "Mr. Hunt's book is a curiosity as much for its getting up as for its contents. The pages are printed sidewise ... with a broad margin at the left side ... for annotations ... and to add to the bewilderment ...

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Weir (1842-1926) pointed out its "eccentric book-form,"[94] and in an 1894 article Knowlton acknowledged the Japanese form the book took.[95]

When Winslow Homer (1836-1910), with strong ties to Boston, visited France in 1866-7 to attend the Exposition Universelle, he spent several months in Cerné-la-Ville, a haunt of Barbizon artists. Homer was probably well aware of Millet's art exhibited at the Exposition due to Hunt's advocacy of Millet in Boston.[96] Homer's works done in France, such as the *Haymakers* of 1867 (fig. 5), show a strong influence from Millet (fig. 6).[97] As with Hunt, Homer's simplified, monumental figures related to the ways in which Barbizon art coincided with that of Japanese. If, as has been established, Barbizon art were like Japanese art in a number of ways, then acceptance of Barbizon art would tend to condition subsequent acceptance of Japanese art and *japonisme* by American artists. Similarly, acceptance of the Barbizon style by an American audience would help condition that audience's acceptance of related Japanese-influenced aspects of the art of American painters. Most writers on Homer find a strong element of *japonisme* in his work.[98]

---

quotations from the Brownings and Blake, beginning on the margin at the end of the book, run forward toward the beginning. It is eminently an artistic-looking *brochure* ... The plan, of course is Japanese ..."

[94] Professor John F. Weir, "Talks on Art," *New Englander and Yale Review* 37/143 (March 1878): 160-168.

[95] Helen M. Knowlton, "William Morris Hunt," *The New England Magazine* 16/6 (August 1894): 685-705.

[96] See Bruce Weber, "In Nature's Ways: American Landscape Painting of the Late Nineteenth Century," in *In Nature's Ways: American Landscape Painting of the Late Nineteenth Century* by Bruce Weber and William H. Gerdts (West Palm Beach, FL: Norton Gallery of Art, 1987), 8, for Hunt's role in popularizing Barbizon painting in America.

[97] Gerdts, *Lasting Impressions,* 26.

[98] For instance, Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. and Franklin Kelly, *Winslow Homer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, *Winslow Homer – An American Artist: His World and His Work* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter Inc., 1961); and Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1959).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dwight Tryon (1849-1925) was another of the American artists influenced by the Barbizon School whose evocative work contains elements overlapping *japonisme*.[99] Two ways in which Barbizon and *japonisme* intersect Tryon's landscapes are in their high horizon lines and flattened effects. Linda Merrill has pointed out the formative impact Hudson River School may have had on Tryon prior to his time in Europe.[100] In 1877, he sought out Daubigny, one of the last surviving first-generation artists of the School, in the vicinity of Barbizon.[101] Other American artists who went to that area included William Babcock (1826-1899) and Charles Harold Davies, both of whom were tonal landscape painters. J. Alden Weir and Edgar Ward (1839-1915) stopped off briefly to sketch on their way to Pont-Aven during their summer hiatus from studying in the Gérôme *atelier*.[102]

George Inness, who saw the work of Theodore Rousseau at the Paris Salon in 1851, returned to France to work (1853-54). He never denied his subsequent debt to Rousseau and others of the Barbizon School. At first his style, like Hunt's, was criticized by the art critics in New York for seeming too coarse, but by the 1880s he was appreciated for the Barbizon elements in his art. Although in its poeticism and suggestiveness Inness' work would seem to relate as much to Japanese art as it did to that of the Barbizon School, there is currently no direct evidence that he was a practitioner of *japonisme*.[103] His work came to be admired for both those qualities --

---

[99] Tryon was among the artists chosen by the connoisseur-collector Charles Lang Freer to decorate his home in a manner appropriate for the display of his collection of Whistler paintings and Asian art (see Chapter 3 under "Dewing" and Chapter 5 under "Collectors").

[100] Linda Merrill, *An Ideal Country, Paintings by Dwight William Tryon in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 29.

[101] Ibid., 33.

[102] Michael Jacobs, *The Good and Simple Life, Artist Colonies in Europe and America* (Oxford, UK: Phaidon Press, 1985), 55.

[103] Inness' poeticism and suggestiveness is evident in his mood-evoking, soft, dream-like forms and lack of clear definition and detail. These are features also present in a number of Japanese and Barbizon works. Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *George Inness* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., for the Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 105, writing on *September Afternoon* (1887, National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution), calls its composition "very Japanese in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

poeticism and suggestiveness -- and so would have served, along with Barbizon painting, to help condition receptivity to *japonisme* on the part of American artists and their public.

There are several reasons why French Barbizon painting was received so positively by American artists and collectors. Millet's rustic, hard-working and therefore ennobled peasants would have resonated in an America imbued with a puritanical work ethic and still privileging the didactic function of art.[104] In addition, Fontainebleau's wild aspect was reminiscent of the American wilderness that was so much a part of America's self-identity in landscape painting.[105] Barbizon artists' romantic approach to landscape painting had definite affinities to the American Hudson River School. Second phase and later Hudson River School artists such as Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) experimented with *plein air* painting, sometimes painting completed works out-of-doors rather than in the studio.[106] Both schools depicted an idealized rural alternative to the industrialization and the urban development that was occurring at the expense of the

---

characters," and says that although Inness never acknowledged the influence of Japanese art in his work, he must have known of it because "it was in the late nineteenth century a resource available to any Western artist who wished to use it."

[104] Prof. H. N Day, "Ruskin's New Lectures on Art," *New Englander & Yale Review* 29/113 (October 1870): 675. "All teaching art must ... be beautiful; all fine art must, also, instruct and also profit as well as please; and all useful art must be in truth and in beauty to reach the highest utility." Even after Whistler's art and art ideas began to be known and accepted among artists, Ruskin's ideal of the didactic value of art continued to hold sway in the general population. Dr. Charles Waldstein, "The Work of John Ruskin: Its Influence Upon Modern Thought and Life," *Harper's* 78/465 (February 1889): 382-419, referred to art as the secular side of moral life in England. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, "English Faith in Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 61/366 (April 1888): 449-61, spoke of the value of pre-Raphaelite art having to do with its content rather than its execution. On page 750, Pennell wrote, "But Englishmen of our times, who are looked up to as artistic authorities ... say, [it is] in its holy beauty, its earnestness and hopefulness, that the greatness of art consists." Although these latter two articles from the late 1880s speak of art in England, they appeared in American journals and were aimed at an American audience. Theodore Child, "Jean Françoise Millet: The Millet Exhibition in Paris," *Atlantic Monthly* 60/360 (October 1887): 506-15, called Millet's *The Angelus* his "reputed masterpiece" and said that it was valued more for its religious sentiment than its execution.

[105] T. H. Bartlett, "Barbizon and Jean-François Millet, Part I" *Scribner's* 7/5 (May 1890): 535: "Fenimore Cooper, when visiting it in 1828, declared that it exceeded in savage variety anything he had ever seen in America."

[106] This practice was recorded in a portrait that Daniel Huntington painted of Durand in 1857 (Century Club, New York City).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

agrarian lifestyle. Both schools drew inspiration from the Claudian and the seventeenth-century Dutch landscape traditions and looked to John Constable as a model for the direct observation of nature as a basis for landscape painting.[107] Having studied it closely, both tended to take an intimate view of nature. Seeking to promote the idea that nature represented a purer state of existence, both schools tended to depict it as untrammeled.[108] The positive reception of Barbizon painting is significant in terms of *japonisme* because it helped pave the way for the adoption by American artists of elements that the Barbizon School and Japanese art shared. Similarly, it led to the acceptance by critics and collectors of paintings incorporating those shared elements.

Early In his career, Inness painted works such as *The Delaware Water Gap* (1859, Montclair Art Museum, NJ) that still utilized some of aesthetics of the Hudson River School, although he was moving toward a broader, freer treatment.[109] After his return from France, he developed a Tonalist approach to landscape painting that went beyond the Hudson River School formula. It drew on Barbizon's poeticism, emphasis on specific times of day and year, and employment of a close tonal value range to express

---

[107] Millet and the other Barbizon painters, like many Hudson River School artists, are considered Realists due to their close observation of nature.

[108] As this is a dissertation on American art, the Barbizon painters have been generalized rather than specifically identified with the various aspects of their art noted here. Further, just as European developments met with preconditioned acceptance in America, so did those developments themselves depend on preconditioning factors of past European traditions for their evolution.

[109] The Hudson River School refers to a group of landscape artists active both in the Hudson River region and beyond, including Church's paintings of the Andes, Mexico, and Nova Scotia, and Bierstadt's of Yellow Stone and Yosemite. Even in its early phase, artists such as Thomas Doughty (1793-1856), Cole and Durand painted not only the Hudson River Valley, but also the Catskills and the Adirondacks. According to Lois Minks, *The Hudson River School: The Landscape Art of Bierstadt, Cole, Church, Durand, Heade and twenty other artists* (New York: Random House, 1989), what their landscape paintings shared that qualifies them as Hudson River School artists was that "they all painted nature in different seasons and weather conditions."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sentiments about the experience of being in nature.[110] In Inness' case, this was to take on a Swedenborgian cast with religious overtones.[111]

Once pioneering American artists such as Hunt, Tryon, Babcock and Davies had established the validity for American art students of following French artists to their country haunts, other Americans soon followed suit. In 1875, the year after Millet died, Barbizon was teeming with foreign artists. Will Low (1853-1932) had arrived in 1873, as had Wyatt Eaton (1849-1896, Canadian), Henry Bacon (1840-1912) and Daniel Ridgeway Knight (1839-1924). Low introduced Robert Alan Mowbray Stevenson (1850-1894) to Millet in 1874, and the following year Stevenson returned and was joined by his literary cousin Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94) and the young American artist Theodore Robinson.[112]

Pont-Aven

Pont-Aven in Brittany, a favorite locale for the French *japoniste* Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) from 1886, drew American *plein air* artists such as Robert Wylie (1839-1897) from Pennsylvania in 1866; he remained until his death in 1877.[113] William Lamb

---

[110] Among the developments that grew out of Barbizon experiments were both Impressionism and Tonalism. The former continued technical inroads into capturing the effects of light in nature and broad treatment, while the latter looked to the school's emotionally-evocative effects.

[111] Smith College Art Museum site:
http://216.239.37.100/search?q=cache:Kt9295hMwZ4C:www.smith.edu/artmuseum/exhibitions/spectrum/edinnessfull.htm+Inness+Swedenborgian&hl=en&ie=UTF-8
"Attracted by Swedenborg's emphasis on 'living religion in everyday life' and the 'spiritual significance of the visible world,' Inness also responded to his theories of correspondences between the material and the immaterial." Inness' use of color was also affected by Emanuel Swedenborg's (1688-1772) spiritual philosophy. The above quotes are taken from: Sally M. Promey, "The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church, *The American Art Journal* 26/12 (1994): 55. Inness' involvement with Swedenborgianism was acknowledged by George William Shelden, in "Characteristics of George Inness," *Century* 49/4 (February 1895): 530-33, who quoted Inness on his attitudes regarding religion.

[112] William H. Gerdts, "The American Artists in Grez" in *The Painters in Grez-sur-Loing* (Tokyo: Yokunimi Simbun/The Japan Association of Art Museums, 2000).

[113] American artists first discovered and colonized Pont-Aven in the 1860s. Gauguin did not arrive until 1886. The School of Pont-Aven, named for Gauguin and his followers such as Emile Bernard and Maurice Denis, was not the compelling draw for foreigners that the Barbizon School had been earlier. In fact, associated with Synthesism and Symbolism, it turned its back on the naturalism that had drawn the often anti-modernist Americans to the region in the first place.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Picknell (1853-1897), H. Bolton Jones (1848-1927)[114] and Francis Jones (1857-1932) followed him there in 1876.[115] While studying with Gérôme and at the Academy, the expatriate American Frederick Bridgman (1847-1928) also made his way to Pont-Aven during the summers.[116] There he had the opportunity to become acquainted not only with Wylie but also Edgar Ward (1839-1915), J. Alden Weir, Moses Wight (1827-1895), Howard Roberts (1834-1900), Martin Lewis (1881-1962), Thomas Hovenden (1840-1895), Archibald Hartrick (1864-1950), and Benjamin Champney (1817-1907) among the English-speaking contingent of artists, most of whom gathered at Madame Feutry's Hôtel des Voyageurs.[117]

In an article on Stanhope A. Forbes (1857-1947), one of the Pont-Aven artists, Philip Gilbert Hamerton (1834-1894) explained how the artists' colonies were formed: "First one artist goes there in an exploring mood, and makes sketches or a picture which he exhibits. This attracts others to the place, and a little artistic colony soon forms itself which may survive even the death of its original members, as they are succeeded by younger men."[118]

Arthur Wesley Dow stayed at the Pension Gloanec in Pont-Aven at the same time as Gauguin, in the mid-1880s. Both Gauguin and Dow would become associated with *japonisme*, the former in France and the latter in America. Among other foreign

---

Gauguin's approach was forward-looking, in contrast to the nostalgic recording of the past of the pre-existing foreign art colony at Pont-Aven. Americans such as Childe Hassam, who visited Pont-Aven in the 1890s, were of a different mind, exploring Post-Impressionist modes of expression. By the mid-80s, there were already over a hundred artists working in and around Pont-Aven.

[114] W. Lewis Fraser, "American Artists Series, H. Bolton Jones," *Century* 47/5 (March 1894): 799. "In 1876 he went to France. He did not go through any regular academical [sic] course there, but painted from nature in Pont-Aven and other parts of Brittany ..."

[115] Gerdts, *Grez*, 130.

[116] Bridgman began summering in Pont-Aven in1866 and was there during part of the Franco-Prussian War (1872-3).

[117] Edward Strahan, "Frederick A. Bridgman," *Harper's* 63/377 (October 1881): 694-705. Note that Edward Strahan was a pseudonym used by the artist Earl Shinn for many of the articles he wrote on the art and artists of the period.

[118] Philip Gilbert Hamerton, "Types of Contemporary Painting. VI. The Lighthouse by Stanhope A. Forbes, A.R.A.," *Scribner's* 15/6 (June 1894): 690. Hamerton was also an artist.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artists present at Pont-Aven in the 1880s was Australian-born British artist Mortimer Menpes (1855-1939), who was Whistler's studio assistant and a *japoniste*), as well as Lenene Schjerfbeck[119] from Finland and Marianne Priendlsberger (dates unknown) from Austria who studied together at the Académie Colarossi in Paris.[120]

Many of the artists who congregated in the various summer colonies moved from one to another with ease. In 1894, L. Birge Harrison (1854-1929) wrote an article on his experiences at both Pont-Aven and Concarneau (which he called an off-shoot of Pont-Aven).[121] His brother Alexander Harrison (1853-1930), Picknell, Forbes, Henry Ossawa Tanner (1859-1937), and Arthur Hoeber (1854-1915) were among the artists who spent time at both colonies. Again, interacting with artists from many backgrounds helped to pave the way for acceptance of foreign ideas in general. The presence of artists such as Gauguin and Menpes at Pont-Aven would have increased the spread of *japonisme* from Pont-Aven as artists moved on to other colonies or returned to study at the Paris academies, where they shared their new ideas with fellow students.

Concarneau

In Concarneau, according to Harrison's article, in the late winter and early spring, "owing to the proximity of the Gulf Stream," the sky took on the silvery gray cast that appealed so strongly to Harrison and many other Tonalist painters. Then, "the Salon and Academy pictures are painted, and every hour of daylight is greedily employed. Early hours and self-concentration are the rule."[122] The French artists Jules Breton (1827-1906) and Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884), both important influences on the

---

[119] Also known as Helene Schjerfbeck (1862-1946).
[120] Jacobs, 72.
[121] Birge L. Harrison (sic), "Quaint Artist Haunts in Brittany: Pont Aven and Concarneau," *Outing* 24 (April 1894). For a comprehensive treatment of Birge Harrison, see Andrea Husby, "Birge Harrison: Artist, Teacher and Critic," Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York Graduate Center, 2003.
[122] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Americans in Paris and Brittany in the 1870s and 1880s, were among those at the colony when Harrison was there. Harrison also listed his brother Alexander and Edward Simmons among the Americans there at the time. Weir had visited Concarneau with Bastien-Lepage in the late 1870s and a number of other Americans, including Frank Benson, Celia Beaux (1855-1942), Robert Henri (1865-1929), Eugene Laurent Vail (1857-1934),[123] Howard Butler (1856-1934) and Harry Vincent (1864-1931), were in there before the end of the century.[124] As with all of the colonies, artists moved on from Concarneau to share the new ideas and influences they had been exposed to there with their peers in Paris and other art centers and colonies. The evocativeness, quietude, and contemplativeness of the subtle gray Tonalism of Concarneau would thus have helped paved the way for receptivity to those qualities in Japanese art. It was in part because of such shared qualities between those working in France and Japanese artists that the former were led to covet Japanese art.

Grez-sur-Loing

Grez-sur-Loing's appeal for artists was very much the same as that of Barbizon, Pont-Aven and Concarneau. All were picturesque villages of medieval aspect surrounded by scenic landscapes where local inhabitants' lifestyles still related to a pre-industrial age, food and lodging were affordable, and each contained a large colony of artists. Adding greatly to Grez's appeal was the Loing River running through the middle of town (crossed by an attractive stone bridge), which offered not only eye appeal but also recreation. In 1875, the year both Millet and Corot died, the Scottish writer Robert

[123] Vail (who, although born in Brittany, studied at the Art Students League with Chase and Beckwith as well as at the École under Cabanel and Collin) was awarded a gold medal at the Paris Exposition of 1889 for the Tonalist work *Le port de pêche* he had painted at Concarneau in 1884. He exhibited there as an American artist.

[124] Paul Signac was painting in Concarneau in the early 1890s and Fernand Le Gout-Gerard moved there in 1903. Other Americans who painted there in the early part of the twentieth century included E. P. Ullman, Samuel C. Taylor, Wilson Irvine, Martin Hardie and Mabel May Woodward.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louis Stevenson and a group of British artists with whom he associated, including the Irish painter Frank O'Meara (1853-1888), first visited Grez.[125] Located to the south of the Fontainebleau Forest, Grez superseded Barbizon as the favorite designation for artists from North America, the British Isles and Scandinavia in the early 1880s.[126]

There would also be a contingent of Japanese art students in Grez, but they came in the 1890s and later, after many of the Americans associated with Impressionism and *japonisme* had moved on. The Japanese were in France to learn and practice Western-style oil painting and probably would have had little influence in terms of *japonisme* on the American artists they encountered there. Although the first Japanese art student at Grez, Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924), became friendly with William Blair Bruce (1859-1906), it was after the Canadian had already been at Barbizon with Metcalf and at Giverny with Robinson, Theodore Wendel (1859-1932), John Leslie Breck (1860-1899), Louis Ritter (1854-1892), and Metcalf.[127] Any *japonisme* or Japanese-related elements in Bruce's work would likely have derived from those experiences rather than his subsequent interaction with Kuroda. The latter wrote of the Bruces' influence on his work, and Arayashiki Toru speculates that Bruce may have introduced Kuroda to the Impressionism that was beginning to take hold in Grez in the 1890s.

Many of the foreign artists who summered in Grez were in France to study with the highly polished, fashionable portrait artist Carolus-Duran (Charles-Emile-Auguste Durand, 1838-1917).[128] Carolus-Duran is often classified as an academic artist because

---

[125] Arayashiki Toru, "The Artists' Community of Grez-sur-Loing: Its Preceding History, Geographical Features, and Relationship with Japan," *The Painters in Grez-sur-Loing* (Tokyo: Yokuimi Simbun/The Japan Association of Art Museums, 2000), 242.
[126] Gerdts, *Grez*, 267.
[127] Toru, 248.
[128] Among his pupils who painted at Grez were Theodore Robinson, Birge Harrison, Frank O'Meara, Kenyon Cox, Robert Alan Mowbray Stevenson, Will Low, Hiram Bloomer, Arthur Heseltine and Walter Lunt Palmer. Caroll Beckwith studied with Carolus-Duran and taught several Grez artists in America before they went to France. Carolus-Duran's best-known pupil was John Singer Sargent who, however, may not have painted in Grez. In the studio Carolus-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

he studied with David's pupil François Souchon and was Director of the French Academy in Rome from 1905. Nevertheless, he was a Realist who was strongly influenced by Courbet and Manet and was very friendly with both of them, as well as with such other prominent *japonistes* as Henri Fantin-Latour (1836-1904), Zacharie Astruc (1833-1907), and Claude Monet.[129]

An 1886 *Century Magazine* article, with Carolus-Duran's name at the end but possibly recounted by a former student, was critical of the Ingres-based tradition (itself based on Raphael) and dismissive of Gérôme. He advised artists to develop their own unique expressions through imagination rather than imitation. While suggesting that artists take lessons from a variety of masters, he advised that they proceed in the same ways those masters had rather than simply imitating them. He wrote that the great masters "neither could nor ought to reproduce anything but the spirit of nature either in form or color." They "have interpreted nature, and not given a literal translation." When doing portraits or figures, artists should inhabit their subjects as much as possible, abnegating themselves, to capture their subjects' characters and not just their appearances. When composing figural works, artists should, having "live[d] in thought with [their] subjects," use numerous effects and their imaginations of various circumstances to complete a vision before proceeding to canvas.[130] Although Japanese art was not alluded to, the approach to art making was closely akin to that of Asian artists.[131] Carolus-Duran's ideas would have helped pave the way for *japonisme* in

---

Duran stressed painting directly on the canvas with little preparation rather than adopting the École's emphasis on drawing as the foundation of good art.

[129] www.artnet.com Fantin-Latour or Zacharie Astruc introduced him to Courbet because he had been impressed by *After Dinner at Ornans*, which had been exhibited in his native Lille. Carolus-Duran's *Après la Nage* seems to pay homage to Manet's *Dejeuner sur l'herbe*, including a fashionably dressed young woman in an outdoor setting with classical nudes (perhaps referring to Rembrandt's *Susanna at Her Bath* and Boucher's *Diana Bathing*).

[130] Carolus-Duran, "A French Painter and His Pupils," *Century* 31/3 (January 1886): 372-376.

[131] For instance, Chinese landscape paintings, called as "mindscapes," are generally composites of a number of experiences in the country and are intended to evoke memories of the viewers'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American art in much the same way that Barbizon painting did, by making those American artists familiar with European ways of thinking and working receptive to similar approaches in Japanese art.

Although this advice may seem to have been at odds with their country's mainstream traditions, American artists familiar with the work of Winslow Homer and William Morris Hunt would have been open to this line of thinking about portrait and figure painting. Having been influenced by Carolus-Duran, they would in turn have been more receptive to the Asian way of thinking about art – capturing essential truths rather than specific realities in depicting man and nature. Carolus-Duran's use of a simple, undefined dark background, probably influenced by Velásquez, would agree in the complementary negative with the often plain, light-colored paper backgrounds of *ukiyo-e* courtesans.

Jules Bastien-Lepage, the French painter of peasant themes, exerted a very strong influence on the tranquil, gray-toned figurative landscapes the foreign artists painted at Grez in the 1880s.[132] The rural naturalism of Bastien-Lepage featured a high horizon line, a grayed palette, careful draftsmanship, close observation and delineation of foreground vegetation, and the attitude that nature and the people closest to it were worthy of depiction as they were and needed no enhancement for effect. Like Millet, Bastien-Lepage had rural roots, had studied in Paris (at the École and with Cabanal), and was of the Realist persuasion, choosing to paint peasant themes rather than pure landscapes,[133] and working in the out-of-doors.[134] There was a noticeable difference

---

own such experiences. Accordingly, they are painted from memory and employ the artist's imagination.

[132] Bastien-Lepage died prematurely in 1884 at the age of 36. Although he was at Concarneau and may not have visited Grez, his influence was the most strongly felt among those foreign artists who worked at Grez.

[133] The term "pure landscape" refers to a landscape painting that is unpeopled. It usually implies an untrammeled landscape scene in which no evidence of human presence, such as a clearing or a building, is found.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

between the works of Millet and those of Bastien-Lepage in that the latter artist's figure usually engaged with the artist or viewer, as in a work such as *Going to School* of 1882 (fig. 7). Millet's toilers seemed unaware of anyone or anything but their tasks and their fellow workers. The paintings of Millet and Bastien-Lepage were unlike Impressionist images of figures out-of-doors in the weightiness of both their solemn treatment and their depiction of the working rather than leisure class.

Some aspects of Hudson River School paintings by artists such as Frederic Church may have conditioned the American artists at Grez to be receptive to Bastien-Lepage's influence (see footnote 83), especially in terms of the features the two artists' work shared, such as a high horizon line and the close observation and depiction of foreground vegetation.[135] Likewise, receptivity to Bastien-Lepage's work, along with exposure to what was current in Paris, may have influenced the American artists' openness to *japonisme* in terms of its high horizon line, agricultural genre themes, and simplification and flattening of forms into masses. Although *plein air* painting was an important characteristic of the French colonies of the 1870s through 1890s, many pictures were begun out-of-doors and finished in the studios. This apparently was also the method of Corot, Millet and Bastien-Lepage, whose *Going to School* of 1882 depicts

---

[134] The Realist painters of France, including Millet and Bastien-Lepage along with Courbet and Manet, are often described as representing their own time and place as truthfully as possible. Nevertheless, this description of their art is too simple to encompass their unique perspectives on their own time and place. Each painted his own truth, and those truths were varied. If Millet's and Bastien-Lepage's peasants seem monumental or even heroic in their simplicity, it is because that is how the depicters viewed them. If today, with considerable hindsight, we say that they were nostalgic images that attempted to document a dying way of life, it may in fact merely represent our own history-driven interpretation of what was in the minds of the artists who produced them.

[135] See, for instance, Church's *Niagara Falls from the American Side* (n.d., Private Collection). It should be noted that the overall effect of the two artists' works is quite different, there are shared qualities.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a waif with a makeshift headdress who had appeared in his *Poor Fauvette* of the previous year (fig. 8).[136]

Although foreign artists in the Grez colony frequently employed the methods and ideas of Carolus-Duran and Bastien-Lepage, neither was present there. However, the French tonal Realist artist Jean-Charles Cazin (1841-1901) did work in the vicinity of Grez. Having been awarded the first prize at the Salon in 1880, his reputation was well established.[137] Those associated with Carolus-Duran in Paris might well have been acquainted with Cazin's work because those two French artists were frequently exhibited together. In addition, both would become, along with Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891), Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) and Alexander Harrison, among others, founding members of the alternative Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.[138] According to James M. Hoppin, Bastien-Lepage was a disciple not only of Millet, "but especially of

---

[136] The same observation can be made about Jules Breton's more academically inspired idealized female figures in *The Gleaner* (1854, Musée D'Orsay), *To The Fountain* (1872, Private Collection), *Harvesters* (1867, Private Collection), *At the End of the Day* (1865, unlocated), and, *The Last Gleanings* (1895, Private Collection).and *The Recall of the Gleaners.* In these works it appears that sketches made in one or a few *plein air* sessions were employed over and over again in various compositions beginning in the 1850s and culminating in a work such as *The Song of the Lark* (1884, Art Institute of Chicago).the 1880s.

[137] Although less well-known today, in 1882 Cazin was named a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and promoted to an officer of the society in 1889. At the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris he was awarded a gold medal and in 1900 the grand prize.

[138] Birge Harrison, "The New Departure in Parisian Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 66/398 (December 1890): 753-764. Harrison wrote an explanation or justification of the rift that developed within the Paris art community over the stranglehold that the academic art establishment (led by Bougereau at that time) seemed to exert over the official Salon at the expense of the new Realist School (as personified by Bastien-Lepage). The Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts was established in 1890 as an alternative but officially sanctioned Salon, with Meissonier leading the charge. This development is also discussed in Lois Marie Fink's *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution, 1990), and Annette Blaugrund, et. al., *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1989). It was not a new struggle but rather one that had been building to this climax since Courbet first mounted his own independent exhibit in the provinces just prior to the 1850 Salon. The democratic impulse behind the establishment of the alternative Salon may have been one of the models for the breakaway exhibiting venue established by The Ten American Painters in 1897. Of course, it would not have been the only or even the primary one, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cazin."[139] Cazin's work differed from that of Millet and Bastien-Lepage, however, in that he included but often de-emphasized the peasant population in the rural scenes he painted and, like Constable and the Impressionists, concentrated on depicting nature's transient effects. Cazin's presence in the vicinity of Grez was most strongly felt by the Tonalists Bruce Crane (1857-1937), Arthur Heseltine (Cazin's brother-in-law), Frank O'Meara and William Coffin (1855-1925).

Cazin often treated figures as one element among many in a harmoniously composed scene, without anecdote. They appear standing in doorways or chatting at the side of a village road (fig. 9), as in Dutch landscapes of the seventeenth century. This treatment of figures -- fitting within rather than dominating a scene -- would have accorded with the Japanese treatment of figures, as well as looking back to the use of figures as small compared to the vastness of nature which characterized the work of many Hudson River School and Luminist landscape artists of America.

Cazin's art shared other features with Japanese art. He tended not to model but to treat everything as a flat mass, which was one of the characteristics of Japanese woodblock prints. Another aspect of his art that was in agreement with Japanese art (and Whistler's) was his depiction of night scenes. These coincidences do not necessarily confirm that Cazin was affected by Japanese art. However, to have been working in Paris, as he was during the late 1870s and through the 1880s, it would have been nearly impossible to have been unaware of Japanese art and its effects on other artists. The assumption that Cazin was aware of Japanese art in the 1880s is supported by the fact that in 1883, at M. Petit's gallery on Rue de Sèze, there were successive

[139] James M. Hoppin, "Some Criticisms on French Landscape-Painting," *New Englander & Yale Review* 52/241 (April 1890): 326.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exhibitions of Impressionist, Realist (including Cazin and Bastien-Lepage) and Japanese art.[140]

Cazin started showing his work in America in the mid-1880s. In 1889, William Coffin wrote an article for *Century Magazine* in which he described Cazin's method (as told to him by the artist).[141] Cazin, using a scientific approach, would observe and record a specific effect and then, eschewing artistic conventions, interpret it truthfully but poetically in paint.[142] Coffin's piece paid homage to Cazin's truthfulness, achieved in a simple, harmonious, and delicate but assured way. His atmospheric color harmonies in evening and night scenes were especially highly regarded. He was a naturalist in the Constable mold who related to the Barbizon School in his Realist approach and poetic effect and to the Impressionists in his scientific method.[143] His art can also be associated with that of Manet in terms of the Salon-type paintings Cazin did in which he placed classical or Biblical figures in contemporary settings.[144] For example, without the title and the two small figures at the right edge of *Ulysses After the Shipwreck* (fig. 10), the classical allusion would be lost and viewers might imagine themselves looking at a nineteenth-century seaman shipwrecked on the French coast.

As previously discussed, lines of influence in colonies such as Grez were often complex. For instance, Alexander Harrison can be said to have been influenced by

---

[140] G. Monod, "Contemporary Life and Thought in France," *Littell's Living Age* (Reprinted from *The Contemporary Review*) 158/2042 (August 11, 1883): 370.
[141] William Coffin, "Jean-Charles Cazin," *Century* 55/3 (January 1898): 393-399.
[142] W. Lewis Fraser, "The Century's American Artist Series: Charles H. Davis," *Century* 48/2 (June 1894): 319. "Cazin, Lerolle, Inness and Davis have ... made for us, not transcriptions, but translations, of nature. They have taken the commonplace of nature, distilled it ... and made it precious." An example of Cazin's employment of scientifically-observed natural phenomenon truthfully employed toward poetic ends would be his oil painting *The Rainbow* (1883, Cleveland Museum of Art), which is a mood-evoking image due to Cazin's choice of warm colors and softened contours.
[143] One of the most noted students at Cazin's *atelier* was the Impressionist Henri de Fantin-Latour, a friend of Manet's whom he included among the artists in his *Homage to Delacroix* (1864, Musée d'Orsay).
[144] Contemporaries, Cazin and Manet showed together at the Salon des Refuses of 1863. At this time, Manet exhibited *Dejeuner sur l'Herbe* with its allusions to Giorgioni and Raphael but updated by contemporary dress. From 1879 to 1882, both artists were exhibited at the Salon.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bastien-Lepage both directly and indirectly. While Bastien-Lepage had a profound effect on his art, Harrison was also under the sway of the English artist William Stott while at Grez. One of the primary influences on Stott himself during that period was Bastien-Lepage. In the same way, an artist might be influenced simultaneous by Japanese art and by the *japonisme* of another artist.

Several of the Scandinavian artists active at Grez in the 1880s demonstrated *japonisme* in their art works. Carl Larsson's *Little Suzanne* (Grez, 1885) (fig. 11) was composed and painted in a decidedly un-Japanese style but its very vertical format and mother-with-infant theme both relate to *ukiyo-e* types popular in France at that time. His *Contemporary Art* (1888, fig. 12), done the year after his last visit to Grez, shows a Japanese artist (background left) standing muse-like over the shoulder of a *plein air* painter in a Panama hat who is bent over his easel, with birds flying overhead.[145] Bruno Liljefors' *By the Shore, A Spring Day* (Grez, 1889, fig. 13) has a strong Japanese sensibility in its extreme cropping and employment of open space. Liljefors was known to have been strongly inspired by Japanese art early in his career. The simple wooden frame of Karin Larsson's *Cherry Blossoms* (Grez, 1884, fig. 14) was adorned with a single cherry limb (bottom left corner), with an insect hovering above. The theme of the painting and this treatment of the frame relate to Japanese examples of mountings decorated to harmonize or directly relate to the images they surrounded. Karl Nordström, who painted in Grez in 1882 and 1884, was a collector of Japanese woodblock prints during this period.

In conclusion, the point of associating characteristics of French, American, and Japanese art in relation to the French colonies is to demonstrate that lines of American artists' receptivity to *japonisme* may have been varied and indirect. Being familiar with certain art approaches used in America might have preconditioned American artists'

[145] Small birds in flight such as these frequently appeared in Japanese art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

receptivity to related French approaches and, through those, to acceptance of correlative aspects of Japanese art. In addition, even though Japanese artists weren't working at Grez until Kuroda Seiki arrived in 1888, the pervasive influence of *japonisme* was at work in the colony throughout the 1880s.

Japonisme and the American Impressionists at the Artists' Colony in Giverny

American *plein air* artists in France moved from summer colony to summer colony.[146] It is difficult to determine exactly who was where at what time because those who wrote of their experiences, such as Birge Harrison, Kenyon Cox (1856-1919), Will H. Low, William Coffin and Edward Breck tended to do so much later, after their return to the U.S. It was generally the case, however, that after the mid-1870s those associated with Tonalism tended to go to Grez, and that beginning in 1887 those associated with Impressionism gravitated to Giverny, a farming village in Normandy and home to Claude Monet, who was one of the most important nineteenth-century *japonistes* to have an impact on American artists. Under the influence of Monet, the colonists at Giverny would have had more direct contact with and interest in Japanese art than those at Grez.

Monet had moved to Giverny in 1883.[147] The quaint agricultural village and surrounding farmlands close to the scenic Epte River were a significant enough drawing card that beginning in 1887, and for over three decades, a large number of foreign artists flocked to Giverny to work. Local models were readily available and happy for the extra income. M. Baudy maintained a welcoming café with rooms to let, which was later expanded into a hotel with artists' studios. Many of those who stayed for long periods

[146] This was also true of the French artists. Corot, for instance, had painted in Grez as well as other areas in the vicinity of the Fontainebleau Forest and in Normandy.

[147] Monet moved there with his common-law wife Alice Hoschedé and their eight children. Coincidentally, 1883 is the year of Durand-Ruel's "Foreign Exhibition" in Boston, which introduced Monet and other French Impressionists to an audience in the United States.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rented or purchased homes that they enhanced with colorful flower gardens, on a smaller scale than Monet had done.[148]

Both Willard Metcalf and Theodore Robinson made independent visits to Giverny in 1885.[149] Metcalf and several companions, whose identities are uncertain,[150] returned in 1886 – the year of the all-important Durand-Ruel exhibit in New York, a major vehicle for introducing French Impressionism to the American public.[151]

In 1887, a larger core group of seven artists arrived in Giverny, establishing a colony that would thrive up to the First World War. Both Metcalf and Robinson were members of that group. They were joined by Theodore Wendel, John Leslie Breck, Louis Ritter, Henry Fitch Taylor (1853-1925) and the Canadian William Blair Bruce, who figured importantly at the Grez colony. According to a possibly inaccurate account by Edward Breck published in the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1895, the group was unaware of Monet's presence in Giverny.[152] A book by the artist Dawson Dawson-Watson (1864-1939), who arrived in Giverny in 1888, reiterated the idea that the 1887 group had happened on the spot purely by accident with no knowledge of Monet's

---

[148] William H. Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny, An Impressionist Colony* (NY: Abbeville Press, 1993). Like Monet, they often employed their gardens in their paintings and sometimes made them the theme.

[149] Ibid., 21. Sargent was the first American to visit the area in relation to Monet's presence there. He recorded his presence in an 1885 painting titled *Claude Monet Painting at the Edge of a Wood* (Tate Gallery, London). As an expatriate-American painter permanently living in Europe he is not generally considered part of the American colony at Giverny. His visits there (about 1885-91) were with Monet and not in connection with the other American artists who lived and worked there. Regarding Robinson's visit in 1885, Gerdts states, based on the recollections of a descendent of Monet, that Robinson was introduced to Monet by another artist, Ferndinand Deconchy.

[150] Ibid., 26. Gerdts postulates that his companions may have been Robinson and Theodore Wendel. Several paintings of Giverny from 1886 by Wendel would support his presence at that time.

[151] Although Durand-Ruel had previously exhibited the Impressionists in Boston in 1883, the New York show was much larger and more comprehensive and attracted the attention of the national press.

[152] Edward Breck, "Something More of Giverny," *Boston Evening Transcript* (March 9, 1895): p. 13, c. 5. Edward Breck was not an artist but accompanied his brother John Leslie Breck, who was, to Giverny in 1887.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

presence.[153] That, however, is not possible, as Robinson and Metcalf, both members of the group, had previously met Monet there. Monet interacted with some early American colonists but soon became disenchanted and had little contact except with a few from the original group such as Robinson, Metcalf, Wendel, and Breck, and several later arrivals such as Lilla Cabot Perry, Philip Leslie Hale (1865-1931), J. Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917), Frederick Frieseke (1874-1939), and Theodore Butler (1861-1936; Butler became Monet's son-in-law).[154]

Whether Monet interacted with the group or not, this colony at Giverny could be considered a beginning point for American Impressionism. From Giverny the colonists would take a lightened, prismatic palette not only to the other colonies in France but also to America. In the U.S., however, Impressionism would remain little understood from the early phase of its journalistic introduction in the 1870s[155] until the late 1880s. At that time it became more accessible, with a substantial number of paintings by both French and American Impressionists on view, an informed criticism in print, and informative books and articles (see Chapter 5).[156]

---

[153] Dawson Dawson-Watson, "The Real Story of Giverny," in Eliot Clark, *Theodore Robinson, His Life and Art* (Chicago: R. H. Love Galleries, 1979), 65-67.

[154] Theodore Butler and Suzanne Hoschedé were married in Giverny in July of 1892. After her death in 1899, he married her sister Marthe Hoschedé in October of 1900.

[155] Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad" in *Appleton's* 15/371 (April 29, 1876): 573-4. Hooper, a regular correspondent, wrote about an 1876 Impressionist exhibition at the Durand-Ruel galleries. Although she had not actually seen them, she had heard the paintings called "intensely absurd," and said that the subject of one by "Pizarro" [sic] was an indecipherable "conglomeration of splotches." Calling Monet the leader of "these art-rebels," she said he had sent "a picture of a Japanese carrying a tricolor fan, and surrounded by screens that miraculously hover in the air." It seems likely that she was recounting someone's poorly understood interpretation of *La Japonaise* (1876, Boston Museum of Fine Arts), in which Camille Monet was shown in a theatrical *kimono* holding a fan and standing before a backdrop Japanese screen on which other fans might be said to appear to float.

[156] Theodore Child, "A Note on Impressionist Painting" in *Harper's* 74/440 (January 1887): 513-15. This is an example of a much more informed account of French Impressionism, placing its roots in the Barbizon tradition, explaining its goals and relating it to *japonisme*. Of the influence of Japanese art on the Impressionists, Child said it had "helped to broaden our view of reality, and to call attention to aspects of nature which had hitherto escaped the Western artist."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Monet's presence in Giverny, the existence of the colony there, and Monet's coloristic influence on the American colonists were noted in the Boston press as early as 1887 in an article by "Greta," who wrote:

> Quite an American colony has gathered, I am told, at Giverny, seventy miles from Paris on the Seine, the home of Claude Monet, including our Louis Ritter, W. L. Metcalf, Theodore Wendel, John Breck and Theodore Robinson of New York. A few pictures just received from these men show that they have got the blue-green color of Monet's Impressionism and '"got it bad".[157]

The reference to Monet's blue-green color is significant. Although the early works painted by Americans at Giverny were primarily Tonalist, the use of Monet's blue-green palette and more high-pitched key created a very different effect than the predominantly silvery-gray Tonalist paintings of Grez-sur-Loing or the warmer tones of Barbizon. Although Bastien-Lepage brightened his palette in comparison to Millet's, it did not approach the natural effects of full sunlight employed by Impressionist painters. In addition to being much brighter, the new American Impressionist Tonalism was more energized and stressed the transience of natural effects. The Americans, however, steeped in their country's materialist tradition and the academic training their generation had received, first at home and then abroad in Munich and especially Paris, stopped short of Monet's dissolution of forms in light. In a painting such as Louis Ritter's *Barley Field, Giverny* (1887, fig. 15), there are clouds in the sky and they appear to be on the move, along with the blue-green grasses being blown by the wind. The scene is one that could have been captured in a photograph. At the same time, its high horizon and strong vertical elements juxtaposed with horizontal ones suggest an awareness of the pictorial structures of Japanese art or paintings done under its influence.

---

[157] "Greta," "Boston Art and Artists," *Art Amateur* 17 (October 1887): 93. Bruce, the Canadian, and Taylor were omitted from her account. All the artists mentioned had Boston connections except Robinson who was identified as a New Yorker. As with the Barbizon School, paintings of the American Impressionists were first extensively exhibited in Boston where they were frequently noted by critics in reviews, especially of exhibits at the St. Botolph's Club.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There can be little doubt that, with or without his active participation, Monet and the French Impressionists had a profound effect on those American artists who found their ways to Giverny. The change was noticeable in their depictions of the contemporary scene without historical or narrative allusion (didacticism), in their slice-of-life sense of instantaneity through implied movement, in a much brighter and prismatic employment of color, and in an even freer direct application of paint. The first three of these changes were reinforced by the French Impressionists' *japonisme* and will be discussed in that regard elsewhere. The fourth, the bravura approach to painting, had antecedents in Munich with the Duveneck Boys, under the influence of Liebl. Wendel, Ritter and Breck had all studied in Munich and were associated with Duveneck. In addition, Robinson had studied in Paris with Carolus-Duran whose employment of a loose, direct application of paint had also been communicated to a number of the Americans via Bastien-Lepage, Sargent and Beckwith. Under the influence of Impressionism, however, an even greater degree of facture came to dominate brushwork.[158]

In the 1880s and early 1890s, Giverny subject matter remained influenced by the Barbizon School, especially Bastien-Lepage's outdoor life of the peasants. Within a few years, however, the Americans began to include incidental village life such as Cazin painted, and scenes of leisure such as women in gardens as depicted by Monet (fig. 16).

The initial lingering of rural genre themes may have been influenced by the fact that most of the early American colonists were from the Boston area where Millet's preeminence was firmly established.[159] This Barbizon-taste would affect the

---

[158] See, for instance, Lilla Cabot Perry's *Giverny Hillside* (n.d., Private Collection), influenced by exposure to Monet at Giverny.

[159] Laura L. Meixner, *An International Episode: Millet, Monet and Their North American Counterparts* (Memphis: The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 1982), 123. In 1887, the year of the establishment of the American colony of artists at Giverny, a major Millet retrospective was held

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

marketability of paintings by American artists in Boston.[160] American collectors in general overwhelmingly preferred the *caché* of owning paintings by established European artists, and if they bought American works those were generally by artists who had earned their credentials in Europe.[161] In the late 1880s and early 1890s, those European credentials included works that had been successful in competitions such as the yearly Paris Salons and the world's fairs. They may also have included works that employed Barbizon aesthetics and techniques, due in large part to the efforts of William Morris Hunt.

The incidental rural genre scene was also a theme of *ukiyo-e* artists. Among Monet's expanding collection of Japanese prints were a number of Hiroshige and Hokusai landscapes. Often their landscapes included figures at work or traveling through the countryside (fig. 17). Their marine prints, just as numerous, frequently involved fishing and trading vessels at work (figs. 18 a,b,c). Both landscapes and waterscapes by these Japanese artists also featured people at leisure enjoying the out-of-doors, or figures serving merely as staffage -- to lend animation and a sense of scale to the scene (fig. 19). Such *ukiyo-e* artists in Monet's collection as Harunobu and Utamaro frequently depicted women in gardens or on verandas overlooking gardens (fig. 20). Women in interiors, especially at their *toilette*, was a common theme for Utamaro

---

at l'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. This would undoubtedly have been known about and perhaps visited by the major American collectors.

[160] www.mfa.org/exhibitons/iol/preview (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston site): "Bostonians loved the art of the countryside and had a particular fondness for works of the Barbizon School. For example, long before Millet was widely appreciated in France, Bostonians William Morris Hunt, Martin Brimmer (the Museum's first president), and Quincy Adams Shaw had visited the artist's studio and purchased his works. Shaw commissioned a painting from Millet in 1871, and by the end of the decade, he owned more than fifty of the artist's works."

[161] Winslow Homer is the notable exception to this rule. Although Thomas Eakins has come to be considered an American rather than a cosmopolitan artist, he studied at the Gérôme *atelier* and traveled to Spain to study the works of the great masters of that country, especially Velásquez.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Kiyonaga, and Monet owned many such pictures (fig. 21).[162] The seasons and their accompanying vagaries of weather were another common subject of Japanese (and Chinese) art.[163] Snow scenes were not uncommon and were also included in Monet's collection (fig. 22). All of these *ukiyo-e* themes, which were prominently displayed in Monet's home, were employed by French and American Impressionists. The Japanese prints the Americans might have seen at Monet's home or on exhibit in Paris in the period certainly supported, and possibly engendered, such themes in their Impressionistic paintings.

Those few American artists who were invited to Monet's home – such as Robinson, Wendel, Metcalf, Breck, Beckwith, Hale, Butler, Perry and Frieseke – would have seen his extensive collection of Japanese woodblock prints, mentioned above. These he placed in simple black frames, which he hung in the rooms of his house in the nineteenth-century Salon fashion, with many pictures grouped together to cover a wall's surface. Those who supped with him in the yellow dining room would have been surrounded by *ukiyo-e* prints that were treated as important works of art by the foremost Impressionist of the day.[164] They might have dined on his Japanese-inspired blue and

---

[162] Heide Michels, *Monet's House and Impressionist Interior*, trans. Helen Ivor with photographs by Guy Bouchet (New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1997), 122-123. A large number of these hung in Alice's room.

[163] In Asian art, the theme of changing seasons is related to the Buddhist concept of reincarnation. For Western artists this association was not a factor. Buddhist, especially Zen, concepts vis-à-vis art did not really become important for Western artists until the second half of the twentieth century.

[164] Jacques Dufwa, *Winds from the East: A Study in the Art of Manet, Degas, Monet and Whistler, 1856-86* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1981). Based in part on framing information from the restoration of Monet's print collection in 1977, Dufwa informs us that although Monet had a few *ukiyo-e* before he moved to Giverny he was not able to afford to begin collecting in earnest until that time and did not begin to frame his Japanese prints until 1886. That indicates two possible scenarios in regard to the importance of this collection to Monet at a time when Americans from the Giverny colony were visiting him. First, he was actively collecting and framing and therefore engaged with his *ukiyo-e* collection at that juncture; and second, having recently had them framed and hung, he was likely to have drawn attention to them either directly or through visitors noticing when new ones were added to a wall. Although he continued to collect Japanese prints throughout his life and many of those in his collection were not acquired until the turn-of-the-century or later, he continued to be a major influence on the American artists who visited Giverny up to the First World War. Also, it is likely that the Americans who were exposed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

white dishes.[165] Although the walls of his studio sitting room were hung with his oil paintings, Asian and Asian-inspired pottery was peppered throughout. The works included a Kutani porcelain cat, the gift of one of his many Japanese visitors.[166]

The *namban* genre of *ukiyo-e* figured prominently among Monet's collection of prints.[167] These were prints by Japanese artists depicting foreigners in their country and their themes were familiar.[168] Seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings certainly offered a precedent in Western art for the depiction of middle-class merchants dining and socializing (fig. 25). How shocking must Sadahide's pictures of Western merchants socializing in Yokohama (fig. 26) have been, however, to those conditioned by the sumptuous and "finished" Salon portraits of Delaroche or Ingres (fig. 27) or the Dutch works. The contrast between this common theme and its unfamiliar Japanese treatment would have been even greater than that between Breton's treatment of peasant life in *Blessing of the Wheat in the Artois* (1857) and Courbet's in *Burial at Ornans* (1850).[169] In both cases, familiar themes were given unfamiliar treatments. The *namban ukiyo-e* represented modern Westerners as seen through a non-Western culture's eyes and

---

to Monet's interest in Japanese prints would have paid attention to them in the many other contexts in which they were made available for public viewing in Paris and the United States. It is known from his diaries that Theodore Robinson became a minor collector himself.

[165] The dishes are identified as Japanese-inspired rather than Chinese export ware due to the motifs, especially the stylized Tokagawa chrysanthemum bisected by the border. The shapes of the pieces are French rather than Japanese so it is likely that they were of French rather than Japanese production. Also, the rim decoration seems too tight and fussy for the Japanese. For pictures of Monet's dining room with *ukiyo-e* on the walls and china on the table see: Michels, 30, 32-33, 39 (photo by Nadar), and 42-3.

[166] Ibid., 92.

[167] Ibid., 43, 123.

[168] "Namban" is a Chinese-origin word meaning "foreign barbarian" and was initially applied to foreign marauders, against whose invasions the Great Wall of China was built. The term was later applied to Japanese art motifs that depicted foreigners, especially Westerners -- initially Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dutch from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, and all foreigners in the nineteenth century. Prior to the nineteenth century, pictures and decorative objects with such motifs were made for and sold to both foreigners and Japanese. In the nineteenth century, they were made for and almost exclusively purchased by foreigners.

[169] Courbet's funeral scene was shocking to the French public and art establishment when it was shown because of its lack of ennobling or idealizing treatment of the country people depicted. It shared this aspect with the *namban* prints.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

imaged by a non-Western culture's means. Though created for a foreign market, they were artistically related to Japan rather than to the West.

One of the themes popular among the Giverny colonists was pure rather than figurative landscape, seen in Theodore Robinson's *Hillside Near Giverny, France* (c. 1891, fig. 23 a) and Willard Metcalf's *Flowering Fields* (1885-6, Private Collection). American artists of the Hudson River School and Luminist traditions had paved the way for such depictions by Tonalists in the 1880s and Impressionists in the 1890s.[170] Japanese prints of unpeopled landscape, such as Hokusai's popular image of *Red Fuji* or Kunisada Utagawa's *Landscape in Fog* (Fig. 23 b), lent added support for the theme, as did other non-figurative landscapes by Hokusai and Hiroshige among Monet's framed *ukiyo-e* (fig. 24 b).[171] Monet's haystack pictures were a form of pure landscape and many of the colonists painted that same subject. As mentioned above, Cazin was also moving in that direction with his incidental figures used simply to add flavor and animation to village scenes. Metcalf's *A View of the Village* (fig. 24 a, ca. 1888), from Giverny, provides an example of Americans influenced by multiple currents as described at the beginning of this chapter. He was at Grez at the same time as Cazin and knew Monet at Giverny.

Many of the American artists who went to Giverny were in France to study at the Académie Julian (and the Académie Colarossi to a lesser extent). Word of Giverny spread quickly among the Americans and some of their fellow foreign students. At

---

[170] Late in his career, following his introduction to Constable's work and ideas during his trip to Europe (1840-42), Asher B. Durand did a number of intimate scenes of nature devoid of humans. See, for instance, Durand's *Landscape: Creek and Rocks* (1850, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts). While pure landscape painting had a tradition going back at least to the Germans of the sixteenth century, Americans identified it, in a quasi-religious way, with their ideal of their own unique landscape representing a new Eden, untainted by development gone astray. It was, however, generally the pictorial rather than religious aspect of the Hudson Rivers School that carried over to late-nineteenth-century, European-influenced landscape paintings by North American artists.

[171] Michels, 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Giverny, the spirit of modernism[172] and experimentation was reinforced among the colonists. *Japonisme* was definitely a factor in the early development of American Impressionism at Giverny. Acquaintance with Whistler's ideas – through interacting with him in Venice or through visiting his studio in London (see sections on Whistler in London and in Venice below), as many American artists did (see the following section) -- may have paved the way for the acceptance of Japanese principles, either directly or indirectly, by some of the Americans at Giverny.[173] The same holds true for Americans' familiarity with Monet's employment of Japanese principles. Although many of the colonists did not go to Monet's home, garden, or studio and so were not exposed to his art and ideas directly at Giverny, his work was well-known by the late 1880s through exhibitions in Paris and in the United States.

In his description of the Impressionism of both French and American artists, William Gerdts has recognized the dual influences of "the Orient"[174] and photography:

> The subject matter of Impressionism is often casual, everyday life, captured with an immediacy enhanced by transient effects of light and atmosphere. This immediacy was emphasized by means of new compositional devices: plunging perspective, cropping of forms (rather than traditional closed and balanced compositions), asymmetrical juxtapositions of crowded forms and emptiness—all devices taken from the newly appreciated arts of photography and of the Orient. The alliance between Impressionism and these new and exotic art forms further underscored the separation between Impressionism and academic art. [175]

---

[172] "Modernism" is used here to refer to the effort of *avant-garde* artists who, beginning in the 1860s in Paris, were seeking to escape what they viewed as the tyranny of historicism. Artists at Giverny painted scenes of the modern life they chose to live. It was a life of leisure and enjoyment of gardens and camaraderie in the countryside, made accessible by train.

[173] Wendel, Ritter and Breck studied in Munich and could be considered among the "Duveneck Boys." They accompanied Duveneck to Venice where the group of American artists and art students came into close contact with Whistler. Italy was a popular designation for foreign art students, so a number of other American artists who spent time at Giverny, such as Theodore Robinson, also encountered Whistler during his Venice period (1879-80).

[174] The word "Orient" is placed in quotes because then and now it has been used to refer to the Near and Middle East. To reduce confusion, the word "Asia" has been used to denote the Far East throughout this paper.

[175] Gerdts, *American Impressionism*, 29. In identifying "the Orient" as a source he could well have said Japan. Although Korean and especially Chinese examples had influenced Japan, it was Japanese art that was so popular and available in France at this time.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition to the similarities between photography and the art of "the Orient" noted above, photography's lack of central focus,[176] flattening effect through simplified tonal contrasts, and suppression of detail intersected with and helped pave the way for acceptance of Japanese compositional, silhouetting, monochromatic, and color-patch approaches.

At the turn of the century, the correspondences between Japanese art and photography were written about by P. G. Konody and Ari Renan who developed the theory that the Japanese use of memory for painting had resulted in a training of the eye so that it became mechanically attuned, like a camera lens.[177] This explained the Japanese ability to capture a sense of movement in their pictures. Renan suggested that through the use of memory Western painters could train themselves in this essentially mechanical rather than physiological process, as the Japanese had.

Woodblock prints essentially became *passé* in Japan in the 1860s at the same time that photography and mass-produced photoengraved images became available. Photographic postcards served much the same purpose and were less expensive than the *ukiyo-e* landscape pictures of familiar scenic locales that had served as souvenirs. Ironically, this occurred at just the moment when Japanese woodblock prints were providing European artists with an alternative mode for envisioning the world. Again, this need for a new vision in Europe was due, in part, to the advent of photography.[178]

Influences from both photography and Japanese prints can be seen in the spatial construction and strong color and tonal contrasts of paintings by Impressionist artists. The viewpoint and framing of Impressionist studies of nature were individual choices

---

[176] This is an effect that may or may not be employed in photography.
[177] See Elise Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), 55-7; P. G. Konody, *The Art of Walter Crane* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902); and, Ari Renan, *L'Art japonaise* (Paris: George Chamerot, 1884).
[178] This view has been challenged by Jonathan Galassi (see Chapter 1, footnote 64).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

made by each artist. The Impressionist pictorial strategy of denying a central focus and choosing to construct a shallow pictorial field -- so that the viewer's eye wandered over the surface of the painting rather than into it -- derived from or was reinforced by *ukiyo-e* or photography or both.[179] Like photographs, Japanese prints were embraced as an aspect of modern, middle-class life. Both, in keeping with Impressionism, aimed at capturing fleeting events of a specific moment in time, usually in full sunlight.

Given the Impressionists' fascination with modern life it is not surprising that Monet, like Degas and others of the group, was aware of and employed photography both conceptually and actually in his work. In his early series of paintings, such as those at Gare St.-Lazare, Monet was essentially replicating stop-action sequencing by photographers such as Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904) whose purpose was to record change through movement. This could have been the armature upon which Monet's serial experiments in light and color were built if he were aware of Muybridge.[180] The concept of serialization may also have been prompted by his awareness of such well-known series of Japanese prints as Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (1823-30) and Hiroshige's *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido Road* (1831-57).[181] These in turn had grown out of the long tradition of mural paintings on the *fusuma* (sliding doors) that served as walls in temples, castles and private homes.[182] The triptych form of *ukiyo-e* may also have contributed to the serial concept in terms of its temporal quality – the

---

[179] Although landscape prints by Hiroshige and Hokusai often included depth, based on their knowledge of Western art, prints by most other artists featured little to no sense of depth.

[180] Even if Monet was not aware of Muybridges work -- the latter invented the zoöpraxiscope (1879) in response to Étienne-Jules Marey's book *Animal Mechanism* (1874) suggesting the use of a zoetrope for synthesizing images of animals in motion -- Monet may have been aware of his countryman's work, although this is not proven.

[181] The period of time seems long because during this time frame the series went through a number of editions. The first was the Hoeido Edition of (1831-4) and the last the Reisho (ca. 1857) actually included 56 pictures. In 1855, a *yoko-e* (vertical) edition was published. All other editions were *tate-e* (horizontal).

[182] A landscape in the four seasons frequently covered the four movable walls (*fusuma*) in Japanese temple, castle and wealthy home interiors. Both continuity and change were inherent in such depictions and the people in the interiors were literally situated within the landscape.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

viewer is invited to slowly pass through the scene, as if strolling from one frame to the next in the same way in which a handscroll is read or a traveller visits each of the stations along the Tokaido Road. Monet's collection of prints included a number of such triptychs (fig. 28). He would also have been aware of this format through friends' collections and exhibits of Japanese art at Parisian galleries, museums and fairs.

Temporal change pictorially recorded in series, then, pre-existed Monet's employment of it in at least two art forms known to him – *ukiyo-e* prints and photography. It had also been employed in the Western tradition in such decorative schemes as Greek temple *metopes* that told of myths and epic battles, in Greek and Etruscan pottery decoration, in Medieval and Renaissance Christian cathedral *tympani* and interior mosaics and *predella* panels depicting the lives of saints, in triptych altars, and in the Bayeaux Tapestry (ca. 1077), an embroidery frieze depicting the Battle of Hastings of 1066.

Monet would have been aware of, and could have been influenced directly or indirectly by, existing serialization in the Western tradition. Therefore, he would have been preconditioned to accept the treatment of change over time as a useful concept when he encountered it in Japanese art and photography. Likewise, American artists may or may not have been aware of these possible precedents to Monet's series. Whether they were or not, however, is not the point. It was Monet's use of thematic repetition that had an impact on them. Their work may also have been influenced by those other forms at second-hand through Monet's work. Additionally, it would seem logical that familiarity with such earlier and contemporary precedents could also have made the American artists more open to serialization in their own work.

As Gerald Needham has pointed out, Monet also sought temporal immediacy in non-serial works. To achieve this without losing atmospheric effects, he employed a sweeping one-point perspective such as that used by Hiroshige. Hiroshige had adapted

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Renaissance-based system, which he learned of from Dutch imports, into an exaggerated form in such works as *Night View of Saruwaka-machi* of 1856 (fig. 29).[183] At least three examples of Monet's employment of this type of perspective appeared in the various Impressionist Exhibitions in Paris: *La Seine à Argenteuil* (1875, Musée d'Orsay) appeared in the 1876 exhibition, *La rue Montorgueil, fête du 30 juin* (1878, Musée d'Orsay) appeared in the 1878 exhibition, and *Les glaçons* (1880, Shelburne Museum, VT)) was in the 1881 exhibition. Monet's *Hotel des Roches Noires, Trouville* of 1870 (fig. 30) is another example of his use of exaggerated perspective. John Leslie Breck's *The River Epte, Giverny* of 1887 (fig. 31, Berry-Hill Galleries, New York) may refer to this perspectival aspect of Monet's *japonisme*,[184] as might John Singer Sargent's *Millet's Garden* (1886, Private Collection), Philip Leslie Hale's *River Bank, Giverny* (1888, Private Collection), Dawson Dawson-Watson's *Giverny, Road Looking West toward Church* (1890, Daniel J. Terra Collection), Robert Vonnoh's (1858-1933) *Winter Sun and Shadow* (1990, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh), and Theodore Robinson's *Port Ben, Delaware and Hudson Canal* (1893, fig. 32).

Monet's work may have passed on a variety of ways and means, mingling Japanese with Western traditions, to the American artists in Giverny. Those artists may also have come to the same conclusions independently, through other sources or entirely on their own. Another possible source for sweeping perspective might have been paintings such as Theodore Rousseau's *Village of Becquigny* (1858-64, fig. 33)

---

[183] Gerald Needham, "Japanese Influence on French Painting 1854-1910," in Gabriel Weisberg, et al., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 117.

[184] Although Monet was looking at Hiroshige, who was looking at Western art, the fact that Monet borrowed Hiroshige's sweeping perspective means that it derived from Japanese art and can be considered *japonisme*. It is unlikely that Monet would have known that Hiroshige and Hokusai were experimenting with Western perspective.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with which not only the Americans but also Monet could have been familiar.[185] If Monet or the Americans were aware of such Barbizon models, they would have found reinforcement for them in *ukiyo*-e prints.

Another form of immediacy in Monet's art related to his evolving view of nature. Around 1900, he began to focus exclusively on plants, eliminating people from his garden paintings. His series of paintings of irises of different hues and of water lilies presented ever more intimate, isolated, close-up views of nature (fig. 34). Nature became an impetus to meditative reflection as well as an example of the microcosmic view standing for all of nature (the macrocosm). Hokusai and Hiroshige both produced such intimate views of nature. Hokusai's *Chrysanthemums and Bee* and *Peonies and Butterfly* (fig. 35 a,b) as well as Hiroshige's *Birds and Wisteria* (fig. 36) were only a few of the examples included in Monet's collection. Monet's iris painting of 1925 (fig. 37) [186] is very similar to Hokusai's 1832 *Irises* (fig. 38) in terms of verticality, movement through form, vibrant color, and intimate viewpoint.

An American may have led the way for Monet in this case. John Leslie Breck's *Yellow Fleurs-de-Lis* (1888) (fig. 39) is a similar work by a Giverny-based American artist known to Monet. It apparently preceded Monet's irises and water lilies. Theodore Butler's (1907, Brigham Young University) could have followed Breck's or Monet's or the Japanese artists' lead, or a combination thereof, demonstrating once again the complexity resulting from the intermingling of influences.

This Japanese way of viewing nature also had precedents in American painting of which Breck and Butler may have been aware. Close-up bird-and-flower paintings, which accorded with Asian tradition, were produced in watercolors by the Connecticut

---

[185] *Village of Becquigny* was exhibited at the 1864 Salon. It was purchased by Frédéric Hartmann, who took possession of it in 1867. Furthermore, Monet and Bazille visited Barbizon while Rousseau was working on the painting and may have seen it at that time.

[186] Although this is a very late work by Monet, it serves well to demonstrate how closely some of Monet's paintings seem to relate to works by Japanese artists such as Hokusai.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artist Fidelia Bridges as early as the 1860s (fig. 40). She had studied with William Trost Richards at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and came under the influence of the American Pre-Raphaelite movement. Although she is often associated with an earlier period, she was among those artists cited by George Parsons Lathrop in 1893 as actively contributing to the field of watercolor painting, which he said had become popular in the brief period of only fifteen years.[187] Also included in Lathrop's list of the most noteworthy watercolorists of the day were E. A. Abbey (1852-1911),[188] F. Hopkinson Smith (1838-1915), Carroll Beckwith (1842-1917), Childe Hassam, A. H. Wyant (1836-1892), Louis C. Tiffany (1848-1933), Henry Farrer (1844-1903) and Samuel Colman (1832-1920), among others.[189] American Impressionists subsequently employing this close focus on nature would also have been aware of such works by Americans under Ruskin's sway, such as Asher B. Durand (1796-1886), William Trost Richards (1833-1905) and Thomas Charles Farrer (1839-91).

On the simplest level, many of the Giverny colonists painted the same motifs as Monet. This can be explained in part by the fact that they were in the same environment and so saw the same types of scenes. For example, a number of the colonists painted fields of flowers (including red poppies), trees along the banks of the river, women in

---

[187] Charlotte Rubinstein, *American Women Artists: From Early Indian Times to the Present* (New York: Avon, 1982), 61-2, 89. In addition to belonging to and exhibiting with the National Watercolor Society, Fidelia Bridges' work was constantly on view from the 1860s through the century. She exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (nine times), the National Academy of Design (twenty-three times), the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition held in St. Louis in 1904. A resident of Salem, Massachusetts, she was also an illustrator for Prang.

[188] This refers to Edwin Austin Abbey.

[189] George Parsons Lathrop, "The Progress of Art in New York," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 86/515 (April 1893): 742. Tiffany and Colman were both known in the period for their *japonisme* and Hassam (one of the Ten) and Wyant were leading landscapist of the period. In addition, Abbey and Smith were members of the Tile Club along with several members of the Ten, and Carroll Beckwith can be considered as among their circle. Beckwith worked closely with Chase to organize the Pedestal Fund Exhibition in 1883.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

association with flowers (whether in a garden, a field, or an interior)[190] and multiple renditions of haystacks in different weather conditions. This can also be explained by a shared attitude about what was worthy of depiction – nature (either close up or in panorama), natural effects and their changes over time, and modern life -- and what means were employed – the Impressionist palette and technique.[191] It is most strongly likely, however, that whether or not Monet directly interacted with them, his work was known to and influenced the American colonists. What was considered worthy of depiction by Monet and the Giverny colonists was also to be found among *ukiyo-e.* In addition, the temporal aspect of noting change over time through serialization had a counterpart in Japanese art. Implicit in many Asian landscape paintings is a journey through the terrain with tiny figures providing surrogate travelers for the viewer.

Some of the American Impressionists Directly Involved with Monet and *Japonisme*

Although there were many other American artists who spent time at Giverny, a few in particular stand out in terms of the effect the experience of Monet's *japonisme* had on their art, and the subsequent effect their art was to have in America. Those colonists discussed below include Theodore Robinson, who was an important conduit to Monet's ideas for American artists in the New York area, Lilla Cabot Perry, who promoted Monet and Impressionism in the Boston area and who also spent three years in Japan, and Frederick Frieseke, who represents the late synthetic form of *japonisme.*

---

[190] Since the Colonial Period in American portraiture and figure painting, women had been associated with flowers due to their beauty, fragility and fecundity. John Singleton Copley, for instance, employed this symbolism in such portraits as *Lydia Lunde* (1762-4, New Britain Museum), *Hannah Loring* (1763, Detroit Institute of Art) and *Mrs. Joseph Scott* (1765, Newark Museum).

[191] Impressionist depictions of natural phenomena can be understood from a scientific perspective, but their choice of scenes of everyday life can also be explained from the perspective of Galassi's treatment of humble themes by early landscape sketch artists: "It is as if the very ordinariness of the subject were a challenge to the painter's aesthetic imagination – a challenge to make something out of nothing." (p. 27) If this is the case, it certainly accords with Baudelaire's and Whistler's notions about the function of art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Theodore Robinson: Theodore Robinson is an example of an American artist at Giverny whose work was influenced by his close contact with Monet in terms of spatial construction, color contrasts and themes. Robinson would become an important disseminator of enthusiasm for Japanese art among his fellow artists upon his return to the United States. In 1892, the last year he summered at Giverny, Robinson's explanation of Monet's work, written earlier, appeared in *Century Magazine*. In this laudatory essay he compared Monet to Constable in terms of their influences on landscape painting. Even though Robinson did not directly refer to Monet's *japonisme* or interest in Japanese art, he did say that Monet would open up the mystical or poetic aspect of nature to a new generation of landscapists with the same power with which Constable had introduced the School of 1830 (now commonly known as the Barbizon School) to the scientific approach to landscape painting based on direct observation of nature and its changing effects. Robinson wrote that just as Constable's 1824 landscape exhibition in France had engendered serious consideration among artists and anger in critics, with the artists soon following the English artist's lead, "It is not perhaps too soon to prophesy that in the same manner the influence of M. Claude Monet on the landscape art of the future will be strongly felt." The American also said that Monet, whom he identified as a Realist, was the first to effectively transfer the charming unity and spontaneity of a sketch from nature (qualities associated with Hokusai) to a structured, large-scale, finished oil on canvas. Robinson differentiated between bravura brushwork for its own sake and Monet's facture, and also said "the *pochade* state never leaves his studio..."[192]

In response to an 1892 exhibition of works by Robinson and Wendel in Boston, the *Boston Sunday Herald* noted that both had "been powerfully affected by Monet's

[192] Theodore Robinson, "Claude Monet" in *Century Magazine* 44/5 (September 1892): 696-701. A "*pochade*" is a color sketch, usually done in oil. It was the "charming unity and spontaneity of a sketch from nature" that made Hokusai's *Manga* so popular among artists.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

great example," not in terms of imitation but "in the development of their perceptions and the strengthening of their individuality..."[193] This exhibition ran at the same time as a Monet exhibit at the St. Botolph Club, allowing Bostonians to compare and contrast the work of the Americans with that of their presumed mentor.[194] Later, John Baur would observe that Robinson held the same relationship to French Impressionism that Hunt held to the Barbizon School, in both cases introducing and popularizing modern French art in America.[195]

During the summer of 1892, Robinson returned to Giverny and wrote in his diary of the *Rouen Cathedral* series Monet had shown him. That viewing prompted his own investigation of atmospheric effects in a series of three paintings titled *Valley of the Seine* (fig. 41). Robinson was not the only colonist to work serially or to paint that theme. Breck, for instance, did several series of paintings of haystacks. Further, both Breck and Ritter had previously painted the same or a very similar scene to that chosen by Robinson for his series. Robinson also did a two-part haystack series, depicting the same scene on the same size canvas under different conditions, of which *Afternoon Shadows* (1891, fig. 42) was one.[196] He continued serialization after returning to America in 1892. His *The Lock* (unlocated), *Port Ben, Delaware and Hudson Canal* (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts) and *Canal Scene* (Private Collection), all painted

---

[193] "The Fine Arts," *Boston Herald* (February 15, 1891): np.

[194] This non-commercial one-man exhibit consisted of twenty paintings by Monet borrowed from Boston collectors who could have supplied at least as many more, indicating that his art was well appreciated in that city. In 1911, Monet's first one-man museum exhibition in America was mounted at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, an institution that today has the largest collection of Monet's paintings outside of France.

[195] John I. H. Baur, *Theodore Robinson, 1851-1896* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1946).

[196] He did other paintings of grainstacks at about the same time, such as *A Farm House in Giverny* (1890, Spanierman Gallery, New York) and *Wheatfield, Giverny* (1891, Terra Foundation for the Arts), that were not part of the series. In fact, most of the early American colonists at Giverny painted grainstacks, perhaps because they were a prominent feature of the local landscape or because they were a chosen subject for Monet. Breck and Metcalf, like Robinson, painted grainstack series.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in 1893, are three versions of the same location at approximately the same time of day but with different water levels resulting from the use of the lock.

Robinson experimented with Impressionist strategies while intermittently referring back to Barbizon themes and tonalities. He received a firm grounding in draftsmanship and composition at the Gérôme *atelier*, which may have been reinforced by the Japanese art he was exposed to in Europe in general and in Monet's home. These combined sources would have led to his maintaining of tightly-structured, carefully-planned compositions and fully modeled figures at the same time that he experimented with the color, light and brushstroke effects of Impressionism.[197] In addition, Robinson had always admired Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) and Eastman Johnson (1824-1906) and, according to John Baur, those American Realists' linear and descriptive tradition was maintained not only by Robinson but also by his fellow American Impressionists. As a result, the latter's works were palatable when they were introduced to a general American audience in the late 1880s and 90s.[198]

In 1946, John Baur documented Robinson's use of photography for several of his well-known figural paintings of the early 1890s, such as *In the Sun* (for which he received the Shaw Prize, fig. 46 b) and *In the Garden* (fig. 43).[199] Baur demonstrated

---

[197] Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 227-28.

[198] Baur, *Theodore Robinson,* 30. After he returned to America in 1892, Robinson's American scene paintings often (but not always) showed a growing solidity and less sophisticated quality, indicating that while working in U.S. the American tradition was dominant over the French. Whether this would have continued or not if he had returned to France is unknowable. See the Theodore Robinson Diary entry for November 25, 1894; Frick Library, New York.

[199] John I. H. Baur, "Photographic Studies by An Impressionist" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* series 6, volume 30, numbers 956-958 (October-December 1946): 319-330. Based on Robinson's photographs preserved in Giverny, on those belonging to Robinson's niece, and on the artist's diary entries, Baur examined the artist's specific use of photographs for several of his well-known paintings. According to "Theodore Robinson, A Brief Historical Sketch" in *Brush and Pencil* 4 (1899): 287, Robinson was well-acquainted with photography from an early age, having earned the money he needed to go to New York to study by enlarging photographs in Evansville, Wisconsin, where his family lived. Although Baur was the first to outline Robinson's use of photography, other authors such as William H. Gerdts and Sonja Johnston have also addressed it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that in the case of *The Layette*, where he painted three versions of the same theme, separate photographs were the compositional bases for each one. Baur also suggested that for *Two in a Boat* (1891, fig. 44) Robinson had transferred his photographic composition to the canvas by "semi-mechanical" means.[200] In the case of *Gathering Plums* (1891), the model moved her hand, which caused it to appear as a blur in the photograph. Robinson faithfully reproduced this effect on the canvas. His dependence on photography lessened toward the end of his career in paintings such as *Correspondence* (fig. 45). In his diaries Robinson recorded his procedure for this work.[201] He began with several photographs for compositional purposes but then had the model, Miss Rean, pose as he painted the image on canvas.

The ways in which photographic concerns interacted with *japonisme* mentioned above were at play in Robinson's use of photography as it related to his compositional strategies. In both *In The Sun* (fig. 46 a,b) and *Two in a Boat* (fig. 44), oblique angles with diagonal recessions were employed. The strong play of light and dark was lessened somewhat from photograph to painting, indicating Robinson's Impressionist strategy of continuing a painting out-of-doors once its composition, based on photographs, had been established. A relatively low bird's-eye perspective, which he was already using by the 1880s, reduced or eliminated the horizon altogether in both cases. *Two in a Boat* may also have related to Monet's *Boating on the Epte* (1890, fig. 47) in which two figures were seated in a truncated boat. Robinson's photograph may have been framed in such a way that the cropping resembled Monet's painting. This cropping of both works can be related to *ukiyo-e* by either Hiroshige or Hokusai (fig. 48).

---

[200] Baur, 326: Among the photographs found in his studio after his death, "several ... corroborate the suspicion that Robinson transferred his photographic compositions semi-mechanically to canvas. The study for *Two in a Boat*, for example, has been lightly squared off in pencil, and the thinly painted picture shows traces of corresponding squares on the exposed portions of the priming."

[201] Theodore Robinson Diary entries for July 21, 24, 27, August 3, 12, October 7 of 1895; Frick Library, New York. Robinson died in 1896.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Such cropping of figures in a boat occurs in works like Hokusai's *Ushibori in Hitachi Province* (from "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji") and *Nocturnal Crossing* and to Hiroshige's *The Tenyu River, West of Mitsuke* (No. 29 of his *53 Stations of the Tokaido Road* series). Pictures of two figures in a boat had a long tradition in Japanese painting.

Although Robinson probably did not begin to collect Japanese prints until after his permanent return to the United States in 1892, the issues related to his art which made the prints appealing to him at that time were already present while he was in Giverny. Robinson's extant diaries began in 1892, just before he left Giverny for good. They do not tell us whether he was already engaged with *ukiyo-e* in regard to his painting dilemmas but if so, Monet's collection was certainly available to him there. Even if not directly engaged with Monet's Japanese prints, he was certainly exposed to them visually on a regular basis.

In addition, before going to Giverny, Robinson had worked as a decorative assistant to John LaFarge in the early 1880s and had become acquainted with Whistler in Venice in 1879. Those two *japoniste* artists were actively employing *japonisme* in their own work, avidly collecting *ukiyo-e* and other forms of Japanese art and proselytizing about the merits of Japanese art to Robinson's generation of American artists. This makes it likely that he would have been aware of and responsive to Monet's Japanese prints and use of *japonisme*.

When Robinson returned to the United States in 1892, he took with him a developed Impressionism with overtones of *japonisme*. As mentioned, he quickly began to collect Japanese prints, an activity he shared with his Connecticut friends, J. Alden Weir and John Twachtman. The fact that he always lived on a very tight budget yet spent money on Japanese prints indicates that his commitment to working out his art with reference to Japanese art was a serious one, as was supported by his diary entries.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As a result of his interactions with Monet at Giverny, Robinson was an important practitioner and disseminator of *japonisme* among artists in the United States. After returning to the U.S., he served as a popularizer of both Impressionism and *japonisme*, which will be touched upon in Chapter 3 in relation to Weir and Twachtman.

Lilla Cabot Perry: Lilla Cabot Perry was another colonist who, like Robinson, became friendly with and was influenced by Monet in Giverny and whose work demonstrated a response to aspects of Japanese art or *japonisme* through that contact. She was a leading force in popularizing Impressionism in Boston, as Robinson was in New York. Just as Hunt had promoted French Barbizon art, especially that of Millet, in Boston, Perry promoted French Impressionist art, especially that of Monet.[202]

In 1874, Lilla Cabot, from a socially-prominent Boston family,[203] married the also prominent Thomas Sargeant Perry, a great-nephew of Commodore Perry. Thomas was a linguist and literary critic who had studied art with William Morris Hunt and was friendly with the writers Henry James and William Dean Howells, with the artist John LaFarge, and with William Sturgis Bigelow who traveled to Japan and was an important collector and museum benefactor.[204] These eminent men and others frequented the Perry home. In Boston, Lilla attended art classes at the Cowes School where she studied with Dennis Bunker and Robert Vonnoh, both of whom had strong academic backgrounds but became Impressionists under the influence of Monet.[205]

---

[202] In 1889 she held an exhibition of the works of Claude Monet and John Leslie Breck at her home in Boston. This was attended and written about by Hamlin Garland, who would become a leading lecturer and writer on Impressionism. She actively encouraged her wealthy Bostonian friends to purchase Monet's paintings, much as Mary Cassatt did for the French Impressionists with her wealthy Philadelphia and Chicago acquaintances. Perry promoted not only French but also American Impressionist artists. She organized exhibits of the works of Robinson and Wendel (in 1892) was well as those of Breck. In 1914, she helped establish the galleries of The Guild of Boston Artists, an important exhibition venue for established painters and sculptors.

[203] Perry's father was a Cabot and her mother a Lowell.

[204] LaFarge, the first American *japoniste*, was her brother-in-law and was responsible for decorating the Perry's drawing room.

[205] Perry did not begin her art studies in earnest until she was in her 30s and already had three children.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1887, the Perrys moved to Paris, home to many American intellectuals and artists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the winter of 1887, Lilla enrolled in art classes at the Académie Colarossi.[206] She also studied at the Académie Julian and with the Belgian artist Alfred Stevens, who was a popular practitioner of *japonisme*.

After viewing more than one hundred works by Monet at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris in 1889, she moved her family to Giverny. The Perrys became friendly with the Monets and between 1889 and 1909 spent many summers living next door to and socializing with the Monets.[207] Perry, whose own work was strongly influenced by the French artist's, often painted and discussed painting with Monet, as had Theodore Robinson. She described Monet's methods in a 1927 article for *The American Magazine of Art*. In it she recounted his advice to forget the big picture she was making and concentrate on each component:

> When you go out to paint, try to forget what objects you have before you, a tree, a house, a field or whatever. Merely think, here is a little square of blue, here an oblong of pink, here a streak of yellow, and paint it just as it looks to you, the exact color and shape, until it gives your own naïve impression of the scene before you.[208]

In the article, Perry mentioned Monet's interest in Japanese print art, calling him one of its earliest admirers. She referred to the *ukiyo-e* displayed in his yellow dining room and the blue china upon which they dined. Although she described how effectively the yellow walls set off the prints' "delicate tonality," she did not discuss any possible influence these prints might have had on either Monet's work or her own. She did,

---

[206] Perry was at the Académie Colarossi at the same time as Seiki Kuroda, who would become the most renowned practitioner of French painting in Japan and who became a colonist at Grez-sur-Loing (see above).

[207] Initially camped at the Hotel Baudy, they soon occupied Le Hameau, the house next door to the Monets, returning to the same house over nine summers until 1909.

[208] Lilla Cabot Perry, "Reminiscences of Claude Monet from 1889 to 1909," *The American Magazine of Art* 18/3 (March 1927): 119-25, reprinted in: Meredith Martindale, *Lilla Cabot Perry: An American Impressionist* (Washington, DC: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1990), 115.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

however, spend four years in Japan, where she actively pursued her painting career (see Chapter 4).

While in Giverny, Perry became friendly with Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), Theodore Robinson, John Leslie Breck, and Frederick Frieseke through Monet. With all of these acquaintances, including LaFarge and Hunt, and her tutelage under Bunker, Vonnoh, and Stevens, Perry must have been aware of *japonisme* and of its inroads into Impressionism. She could not have remained unaffected by it, consciously or otherwise.

In her early years at Giverny, Perry depicted both figures and landscapes. Even when she painted a figure in an interior, such as *Angela* (1891, fig. 49),[209] the sitter was placed next to a window so that nature was included in the scene. A picture such as this combined elements of her academic background, Monet's Impressionism and perhaps even Japanese use of linearity, spatial divisions, and juxtaposing of architecture (man's creation) with nature.[210] Gerdts contrasts Perry's American solidity of figures with her Monet-inspired broken brushwork and brilliant palette for landscapes. He suggests that her Giverny landscapes, such as *A Stream Beneath Poplars* (1890-1900, fig. 47), related to Monet's works of a decade earlier.[211] Perry's view of nature in this painting was intimate, as was popular at the time and in keeping with Japanese sensibilities.

Frederick Frieseke: A latecomer to Giverny, Frederick Frieseke's art exemplified the final synthetic phase of decorative Impressionism, identified by William Gerdts as the

---

[209] William Howe Downes, "New England Art at the World's Fair," *New England Magazine* 14/3 (May 1893): 363-4: This picture was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition as part of a group of seven.

[210] The scene of the town as viewed through the window distracts the eye from the divisions of the interior space and from the very shallow space in which the figure sits. Lisa Peters, "Lilla Cabot Perry: Impressionist in the Gilded Age," unpublished paper, New York: CUNY Graduate Center, 1984, located in William H. Gerdts' Library: Peters compares *Angela* to Pissarro's *Young Peasant Woman Drinking Her Coffee* (1881) which employs a very similar geometric and spatial composition as well as the device of the window. Perry's painting combines American solidity of form and straightforward viewpoint with French Impressionist palette and brushwork, whereas Pissarro's is thoroughly Impressionist, including the eccentric perspective associated with *japonisme*.

[211] Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny*, 51: Gerdts refers to Perry's academic strong tonal modeling and use of purple in the shadows that is derived from Monet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

third generation.[212] Frieseke first visited Giverny in 1900, and, beginning in 1906, he spent the next fifteen summers there in a home adjacent to Monet's. Sadie, Frederick's wife, was an avid gardener and she and Monet became quite friendly, the two households frequently taking tea together.

Frieseke studied at the Art Institute of Chicago (1893-96) and the Art Students League in New York (1896-7) before going to Paris, where he attended the Académie Julian (1897) under the tutelage of Benjamin Constant (1845-1902) and Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921). There he became grounded in the academic method. In 1899, he moved to the Académie Carmen to study with Whistler; at which time he began working in oils.[213] His *The Green Sash* (1904, fig. 51) is particularly Whistlerian in its treatment of setting but much more decorative in an almost frivolous sense than anything by the elder master. His decorative use of multiple patterns at this juncture (beginning around 1901) reflects awareness not only of Whistler's *japonisme*, but also that of the Nabis.

The coincidence of Impressionism and *japonisme* in Frieseke's work is evident in the brilliance of his palette, the flattening effect he created by cropping and the use of surface patterning as in *Through the Vines* (1908, fig. 52), his intimate view of aestheticized women in interiors (often reflected in mirrors) as in *Lady Trying on a Hat* (1909, fig. 53), his monumental figural compositions, and his juxtaposing geometric framing with flowing garments as in *The Yellow Room* (1913, fig. 54). In this rare instance in Frieseke's *oeuvre*, he employed the flat planes of color for walls and furniture favored by Pierre Bonnard (1867-1047) in juxtaposition with contrasting colored patterning – a very Japanese arrangement. The curtain at the left is reminiscent of

---

[212] Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny*, 171. Among this group, mostly from the Midwest, were Karl Anderson, Karl Albert Buehr, Alson Skinner Clark, Frederick Frieseke, Richard Miller, Lawton S. Parker and Louis Ritman. Also there at that time, and especially friendly with Frieseke, was Guy Rose. Gerdts has used the terms "stage" and "generation" interchangeably.

[213] Nicholas Kilmer, et al., *Frederick Carl Frieseke, The Evolution of an American Impressionist* (Savannah, Georgia: Telfair Museum of Art, 2001), 16-17. Prior to this Frieseke worked in the watercolor medium.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Edouard Vuillard (1868-1940) in treatment, if not in color. Barbara Weinberg has written that, "Although Frieseke's awareness of the Nabis [who were noted practitioners of *japonisme*][214] is not documented, paintings by those artists were shown in many exhibitions in Paris when he lived there."[215] In addition, his work was frequently exhibited with that of the Nabis, and Bonnard, a close friend of Monet's, moved to Vernonnet (close to Giverny) in 1912.[216]

Frieseke's career brackets the period between 1893 and 1915 perfectly. Inspired to become an artist by his visit to the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, he was a gold medallist and grand prizewinner at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco. He had no participation in the 1913 Armory Show, instead exhibiting that year at the Pennsylvania Academy, where he won the Temple Gold Medal, and at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts Salon.[217]

An expatriate, Frieseke maintained his allegiance to Impressionism while demonstrating an awareness of more modern movements such as Fauvism and the Nabis. His *japonisme* appears to have been of the decorative type, absorbed on an unconscious level from Art Nouveau, the French Impressionists, and the Nabis. As David Sellin has pointed out, Frieseke's *The Yellow Room* (fig. 54) reproduces the color scheme employed by Monet in his dining room to set off his *ukiyo-e* and Japanese-inspired blue-and-white dishes displayed there.[218] While Monet's inspiration came from the prints themselves, it is most likely that Frieseke's came, at second-hand, from Monet. Like Vuillard, Pierre Bonnard, perhaps the most strongly influenced by Japanese art among the Nabis, used simplified forms and bold colors while creating a tightly-

---

[214] Berger, 215-227. Berger says that Bonnard was called 'le Nabi très japonard,' by his fellow artists and that the group in general was among those most strongly affected by Bing's *Le Japon Artistique* (see Appendix 4).
[215] Sellin, et al., Barbara Weinberg, 64.
[216] Ibid., Sellin, 91.
[217] Frieseke was asked to participate in the Armory Show but was cut before it opened.
[218] Ibid., 93.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

constructed surface patterning of a wide variety of forms, in the manner of Japanese fabrics and prints. *The Yellow Room* includes a vignette of this type of treatment by the overlapping of the figure's *kimono* pattern with the porcelain charger and fruit and flowers on the sideboard, which abuts the blue checked curtain at the left border of the picture.[219] Frieseke, perhaps following the lead of Vuillard and Bonnard, often painted intimate interior scenes similar to those by Utamaro, Harunobu and other Japanese artists. He would also have been familiar with the ideas of the Nabis through his contacts in Giverny, such as Theodore Butler, who had studied at the Julian with many of the leaders of the movement.

There is no evidence that Frieseke owned or employed Japanese art but he would have seen it hanging on Monet's walls at Giverny. It is also likely that he was well aware of the influence of Japanese art on Whistler, with whom he studied at the Académie Carmen. He arrived in Paris after the Japan craze had passed and after the large exhibits of Japanese art that were the sensation of the art community in the early 1890s. As has been demonstrated, whether he was aware of it or not, second-hand *japonisme* played a distinct role in his art – in subject, in decorative surface patterning, in compositional arrangement, and in color combinations.

In London and Venice with James McNeill Whistler

Of all the expatriate-American painters of the period – Sargent, Cassatt, Abbey, Moore, Breck and Frieseke to name just a few – James Abbott McNeill Whistler had the most impact on the American Impressionist painters in terms of *japonisme*. He was a primary conduit of *japonisme* from France to England and to America. A leading figure in the Aesthetic Movement, Whistler was interested in the employment of color and shape in the creation of beautiful design. His use of Japanese art was based on its form rather

[219] The Frieseke dining room was yellow with many blue accents, no doubt in emulation of Monet's dining room.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

than its content, which may have helped him to arrive at the attitude that an object with aesthetic appeal needed no further justification. He irreverently sought to redefine the role of the artist in society and to overturn Victorian sentimentality and the high moral purpose associated with the art of the academies. In his *Ten O'Clock Lectures* (delivered in 1885 and first published in 1888),[220] Whistler maintained that art had no function other than to satisfy its own aesthetic potential, "purposing in no way to better others."[221] In his *Ten O'Clock Lectures*, he identified the supreme achievement of beauty, which he held to be the function of art, with the Greek Parthenon and the fan painting of Hokusai.[222] He related the art of painting to the abstract condition of music rather than the story-telling condition of literature. Thus, Whistler prepared the way for the practice and acceptance of abstraction in art, which reached its full bloom in the twentieth century.[223] Japanese art was one of the most important visual models he employed toward his aesthetic ends.

James Abbott McNeill Whistler was born in 1834 in Lowell, Massachusetts and trained in draftsmanship and painting under Robert Weir at West Point. He spent his career as an artist, however, entirely in Europe. He moved to Paris in 1855 and entered

---

[220] James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Ten O'clock* (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1899).

[221] The words "aesthetic" and "beautiful" are used in the Kantian sense, in which aesthetic judgment was detached from meaning and thus amoral.

[222] Comparison of the art of Japan with that of the ancient Greeks was common in the period. Greece represented the Arcadian condition of art, untainted by the corrupting influences of civilization and commercial interest and Japan was considered to share that condition. For Whistler, both ancient Greece and Japan represented a situation in which the general populous used fine art in its daily life because cheap imitations of art and art wares were not produced. The truly artistic painting for Whistler was characterized by the perfect harmony of form and color bringing about an "exquisiteness of result." Its opposite was the "vulgar," "tawdry" "geegaw." The former sprung from the artist's nobility of thought and the latter appealed to the "intoxicated mob of mediocrity."

[223] Whistler not only helped pave the way for non-objective abstraction, he prefigured Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) in privileging the artist's prerogative to determine what constitutes a work of art (aesthetic considerations aside), and challenging the artist's role in society. With Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840), Oscar Wilde (1820-1896) and others, he was involved in a form of performative art in which the artist stood apart from society (as a Kantian detached formalist). In addition, Whistler's art-for-art's sake philosophy was a forerunner to Postmodernism in his use of what we term "signifiers" without signification (strategies aside).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Charles Gleyre's studio the following year. In Gleyre's studio he met Fantin-Latour and through him became acquainted with Manet, Baudelaire, Courbet, Degas and others who were becoming engaged with Japanese art.[224] He moved to London in 1859, making it his primary place of residence until his death in 1903.[225] After his move to Europe in 1855, Whistler never returned to the U.S. Nevertheless, Whistler always considered himself an American and exhibited extensively in the U.S. and with the Americans at several of the world's fairs (see Chapter 5). His fellow American artists were proud to count him among their numbers.[226] Having received many honors and high recognition in Europe, he became an important contact and at times a model for a number of the American artists seeking an art education and recognition in Europe. This was important in his transmission of *japonisme* to artists working in America.

Whistler's Japanese-infused work was well-known to American artists of the period. It was readily available for viewing by artists traveling to Europe or working in the United States. In 1866, *Wapping on Thames* (1861, National Gallery of Art, Washington) was purchased by Thomas Winans and was the first of Whistler's paintings exhibited in New York in 1866. In 1878, he exhibited *The Coast of Brittany* (fig. 55) at the inaugural exhibition of the Society of American Artists (SAA) in New York. He showed and sold his work in the U.S. continuously from that point on. He exhibited in America not only with the SAA but also at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the Carnegie Institute, Wunderlich's Gallery in New York, and at the Pedestal Fund Loan Exhibition in New York. In addition, he exhibited at world's fairs in Philadelphia and

---

[224] Monet had also worked at Gleyre's studio but the two artists did not meet until Monet went to England during the Franco-Prussian War.

[225] He returned to France frequently and maintained his strong contacts there throughout his life.

[226] This assertion is supported by his inclusion in SAA exhibits in the U.S., his inclusion in the American sections of several world's fairs (including those of 1889 and 1893) whose selection committees included artists, and by the many aspiring as well as successful American artists who sought him out in London, Paris, and Venice. It is also attested to by the artists' tributes at the memorial exhibition organized in his honor in Boston in 1904.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chicago, as well as in Europe.[227] In Europe his work could be seen at galleries such as Galerie Georges Petit in Paris and the Grosvenor House Gallery, Pall Mall Gallery and at the Fine Art Society in London. His work was also frequently exhibited by the Royal Academy in London and the Salon in Paris and he joined Manet and other French painters in the 1863 Salon des Refusés where he showed *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (fig. 56), which had been rejected by both the Royal Academy in 1862 and the Paris Salon in 1863.[228]

One of the most telling aspects of Whistler's *japonisme* was the tranquil mood that he captured in such works as *The Balcony: Variations in Flesh Colour and Gold* (1867-8, fig. 57). This painting employed many of the characteristics he derived from Japanese prints -- from the fragment of a blind at the upper right corner, to the truncated flowers at the bottom, to the asymmetrical treatment of space and distribution of elements, to the inclusion of Japanese objects, to the tonal coloring derived from monochrome washes, to the use of the railing to create a sense of intimacy and give a geometric counterbalance to the organic forms of the women, and to the inclusion of his butterfly crest in imitation of a Japanese *mon*. All of this amounted to a decorative "arrangement" of Japanese elements. Yet, it was the feeling of intimacy among women in their private moments together and the languid tranquility of mood, which spoke most eloquently to Whistler's deep and intuitive response to Japanese art.

J. Alden Weir (see Chapter 3): Many American artists traveling to Europe either as students or established artists considered a visit to Whistler's studio an honor and privilege. In August of 1877, a young J. Alden Weir, whose father had instructed Whistler at West Point, visited Whistler at his home and studio in London. The latter's *japonisme*, to which Weir was exposed at first-hand on this visit, was eventually to have

---

[227] His work was exhibited posthumously at fairs in St. Louis (1904) and San Francisco (1915).
[228] Manet exhibited his *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* at that time. Other exhibitors included Cézanne, Pissarro, Renoir, Courbet, Jongkind, Fantin-Latour, and Boudin.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a profound affect on the young art student's own painting. Weir was living in Paris at the time, studying with Gérôme. He wrote to his parents that the "dining room is à la Japanese, with fans stuck on the walls and ceiling, according to his own liking."[229] To his brother John he wrote of being "ushered into an eccentric waiting room or parlor where the Chinese art prevailed."[230] He wrote in both letters of seeing some of Whistler's nocturnes and to his parents he wrote of visiting the studio.

The interior that Weir told his family about had been described previously in a *Harper's* article in 1875:

> Mr. Whistler has dotted the walls and even the ceiling of his dining-room with the brilliant Japanese fans which now constitute so large an element in the decoration of many beautiful rooms; but in his drawing-room there are fifteen large panels made of Japanese pictures, each about five feet by two. These pictures represent flowers of every hue, and birds of many varieties and of the richest plumage. The very lustre of nature is on every petal and on every feather; the eyes of the birds are as gems that emit light, and their tortuous necks are painted with a boldness which no European art can rival. There are also in the room an ancient Chinese cabinet with a small pagoda designed on the top, an old Japanese cabinet of quaint construction, and several screens, etc., from the same region, altogether making one of the most beautiful rooms imaginable. Mr. Whistler has done much to light up and beautify a somewhat dark staircase in his house by giving the walls a lemon tint above a dado of gold, on which he has painted butterflies such as adorn the frames of his pictures, and constitute the signature of his work...[231]

Weir did not like Whistler, who had criticized Gérôme during this initial meeting. He did, however, visit the British Museum the day after his visit with Whistler to look at the latter's etchings, with some of which he was favorably impressed (until he compared them to Dürer's).[232]

---

[229] Letter from Weir to his parents, dated August 22, 1877, from 80 Newman Street, London, W., Archives of American Art, Reel 71 / Frame 967.
[230] Letter from Weir to his brother John, dated August 22, 1877, from 80 Newman Street, London, W., Archives of American Art, Reel 71 / Frame 968.
[231] M.D. Conway, "Decorative Art and Architecture in England," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 50/296 (January 1875): 35-6.
[232] Later in his career Weir, along with his close friend Twachtman, took up etching and their work was to be impacted by the example of Whistler.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Weir did not always stay with his first impressions and eventually came to admire Whistler,[233] which is attested to by his daughter, Dorothy Weir Young, who wrote of a visit with her father to Whistler's studio in 1901, "We children were quite aware that we were having an unusual privilege in being entertained by one of the world's great artists -- we knew the reverence our father felt for Whistler..." Around this time, Weir and Chase attempted to persuade the Metropolitan Museum of Art to purchase Whistler's *Woman in White* (1862, National Gallery, DC).[234] In 1878, the year after Weir's first visit with the expatriate, the latter was invited to participate in the inaugural exhibition of the Society of American Artists, of which Weir was a founding member. Whistler accepted and continued to participate in SAA exhibits thereafter.

Following his 1881 visit with Whistler, both Whistlerian elements and *japonisme* become clearly recognizable in Weir's art. During an 1883 trip to Europe he acted as purchasing agent for the New York collector Erwin Davis, and in this capacity visited and purchased work from Manet and Degas.[235] Those two artists may also have provided added impetus to his burgeoning *japonisme*.

In the mid-1880s, Weir paid homage to Whistler in the still-life painting *Silver Chalice, Japanese Bronze and Red Taper* (1884-9, fig. 58). In it he included the elder painter's signature -- both written and in butterfly form – on a photo mounting which was a prominent compositional element of the picture.[236] The placement of the white mounting and the wall on a parallel with the picture plane created a very shallow space, a device learned from the Japanese and employed by Whistler. The inclusion of a

---

[233] Weir, although eventually one of the leaders of the American Impressionist Movement, was initially disparaging of the French Impressionism he saw at the Troisième Exposition des Impressionistes in Paris in 1877. See the letter Weir wrote to his parents, reprinted in: Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir*, ed. Lawrence W. Chisolm (New Haven, 1960; reprint New York: Kennedy Graphics Inc., Da Capo Press, 1971), 123.
[234] Ibid., 204-5.
[235] These works would be part of the Pedestal Fund Exhibition in New York in 1883.
[236] Burke, *J. Alden Weir ...*, 138. The signatures on the mounting indicate that Whistler had taken and possibly given the photograph to Weir.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Japanese bronze censor, the juxtaposing of flat geometric shapes with curvilinear ones and the exaggeratedly cropped photo made further reference to Whistler's *japonisme.*[237]

Clearly, Weir's art – in terms of his painting, his work in pastels, and his printmaking – was strongly influenced by Whistler. His paint application became so thin at times that areas of canvas were left exposed, and he experimented briefly with a dark Tonalism. He composed his Connecticut pictures to have the appearance of vignettes from nature. For instance, *The Laundry, Branchville* (1894, fig. 59) is loosely based on a known photograph, but a great deal of license was taken in Weir's use of color, perspective, reconfiguring the landscape, and changing and suppressing incidental details.[238] This reflects Whistler's advocacy of artistic selectivity and manipulation in the service of *art for art's sake.*[239] Weir's perspective is so steep that one is forced to read the painting vertically proceeding from bottom to top in the Asian fashion, a common feature of Whistler's art.[240] Weir eventually compiled a large collection of Japanese prints, apparently beginning in the early 1890s.[241]

In 1879, Whistler lost his famous "White House" in Chelsea to pay expenses from his libel suit against the art critic John Ruskin.[242] The house, which he had only moved

---

[237] There may also be an intended homage to Manet here in the tacking of papers on the dark wall above the picture frame and wainscoting as in Manet's portrait of Zola, but because their contents cannot be deciphered this is inconclusive. The silver chalice may be a reference to Dutch still life painting, the red taper may reference Japanese use of red accents and the shallow, ambiguous space may refer to Japanese modes of representation. In this rather cluttered picture, then, may be contained references to many of the varied influences on Weir's style.

[238] Hildegard Cummings, Helen K. Fusscas and Susan G. Larkin, *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own* (Storrs, CT: The William Benton Museum of Art, 1991), 32.

[239] It may also relate to the advice of Carolus-Duran and Cazin (as recounted in previously cited articles appearing in the U.S.).

[240] This probably reflects Weir's interest in Japanese art more than any direct influence from Whistler; however, this interest that he shared with Twachtman and Robinson (among others) may well have received some impetus in all of their cases from Whistler's example.

[241] Archives of American Art, Reel 4482 / Frame 532: There is a record of Weir having bought sixteen Japanese prints and "1 Set Artist Japan" at the American Art Association auction held March 15, 1891.

[242] Ruskin had written a critique of *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, in which he said it looked as though Whistler had flung a can of paint at the canvas. Whistler sued him for libel. On May 22, 1878, an article by Whistler defending his theories appeared in *The World* and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

into in 1878, was designed by Edward W. Godwin, who collaborated with Whistler on an interior that was exhibited at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris (see Chapter 5). Although Whistler won his case against Ruskin, he received a tiny award and was bankrupted,[243] forcing him to sell not only his own work but also his beloved collections of art and art objects – including those from Japan and China.

Whistler undertook a commission for a series of etchings of Venice and spent a year in that city in 1879 and 1880. Venice was very popular with Americans at that time and during his stay there Whistler encountered many American and expatriate-American artists, Robinson and Sargent among them.[244] Most significant for the future of American art, however, was the time he spent with the Duveneck Boys (see Chapter 1) who were summering there. The group stayed at Casa Jankowitz and Whistler soon joined them there. One of the group, Otto Bacher, had set up a printing press, which Whistler made use of. Experimentation -- a keynote of the teaching of Diaz at the Munich Academy and of the independent Leibl – was practiced among the group.

John Twachtman (see Chapter 3): Twachtman, who went to Italy in the Fall of 1879 to join Duveneck's group, did not meet Whistler at that time because Twachtman was in Florence rather than Venice.[245] Nevertheless, the Duveneck Boys had already returned from Venice to Florence in October, and Twachtman would certainly have heard all about Whistler's theories and activities while the expatriate was with the group in Venice. He would also have known of Whistler through his close friend J. Alden Weir and because, as mentioned, Whistler was frequently exhibited and much discussed in art circles in France and America. Twachtman was often compared with Whistler in the

---

in November of that year he won his lawsuit against Ruskin. The "White House" had been very costly to build and furnish and this contributed to his bankruptcy.

[243] He was awarded only a farthing (the least amount possible), a pyrrhic victory.

[244] It is ironic that Ruskin's book *Stones of Venice* was responsible, in large part, for the popularity of Venice among English-speaking and other artists in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[245] Twachtman visited Venice from the spring of 1877 to the Spring of 1878. Whistler did not arrive there until September 1879.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American press. His works shared many aspects with those by Whistler; aspects which might also be related to *japonisme*, such as Tonalism and its related poetic suggestion through abstracting. This is discussed more thoroughly and exemplified in the next chapter but is included here because Twachtman was among the members of The Ten who were influenced by Whistler. He came closest to Whistler, perhaps, in his pastel work, which is beyond the scope of this study.

Robert Blum (see Chapter 4): There were Americans in Venice when Whistler was there who were not among the Duveneck Boys but nevertheless interacted with them and with Whistler. Robert Blum arrived in Venice in 1880. He was from Cincinnati and had studied at both the McMicken School of Design and at the Ohio Mechanics Institute, where he attended a night class given by Duveneck. Among his fellow students there were Kenyon Cox (1865-1919), Alfred Brennan, Joseph DeCamp and John Twachtman. Blum, Brennan and Cox did not follow their teacher to Munich, opting instead to continue their studies at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. They were in Philadelphia in 1876 and attended the Centennial Exhibition, where they were awestruck by the Japanese exhibits. It was at that time also that Blum saw the work of two artists who had an impact on him, Mariano Fortuny (1871-1949) and Giovanni Boldini (1845-1931). Both of those artists employed Japanese-related imagery in their work. As Bruce Weber points out, Blum's contact with Whistler influenced not only the young American's *japonisme* but also his etching and pastel production and helped lead to the establishment of the American Society of Painters in Pastel by Blum and Chase, among others, in 1882-1883.[246]

Theodore Wores (see Chapter 4). Theodore Wores had studied at the Munich Academy at the same time that Duveneck and Chase were there (1875) and stayed in

[246] Bruce Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) And His Milieu" (Ph.D. dissertation, CUNY Graduate Center, 1985). Included is a detailed account of Blum's *japonisme* before his encounter with Whistler in Venice in 1880, and of Whistler's subsequent influence on his art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Munich for six years. He accompanied Duveneck to Polling[247] and later to Venice (in 1879). It was in Venice that he met Whistler, who encouraged him to study Japanese art. Like Blum, Wores was fired with a passion to visit Japan. He was one of the earlier artists to reside there (1885-7) and did so a second time (1892-4). His works done in Japan that demonstrate *japonisme* employed many of the same strategies -- in terms of theme (*kimono*-clad figures on a balcony), vertical format (as in Wores' *Blossoms in Japan*, unlocated), and composition (using cropping and asymmetry) -- as those used by Whistler. However, although Whistler may have influenced Wores in the direction of *japonisme*, it is likely that Wores employed it through direct contact with Japan and Japanese art rather than at second-hand through Whistler.

Thomas Dewing (see Chapter 3): Whistler's most ardent collector in America was the wealthy Detroit industrialist, Charles Lang Freer (see Chapter 5). Freer began collecting Whistler's etchings in 1887 and met the artist for the first time in 1890 in London. Whistler aided Freer in amassing "*the* Whistler collection," and upon learning of their mutual admiration for Japanese prints, the artist encouraged his patron's interest in and collecting of fine Asian art. Freer also collected a number of American painters whose works accorded with both his Asian and his Whistler collections.

Thomas Dewing knew and was strongly influenced by Whistler, to whom he was introduced by Freer. When he built his mansion in Detroit (1890-92), Freer sought the advice of the Tonalist painter Dwight Tryon (1849-1925), who recommended an interior decorative scheme and suggested that Dewing[248] work on the project with him. These

---

[247] The group went to Polling in Bavaria in 1876 to sketch and paint the landscape in *plein air*. As with the French summer colonies, a large group of German and foreign artists gathered at Polling.

[248] Dewing was a Boston- and Paris-trained Tonalist figure painter who had recently relocated to New York from Boston, where he had briefly taught at the Art School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two artists collaborated on both Freer's and his partner Frank J. Hecker's interiors in 1892-93.[249] Freer became close friends with both Tryon and Dewing.[250]

In 1891, the year after he met Whistler, Freer purchased his first Thomas Dewing painting, *The Piano* (fig. 60). It was one of a series of paintings by Dewing that related to the Symbolist and the Aesthetic Movements, in terms of its treatment of women as objects of beauty for contemplation and the analogy drawn between painting and music. Whistler was a key figure in both these movements. *The Piano* also related to Whistler and *japonisme* in its compositional simplification and asymmetry, its color harmonies, and the ambiguity of its space. Dewing's paintings, like Whistler's, were thinly painted and lacked the finish associated with the academic approach.

It was in 1894, after Dewing had completed his work on Freer's home, that the latter introduced him to Whistler in Paris. The two artists' artistic sensibilities were very similar, especially in terms of quietude and nuanced evocation of mood. Dewing was working in a Whistlerian mode before ever meeting the expatriate master. This is not surprising given the circles Dewing traveled in and the fact that Whistler's work was well-known and accessible in Boston, New York and Paris, where Dewing trained, worked and exhibited. Both artists were originally from the Boston area so it is not surprising that they had shared sensibilities. Both collected fine Asian ceramics, which appeared in their paintings. Dewing, living temporarily in London in 1894-5, was permitted to work in Whistler's studio for a brief time. "Whistler's influence on Dewing's style is evident in the seated profile figures and delicate tonal harmonies that predominate ... Even the titles

[249] The participation of artists in designing and working on the interior décor of homes was part of the post-1876 (Centennial Exhibition) Aesthetic Movement in America, which mirrored Whistler's own activities with Godwin and such projects as his *Peacock Room* for Leyland.
[250] Merrill, 53-63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Dewing's paintings, such as *Black and Gold,* recall Whistler's penchant for the abstract rather than the anecdotal."[251]

Many of Dewing's paintings alluded to music, which was generally understood to be analogous to pure art in its most abstract form. One of the first of these was a set of two-fold screens titled *The Four Sylvan Sounds* (fig. 61) in which birds' songs represented nature's music.[252] These screens came about as a result of Dewing and Freer seeing Whistler's two-fold screen of *Old Battersea Bridge* (fig. 62). Dewing and Freer discussed the scheme for the screens, in which female figures, based on the Tanagra figures,[253] functioned as personifications of the sylvan sounds. Whistler's correspondence of the arts of music and painting, which was echoed by Dewing, was based on Baudelaire's anti-Realist assertion that the arts should transcend to an abstract (non-narrative) emotion-evoking level, whether in painting, music or literature. In literature, this theory found adherents in Emile Zola (1840-1902) and Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), as it did with Whistler in painting, and Claude Debussy (1862-1918) in music. These ideas were well known through frequent mention of them in print as well as through word-of-mouth.[254]

---

[251] Susan Hobbs, "Thomas Wilmer Dewing," in William H. Gerdts, et. al., *Ten American Painters* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990), 99. Again, it should be noted that these aspects of Whistler's influence were already at work in Dewing *oeuvre* prior to their introduction by Freer.

[252] Lawton and Merrill, 174: This set's theme was probably based on Ralph Waldo Emerson's (1803-1882) Transcendentalist nature poem *Woodnotes.*

[253] Tanagra figures were small terra cotta figurines from the Hellenistic period. In the 1870s a great many of them were illicitly removed from tombs in Anatolia and the Aegean region. They captured the imaginations of such artists as Whistler, Isadora Duncan (1878-1927) and Childe Hassam, as well as Thomas Dewing.

[254] G. Monod, "Contemporary Life and Thought in France," *Littell's Living Age* 178/2299 (July 21, 1888): 174-187(reprinted from *The Contemporary* Review); Madame Adam, "Are French Novels Faithful to Life?," *North American Review* 153/420 (November 1891): 536-46; "The French Decadence," *Littell's Living Age* 194/2506 (July 90, 1892): 67-81 (reprinted from *The Quarterly Review*); Theodore Child, "Literary Paris," *Harper's* 85/508 (September 1892): 489-507; Camile Saint-Saens, "Franz Liszt," *Century* 445/4 (February 1893): 517-25; Aline Gorren, "The French Symbolists," *Scribner's* 13/2 (March 1893): 337-52; Arthur Symons, "The Decadent Movement in Literature," *Harper's* 87/522 (November 1893): 858-869; Edmund Gosse, "The Poetry of John Donne," *Littell's Living Age* 199/2576 (November 18, 1893): 429-436 (reprinted from *The New Review*); Royal Cortissoz, "Egotism in Contemporary American Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 72/439 (May 1894): 644-652; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "Two Great Authors. I. Dr. Holmes," *North*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Similarly, Dewing's *The Hermit Thrush* (1890, fig. 63) shows women in a swirling landscape awash in tones of green and brown. The style of painting and the scene as depicted are evocative of the sounds for which the women are listening. The women almost dematerialize as they blend into nature's colors, sounds, and atmosphere. Their arms are cocked as if they, like the thrush, may imminently take flight. An unusually dramatic work for Dewing, the strong diagonal of the hill and eccentric windswept form of the old pine tree could easily have derived from any number of Japanese sources (porcelains, screens, fabrics, hanging scrolls).[255]

Kathleen Pyne postulates that Dewing's women listening to music were practicing a form of self-culture related to Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinist theories. She associates Dewing's art with an attempt to cultivate and reflect a higher form of society through contemplation of beauty and writes that, along with Dewing, "There was no stronger advocate for the harmonious art object or the unifying environment than Whistler." According to Pyne, the women in Dewing's paintings contemplated beautiful objects; they also constituted beautiful objects to be contemplated. In the same sense, Dewing's paintings were beautiful objects for contemplation, while serving as an example and a means for self-improvement, through which society as a whole would

---

American Review 159/457 (December 1894): 669-677; "Latter-Day Pagans," *Littell's Living Age* 206/2672 (September 21, 1895): 707-725 (reprinted from *The Quarterly Review*); Kenyon Cox, "Nordau's Theory of Degeneration. I. A Painter's View," *North American Review* 160/463 (June 1895): 735-740; "Contributor's Club," *Atlantic* Monthly 76/453 (July 1895): 139-44; Cesare Lombroso, "Nordau's "Degeneration:" Its Value and Its Errors," *Century* 50/6 (October 1895): 936-941; Dr. Max Nordau, "Degeneration and Evolution. I. A Reply to My Critics," *North American Review* 161/464 (July 1895): 80-94; "Painting, Sculpture and Architecture," *Atlantic Monthly* 77/462 (April 1896): 554-555; Elizabeth W. Champrey, "Modern Dutch Painters," *Century* 56/3 (July 1898): 395-408; René Dominique, "Count Tolstoi's Ideas on Art," *Littell's Living Age* 218/2825 (August 27, 1898): 607-614 (reprinted from *Revue des Deux Mondes*, translated). These are just a few examples of articles on or including the Symbolist or Degenerate Movement in France that included the various branches of the arts.

[255] In similar fashion, the women in Dewing's *A Reading* (1897, American Art Museum, Smithsonian) appear as fragile and finely wrought as the beautiful porcelain vase and flowers at the center of the picture and are equally a focus of contemplation. Whistler's *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (1864, Philadelphia Museum of Art) could well have served as a source for such treatment, although it seems that both men were temperamentally and intuitively suited to this type of analogy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

improve. Such refinement, Pyne asserts, was deemed urgent among the elite of Boston, fearful of what might become of American culture with the influx of immigrants into the country.[256]

Summary

To summarize, the phenomenon of American *japonisme* was largely a result of exposure of American art students in Europe to the *japonisme* practiced there. These students studied in art centers such as Munich and Paris and congregated with other artists, often of many nationalities, at select summer locations where art colonies existed or were formed and where they exchanged current art ideas and methods. At the time, *japonisme* was current and likely to have been discussed, along with all the other sources artists drew upon in the period. The effects of Japanese art often coincided with the dominant styles of the various colonies and acceptance of those styles would therefore have made the artists accepting of or practicing them more receptive to Japanese art and its lessons. Two of the most important figures in the transmission of *japonisme* to the American artists studying and practicing in Europe were the French Impressionist, Claude Monet, and the expatriate American artists, James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Some of the American artists thus influenced, such as Theodore Robinson, J. Alden Weir, John Twachtman, and Thomas Dewing, would become directly engaged with Japanese art and thus practice *japonisme* at first-hand. Many others, such as Frederick Frieseke, were influenced at second-hand, developing upon aspects of the *japonisme* of European artists in their own work. The sources of *japonisme*, at first- and second-hand, were numerous and therefore the subsequent responses to them by American artists resulted in many differing forms, as is discussed in the following chapter.

---

[256] Kathleen Pyne, "Evolutionary Typology and the American Woman in the Work of Thomas Dewing," *American Art* 7/4 (Fall 1993), 12-29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Finally, the generation of American artists that studied abroad wanted to maintain the camaraderie of the art colonies they had experienced in Germany, France, Italy, Holland, England, and elsewhere. When they returned to the U.S., they formed colonies of their own. Groups tended to gather during summers in areas within reach of their primary places of residence and work. These colonies were a significant venue for the further exchange of ideas and methods among artists. As with the colonies of Europe, they helped pave the way for acceptance of a variety of new and often foreign forms and techniques, including *japonisme*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 3

THE TEN AMERICAN PAINTERS: THEIR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES TO *JAPONISME*

The American artists who trained in Europe brought the influences and ideas they had encountered there, including Impressionism and *japonisme*, back to the United States. The Ten American Painters,[257] familiarly known as The Ten, were the group of American artists most strongly identified with Impressionism. The impressionist style they practiced incorporated elements of Japanese art and *japonisme*, often acquired at second-hand (see Chapter 2). As the group most identified with Impressionism and therefore *japonisme* in the U.S., each of the members of The Ten is examined in this chapter in relation to the extent and forms the influence Japanese art and *japonisme* had on their work.

Those who would become The Ten were the Young Turks of the American art scene in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Following an established tradition among younger members of the dominant exhibiting artist organization of the day, they broke away from the Society of American Artists to form their own group in 1897.[258] The Ten's sole commitment was to hold an annual exhibition in which its

---

[257] For a comprehensive treatment of the The Ten American Painters, including the training of each member, a record of who exhibited what in each of their exhibitions and a review of critical reactions to each exhibit, see: Gerdts, et al., *Ten American Painters*.

[258] In 1825, the leading young artists of the day broke away from the American Art Association (the AAA), which was viewed as dominated by "old fogy" artists who did not give the up-and-comers an adequate opportunity to exhibit their work. This breakaway group formed the National Academy of Design (the NAD). Similarly, in 1877, a group of foreign-trained artists who felt they were not being given equal treatment when it came to selection for exhibition space within the NAD, seceded and formed the Society of American Artists (the SAA). In each of these cases, as with the forming of The Ten, the issue was who would decide whose work would be prominently displayed in the annual art exhibitions that were attended by art buyers and critics. In the case of The Ten, its members wanted to keep the size of the show down and to allow the artists themselves to determine which of their works would be exhibited. In Europe, there were also numerous precedents for such breaks with traditional exhibiting venues.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

members would be given equal space for exhibiting their individually-chosen works.[259] There was no selection committee. They wanted to end large exhibitions and exhibit the best group of paintings of each member. The exhibition space was redesigned for each show and each picture was given its own distinct space. The environment was characterized by subdued wall coverings and lighting. All these features were in emulation of the Japanese example, introduced to them by Whistler's own exhibiting practices. The group exhibited together from 1898 to 1919.

The members of The Ten shared European training and a view that America was coming into its own in relation to world art. Having studied abroad and learned foreign methods, it was natural for them to draw from a variety of sources in creating what they saw as a distinctly American expression based on their depiction of their native scenes that evoked American associations. *Japonisme* was so prevalent in Europe at the time these men studied and later visited there that it could not have escaped their notice any more than Impressionism could. Even after their return to America, these artists were very much aware of both Whistler and Impressionism. Beginning in the 1880s, a number of important Impressionist shows took place in Boston and New York, as well as other locations. Impressionism was much discussed in the press and among artists. In the 1890s, Japanese art was frequently on display in Paris and America, and it was collected by artists for its artistic value and as props for studio paintings.

When the artists who belonged to The Ten employed non-academic means, such as Impressionism, for expressing themselves, doing so was clearly a choice on their part. Their use of *japonisme*, on the other hand, was not necessarily always a conscious choice. It often was so digested into other forms they were drawing from, such as the works of Whistler, the Impressionists, and each other's work, that they may not have

[259] If it did not work out that way, it was because artists might choose not to use all the space allotted them, which would then be utilized by others.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recognized it as an ultimate source (see the sections on Twachtman and Chase below). A source it was, nevertheless. Sorting out the variety and types of responses to *japonisme* on the part of these artists, then, is not only a matter of whether they employed *japonisme*, but also of the degree to which they did so, and how consciously they did so. Although Chase may have intended to employ *japonisme*, for instance, it will be shown that he did so on only the most superficial level. Conversely, it will also be shown that Twachtman demonstrated a fully-developed, first-hand, and very subtle form of *japonisme.* It is significant to note the difference because while Chase's use of Japanese precedents is visibly obvious, Twachtman's is very difficult to detect without some knowledge of his engagement with *japonisme.*

Although each of the members of The Ten will be treated individually below, it is not the intent to discuss them comprehensively. Examination of their *oeuvres* will be limited primarily to easel paintings and to works specifically relevant to the discussion of their *japonisme.*

Julian Alden Weir

J. Alden Weir was one of the many artists influenced by Whistler's *japonisme* (see Chapter 2). His most frequently cited example of *japonisme* is *The Red Bridge* (1895, fig. 64). Its most striking feature is its color, with dominant complements of red and green in an Impressionist high-keyed tonality.[260] Entry into this inviting scene, however, is blocked by the foreground trees, which are severely cropped and act as a screen while drawing attention to the picture plane and creating a sense of immediacy. This was a common device of *ukiyo-e*, frequently employed by Hokusai and Hiroshige

[260] "High-keyed tonality" refers to the intensity of a hue or shade of a color. Hues such as yellow appear most saturated (intense) when they are brighter, whereas hues such as purple-blue are most saturated at lower levels of brightness. See: Rudolf Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye, The New Version*, expanded and revised ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 347.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(fig. 65), among others. The dominant grid-like geometric structure of the bright red man-made bridge reflected in the water is juxtaposed with the eccentrically-formed surrounding aspects of nature, another device commonly used in Japanese prints. As Doreen Bolger Burke has pointed out in her analysis of Weir's *japonisme*, there were two related pictures in Weir's personal collection – Hiroshige's *Maple Trees at Tsuten Bridge* (from the *Famous Places in Kyoto* series) and Utagawa Kuniyoshi's (1797-1861) *Act Eleven, Scene Two: Moronao's Head* (fig. 66).[261] The vantage point of each of these prints places a geometric structure behind a screen of cropped foreground trees and at the top of the picture creating, as in Weir's painting, a high horizon. Other examples of *japonisme* in Weir's painting include the truncation of the bridge, the cross-axial recession, the reflection of the bridge's structure in the water, the asymmetrical arrangement of elements, the theme, the simplified color, and the picture's shallow space, created by the devices mentioned.

While it is possible that direct Japanese sources for all of these elements of his *japonisme* would have existed within his print collection, the influence of Whistler's *japoniste* paintings of Battersea Bridge (fig. 62) cannot be overlooked as a possible secondary source. When Weir first visited Whistler in London (1877), he would have been able to have seen both the screen (*Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge*, 1872, Museum of Fine Arts Boston) and another very similar painting (*Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*, 1872-7, Tate Gallery) that Whistler completed that year. Compositionally, Weir's placement and relative proportions of the bridge, causing the viewer to focus immediately on the top of the picture, are very close to Whistler's. Whistler's perspective differs, however, in that in addition to the looming bridge at the top that draws the eye up, he includes the deeper perspective of the river

[261] Burke, *J. Alden Weir...*, 212. Burke identifies Kuniyoshi's print as *Act Twelfth*, and says that it was in Weir's collection.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

receding into the distance. Weir's river, that runs parallel to the picture plane, stops the viewer's eye and causes it to move across rather than into the canvas, in much the same way that Whistler's gold screen functioned in *Caprice in Purple and Gold, The Gold Screen* (1864, fig. 2). The bridge and its matching red reflection create a shallow recession from right to left, ending abruptly at the far bank, which also runs parallel to the picture plane. In this regard, it is closer to Hiroshige's *Clear Morning after a Snowfall at Nihonbashi Bridge* (1847-8). A mingling of first- and second-hand *japonisme* was at work here. Weir's brushwork and palette relate to the Impressionism that he was practicing during the 1890s. His Impressionist palette was influenced by Japanese use of color, and Weir's strong use of bright red was a further reflection of his interest in Japanese prints.[262]

The Red Bridge is also similar to Monet's *The Bridge at Argenteuil* (1874, fig. 67)[263] in terms of the interconnectedness of primary compositional elements. Monet's truncated foreground mast and bridge emerging from the upper right relates to Weir's *The Red Bridge*, as does Monet's use of images reflected in water as a strong compositional element, not only here but also in such works as his series of *Poplars* on the Epte River (fig. 68). Weir was well aware of Monet's imagery, having exhibited with him at the American Art Association in New York in 1893.[264] By the 1890s in the U.S., Impressionism had eclipsed Barbizon painting as the most popular style, and Monet's work was frequently exhibited; Americans were his primary collectors. In addition, one of Weir's closest friends was Theodore Robinson, with whom he discussed the relation of Japanese prints to his work. As related in Chapter 2, Robinson knew Monet's work

---

[262] In addition to its frequent use as an enlivening color note, red occurs on virtually all Japanese prints in the seals of the artists, publishers and censors. In the case of the seals, they sit at the surface of the work asserting its two-dimensionality.

[263] Monet did several versions of this subject, all of which may be related in varying degrees to Weir's *The Red Bridge*.

[264] In this four-man show, which provided an opportunity for comparison of American and French Impressionists, Monet, Besnard, Twachtman and Weir exhibited together.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intimately and was an important source for the transmission of the Frenchman's ideas and methods.

The Third Impressionist Exhibition, which Weir attended, included Camille Pissarro's *Le verger, côte Saint-Denis, à Pontoise* (1877, fig. 69), which features a stand of truncated trees acting as a screen between the viewer and the geometric man-made buildings beyond. Monet exhibited several Gare Saint-Lazare paintings, including *Le pont de Rome* (1877, fig. 70), in which smoke provided the foreground screen in front of the bridge emerging from the right border of the painting. The modern world of steam and steel construction was one of the subjects of Monet's work. The metal bridge in Weir's painting had replaced an old covered bridge; thus it too represented the new, dynamic modern life. Monet's employment of *japonisme* in achieving his Impressionist images was followed a decade and a half later by American Impressionists such as Weir.

Among the members of The Ten, Weir showed a high degree of *japonisme* in his work. Although he came to Japanese art through Whistler, he also used direct sources in the form of *ukiyo-e* for his own explorations and can, therefore, be considered a *japoniste*. *Japonisme* interacted with Impressionism to affect his work in terms of subject, composition, color, and over-all effect. His early formality, solidity, detailing and finish gave way in the 1890s to a more relaxed quality of spontaneity while his subject matter evolved from Bastien-Lepage-influenced peasantry to intimate domestic scenes. His palette became brighter and more simplified and his handling looser and more relaxed. Even more than the changes that took place in his choice and combinations of colors and his compositional structuring, it was his more relaxed sense of intimacy and attention to contemporary life that reflected his engagement with *japonisme*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

John Twachtman

John Twachtman was also an important influence on Weir in terms of his *japonisme*. They were in the same clubs and exhibiting groups, they taught together at the Art Students' League and in Cos Cob, they and their friend Theodore Robinson collected and discussed Japanese prints together, they were exhibited together with Monet and Besnard in a four-man show in 1893, and Twachtman and Weir were close neighbors in Connecticut throughout the 1890s. Twachtman may be classified as either a Tonalist, in the Bastien-Lepage and Whistlerian modes, or an Impressionist in the Monet mode. He may also be classified among the most advanced of American *japonistes*. His pictures demonstrated an abstract approach to art; they were composed of masses and planes, areas of color, areas of light and dark; they captured essences and expressed moods. His work was often lyrical and poetic in feeling, without reliance on narrative. His subject was frequently the various moods of nature as they related to the seasons. In all these ways, his work can be related to Japanese art.

During his 1877 to 1878 trip to Venice, where he joined Duveneck and Chase, Twachtman drew and painted *en plein air*.[265] He retained the flamboyant and heavy impasto of the Munich School, often making quick oil sketches *alla prima*. Prior to Whistler, he was already making near-focus, rather than the typical panoramic, views of Venice, employing oblique angles and taking an asymmetrical design approach to treatment of often atypical subjects. For instance, contrary to most artist-visitors to Venice, Twachtman showed it as a contemporary industrial city rather than enveloping it in the idealized, romanticized aura of its past, as Ruskin had advocated. Lisa Peters points out that Twachtman's 1878 view of the working district of the Campo Santa Marta (fig. 71) adopted the same unusual vantage point used by Whistler the following year. At

[265] This had also been the practice of the artists, such as Twachtman, who accompanied Duveneck to Polling.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this point, then, he was showing a natural inclination in the same unusual thematic and compositional directions as the older artist, generally considered to be the leader in relation to the American artists of Twachtman's generation.[266]

The following year, Twachtman painted his *Japanese Winter Landscape* (1879, fig. 72 a). This work evokes a mood of starkness and reverie,[267] a mood that he revisited in 1888 in the very similar *Along the River, Winter* (1888-9, fig. 72 b). The limited tonal range and simplification of both works demonstrates an awareness of monochromatic *sumi-e* (ink painting) in the Japanese tradition, which is supported by the title of the first work.[268] Such an awareness of Japanese art at this early date indicates sources other than Whistler, his tenure in France, or his association with Weir and Robinson. Twachtman had spent June and July of 1879 with fellow Tile Club members on a barge meandering up the Hudson River to Lake Champlain. According to Peters, during this trip, alternatives to the Hudson River School approach to landscape painting were discussed and experimented with.[269] Among the Tilers was the Japanese collector-artist-businessman, Shugio Hiromichi (ca. 1853-1927).[270] Shugio later mounted several important exhibits of Japanese art in New York in 1889 and 1890 (Appendix 10) and was involved with the Japanese art displays at world's fairs after his return to Japan in 1890 (see Chapter 4). Twachtman's association with Shugio, at just the moment when he was seeking new landscape modes, may have provided the impetus for his interest in Japanese art.

---

[266] Peters, 51-61.
[267] This may relate to the fact that he was forced to return to live and work in Cincinnati in late 1879, a little over a year after his father's death, due to financial constraints.
[268] Although, as Peters points out, because Twachtman tended to leave his paintings untitled, most of them were titled posthumously.
[269] Peters, 68-72.
[270] Meech and Weisberg, 44. Shugio Hiromichi was the Oxford-educated Director of the First Japan Manufacturing and Trading Company in New York. Among other things, his company sold Japanese woodblock prints and illustrated books. He lectured on and mounted several important exhibits of *ukiyo-e* in New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

William Brownell recognized the shifts in Twachtman's style away from illusionism toward abstraction in 1880, prior to his studying in France but after his exposure to Whistler. Brownelle observantly wrote that,

> much of his work undeniably has the quality of "studies from nature." But it is getting to have less and less of this look all the time, and is losing meanwhile none of its genuineness ...[by losing] the tyrannizing sense of [Munich School] paintiness ... Twachtman's "handling" has gained in restraint and consequently effectiveness... He sees things very directly and feels them very strongly ... bringing out their picturesqueness with a *good deal of sympathetic perception.*[271]

Twachtman's *japonisme* was of a particularly subtle kind. Although his work could, and sometimes did, have the look of Asian art, it was its evocative power that most closely aligned it with Japanese Zen painting. In a memorial tribute to his friend, Thomas Dewing captured this quality of Twachtman's work. Describing a February snow scene by Twachtman, he wrote, "One feels the temperature, and recalls the scream of the blue jay, the black-green leaves of the sapling pines turning gray in the wind."[272] This ability of a painting to evoke a sensual experience, transporting viewers into, thus making them one with, the scene, is at the heart of Zen painting. The Zen means -- essentialism through simplicity achieved through identification with the subject -- also accorded with the means employed by Twachtman, especially for his many winter paintings. His friend Shugio might have introduced him to Zen painting, as might have his Japanese pupil, Genjiro Yeto (1867-1924). Whether Twachtman was consciously employing Zen aesthetics or not, his sensibilities were very much akin to those of Japanese Zen painters.[273]

---

[271] William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," *Scribner's* 20/3 (July 1880): 334.
[272] T. W. Dewing, "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation," *North American Review* 176/557 (April 1903): 554. In this same article, Childe Hassam, Robert Reid, Edward Simmons and J. Alden Weir also wrote tributes to their recently deceased colleague and friend.
[273] The connection between Twachtman's work and that of Japanese Zen artists of the fifteenth-century would be made in the early part of the twentieth century when he exhibited at the 1915 Pan-Pacific Exposition, which is discussed in greater detail and appropriately cited toward the end of this section on Twachtman.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like so many of the American artists of his circle, Twachtman taught and was a magazine illustrator to supplement his income. In 1888, the same year he painted *Along the River, Winter*, he produced a sensitive rendering of Mount Fuji for *Scribner's* to accompany a poem by Sir Percival Lowell (fig. 73). The image responded to the poem, including the cloudy mists at the mountain's base, which gave the sacred mountain a transcendent quality. Although Twachtman had no first-hand knowledge of the mountain, his monochromatic rendering was so close to those by Japanese artists that it seems he must have been familiar with their work (figs. 18 a,c). The illustration was undoubtedly based on his earlier 1885 painting, *Fujiyama* (fig. 74), which showed the mountain not only cloaked in mist but also reflected in water. The association of mist with mystery is one Twachtman wrote about in an 1891 letter to Weir, describing a moonlit night with "a cloudy sky to make it mysterious and a fog to increase mystery."[274]

A memorial tribute to Twachtman, written by fellow members of The Ten, spoke glowingly of elements of *japonisme* in Twachtman's work, without identifying it as such. Robert Reid, for instance, did not mention *japonisme* but rather associated his friend's use of mists with Corot. He wrote, "Corot got up betimes in the morning and painted a waking Nature seen through the mist, but the world took many years to acknowledge that Nature 'looked that way'."[275] In the same article, also without mentioning *japonisme*, Childe Hassam wrote of Twachtman's beauty of design, compositional simplicity, delicacy yet power, and sinuous and expressive line.[276] Simmons opposed Twachtman's "purely modern" landscapes, along with the art of Corot, Whistler and Monet, to Italian Renaissance art, implying that the latter (having set the standard for

[274] Letter from Twachtman to J. Alden Weir, dated 16 December 1891, reprinted in Peters, 545.
[275] Dewing, et al., 557-558.
[276] Ibid., 555-557.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

acceptable subject matter) belonged to the distant past.[277] In addressing the lack of public response to Twachtman's landscape painting, Simmons, like Reid, pointed to the example of Corot. "That vagueness of detail which seemed strange to us when Corot began to teach us, the photographic camera has proved to be the truth."[278] Weir's piece ended the memorial tribute, and reiterated Dewing's earlier assessment that Twachtman had been "in advance of his age to the extent that ... he lived ahead of his epoch."[279]

Artists such as Chase and Hassam were prolific and popular.[280] Their art was created with marketability in mind. That was not the case with Twachtman and Weir, who approached their art from a very personal, aesthetically-driven viewpoint. They painted primarily for themselves and each other, and if a wider audience approved of and purchased their work, all the better, but that was not their motivation. According to an 1888 review of the show at the National Academy of Design, "Mr. Twachtman's work is, as usual, graceful, poetic and full of light and air, but like that of some other excellent painters, it is hardly 'loud' enough to appeal to the crowd."[281] Twachtman certainly wanted to sell his work but would not pander to "the crowd" by giving up his subtle *japonisme*, recognized by the anonymous reviewer in terms of his works' "graceful, poetic" qualities. Weir's and Twachtman's assimilation of the lessons of Japanese art into their own oeuvres, so that its presence was often difficult for the uninitiated to appreciate, demonstrated that their's was the more deeply felt. It was explored on intellectual and emotional as well as pictorial levels and not simply employed, as with Chase and Hassam, for the fashionable "look" it lent their pictures. This is an important

---

[277] Simmons suggested, incorrectly, that Japanese and Chinese artists might have been able to paint pure landscapes because there weren't class divisions that made it dangerous for artists to venture alone into nature.
[278] Ibid., 558-561.
[279] Ibid., 561-562.
[280] Chase lived lavishly which caused financial difficulties and he had to sell much of his personal collection.
[281] "With Readers and Correspondents," *Catholic World* 47/279 (June 1888): 425.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

differentiation because not only the intents but also the results of the two approaches were so different.

Twachtman's *japonisme* has frequently been identified with the time he spent studying in Paris (1883-6), exemplified by such works as *Arques-la-Bataille* (fig. 75). Its flattening through layered horizontal bands of space, simplification of forms, and cropping to create a strong foreground element in the silhouetted reeds all relate to Japanese prints, which were admired and readily available in Paris at that time. Unfortunately, when Twachtman returned to America he sent most of the paintings he had done in France ahead on another ship that sank. Most of his works from that important period perished.

Springtime (1884, fig. 76) was a similar work of about the same time that survived. It is Tonalist in its colors, the forms of its trees, and the interactive qualities of its light and mood. These are qualities also associated with Japanese art. *Springtime* differs from *Arques-la-Bataille* in its treatment of space. Later, in his Connecticut period (the late 1880s and 1890s), Twachtman's space would often become ambiguous. *Arques-la-Bataille* provides an opening for the viewer to enter the scene on the lower right, similar in treatment to Asian paintings, except that there is a distinct horizon line just above the center of the painting. As with Japanese art, its shallowness imparts a sense of immediacy, while the dark, cropped foliage in the foreground reinforces that effect, drawing the viewer into the scene. *Springtime*, however, employs one-point perspective to a vanishing point within the pictorial field, which is the traditional Western mode. Its space, too, is very shallow but of a nature that would more readily fit the logical visual expectations (*gestalt*) of an American or European audience.

The existence of these two contemporary works, very similar in feel and in Tonalist coloration, supports the idea that Twachtman was experimenting with *japonisme* while he was in Paris in the mid-1880s. It was his insistence on the decorative treatment

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the surface of the canvas, and subjective rather than objective-representational treatment of nature, among other things, which allied him, through his *japonisme*, with Modernism and the Symbolist Movement in France.[282]

During Twachtman's time in Connecticut, his treatment of nature's ephemerality, expressed in the seasons and their ever-changing atmospheric effects, represented an advanced form of *japonisme*.[283] These paintings had more with the aesthetic nature of Japanese art than how it looked. Twachtman's Zen-like mind, was again in evidence. He became, and thus invited his audience to become, one with the nature he portrayed.

His figural pictures from this period often showed his family members in the garden – an integral part of the nature with which they chose to surround themselves. In *On the Terrace* (1897, fig. 77) his family is marginalized to the right side of the canvas. Dressed in white, they blend together and function compositionally as a void form, an inactivated space to counterbalance the vivid cross-axial (slanted "v" shaped)[284] flower borders that recede diagonally to the house in the background. The house is nearly parallel to the picture plane, creating a shallow depth and therefore a sense of intimacy in the out-of-doors. The family group, if read as a void, may be interpreted as equal to the spiritualized, and therefore potent, void of a Zen painting.

Twachtman's use of white to create a compositional counterbalance became more obvious in a number of his snow scenes. The interpretation of the void as spiritualized entered Japanese painting during the Kamakura and Muromachi Periods from the Chinese Southern Sung tradition of painters such as Ma Yuan, who was much

---

[282] Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "American Impressionism and Realism: The Margaret and Raymond Horowitz Collection," National Gallery of Art, www.nga.gov/exhibitions/horo_045.htm

[283] Berger, 106. Klaus Berger has identified the first phase of *japonisme* in France with the inclusion of Japanese objects in paintings for their exotic fashionability, and the second, more advanced, phase with forms derived from the spirit rather than the look of Japanese art and art objects.

[284] This is a form often employed by Twachtman and one of the ways he incorporated human engendered geometric shapes into nature's asymmetry and curvilinear forms, another Japanese strategy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

revered in Japan. It would seem possible for Twachtman to have understood this through reading Bing's *Artistic Japan* which was available in America beginning in 1889 (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 4).[285] It is also possible that Shugio, or Yeto, or his old friend Robert Blum (who had spent two years in Japan), discussed such concepts with him, given his interest in Japanese art.

Visually, woodblock prints generally incorporated neo-Confucian concepts such as the balancing of solid and void spaces within a harmonious composition.[286] A prime example of this is Hokusai's *Great Wave Off Kanagawa* from his *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* series (1831, fig. 78). Its *yin-yang* shaped treatment of space is echoed in others of Hokusai's works such as *Poppies* from his *Large Flowers* series (1833, fig. 79).[287]

In another painting from Twachtman's Connecticut period, *Sailing in the Mist* (1890-1900, fig. 80), the figure and boat appear to consist of the same substance as the water and atmosphere. His snow scene, *Round Hill Road* (also 1890-1900, fig. 81), used the falling snow in the same way as the fog in *Sailing in the Mist*, both to unify the

---

[285] The theme of the first issue of *Artistic Japan* was "Back to Nature by Following the Japanese Example." There were thirty-six issues published between 1889 and 1891, and they were available in New York in English translation at Brentano's Book Store. They were also available in London in English translation and in Paris in the original French at Bing's showroom, as well as in other foreign locales. They were widely publicized in American journals and copies were sold at auctions with *ukiyo-e* once publication ceased.

[286] Neo-Confucianism originated in China in the first century B.C. and became especially prominent among scholar-gentlemen artists during the Southern Sung, Yuan and Ming Dynasties in China. It incorporated aspects of Ch'an Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism and justified the rule of monarchical government as it accorded with the order of nature. Called Zen in Japan, Ch'an Buddhism originated in India. *Yin-Yang*, the harmonious balancing of opposites, is a Taoist concept that was incorporated into Neo-Confucian philosophy and was employed by Zen Buddhist artists in China and Japan.

[287] Like LaFarge and Monet, Twachtman painted close-up views of flowers on his property, such as *Wild Flowers* (1890-95, Cincinnati Museum of Art), which may have been inspired by such works by Hokusai or other Japanese artists' bird-and-flower pictures frequently reproduced in Bing's journal, *Artistic Japan*. He might also have seen such works at the Hokusai exhibit at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston in 1893, which he visited. Other possible venues for seeing Hokusai's *Great Wave Off Kanagawa* and *Poppies* might have included his friend Shugio's collection, other artists' collections, and exhibits by Bing and other dealers in New York or Boston. Even if Twachtman was not familiar with these particular works, there are many such examples among *ukiyo-e.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scene and to make the space occupied by its component parts ambiguous. The clouds in Japanese paintings function in much the same way (fig. 82). The extreme whiteness of *Round Hill Road* makes it one of Twachtman's most spiritual paintings; its ambiguity makes it one of his most poetic and lyrical.

Kathleen Pyne has written that contemporary critics noted the quietude and spiritual aspect of Twachtman's work of the 1890s, and suggests that it was viewed as an antidote to the materialistic, hectic life of the city (in Twachtman's case, New York).[288] This would certainly tie into the American landscape tradition in its accord with the aims of Thomas Cole, who wrote in 1836 that contemplation of scenery was a source of both enjoyment and improvement and would temper the harshness of the utilitarianism of the age.[289] It would also explain why critics of the period did not identify Twachtman with what was sometimes seen as the inherently amoral stance of Whistler's art-for-art's sake philosophy.

It was during this decade of the 1890s that Twachtman was most like the French *japoniste* Monet, with whom critics often compared him. His palette had lost the dark tones of Munich and the muted tones of Whistler and Bastien-Lepage. Sunlight became an important factor in his color and atmosphere. He no longer employed the flamboyant brushwork of the Munich School but painted very rapidly, *alla prima* and often out-of-doors. Areas of the canvas might remain visible, despite sometimes-heavy impasto in other areas, in the Impressionist mode. His themes were taken from the microcosmic world of his family and his property in Greenwich. He altered that property, adding, among other things, a white bridge which, as with other favorite sites, he painted

---

[288] Pyne, 224.

[289] Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery," *The American Monthly Magazine*, New Series 1 (January, 1836): 1-12. Although the Tilers were derisive of Hudson River School landscape paintings, their general attitude that art had a palliative effect in an urbanized environment may not have been associated in their minds with the earlier artists, whether Cole's essay contributed to this attitude or not.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

repeatedly in different conditions. In the same ways that he was like Monet, the latter was like the Japanese. Although he never actually met Monet, he would certainly have known about his work.[290]

A review of a memorial exhibition of Twachtman's paintings at Knoedler's Gallery spoke of his snow scenes and marines that were not included in the sale, and compared Twachtman's work with the painting of the Japanese, of Cazin, and of Monet. The anonymous reviewer said that *Sailing in the Mist* was "worthy of the fastidious brushes of Japanese when they touch the surface of silk here and there and evolve a poetic suggestion of fog or rain." The reviewer went on to say that the similarity between Twachtman and the Japanese, however, was merely superficial. He said that although Twachtman's flower pictures did not attain the perfection of Japanese examples, his painting showed a depth lacking in Japanese paintings. The reviewer mentioned the "peacefulness and rest" from "the movement and haste of town life" the American's paintings afforded. He contrasted Twachtman favorably with Cazin, saying that he was more poetic due to being a "painter's painter" who painted for himself rather than to gain public recognition. According to the review, Monet "had a great deal of influence on Twachtman." The piece concluded by suggesting that readers comparatively visit three concurrent shows in New York: Twachtman at Knoedler's, Monet at Durand-Ruel, and "the little Japanese painters" at the Arts Club.[291] This review supported the view that Twachtman painted for himself and that his brush was like that of the Japanese in its ability to create a "poetic suggestion." At the same time, however, it demonstrated the lack of understanding among some of the American critics, even as late as 1905, of

---

[290] Twachtman would have known about Monet's work from his time in Paris, from the fact the Monet was the most well-known, exhibited and discussed of the Impressionists in America, from his close friend Theodore Robinson who was an intimate of Monet's in Giverny (see Chapter 2) and, as mentioned previously, from his work being exhibited with Monet's.

[291] "Twachtman's Painted Poems: Comparisons with French and Japanese Impressionists," *The New York Times* 54/17,167 (January 10, 1905): p. 6, c. 3. The article was unsigned.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's deep absorption of Japanese aesthetics and of the depth of expression in Japanese art.

Not all early-twentieth-century critics were so unaware. When Twachtman was posthumously exhibited at the San Francisco Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915, several of the leading critics of the period who wrote on that fair commented on the *japonisme* evident in his work. Christian Brinton noted that "His opalescent panels are veritable improvisations wherein the essentials of Impressionism have been superseded by a subtle abstraction frankly suggestive of the Japanese."[292] J. Nilson Laurvik[293] compared one of Twachtman's landscapes with Laurence Binyon's description of Zen painting of fifteenth-century Japan in terms of its lofty ethereal mood. He also related it to the Kano School landscapes by virtue of Twachtman's "fondness for the spacious simplicity, the serene calm of winter." In terms of technique and style, he wrote that like the Japanese Zen painters of the fifteenth century, Twachtman "made the principles of Impressionism wholly subservient to the end in view, hence one is seldom conscious of the means employed." He perceptively related this to the popular strain of poetic mysticism of the period.[294] Laurvik also noted the similarities between Twachtman's and Whistler's powers of suggestion and ability to stir the imagination of their audiences in the same way as music. He tied them spiritually to the "remote masters of the Sung dynasty." The Zen-like evocative, suggestive power of Twachtman's landscapes was noted in regard to the way in which he employed the commonplace to bring about a new awareness of the significance of nature.[295] Finally, Laurvik noted Twachtman's stylistic

---

[292] Christian Brinton, *Impressions of the Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition* (New York: John Lane Company, 1916), 95.
[293] The critics Brinton and Laurvik were both engaged with Modernism and saw Impressionism as an important factor in its development.
[294] This found an outlet in such pursuits as séances and the practice of Theosophy.
[295] Although Laurvik did not make the direct connection between Zen painting and Twachtman's employment of the commonplace for profound realization, it is a valid connection and one that is made here because of Laurvik's earlier-mentioned association of Twachtman's work with fifteenth-century Zen painting.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

similarities with Asian art achieved through an appreciation of the "equilibrium of nature in whose forms he discovered a natural beauty of design."[296]

Among The Ten, Twachtman would seem to be the artist who most thoroughly absorbed the spirit of Japanese art. He is also the artist who most successfully adopted and adapted its lessons to create his own unique form of *japonisme*. Among his fellow artists his work was very highly regarded but he was not very successful at selling his work.[297]

Willard Metcalf

Willard Metcalf, like John Twachtman, was partial to painting snow-covered winter landscapes, but if *japonisme* played a part in such paintings, it was generally only incidentally, in terms of visual or thematic strategies. His paintings differed considerably from Twachtman's in their meaning and effect. Metcalf chose to paint snowy visions of nature because as an outdoorsman and naturalist he found them appealing and because they had strong New England associations. They were, as Royal Cortissoz observed, "portraits" of very specific places in New England.[298] Twachtman's *japoniste* snow scenes, however, represented his personal emotional responses to nature that, if effective, would elicit similar but individual responses from viewers.

Metcalf studied at the Académie Julian in Paris at the same time as Twachtman, Benson, Tarbell, and Reid, all of whom became fellow members of the Society of American Artists and then of the Ten. It was in Paris, however, that their close association was initially formed. During that period, Metcalf also became friendly with

---

[296] *Catalogue De Luxe of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, in 2 volumes, Ed. By John E. D. Trask and J. Nilsen Laurvik (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1915), I/46.

[297] The high regard in which he was held by his fellow artists is attested to in the memorial tributes to him by Dewing, Hassam, Reid, Simmons and Weir, which appeared in the April 1903 issue of *North American Review*.

[298] Royal Cortissoz, "A Painter's Renaissance," *International Studio* 82 (1925): 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Robinson. They were among the first to visit Giverny, where Metcalf became acquainted with Claude Monet's family through his interest in studying nature, which he shared with Monet's son (see Chapter 2).[299] Like Twachtman, Metcalf painted the same scenes repeatedly in different seasons. Quite possibly both of the landscapists were following Monet's Japanese-inspired example. Metcalf's naturalist bent made him, like Monet at that time, more scientist than poet. Again, his paintings described specific scenes rather than evoking generalized feelings about nature.

Like Whistler and Twachtman, whom he most admired among the American Impressionists, Metcalf was concerned with compositional and tonal harmonies and was noted for his use of white as a color rather than the absence of color. Richard Boyle used phrases such as "largeness of vision," "a precise study of the seasons," and "attention to the details" to describe Metcalf's seasonal landscapes included in the various exhibitions of The Ten. [300] Contemporary critics such as Christian Brinton, Royal Cortissoz, James G. Huneker and Bernard Teevan repeatedly noted his "truth to Nature." They said that his pictures could only have been painted by an American artist and could only be appreciated by an American audience, for whom the associations with their unique New England landscape would resonate.

It is precisely in his detailed veracity, tied to specificity of locale, that Metcalf parted company with Twachtman and with Japanese artists. Although poetic in the sense of their evocative beauty, Metcalf's landscapes were clear and crisp while Twachtman's were atmospheric; they were more bound by truth to vision than by

---

[299] Elizabeth de Veer and Richard J. Boyle, *Sunlight and Shadow: The Life and Art of Willard L. Metcalf* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987), 11: Metcalf is placed in Giverny in May of 1885, based on a notation the artist made of a bird's egg he found there at that time. His naturalist collection of bird's nests and eggs, begun as a youth and continued into adulthood, is housed at the Florence Griswold Museum in Old Lyme, Connecticut. Ibid., 41: He returned to Giverny in 1886, participating "in the life of the Monet family, taking Monet's son, Michel, and young Jean-Pierre Hoschédé on botanical walks... Metcalf's love of nature contributed to an expression of it outside the realms of art when Jean-Pierre and the Abbé Toussaint published *Flore de Vernon et de las Roche Guyon* in 1898."

[300] Richard J. Boyle, "Willard Metcalf, The Cornish Hills," in *Ten American Painters*, 153.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

emotional response to nature's vibrations.[301] Like Twachtman's, Metcalf's landscape paintings were richly sumptuous in their abundance of billowy snow and verdant trees and foliage, but unlike Twachtman's, they would have been considered comforting because these "portraits" of specific places, painted with veracity and in detail, were not vague in the least.

Although Metcalf studied at the Académie Julian (as so many of his fellow Ten members did), Cortissoz and Teevan both made the point that the most formative influence on his art was his early mentor and teacher George L. Brown (1814-89). His early formal training, with its emphasis on skilled draftsmanship, close and accurate observation of nature and building a picture compositionally, took precedence over the academic training he received in France.[302] Huneker stated that Metcalf had "escaped the colored snares of scientific Impressionism ... The primary truth of Impressionism he has never missed – its innocence of eye."[303]

Metcalf's *The Cornish Hills* (1911, Fig. 83) and Twachtman's *Snow* (late 1890s, fig. 84) exemplify the differences between the two artists. Twachtman's painting is as subdued in its heavy falling snow as Metcalf's is assertive in its bright sunlight and blue sky. All is silence and cold in *Snow*, while in *The Cornish Hills* the air is crisp and clean and one senses that sounds could be heard at great distances. Even when Metcalf painted falling snow, as in *The White Veil, No. 1* (1909, fig. 85), there is a clear vision of what the landscape would look like without the snow. The same cannot be said for Twachtman's painting. Both artists' paintings are beautiful in their individual ways, but

---

[301] For Metcalf, visual exactitude and clarity took precedence over the evocative quality.

[302] Royal Cortissoz, "Willard Leroy Metcalf," *American Academy of Arts and Letters Commemorative Tributes* (New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1927), 180-183; Royal Cortissoz, "Disciplined and Independent Painting: Some Instructive Contrasts in Current American Art," *New York Tribune* (March 21, 1920): III, p. 7; and, Bernard Teevan, "A Painter's Renaissance," *International Studio* 82/341 (October, 1925): 3-11. Teevan's article in heavily influenced by Cortissoz's writings on Metcalf.

[303] James G. Huneker, "Around the Galleries," *New York Sun* (January 7, 1908): 6; Reprinted in *Americans in the Arts, 1890-1920: Critiques by James Gibbons Huneker*, Ed. Arnold T. Schwab, (New York: AMS Press, 1985).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Metcalf's is an accurate illustration and Twachtman's is more subjective and expresses mood.

Both artists did paintings of streams in the winter titled *Icebound.* Each is an intimate view of a small slice of untrammeled nature.[304] Metcalf's canvas (1909, fig. 86), painted fifteen to twenty years after Twachtman's (1890-95, fig. 87), maintains a crisp, clear atmosphere and presents an inviting scene that takes one out of oneself into the outdoors. Twachtman's, on the other hand, is introspective and causes one to have an associative sensual experience of the scene. In other words, when looking at Metcalf's painting the viewer can vicariously share in the specific experience of the artist when he painted the picture. Twachtman's, however, in keeping with the Asian approach, is more likely to evoke a meditation on the generalized experience of being in nature in the winter. His stream employs aerial perspective and recedes directly away from the viewer into the painting, while Metcalf's meanders on a quasi-diagonal path that is almost parallel to the picture plane. Yet, even though Metcalf's dense trees also create a screen parallel to the picture plane, blue sky can be seen through the branches and a horizon line can be detected about one-third of the way down from the top edge. At first glance, it may seem to relate more to Japanese art, yet, Metcalf's scene seems somehow less intimate than Twachtman's, which has a very high horizon, only one-sixth of the way down from the top edge. Twachtman's transitions from water to rocks to bank to trees are much more subtle and harmonious than those of Metcalf.[305] The viewer is both within and yet looking down on the scene, whereas in Metcalf's painting, the viewer shares the literal space of the artist.

---

[304] According to the Wilderness Act of 1964, "Wilderness is an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." The use of "untrammeled" here expresses such an idea and implies the absence of any sign of human presence, either at the moment of depiction or since the ground had been covered with snow.

[305] Twachtman's painting is akin to Japanese prints in its softened effects, which in the latter case are inherent in the woodblock printing process, its tonal harmonies of color and its use of slightly absorbent paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Metcalf's *Frozen Pool, March* (1909, fig. 88) is compositionally much closer to Twachtman's *Icebound.* Its stream runs approximately the same course, receding away from the viewer into the distance. The coloration is similar, although somewhat darker, with more contrast than Twachtman's Tonalist rendition. Rather than depicting the deep freeze of winter, Metcalf has shown the snow melting at the edges of the stream. In this picture, the horizon line is very distinct and a large area of sky is visible. It is a far less intimate scene than his *Icebound*, and totally different in feeling from Twachtman's. It is easily accessible, both physically and intellectually.[306]

Metcalf, like Twachtman, produced contemplative scenes of pure nature, often including running water. He emphasized changing seasons in such works as *Frozen Pool, March*, with its implications of a rebirth in spring. These were aspects of art associated in this period with the Japanese. Metcalf, however, is not known to have had any particular interest in Japanese art and most likely came to these Japanese-like aspects in several ways. First, *japonisme* and the ideas associated with it were common in France when he was there and in America, especially from the late 1880s through the turn-of-the-century. Second, Metcalf had spent time in Brittany where he was influenced by Tonalist landscape depictions in the Bastien-Lepage mode, which ran parallel to aspects of *japonisme*. Third, Monet was a *japoniste* who employed these approaches and Metcalf was influenced by Monet at Giverny and after returning to America. Fourth, he was a friend and a great admirer of Twachtman, whose concentration on such themes may have served as a significant model. Metcalf was also a friend of the other leading American *japonistes* Robinson, Weir, and Dewing. As a fellow member of The Ten, he was aware of the various qualities of their work associated with *japonisme*, whether he considered them in those terms or not. Fifth, he was an outdoorsman and

[306] It was intellectually accessible in the sense of its appeal to what one logically knew of New England winter scenes. It accords with an nineteenth century American's *gestalt* and therefore was comfortable and did not require any imagination on the part of the viewer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

naturalist from his childhood, so his personal inclinations may have brought him to these approaches independently, possibly supported by Monet's, Twachtman's and his other friends' work and an atmosphere generally supportive of forms in agreement with *japonisme*.

Both Metcalf and Childe Hassam became leading Impressionist figures of the Old Lyme Art Colony after the leader of the Tonalists there, Henry Ward Ranger, moved to Noank. Both painted visually- and emotionally-appealing pictures of the Connecticut landscape that received positive critical reaction and were successful in the sales rooms. Hassam was staunchly attached to the Impressionist style while Metcalf drew from multiple sources.[307] Like Hassam's, Metcalf's paintings of an idealized New England, without strife or upheaval, belonged to and upheld the genteel tradition. Metcalf had been a student at the Art School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and remained connected to Tarbell, Benson and DeCamp, who also studied and later taught there and who were fellow members of The Ten.[308] He also spent a good deal of time at the summer artists' colony in Cornish, New Hampshire, which he visited mostly in the winter.

Metcalf was aware of Japanese art and *japonisme*, but these did not suit his temperament nor his aims. Among The Ten, he and Edward Simmons were the least affected by this aspect of the art world to which they belonged. They are included here to help establish the range of responses of *japonisme* by the leading Impressionist painters and members of their circle in the period – from little (Metcalf and Simmons), to fashionable (from Chase and Hassam to Benson and DeCamp), to eccentrically

---

[307] DeVeer and Boyle, 88. Earlier in his career, Metcalf had come under the influence of the Barbizon School and then the Tonalism of Bastien-Lepage in Brittany. Although he visited Giverny and knew Monet, it wasn't until he was back in America that he began to practice Impressionism, but other styles were often interjected in his *oeuvre*, especially both Lepagean and Whistlerian Tonalism.

[308] DeCamp taught at the Museum School but had studied in Cincinnati before going to Europe.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

personalized (Reid), to well-developed (Weir and Tarbell), to very well developed (Twachtman and Dewing).

Childe Hassam

Childe Hassam, one of the leading American Impressionist painters,[309] employed *japonisme* as a visual and thematic strategy, but it was a minor one in his lexicon. Hassam was prolific and varied in his output and tried many styles and themes, including *japonisme*, which in his case often amounted to inclusion of Japanese objects or stylistic devices which were fashionable at the time.

Hassam was in Europe briefly for the first time in 1883. Although already a fully-developed artist,[310] he returned to Paris in 1886, at which time he studied with Boulanger and Lefèbvre at the Académie Julian for three years. During this time he abandoned his Barbizon-influenced Tonalism for Impressionism, which is evident in *Grand Prix Day* (1887, fig. 89) and *Gathering Flowers in a French Garden* (1888, Worster Art Museum, MA).[311] He was also exposed to the final developments of *japonisme* in France, which were just beginning to take hold in America.

Ukiyo-e prints, the primary form of Japanese art collected and exhibited by artists and their circles in Paris, were thematically engaged with the modern life of the Yoshiwara (Pleasure) District of Tokyo. Figural pictures often depicted intimate scenes of women in interiors. Later woodblock prints, by artists such as Hiroshige and Hokusai, were thematically tied to the Japanese countryside and nature. Many scenes of nature

---

[309] William Merritt Chase is also considered in this way.

[310] Hassam had taken art classes at the Boston Art Club (1877-78) and enrolled at the Lowell Institute. He also studied privately with William Rimmer and Ignaz Gaugengigl. In addition to painting, he did illustrative work for *Harper's*, *Scribner's* and *Century Magazine*. He was well-known for his watercolor paintings. Prior to this, like Winslow Homer, Hassam had his first art training as an apprentice to an engraver. This experience served as the foundation for his early career as an illustrator and his later engraving work (beginning in 1919).

[311] Earlier he had come under the influence of his distant kinsman, William Morris Hunt, whom he never actually met. This association could only have been reinforced in his mind by his subsequent close relationship with the poet Celia Thaxter, who had been very close to Hunt. In France he came under the influence of Monet and Pissarro, among others.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were intimate, close-up views and often related to the seasons. These were all major interests of Hassam throughout his career. Being aware of and attuned to Japanese art is, however, not necessarily the same as being influenced by it. The fact that Hassam's interests accorded with those of Japanese artists does not necessarily mean that such similarities were more than coincidence.

Hassam painted a number of nocturnes that could have related to Japanese art thematically; however, night scenes were also well known in America as a favorite theme of James McNeill Whistler, reflective of his *japonisme*.[312] In fact, all of the themes mentioned in relation to Japanese art were being painted by any number of artists in American and in Europe, especially France where Whistler and Monet were regularly exhibited and where Hassam spent three years. In addition, photography could explain many of the compositional aspects of his art associated with that of Japan, such as the broad, empty foreground, shallow space, and the diagonal recession he frequently employed.

By the time Hassam returned from Europe to take up residence in New York in 1889, he was already practicing the Impressionist style with which he is most identified – employing a brilliantly-colored palette and the broken-brush technique associated with Monet. His timing was good. By the 1890s, Americans were becoming more accepting of Impressionism and Hassam's colorful Monet-like pictures were very popular.[313]

---

[312] Paintings of night scenes were certainly not new to the Post-Civil War generation of artists. Velásquez' *Adoration of the Magi* (1619, Prado Museum), Goya's *3rd of May 1808: The Execution of the Defenders of Madrid* (1818, Prado Museum), Goya's *Saturn Devouring One of His Sons* (1820-3, Prado Museum) or Rembrandt's *The Raising of the Cross* and *The Descent From the Cross* (both pained in 1633, both in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich) may all have been known to the American artists who studied and traveled in Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Night scenes by American artists which they may have been familiar with might have included John Quidor's *The Gold Diggers* (1832, Brooklyn Museum of Art) or Frederic Church's *The Icebergs* (1861, Dallas Museum of Art). Familiarity with these works may have paved the way for American artists' receptivity to the nocturnal theme in the art of Whistler and the Japanese.

[313] George Parsons Lathrop, "The Progress of Art in New York," *Harper's* 86/515 (April 1893): 746-7. Referring to the work of Weir and Twachtman, Lathrop wrote of "that American

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hassam believed the roots of Impressionism lay in England with Constable and Turner. He claimed to have first become enthralled with his signature brilliant color through Jongkind, whom Hunt had introduced to Bostonians. Whistler would also seem to have had an effect on Hassam's moody Tonalist works such as *Moonlit Seascape* (1905, fig. 90) and *Sunset at Sea* (1911, Baltimore Museum of Art).[314] Whistler had an impact on his engraving style and technique as well, but that phase of Hassam's career did not begin until the second decade of the twentieth century.

In his later years, Hassam maintained that he was a strictly American artist, little affected by his time at the Académie Julian, devoting his energies to painting the American scene.[315] In the 1920s, he wrote in support of a strong art tradition in America, saying that "modern painting" was heir to the Dutch-derived English tradition of Turner and Constable, and the French Barbizon School that came out of that tradition. He wrote approvingly of the expatriates Whistler and Cassatt, as well as the American-based Homer, Ryder, Tarbell, DeCamp, Benson, Simmons, Blashfield, Reid, Weir and Twachtman.[316]

---

impressionist movement which represents the acme of innovation, the highest tide of high light and brilliant tint, the aggressive purpose to bring painting face to face with nature uncompromisingly." Continuing in this vein, he wrote, "Of this group, also, Childe Hassam is a sturdy member, who has evoked startling and often lovely visions from the streets and parks of New York, or from sea and sky." That same year, pictures by Hassam were used to illustrate a *Century Magazine* article by Marianne Van Rensselaer about Fifth Avenue between Washington Square and Central Park about. Van Rensselaer was a frequent contributor of art articles to a variety of magazines, including *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Century*.

[314] Charles L. Buchanan, "The Ambidextrous Childe Hassam," *International Studio* 107/227 (January 1916): 83-86. Buchanan noted the relationship when he wrote, "Whistler, we believe, would have been happy to sign the [Hassam's] *Chicago Nocturne*," 84

[315] S. J. Woolf, "Hassam Speaks Out For American Art," *New York Times Magazine* (October 14, 1934); American Artist Scrapbook, New York Public Library, Reel 2.

[316] Childe Hassam, "Twenty-five Years of American Painting," *Art News* 26 (April 14, 1928): 22-28. Albert Pinkham Rider (1847-1917) and Edwin Blashfield (1848-1936) were active during the period under discussion but are not considered part of the Impressionist circle.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Most writers, then and now, agree that Monet and Whistler, neither of whom Hassam ever met, strongly influenced his style.[317] He certainly would have had ample opportunity to see their work not only in Paris and England but also in America. He has been related to Monet in terms of technique for his brilliant palette and his loose, short-stoke application of paint, as well as for his theme -- modern life.[318] Whistler has been more broadly mentioned in terms of an art-for-art's-sake approach, for his strong emphasis on beauty and decorative design over content, and for his etching techniques. Many writers also maintain that although those and other influences are readiiy detectable in Hassam's work, ultimately he was his own man with an unmistakable individual style.[319]

A few writers have noted Hassam's *japonisme*. Eliot Clark called him "an artistic heir of Japan," but saw his *japonisme* as coming through Whistler, to whom Clark said Hassam was directly related aesthetically.[320] Hassam's friend Frank Robinson wrote,

---

[317] Some also associate him compositionally with Giuseppe diNittis, an association he eschewed. Warren Adelson, Jay E. Cantor and William H. Gerdts, *Childe Hassam: Impressionist* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1999), 12-13: A painter of "the *juste milieu* – realist artist who received considerable acclaim by painting contemporary themes but in a more conservative style –" diNittis' work was successful in Europe and in America. He was exhibited in a number of galleries in Paris and London while Hassam was there and also in New York at the Pedestal Fund Loan Exhibit in 1883.

[318] Modern life, for Monet and his contemporaries, including Hassam, meant not only city streets and country lanes but also women as figures in intimate moments and gardens. It was in the second half of the nineteenth century that both gardens and gardening became an avocation for a large number of middle class people in Europe and America. It was also at this time that leisure travel became popular among the same group, which is reflected in the growth of artist enclaves outside of major cities and certainly contributed to the types of rural landscape and figural works produced.

[319] S. J. Woolf "Hassam Speaks Out For American Art," *New York Times Magazine* (October 14, 1934), located in the American Artist Scrapbook, New York Public Library, Reel 2. In an article on Hassam based on a interview with the 75-year-old painter, Woolf quotes Hassam as denying any French influence on his work while crediting the English artists Bonnington, the Pre-Raphaelites and Constable with influencing him as a young man. The article continues by saying that even if Hassam had been influenced by Monet's Rouen Cathedral series in choosing to repeatedly depict the old church at Lyme, "his technique is different from the Frenchman's. There is a ruggedness about it that is his heritage." At this stage of his life, Hassam was eager to assert the American qualities of his work as distinct from the European. Also see: Eliot Clark, "Childe Hassam," *Art in America* 8 (June 1920): 174: "Happily with Hassam, however, it is the quickened response to life that he transcribes rather than the mannerisms of the master."

[320] Ibid., Clark.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"He is not unlike the Japanese in the spirit of his drawings, full of movement and force, very vital in character."[321] Philip G. Hale wrote of the "Japanesque sails, artfully placed" in Hassam's *Provincetown, No. 1* (1900, fig. 91).[322] Robinson and Hale alluded to coincidences without making a direct link between Hassam's art and that of the Japanese. Adeline Adams wrote about the prevalence of Japanese prints in Paris at the time Hassam was there and their influence on painters such as Monet. She continued, "Childe Hassam, in his eager search for beauty of line and color, took such delights in passing, yet always with the critical eye of one who understood the art of the wood block, and knew its possibilities."[323] Adams did not, however, say that he was directly influenced by *ukiyo-e*.

In a letter from John W. Beatty, the Carnegie Institute's Director, Hassam was asked to help form its print collection, which he agreed to do. According to Gail Stavitsky, this project involved the development of a first-rate collection of Japanese prints.[324] To what extent he was actually involved is unknown so one can only speculate that this was evidence of and added to his knowledge of Japanese print art.

Susan Larkin has written about Hassam's *japonisme* in relation to the time he spent at Cos Cob with J. Alden Weir and John Twachtman, both of whom were among his closest friends and both of whom he admired greatly. Larkin associated his *The Mill Pond, Cos Cob* (1902, fig. 92) with Hiroshige's *The Ekoin-ji at Ryogoku and the Moto-Yaniga Bridge* (1857, fig. 93) in terms of its vertical format, asymmetrical composition and focus on "an unexpected foreground element."[325] This explanation is certainly

---

[321] Frank T. Robinson, "F. Childe Hassam," in *Living New England Artists* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977). Robinson's piece was a reprint, originally written in 1888.
[322] Philip G. Hale, "Childe Hassam's Picture," *Boston Daily Advertiser* 176/107 (November 1, 1900): 4.
[323] Adeline Adams, *Childe Hassam* (NY: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1938), 44. He had worked for a woodblock printer in Boston as a young man.
[324] Gail Stavitsky, "Childe Hassam and the Carnegie Institute: A Correspondence," *Archives of American Art Journal* 22/3 (1982): 6.
[325] Larkin, 41-3. Hassam's unexpected foreground element is the ladder.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

plausible, given the enthusiasm of Weir and Twachtman for Japanese prints. It is also possible that this type of composition came from similar works by Whistler and others influenced by him. Take, for instance, Weir's *Red Bridge* (fig. 64). Whistler's *Battersea Bridge* paintings (fig. 62) were well known from reproductions and through artists, such as Weir and Dewing, who had seen them first-hand at Whistler's home and studio. One of Whistler's Battersea Bridge paintings belonged to Freer, who also owned one of Hassam's paintings.[326] Another very similar composition was Monet's *The Bridge at Argentueil* (1874, fig. 67), mentioned above in relation to Weir's *Red Bridge*.

If Hassam did happen to be looking at a particular *ukiyo-e* at the time he was painting his Cos Cob picture, he is likely to have responded to it due to the influence of his friends and to similar compositions he had seen by other artists he admired. What would seem to be significant here is not whether this one picture was influenced by Japanese art but rather that Hassam was not nearly as significantly engaged with Japanese art as were his friends Weir, Twachtman and Robinson.

Childe Hassam was a conservative artist at heart. He belonged to the late-nineteenth century genteel tradition described by George Santayana (1863-1952).[327] Hassam upheld the bourgeois, upper-middle class, Puritan ethos with which he grew up in Boston. By the time he took up Impressionism, it had already begun to gain credence among art circles in Boston and New York. His primary themes were urban and rural America and his primary means of portraying them was "color heightened by light,

---

[326] In addition, in 1892 Freer purchased a Whistler lithograph of *Old Battersea Bridge* (1872).

[327] George Santayana was a Harvard-based philosopher, poet and author of Spanish ancestry, which he felt kept him outside of mainstream Boston society. His lecture "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy" was presented to the Philosophical Union of the University of California in 1911, and published as an essay in his *Winds of Doctrine* (1913). It greatly affected Van Wyck Brooks' *America's Coming-of-Age*, a book that set the tone for modernism and positioned the genteel tradition in opposition to progressive materialism. The genteel tradition was tied to Victorian ideality and represented a refuge for the intellectual elite in high ideals and moralism. According to Santayana, the so-called "realist" painters of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries upheld this exclusivity.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

strained through atmosphere."[328] Light and color created form, rather than form dictating color. Shadows played a considerable role in his Impressionism. He was certainly aware of everything going on in the art circles of New York and Boston and Paris. *Japonisme*, although employed to some degree by almost all of the up-to-date artists of the period,[329] did not suit his purposes or ends as well as other means he employed. A prolific artist, Hassam seems neither to have been as introspective nor as experimental as Weir or Twachtman, both of whom exemplified American *japonisme* in the period.

Sadakichi Hartmann (see Chapter 5) wrote of Hassam that, "His strength lies in painting a man, for instance, with a few dots of color, and yet expressing perfectly the man's movement, whether he be running or walking slowly."[330] This ability to portray accurate movement with an economy of means was one of the first attributes of Japanese art remarked by early writers and artists in the West. As mentioned, Hokusai's *Manga* was especially esteemed on these grounds. Nevertheless, Hartmann, who was knowledgeable about *japonisme*, did not associate Hassam with *japonisme* in any way and saw him as first and foremost an Impressionist who developed his own unique style.

Thomas Dewing

Thomas Dewing, like Twachtman and Weir, was an accomplished *japoniste* – he successfully absorbed lessons from Japanese art and adapted them to his unique form of expression. He was already practicing *japonisme* before being introduced to Whistler

---

[328] Royal Cortissoz, "Childe Hassam," *Commemorative Tributes of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1905-1941* (New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1942), 336.
[329] This is attested to in Hassam's case by that fact that Freer had purchased one of his works and, according to Hassam, intended to purchase more but did not survive to do so. It was Freer's stated policy to only purchase works that accorded with Whistler's art, which agreed with Asian art.
[330] Sadakichi Hartmann, "Art Talk," *The Criterion* (8 January 1898): 17, in *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist*, Ed. Jane Calhoune Weaver (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 300.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in 1894. That expatriate painter only served to deepen his appreciation and knowledge of lessons to be taken from Japanese art. [331]

Like Metcalf, Dewing was a Cornish Colony member;[332] like Metcalf and Hassam, he was an upholder of the genteel tradition; like Twachtman, he was a Tonalist depicter of mood; but, unlike his three friends, he was primarily a figure painter. Although Dewing developed much of his considerable *japonisme* under the influence of James McNeill Whistler (see Chapter 2), whom he met through Charles Lang Freer in 1894, he was responsive to Japanese art before they met.[333] By that time, Dewing was already painting wispy, languorous women whose roles were decorative rather than anecdotal. It is likely that he did so with an awareness of Whistler's work, which was well known to the circle of artists to which he belonged.

Dewing's wife and fellow artist, *née* Maria Oakey (1857-1928), had studied with John LaFarge and William Morris Hunt. Under her influence his work became softer and he began to employ a more decorative and tonal approach. A Bostonian, he was under the spell of Emersonian Transcendentalism, as became evident in such early works as *Days* (1886, fig. 94) which was based on a poem by Emerson of the same title (Appendix 9), and on which he collaborated with his wife, she providing the flowers and foliage and he the figures.[334] His early figures (often allegorical with literary associations) and compositions related to the Pre-Raphaelites and the American Renaissance in their precise, academic style but agreed with Whistler's art in color and mood. Dewing generalized and idealized women. Drawn from various traditions

---

[331] For a comprehensive study of Dewing, including his *japonisme*, see the forthcoming monographic dissertation of my CUNY Graduate Center colleague, Mitsutoshi Oba.
[332] It was in Cornish that Dewing painted his most lyrical pictures of women in nature such as *The Hermit Thrush*, *Summer* (among other seasonal paintings) and *The Four Sylvan Sounds*.
[333] He was well aware of and influenced by Whistler prior to meeting Freer in the early 1890s.
[334] Pyne, "Evolutionary Typology ...," 17: Thomas and Maria Oakey Dewing were "avowed readers of Emerson as well as admirers of Whistler," and Maria Oakey was connected to the Transcendentalist circle around Emerson in Boston.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(ancient, Renaissance, Asian), they functioned as objects of beauty,[335] and Dewing's painted panels from this period were intended as decorative elements within architectural schemes. In fact, that was how Dewing and Freer became acquainted (see Chapter 2). Tryon, who had been hired to decorate the interior of Freer's newly constructed mansion in Detroit, recommended Dewing for part of the commission. The home was to be a kind of museum -- the repository of the collection Freer was just beginning to put together. The core of that collection was Whistler's prints and a few paintings. Dewing's Tonalist art was considered by both Tryon and Freer to be very appropriate to such a setting.[336]

Among his American-based contemporaries, Dewing most admired his friend John Twachtman's (often Tonalist and usually meditative) work. Like Twachtman, Dewing followed his own inclinations in subject and treatment, disregarding fashionability and the marketplace. He was fortunate to have struck a chord with such generous patrons as Freer and John Gallatly (1852-1931).[337] He became close to the architect Stanford White (1853-1906), who gave him many commissions and designed a number of his frames.[338]

While it is appropriate to recognize the considerable influence of Whistler and *japonisme* on Dewing, by the same token it has been pointed out that he was strongly influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch art, especially that of Vermeer, whose

---

[335] "Objects of beauty" is a term generally used in art history to refer to the sumptuous possessions included in portraits of wealthy people, especially. Ingres, for instance, has been noted for his treatment of women in such portraits as just another among the many "objects of beauty" in association with which they have been portrayed.

[336] Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art* (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1934 revised edition of 1901 original), Vol. I of II, 135: The outcome met expectations. According to Hartmann, "The whole interior decoration is in harmony with the Tryons, Dewings, Abbott Thayers, Whistlers, F.S. Church's, and numerous Japanese *kakemonos* [sic] of which the collection exclusively consists. Tryon has reached the calm perfection of Japanese art."

[337] Gallatly gifted his collection to the Smithsonian Institution in 1929, two years before his death.

[338] In keeping with the American Renaissance aim of integrating the arts, the architect Stanford White collaborated on projects with several artists, including the painter Dewing and the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reputation was revived by Boston School painters and a 1913 monograph edited by Philip Hale (1865-1931).[339] A 1907 review of a joint Tryon-Dewing exhibit at Montross Galleries recognized the duality of influences in Dewing's paintings:

> 'The Letter' is the more familiar Dewing. A woman writing, her face turned from us, another woman is regarding her. The room is spacious, atmospheric without the least technical notation of Japanese, the canvas suggests a Japanese exclusive of all but essentials, a lightness, clearness, quaintness that might, if transposed to a theme purely Japanese, be very germane. Mr. Dewing possesses the Japanese tact of omission. But his vision is Dutch ...[340] (Fig. 95)

It can be argued that Dewing's women in interiors, like Vermeer's, represented a world apart from commerce or any crass concerns. That world, the world of men's affairs, did not touch these women. In Vermeer's *oeuvre*, maps on the wall or the inclusion of a window might allude to that other world – allusions missing from Dewing's work. Certainly, Dewing was familiar with the art of Tarbell and the group of artists around him in Boston that was strongly influenced by Vermeer's revival. However, Tarbell's women belonged to the everyday world of domesticity. Dewing's women were ethereal in their elongation and psychological inaccessibility. They belonged more to Whistler's aestheticized world, one that was consistent with the depiction of women in Japanese paintings and prints. What made them distinctive was a unity and harmony of all elements, from composition, to color, to theme.

That Dewing had access both to Japanese art and to Whistler's work cannot be doubted given the milieu in which he traveled and his close association with Freer. He sometimes accompanied Freer on buying trips and occasionally acted as his agent. During the time he was working on *Before Sunrise* (1894-95, Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution) for Freer, he received three Utamaro prints of women on behalf

---

[339] William Paxton (1869-1941) assisted Hale with the editing. According to Gerdts (*American Impressionism*, 203), Hale published a less comprehensive monograph on Vermeer in 1904, the year Tarbell painted *Girl Crocheting*. Gerdts also says that a Vermeer rediscovery and revival had begun in France in the 1860s (p. 202).

[340] "Special Art Exhibitions," *Sun* (New York) 74/182 (March 1, 1907): p. 8, cs. 4, 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of his patron and in a June 29, 1894 letter to Freer, he wrote that he intended that one of his paintings be "Dedicated to Utamaro."[341] During the time Dewing was working on *The Four Sylvan Sounds* (fig. 61), Freer acquired a dozen Japanese folding screens, including one by the Momoyama Rimpa master Sotatsu. Merrill and Lawton make the observation that the conflation of Asian and Western elements in Dewing's screens related to that of Whistler during the 1860s.[342]

Sadakichi Hartmann (1867-1944), unlike Royal Cortissoz, tended to be critical of The Ten, but said that Dewing was the sole exception as a non-Impressionist who painted "ideal representations of the New England maidens that read Swinburne, and smoke cigarettes and now and then say 'darn it'."[343] He associated Dewing with Whistler and praised them as representing the New School of Painters based on their "suggestive style."[344] The subtle, suggestive qualities in Whistler's work derived to a large extent from his interest in Asian art.[345] Excepting Whistler and the suave, sensuous styles of Dewing and Thayer, Hartmann wrote that most European-trained American artists who admired Japanese art, "which in recent decades has taken the place occupied at the beginning of this century by Grecian and Roman art," misunderstood its spirit, seeing its rigid rules without any knowledge of the rich tradition that lay behind them.[346]

Hartmann counted Dewing among *the* eight great American painters.[347] He wrote that Dewing's women were idealized, idle, loved music and flowers and were

---

[341] Lawton and Merrill, 168.
[342] Ibid.
[343] Sadakichi Hartmann, "The Split in the Art Society: Some Characteristics of the 'American Painters' Who Have Led the Secession," *The Criterion* (22 November 1898): 35, in *Critical Modernist*, 284-6.
[344] He also included Twachtman, Davies, Saint-Gaudens and Thayer in this group.
[345] Ibid., "The Japanese Idea in American Art," *The Criterion* 16 (January 1, 1898): 16: "Suggestiveness is one of the leading characteristics of Japanese art, and, at all events that one which has appealed most to our Western minds and entered our art. In Europe nearly all the leading painters are under the magic ban of Japanese art ..."
[346] Ibid., "Art and Artists," *Musical America* 1/4 (October 29, 1895): 31, in *Critical Modernist...*, 250-251. The article was on Thomas Eakins and Winslow Homer.
[347] Ibid., "Art Talk," *The Criterion* (8 January 1898): 17; 300-301. Hartmann's list included Thayer, Ryder, Tryon, Dewing, Homer, LaFarge, Brush and (Horatio) Walker.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

melancholy simply because they considered it poetic to be so. "Passive actresses," they were far removed from everyday life and Dewing's pictures of them had that effect on the viewer: "His instinct of beauty, poetic expression and mystic grace satisfy my desire to forget every-day life completely." Hartmann said Dewing's women were of Puritan descent and could stand as an example by which we could improve our taste and manners. Pyne now concurs with Hartmann's conclusion that "Thomas Dewing is the only American painter who has succeeded in giving us pictures of women that might stand for the 'ideal American' type."[348] Idealized, generalized figural typing was a common aspect of Japanese art in which figures were identified by setting and costume rather than facial features.

Also writing about Dewing in the 1890s, Royal Cortissoz said that the strongest American painters "aim at the expression of beauty for beauty's sake, and not for any adventitious purpose ... they all put both style and executive ability unaffectedly at the service of a deep feeling for pure beauty." Cortissoz, of course, placed Whistler and LaFarge in this group, which also included such diverse artists as Sargent, Homer, Walker, Abbey, Inness, Martin, Tryon, Brush, Church, Alexander Harrison and Thayer.[349]

Hartmann, Cortissoz and W. Lewis Fraser[350] were among the critics who agreed that Dewing's art had not been tainted by foreign training. Cortissoz wrote that Dewing, along with Tryon and MacMonnies, had retained an instinctive imaginative element "that cannot be drawn from Academic sources" which represented "a distinct phase of progress in our art."[351] Like Hartmann, he too wrote of Dewing's use of suggestion, nuance and subjectivity. Dewing's simplification, asymmetry, apparent artlessness of

---

[348] Ibid., Unsigned [Sadakichi Hartmann], "Thomas W. Dewing," *The Art Critic* 1/1 (November 1893), in *Critical Modernism ...*, 237-241.
[349] Royal Cortissoz, "Egotism in Contemporary Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 73/439 (May 1894): 644-652.
[350] W. Lewis Fraser, "Open Letters – Will H. Low," *Century Magazine* 43/3 (January 1892): 477.
[351] Royal Cortissoz, "Some Imaginative Types in American Art," *Harper's* 91/542 (July 1895): 165.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

design, harmonic beauty, reticence and repetition -- all aspects of his *japonisme* -- were noted. "The picture of a lady at the piano [*The Piano*, 1891, fig. 60]... is a conception over which you pause with endless variations on its central suggestion."[352] Identifying him as a most refined artist, Cortissoz further wrote that Dewing's art was rooted "not in the superficial incidents of design but deep in the truths of nature, deep in the beauty of a finely artistic spirit. The great value of his work lies in the great elevation of his point of view."[353]

In 1893, George Parsons Lathrop (1851-1898) identified the imaginative element in American art with the exhibitions of the Society of American Artists, in opposition to technique, which was a key element of the National Academy of Design's chosen works. He wrote that the "skilful [sic] *technique*" of the latter group resulted in a "purely artificial ... representation," but that the newer group differed in "projecting their works with a partial illusion of reality that stops short of mere imitation."[354] Lathrop wrote that Dewing's figures in landscapes were "misted over with a pleasant dimness" that transferred them to a dream-like distance. For Lathrop, these "decorations," as Dewing called them, were "rhythmic or musical in color and design."[355] Not only the artists', but also the critics' views of art had been deeply affected by Whistler and Symbolism.

One important aspect of the Aesthetic Movement in America and of the American Renaissance was the blurring of the distinction between the fine and applied arts, which was also an important characteristic of Japanese art. During America's Gilded Age,[356] many of the leading artists, including Dewing, participated in the decoration of private and public buildings. In an article on such decorations and their derivations, A. F.

---

[352] Ibid., 168.
[353] Ibid. This article was devoted to Dewing, Tryon and Frederick MacMonnies (1863-1937), all of whom Freer was very close to socially.
[354] Lathrop, 741.
[355] Ibid., 745.
[356] The period was identified as the "Gilded Age" by Mark Twain in an 1873 book and play by that title.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oakley wrote, "The decorative idea creeps into nine pictures out of ten, whether intentionally or not, and independently of the subject, or object of the picture or the whim of the artist." Oakley discussed a drawing by Dewing which, through its curving lines and repetitions of form, was "a particularly strong instance of the tendency we speak of, to obliterate the line between fine art and decorative art, and in so doing to preserve our preferences or sympathies for distinctly different things."[357] Again, Whistler's interior designs come to mind, as do the Japanese artists whose wall murals were, from the beginning, integral to temple and aristocratic architecture. Many of the most respected artists of the Edo period also painted *kimono* and some decorated pottery and lacquer pieces.

Dewing's aestheticized figural paintings were the result of both a first-hand knowledge of Japanese art and its influence at second-hand, through Whistler, and because of its ubiquitousness in the circles in which he worked and socialized. Among The Ten, his work, along with that by Twachtman and Weir, can be considered the most imbued with an intuitive response to Japanese art. In the range of responses to *japonisme* among The Ten, from minimal to profound, these three artists belong to the latter category.

Edmund Tarbell

Edmund Tarbell often paid tribute to Japanese art and art objects by including them in his scenes of women in aesthetically-refined interiors. His interest in Japanese art, however, went beyond its being included in his paintings to establish the social

[357] A. F. Oakley, "A Trial Balance of Decoration," *Harper's* 64/383 (April 1882): 734-740 (final paragraph on page 740). The drawing referred to was actually a decorative panel and was pictured in the article. Royal Cortissoz, "Mural Decoration in America. First Paper," *Century* 51/1 (November 1895): 110-121 (quote on 188): Cortissoz also noted Dewing's ceiling murals for the Imperial Hotel in New York -- allegorical figures of *Night*, *Dawn* and *Aurora* against a night sky with a thin crescent moon. He noted that the classical theme and magnified scale had "done nothing to modify Mr. Dewing's accustomed elegance and daintiness of style ... he has remained himself ... perhaps the greatest triumph of the decorator."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

position and fashionability of his figures. Unlike William Merritt Chase (see below), Tarbell's collection, which he often used in his paintings, included fine examples of a variety of types and styles of Japanese art and art objects. Many of them have the appearance of being good quality antiques and he may have availed himself of works in the Boston fine arts museum's collection for use in his paintings.[358] The sensitivity with which he portrayed them is an indication that he had an intimate feeling for and knowledge of them. He was a first-hand *japoniste* who drew from and combined several sources in his paintings.

Edmund Tarbell was the leading figure of the group of artists known as the Boston School, and their followers, dubbed the "Tarbellites" by Sadakichi Hartmann.[359] Among the core group were two other members of The Ten, Joseph DeCamp and Frank Benson.[360] This group was known for its depictions of refined ladies in tasteful interiors painted in a style that adhered to "truth to nature" realism. They were also known for their exquisite use of color and technical virtuosity, especially Tarbell. The problem with the Tarbellites, according to Hartmann, was a lack of individuality; without signatures, you could not tell who had painted which picture.

Tarbell and Benson studied together at the Museum School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, receiving a solid academic background in draftsmanship and composition from Frederic Crowninshield and Otto Grundmann. As with all the members

---

[358] Whether they were in his collection or drawn from that of the Museum's is insignificant. What matters is that he recognized and included not just prints but fine quality Japanese works of art. The two-fold screen mounted on the wall in *The Lesson* (1924, Private Collection), for instance, appears to be a Kano School painting of the Momoyama Period (1573-1615), possibly by Eitoku. An alternative later source may have been Ogata Korin who was an Edo Period (1615-1868) Rimpa School painter. Although Korin's *Waves of Matsushima* (eighteenth century) did not enter the Museum's collection until 1911, as part of the Fenollosa-Weld collection, Tarbell might have known of it through Fenollosa or Okakura.

[359] Sadakichi Hartmann, "A National American Art," *The Art Critic* 1/3 (March 1894): 45-49; in *Critical Modernism*, 68-76, with reference to "Tarbellites," 75.

[360] Although Dewing is sometimes included in this group, he was not at the Museum School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts long enough to truly be considered a member. Lillian and Philip Hale and William Paxton were considered members. Philip Hale was not only an artist but also an art critic and strong supporter of the Boston School artists in print.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of The Ten except Joseph DeCamp, they each went to Paris for further training.[361] They studied at the Académie Julian, receiving instruction from Lefèbvre and Boulanger, as did Twachtman, Metcalf, Reid, Hassam and Dow, not all at the same time but often overlapping each other.[362] In Paris they were exposed to the latest in European currents, including the Barbizon School, Impressionism, Japanese art, *japonisme,* Post-Impressionism, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Aesthetic Movement. They also had the opportunity to study the Old Masters at the Louvre – Rembrandt, Velásquez, Vermeer, Hals, etc.

Returning to Boston in 1886, Tarbell, Benson and DeCamp were given teaching posts at the Museum School about the time Metcalf departed for New York. A talented portraitist and figure painter, Tarbell quickly assumed the lead of what came to be identified as the Boston School. Although all three exhibited in New York, they decided to remain in the Boston area to teach and work.[363]

Unlike Weir, Twachtman, and Dewing, Tarbell had a firm understanding of the tastes of art buyers in Boston, whom he sought to please. He joined the Society of American Painters in New York so that he could tap into that market as well. He painted solidly upper-middle-class women in elegantly furnished interiors that reflected the lives or the aspirations of those who would be most likely to purchase his works. He surrounded his female subjects with antique furniture, Asian porcelains, fine paintings (including Japanese hanging scrolls) and Japanese screens; the ladies shared the art

---

[361] DeCamp, from Cincinnati, followed Duveneck to Munich where he was counted among the Duveneck Boys.

[362] Strong bonds were formed in these student years in Paris which continued on throughout the artists' lives. Tarbell was at the Académie Julian in 1884, as was Twachtman (early 1880s-85), Dow (1884-7), Metcalf (1883-88), and Benson (1883-5). Reid didn't arrive until 1885 but was there until 1888 and overlapped with Twachtman, Dow, Metcalf and Benson, as well as Hassam (1886-9). Simmons was there earlier, from 1878-80. In 1880 he attended the École des Beaux-Arts. Dewing was at the Académie Julian from 1876 to 1878 and may have overlapped with Simmons.

[363] In 1918, Tarbell moved to Washington, D.C. to become the head of the School of the Corcoran Gallery.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

works' quality of timelessness. Occasionally, they wore *kimono* or Chinese embroidered jackets. [364]

Tarbell's use of Asian, especially Japanese, art and *objets d'art* was natural given that he was working in Boston, which was the first and foremost center of interest in things Japanese. He was connected with the Museum School and it was the Boston Museum of Fine Arts that had the premier collection of Japanese art. Lectures on Japan were frequent occurrences in Boston and by the late 1880s it was *de rigueur* among the more educated and fashion conscious to decorate their homes with fine quality Asian ceramics and art works. In the 1890s, with Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), Kakuzo Okakura (1862-1913) and Edward S. Morse (1838-1935) for guidance, connoisseurship was advanced in Boston (see Chapter 5).

The painting that firmly established Tarbell's reputation, *Girl Crocheting* (1905, fig. 96), pays homage to several of his prime sources of inspiration. The large painting behind the girl is his copy of Velásquez' famous portrait of Pope Innocent X. To the right of that painting is a framed Japanese print and to the left are pictures that have been cropped *à la* Whistler (probably by way of Japan and photography). A fine Chinese blue-and-white porcelain sits on the table. In a clearly domesticated scene, the girl is seated at a table of polished mahogany (so popular in New England),[365] on what might be a seventeenth-century Dutch chair, next to a slatted window through which soft

---

[364] These ladies sit in interiors whose artistic antique furnishings might easily exist to this day in wealthy homes in Boston and beyond. Where discernable, and when they do not wear "costumes" of Asian manufacture, it is only the ladies' clothing and Tarbell's signature that dates them to the period. The furnishings and the ladies could denote the same style and class today that they did at the time Tarbell painted them.

[365] There was a Colonial Revival going on at this time in America, especially in New England. The table appears to relate to the type of polished mahogany table that appears in so many of John Singleton Copley's portraits. Another attribute of wealth and fashion that frequently appeared in Copley's paintings was blue-and-white porcelain, often in the form of a vase holding flowers as in his portrait of *Mrs. George Watson* (1765, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

light filters into and sets the sanctified tone of the room.[366] The setting and atmospheric effect are characteristic of Vermeer. Although many of Vermeer's women were engaged with music, it is possible that Tarbell's theme was inspired by the Dutch master's *The Lacemaker* (1669-70, fig. 97) which could be seen at the Louvre.

Yet, Tarbell's girl, like all of his female figures, belonged to the present, despite her enduring quality. If Dewing's Symbolist women represented the ephemeral ideal of turn-of-the-century American womanhood, Tarbell's represented it in solid Realist terms. His women had weightiness and generally inhabited interiors that, while filled with tasteful objects, were often somewhat cluttered in the fashion of the period. Dewing's settings were often hazily suggested, whereas Tarbell's were clearly depicted.

Tarbell exhibited *The Breakfast Room* (1899, fig. 98) at St. Botolph's in 1904. The reviewer for the *Boston Evening Transcript* noted several similar artistic references in that work. "On the wall is a large copy of a Titian, and two Japanese paintings or color prints ... Not since de Hooghe, in the distant years of the Dutch golden age of painting, has such an interior been set before us on canvas. We can think of no modern painter capable of rivaling it in its own special line, unless it be Degas."[367]

Tarbell spoke of his compositional sources in a 1924 interview:

> The principles of composition can be taught scientifically. This does not mean mere academic formula, but the knowledge of certain fundamentals that underlie all art forms, from the subtleties of design shown in the Japanese prints and Chinese paintings, the men of the Italian Renascence [sic] and such moderns as Degas, who was a master in composition, yet whose canvases appear so spontaneous and free.[368]

---

[366] This atmospheric light, filtering into a room through slatted windows, was a device used repeatedly by Tarbell. It had a unifying effect on the color and the various pictorial elements in his paintings.

[367] "Mr. Tarbell's Exhibition at the St. Botolph Club," *Boston Evening Transcript* 75 (Wednesday, February 17, 1904): p. 9, c.5.

[368] Ada Ralney, "In the Realm of Art and Music," *Washington Post* 17,643 (October 5, 1924): Part IV, p. 13, c. 1, 2, in Patricia Jobe Pierce, *Edmund C. Tarbell and The Boston School of Painting 1889-1980*, Ed. John Douglas Ingraham (Hingham, MA: Pierce Galleries, Inc., 1980).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In an 1893 article on his impressions of the art exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago,[369] Tarbell chauvinistically asserted the superiority of American over foreign works. He spoke admiringly of entries by John Singer Sargent (1856-1925), Alexander Harrison, Gari Melchers (1860-1932), Mary MacMonnies (1858-1946), Abbott Thayer (1849-1921) and Dewing. He said that he, Chase and Frederick Porter Vinton (1846-1911) had been given positions of honor in the largest of the seventeen American art galleries. He most admired Whistler's five entries, next to which the majority of the other paintings looked "very commonplace." The French were a major disappointment to him, with the exception of Degas' painting depicting the rehearsal of ballet girls about which he said, "I believe Degas is the only living painter whose work would produce a feeling of envy in Jimmy's [Whistler's] heart."[370]

Tarbell exhibited *In the Orchard* (1891, fig. 99) at the Exposition, which received a great deal of attention and very favorable reviews. Based on its subject and handling, this painting established his reputation as an important Impressionist. Tarbell's gentleman and young ladies taking tea within an orchard adhered to Baudelaire's and Hippolyte Taine's (1828-1893)[371] injunctions to paint modern life, heeded by the French Realists and Impressionists. Reminiscent of Monet, fashionably dressed men and women enjoy each other's company in the out-of-doors where color and light are given full play. Monet and other Impressionists would have found support for this theme in the *ukiyo-e*, which often depicted people enjoying leisurely activities in the open air. Another painting of the following year, *Mother and Child in a Boat* (fig. 100), is similarly Impressionist in treatment and subject and also had equivalents in Japanese art.

---

[369] Tarbell was in Chicago with Benson to arrange an exhibit of the Museum School's drawings and paintings.

[370] "A Boston Artist's Comments on the Art Galleries of the World's Fair," *Boston Evening Transcript* 64/19207 (Friday, May 26, 1893): 5. Whistler actually exhibited 6 paintings.

[371] Taine was a philosopher, scientist, and historian, and a leading intellectual of the period. He taught art history at the *École* (1864-84), so his theories were well known in the American art community.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Previously, in 1890, Tarbell had painted the equally Impressionistic *Three Sisters, A Study in June Sunlight* (fig. 101).

Tarbell's respect for Degas was evident in *Across the Room* (1899, fig. 102) whose composition includes a wide expanse of open flooring.[372] Degas commonly used this device, especially in his paintings of dancers. It derived from the dual influences of Japanese art and photography. In Japanese art, as in that of Degas and Tarbell, the open space provided a restful area for meditating upon the entire scene and its resonances. Tarbell's women were engaged in quiet contemplations of their own to reinforce this effect. In *Across the Room*, the open floor also functioned to raise the remaining compositional elements to a narrow horizon at the top of the painting, creating a flattening effect and an asymmetry common to both Degas and Japanese art. This type of asymmetrical, divided, open-closed composition by the Japanese was known to Tarbell, as is evidenced by the monochrome *kakemono* he included behind the nude figure in his painting *The Bath* (1892-3, fig. 103).

In an 1908 article on abstraction, by which he meant art-for-art's sake, the critic Charles Caffin (1854-1918) used Tarbell as an example of a successful modern painter. He said that it was usually in landscape that artists were able to throw off the Greek tradition, which came in its advanced form through the Italian Renaissance, in which the human form was considered the ideal of beauty. Caffin said that most of the young Americans who went abroad to train were dissatisfied with traditional subjects and treatments, and, therefore, learned only technique. Caffin said that Tarbell, however, had matured into an artist who understood that what was needed was a true, imaginative expression of beauty, and he had provided it as few figure painters could. Caffin was defending Tarbell against the charge that he was merely an objective, visual technician.

---

[372] Another example of Tarbell's use of an expanse of open floor, though less dramatic, was *The Breakfast Room* of the same year.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Caffin held that the subject itself was of no significance, only the artist's ability to grasp and express the essential beauty of what was represented. What Tarbell's pictures did was to cause the viewer to feel rather than to think. Having experienced beauty abstractly, feeling rather than thinking about it, the "spirit is cleansed, refreshed, and fortified." *Girls Reading* (1907, fig. 104), in Caffin's estimation, was a lesson in the holiness of the beauty of home life in which a hush "pervades the room," and tenderness and reverence impregnate the harmony of the whole.

What Caffin's article, ostensibly about Tarbell, effectively did was to explain Whistler's Japanese-influenced art-for-art's sake and its connectedness to Abstraction and Modernism.[373] For Whistler, the aim was less technical than emotional, a quality shared with Japanese art. The artist was to grasp the essential emotional feeling evoked by a scene or an experience and then use the means of art to express that feeling in a harmoniously balanced pictorial composition in such a way that the means became invisible by virtue of becoming one with the expression. Whistler was one of the first to employ Japanese artistic methods and this may have been the most important lesson he took from Japanese art. Among landscape artists, Twachtman most successfully achieved that vision. For Caffin, Tarbell was one of the few figure painters to do so.[374]

After the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition, at which he was given his own room, he turned more and more toward commissioned portraiture. This may also have reflected the changing interests of art patrons following the introduction of Modernism at the Armory Show of 1913. The art-for-art's-sake approach laid the foundations of

---

[373] In fact, given Tarbell's frequent assertion that all he was trying to do was to get a good likeness ("to make things like"), it is probable that Tarbell would not have seen himself in the same light in which Caffin cast him. As Caffin's article, however, was at its heart about American art and the effects of Whistler's art-for-art's sake on the direction art was taking, whether or not Tarbell agreed with Caffin's assessment of him does not seem the point.

[374] Charles H. Caffin, "The Art of Edmund C. Tarbell," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 117/697 (June 1908): 65-74.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstraction, which was coming fully into its own at the same time that Americans were becoming more aware of the often harsh realities of their urban environment and turning away from genteel escape into beautiful pictures that made them feel good about themselves as Americans.[375] The Post-Civil War Era was at an end. As with so many of his contemporaries, Tarbell continued in the genteel tradition, which was backward looking by that time. He was able to hold his position as an important American artist, however, due to his superb craftsmanship.[376]

Tarbell, like Weir and Twachtman and Dewing, can be considered among the true *japonistes* within The Ten. As the leader among the Boston artists dubbed "The Tarbellites," the others of that group (including Benson, Decamp, Paxton and Hale) would have received his *japonisme* at second-hand.

Frank Benson

Japonisme was an aspect of Frank Benson's art, but unlike his close friend and associate Tarbell, it was employed in a pictorial rather than underlying aesthetic sense. He does not show significant evidence of having absorbed the evocative-emotional aesthetic, as opposed to the pictorial strategies, of Japanese art into his own style. Later in his career, however, his *japonisme* became more developed.[377]

Benson, like Tarbell, sought to please the art buying public, and he did. He and Tarbell interacted closely throughout their careers. They were students together in Boston and then Paris and taught together for over two decades at the Museum School.

---

[375] The feelings evoked by sensations of beauty were different in Japan than they were in Whistler's London or Tarbell's Boston but without having passed through this phase of *japonisme* it is doubtful that Modernism and Abstraction would have been received favorably or taken the forms they did, or even possibly have occurred at all.

[376] In fact, he continued to win prizes well past the Armory Show. His art appealed to a wide audience not yet prepared for the abstractions of Modernism for whom his Realist renderings of the pleasanter side of contemporary life offered comforting reassurance.

[377] For a detailed study of Benson's use of Japanese objects in his paintings, and the development of his art after 1915, see: Faith Andrews Bedford, et al., *The Art of Frank W. Benson, American Impressionist* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2000).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

They exhibited together for the first time at Boston's Chase Gallery in 1891 and continued to exhibit locally, nationally and internationally throughout their careers; critics often treated them jointly.[378] Both participated in the 1897 formation of The Ten. Benson and Tarbell arranged for a number of the exhibitions of that group to travel to Boston.

Like Dewing and Tarbell, Benson was primarily a figure painter who frequently worked *en plein air.* If Dewing's women were ephemeral and Tarbell's timeless, Benson's were thoroughly modern and American. As Martha Banta has pointed out, youthful womanhood – vigorous, natural, self-confident and full of promise – had come to personify America in paintings and in literature.[379] The frontier was closed, so expansion and its product, landscape painting, were replaced in the American mind with a desire for refinement, without loss of connectedness to nature and without loss of innocence or energy. Several of The Ten, such as Benson, DeCamp, and Reid, were especially adept at the type of imagery Banta described.

Benson showed his women and children actively enjoying the out-of-doors. He was a life-long outdoorsman and is equally known today for his Homer-like watercolors, etchings and drypoints of hunters and waterfowl, created from the 1920s until the end of his career. Even in his earlier pictures of women and children, the figures were dressed to enjoy the outdoors and they had the blush of fresh air and exercise on their cheeks. While Tarbell often turned toward a more Tonal approach as his career progressed,

---

[378] For a study of how their art came to be linked and how it was both similar and different, see: William H. Gerdts, "Frank Benson—His Own Man: A Study of the Artist's Development and Its Critical Reception," in *Frank W. Benson: The Impressionist Years* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1988), 28-48.

[379] Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Ideas and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benson, if anything, became more Impressionistic in his oils; and later in his career, more Japanese-influenced in watercolors, etchings and drypoints.[380]

Among the primary members of the so-called "Tarbellites," Benson seemed the least inclined toward the rarefied, sophisticated environment to which the figures typically belonged. Paxton and Hale were much more like Tarbell in that regard. Where Benson came closest to the others was with his women depicted in faintly lit interiors of the early- and mid-1890s, but even they looked somewhat more engaged in modern life than the figures of others of his Boston School circle. Although he did paint beautiful pictures and interiors laden with exquisite objects, Benson's figures always tended to have the appearance of frequently breathing in healthy air – they were decidedly robust.

Benson was born in Salem, Massachusetts and maintained a studio there after returning from Paris. He would certainly have been aware of Salem's early connections with Japan. He may have been as familiar with the Peabody Museum there as with the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Both were noted for their Japanese collections.[381] Bunkio Matsuki (1867-1940), a leading dealer in Japanese art, was located in Salem (see Chapter 5). In the latter part of his career, after the 1915 cut-off date of this study, Benson's *japonisme* asserted itself in his outdoor pictures of the wilderness, wildlife and hunting scenes. After 1915, he painted still-lifes using many Japanese art objects and Japanese screens as backdrops.

Benson's earlier figures in the out-of-doors, often his family members, also showed evidence of an awareness of the principles of Japanese art, which was hardly avoidable by the 1890s. His female figures in flowing white dresses were often

---

[380] R. H. Ives Gammell, *The Boston Painters, 1900-1930*, Ed. Elizabeth Ives Hunter (Orleans, MA: Parnassus Imprints, 1986), 89. Gammell, who studied briefly with Benson at the Museum School, recalled Benson's main principles, both based in Monet's Impressionism -- to capture the immediate impression of a scene in both color and form, and to omit close-focus detail because that is not the way one sees naturally.

[381] The holdings of the Peabody were much stronger in ceramics than in paintings or prints.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

monumental and silhouetted against a hillside or billowing white clouds floating in pale blue skies. The background skies, if painted in golds and greens and browns could have belonged to Japanese screens. In images such as *Summer* (1909, Museum of Rhode Island School of Design), *Sunlight* (1909, fig. 105) and *Hilltop* (1903, fig. 106), the skies functioned as flat patterned surfaces defying rather than expanding depth, in much the same manner as his screen behind the woman in *Red and Gold* (fig. 107) and in *Girl Playing Solitaire* (1909, Worster Art Museum). This effect was also very similar to several paintings by Monet titled *Woman with a Parasol* (fig. 108). Like Monet's, Benson's outdoor scenes were Impressionist in technique; sun drenched and brilliantly colored, they were as much about the effects of light as the figures depicted.

Benson's figures resided at the surface of the canvas, even though a modicum of depth was often implied with the inclusion of a not-too-distant shoreline. A non-figural landscape such as *Point Legère* (n.d., fig. 109) was clearly related compositionally to *ukiyo-e*. The foreground is a solid screen of trees behind which is a short expanse of water bordered on the far side by a washy group of trees. The foreground trees are distinct but the background tends toward simplified bands of color. Again, there may be an interaction of influences from Japanese art and photography, either or both of which may have been absorbed unconsciously. The viewpoint is a close-in bird's-eye perspective, as if the bird were sitting in a tree rather than in flight.

The Sisters (1899, fig. 110), awarded a silver medal at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, is a fully-Impressionist view of his two daughters at the shore. Japanese elements in the picture include the strong diagonal upon which the girls are placed and which cross-axially bisects the nearly horizontal shoreline, the overhanging branches with wispy leaves at the top of the canvas, the linear elements of the pier and boats in the water, the high horizon line, and, as usual, the immediacy of the figures in the extreme foreground of the picture.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A less obvious way in which *japonisme* may have been at play here, and in similar pictures, is the relaxed attitude of the children. They are children having fun, not hothouse flowers or small adults. Even though they are dressed in white, they appear fully capable of having an unselfconscious, unfettered childish romp. They represent childhood in nature, as might be seen in the many Japanese screen paintings of genre subjects such as festivals, horse races, leisure outings or simply children at play. Kuniyoshi (fig. 111) Utamaro, Harunobu and many others (fig. 112 a,b) created print scenes of children being children, both indoors and out. The spirit of animation inherent in Hokusai, especially in his *Manga*, was clearly present in Benson's affectionate paintings of his children.

To be sure, Benson adhered to the genteel tradition, along with his fellow members of The Ten. Reinforcement for depicting only the harmonious and pleasant aspects of a prosperous life could certainly be found in Japanese art. Although there were jarring images, such as paintings of Buddhist Hell or mythological ghosts and demons or bloody battle scenes, these were unlikely to have been accessible or of much interest to late-nineteenth-century American Impressionist painters.

As early as 1893, William Howe Downes recognized the qualities Banta spoke of combined with the genteel tradition in Benson's work. Regarding *Portrait in White* (1889, National Gallery of Art) and *Girl with a Red Shawl* (Fig. 113), his two paintings shown at the World's Columbian Exposition, Downes said they reminded him of the remark by Hazlitt that "we do not see nature with our eyes but with our understanding and our hearts." Regarding *Girl with a Red Shawl*, he said that it was "frank, and at the same time charmingly delicate and reserved." What he meant by "frank" may have been "truthful" in terms of capturing the individual personality of the sitter. If, however, the meaning for "frank" were interpreted as a straightforward depiction of a character type,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this would have been an apt description of any number of Japanese pictures of men, women or children.

Having worked outdoors in the summers, Benson's winters were spent painting studio works. *The Black Hat (Lady Trying on a Hat,* 1904, fig. 114) depicts a fashionably attired lady trying on a hat in an interior rich with Japanese references. Most notable among them is the *tansu* chest behind her, but also included are delicate ceramics, both on the chest and on the table beside her. An undecipherable picture with the proportions of a framed Japanese print hangs on the wall. As with *Red and Gold* and his later still life *Silver Screen* (1921, Museum of Fine Arts Boston) his access to, or ownership of, Japanese art and art objects and their inclusion in his work, not just as mere emblems of class but also for their design qualities, is evident.[382]

What Benson did not employ until much later, in his nature paintings, was the more extreme simplifications (of composition, form or color) of Japanese art. In *The Black Hat*, the lady again sits at the surface of the painting; the space is very shallow -- the *tansu* chest seems to have no depth and the back wall appears to be very close to the picture plane that it parallels. The strong black accents of her hat, of the picture frame on the wall, and of the chest further accentuate the surface, a common Japanese strategy. Her white dress seems almost able to function as a void. Yet the void is mitigated by the play of shadow on the surface of her garment. Because there is so much going on in the picture, because her out-flung elbows create an energized form and because her stiff posture creates a tension, the quietude necessary for the intimacy of Japanese art is denied.

---

[382] This is confirmed by Dean T. Lahikainen, "Redefining Elegance, Benson's Studio Props," in *The Art of Frank W. Benson, American Impressionist* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2000), 75-97. Lahikainen points out that the critic Clarence Cook included a picture of a similar *tansu* in his 1878 article on decorating.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The aspects of *japonisme* noted in Benson's work were generalized and would seem, at this stage of his career, to have been related more to the pictorial strategies of the artists with whom he associated than absorption of aesthetic principles from Japanese art. Later in his career, Benson's *japonisme* became more developed.

Joseph DeCamp

Joseph DeCamp[383] was apparently influenced very little by the *japonisme* of the period. Those elements of his work that might be associated with Japanese art can be explained more convincingly by his Munich background, with its emphasis on seventeenth-century Dutch and Spanish painting, or by current trends in Boston.

DeCamp is closely linked with Tarbell and Benson and generally considered one of the "Tarbellites."[384] All three taught at the Museum School and constituted the Boston contingent of The Ten. DeCamp and Benson also summered together in Maine. The path that led DeCamp to Boston, however, had been a very different one. He was from Cincinnati, where he studied at the McMicken School of Design with fellow students John Twachtman, Kenyon Cox (1856-1919), Robert Blum, Elizabeth Nourse (1860-1938), Louis Ritter and others. He, along with Twachtman, Blum and Cox, also took a night class taught by Frank Duveneck at the Ohio Mechanics Institute. Like so many of the Cincinnati artists of that time, he studied at the Munich Academy. While there, he came under the influence of the Dutch and Spanish masters. He was in Venice as one of the Duveneck Boys when they encountered Whistler and subsequently, in 1882, he visited Whistler in London.

Upon returning to Ohio in 1883, he helped found the School of Design at Case Western Reserve University with Otto Bacher but soon took a position at Wellesley

---

[383] For a comprehensive treatment of Joseph DeCamp, see: Laurene Buckley, *Joseph DeCamp: Master Painter of the Boston School* (New York: Prestel-Verlad, 1995).
[384] He was first identified as such by Sadakichi Hartmann in his *A History of American Art* and several journal articles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

College and moved to Massachusetts. By 1885, he was teaching at the Museum School in Boston, but was replaced by Tarbell and Benson at the time Metcalf departed in 1889. At that time he began commuting from Massachusetts to teach at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts and the Art Students' League in New York. He also taught classes in Gloucester with his old friends from Cincinnati and Munich, Duveneck and Twachtman. In 1903, he took a post teaching portraiture at the Massachusetts Normal Art School.

In subject matter, more than in technique, he was close to the Boston School artists. His women in interiors were often surrounded by analogous objects of beauty, including Asian *objets d'art*. They might be engaged in sewing or playing music as in *The Guitar Player* (1908, Museum of Fine Arts Boston) and *The Violin Player* (1912, Private Collection). One of his most famous and enduring works was *The Blue Cup* (1909, fig. 115) in which a maid stands holding a delicate porcelain cup up to the light filtering into the room from an undisclosed source at the right. She is admiring the cup's beauty, just as the viewer admires the beauty of the girl and of the painting. The darker palette and solidity of form through modeling in this and many of DeCamp's works harken back to his Munich training, denying Japanese flatness.

The women in DeCamp's paintings were often maids and seamstresses. They were younger and much less sophisticated than Dewing's women. They were frankly portrayed, in the homegrown American tradition of Copley. They were more modern looking, less classical and timeless, than Tarbell's ladies. Yet, their activities and poses were very similar to Tarbell's figures, as was noted by critics. They differed, however, in the shallowness of the space in which they were portrayed. The young woman clipping flower stems in *Roses* (1909-10, fig. 116) is placed in an ambiguous space. But it is clear that there is a wall behind her because of the very sharply cropped *kakemono* over her head and gilded frame at her left. She sits in silhouette against the plain wall that is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

very near and almost parallel to the picture plane. As in many of his paintings, her face is in shadow and indistinct. This could have been a Whistlerian pose and treatment, although the subject was more homely and domestic than one would expect from Whistler. It can also be related to the Dutch and Spanish genre traditions, with which DeCamp would have been familiar through his time with Duveneck in Ohio and in Munich. Vermeer's art, so popular among the Boston artists of the period, could also have served as a model.

The space in *The Blue Cup* is equally as shallow as that in *Roses*, but far less defined. This treatment may refer back not only to Whistler but also to Hals, Vermeer and Velásquez. Floating figures against a plain background was a device used by these artists in the seventeenth century, and may have been one of the reasons that artists of the nineteenth century found *ukiyo-e* visually accessible. Familiarity with the form preconditioned their receptivity to simplified settings.

The Whistlerian influence would appear to be most evident in DeCamp's Gloucester harbor paintings (fig. 117). The asymmetrical compositions with heavily cropped constructed forms or vertical masts reflected in the water, could have been influenced by Whistler's etchings done in Venice (such as *San Giorgio*) or his paintings of Valparaiso, Old Westminster Bridge, or Battersea Bridge, themselves influenced by Japanese art. It also seems possible, however, that the sources for this imagery in DeCamp's case may have been closer to home. For instance, his *Jetty at Low Tide* (1901, fig. 118), while possibly related to Whistler's etchings (such as *The Tall Bridge*, 1878, University of Michigan), is also similar to Weir's *Red Bridge* or any number of paintings of such elements by Hassam, Twachtman, Robinson or Chase.

R. H. Ives Gammell (1893-1981) wrote of a story DeCamp recounted to him about Whistler. The two roomed in the same boarding house in Venice and Whistler once invited DeCamp to his room to advise him on a painting. DeCamp asked the older

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and revered artist why he didn't model his faces. Whistler replied that he "used to do that." He showed DeCamp some examples of earlier works in which he had used light and shadow for modeling. The younger artist was unimpressed, concluding that Whistler didn't model because he couldn't. It was the flattened effect of Whistler's *japonisme* that DeCamp found offensive. Gammell tells us that DeCamp did not like Whistler's sharp tongue and didn't care much for his work, but did pay "respects to Whistler's exquisite taste and to the charm of many of his pictures."[385]

DeCamp seldom became as Impressionistic as most of his fellow Ten members or the Boston School painters. Under their influence, however, he did *plein air* paintings in the loose brushwork of the Munich School, with a heightened palette.[386] *The Farewell* (1900-02, fig. 119), a woman in white standing on an ocean-side cliff, is not nearly as spontaneous or lively as Benson's works of a similar subject. It has the academic's slightly stiff, posed quality. The figure also seems more solid, her clothes fitting firmly rather than blowing loosely in the breeze. She lacks the spontaneity associated with Impressionism and *japonisme* in the period.

A more successful work is his tender half-length portrait of his daughter, *Sally* (1905, fig. 120). Although he employed the solid black background sometimes used by Velásquez and Hals and often by Duveneck, it is a thoroughly modern American image of young womanhood. She is dressed in a sailor top, an indication of outdoor activity. The strong light that creates a delicate play of shadows across her white blouse unifies the image, which both stands out against and blends into the dark background. This solidly modeled, character-revealing portrait has its roots firmly planted in American (via European), not Japanese, soil.

---

[385] Gammell, 57.

[386] This means that his colors could be brighter than those generally associated with the Munich School, which may be accounted for by his familiarity with the work of his Impressionist colleagues among The Ten.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Unfortunately, many of DeCamp's early works were destroyed by fire in his Boston studio in 1904[387] and another fire at his place in Maine, so his entire *oeuvre* is not available for study. He was financially devastated by the losses and turned thereafter, like Tarbell in the later years of his career, to commissioned portraits. One of his outstanding works in this vein is the portrait he did of President Theodore Roosevelt (1908) for Harvard University. It, like *Sally*, makes no reference to Japanese art. Even when Japanese art and art objects were included in DeCamp's paintings, they were used to define the setting and situation and to serve as objects of beauty, not necessarily meant to refer specifically to Japan.[388]

Robert Reid

Robert Reid was a decorative figure painter with perhaps the most brilliant palette among the group. He often incorporated Japanese items into his paintings and employed some of the strategies of *japonisme*.

Reid studied at the Boston Museum School with Tarbell and Benson but relocated to New York in 1884, before DeCamp, Tarbell or Benson became teachers there. Consequently, he was never considered one of the "Tarbellites." Sadakichi Hartmann called him "one of the most interesting personalities" among The Ten and said he was unsurpassed among the group at depicting the American woman. By the same token, Hartmann, his close friend, dubbed him not only the "leader of decorative Impressionism" but also the "poet of frivolity."[389]

Reid went to Paris in 1885 to study at the Académie Julian where he received instruction from Lefèbvre and Boulanger, returning to New York in 1889. His time at the

---

[387] The same year that he was awarded a gold medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.
[388] In fact, the porcelain objects on the table in *The Blue Cup* are of a generalized Asian type, but their shapes and decoration show them to be of Western manufacture.
[389] Hartmann, *A History...*, II/248.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Julian overlapped with that of Tarbell, Benson, Dewing, Simmons, Twachtman and Metcalf.

For a while, Reid worked primarily as a muralist[390] but he also painted light- and color-filled Impressionist canvases depicting pretty young women in the outdoors, in a similar vein to those painted by Benson, but often with the addition of copious flowers. His paintings were very decorative pieces in which the figures often merged, in Japanese fashion, with the patterns of their surroundings. They were also more generalized, another Japanese characteristic, than the paintings of the Boston School artists who specialized in this theme. His indoor paintings of women, primarily from the second decade of the twentieth century, were very colorful and often included *kimono, byobu* and women looking in mirrors – all prominent features of Japanese art. Reid, like many of his fellow members of The Ten, also painted nudes such as *Opal* (1895, fig. 121). While there were pictures of unclad women in Japanese art, they were not nudes in the classical sense of the term as they were in American and European art.[391]

Fleur-de-Lys (1899, fig. 122) is an outstanding example of Reid's female figures interwoven with flowers.[392] The figure, a dreamy young woman in the full bloom of young adulthood crouches among the flowers, which are also in full bloom and serve as a metaphor for her fecundity. In America, this association of women and flowers in art

---

[390] Many of The Ten artists taught and painted murals to keep themselves afloat. Reid, at various times, worked on mural commissions with Weir, Metcalf, Benson and Simmons.

[391] Utamaro depicted many women in various stages of undress and that has been reflected in the art of Mary Cassatt, especially in her famous series of drypoint prints. Undressed women also appear in *shunga*, pictures of sexual activity among men and women that were generally used as sex manuals by the Japanese but were also collected as pornography by Westerners and then, through contact with the West, by Japanese. The Japanese attitude toward the body and sexuality is very different from the Judeo-Christian attitude prevalent in the West. For Japanese, public bathing and exposing one's body were not deemed provocative but natural. Paintings of female nudes in the West carried the context of objectification that did not exist in Japanese depictions of unclad women. Therefore, that genre has not come under discussion here.

[392] Reid did several paintings by this title and the earlier is no longer extant. Also, it is variously spelled *Fleur-de-Lis* and *Fleur-de-Lys*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dates back to the Colonial Period.[393] The association was not lost on Reid who was from Massachusetts and was well aware of the Colonial Revival underway at that time. The young woman is cradled within a voluptuous iris patch. The garden's shallow space is established by the slight bird's-eye perspective employed, a result of *japonisme* in this period, and by the picket fence behind her.

The use of the vertical lines of architectural elements such as fences and *shoji* (sliding screens with a dark grid pattern) as a backdrop appeared frequently in *ukiyo-e*[394] and was a device taken up by such prominent *japonistes* as Eduoard Manet (*Le Chemin de Fer*, 1872-3, fig. 123), Mary Cassatt (the wallpaper in *Five O'Clock Tea*, 1880, Museum of Fine Arts Boston) and James McNeill Whistler (*Annabel Lee*, sketched in the late 1860s, Glasgow University Hunterian Art Gallery). It functioned in several ways in their works, and in Reid's. As mentioned, it established a close-up parallel plane to that of the actual picture, thus truncating depth; and, it created a strongly patterned decorative effect. Reid's painting is a vividly decorative picture. Its saturated colors, writhing forms, overall patterning, and aggressive brushwork seem to ally it more with such Post-Impressionist painters as Van Gogh or the Nabis than with Monet or Renoir, whose works seem almost subdued by comparison.

Later, Reid painted a much more Benson-like (or even Gibson Girl-like) picture of American womanhood, titled *Against the Sky* (1911, fig. 124). As with Benson, the blue sky and white clouds, virtually her only background, form a decorative screen behind her. The perspective in *Fleur-de-Lys* was directed downward, in *Against the Sky* the viewpoint is from below, looking up. Yet, the figure remains earthbound, as implied by

---

[393] John Singleton Copley, for instance, employed it in such portraits as *Lydia Lunde* (1762-4), *Hannah Loring* (1763) and *Mrs. Joseph Scott* (1765). Abraham Cowley Text and Image Archive. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia. http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/kinney/small/mars.htm: Flowers in association with female fecundity go back at least as far as the first century AD when coins were stuck showing Mars born of a flower (Juno).

[394] Ando Hiroshige's *Returning from Festival,* Asakusa, 1857 or Ippitsusai Bunchô's *The Lovers Ohatsu and Toakubei* from the series *Eight Views of Lovers* of 1771, to name just two.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the treetop just visible at the lower left. Womanhood and nature merged in *Fleur-de-Lys* and *White Parasol* (1900, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution), where youthful femininity, representing America, clearly was at home in nature while, nevertheless, dominant over it.

Visually, *Against the Sky* has many Japanese elements, but its meaning and attitude toward nature are wholly un-Japanese, un-Asian. The figure is a monumental, generalized female type, working as part of an overall decorative pattern in which clouds play a role. Eccentric perspective, silhouetting, sun-drenched color and severe cropping are employed. These are all Japanese-derived or Japanese–reinforced visual elements. Whether or not they were taken directly from Japanese sources, they had been so thoroughly absorbed into the visual vocabulary by the 1890s that they had become part of Western painting. Nevertheless, their original inspiration goes back to the interest of French artists during the 1860s, 70s and 80s in Japanese art as a reinvigorating source. If drawn from currents in Europe and America, therefore, they represent a digested form of *japonisme*.

In 1892, Reid participated in the mural decorations for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (see Chapter 5). His paintings for the Dome of the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building have a solidly conceived and realized Italian Renaissance illusionistic cast to them. The mural paintings he did for the Library of Congress shortly after that, although still allegorical figures, have a more modern, airy quality. William Coffin noted the subtle *japonisme* inherent in his designs in an article for *Harper's Weekly*. Stating that Reid had not borrowed his color scheme directly, Coffin wrote that,

> ... the pictures convey to the spectator the same sort of delight in color for its own sake that is obtained from the subtle yet audacious harmonies of the Eastern artists. The juxtaposition of greens and blues, the play of a yellow note upon a purple one, the happy mingling of one blue of delicate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> tint with another stronger blue, are characteristically Japanese, but are yet far from a conventional resemblance.[395]

Coffin also noted the mixing of classical and Japanese elements, which was prevalent in the period (with antecedents in Whistler) and practiced extensively by muralists.

At about the time Reid was returning to easel painting from his mural work (when he painted *Against the Sky*), he began painting lush interior scenes of women, often clad in *kimono*, at their *toilette* or juxtaposed with a particular Japanese screen, which must have been one of his studio pieces. *The Violet Kimono* (fig. 125), *The Mirror* (fig. 126) and *The Japanese Screen* (fig. 127) were all painted in 1910 and belong to this category. Although indoor scenes, they continued the brilliant color harmonies critics and viewers had come to expect from his work. The *kimono* and *byobu* were employed, in Reid's case, for their decorative qualities more than the signification they carried. The colors in the screens, though generally associated with Japanese art, were used by Reid for his own expressive ends. He may have been influenced toward brilliancy by Japanese examples, but his choice and mixing of colors here were purely his own. It is tempting to associate his pictures with the Expressionist copies of Japanese *ukiyo-e* produced by Vincent Van Gogh (fig. 128).

In each depiction, Reid has captured the screen's essential Japanese motifs but the overall effect conforms to his unique vision and accomplishes his own pictorial purposes. He has harmonized the curves and colors of his figures with those in the screen painting. He has also given the screen a frozen quality that any Japanese original is unlikely to have had, but which was in keeping with the posed look of his sitters. He has skillfully worked the screen's swooping crane into the scene with the woman holding a mirror; it looks as if the bird is about to nip it out of her hand. In *The Japanese Screen*, the nude model sits on the floor looking up at the strutting crane, as if

---

[395] William A. Coffin, "Robert Reid's Decorations in the Congressional Library, Washington, D.C.," *Harper's Weekly* 40/2078 (October 17, 1896): 1028.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in nature. These pictures are very clever and tap into the playfulness of some Japanese art, which was noted as a characteristic of Hokusai's *Manga*. The blue he employed, however, is too pronounced and not of a hue generally employed by Japanese artists. The treatment of a Kano School screen subject is too tight and delicate to ring true. But for the off-note blue, it might represent a Rimpa work from the late-Edo period; one of artistic decline.

These paintings, in which the crane screen figured prominently, belong to Reid's decorative Impressionism, which first appeared in his work in the 1890s. In his book on Reid, Royal Cortissoz said that his women were meant to appeal to nationalistic sentiments;[396] however, according to Christian Brinton, Reid was "not concerned with creating a feminine convention, but with producing pictures which shall embody his own proper sensitiveness to form, color and decorative design."[397] Reid's paintings, from the 1890s on, were his own unique expressions and related more to art-for-art's-sake than interpretations that postulated an emblematic meaning. His turbulent and romantic sensibilities were the personality traits Reid brought to his work. He employed *japonisme* in developing his very individual, dynamic, and colorful decorative-Impressionist style.

Edward Emerson Simmons

Edward E. Simmons knew and was influenced by Whistler and may have employed some of Whistler's Japanese-related pictorial strategies in his marine paintings. Among the members of The Ten, however, Simmons was the least affected by Japanese art or *japonisme*.

---

[396] Royal Cortissoz, *In Summertime: Paintings by Robert Reid* (New York: R. H. Russell, 1900).
[397] Christian Brinton, "Robert Reid, Decorative Impressionist," *Arts and Decoration* 2 (November 1911): 15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Simmons, like Reid, was primarily a mural painter but also worked in other media, including easel painting. The patrician-looking Simmons was from Massachusetts and was related to Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). He was educated at Harvard to become an architect but was more interested in painting. After visiting Frank Duveneck briefly in Cincinnati, he went to San Francisco where he wrote for *The San Francisco Chronicle* for several years. Then he returned to Boston to study art seriously. He enrolled at the Museum School in 1877, and took additional anatomy classes from William Rimmer (1816-1879) at MIT. The next year, he followed Duveneck's advice and went abroad for training. He, like so many of his colleagues, studied at the Académie Julian, under Lefebvre and Boulanger. He matriculated to the École. While in France, he summered in Concarneau,[398] where he came to know and was influenced by Bastien-Lepage (see Chapter 2).

After traveling on the Continent, in 1886, he went to St. Ives in Cornwall, remaining five years. He quickly became an important figure in the already thriving art colony there.[399] At that time he turned from figure painting to marine subjects, although some of those also included figures.

In 1891, Simmons returned to New York to work on a commission for a window for Harvard's Memorial Hall. It was his first work in stained glass and he chose an allegorical classical theme -- peacemaking between competing generals -- as a metaphor for the healing relations between the North and the South following the Civil War in the United States. The next year his fellow artist, Francis Davis Millet (1846-1912), commissioned him to work on the mural painting program for the World's Columbian Exposition (see Chapter 5). From that point on, his primary interest was

[398] He also briefly visited a number of other locales.
[399] The colony at that point was made up of a mix of nationalities but was primarily American, with few Britons.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mural painting, although he also continued to produce easel paintings.[400] Among the mural commissions he shared with fellow Bostonian-cum-New Yorker and Ten member, Robert Reid, were the World's Columbian Exposition, the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts State House and The Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 in San Francisco.

One of the private decorative mural commissions he undertook was for the dining room of the home of Richard Canfield (1855-1914), a major Whistler patron. His paintings were evocations of the provocative writings of Swinburne,[401] a favored poet of the Aesthetic Movement, both in England and the United States. Swinburne's poetry had more to do with meter and rhythmic effects than with content. Simmons may have been chosen for the commission not only for his skills as a muralist, but also for the quality of his mind and for his familiarity with Whistler, whom he met in London and in St. Ives, and whom he considered an artistic genius.[402]

Simmons was perhaps the least Impressionistic among The Ten.[403] His easel paintings were thematically eclectic, his seascapes were Tonalist and somewhat Impressionist, and his tonal figurative work was tied to the Bastien-Lepage tradition of naturalist but sentimentalized peasant imagery (see Chapter 2). This subject matter was at odds with the genteel type of imagery produced by his fellow Ten members but that is understandable given his naturalist, educated, intellectually-rigorous, moralistic Emersonian Unitarian background. He, like DeCamp and Tarbell, also took portrait commissions.

---

[400] Originally intending to be an architect, the combining of sculpture, painting and architecture as a unified expression had a strong appeal for him. He was a close friend of Stanford White, who was responsible for securing a number of mural commissions for Simmons.

[401] William H. Gerdts, "Edward Simmons," in *The Ten Painters* for Spanierman, 119.

[402] Edward Simmons, "The Fine Arts Related to the People," *The International Studio* 63/249 (November 1917): 12. For an in-depth treatment of Simmons, see: Cynthia Sanford, "Edward Simmons, A Painter and A Yankee in the Gilded Age," Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York Graduate Center, 2003.

[403] An exception to this would be his mural paintings for the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which were noted by a number of contemporary writers to be a clever employment of Impressionism.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many aspects of mural painting coincided with *japonisme.* Mural paintings by their nature tend toward simplification of form, color, and over-all compositional harmonies and also tend to create a flattened effect. Despite his strong academic background[404] and the classical imagery required of most mural programs, Simmons was an admirer not only of Whistler and Bastien-Lepage but also of Millet, Manet, Corot, the Impressionists, and Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898). A great lover of the beauty of nature, he nevertheless took issue with Whistler over the latter's denial of the value of meaning in art. For Simmons, art should give something enduring to posterity.

Stylistically, his figures maintained academic solidity while the handling of his backgrounds was looser; this was a typical characteristic of American Impressionism.[405] His compositions were conservative but well-conceived. Landscapes and marine compositions were more colorful and more freely painted.[406] He successfully achieved atmospheric unity. He came closest to Whistler and *japonisme* in his marine paintings such as *Night, St. Ives Bay* (n.d., fig. 129), with its high horizon and thin application of paint, and in which moonlight and the evocation of its mood is the theme. Evidence of mankind is tiny in comparison with the vastness of nature. In addition, it is a non-narrative work.

The easel painting for which Simmons is probably best known is *The Carpenter's Son* (fig. 130) in which a young Jesus is shown in his father's woodworking shop. His modeling in light and shadow, deep space, and direct address of the boy's gaze remove this work, as with his other figural pieces, from a consideration of *japonisme*, and the

---

[404] This academic background began with Crowninshield at the Museum School in Boston and Rimmer at MIT.

[405] Simmons painted peasant themes in Concarneau. *Awaiting His Return* (1884, Private Collection) shows a young wife looking toward the open sea, past the boats in the harbor. The boats are simplified dark silhouettes against the water and sky but the young woman in the foreground is fully rounded and academically rendered.

[406] Alexander Harrison was in Concarneau with Simmons and Theodore Robinson was with him at St. Ives. They may have influenced the Tonalism and Impressionism, respectively, of his marines.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

content removes it from Whistlerian art-for-art's sake Aestheticism. This was clearly a choice on Simmons' part, given his familiarity with Whistler and the fact that by the time this was painted, during his period in St. Ives (1886-1892), it was impossible to be an artist in Europe or America and not be aware of Japanese art and its precepts.

William Merritt Chase

William Merritt Chase accepted an invitation to join The Ten in 1905, three years after the death of founding member John Twachtman, whom he replaced. Chase is the best example among The Ten of the employment of *japonaiserie* by a *japonismiste*. He did include some aspects of *japonisme* in his work, but only at second-hand, after they had been digested and passed on by other artists whose work influenced him. In addition, this section will demonstrate why dependence on visual analysis alone is an inadequate methodology for determining an artist's *japonisme*.

Chase was a leading society portraitist and those who commissioned portraits from him wanted those portraits to demonstrate their wealth and status. This had been the primary purpose of portraiture in America from the Colonial period when artists such as Joseph Blackburn, John Smibert, and John Singleton Copley helped wealthy patrons establish themselves as members of a superior class in the absence of an aristocratic system, as there had been in England. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Chase was active, class divisions were coalescing in the U.S., and a newly wealthy business class was being created by industrialization. The *nouveaux riches* were insecure about their position in society and wanted to be portrayed as sophisticated and socially knowledgeable, as well as financially successful. Society portraits that included Japanese items as part of the background decorative décor served that purpose very well.

Chase's portraits and figure paintings abound with examples of this type of *japonaiserie*. *The Blue Kimono* (1888, fig. 131) shows a model wearing the garment for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which the painting is titled seated in front of a Japanese screen and metal urn, holding a Japanese fan, with one arm resting on an Asian-looking embroidered silk cushion. *The Japanese Print* (1888, fig. 132) shows possibly the same model in another *kimono* also seated in front of a folding screen. In this case, she holds a Japanese woodblock print rather than a fan; either of these props would serve in conjunction with the *kimono* and a languid pose to aestheticize the figure.[407] Many of his female models – women and children, family members or not – were costumed in *kimono*. Chase even moved a Japanese screen to the backyard for his *The Open Air Breakfast* (1888, Toledo Museum of Art). Among his Shinnecock paintings is a beach scene, *At the Seaside* (1892, Metropolitan Museum of Art), with large, bright red and yellow Japanese umbrellas decorated with large white cranes (probably made for the Western market).[408] Toward the end of his career, he included Japanese *objets d'art* among his still life paintings such as *Still Life with a Brass Bowl* (1903, fig. 133).

The Chase photographs reveal something about his interest in creating an exotic arrangement. In his student days in Munich he and others in the American Club held masquerade balls and participated in popular *tableau vivant* entertainments – dressing in costumes of past eras or exotic places and acting out skits in settings appropriate to those costumes. This was a practice that the Chase family continued in America. Chase's Japanese arrangement paintings might be interpreted as an extension of the *tableau vivant* tradition, which was carried on for at least thirty years of his life.

---

[407] David Milgrome, "The Art of William Merritt Chase," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969), 63: Other artists at the Tile Club, such as Shugio Hiromichi and J. Alden Weir, introduced Chase to Japanese prints, but his artistic response to them came through his initial admiration of Whistler. It was not until 1888, three years after the summer he spent with Whistler, that he began to employ Japanese costumes and accessories in his work, at a time when decorative employment of Japanese accents in clothing and interiors was at the height of fashion in America.

[408] Shinnecock, on Long Island, is where Chase owned a beach house and where he taught summer classes. Many of his well-known works were painted there.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chase has frequently been associated with *japonisme* in the literature.[409] Preliminary visual evidence would seem quite strong for including Chase among those artists such as Manet, Degas, Whistler, Cassatt, Monet, Lautrec, and Van Gogh who repeatedly employed *japonisme.* However, further analysis indicates, again, that Chase probably derived the Japanese elements in his art, other than his mere quoting, at second-hand, through the work of his contemporaries. Chase's own writing supports this conclusion. Among all the lectures and writings Chase produced, he generously credited not only his contemporaries but the Dutch, Flemish, English, Italian and Spanish masters, especially Velásquez, with setting important examples upon which artists would do well to draw in their own work.[410] He almost never, however, mentioned Japanese art as a model.[411] The only reference to Japanese art by Chase that was found was in the handwritten reminiscences of Walter Copeland Bryant, titled "What Some Famous Artists

---

[409] See: Anonymous, "New York Sun, in its notice of the Society of American Artists' Exhibition -- Mr. William Merritt Chase's Art," *The Art Interchange* 12 (1884) np; Kenyon Cox, "William M. Chase, Painter," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 78 (March, 1889): 552; Katharine Metcalf Roof [who studied with Chase and was his biographer], "William Merritt Chase: An American Master," *Craftsman* 18 (April, 1910): 34. 37-8; Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 279-80; Katharine Metcalf Roof, "William Merritt Chase: His Art and His Influence," *The International Studio* 60/240 (Feb., 1919): cvi, cviii; Katharine Metcalf Roof, "William Merritt Chase: the Man and the Artist," *The Century Magazine* 93 (April 1917): 833-841; Ernest Knaufft, "An American Painter – William Merritt Chase," *Studio* 21 (Dec., 1900): 151-8; Sadakichi Hartmann, "Modern Portraits," *Bulletin of Photography* 16/406 (Wed., May 12, 1915): 581-2; David Milgrome, "The Art of William Merritt Chase" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969), 64; Ronald G. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Watson-Guptil, 1979), 37; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916* (New York: M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., 1976), 37; Pisano, *Summer Afternoons: Landscape Paintings of William Merritt Chase* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1993), 6; Clarence David McCarran, Jr., *The Ripening of American Art: Duveneck and Chase* (Mobile: Fine Arts Museum of the South, 1979), 19; D. Scott Atkinson, "Shinnecock and the Shinnecock Landscapes," *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock, 1891-1902*, by D. Scott Atkinson and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 25-6; Keith J. Bryant, Jr., *William Merritt Chase: A Genteel Bohemian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 114; Barbara Dayer Gallati, *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. with the Smithsonian Institute, 1995), 58-9; Kathleen Pyne, 364.

[410] Chase, William Merritt, "The Import of Art," an Interview with Walter Pach, *Outlook* 95 (June 25-1910):442; Roof, *The Life and Art*..., 100, 211, 213, 280-1, 297; Roof, "William Merritt Chase: the Man and the Artist," 834; Roof, "William Merritt Chase: An American Master," 34; Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "William M Chase Reports to St. Louis from Munich: A Correspondence," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 15 (Jan 1959): 118.

[411] In addition to many reprints of lectures in contemporary newspapers and many of his published writings of the period, his handwritten and typed lecture notes at the AAA (Archives of American Art) have been carefully read for any references to Japanese art and none were found.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Have Said to Me." According to Bryant, in April of 1905, Chase advised him to buy some Whistler lithographs and Hokusai prints. Bryant quoted Chase as saying "The Japanese prints are very great art indeed."[412]

Although Bryant's quote would seem to indicate Chase appreciated Japanese prints as a form of fine art from which he might learn, there is visual evidence to the contrary. Alice Gerson Chase was an avid photographer and her photographs of the interiors of the various Chase residences exist in abundance, documenting her husband's art preferences.[413] In addition to this, Chase's Tenth Street Studio was famous for its weekly open houses, during which the public was invited in to view art. It was also an important gathering place for his students and other artists. He held classes there and a number of SAA meetings were also held there. Consequently, many newspaper and magazine articles featured photos of the studio. There are also a number of photographs, including a group of four that seem to take in his entire Tenth Street Studio, at the Archives of American Art (fig. 134 a,b).[414] Not to be omitted from images of his studio and residential interiors are Chase's own paintings, many of which were set in these interiors (fig. 135). Studying the photos and paintings, what becomes clear is that pictures hung everywhere. Many of the pictures were Chase's own, many were from his extensive collection of paintings by European and American contemporaries and many were his copies of Old Master paintings done in European museums. Nowhere, in at least a hundred photographs examined, however, was there an *ukiyo-e* in evidence among the artwork he hung on his various walls. Even the screens that he depicted – when not employed in portraits as props or compositional devices – were folded and placed to the side rather than being displayed as art. His studios do have many Japanese objects such

---

[412] Walter Copeland Bryant, "What Some Famous Artists Have Said to Me" (AAA 2542), undated.
[413] Ronald G. Pisano and Alicia Grant Longwell, *Photographs from the William Merritt Chase Archives at the Parrish Art Museum* (Southampton: The Parrish Art Museum, 1992).
[414] Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, Reel N69-137, nos. 527-30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as fans, hats, textiles, and umbrellas hung decoratively on the walls, along with a number of exotic artifacts from other cultures. In fact, Chase was famous for the eclecticism of his collecting.[415]

Chase's omission of Japanese prints from his walls would seem indicative of his attitude toward them as art. Consider Manet's portrait of *Emile Zola* (1867-8, fig. 136), in which an *ukiyo-e* is depicted on the wall next to a study for Manet's *Olympia* (1863), suggesting that they were regarded as artistic equivalents. Likewise, Monet's home at Giverny had *ukiyo-e* hanging prominently all over its walls (see Chapter 2).[416]

Among the *ukiyo-e* and Japanese books auctioned off after Chase's death are listed prints "after" a number of artists: Hiroshige, Hokusai, Kuniyoshi, Utamaro, Yeishi [Eishi], Toyokuni, and Sharaku. By the time Chase was purchasing Japanese prints, works by all of these Japanese masters were affordable and readily available to Western artists. Why, then, was he content with prints "after" these artists unless he was simply using them as props? No definitive answer to this question is possible, but that decision indicates his appreciation of them as decorative objects rather than as art to be considered seriously in regard to his own work. Chase's inclusion of apparently *ersatz* or imaginary Japanese screens in *Portrait of the Artist's Daughter (Dorothy)* (1897, fig. 137) and *The Japanese Print* (fig. 132) would support this contention.

If Chase did not take his *japonisme* directly from Japanese prints, from whence did it derive? Chase was at the heart of the artistic community in New York.[417] A list of

---

[415] While it is true that Japanese paintings and prints are of fugitive materials (ink and watercolors on paper and silk) and might fade if left exposed to sunlight for any duration, that does not seem a likely explanation given that Chase and the other artists of his circle regularly hung fugitive works, such as etchings which were also popular among them, in their homes and studios. Also, the Japanese textiles, fans and umbrellas he hung to decorate his studio shared the fragility of the prints and paintings.

[416] Photos taken during Monet's lifetime support this.

[417] He rented the most prestigious of the studios in the Tenth Street Studio Building. He served as president of the Society of American Artists (SAA) from 1880 until 1895 and was elected to full membership in the National Academy of Design in 1890. He belonged to the Tile Club and the American Watercolor Society and was a founding member of the Society of Painters in Pastel.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chase's artist friends reads like a "Who's Who" of American *japonisme*. They included, among others, LaFarge, Dewing, Weir, Twachtman, Robinson, Blum, Wores, and most notably, Whistler. He was also a cosmopolitan who kept well abreast of the latest developments in Europe.[418] Given his contacts, his cosmopolitanism, and the fact that he did not appear to value Japanese art as art but rather as decorative bric-a-brac,[419] Chase's *japonisme* must be considered to have been acquired at secondhand, filtered through the art practices of his contemporaries. A further piece of evidence that would support aligning Chase with *japonaiserie* as opposed to *japonisme*, despite his collection of Japanese prints (including Hokusai and Hiroshige), is his omission from or treatment

---

In addition, he organized the 1883 "Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition" along with James Carroll Beckwith. In 1884, Chase joined Beckwith, Edwin Blashfield and Frank D. Millet in Washington to speak before the House Ways and Means Committee for the repeal of foreign art import tariffs. He was a founding teacher at the Art Students League, beginning in 1878, and also founded the Shinnecock Hills Summer School. In 1895 he resigned his Art Students League teaching position, declined to run for president of the SAA and closed his Tenth Street Studio. However, in 1896 be opened the Chase School of Art in New York and became a teacher at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He taught temporary classes at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1894 and 1897. This may have resulted from his having served on the committee of judges for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. At the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, he was given his own room as one of the featured artists.

[418] Chase studied in Munich (1872-77) along with a number of American students -- Shirlaw, Currier, Duveneck, Twachtman, and many others. At the Royal Academy he studied with Karl von Piloty and was active in the American Art Club in Munich. According to Roof (*The Life and Art* ..., 27), "...although he studied with Piloty and Kaulback, it was William Leibl, who represented in Munich what Couture did in Paris, who influenced Chase and the other impressionable young students in the seventies." During his student days he made a number of copies of Old Masters and won an Academy bronze medal for drawing after the antique in 1873. Chase had stopped off in London and Paris in 1872 on his way to Munich, and in 1877 he accompanied Duveneck and Twachtman to Venice for nine months. In 1881, he traveled to Antwerp and Madrid and in Paris he met Carolus-Duran and John Singer Sargent. He also won honorable mention at the Paris Salon. Upon returning home, he began to experiment with *plein air* painting. Between 1881 and 1886, he summered annually in Europe, accompanied by his friend the artist Robert Blum and others. In 1885, he summered in London with Whistler and they traveled together to Antwerp. Although he did not travel to Europe for a decade after his marriage in 1887, he frequently exhibited there, and was awarded a silver medal at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1889. In 1896, he conducted a summer art class in Madrid. He would continue teaching art courses in Europe every summer after that until his death.

[419] http://www.reynoldahouse.org/studio.htm (September 8, 2002). Chase's painting *In the Studio* (1884, fig. 138 a,b) in the Reynolda House Museum of American Art collection, does include a small Japanese album leaf, on the wall, but its placement among a clutter of decorative objects rather than higher up on the wall with what appears to be a plaster cast artwork, is further evidence of his regard for Japanese prints as exotic and decorative bric-a-brac.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in current writings on *japonisme*.[420] Berger did mention Chase but treated him as a painter of fashionable portraits in which Japanese costumes and accessories were used as demonstrations of the sophistication and fashion-consciousness of his sitters and himself (for Chase was a dandy).

Chase's *Hide and Seek* (1888, fig. 139) is a painting that begs to be considered in relation to its possible response to Japanese prints and whether visual analysis alone can give the answer. Writers on Chase such as Milgrome, Atkinson, Roof, and Bryant have made this association.[421] *Hide and Seek*'s asymmetrical composition, with an essentially empty expanse of floor, is a convention commonly cited as evidence of his *japonisme*. The reciprocal interplay of solid with void used here was mentioned earlier in regard to John Twachtman in relation to the Taoist principle of Hokusai's famous print *The Great Wave Off Kanagawa* (1831, fig. 78). *Hide and Seek*'s deep empty foreground, its sloping perspective, its recession along a diagonal, its simplification of figures to silhouettes, its dramatic cropping (or truncating) of a figure at the surface of the canvas can all be related to Japanese art. However, each of these features can also be found in the work of Degas, as well as many other of the French painters of the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, a work such as Degas' *Dancers at the Old Opera House* (1877, fig. 140), although a pastel and much lighter in tone and hue, contains all of these characteristics. It preceded *Hide and Seek* by eleven years and although it may not have been a direct

---

[420] Wichmann; Berger; William Hosley; Shuuji Takashina, Geneviève Lacambre, Akiko Mabuchi and Caroline Mathieu, *Le Japonisme* (Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1988); Lancaster; Meech and Weisberg.

[421] David Milgrome, "The Art of William Merritt Chase" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969), 64; D. Scott Atkinson, "Shinnecock and the Shinnecock Landscapes," in *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock, 1891-1902*, by D. Scott Atkinson and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr.(Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 25-6; Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 279-80; Keith J. Bryant, Jr., *William Merritt Chase: A Genteel Bohemian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 114.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

source – many of Degas' paintings employ the same compositional and technical devices – Chase knew and admired Degas' work.[422]

Writing on *Hide and Seek*, Barbara Gallati says that "Chase's investigation of space is most radically expressed in this painting in which he exaggerated compositional modes current in the art of such progressive painters as Whistler, Sargent, and Degas."[423] She said that Chase often used "the new language of space" of the European *avant-garde*, which derived in his art primarily from Degas and Sargent. Gallati discussed Sargent's *The Daughters of Edward D. Boit* (1882, fig. 141), painted six years earlier, as a possible spatial source for *Hide and Seek*. It was exhibited in 1883 at the Paris Salon, which Chase probably attended. Sargent's painting was much praised at that time for its unconventional use of space. It was also exhibited in 1888 at the St. Botolph Club in Boston.

The ultimate source for Chase, possibly through Sargent, was probably Velásquez' *Las Meninas* (1656, fig. 142), a work with which Chase was well acquainted. Velásquez and Hals were the two Old Masters he most admired during his student days in Munich. The same summer he met Sargent (1881), he spent part of his vacation in Madrid where he concentrated mostly on studying and copying the work of Velásquez at the Prado Museum. Writing about Chase's later Shinnecock interiors, Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. also considered Velásquez to be a major Chase source. "Velásquez was not Chase's private enthusiasm, of course, but one he shared with many of his contemporaries (like his friends Whistler and Thomas Eakins). They all took him as a model of style."[424] Chase was

---

[422] Pisano, *A Leading Spirit...*, 63. Chase, with Beckwith, was responsible for determining which works would be exhibited in the 1883 "Pedestal Fund Loan Exhibition." Their choices leaned heavily toward Barbizon painters but also included Degas, Manet, Whistler, Stevens and deNittis. Chase and Beckwith visited Degas in Paris to discuss the exhibit and this might have afforded him an opportunity of seeing *Dancers at the Opera House*, which had been painted in 1877.
[423] Gallati, 45.
[424] Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Interiors and Interiority," in Atkins and Cikovsky, 53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

quoted as saying that he greatly admired the Spanish master's modern spirit as expressed in his desire to experiment with new modes.

Degas' abrupt cropping in works such as *Au Théâtre* (alternatively titled *Woman with a Fan*, 1880, Private Collection) may have provided a source for the little girl peering around the corner in *Hide and Seek*. Mary Cassatt's *Woman in Black at the Opera* (1880, Museum of Fine Arts Boston) also employed this extreme cropping. According to Milgrome, however, "The ultimate source of the truncated forms [in *Hide and Seek*] is certainly Japanese art ...[and] the effect of Japanese art is not notable in his work until it comes to him via Whistler."[425] Although Milgrome provided no example of this truncating by Whistler, *Wapping on Thames* (1861, National Gallery, DC) would serve. Pisano frequently noted a direct relationship between works by Whistler and Chase.[426]

Certainly the reduction to light figures against a plain, dark background could relate to Whistler, with whom Chase had spent the summer of 1885.[427] According to Pisano, "Second only to Sargent in Chase's estimation was Whistler. Like Whistler, Chase was especially concerned with creating an 'ensemble.' This effect is most clearly seen in his subtly painted interiors, such as ... *Hide and Seek*."[428] Milgrome spoke of Chase's contact with Sargent and Whistler as having "radically altered" Chase's concept of painting interiors and used *Hide and Seek* as his example.[429]

Atkinson saw *Hide and Seek* as a spatial and perspectival precursor to some of Chase's Shinnecock landscapes such as *Shinnecock Hills* (1895, Cleveland Museum of Art) and *Peconic Bay* (1892, fig. 143) that he has identified with Japanese prints. However, the elements Atkinson wrote about – the high horizon line creating an upward

---

[425] Milgrome, 64.
[426] Pisano, *Summer Afternoons...*, 7, for instance.
[427] This might be associated with his Munich training except that the figures are not treated with heavy *chiaroscuro* but are simplified and less dramatic.
[428] Pisano, *A Leading Spirit*, 154.
[429] Milgrome, 63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

slanting perspective and the asymmetrical distribution of elements – can be noted in any number of landscape paintings by European *japonistes*, such as Monet's *Field of Poppies* (1873, Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, VA), Alfred Sisley's (1839-1899) *Wheatfields near Argenteuil* (1873, Kunstalle, Hamburg) and Pissarro's *Hoarfrost* (1873, fig. 144), among others. These would have been known to Chase not only through his annual visits to Europe for the purpose of looking at art, but also because landscapes (especially those by Monet) were the most talked about of the works included in the French Impressionist exhibition organized by Durand-Ruel in New York in 1886. Chase had acted as an agent in France for Erwin Davis in his collecting of Impressionist works. Davis was one of the lenders to the 1886 show.[430]

Chase did employ many devices used by those artists legitimately classified as *japonistes*. He borrowed heavily from a wide variety of sources, and was quick to advise others to do the same.[431] Again, although he may have derived some of his compositional, thematic, and technical elements from Japanese prints, it is more likely that most of these were picked up from association with his contemporaries rather than directly from the prints themselves. Because he used so many of the principles associated with *japonisme* in his art in so many instances, it would be tempting to identify him as belonging within the sphere of *japonistes* if it were not for one final, decisive piece of evidence – his unconvincing rendering of Japanese art objects within his pictures.

When Whistler, Manet, Van Gogh, Tarbell and other *japonistes* depicted Japanese art within their paintings, they did so in ways that were sensitive to the art forms depicted. They captured the essence of what they were depicting. This is not the case with Chase. His sketchy, bravura approach to painting might account for the lack of clarity in depicting

---

[430] John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 531.

[431] William Merritt Chase, "Talk on Art by William Merritt Chase," in *The Art Interchange*, 39/6 (December, 1897), 127. This is a transcript of a lecture he gave.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Japanese art in such paintings as *The Japanese Print* (n.d., fig. 132), *The Blue Kimono* (1888, fig. 131), and *Hall at Shinnecock* (1892, Private Collection) but it does not account for the awkward depiction of a Japanese screen in his *The Open Air Breakfast* (1887, Toledo Museum of Art). The latter can be regarded as a poor imitation of a Japanese screen, which is employed as a prop, included only for decorative effect. When Mary Cassatt painted mothers and children, they were intimate not only in mood but also physically, as in the treatment of the theme in Japanese prints. In most cases, when Chase's children were pictured with their mother, they sat apart and were often absorbed in their own independent activities.

The weight of the evidence, then, indicates that Chase's use of Japanese prints was as a decorative motif in his fashionable portraits and figure paintings rather than as a direct aesthetic stimulus. Hence, Chase belongs to the group of artists associated with *japonaiserie* rather than those considered to employ *japonisme*. It is finally a matter not only of documentation but also of sensibility which separates Chase from those whose work displays a strong, personal, intuitive response to Japanese art.

Summary

The degree to which individual members of The Ten engaged with Japanese art and *japonisme* varied markedly. The two members most directly influenced by Japanese art were John Twachtman and J. Alden Weir, both of whom collected Japanese prints and both of whom had been influenced by the art of James McNeill Whistler (see Chapter 2). Twachtman and Weir were close neighbors in Connecticut and they formed the nucleus of the art colony there.[432] Theodore Robinson, whose work

[432] For an in-depth discussion of *japonisme* at Cos Cob, see: Susan G. Larkin, *The Cos Cob Art Colony: Impressionists on the Connecticut Shore* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). Also see her article "Genjiro Yeto: Between Japan and Japanism," in *The Journal of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich*, vol. 5 (2000): 8-31. Yeto was a Japanese artist who studied with Robert Blum and John Twachtman at the Art Students League in New York and spent a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had been influenced by that of Claude Monet (see Chapter 2), frequently visited them and wrote of their mutual admiration for Japanese prints in his diary.[433] Thomas Dewing was also both directly and indirectly, through Whistler, influenced by Japanese art. Willard Metcalf, though painting evocative wintry landscapes similar to those by Twachtman, was much less affected by Japanese art and *japonisme.* The Boston School painters – Tarbell, Benson and DeCamp – drew from both earlier European and past and present local sources and incorporated Japanese objects in their figural paintings. Among them, Tarbell was the most sensitively attuned to Japanese aesthetic qualities in his work, and DeCamp was the least attuned. Benson would become much more engaged in *japonisme* in the period following 1915. Hassam, a leading Impressionist, employed Japanese objects and, to a lesser extent, strategies in his work. They were, however, neither as developed nor as lasting as in the cases of Twachtman, Weir or Dewing. Chase, among the group, stands out as the prime example of an artist practicing *japonaiserie* in his employment of Japanese objects to create a fashionable atmosphere for his portraits and figure paintings. Reid and Simmons, the two muralists among the group (although others also took occasional mural commissions), also produced easel paintings. In Reid's case, Japanese art was adapted to fit his very subjective, expressive mode and influenced it primarily in terms of decorative means. Simmons, like Metcalf, was little affected by Japanese art and *japonisme.* Evidently, it simply did not serve his purposes.

Success in the marketplace might be, but was not necessarily, tied to the degree to which artists employed *japonisme.* Those artists among The Ten who employed *japonisme* for its fashionability, such as Chase and Hassam, were successful at selling

---

good deal of time in the Cos Cob-Greenwich area visiting Twachtman and Weir. He was an active participant in the art colony there and contributed to the American artists' knowledge of Japanese aesthetic principles.

[433] Theodore Robinson's Diaries (New York: Frick Reference Library, 1892-1894).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their art. This may be accounted for by the fact that they were among the most fashionable artists of their period, with or without the inclusion of Japanese objects in their paintings. On the other hand, it was the Japanese-like qualities and the *japonisme* of Dewing's art that appealed to his primarily patron, Charles L. Freer, the sophisticated collector who understood and appreciated Japanese art and the art of those inspired by it. Freer also bought works by others among The Ten, such as Twachtman, Metcalf, and Hassam, because they accorded with his Whistler and Asian collections. The Boston School artists found an audience receptive to *japonisme* in that city, which housed the earliest and strongest collection of Japanese art in the U.S. and where such *japoniste* educators as Fenollosa and Morse, along Okakura, had worked to develop a deep understanding and appreciation of Japanese art. It is not possible to know in most cases, however, if it was the *japonisme* or lack thereof in the works of these individual artists that accounted for their popularity or salability. There were simply too many other factors at work such as the degree of their Impressionism or Tonalism, the current economic climate, their locale, or the subjects they chose.

Noting the various means of transmission of *japonisme,* the first-hand versus second-nature of its influence in Chapter 2, and the great range of responses to Japanese art and *japonisme* on the part of The Ten in Chapter 3 serves to demonstrate the extreme complexity of the influence of *japonisme* on American art in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Chapter 4 will continue this process by showing the differing effects a visit to Japan, where Japanese art could be experienced *in situ* and in context, often with the aid of knowledgeable interpreters, had on the American artists who travelled there.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 4

AMERICAN ARTISTS IN JAPAN: THEIR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES TO JAPANESE ART

> He who would study and understand Japan must yet, in spite of all that has been written about the country, go there in person, and read not the chapters of French or English, or even of painstaking German authors, but those of Japanese actuallity and life.[434]

The previous chapter gave examples of the types of *japonisme* practiced by the members of The Ten American Painters, the core group of Impressionists in America. The types of *japonisme* they employed ranged between true *japonisme* practiced by *japonistes*, best exemplified by John Twachtman, and *japonaiserie* practiced by *japonismistes*, best exemplified by William Merritt Chase. Although none of The Ten ever traveled to Japan, others of their circle did. Each of those artists went with a prior awareness of Japanese art and its impact on Western painting. Each sketched and painted in Japan and several wrote about their experiences with the culture and its art. What is interesting to note is the degree to which they maintained their existing Western approaches versus the varying degrees to which they adjusted their themes and styles to those of the Japanese in response to their Japan experiences.

Two additional categories of American artists' responses to Japanese art – the direct and the transcriptive – have been added here as a result of American artists' first-hand experience of seeing Japanese art *in situ* rather than in a foreign context. The thematic response, although briefly alluded to in other contexts, will be elaborated upon

---

[434] "Kioto," *Littell's Living Age* 152/1960 (January 14, 1882): 15-126, reprinted from *Fortnightly Review*. In the 1880s, Japan was a popular travel destination for the wealthy and adventurous, especially those already engaged with Japan or *japonisme*. A number of artists were among those seeking the exotic experience and aesthetic input that Japan seemed to offer (see Appendix 3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

here. As with The Ten, different works by the same artist might fall into several different categories. This reflects the complexity of the practice of *japonisme* by American artists of the period. This chapter is arranged by types of responses rather than by artists. Consequently, the same artist may be discussed in more than one section.

A Direct Response

This section will examine the artists who responded directly to the Japanese art and aesthetics they encountered at first-hand in Japan. They include John LaFarge, Robert Blum, Adele and Albert Herter, Henry Bowie and Arthur Wesley Dow. The ways in which the impact of this encounter was either obviously or subtly demonstrated in their work will be discussed.

John LaFarge

John LaFarge's *japonisme* was the result of a direct response to the Japanese prints he saw and owned. LaFarge was married to the grandniece of Commodore Perry and began collecting *ukiyo-e* as early as the 1850s. Perhaps the first American artist to collect Japanese art and art objects and to employ *japonisme*, he was also one of the earliest to visit Japan.[435] His employment of *japonisme* was reinforced by his study with William Morris Hunt (beginning in 1859), but it was already developing before that time. Although LaFarge belonged to the pre-Civil War generation of American artists whose studies were largely restricted to the United States, he was of French lineage and visited France as a young artist in the 1850s. Whether he was aware of the burgeoning French interest in Japan at that time is uncertain.

After having written about Japanese art in 1870 (see Appendix 4), and practiced *japonisme* for thirty years, LaFarge traveled to Japan with his friend Henry Adams for six

[435]LaFarge and his friend Henry Adams went to Japan together in 1886. The expatriate American artists Winckworth Allan Gay and Harry Humphrey Moore both resided in Japan before LaFarge's visit. Theodore Wores was there at the same time, arriving in 1885. (See Appendix 3)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

months in 1886. Adams' wife Clover[436] had just committed suicide and Adams, who as a Boston intellectual had delved into Eastern religion and philosophy, wanted to get away and also to explore Buddhist ideas, including those regarding death, more fully. While in Japan, LaFarge was in close contact with Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926), and Okakura Kakuzo (1862-1913), which meant he had access to the most well-informed English-speaking experts on Japanese art, aesthetics, and religion of the period.[437]

Even though LaFarge's work done in Japan in 1886 was generally strangely unresponsive to his first-hand exposure to actual paintings, there were exceptions. For instance, as Kathleen Foster points out, several of his watercolors, such as *Fisherman (Sunlight)* (1888, fig. 143), appear to be strongly influenced by ink painting techniques,[438] even though they were perspectival and employed *chiaroscuro.*[439]

Determining LaFarge's response to his first-hand experience of Japanese art is complex. As an accomplished practicing *japoniste,* among all of the artists who visited Japan, he might have been expected to be intuitively responsive to the Japanese arts and aesthetic atmosphere he encountered there. Yet, as art historian Henry Adams points out, "Adams and LaFarge had a unique opportunity to penetrate the inner essence of Japan. Most of their responses to the place were surprisingly superficial."[440] Certainly, LaFarge's 1886 series of articles for *Harper's*, titled "An Artist's Letters from Japan," seemed to focus on his experiences from a tourist's point of view, dealing with exotic sights and sounds and

---

[436] Clover was the familiar name of Mrs. Marion Hooper Adams.
[437] These gentlemen are alluded to by their initials in LaFarge's *An Artist's Letters From Japan* (New York: Century, 1897. Reprint, New York: Hippocrene Books, 1986.)
[438] In terms of Japanese ink painting technique's influence on the *Fisherman*, Foster may be referring to the brevity, sensuousness, expressiveness, and tonal gradation within his individual strokes.
[439] Kathleen A. Foster, "John LaFarge and the American Watercolor Movement: Art for the 'Decorative Age'," in Henry Adams, et al., *John LaFarge* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987), 102 and 105.
[440] Henry Adams, "The Mind of John LaFarge," in Henry Adams, et al., *John LaFarge* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987), 48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

showing an added interest in the country's history, mythology, and symbolism. He dismissed his shopping expeditions as "a day in 'bric-a-brac'," mentioning the unrolling of hundreds of *kakemono* with no description of them whatever.[441] He wrote little about the great treasures of Japanese art he saw in Tokyo, Kyoto, and at Horyuji, or of the architectural symbolism and exquisite beauty of *Byodo-in* at Uji.[442] His raptures over Nikko, however, must be viewed in the context of his response to the natural setting in which the lavish tombs are situated.[443]

While Adams' remark about LaFarge's superficial response may be true to a large extent, some of LaFarge's writing does demonstrate an understanding of Japanese aesthetic sensibilities and meanings on a level not accessible to the uninitiated. For instance, when describing the tomb of Iyéyasu (*Ieyasu*) he noted the dichotomy between the splendor of the elaborately embellished buildings and their natural surroundings:

> It is in this contrast, insisted upon with consummate skill, that lies the secret beauty of the art of the men who did all this. The very lavishness of finish and of detail, the heaped-up exaggerations of refinement and civilization, bring out the more the simplicity and quiet of the nature about them... The gilded temples stand hidden in everlasting hills and trees, open above to the upper sky which lights them, and to the changing weather with which their meaning changes. Nothing could recall more completely the lessons of death, the permanence of change, and the transitoriness of man.[444] (fig. 144)

---

[441] John LaFarge, "An Artist's Letters from Japan," *Century* 40/6 (October 1890): 866. In a later article, Ibid., 46/3 (July 1893): 419, LaFarge mentions that the quality of the items shown them was less than desirable but that those inferior goods nevertheless spoke of a greater culture since past.

[442] The *Hô-ô-Dô* at Byodo-in was the temple chosen by the Japanese government to be reproduced at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. *The Dream City*, Introduction by Halsey C. Ives (St. Louis, MO: N.D. Thompson Co., 1893-94), unpaginated. A caption to one of the pictures of the reproduction *Hô-ô-Den* describes it as "undeniably beautiful."

[443] The complex at Nikko was and is very ostentatious. It is strongly influenced by Chinese architecture and architectural embellishment. On his first of two visits there, LaFarge evidently found it far more appealing than the subdued native Japanese architecture of *Byodo-in.* His response was modified, however, on his return visit.

[444] LaFarge, "An Artist's Letters...," 39/6 (April 1890): 866.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This dichotomy is at the heart of Japanese culture. He also expressed here an understanding of the symbolism of associating a tomb -- representing the transitoriness of life -- with the changing conditions of nature.

LaFarge made similar observations regarding the tomb of Iyémitsu (Iemitsu), noting that contrasting the elegant but temporary products of man with the "permanence and forces of nature" brought on a feeling of sadness, "humility and of the nothingness of man."[445] In the same article he addressed the aspect of Japanese architecture in which forms fits its function, while noting that despite necessity, temple and shrine architecture was primarily ideologically driven. "The relationship of man to nature, so peculiarly made out in the Japanese beliefs, is made significant, symbolised or typified through the manner in which these buildings are disposed... The buildings are but parts of a whole. They are enveloped by nature..."[446] He wished for a deeper understanding of the harmonious proportions and the "delicate and probably minute system of relations" that produce such a unitary effect. He also alluded to the symbolic basis for the artificial nature of Japanese gardens, saying that a Japanese cannot deal with nature in its entirety so he makes "a picture" of it by reproducing it on a smaller scale in the form of a formal garden containing symbolic representations of all the major forms in Japanese nature.[447] LaFarge later referred to one of these microcosms as "a landscape picture of Japan."[448]

In fact, LaFarge's articles on his Japanese experience indicate that he was practicing an advanced form of *japonisme* (see Chapter 3) during and after his visit. His mindset and way of working had become Japanese, so his work did not necessarily need to look Japanese. At the heart of his work was the attitude that what was depicted (the

---

[445] Ibid., 40/2 (June 1890): 197.
[446] Ibid., 199.
[447] Ibid., 201: LaFarge refers to the Japanese gardener he became acquainted with at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, so his observations regarding nature and gardening would seem to have been informed by a certain knowledge prior to going to Japan. This assumption is reinforced by his reference to "the charming book of Professor Morse," mentioned in Chapter 5.
[448] Ibid., 40/4 (August 1890): 567.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

motif) became significant in relation to the extent to which it was imbued with poetic meaning. Although the works reproduced in his articles in the United States have a distinctly Western look, his writing about his experience shows an understanding of the relationship of Japanese artists to nature.[449] LaFarge also felt and expressed this relationship in his illustrations without losing his basic aim of informing the viewer in an easily comprehensible way.[450] Regarding the use of convention by the Japanese artist, he wrote, "This may not be spirituality, but how far it is from what we call realism... [convention] allows him to give all his energies to a new interpretation, through his own study of nature!"[451] LaFarge's post-1886 *japonisme* was no longer a matter of style but one of attitude and approach.

He wrote about preparing studies to be used for *The Ascension* upon his return,[452] "Here, at least I am not forced to consider external nature as separate and opposed, and I can fall into moods of thought... of feeling, in which the edges of all things blend, and man

---

[449] Ibid., 46/3 (July 1893): 422. On the depth of meaning associated with the conventions employed by Japanese artists, LaFarge wrote: "This may not be spirituality, but how far it is from what we call realism, and how wise the acceptance by the artist of a convention which allows him to give all his energies to a new interpretation, through his own study of nature! ... Hence, also, their astonishing variety ... many thousand times, you will have seen the same rendering, never the same *object*, twice repeated." LaFarge recognized, then, that for the Japanese artist it was not a matter of what was depicted but that the object depicted be imbued with poetic significance through the artist's depth of understanding achieved by his intimate study of nature. The architect, Frank Lloyd Wright (see Chapter 5) also wrote about the Japanese artist's approach to art in regard to his relationship with nature. See: Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Japanese Print: An Interpretation* (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, Co., 1912), 17: "What is true of a pine tree, for and by itself, is no less true in the relation of the tree to its environment. The Japanese artist studies pine tree nature not only on its import and bearing but lovingly understands it in its habitat and natural element as well. To acquire this knowledge, he devotes himself to the tree, observes analytically yet sympathetically, then leaves it, and with his brush begins to feel for its attitude and intimate relations as he remembers them." Wright also addressed Japanese artistic convention in regard to nature (p. 20): "Nippon made its body of morals and customs a strict conventionalization of her nature forms and processes; and therefore as a whole civilization became a true work of art."

[450] After leaving Japan, his art may have looked less Japanese yet been more so in that he was making it more accessible to his audience. What made Japanese art unique for him was its uniting of conception, making, and reception. For instance, for the potter Shoji Hamada (a Living National Treasure), one of his pieces was not completed until it was used. Japanese art is considered to have a life and the use that the art is put to is considered part of that life.

[451] LaFarge, "An Artist's Letters...," 46/3 (July 1893): 422.

[452] This refers to the mural of *The Ascension* he created for the Church of the Ascension in New York upon his return (1886-8).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and the outside world pass into each other."[453] Again, the look may not be Japanese, but the Buddhist- and Shinto-informed sensitivity is.[454] Okakura and the priests at the Nikko temples were his spiritual guides in Japan; and that experience is reflected in such thoughts. What inspired his art while he was in Japan was not examples of Japanese art but rather a response to the general environment in which that art was produced. Such ideas would certainly have resonated with LaFarge when he was introduced to them, as he was to some extent already practicing them in his work before going to Japan, perhaps at least in part due to his prior awareness of Japanese art.

LaFarge identified with the artist-artisans of Nikko on his return visit there. Recognizing, by that time, the more vulgar aspect of the complex's showiness, he called the Tokugawa shoguns who had caused it to be built "parvenus." Noting that he often served similar patrons in his decorative work, he wrote that "the artist represents his age, and is all the greater for embodying it. Now, that is what I do... I reflect my clients, and my art will have given what they are."[455]

LaFarge repeatedly compared contemporary Japan with the glorious past that was Greece, holding that the present in the West was inferior both to its own past and to contemporary Japan. His enthusiasm may be equated to that of most converts to another culture, religions, or political viewpoint. To what extent his exposure to Japan, through its

---

[453] Ibid., 40/4 (August 1890): 568.

[454] Nancy Wilson Ross, *Three Ways of Asian Wisdom: Hinduism, Buddhism and Zen and their significance for the West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 165: "The idea of man as the conqueror and master of nature is not a typically Far Eastern idea. Chinese and Japanese painters were prone to depict man 'at one' with the mysterious forces of the universe. Landscape was not used as a mere backdrop for a portrait of a man's head and shoulders as in Western Renaissance art, for instance. Instead, the viewer has often to strain his eyes to see the tiny human figures going their indomitable way through a vast terrain of towering peaks and cliffs, lonely, misty valleys and rushing rivers." This collapsing of man and nature into equal and integrated aspects of the whole of Shinto creation is implicit in that religion's creation myth. In this myth, the procreation of the male deity, Izanagi, and the female deity, Izanami, resulted in the creation of the islands of Japan and all forms on them – rocks, trees, humans, everything else belonging to nature -- in a sibling relationship. See: Richard Hooker's World Civilizations page at Washington State University (http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~dee/ANCJAPAN/CREAT.HTM)

[455] LaFarge, "An Artist's Letters...," 42/3 (July 1891): 446.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

art and its popularity within his immediate circle of family and friends, played a part in this cannot be definitively identified. His Catholicism and his belief that as an artist he had coincidentally come to many of the same concepts and practices independently, however, balanced his reverence for Japanese culture.

LaFarge wrote delightedly of his practice in relation to that of Kose-no-Kanaoka, a *yamato-e* artist.[456] He had used the same methods to achieve similar transparent effects in flower painting. He called it his "reinventions" from an "indefinite past of art."[457] His early experiments aimed at achieving certain effects in his flower paintings were stimulated in part by his interest in Japanese art. Although LaFarge had been looking primarily at *ukiyo-e*, he would certainly have seen examples of painting in America and France prior to his visit to Japan in 1886. Again, from a very early period, LaFarge, more than any other American artist, captured the Japanese spirit and incorporated it into his work.

Robert Blum

Robert Blum was affected in both obvious and subtle ways by his time in Japan. Like LaFarge, he had already employed *japonisme* for over a decade before he arrived in Japan. Like LaFarge, Blum also responded directly to his *in situ* experience of Japanese art. His magazine illustrations of the late 1870s and 1880s for *Scribner's* and *St. Nicholas* showed a developed awareness of *ukiyo-e*, as has been demonstrated by Bruce Weber.[458] Blum's budding fascination with Japan and its art developed considerably after

---

[456] Kose-no-Kanaoka was a ninth century painter who is credited with producing the first *yamato-e*, or non-Chinese influenced, native Japanese style painting. By the time of LaFarge's visit to Japan, however, no works by Kanaoka were still extant. He was discussed in Kano Eino's *Honcho* gashi (*History of our country's painting*) of 1676-8, but even at that early date there were no pictures by Kanaoka still extant. Therefore, LaFarge must have been looking at a work by one of Kanaoka's Kose School followers.
[457] Ibid., 40/6 (October 1890): 868.
[458] Weber, 65-88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

he attended the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876.[459] In addition, he came under the influence of Whistler in Venice in the early 1880s (see Chapter 2).

Blum spent two years in Japan (1890-92, see Appendixes 3 and 4), sent by *Scribner's* magazine to illustrate Sir Edwin Arnold's series of articles, which were later published in book form under the title *Japonica* (1891). Shugio Hiromichi (the New York-based Japanese trader, artist, and Tile Club member) accompanied him. Through Shugio, Blum was able to learn the woodblock printing method while in Japan, which led to his later employment of color lithography.[460]

Once in Japan, direct exposure to the culture and its aesthetics, as well as to fine examples of Japanese art, led Blum to reinforce and expand his *japonisme*. In addition to his illustrations, Blum made a number of pen and ink and watercolor sketches, pastels and paintings. He collected not only *ukiyo-e* but also interesting and artistic objects such as fans and lacquers that were later used to decorate his quarters and as props in his paintings in both Japan and the U.S.

Blum took copious photographs; some were posed in his studio and some were outdoors and depicted both people and of settings. He also bought photographs to use for studio pictures. Early studio pictures by such photographers as Felice Beato, Baron von Stillfried, or Kusakabe Kimbei provided models for themes, formats, and even general moods for many of the artists who visited and painted Japan.[461] Photographs, old and new, were widely available in Japan and were exported. Americans collected them in much the same way as is done today, with picture postcards or posters used as souvenirs

---

[459] He was interested in Japanese art prior to the Centennial Exposition, having been exposed to bric-a-brac, such as painted fans in Cincinnati prior to moving to Philadelphia.
[460] Ibid., 363-4.
[461] Quite a few of the early photographs were themselves based on *ukiyo-e* scenes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of exotic places. Gabriel Weisberg has noted that photographs Blum brought back from Japan may have served as sources for sketches he published in *Scribner's*.[462]

In *A Flower Market in Tokyo* (1892, fig. 149), a *tour de force* example of East-meets-West painting, Blum seamlessly combined aspects of both traditions. The figures are fully modeled at the same time that the midday sun enlivens the color and negates most, though not all, shadows. This same even light, so characteristic of Japanese painting and prints, contributes a sense of warmth, visually supported by the figures' lack of physical exertion. The figures, in Japanese fashion, do not interact but are inwardly focused. This effect may be the result of Blum's method of working, described by Weber, in which he would combine a number of independent studies into a single composition. It may also serve to differentiate, by national characteristics, the very animated and colorful women in his *Venetian Lace Makers* (1887, fig. 150)[463] from the subdued Japanese, especially the self-contained lady at the far right.[464]

The elements of the composition are organized cross-axially, a pattern frequently employed in *ukiyo-e* using figures juxtaposed with architectural elements. Diagonal division separates the painting into a dense treatment on the upper half and a good deal of open ground on the lower, with the crouching flower seller used to draw our attention into the picture. Employing a Western compositional technique, Blum's flower seller gazes in the direction of the aforementioned lady, contributing to the lower-left-toward-upper-right diagonal. Her body is oriented in the direction of the cross diagonal from the mid-right-to-top-left. In fact, prior to going to Japan, Blum had created strong diagonal compositions such as in his *Venetian Lace Makers*.

---

[462] Meech and Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes to America*, 62-71. See footnote 472 below.

[463] This work, completed three years before Blum went to Japan, earned him a bronze medal at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris and eleven years later he received another bronze medal at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris for both Japanese paintings, *The Flower Market in Tokyo* and *The Ameya*.

[464] It was exactly this subdued, self-contained characteristic of the Japanese that caused some early Western writers to view them as enigmatic. Of course, they were only hard to decipher for those standing outside of their culture.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Blum used a combination of Asian tilted perspective and Western one-point and aerial perspective. The multiple viewpoints look down on the crouching man and then up the road into the distance, a common device in Chinese and Japanese landscape painting. The distance created by one-point perspective continues beyond the top left corner of the painting and is implied by the strong diagonal recession of the axis from the lady to the top left corner. Employing Western atmospheric perspective, Blum's saturated colors in the larger, closer baskets become more muted as they recede toward the implied horizon. The sun-drenched colors, fluid brushwork, and genre themes Blum often chose associate him with Impressionism. He was certainly part of the circle of American Impressionists but derived his style more from the Romano-Spanish School than from French Impressionism.[465]

The crouching figure was a common sight in Japan then, as it is in the countryside there today. It is also a pose that Blum may have been predisposed to from the copy of Hokusai's *Manga* that his friend Brennan had given him as an 1879 Christmas gift.[466] This figure, however, was achieved by Western rather than Japanese means. He was posed and either drawn from life or from a photo rather than being freely created from memory.

Blum frequently included shop signs in his Japanese pictures. This may be simply a decorative element or it may also pay homage to calligraphy as the basis of picture making in Asia. His attempt to recreate the variations of breadth and intensity of stroke, while rather clumsy, suggests that he was experimenting with the Japanese mode of using

---

[465] Blum came under the influence of the romantic Romano-Spanish School through the Italian Giovanni Boldini (1842-1931) and the Spaniard Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874), both of whose works were exemplified by delicacy and decorativeness achieved by using a bravura brushstroke and brilliantly illuminated color. Cosmopolitan artists, Boldini and Fortuny tended to eschew academic finish and grandiosity of subject in favor of fashionable contemporary figural paintings. Both artists incorporated elements of *japonisme* into their work, both were handled in by Goupil in Paris, and both exhibited at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, which Blum attended.
[466] Weber, 1/83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the brush.[467] Blum's association with Fenollosa could have contributed to his understanding of the place of calligraphy in art. Equally, his friends Shugio Hiromichi, Hayashi Tadamasa (the Parisian dealer in Japanese art), Watanabe Kôki (the Japanese artist to whom he had been introduced by Shugio),[468] or his English-speaking houseboy, Miyate,[469] may have discussed such aspects of Japanese art with him. It is likely, however, that Blum was aware of the role of calligraphy in Japanese art before going to Japan.

There were also several subtle cultural signifiers in *Flower Market in Tokyo* that would have been recognizable to those who had knowledge of Japan but invisible to others. For instance, the figures were clearly divided between sellers and buyers on the basis of footwear. The buyers, recognizable as the ladies and the gentleman at the top with his hands behind his back, wear platform shoes called *geta*. The sellers wear simple straw sandals. The *cognoscenti* would also have read Blum's prominent use of the chrysanthemum flower as a symbol of Japan. By the same token, the profusion of blooms lent themselves beautifully to the Fortunyesque frothy, delicate, decorative quality of the painting.

The flowers also functioned to break down the separation between the Eastern scene and Blum's Western audience. As William Gerdts explains,

> Blum's brilliantly conceived work gives equal attention to the figures and the flowers. For his Western audience, the former offers a world of the completely unfamiliar, the Japanese ethnicity, costumes, poses and habitations. Balancing these, however, was the universal familiarity with,

---

[467] Weber, 1/347: Several of Blum's wash drawings for Arnold's articles were monochromatic, another indication of his experimenting with Japanese methods.

[468] Weber, 1/339: Watanabe Kôki, President of the Meiji Fine Arts Society and of Tokyo Imperial University, invited Blum, who accepted, to serve on the jury for the painting section of the Third National Industrial Exhibition in Ueno Park in 1890. This was the first time that Western-style paintings by Japanese artists were among those exhibited and juried.

[469] Blum's continued interest in and association with Japanese culture was assured when his houseboy, Miyate, accompanied him back to America in 1892. In fact, as Blum explained, the term "houseboy" did not begin to describe Miyate who was both educated and sophisticated and acted as a cultural and linguistic interpreter for Blum during his stay in Japan. In general, Japanese servants were educated and treated with respect.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> and appeal of, flowers. That appeal, therefore, endowed the inhabitants of the exotic and the remote with traits of all humanity, and created a brotherhood with the completely alien.[470]

Referring perhaps to Blum's many pastels of Japanese beauties, Sadakichi Hartmann (the Japanese-born American critic and art historian, see Appendix 4) wrote that, "If one desires to know Japan as it looks to Western eyes, one will find that C. D. Weldon has done the most realistic, Blum the most poetical, and Parsons the most picturesque work."[471] Blum's treatment of Japanese beauties, in fact, varied little after he reached Japan from what he had done before actually going there. He had already formulated the ideal type of Japanese woman in his mind. His earlier wood panel portrait *The Japanese Woman* (1882, fig. 151) differs from his Japan-stay *A Daughter of Japan* (c. 1893, fig. 152) little except the absence of a head covering in the latter and the fact that the latter is full- rather than half-length.[472]

Blum, like LaFarge, was already practicing *japonisme* when he went to Japan. While there, he responded directly to the experience. He reinforced his pre-existing mix of Eastern and Western approaches to themes, techniques and methods, further honing the Eastern aspects in relation to the Western, as outlined above.

The Herters

The decorator-illustrator-painter Albert Herter and his artist bride, Adele McGinnis Herter, honeymooned in Japan in 1893.[473] As with LaFarge, the experience had a direct and profound effect on Adele, although her painting and mural forms varied greatly from those of the other American artists who visited Japan. Albert was also influenced but not

---

[470] William H. Gerdts, *Down Garden Paths: The Floral Environment in American Art* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), 97, quoted in Weber, 358.
[471] Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, 1/258. Weldon and Parsons were both artists residing in Japan as magazine illustrators.
[472] Weber, 1/ 364. According to Weber, although this picture appeared as the frontispiece of the May 1893 *Scribner's Magazine*, it was based on a pastel of the same title he executed in Japan. In fact, all of the pictures he used to illustrate the articles written by Blum and by others on Japan were done while he was still in Japan.
[473] Albert had visited previously in 1889.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as deeply as Adele. Each of the Herters did a number of paintings while touring in Japan, and their subsequent work in France and America showed the effects of their Japanese experience. "The Creek," their Mediterranean-style villa in East Hampton, New York was partially decorated in Japanese-influenced taste (fig. 145 a,b). Albert's father, Christian Herter, was one of the founders of Herter Brothers furniture manufacturers and in addition to his painting, Albert owned a tapestry company, so he had a strong predisposition toward interior decoration. This decorative arts background and the Herters' love of Japanese art were combined to create a *japonesque* interior worthy of a spread in *House Beautiful.*[474]

Both Albert and Adele were, among other things, muralists. One of the major art forms in Japan is the mural painting done on interior sliding wall-doors (*fusuma*). Albert, who had studied with his father, who in turn had studied with Puvis de Chavannes in Paris, would certainly have taken notice of this use of the mural format. Although Puvis' murals tended to represent allegorical subjects, they were very similar to Japanese art in their use of shallow-to-flat space, unmodulated areas of color, outlining, and silhouetting of forms.

It was Adele, however, who created the strongly Japanese-influenced set of wall murals for the dining room of Amy DuPont's home in Montecito, California (fig. 146 a,b). Although the theme is the mesas and cacti of the Southwest, the style relates to a number of Japanese mural and screen paintings (fig. 147). The use of a silver leaf background and gold leaf conventionalized clouds relate directly to Japanese paintings of the Kano school that could be viewed throughout Japan, especially in Tokyo and Kyoto. Each of

---

[474] Amy L. Barrington, "A Fielde of Delite," *The House Beautiful* 45/4 (April 1919): 189-91 and 241: Pillar prints decorated the stairwell leading from the entryway up the stairs. The railing of the stairs was carved in the Asian style. More Japanese prints hung in the living room and the dining room. Over the mantle in the dining room was a Japanese-looking mural-like painting of a white peacock in a tree with its tail feathers spread out. The dining table was in gold leaf. Although furniture in Japan was not gilded except as decoration in lacquered pieces, the heavy use of gilding in painting and decoration of objects was common in Japan. One of the bedrooms was designated the "blue and white room" and was decorated in the Chinese-influenced Chippendale style with a strongly Japanese-influenced rug with a repeat of a circular *mon*-like motif of a crane with its feathers spread.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Adele's geological and plant forms is outlined and conventionalized in the Japanese mode. Her wispy trees are very reminiscent of those in Tosa School genre screens and in paintings and prints of the Ukiyo-e School.[475] The pattern was one of rhythmic repeats and a two-fold screen of the same pattern partially concealed a door while carrying the motif into the room three-dimensionally. Waterfalls were evoked with the four tall cascading crystal droplights she designed for the table. With a sand-colored carpet and the desert mural running continuously around the room, the enclosing walls seemed to disappear creating the sensation of being out-of-doors, in the manner of Japanese rooms with continuous landscape paintings or with their sliding panels removed to expose the interior spaces to nature.[476] Not surprisingly, Albert's murals often looked like tapestries in their tight, jewel-like construction.

The couple also did a number of paintings in oil and watercolor that reflected their trip to Japan. Rather than being transcriptive, these pictures show Japanese figures in a posed, studio-like setting (see Robert Blum's section below for the use of purchased photographs by artists). Flattening devices (such as placing figures or objects in front of flat screens parallel to the picture plane) were employed but the figures were fully modeled. George Parsons Lathrop, in an article on the Herters' Japan pictures wrote, "It is this fusion of the two elements, of more or less oriental material with an occidental point of view, blended with a sentiment of the Far East, that seems to me so suggestive of a new development in art."[477]

Not every writer agreed with Lathrop's assessment of the sentiments animating Albert's work. A reviewer writing on a piece by Albert in a Watercolor Club Exhibit in 1897

---

[475] For instance, Hiroshige's print *Kônodai Tonegawa fûkei* (*View of Kônodai and the Tone River*) of 1856 has very similar trees. The Herters are known to have had an impressive collection of Japanese prints and paintings. Some of their prints appeared in the article on their home. Also an article in the *New York Times* 43/13,179 (November 18, 1893): 4, told of Albert Herter's loaning a series of colored drawings by Japanese artists for an exhibition at the Watercolor Club.
[476] "Walls with a Desert Glow, *House Beautiful* 69/5 (May 1931): 510-12.
[477] George Parsons Lathrop, "Japan in American Art," *The Monthly Illustrator* 5/15 (July 1895): 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

said that, "While following Japanese lines of arrangement and mounting, his figures are wholly modern, with a leaning toward French elegance [fig. 148]. Those lithe women and children, moving through old gardens, have no counterpart in Japan ..."[478] While it is possible to say, therefore, that Adele Herter was directly influenced by Japanese art, the same cannot be said for Albert Herter, with the possible exception of his use of subdued color. In this area he has been compared with Whistler -- both artists' use of restrained hues of blue, brown and gray reflecting "the delicacy of the art of Japan."[479]

Henry Bowie

Henry Bowie belongs to a select group of men who went to Japan in the nineteenth century and returned as important translators of its culture for an American audience. Others included Edward Morse, Lafcadio Hearn, William Elliot Griffis and Ernest Fenollosa (see Appendixes 3 and 4). Bowie was perhaps the most influenced by Japanese art of any of the American painters who went to Japan in the nineteenth century.

Bowie went to Japan in 1893 as a student of its culture. He returned in 1894, staying eight years (1894-1902) during which time he studied painting with Nishikawa Tôrei and Kubota Beisen in Kyoto and Tokyo. Kubota was an artist-correspondent for a Japanese newspaper at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (see Chapter 5). Since that is the year Bowie went to Japan and since he studied with Kubota there, it is possible that he met and came under Kubota's influence at the fair or at the follow-up Mid-Winter Exposition in San Francisco. Bowie was from San Mateo, a suburb of San Francisco.[480] By 1906, San Mateo boasted the largest Japanese community in

---

[478] "Water-Color Club Exhibit," *The Art Interchange* 38 (December 1897): 144.
[479] "The Month in New York," *Broadway Magazine* 18 (June 1907): 96-7.
[480] The San Francisco area was a popular destination for Japanese immigrants in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Marsh's Department Store in San Francisco was an early emporium for Japanese goods and the University of California at Berkeley was one of the earliest in the U.S. to attract Japanese students. The fact that Bowie was from the area is likely to have contributed to his interest in Japan and Japanese art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the country.[481] While in Tokyo, Bowie participated in the Japan Painting Society and Japanese Fine Arts Academy exhibition in 1899. He was among twenty-seven second prizewinners, along with Francis Curtis, another American artist living in Japan.

Upon his return to America, he gave a series of lectures at various art venues in the San Francisco area. These lectures were turned into an instructional book, titled *On the Laws of Japanese Painting* (1911),[482] modeled on Chinese and Japanese painting manuals. In *On the Laws of Japanese Painting* Bowie described and demonstrated the traditional techniques, as taught to him, for painting various Japanese motifs (fig. 153). He responded directly to Japanese art. His Japanese-style work did not interact with a background in Western art to create a hybrid form of *japonisme.* Theodore Wores, Helen Hyde, Bertha Lum and Arthur Wesley Dow would fit that model.[483] Bowie, on the other hand, was a student, practitioner, and teacher of the Asian tradition of painting. As a teacher he brought the Japanese method of painting to students in America who often absorbed and adapted those lessons to their own Western style paintings.

Although Bowie was neither an Impressionist nor a practitioner of *japonisme*, he was an American artist of the period who studied Japanese art and applied its lessons to his own work, making him a true *japoniste.* Because Bowie, like Dow, was of great importance as a teacher of the principles of Japanese art, to leave him out of a treatment

---

[481] Mitchell P. Postel, *San Mateo: A Centennial History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1994), 141. A number of Japanese immigrants settled in San Mateo. Perhaps the first, Tomisuke Ito, moved San Mateo in 1891, after three years in San Francisco. A number of Japanese men worked at the Leslie Salt factory initially but by 1900 many had opened their own businesses and brought their families to join them. Tokutato Takahashi opened an oriental grocery and merchandise store to accommodate this community "which has lasted until this day." Henry P. Bowie was a prominent resident of San Mateo and upon his return to the U.S. convinced Sekko Shimada to come to San Mateo, where the latter conducted the first meeting of The Japanese Association of America there in 1906. It was attended by about 50 people.

[482] Lancaster, 236: "Bowie achieved acclaim for his own paintings in Japan, and examples of his work were acquired by the Emperor and Empress."

[483] Helen Hyde (1868-1919) and Bertha Lum (1869-1954) were leading American print artists who lived and studied printmaking in Japan.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of American *japonisme* in the period would be to provide a very incomplete picture of the phenomenon.

Arthur Wesley Dow

Arthur Wesley Dow, like LaFarge and Blum, was a practicing *japoniste* before going to Japan. Like Bowie, he studied in Japan (in 1903) with Japanese masters, but for a far briefer period and much later in his career. While visiting with Helen Hyde in Tokyo, he studied painting with her *sensei* (teacher), Kano Tomonobu. He also spent several days learning about the woodblock printing process from Murata Shôjirô. Dow purchased over one thousand prints to bring back to the United States.

In the mid-1880s, Dow had studied with Boulanger and Lefebvre at the Académie Julian in Paris, where he received a firm grounding in the academic approach to art.[484] His first exposure to Japanese art, however, was a volume of prints he found at the Boston Public Library upon his return from Europe. It was a revelation, so he sought further information from Fenollosa, who by that time had become the first curator of Asian Art in the U.S., at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. In 1893, Dow became Fenollosa's curatorial assistant and they worked together to develop a method of art instruction based on a synthesis of Eastern and Western principles,[485] the primary motive for his 1903 Japan visit.

---

[484] He studied at the same time at the École Nationale des Arts Decoratifs and during the summer in Brittany he encountered Gauguin and Bernard at Pont-Aven, both of whom had been influenced by Japanese art.

[485] Fenollosa was well grounded in the Chinese background to Japanese art and therefore would have viewed "Eastern" as incorporating aspects of both Chinese and Japanese art; for Dow "Eastern" more specifically meant "Japanese." Dow also knew something of Chinese art and would later lecture on it, but in his formative period as an educator, it was the Japanese example he used.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dow left Boston when Fenollosa did in 1894.[486] Both were hired to teach at the Pratt Institute in New York at the same time. Fenollosa accepted at first but then changed his mind, while Dow remained (1895-1903) so that he could implement their ideas. During the summers (1891-1907), he held classes in his hometown of Ipswich, Massachusetts. In addition, he taught at the Art Students League in New York (1898-1903) while also teaching at Pratt. He returned to Boston's Museum of Fine Arts as Keeper of Japanese Paintings and Prints in 1897,[487] while retaining his teaching posts. In 1897 and 1898, he mounted a series of important exhibitions of Japanese painting at the museum.[488]

In 1899, Dow published *Composition*, the result of his work with Fenollosa to develop a synthetic system of art education for America. A guide to the principles of good design, *Composition* stressed the creation of harmonious patterning through employment of line, color and Japanese *notan* (the compositional interplay of areas of light and dark). The theories outlined in *Composition* formed the basis of his teaching, which encouraged simplification of form, asymmetry, a harmonious balance of light and dark, craftsmanship, self-expression, and experimentation. Dow recommended a spiritual-moral component as part of an aesthetic approach to life. He was an advocate of beauty and art-for-art's-sake. For him, art lay in the aesthetic decision-making process.[489]

---

[486] Dow and Fenollosa were hired to teach at the Pratt in New York at the same time. Fenollosa accepted at first but then changed his mind, while Dow accepted so that he could implement their ideas. During the summers (beginning in 1891), he held classes in his hometown of Ipswich, Massachusetts (until 1907). Starting in 1898 he began teaching at the Art Students League in New York (until 1903) while also teaching at Pratt and working at the museum in Boston.

[487] He held this position for two years.

[488] Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1970), 123-6.

[489] Dow agreed with Whistler on this point and both preceded Marcel Duchamp's ("R. Mutt") Fountain (1917), perhaps the most aggressive assertion of this point. Duchamp would go one step further in asserting that the aesthetic choices open for the artist to select among included manufactured objects, thus bypassing the craft aspect of art as practiced by Whistler and Dow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dow's *japonisme* was unique at the time in that he used Japanese methods to create pictures of American scenery (fig. 154).[490] According to Nancy Green, "Dow was one of the first Western artists who did not simply imitate Japanese art but actually used the traditional Japanese woodcut technique to create modernist prints."[491]

Recognizing the theoretical and synthetic nature of Dow's art and of his teaching, Sadakichi Hartmann wrote,

> ... A. B. [sic] Dow ... endeavours to paint American landscapes, as a Japanese would see them.
>
> Dow is a theorist, and backs up his art by principles.
>
> His pictures have something distinctly Japanese about them, and yet they are American in character. Look at his discriminative construction of lines, angles, and space, his firm but exceedingly simple technique, the bold selection of harmonious colours, the blending of flat tints, the wilful emptiness and lack of depth in certain parts, that is all Japanese. But the endeavour to express sentiment ..., the pictorial conception, the endeavour to convey elusive expression, the melodramatic effect, this is all American.[492]

A leading figure in the American Arts and Crafts Movement, Dow promoted the equality of fine and applied arts and the reintegration of art and life. These ideas were in keeping with Japanese aesthetic principles, the Arts and Crafts Movement of William Morris, and the Aesthetic Movement associated with Whistler. As Nancy Green points out, *ukiyo-e* were the perfect example for arts and crafts design as they employed both skillful pictorialism in their design and craftsmanship in their execution – the cutting of wood and printing of the wood blocks. Dow upheld the crafts ideal of the Arts and Crafts Movement by carrying through every step of the designing and printing process himself, which was at odds with the Japanese collaborative approach. In addition, he helped lay

---

[490] The American Impressionists had, likewise, painted American scenes using French methods upon their return home. Dow, however, was self-taught (with the help of Fenollosa) and was using Japanese methods of picturing America even before he went to Japan.

[491] Nancy E. Green, "Arthur Wesley Dow, Artist and Educator," in Nancy E. Green and Jessie Poesch, *Arthur Wesley Dow and American Arts and Crafts* (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1999), 65.

[492] Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, Vol. II, (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1934 One Volume Revised Edition, originally published in 1901), 2:269-71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the foundations of modernist abstract painting and pictorialist photography with his emphasis on strong surface design over naturalism or representation. Among Dow's pupils who were influenced by such teaching were Max Weber, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Clarence White (1871-1925). White would become an eminent art teacher himself).

During his time at Pratt, Dow mounted, in the Institute's galleries, a series of exhibits of Japanese art and of Western artists employing *japonisme*. Dow's own collection of Japanese paintings, prints and art tools was exhibited in Pratt's galleries in 1895, 1898, 1899 and 1900.[493] John LaFarge's watercolor paintings of Japan were exhibited in 1898. He also invited guest lecturers such as Robert Blum, who spoke in conjunction with a show of his paintings and photographs of Japan titled "Japanese Subjects in Watercolor" in 1900.[494]

Dow was both a practitioner and a teacher of *japonisme*. By the time he began teaching, the first generation of American Impressionists had already formed their mature styles and would not have been influenced by his theories and practices. Subsequent generations of American Impressionists, however, would have been exposed to Dow's ideas, which formed the basis of the art education of many public and private schools. Impressionism was the primary strain of art promoted at Pratt prior to Dow's addition to the faculty. Through a cooperative arrangement with the Durand-Ruel Gallery, Pratt hosted an exhibit of Claude Monet's work and a later exhibit that included Manet, Degas and Cassatt.[495] One of Dow's pupils at Pratt, Edna Boies Hopkins (1872-1937), would employ the block printing techniques she learned from him to create Impressionist-tinged prints of studies she had sketched in Monet's gardens at Giverny.[496]

---

[493] Meech and Weisberg, 165: Dow had an extensive collection of Japanese art and art objects, which was catalogued by his friend and nearby neighbor in Salem, Matsuki Bunkio.
[494] Marsha Morton, *Pratt and Its Gallery: The Arts and Crafts Years* (New York: Pratt Institute and Jensen Fine Arts, 1998), unpaginated.
[495] Ibid.
[496] Meech and Weisberg, 183.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1900 Dow accepted a teaching post at Columbia Teacher's College and served as Chair of the Department of Fine Arts from 1904 until his death in 1922.[497] As at Pratt, he taught the principles expressed in *Composition* and had a profound influence on art education in this country. To master the fluid, calligraphic line essential to Japanese art, Dow required that his students practice line drawing using Japanese methods and materials.[498]

The Transcriptive Response

As the term "transcriptive" implies, this section discusses the "accurate" recording of what these American artists saw in Japan. It refers to the use of predominantly Western, academically-derived means to capture the sights they chose to immortalize. Some of the artists who made transcriptive pictures while in Japan also made pictures employing *japonisme*, as previously discussed in this chapter.

Theodore Wores

Theodore Wores was the first of the American artists associated with *japonisme* to travel to Japan. He had met Whistler in Venice in 1880 and that became an important impetus for Wores' desire to travel to Japan. He arrived there in 1885 and stayed for two years, working and exhibiting there. He returned for a second visit from 1892-4. In the "Conclusion" to the book *Japonisme Comes to America*, Julia Meech says that, "there were some Americans in the late nineteenth century, like Robert Blum and Theodore Wores ... who confronted Japan and remained essentially untouched. They simply recorded what they saw."[499] This statement might seem peculiar, given that Wores went to Japan to learn more about it and given that he wrote a sensitive article on

---

[497] In 1904 he gave up all his other jobs except the summer classes he continued to hold at Ipswich.
[498] Meech and Weisberg, 168.
[499] Meech and Weisberg, 232.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

its culture and art, which he made every effort to fully understand (see Appendix 4). He became friendly with Japanese artists and inquired about their methods and objectives. These discussions were recounted in his writings and lectures about Japan and Japanese art after his return to America. However, at the end of one of the articles, titled "An American Artist in Japan," he said that as poetic and wonderful as Japanese art was, at its best it did not measure up to the very best in Western art. His pictures of Japan are consistent with that conclusion (fig. 155).

Nevertheless, Wores did practice a rudimentary form of *japonisme*, developed before he arrived in Japan. Many of his themes and sometimes very vertical format seemed to relate to *ukiyo-e* examples even while the motifs were realized by Western academic means – employing *chiaroscuro*, symmetry, a straight-on vantage point, and depth perception based on aerial and one-point perspective. The compositional aspects of Wores' art that might be identified with *japonisme*, such as those in *The Fan, Kyoto* (n.d., unlocated) can be just as easily identified with the art of Whistler.

John LaFarge

LaFarge's employment of *japonisme* did not necessarily become more pronounced following his time in Japan. In fact, he expressed disappointment with Japanese art after this close exposure to its various forms. As Henry Adams suggests, this may have been due to the influence of Ernest Fenollosa, who disdained the *ukiyo-e* that LaFarge had been so strongly influenced by up to that point.[500]

While in Japan, LaFarge made a number of sketches and he and Adams took and purchased many photographs, later used as image sources for studio paintings made in America. Many of those pictures, such as *Sunrise in Fog Over Kyoto* (1886, fig. 156) and *The Fountain in our Garden at Nikko* (1886, fig. 157) can be classified as descriptive or

[500] Fenollosa would later change his mind, mounting important exhibits of *ukiyo-e* at the museum in Boston.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

transcriptive paintings, recording specific scenes using traditional Western techniques of painting.

In subject, these two pictures represent a landscape and a garden painting, popular themes of the Impressionists of that time. Therefore, they could certainly be considered as falling within the bounds of acceptable subject matter for Western artists. LaFarge had been in France for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878 and would have had ample opportunity to see the work of the Impressionists at their alternative exhibition. It is possible that he would have been drawn to their work for its decorative qualities and floral interests. Further, LaFarge had been working at Trinity Church in Boston and the Crane Memorial Library in Quincy in 1883, the year of the Durand-Ruel exhibit of Impressionist paintings in Boston. In addition, he occupied a studio in The Tenth Street Studio Building where William Merritt Chase, a leading American Impressionist, also had a studio.

Prior to going to Japan, LaFarge was painting intimate views of nature in such works as *Hollyhocks* (1863, fig. 158) and *Apple Blossoms* (1878). In 1880 he began producing opalescent glass windows among which floral depictions were prominent. He also painted a number of landscapes such as *Paradise Valley* (1866-68) and *The Last Valley, Paradise Rock* (1867-68). His *Paradise Rock, Study at Paradise, Newport, Rhode Island* (1884, fig. 159) was based on a specific photograph that had been passed down in his family.[501]

The Tomb of Iyéyasu Tokugawa (1886, fig. 160), used to illustrate his "An Artist's Letters from Japan" (a serialization for *Century Magazine*) has a complex compositional scheme and planar perspective learned from his earlier study of Japanese prints. It, nevertheless, is still transcriptive, as is his *Inside the "Cat Gate"* (1886, fig. 161) appearing on the previous page of the same article. The same is true of *In the Third Gate of the Temple of Iyémitsu – Looking toward the Fourth*; both of these latter employ Western one-

[501] www.metmuseum.org/explore/lafarge/Html/cat4.htm (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

point perspective.[502] Perhaps the best example of his strictly Western approach to recording a Japanese site with photographic accuracy is *In the Great Avenue of Cryptomeria* (1886, fig. 162).[503] Even the figures of various societal types that may seem to be treated in a typically Japanese fashion, floating on the paper without any indication of background or setting,[504] are fully modeled in the round. The various temple priests he depicted were clearly accurate, individualized portraits devoid of Japanese conventionalization.[505]

While transcriptive Japanese scenes executed after his return from Japan may have incorporated Japanese-influenced elements, those elements were already present in LaFarge's work before his trip. The pictures were naturally intended to be realistic records of particular scenes or people appropriate to their function: illustrations for magazine travel articles for an American readership. Indeed, when he described particular people and buildings, his narratives often read much more like travelogues than journal entries.

Even an ostensibly Japanese theme picture, such as his well-known *Daibutsu* (*The Great Statue of Amida Buddha at Kamakura*) (1887, fig. 163) is a record of a popular tourist destination. Despite the eccentric, perhaps Eastern-derived, compositional elements of the Metropolitan Museum's watercolor of this monument, its solid-form treatment through the use of *chiaroscuro* places it within the Western rather than Eastern tradition.

---

[502] John LaFarge, "An Artist's Letters From Japan," *Century Magazine* 39/6 (April 1890): 868, 869; and 40/2 (June 1890): 199.
[503] Ibid., 39/5 (March 1890): 716.
[504] Ibid., 40/6 (October 1890): 871 illustration of *A Pilgrim*.
[505] Ibid., 39/6 (April 1890): 864; 40/2 (June 1890): 201; etc.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Robert Blum

Robert Blum painted pictures of itinerant merchants selling such items as flowers and hand-blown candy from carts and of streets lined with open shops. The most well known of these are *A Flower Market in Tokyo* (1892, fig. 149, mentioned above), exhibited and awarded a gold medal at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, and *The Ameya* (1890-92, fig. 164), in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. These pictures, while they had thematic precedents in Japanese art, seem to have been painted by Blum for their exotic appeal and because of his interest, first exhibited in his paintings from Venice, in artisans at work.

While in Japan, Blum illustrated a number of magazine articles for *Scribner's* by Sir Edwin Arnold, by the English writer John Wigmore on the Japanese Parliament, and for his own series of articles titled "An Artist in Japan" (see Appendix 4). His purpose in the accompanying illustrations was a journalistic, transcriptive and didactic one. He employed *chiaroscuro* to achieve three-dimensional realism and Impressionist colors and brushwork. However, his compositions also reflect the employment of *japonisme*, which, as with LaFarge, had previously been absorbed.

Albert and Adele Herter

The Herters honeymooned in Japan and, as mentioned above, while Adele seems to have been directly influenced by the art of Japan, Albert was much less so. Some of the pictures he painted there are of a transcriptive nature, for which he may well have relied compositionally upon photographs. *A Rest in the Woods* (ca. 1895, fig. 165) is one such picture. It depicts a group of Japanese travelers (apparently a husband and wife and two litter carriers) halted for a rest in a wooded setting. The husband and the wife (who is still within the litter) sit while the carriers stand, one facing and looking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

directly at the viewer while the other has his back turned. The direct gaze is virtually non-existent in traditional Japanese art and would have been socially impertinent.

Okami-san (ca. 1895, fig. 166), by Adele, shows an impeccably clad and coiffed Japanese lady kneeling frontally and in the center of the canvas. The pose is very like those of aristocratic, generally Shogunal or priestly, portraits. The lady, unlike the litter carrier, has an averted gaze and seems to be directed inwardly. The mood created is a very meditative one. Compositionally, the figure is set in a simple interior with a *kakemono* partially visible at the upper left corner. Adele was aware of the Japanese custom of dressing to identify one's place within the culture. "Okami-san" literally means "a married woman," and the figure's garment and hairstyle would have identified her as such to any Japanese viewer. This complex work was, at once, both transcriptive and directly responsive to Japanese art.

While Albert used his academic training as the technical basis for *A Rest in the Woods* (it looks almost photographic), Adele has created a much more Asian-looking image. Both works, however, are transcriptive in nature; they are aimed at recording a scene typical of old-Japan before such sights disappeared due to Westernization. Both Albert and Adele employed *chiaroscuro* to ensure accuracy of depiction, according to the Western meaning of that term.[506]

Lilla Cabot Perry

Although Lilla Cabot Perry had been exposed to the Western fascination with *ukiyo-e* prior to going to Japan, once there she soon learned that, among Japanese art forms, *ukiyo-e* was little respected and that Japanese artists were much more interested in

[506] "Accuracy of depiction" generally means a photographic or illusionistic type of likeness in the West, whereas in the East it tends to refer more to capturing the essential character of what is being depicted (except for those artists working under the Western system). In figure painting in the West, immediate visual accuracy is prized whereas in the East it is the essential character of the person or persons or their situation that is desired.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Western art than their own native traditions.[507] While the *japonisme* she had practiced before going to Japan remained part of her personal style during her time in Japan, she apparently developed little further interest in Japanese art and what it could offer her.

Perry, who had spent time in Giverny and was friendly with Monet (see Chapter 2), accompanied her husband Thomas Sergeant Perry to Japan when he accepted a post lecturing on literature at Keiogijiku College in Tokyo in 1898 and they remained until 1901. Already an accomplished artist working in the Impressionist mode when she arrived, her friend Okakura arranged for her to exhibit her work in Tokyo and she became an honorary member of the *Nippon Bitjutsu-in* (Japanese Fine Arts Society).

During her three years in Tokyo, Perry created more than eighty landscapes and figural works and often traveled to the countryside to paint. She was fond of recounting the story that, when she was in the countryside painting Mt. Fuji, a group of Japanese gathered around her, commenting with admiration, "very like, very like."[508] She painted at least thirty-five Impressionist versions of the landmark mountain at varying times and in varying conditions (fig. 167). Rather than treating the mountain in its symbolic, design-oriented, conventional fashion, as was typical of Japanese depictions, she was recording the varying color, light and atmospheric effects that viewers perceived at different times. These were transcriptive views even though she might introduce the suggestion of fragrance by including a branch of flowers in the foreground. This device, associated with *japonisme*, is one she was aware of and employed before going to Japan.

According to Meredith Martindale, *The Trio (Alice, Edith and Margaret Perry)* of 1898-1900 (fig. 168) incorporates Impressionist, New England and Japanese influences. What Martindale identifies as the Japanese element is the "highly linear, geometric décor,

---

[507] Martindale, 50.

[508] "Boston Artists and Sculptors in Intimate Talks. XII. Lilla Cabot Perry," *The Boston Herald* (February 27, 1921): 6. In the article, Perry is quoted as saying, "They seem much impressed with our different approach to the subject of the picture. Their painting is, of course, entirely conventional."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inspired by old Japanese prints."[509] As discussed in Chapter 2, Perry was already employing shallow space and geometricized architectural settings for figures while at Giverny.

The décor, in fact, would seem to be the interior of a residence in Tokyo (possibly the Perrys'). What Perry has done is to transcribe the setting rather than compose it, beyond the way in which she chose to frame it, which involved selective cropping. In fact, the composition is rather symmetrical and Perry employs light and shadow in a way that makes the scene realistic in Western terms rather than simplified to its essential outlines, patterns and colors as in Japanese art. On the top half of the far right side of the canvas is pictured a *tokonoma*, a typical Japanese art alcove, in which hangs an antique monochrome painting. There is a Whistlerian branch of blossoms partially visible. This indicates an awareness of fine Japanese art and of Japanese aesthetics in displaying it, as well as an awareness of Whistlerian *japonisme*. That is why it is surprising that there is not more Japanese feeling in the works Perry created while in Japan. In fact, a certain insensitivity to the culture's aesthetics is evidenced in *The Trio* by the placement of wooden chairs on the *tatami* (straw mat) flooring that would have damaged it and went against custom.

The strongest indication of Japanese art influence in this picture is the generalization of the faces of her three daughters and the less solid modeling of their bodies employed in comparison to most of her work. This generalizing and even Japanizing of the features of her daughters in pictures she made of them in Japan remains the primary way in which she seems to have been influenced by Japanese art while there. However, as Albert Franz Cochrane pointed out, "it is worth observing that her work, as evidenced by 'The Trio, Tokyo' and other canvases ever of purely topographical nature,

---

[509] Ibid., 52.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

continued to reflect European technique and vision, absorbing but little of the indigenous spirit."[510]

The Thematic Influence

John LaFarge

LaFarge's *Meditation of Kwannon* (1886, fig. 169), based in part on an Okyo image (1733-1795, fig. 170) that he saw at the Temple of Iemitsu and reproduced in his serialization of *An Artist's Letters From Japan*, has been elaborated in terms of its grotto setting far beyond Okyo's vision.[511] This was despite the fact that Okyo, the Japanese artist LaFarge most admired, was himself heavily influenced by Western realistic art as introduced by the Dutch.[512] Fenollosa showed LaFarge a *White-robed Kannon* (1421, fig. 171) by the Muromachi Zen artist Minchô (Chô Densu, 1352-1431) that was in his own collection and arranged for him to be shown the Mokkei (Mu Chi) triptych of Kannon (ca. 1279, fig. 172) at the Daitoku-ji Temple in Kyoto. In two of these three possible sources for the American artist's interpretation of the Buddhist deity – Okyo's and Minchô's -- Kannon is pictured with an aura looking similar to a halo, which may have been the cause of LaFarge's associating the image with the Christian Virgin Mary.[513]

LaFarge's *Kannon* is seated in a Grotto with a waterfall, which the artist tells us represents the stream of life as seen by him in another painting hanging at the tomb of Iyémitsu.[514] In Mokkei's version, the meditating deity, representing compassion, is flanked by a crane (a Taoist symbol for immortality) and a monkey (one who has attained *satori* but is still tied to worldly concerns).[515] Both Mokkei's and Minchô's scroll paintings differed

---

[510] Albert Franz Cochrane, "The Art of Lilla Cabot Perry," *The Boston Evening Transcript* (October 28, 1933): Magazine Section, 7.
[511] John LaFarge, "An Artist's Letters From Japan," *Century* 40/2 (June 1890): 200.
[512] This refers to one-point perspective and *chiaroscuro* modeling.
[513] Adams, "The Mind ...," 49.
[514] LaFarge, *Letters*, 196.
[515] Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 198-99, 201.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from LaFarge's oil paintings and watercolors of this theme in that they were monochrome Zen ink paintings. Like LaFarge's, however, they both situated Kannon in a more obvious grotto setting than Okyo's.

Mokkei's *Kannon* is not recognizable as to gender. Mokkei was a thirteenth-century Chinese painter and in Chinese depictions of Kannon (Kuan-Yin) the deity may be either male of female, but more likely female. Minchô's deity, like Okyo's, in Japanese tradition, is clearly a male image with his chest exposed as his robe falls open. LaFarge's image is clearly a female who has been given a provocatively low décolletage, an elaborate neck ornament and delicately feminine hands.[516] LaFarge wrote of the images of Kannon he had seen as representing a goddess who had come to signify compassion; but he did not say, so may not have known, that such depictions were primarily intended as a spur to meditation.[517]

The facial features of LaFarge's figure are very Westernized, a frequent occurrence among artists depicting other nationalities.[518] In terms of sensibility, all three of the Asian artists' depictions, including the Western-influenced Okyo's, are rendered in a far more delicate and refined manner. In fact, LaFarge's *Kwannon* resembles several of the studies of peasant women he included in his articles. Perhaps not just in subject but

---

[516] Although Minchô's rending shows Kannon wearing elaborate jewelry, that detail would not necessarily have signified femininity in Asia as it would in the United States. Buddha's ear lobes, for instance, had elongated holes due to the heavy earrings he wore.

[517] LaFarge, "Letters ...," 40/4 (August 1890): 573. James L. Yarnall, "Nature and Art in the Painting of John LaFarge," in Henry Adams, et al., *John LaFarge* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987), 106-7, "Here—as in a multitude of other works ...-- the waterfall evokes Japanese nature philosophy not only by epitomizing the Japanese landscape but also by conveying visual rhythms that, like the sound of the waterfall, could lull the mind to meditation." Whether he was aware of that intent or not, LaFarge succeeded in creating a meditative work. Yarnall continues, "Although conceding in his variations on the Kwannon to certain stylizations common to Japanese screens or handscrolls, LaFarge employed Westernized spatial schemes and three-dimensional forms."

[518] Another manifestation of this phenomenon would be the woodblock prints of Westerners done by Japanese artists in which Western men and especially ladies are given very Japanese looking faces (with the addition of large noses). LaFarge's 1908 version of the same deity *Kwannon Meditating on Human Life* is even further from the Asian concept of Kannon. It is more colorful, and the figure's hands and feet are very realistically depicted.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

also in spirit he has captured the Buddhist ideal of the compassionate Bodhisattva who shares Enlightenment with all in society as the supreme expression of Nirvana.[519]

Upon returning to America in 1886, Henry Adams commissioned Augustus Saint-Gaudens to create a monument for his wife's grave. He placed LaFarge in charge of overseeing the content of this monument, which was intended to combine Christian and Buddhist references. Visual sources seem to have been a combination of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel *Sibyls* and LaFarge's interpretation of Kannon. Completed in 1891, the five-foot-ten-inch seated bronze figure is located in the Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington (1886-91, fig. 173). A focus for meditation, it is sometimes called "Nirvana" or "Kannon," although Henry Adams wanted it to remain nameless. Unrecognizable as to gender, the figure's face is clearly Western, as are the treatment of its posture and its robes. Among LaFarge's sources for Kannon imagery were sculptures in clay and wood. Saint-Gauden's figure bears little resemblance to those images. Nevertheless, this collaborative synthesis of Eastern and Western ideas and visual sources is a fine example of spiritual *japonisme* that goes beyond the media of painting and sculpture.

Lilla Cabot Perry

Perry, as mentioned above, made over thirty-five pictures of Mount Fuji during the three years she lived in Tokyo (1898-1901). This was a favorite theme of Japanese artists and Fuji stood as emblematic of the eternal aspect of Japan. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, the serial treatment of landmarks in different seasons was a popular theme in Japan and is most well-known in the West by Hokusai's series "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" (1823-1829) and Hiroshige's "Fifty Three Stations of the Tokaido" (1831-4, with five subsequent editions). Such series influenced Monet who in turn influenced a number of

[519] LaFarge, "Letters ...," 40/4 (August 1890): 573-4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the American colonists at Giverny. Lilla Cabot Perry was undoubtedly among them in choosing to paint so many Impressionist views of the sacred Japanese mountain.

Summary

The American artists belonging to the circle of the Impressionists who traveled to Japan in the nineteenth century tended to do so with a previous inclination toward *japonisme*. Their work done in Japan and following their visits there reflected a variety of responses to the experience. They might respond directly (either visually or aesthetically), transcriptively (often due to their purpose of illustrating articles), or thematically. Sometimes individual artists' oeuvres demonstrated several varieties of responses, as was the case with John LaFarge and Robert Blum.

The artistic responses of American artists to viewing Japanese art at first-hand, *in situ* in Japan was just as varied as were those by the American artists who developed an interest in Japanese art or were influenced by *japonisme* during the time they spent in Europe. In both of these cases, the subjective responses of the artists to their individual experiences and subsequent working environments resulted in works in as many varieties of applications of *japonisme* as there were artists involved.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 5

WAYS BY WHICH JAPANESE ART AND *JAPONISME* WERE KNOWN

Japonisme was not an isolated, self-contained phenomenon. It was widespread and iterative – through an accretionary process, intellectual and visual knowledge built upon knowledge to create an ever-widening spiral effect by which *japonisme* grew and spread. It involved not only artists, but also journalists, critics, collectors, dealers, and the general population. The artists involved were not rebels seeking to overturn normative standards. They wanted their work to be appreciated and purchased. Public appreciation of Japanese art helped create a receptive atmosphere for the *japonisme* of American painters. Exhibitions of paintings by European and American artists practicing *japonisme* also had a positive influence in that direction.[520]

The forms of American *japonisme* were varied not only because of the individuality of artists' styles, but also because of the diversity of Japanese sources. Although most American *japonisme* took root on European rather than American soil, once artists who had been abroad for training and practice returned to the U.S. to work, they had ample opportunities for learning more about Japanese art and *japonisme* and for seeing examples of both at first-hand. Artists living in Boston in the 1890s had ongoing exposure to fine Japanese painting as well as to good-quality woodblock prints by acknowledged masters at museums. Artists in contact with important collectors, such as Freer in Detroit, had access to those collections. Boston, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco each had knowledgeable dealers in Japanese art and art objects to whom artists could refer. Artists who lived in other regions, however, generally relied on illustrated writings and interactions with each other at clubs, studios and social

[520] Displays of Western *japonisme* were numerous and are therefore beyond the parameters of this paper. For further information on this, see the extensive writings by William Gerdts on American Impressionism and by Gabriel Weisberg on French *japonisme*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gatherings – the same venues as used by artists in the major metropolitan centers mentioned. They also traveled abroad and visited the major U.S. centers where Japanese art was available. The world's fairs offered the greatest opportunity for artists from all over the country to see good quality Japanese art and have it explained by critics and the Japanese who were present and who contributed their own catalogues and other writings.

The types of visual sources from Japan that could be utilized by artists included woodblock prints and print albums, illustrated books, hanging scrolls, handscrolls, folding screens, sliding door panels, fans, umbrellas, painted porcelains and ceramics, decorated lacquer wares, fabrics (in clothes, by the bolt, as hangings, as cushions, etc.), embellished metal objects, sculptures, carvings (in ivory and wood), and photographs. Sometimes artists kept these objects as studio props and often they were used as decorations for their homes and studios. The finer examples could be very expensive so access to them was limited. Many of the objects owned or utilized by painters were made for the export market, with foreign tastes in mind. These tended to be of rather poor quality in the 1870s but as the century progressed better quality items were produced to meet an increasingly sophisticated demand. At the same time, poorer quality art and art objects continued to be exported to Europe and the U.S. to provide for the strong market among those without the means to acquire finer quality items.

Writings on Japan, Japanese Art and *Japonisme* (see Appendix 4)

In the early phase of *japonisme* in America (before the Civil War), little was known about Japan's art or culture. Generally, as understanding about the art's meanings, means, and cultural foundations grew, artists' responses became more developed and subtler. Artists practicing *japonisme* came to employ its principles and underlying aesthetic sensibilities rather than just its appearance. Writing about Japan's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

art practices and theories, as well as its culture and history, facilitated this process and created an informed American public that was accepting of artists' more refined responses to Japanese art.

The first way that Japanese art came to be widely known in the U.S. was through writings about Japan, its people, its institutions and its culture. Articles and books on Japan began as a trickle in the middle of the nineteenth century and swelled to a cascade by the 1890s, tapering off in the twentieth century. Early writings were often poorly informed, especially regarding Japan's art. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, however, writers were becoming increasingly sophisticated and knowledgeable. This was the same trajectory followed in artists' employment of *japonisme* in Europe, but because many Americans employing *japonisme* did so using an already developed European model, they did not always follow same course.

Prior to the reopening of Japan, there was a little information available about that mysterious country, and what existed came mostly through the Dutch. The first flurry of writings on Japan available in the U.S. surrounded its reopening in 1853 (see Chapter 1). There followed a lull during the Civil War years (1861-85). The next big surge of popular interest in and writing about Japan came with the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

Between the Civil War and the Philadelphia Centennial, serious considerations of Japanese art by the critics Russell Sturgis and James Jackson Jarvis appeared in serial form.[521] In addition, the artist John LaFarge contributed a chapter on Japanese art to a

---

[521] Russell Sturgis, "The Fine Arts of Japan." *The Nation* 7 (July 16, 1868): 56-57; (July 23, 1868):
76-77; (September 10, 1868): 215-216; and, J. Jackson Jarves, "A Genuine Artistic Race." *The Art-Journal of London* (London) 33 (March 1, 1871): 77-9; (April 1871): 100-101 (June 1871): 161-162; (July 1871): 185-186. The articles were the basis for his book *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1875.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

book about Asia.[522] All three writers were somewhat limited in their access to good quality Japanese art, relying to a large extent on *ukiyo-e* prints and illustrated Japanese books. All three approached the subject as romantics, fearful that contact with the West and industrialization would lead to a diminution of Japanese craftsmanship and artistic originality. All three writers gave formalist readings of the Japanese art they discussed. They all admired Hokusai and the Japanese treatment of nature.

Sturgis, Jarves and LaFarge had not been to Japan before writing about its art and were consequently hampered in their attempts to interpret the meanings of what was depicted. These attempts were not only unsuccessful but also may also have impeded understanding. For instance, Sturgis demonstrated his naïveté by attributing the depiction of evil as inferior to good to the Christian influence in Japan from an earlier period. In fact, scenes of Buddhist Hell, admonishing bad behavior, had been painted in Japan for at least four centuries prior to the arrival of Christianity in 1543.[523] The grotesque, an aspect of *ukiyo-e* as well as other painting forms, was given a great deal of emphasis by both Sturgis and Jarves, which was out of proportion to its actual place in Japanese art.[524] In addition, Jarves criticized images of two chief "female" deities, "Ben-zai-ten-njo" (Benten) and "Quamon" (Kannon), [525] not only for a lack of beauty but for "their unconsciousness of any happiness except their own." Having eloquently explained, in relation to the Kamakura *Daibutsu*, that transcendence from earthly attachment was the aim of Buddhism, he failed

---

[522] John LaFarge, "An Essay on Japanese Art," in Raphael Pumpelly, *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey Around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China* (NY: Leypoldt & Holt, 1870), 195-203.

[523] This was yet another example of how those writing about unfamiliar Japan (or presumably anyplace unfamiliar) often portrayed more about themselves and the attitudes of their period than about their ostensible subject matter--a situation which continues. Here was the Ruskinian, moralizing, patronizing Sturgis, for whom all that was noble arose from the European traditions of the past.

[524] Its reverse equivalent might be the viewing of a number of John Quidor paintings by a foreign culture which could easily lead to some very strange and incorrect general assumptions as to American religion and culture.

[525] Actually, Kannon had evolved from a male *bodhisattva* called Avalokitesvara in India, to the hermaphroditic Kwan-yin of China and Kannon of Japan.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to recognize that same attribute in these images. He did not understand that Kannon (which he called "Quamon") was the deity associated with compassion.

Several writers resident in Japan did provide informed coverage of Japanese art. Noah Brooks wrote articles for both *Appleton's* and *Scribner's* that explained content as well as form and included much better illustrations than had previously been used. A missionary, Rev. William E. Griffis, wrote numerous articles on Japanese history, culture, and religion, among other subjects, that appeared in a number of U.S. newspapers and magazines and formed the basis for his book *The Mikado's Empire*, which was published the year of the Centennial.[526] His articles helped to rectify some of the misinterpretations by the previous writers, elucidating the content of Japanese art for his American audience. In addition to explaining the history, religion, and mythology upon which a good deal of Japanese art was based, Griffis discussed such subtleties as slight alterations in conventionalized faces which would be read by Japanese viewers as signifiers of the relative social positions of the figures depicted.

Japonisme was beginning to be recognized as a phenomenon in the 1860s. LaFarge and Elihu Vedder (1836-1923) were among the artists who contributed illustrations to Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, which was published in Boston in 1865. Sturgis' perceptive review of that book noted characteristics, such as steep perspective, shared by LaFarge's illustrations and Japanese art.[527] In the 1970s, Whistler's *japonisme* was well recognized in the U.S., both in regard to his painting and the decoration of his home (see Chapter 2).

As early as 1875, the literary critic, Charles DeKay, discussed the Japanese aesthetic sense in relation to a translated anthology of poetry.[528] He described the small

---

[526] William Ellis Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876).
[527] Russell Sturgis, "Multiplied Art" in *The Nation* 2 (July 27, 1865): 123-125. This was the second of a two-part article, the first part appearing July 20.
[528] Charles DeKay, "A Bouquet of Japanese Verses," *Scribner's* 9/3 (January 1875): 330.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

anthology of poetry translated by de Rosny[529] he encountered in Paris in terms which enable the reader to vicariously experience the delicate aesthetic effect of the totality of the work -- the poetic sentiment of the words, the scattering of delicately tinted leaves and flowers over the pages, and the bold black brushstrokes of the illustrations "against the tender shades of the 'decoration'." Each element, he wrote, was totally in keeping with each of the others. DeKay identified a sensibility in Japanese aesthetics, *mono no aware*, which might very loosely be translated in Shakespearean terms as "sweet sorrow,"[530] which he tied to its poetry. This showed a sophisticated understanding of the subtler moods of Japanese sentiments on his part.

During and immediately after the Centennial there were many articles devoted to Japan and Japanese arts. By 1881, Griffis was writing about the Korean origins of Japanese art, showing an advanced understanding of the indirect route by which Chinese culture often made its way into Japan. Griffis continued writing on a great variety of topics, including art. In one article, he went into the finer points of *cha-no-yû* (the Zen tea aesthetic) and the religious and mythological symbolism in Japanese art imagery.[531]

In the 1880s and 1890s, artists such as Parsons, Weldon, Wores, Blum and LaFarge wrote and illustrated articles on Japan based on their time spent living there

---

[529] DeRosny also provided commentary, which it is assumed was DeKay's source of information for the well-informed interpretation of Japanese poetry he offered. Paris at this time was far in advance of America in its understanding of Japanese literature. DeRosny was an expert in the field.

[530] The term *aware* can be used to describe any intense emotion, including joy, but generally is applied to a feeling of pleasure tinged with sadness, the experience of which is one of great beauty. If this seems somewhat vague, that is appropriate. To try to be American – that is precise – in describing Japanese sentiments is to miss the point. An essential quality of Japanese expression, as exemplified by the Japanese language itself, is indirectness or suggestion rather than precision. To be precise is to be crude. To be direct is to be uncultured. Today, as during the nineteenth century, in daily conversation it is common for sentences to go unfinished with the assumption that the speaker's meaning is conveyed without being totally spelled out. This, of course, relates to the cohesiveness of Japanese culture and therefore becomes all the more difficult for multicultural Americans to grasp.

[531] William E. Griffis, "Japanese Art, Artists, and Artisans, *Scribner's* 3/1 (January 1888): 108-120.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(see Chapter 4). Japanese art was certainly an important focus for these writers. Theodore Wores spoke Japanese so was able to become friendly with a number of Japanese artists. He studied their methods and discussed art with them and passed on the knowledge thus attained to American readers.[532] As mentioned, between 1890 and 1892, John LaFarge wrote a series of articles on his Japanese experiences titled "An Artist's Letters from Japan," published as a book of the same title in 1897. Art and architecture were included in the illustrated articles but were not the only focus. Some discussions dealt with cultural practices and some delved into Japan's history, religion, philosophy and aesthetics – all aspects of the culture that informed its art. Both Wores and LaFarge commented on the degraded quality of most Japanese goods available in America, as compared with what they saw in Japan. Robert Blum's illustrations for his own articles and for those by Arnold and Wigmore demonstrated his familiarity with Japanese modes of expression. They were published while the World's Columbian Exposition was taking place in Chicago and one of his Impressionist Japanese paintings appeared in the American section at the fair. All three of these artist-writers belonged to the circle of the Impressionists, so it is likely their writings on Japanese art, so topical in the period, would have been known to that art community.

Among the non-artist writers contributing American magazine articles was Lafcadio Hearn (1815-1904), a professional journalist who went to Japan for *Harper's* in 1889. He remained there the rest of his life, taking a Japanese wife and a Japanese name. Although he initially wrote articles for several U.S. journals, he soon began writing books on Japan, including its art and the aspects of its culture that related to the arts. Hearn is perhaps best known today for his books on Japanese myths and folk tales, both of which helped to explain motifs in Japanese paintings and prints. His most comprehensive treatment of his adopted country, however, was the two-volume work

[532] Theodore Wores, "An American Artist in Japan," *Century* 38/5 (September 1889): 70-86.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan, published in 1894. It was the first extensive writing on the subject by a Westerner who resided inside the Japanese culture. It afforded American readers a glimpse at the Japanese mind, as well as how the Japanese perceived Westerners and their cultural practices.

There were also Japan-based writers without journalistic experience such as Ernest Fenollosa, who provided the first academically-informed analysis of Japanese art by a foreign resident in Japan. He had gone to Tokyo to teach philosophy but became involved in a project to prevent the wholesale loss of the country's traditional art culture in its rush toward Westernization. He was named the Imperial Art Commissioner and was aided by Okakura Kakuzo in his efforts to catalogue the locations of Japan's great art treasures.[533] After returning to the U.S., he contributed to American understanding of Japanese art through his museum exhibits, lectures, and writing. During the Columbian Exposition, he wrote an article for *Century Magazine*, titled "Contemporary Japanese Art," explaining to the American audience the Japanese art they saw at the fair.[534] Okakura provided a catalogue for the official Japanese architectural exhibit at the fair. Dow's book *Composition*, incorporating Fenollosa's theories, was published in 1899 (see Chapter 4). Fenollosa also wrote informed catalogues for museum and private exhibitions of Japanese art. He continued to write articles and books on both Japanese and Chinese art until his death in 1908. Fenollosa's most comprehensive work was his two-volume *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, published posthumously in 1911.[535] In 1895, following the Columbian Exposition, Genjiro Yeto (see Chapter 3), contributed an article on "Art Instruction in Japan."[536]

---

[533] Okakura had been Fenollosa's student at the Tokyo University and together they had founded the Tokyo Fine Arts School.
[534] Ernest Fenollosa, "Contemporary Japanese Art," *Century* 46/4 (August 1893): 577-582.
[535] Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1921); reprint of 1912 original, published in England.
[536] Genjiro [Gaingero] Yeto, "Art Instruction in Japan," *Limner* 1/6 (July 1895): 6-8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Just prior to the Columbian Exposition, there had been an important French journal devoted to Japanese art that was published in America. Between 1888 and 1891, English translations of all thirty-six issues of Siegfried Bing's journal, *Le Japon Artistique*, were available in New York. They contained articles by leading experts from France and England and covered a wide variety of subjects related to Japanese arts and aesthetics. They also included many illustrations, which ranged from vignettes based on Hokusai's *Manga* to foldout sheets that reproduced *kakemono* by leading artists of earlier periods. They addressed design principles and *japonisme* as well.

In 1898, the American art critic Sadakichi Hartmann addressed *japonisme* in his article "The Japan Idea in American Art."[537] This was followed by Hartmann's volume titled *Japanese Art*, published in 1903.[538] Whereas Fenollosa wrote as a scholar, Hartmann wrote from the artist's point of view, so the two most expert writers on Japanese art in the U.S. at the beginning of the twentieth century provided very different but equally informative perspectives. Hartmann considered *japonisme* in one chapter of his book, giving a brief history of the impact of Japanese art on the West. He wrote that while "European artists have equaled the Japanese in clever grouping, vigorous action, force of expression, passion for form and colour, and even in sketchy figure delineation ... they have never reached that unlimited suggestiveness which even the most insignificant Japanese picture-book contains. This suggestiveness had conquered modern art."[539] In addition, Hartmann also published a monograph on Whistler that considered his friend's *japonisme*. About *Rose and Silver: La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine* (1863-64, Freer Gallery) he said that it "is perhaps his finest work in vivid colouring," but that it looks like an enlarged *ukiyo-e* print "painted in the Western style,

---

[537] Sadakichi Hartmann, "The Japan Idea in American Art," *Criterion* 16 (January 1, 1898): 16-17, and (January 8, 1898): 17, in *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist*, Ed. Jane Calhoune Weaver (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 68-76.
[538] Sadakichi Hartmann, *Japanese Art* (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1906).
[539] Ibid., 160.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which represents objects round and in relief, and not merely in flat tints" at the same time as its compositional arrangement "is strictly Japanese in character."[540]

The American painter-illustrator Charles Hovey Pepper, who had been in Japan for two years, published a book on *ukiyo-e* prints in 1905. A small (4" x 8") booklet including twenty-five pages of prints, two pages of artists' signatures, and five pages on the history and process of making color prints. Pepper briefly addressed japonisme, writing that "Whistler, Manet, Monet, Degas, Forin and Chavannes and Steinlin and Homer and Alexander and Shannon have heard and headed ... these principles ... worked out by Kiyonaga, Harunobu, Hiroshige, Hokusai ..."[541] The artist Henry Bowie (see Chapter 4) published *On the Laws of Japanese Painting* in 1911 (see Chapter 4). It was the first book providing American artists with an illustrated guide to the principles of Japanese painting.

In 1912, the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, a Japanese print collector and dealer, published a forty-page booklet on Japanese prints. It was beautifully illustrated with woodblock reproductions of *ukiyo-e* from Wright's own collection.[542] He contributed discussions on each of the prints, as well as an introductory essay in which he touched on a number of aspects of Japanese art and *japonisme* covered in this dissertation:

> The unpretentious colored woodcut of Japan, a thing of significant graven lines on delicate paper which has kissed the color from carved and variously tinted wooden blocks, is helpful in the practice of the fine arts, and may be construed with profit in other life concerns as great... It is a lesson especially valuable to the West because, in order to comprehend it all, we must take a viewpoint unfamiliar to us as a people, and in particular to our artists -- the purely aesthetic viewpoint. It is a safe means of inspiration of our artists because, while the methods are true

---

[540] Sadakichi Hartmann, *The Whistler Book*, (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1910), 54.
[541] Charles Hovey Pepper, *Japanese Prints* (Boston: Walter Kimball and Company, 1905), 14.
[542] Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Japanese Print, An Interpretation* (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1912). Among the artists included were Eisho, Hiroshige, Toyonobu, Shunso, Hokusai, Masanobu, Toyoharu, and Utamaro.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> methods, the resultant forms are utterly alien to such artistic tradition as we acknowledge and endeavor to make effective.[543]
>
> Broadly stated then, the first and supreme principle of Japanese aesthetics consists in stringent simplification by elimination of the insignificant, and a consequent emphasis on reality. The first prerequisite for the successful study of this strange art is to fix the fact at the beginning that it is the sentiment of Nature as beheld by him in those vital meanings which he alone seems to see and portray.[544]
>
> The Japanese "message" we recognize in more familiar accents uttered by Whistler, Manet, Monet, the "Plein Air" School, Puvis de Chavannes, Boutet de Monvel, because of its conventionalizing, civilizing, simplifying, clarifying of the arts and crafts of the Occident on both sides of the Atlantic. Every dead wall in the land bears witness to the direct or indirect influence of this humble Japanese art of the people.[545]

To summarize, by 1893, a great deal of informed writing on Japanese art was available to artists and their public in America. *Japonisme* was also a topic of some of the writing, but was more thoroughly covered at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. Most of the books and articles mentioned here had many illustrations, which would have helped to thoroughly familiarize readers with the art being discussed. Numerous articles and books on Japanese art and *japonisme* continued to appear in America throughout the period between 1893 and 1915.

Japanese Art and *Japonisme* at the World's Fairs (See Appendix 10)

International exhibitions in Europe and the U.S. were the most available venues for viewing Japanese art and art goods. The fairs were places where artists not only exhibited their own work but also had an opportunity to see the work of artists from other countries. They afforded the same opportunity to journalists, critics, and the art buying public, which was important because appreciation of Japanese art could lead to acceptance of *japonisme* in the work of Western artists. In the second half of the nineteenth century, due to economic growth, increased leisure time, and improved and

---

[543] Ibid., 13.
[544] Ibid., 19-20.
[545] Ibid., 27.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

affordable transportation, many Americans traveled abroad, especially to Europe. They might plan these trips around the world's fairs, especially if they or their companies were participating in the fairs or they were journalists writing about them. Those who could not attend in person could view the souvenir books and read newspaper and magazine coverage of these international events. The world's fairs provided the best opportunity for the general population to see Japanese art at first-hand and often contextualized by setting and accompanying literature. As time went on, *japonisme* also became visible at the fairs.

The first time Japanese products were displayed at a world's fair was at the 1853-4 Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York. The few Japanese items displayed (by the Dutch) were treated as curiosities. This was not the case, however, at the 1862 International Exposition in London. For the first time, Japan officially participated and Sir Rutherford Alcock, British Consul in Tokyo from 1859 to 1862, wrote the accompanying catalogue, in which he was critical of Japanese painting but approving of the humor in woodblock prints. A number of English artists, critics and designers visited the Japanese Court (as the exhibit was called), including Whistler and the Rossetti brothers.[546] Among the items displayed and discussed were paintings and *ukiyo-e*. The world's fairs were essentially trade shows and although fine art would become an important category, at this stage the Japanese items were primarily considered in terms of trade goods. Japan received very favorable comments regarding its industrial design and ornamentation. According to William Burges, "If the visitor wishes to see the real Middle Ages he must visit the Japanese Court, for at the present the arts of the Middle Ages have deserted Europe and are only to be found in the east... Truly the Japanese

[546] Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) was a leading artist of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in England, and his brother William Rossetti (1829-1919), the only non-artist member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, was a poet and a prominent critic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Court is the real Medieval Court of the Exhibition."[547] Although few Americans attended due to the Civil War, the event was well covered in the U.S. press. The Japanese exhibition, however, got far more attention in British than in U.S. coverage. Following the closing of the exhibition, many of the Japanese items were sold and Whistler and the Rossettis were among their purchasers. It was about this time that Whistler started including Japanese objects from his collection in his figural paintings.

The Japanese exhibit at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris drew a great deal of attention in France and in the U.S. It included not only metal works, textiles, ceramics, and printed materials, but also paintings. In addition, the South Kensington Museum and several private French collections lent objects, including pages from one of Hokusai's *Manga*. *Japonisme* was on view with Félix Bracquemond's Hokusai-inspired dinner service and Manet's *The Fifer* (1866, Musée d'Orsay). Popular entertainments first appeared at this fair and Japan's contributions were among the more well-attended. *Harper's* reported on the Japanese house and the stall where tea was served.[548] As with the London fair of five years earlier, American press coverage was relatively scant regarding Japan's participation. This fair marked the beginning of the previously noted Japan craze in France, which was to affect a number of the American artists studying there in the 1870s and 80s.

At the 1873 International Exposition in Vienna, the Japanese exhibits were as extensive as those of the United States and the major European nations. They were weighted toward the decorative arts, which were once again admired for their beauty and utility as well as fine craftsmanship. Japan, as a non-European nation, was not admitted to the Fine Arts section. Nevertheless, Japan did include sculptures, paintings,

---

[547] William Burges, "1862: LONDON – The International Exhibition," *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1862): 10-11; reprinted in *The Art of All Nations, 1850-73: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics,* ed. Elizabeth Holt (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981), 355-431.
[548] D. H. Hitchcock, "The Cafes of the Paris Exhibition," in *Harper's* 36/212 (January 1868): 155.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

drawings and prints in its own display.[549] Also on view on the grounds was a Japanese farming village with a waterfall, a lake with bridges, a shrine, and a garden. *Appleton's* and *Littell's Living Age* both ran reprints of an article that appeared in the English *Quarterly Review*, which spoke glowingly of the Japanese exhibit. The article analyzed why the Japanese display of industrial arts had made the English display "look pitiful."[550] It contended that "In Japan the true style and method of art decoration are maintained. The porcelain and the painting are, in artistic combination, but one work. In our Bond Street china the fine paintings on the plates and vases are mere pictures quite distinct from pottery..."[551] The writer completed his discussion of the Japanese display by noting that "last year their workmen made the most refined display of decorative workmanship that Europe ever saw."[552]

The 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, as mentioned, was the turning point for interest in Japanese design in the U.S., just as the 1867 fair had been in Europe. For a number of Americans, this was their first encounter not only with the Japanese but also with foreigners in general, which could only have advanced a more open and cosmopolitan attitude. An article in *Scribner's* astutely prophesied that the exposure to foreign art and art manufactures would bring "the establishment of art schools of real excellence in all the American cities" because at the "very basis of all the beautiful industries ... there must be laid a popular knowledge of art."[553] These new

---

[549] Evett, 11. The display included prints by Kunichika, Kuniteru, Ikkei and Hiroshige II and III. There were also paintings by Shibata Zeshin (one of the most famous contemporary artists in Japan) and Taki Katei, and a screen painting by Watanabe Kai. Frederick Baekeland, *Imperial Japan: The Art of the Meiji Era 1868-1912* (Ithaca, NY: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 1980), 147. Katei, a flower painter, won a prize for a work he submitted to the Japanese display at the Vienna Exposition.

[550] "Home and Foreign Notes," *Appleton's* 13/308 (February 13, 1875): 212-213; and, "The Hope of English Architecture," *Littell's Living Age* 123/1594 (December 26, 1874): 771-789.

[551] Ibid., "The Hope ...," 786.

[552] Ibid., 787.

[553] "Topics of the Time," *Scribner's* 13/1 (November 1876): 126-127. Several writers wrote of the need to educate American tastes, for the audience (including critics) did not seem able to discriminate between the good and the bad art it was viewing. Coan (p. 767) opined that the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

institutions would be founded and run by the new generation of European-trained artists displaying cosmopolitan tendencies in their work. Two of those tendencies that would become established in the 1880s and 1890s were the hybrid styles of American Impressionism and American *japonisme*. According to Julia Meech, the seeds of what would become the American Arts and Crafts Movement were also sown at Philadelphia in 1876.[554] So too was the spread of England's Aesthetic Movement to American soil.[555] Again at Philadelphia, Japan was not admitted to the Fine Arts section but did include paintings and prints in its displays in the Main Building and provided an English-language guidebook to its displays. Press coverage was positive but focused on the artistry and craftsmanship of Japanese manufactures, as it had at previous fairs. The Japanese government also constructed a large and strategically-located bazaar and tea garden, in addition to its official dwelling.[556] *The Atlantic Monthly* ran a twelve-part series on the exhibition, which included many references to Japanese tools and crafts. The series' illustrations displayed knowledge of Japanese sketchbooks and *ukiyo-e*.[557] Sturgis', Jarves' and LaFarge's articles on Japanese art had appeared prior to the

---

countries that sent the best works were those which knew American tastes least and that France and Italy, more familiar with Americans through tourism and patronage, had not bothered to send their best.

[554] Meech and Weinberg, 55 (also see Hosley, 41).

[555] Burke, et al., 30: The Ruskinian artist, Clarence King, for instance purchased a Watanabe Weitei screen at the Exhibition, displaying a "developing impulse toward international collecting of 'aesthetic' goods."

[556] The Japanese bazaar and tea garden was one of the more popular attractions on the fair grounds. Exotic, well-crafted art objects were available at affordable prices at the bazaar and the Japanese garden was the first of its kind in America. In fact, Japanese manufacturers had devoted a good deal of energy to studying European and American tastes at previous fairs and the objects they offered for sale in Philadelphia reflected that awareness.

[557] Edward H. Knight, "Crude and Curious Inventions at the Centennial Exhibition," *Atlantic Monthly:* Part I, "Musical Instruments" 39/235 (May 1877): 517-529; Part II, "Percussion Instruments" 39/236 (June 1877): 645-659; Part III, "Wind Instruments" 40/237 (July 1877): 22-34; Part IV "Stringed Instruments" 40/202 (August 1877): 161-173; Part V, "Husbandry – Culture" 40/203 (September 1877): 305-316; Part VI, "Husbandry – Reaping, Thrashing, Grinding" 40/204 (October 1877): 420-430; Part VII, "Husbandry – Special Crops" 40/205 (November 1877): 548-560; Part VIII, "Baskets and Basket Work" 40/206 (December 1877): 689-702; Part IX, "Cotton, Silk and Spinning" 41/243 (January 1878): 19-30; Part X, "Weaving" 41/244 (February 1878): 224-235; Part XI "Water Vessels, Wooden Ware and Pottery" 41/245 (March 1878): 288-301; Part XII, "Furniture, Shoes, Toilette" 41/246 (April 1878): 426-435. Note: Japanese combs were exquisite *objects d'art* and only one of its many artistic objects emulated by Tiffany and Company.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Centennial and informed some of the writing about the Japanese art seen at the fair. Several writers applauded depictions of nature and one journalist related the suggestiveness and ethereal qualities of Japanese paintings to Western poetics.[558] Japanese manufactures were compared favorably not only with those of China but of Europe and America. Museums and collectors purchased most of the more expensive objects from the Main Building.[559] *Japonisme* was also evident at the fair, with Bracquemond's service shown again and Tiffany's and Gorham's Japanese-influenced designs on exhibit. John LaFarge showed three of his Japanesque floral pieces in the Fine Arts section. Following the Centennial Exhibition, the 'Japan craze' took off in the U.S and emporiums selling Japanese goods opened on both coasts.

There were two Expositions Universelles held in Paris between the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and the World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 in Chicago. The first of those Parisian fairs was in 1878. Japan was included among the leading nations and as such personified on the façade of the Trocadéro Palace. A model Japanese farm was constructed on the grounds and included a house in which ceremonial tea was served. To ensure that its entries would be understood, the Japanese Imperial Commission published *Le Japon à l'exposition de 1878*, an early contemporary account of Japan and its industries in the French language.[560] Japan received the usual kudos for its art manufactures and the Japanese painter, Watanabe

---

[558] "Characteristics of the International Fair," *Atlantic*, Part I, 38/225 (July 1876): 85-91; Part II, 38/226 (August 1876): 233-239; Part III, 38/227 (September 1876): 350-60; Part IV, 38/228 (October 1876): 492-502; Part V, 38/230 (December 1876): 732-740; and, Part VI, 39/231 (January 1877): 94-100.

[559] Weisberg, *Japonisme*, 88-89: Purchasers included the South Kensington Museum in London (also see Hosley, 39), the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the New York collector Henry O. Havemeyer. The Centennial Exhibition marked the awakening of Havemeyer's interest in Japanese art that would eventually result in an extensive collection.

[560] Weisberg, *Japonisme...*, 147.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Seitei, whose work had been exhibited in Philadelphia, received a silver medal.[561] A display of Japanese art made up from French collections was exhibited in the Palace of the Trocadéro under the direction of Wakai Kenzaburô, the Japanese Commissioner, and his assistant Hayashi Tadamasa.[562] Philippe Burty's "*Le Japon ancien et le Japon moderne*," appeared in *L'Art* following the close of the fair. In it he declared a "decisive victory" for Japan's past and present art and industry at the Exposition. *Japonisme* was also clearly on view. E.W. Godwin designed England's Primrose Room display and Whistler decorated its walls with a Japanese cloud pattern. American *japonisme* was well represented and recognized at the fair, not in the fine, but in the decorative arts (especially the displays by Tiffany's and Gorham's). U.S. coverage of the fair was extensive, but as with previous foreign fairs, Americans would have had to be at the fair to get a sense of Japan's contributions.

Japan was again a major participant in the 1889 Exposition in Paris but no longer provided any surprises. There was once again a Japanese garden and pagoda in the Park of the Trocadéro, and a large display in the Main Building. In addition, there was a large loan exhibition of Japanese ceramics and textiles and another of books and prints demonstrating Japanese engraving. Japan, as usual, stood out for its art manufactures[563] and that year *The Art Interchange* produced a special issue dedicated to the Japanese taste in interior design. If Japan provided no surprises, it did offer relief from the "gaudy *grotesqueries*" and "trumpery trinkets" exhibited by other nations on the rue du Caire. According to Brownell,

---

[561] Laurence P. Roberts, *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists* (Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 194.

[562] Weisberg, *Japonisme...*, 147. Hayashi stayed in Paris after the fair closed and became a leading Japanese art dealer there.

[563] Weisberg, *Japonisme*, 148: Although no longer viewed as exotic, "Japanese art still held a position of esteem." Geneviève Lacambre, et al., *Le Japonisme* (Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1988), 105: "The Japanese garden, the Japanese façade on the rue du Caire and the Japanese galleries in the main exhibition hall were all reproduced in *les Merveilles de l'Exposition de 1889*, and the Japanese home at the Exposition was reproduced in *Le Monde illustré* on July 6, 1889."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> But to appreciate how utterly lacking in distinction was all this vaunted ... romanticism of color and costume and custom which made up the *rue du Caire*, one had only to turn into the neighboring rooms of the Japanese exhibits. The contrast afforded one of the acutest and most elevated sensations of aesthetic pleasure it is possible to experience. One was at once in a rarer atmosphere, and exchanged tumultuousness for serenity, a ragged and dishevelled disorder for intelligence, refinement, elegance.[564]

In addition, examples of *japonisme* in the Fine Arts exhibit included Jules-Joseph Lefebvre's *La Japonaise* (1882, Private Collection) in the French section, Whistler's *Variation in Flesh Color and Green: The Balcony* (1867-8, fig. 57) in the British section, and Harry Humphrey Moore's *Japanese Views* (n.d., fig. 3) and J. Alden Weir's *Lengthening Shadows* (1887, Private Collection), among others, in the American section. By this point, *japonisme* was well into its second decade in France.

At Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Japan made the largest financial investment of any visiting nation, the amount of space its exhibits occupied was second only to England's among foreign nations, and it was given a choice location for its official building and tea garden. Its official building, the Hô-ô-Den, represented three historical periods of Japanese art and architecture and provided visitors unable to travel to Japan an opportunity to view fine examples of various styles and types of Japanese art within their historical contexts. As mentioned, Okakura explained the building and its contents in an illustrated catalogue. Japan's large-scale participation in the Fine Arts Palace may have been due to the efforts of Ernest Fenollosa, one of the judges for the Fine Arts Commission. Demonstrating the broad variety of Japan's contemporary painting styles, colorful illusionistic paintings were juxtaposed with abbreviated monochromatic ones and they were shown along with Western-style oil paintings. The painters who employed Western techniques or themes similar to our own were more easily understood and

---

[564] Brownell, "The Paris Exposition...," 28.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accepted by an American audience.[565] This fact would have been appreciated by the Japanese committee, which would have favored certain painters and works on that basis. The Japanese section of the Fine Arts Palace was discussed in the fair's official catalogues as well as by critics such as Lucy Monroe, who praised the paintings and sculptures and noted the Japanese influence on American artists such as Whistler and LaFarge.[566] Those writing about the fair for popular journals now treated Japanese art seriously and as distinct from its manufactures. By 1893, *japonisme* was well developed in both Europe and America and many examples of it were in evidence in those sections of the Fine Arts Palace. Examples of *japonisme* in the American section included Blum's *Flower Market in Tokyo* (1892, fig. 149) and six paintings by Whistler (who also exhibited fifty-nine etchings).

At the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1900, Art Nouveau, with elements of *japonisme*, reflected the taste of the period. By this time, Japanese design principles had been absorbed and co-mingled with a variety of other influences so that individual elements were not always detectable. Again, Japan fully participated in the fair's major sections, including the Fine Arts exhibit in which two hundred and eight contemporary works by both traditional and Western-influenced artists were exhibited together. Examples of *japonisme* were seen throughout the fair's galleries. By 1900, there were many examples of Japanese art available for viewing both in American and Japan, so

---

[565] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the* Fair (Chicago and San Francisco: The Bancroft Co., 1893) and William Walton, *World's Columbian Exposition Art and Architecture* (Philadelphia: G. Barrie, 1893), an official three-volume set originally sold by subscription. Both Bancroft and Walton made special note of Watanabe Seitei's *Roosters on a Cart.* Known by his *go*, Shôtei, Seitei was awarded a silver medal at the 1878 Paris Exposition. He was an author and well-respected painter of bird-and-flower pictures in a brilliant Western-influenced style. Walton, v. 2, p. 92. Walton said of this rooster painting that the animals were "informed with the breath of life," an important criteria in Asian painting.[565] Bancroft, 762: Bancroft said of this painting that "... the cart standing in the snow and the figures [were] well portrayed, at least to our western fancy."

[566] Bancroft, Walton, and Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* 20/599 (August 19, 1893): 129. Monroe also wrote sensitively of about the Hô-ô-Den display. Fenollosa's piece on contemporary Japanese art at Chicago for *Century* was mentioned in earlier in this chapter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the fairs became less significant for that purpose, although they did provide an opportunity to see what was current among artists in Japan.

The next two world's fairs were held in the United States. Japan again made an impressive showing at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. It filled three galleries of the Fine Arts Palace with ninety-one paintings. Shugio Hiromichi was the Japanese Commissioner of Fine Arts and oversaw the selection process. Western-style paintings in oil were exhibited separately from tradition Japanese works. By 1904, there was a well-developed connoisseurship regarding Japanese art in the U.S. and professional art critics were able to comprehend and explain what they were seeing.[567] The critic Charles Caffin wrote an insightful eight-page piece on Hashimoto Gahô, the Grand Prize winner, for *International Studio*. Caffin also contributed an article on the Japanese exhibit to the August issue of *The World's Work*,[568] which devoted several articles in that issue to the Japanese at the fair. His writing was strongly influenced by the Fenollosa-Okakura approach that favored traditional over Western-influenced Japanese painting, and in the Gahô article he quoted from Okakura's *The Ideals of the East*. *Japonisme*, like Japanese art and Impressionism, was present but taken for granted at the fair in 1904.

The Panama-Pacific Exposition, held in San Francisco in 1915, was the final fair significant to this discussion. A number of the Impressionists and the artists most associated with *japonisme* were deceased or at the end of their careers and their styles would come to seem dated following the fair and in the wake of the 1913 Armory Show.

---

[567] Prior to 1904, Bing's *Artistic Japan* and books on Japanese art by Louis Gonse and Félix Régamey had been translated and published in America. British works by Dresser, Anderson and Menpes were also available. In addition to early writings by Jarves and Sturgis, more recent and knowledgeable writings on Japanese art by Wores, Blum, LaFarge, Shugio, Fenollosa, Okakura, Hartmann, Genjiro Yeto, Morse, Griffis and Hearn had all been published in the U.S. Dow's *Composition*, in which he explained *notan*, had also appeared. In 1904 Sadakichi Hartmann's excellent book *Japanese Art* was also published.

[568] Charles H. Caffin, "The Exhibition of Pictures and Sculpture – The Japanese Exhibit," *The World's Work* 8/4 (August 1904): 5183-5184.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In San Francisco in 1915, however, those styles were celebrated. In addition to participating in major exhibition halls, Japan also provided five buildings – a Reception Hall, its Main Pavilion, the Commissioners' Office, and a Japanese and a Formosan teahouse. Japan participated more fully in the Exposition than any country other than the United States. Selections from the Emperor's private collection of Japanese art, never seen in public before (even in Japan), were exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts.[569] Japan was given ten galleries in which it displayed contemporary art, a retrospective exhibit, sculpture, contemporary prints and a variety of applied arts. Its Retrospective Exhibit included forty-one *byobu* and *kakemono* by some of Japan's most eminent artists of the various periods of Japanese art history, ranging from the eighth through the nineteenth centuries.[570] Japan's Commissioner of Fine Arts for the Exposition was again Shugio Hiromichi, who contributed a section titled "Japanese Art" to the official catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts.[571] The major critics writing about the art at the Exposition were Christian Brinton, Eugen Neuhaus and J. Nilsen Laurvik, all of whom were engaged with Modernism and saw Impressionism as an important factor in its development. Neuhaus and Frank Todd both wrote approvingly about the Japanese art and Brinton and Laurvik each wrote in an informed and favorable manner of Twachtman's and Whistler's *japonisme*. Brinton spoke of Japanese art as laying the foundations of Modernism when "Manet ... first seized upon the essentials of the new art..."[572]

---

[569] Ben Macomber, *The Jewel City: Its Planning an Achievement; Its Architecture, Sculpture, Symbolism and Music; Its Gardens, Palaces and Exhibits* (San Francisco: John H. Williams, Publisher, 1915), 166.

[570] The Imperial Museum lent 28 paintings, 6 of which were copies. The Tokyo Fine Arts School lent 11 works, all originals. Private collectors lent 12 works of which all 8 of the Ito Jakuchu paintings from the Kawashima Jimbei collection were copies.

[571] *Catalogue De Luxe...*, v. 2, 95-101. Shugio's chapter was disappointing in its lack of information and insight into the artwork shown, but that may have reflected the fact that it was no longer considered necessary to provide such a primer.

[572] Christian Brinton, "The Modern Spirit in Contemporary Painting," *Impressions of the Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition* (New York: John Lane Company, 1916), 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To conclude, the international fairs of the period were one of the most important venues for viewing Japanese art and *japonisme*. Entries in these two areas became increasingly sophisticated as time progressed, as did the writing about them. Initially, the Japanese sent inferior works that they believed would appeal to Western tastes, but with time they began to try to educate foreigners about the finer qualities of their native art, sending not only fine historic examples but also providing written explanations of the works and of their place in the history of Japanese art. This provided artists influenced by Japanese art with excellent opportunities of viewing and understanding the very best examples, sometimes from the Imperial collection. This increased exposure and understanding was reflected in the quality of the *japonisme* in the art works they subsequently produced and exhibited. The fairs were attended not only by artists (many of whom exhibited there), but also by critics and journalists, collectors and a broad segment of the general population. As broad understanding of Japanese art developed in Europe and America, so did an appreciation for the work of *japoniste* and *japonismiste* artists, and more of their works were included in the fine arts sections.

Collectors (See Appendix 7)

American collectors of Japanese art provided a visual and sometimes intellectual resource for artists interested in the subject. The collecting of Japanese art in the United States in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries can be divided into three phases. The first phase began even before 1853 when Commodore Perry entered Japan, and ended in 1876 with the Centennial Exhibition. The second phase was bounded by the 1876 Centennial Exhibition and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. The first and second phases were marked by an emphasis on the decorative arts and prints. The third phase, which is under the greatest consideration here, began with Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition and ended with the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 in San

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Francisco. During the final phase, fine Japanese art became more widely available and important private and museum collections of Japanese fine arts were formed. During the second and third phases, a number of American artists traveled to Japan and frequently returned home laden with collections of Japanese art and photographs.

The earliest collections of Japanese art and art objects in American were those that came through merchant ships serving the Dutch East India Company prior to Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853 (see Chapter 1).[573] During Perry's and Townsend Harris' visits, official gifts were exchanged and these Japanese objects went to Washington. Some gifts were of a more personal nature and were retained by their recipients. In addition, a few officers and crewmembers were able to purchase limited items for their personal enjoyment.

The artist John LaFarge, as mentioned, was perhaps the earliest serious collector of Japanese prints in America, beginning sometime between 1856 and 1859.[574] He shared this interest with William Morris Hunt.[575] Another artist associated with these two in the Boston and Newport areas during the 1860s was Elihu Vedder, whose brother Alexander was in Japan during this period and sent objects home to him (see Appendix 3).[576] Hunt, Vedder and LaFarge were also familiar with the Japanese art collection in the studio of the Boston architect Edward Cabot.[577] John Chandler Bancroft, who became an avid collector also studied with Hunt and engaged in discussions of Japanese art with LaFarge and Hunt, at this time.[578]

Visitors to Japan during the first phase included Francis Hall (1859-66) and Captain Pfounds (there for a decade in the 1860s and 70s). They both returned with collections that

---

[573] Rousmaniere, "The Accessioning..."
[574] Archives of American Art, 3627/467: Letter from John LaFarge to S. Bing (January 1894). This source is, however, considered unreliable by some scholars.
[575] Knowlton, 126.
[576] "Vedder—An American in Japan 1863-70," *Archives of American Art Journal* 30/1-4 (1990): 7-12.
[577] Ibid.
[578] Henry Adams, "John LaFarge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*," *The Art Bulletin* 67/3 (September 1985): 458.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

featured decorative items.[579] Pfounds lent his collection, which was joined by articles designed for the Philadelphia Exposition, for a public display of Japanese art held in New York in June of 1876.[580] Richard Henry Dana, Jr., author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, was in Japan in 1861 and brought back a collection of Japanese art objects which he shared with fellow members of the Saturday Club in Boston.[581] Numerous individuals in the Boston area were interested in and collected Japanese art and art objects during the first phase,[582] but most early collectors concentrated on the decorative arts with a smattering of *ukiyo-e* that generally were produced for the export market.

During the second phase (1876-1893), the major collections of Asian art amassed by prominent Salem and Boston visitors to Japan laid the foundation for the important collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (see the section on museums below). During this period, the artists Theodore Wores, John LaFarge and Robert Blum were in Japan where they added considerably to their collections (see Chapter 4). Magazine illustrators, such as Jules Turcas for *Scribner's* and Charles Weldon for *Harper's*, were also there during the second phase.[583] The art of these men, and of the other artists who visited Japan at this time, was affected in varying degrees by the experience and it is assumed that they did not leave Japan empty-handed; once they were back in the West it is likely that their new discoveries would have been accessible to their artist friends. It was toward the end of the second phase that Theodore Robinson returned to the U.S. (1892) and he and Weir and Twachtman began collection *ukiyo-e* (see Chapter 2).

---

[579] When speaking of decorative items, however, it must be remembered that many of these were painted and that they represented an unusual and appealing aesthetic alternative and therefore may well have had a special appeal for artists.

[580] "Japanese Art," *The Daily Graphic* 10/1019 (Monday, June 19, 1876): 891, published in New York.

[581] Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana*, 2 volumes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), II/248.

[582] Included among these were Charles Eliot Norton and Clover Hooper (who became Mrs. Henry Adams).

[583] Nina H. Kennard, *Lafcadio Hearn* (New York/London: D. Appleton & Co., 1912), 190-1. Hearn and Weldon were sent to Japan by *Harper's*, but when Hearn learned that Weldon, the illustrator, was earning more than he was for writing the articles, he broke away.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Among non-artist collectors, Henry O. Havemeyer (1847-1907) exemplified the second phase of *japonisme* in America. He collected both broadly and in quantity with a mind to decorating his home. He never visited Japan nor did he have any interest in studying Japanese culture or art. Rather, he relied heavily on art dealers for advice. His collection was especially strong in the area of Japanese prints, having received guidance from the dealer Shugio Hiromichi. Havemeyer's taste ran strongly toward the decorative arts. Although there were some traditional works of art in his collection, his taste was primarily for the bold and decorative. His visit to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition gave considerable impetus to his collecting.[584] His enlightened patronage of Louis Comfort Tiffany, who decorated his mansion and produced many special pieces for him, added significantly to the development and appreciation of *japonisme* in America.

Exemplary of the third phase of *japonisme* in collecting was Charles Lang Freer (see Chapter 2). Like Havemeyer, he was strongly influenced by Whistler and ultimately donated his collection to a museum.[585] Also like Havemeyer, Freer began by collecting decorative arts and *ukiyo-e* prints. Unlike Havemeyer, however, responding to the 1894 advice of Whistler, he sold off his entire collection of prints in 1905 in order to concentrate on collecting ancient and traditional Japanese art works.[586] He was also an avid student of

---

[584] Julia Meech, "The Other Havemeyer Passion: Collecting Asian Art," *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993).

[585] Patradaditya Pal, "Introduction," *American Collectors of Asian Art*, ed. Patradaditya Pal (Bombay: MARG Publications, 1986), 7: "... most private collections [of Asian art] in America, unlike in most other countries, end up in public institutions where they are preserved for posterity and are accessible to all who are interested in art and culture. It is certainly a better way to get to know one another than by confrontation on a battlefield or through political oppression and subjugation." In Freer's case, he not only donated his collection to the American people through the Smithsonian Institution, but also contributed the money for the erection of a building to house the collection on the Mall in Washington, and a sizeable endowment for the maintenance of the collection and for strictly limited additions to it. For a detailed description of his gift to the nation – and of the Smithsonian's reluctance to accept it – see: Robert E. Fisher, "Charles Lang Freer," *American Collectors of Asian Art*, 25-6.

[586] Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 55-7. Page 57: "... Freer recounted to Agnes Meyer the tantalizing theory that Whistler had expounded: namely, that import objects such as the prints and porcelains widely available in London and New York were only the 'last gasp of a great tradition,'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Japanese art and culture and traveled to Japan three times in order to study and collect art. Although early in his collecting career he relied upon the advice of dealers such as Matsuki Bunkio (an Edward Morse protégé), by the early-twentieth century he turned to the scholar Ernest Fenollosa for guidance. Freer attended the World's Columbian Exposition but it is unlikely that it had a major impact on his collecting, which he had begun in the 1880s. Freer also supported American artists attuned to Japanese art and/or engaged with *japonisme* (see Chapter 3).[587]

Along with the superb Asian art collection he bequeathed to the nation, he included American paintings by artists whose qualities he felt harmonized with that collection. Whistler, Tryon, Dewing, and Maria Oakey were among that select group. Although the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery did not open until 1923, from the beginning Freer was generous in providing access to his outstanding collection to interested artists, collectors, curators and connoisseurs, as well as participating in loan exhibitions.[588]

By 1893, many important print collections had already been formed and in some cases changed hands. In the 1890s, great private collections continued to be formed in Chicago and Charles Buckingham, a Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, hosted regular gatherings of collectors at his home. Frederick William Gookins, a self-educated

---

faint indications of a 'far earlier and higher culture.' Whistler reportedly extracted Freer's promise to search the Orient for those little-known treasures."

[587] Cohen, 50. Freer began collecting works by Dewing and Tryon (as well as Thayer) before Howard Mansfield, a New York collector, introduced him to Whistler's work in the late 1880s. Aline B. Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors* (New York: Random House), 120-121. Freer followed the Japanese method of displaying art. His home was very simple, with few decorative items out at any given time. When he wished to share his collection with visitors, he would have one or two choice items brought to his sunlit gallery at a time. He and his guests would spend some time quietly inspecting and discussing a work. Then, it would be put away and another brought out for the same sort of contemplation.

[588] Lawton and Merrill, 175: Freer was eager to share his collection not only with artists but with the public and readily lent his works to exhibitions due to his belief that his role was that of a guardian and keeper of art works designated for posterity. Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 171: According to a 1907 letter from Fenollosa to Freer, as a result of a 1906 visit to Freer's Detroit home for the purpose of viewing his Asian collection, the Havemeyers did a turn-around regarding their own collection. Following Freer's example, from that point on they went out of their way to make it accessible to as wide an audience as possible.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

connoisseur, who later became a dealer, often lectured at these gatherings. Gookins was a member of the Grolier's Club in New York, along with Harry Havemeyer, Charles Lang Freer, John LaFarge, Louis Comfort Tiffany, and Shugio Hiromichi.[589]

The collections of Japanese art in America were one of the important visual resources available to artists practicing *japonisme*, depending on their relations with the collectors and the collectors' attitudes about sharing. A collector-patron such as Charles Lang Freer was happy to share his knowledge and his collection with interested parties, especially artists. Artist-collectors such as Hunt, LaFarge, Robinson, Twachtman, Weir, Blum and others shared their collections among themselves and with other interested artists.

Dealers (See Appendix 5)

Dealers are often devoted educators, in part because it is in their own interest to inform the public about what they are selling to increase demand for better-quality (more costly) art. Many dealers go into the business because they have an intense interest in what they are selling and learn as much as they can about it. Dealers in Japanese art in America provided an important venue for viewing Japanese art when they mounted exhibits and gave open access to their stock and their knowledge to those who were interested. This is one way in which artists and the public were able to see and learn about Japanese art and *japonisme*.

In this vein, it is not unusual for collectors, with a passion for what they collect, to become dealers as financial demands press in on them or as they choose to change the direction of their collecting. Such was the case with Frank Lloyd Wright, a major collector of

[589] Meech and Weisberg, *Japonisme...*, 44. For a more comprehensive treatment of nineteenth century American collectors of Japanese art see: *American Collectors of Asian Art* (edited by Pratapaditya Pal) and *East Asian Art and American Culture* by Warren I. Cohen.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ukiyo-e who became a dealer in Japanese prints in the early-twentieth century.[590] It is also not unusual for collectors and curators to become advisors or even intermediaries on behalf of other collectors, as was the case with Fenollosa and Okakura. Fenollosa sold works from his own collection through the dealer E. S. Hull, to whom he supplied learned background for the pieces. In 1887, Fenollosa became a partner in the Japanese art sales gallery of Bunshichi Kobayashi at Asakusa, a Tokyo suburb. In 1898 Kobayashi's, with Fenollosa as partner, opened a branch in San Francisco and in 1902 it opened an exporting branch in Yokohama. Okakura's nephew, Hayasaki Kokichi, worked on his uncle's behalf to obtain fine works of Chinese art for purchase by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts while Okakura was a curator there (1911-13).[591] Fenollosa and Okakura both advised American collectors on purchases.[592]

William T. Walters of Baltimore and Samuel P. Avery of New York were both major collectors of Chinese and Japanese art and art objects who became dealers in a partnership formed in 1864. They continued to collect and deal simultaneously.[593] Never having visited Asia, they lived much of the time in Europe where they made most of their purchases. Walters, who had been impressed by the Japanese wares he had seen at the Vienna world's fair in 1873, began to shift his focus from strictly European art to an equal balance between the art and art objects of Europe and the Far East in 1876, at the time of the Philadelphia Centennial, which he also visited. Particularly interested in ceramics, Walters commissioned S. W. Bushell's ten-volume *Oriental Ceramic Art.* Following their attendance at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris, Walters and Avery toured the Lowlands and German cities viewing (and presumably purchasing) Japanese art. They

[590] Meech and Weisberg,191: "he became a full-fledged dealer;" and, 191: Subsequent to a 1906 exhibition of Wright's *ukiyo-e* collection at the Art Institute of Chicago, he sold that collection to Buckingham.
[591] Cohen, 46.
[592] For example, Fenollosa advised Freer and Okakura advised Isabella Stewart Gardner.
[593] Walters' extensive collection eventually went to the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore that was founded by the Walters family. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, at the urging of the China specialist John C. Ferguson, eventually purchased Avery's personal collection.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

made many of their purchases for their own collections and for resale from Wakai Kanesaburô and from Sichels from that point on. Williams' son Henry continued his father's interest in and collecting of Asian, especially Japanese, art objects following his father's death in 1894. [594]

A. A. Low[595] and Brothers, which had been in the China trade since the 1840s, was one of the earliest importers of Japanese goods to the U.S. In addition to their staples of tea and silk, Low's also imported Japanese decorative items and woodblock prints. LaFarge and Bancroft were among the purchasers of their Japanese prints and books. In the early days of trade between America and Japan such dealings were restricted to the port at Yokohama. Low's had offices there in the 1860s, as did Walsh, Hall & Co., another American export firm.

Soon outlets for such goods were flourishing, especially in New York. Davis Collamore & Co. opened their store on lower Broadway in 1860.[596] Fountain & Co. (1863) and Vantine's (1865) soon followed suit with the latter described several decades later as an excellent source for Japanese items for decorating one's home by writers for *Scribner's* (such as Clarence Cook in 1877 and "M.L.D." in 1880). Fountain's and Vantine's both offered prints as well as decorative items.[597]

Following the positive reception of the Japanese exhibits and bazaar at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (1876), new outlets blossomed not only in New York but on the West Coast, in Boston and Philadelphia and even in Atlanta, Georgia. The year of

---

[594] Warren Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); and, William R. Johnson, *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, The Walters Art Gallery, 1999).

[595] www.stanford.edu/~gray/html/amy/amy_3.html+Abiel+A.+Low+&hl=en&ie=UTF-8 A respected businessman, Abiel A. Low (1811-1893) served as President of the New York Chamber of Commerce and was also a Director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. In addition, he was a fundraiser for post-Civil War relief efforts for Brooklyn and for "colored sufferers," the International Relief Fund for unemployed British workers and for those affected by the Chicago Fire (1871). He was also a subscriber (investor) in the Atlantic Cable and a donor to the Library at Columbia University. A Free Trader, he opposed the tax on cotton and the Chinese Exclusion Act.

[596] Laidlaw, 88.

[597] Lancaster, 217.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the fair, 1876, Marsh's opened at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco[598] and Tiffany's began carrying Japanese wares purchased for the company by Christopher Dresser.[599] The following year, Vantine's opened branches in Boston and Philadelphia, and the first Japanese-controlled outlets – the government-sponsored Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha[600] and the privately owned Morimura Brothers[601] -- opened in New York. All of these vendors carried decorative art objects suitable for home decoration and use.

In 1879, Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co auctioned off major collections such as those of LaFarge, Colman, Sturgis, and others in New York. Two years earlier the same auctioneers had sold over 2,000 Japanese art items Dresser had selected for Tiffany's. In 1880, the First Japanese Manufacturing and Trading Company opened in New York with Shugio Hiromichi as its proprietor. In the second half of the 1880s, Siegfried Bing had auctioned Japanese art (primarily prints) in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. The Nippon Company of New York advertised "Fine Art Goods" for sale in the *Art Amateur*. In 1889, the Japanese firm Nishimura and Co. of San Francisco was advertising itself as a "Japanese Art Store" in the *Overland Monthly*.

---

[598] Ibid. Branches were later opened in Santa Barbara (1923) and Monterey (18938).

[599] Burke, et al., 422, 472.

[600] www.widener.edu/students/gallery/kkkco.html (Widener University Art Gallery, Chester, PA) "The Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha (Company for the Establishment of Industry and Commerce) of Tokyo was founded in 1874 by Matsuo Gisuke and Kensabura Wakai (and later Hayashi Tadamasa) with the purpose of manufacturing high-level craft articles of many types (including bronze, cloisonné, ceramics, lacquer, etc.). The impetus for the founding of such a firm appears to have been the keen interest shown by Europeans for Japanese products at the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873 ... At its height of production the firm employed a work force of about sixty. These included some of the most outstanding craftsmen of the day ... The firm continued to exhibit wares at various world exhibitions and even went so far as to open branch offices in New York and Paris to coincide with the Centennial Exhibition (at Philadelphia) and the Paris Exhibition (1876 and 1878 respectively). It appears that the New York branch office was operated not under the actual company name but rather under the name, Japanese Trading Company (located at 915 Broadway, New York City)."

[601] In 1876, Baron Ichizaemon Morimura VI and Yutaka Morimura formed Morimura Gumi, a trading company that exported hand-painted china and other decorative items. From 1878 to 1884 the Morimura brothers operated a china decorating facility of their own. It was the brothers' success at matching Japanese production with American designs that led to the birth of Noritake in 1904. Morimura's is still in operation today. www.morimura.co.jp/english

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the 1890s, Bunkio Matsuki opened a Japanese art gallery in Boston and Yamanaka & Co. of Kyoto opened branches in Boston and New York. The American Art Galleries held a number of exhibitions and sales of Japanese art. In 1891, that gallery held a four-day sale of watercolor paintings of Japan by Alfred Parson. In 1894, it held auctions of 1,853 art objects and 290 *ukiyo-e* colored prints and illustrated books for S. Bing. Relying on the popularity of Japanese art objects and *ukiyo-e* at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Bing felt the American market was ripe. His prints and books auction catalogue included an "Introduction" by Fenollosa. Bing also exhibited and sold items from his Japanese collection in Boston and Philadelphia. In 1898, the Boston-based dealer, Bunkio Matsuki, began holding annual auctions of Japanese art in New York and Philadelphia.[602] Early in the twentieth century, Doll and Richards of Boston became active in the exhibition and sale of paintings by contemporary Japanese artists, as well as American collections of Japanese art such as that of the Spauldings.

The availability of Japanese art and art objects served the artists who could easily view and might collect them for study, for inclusion in their paintings as signifiers of fashionability, or for decorating their studios and homes. The ready availability of Japanese art and art objects for the general population also created an audience more appreciative of the *japonisme* and *japonaiserie* of the American artists. Dealers were often very good sources of knowledge for artists, for collectors who made their collections available to artists, and for the general public.

Many Americans purchased Japanese artwork abroad in places other than in Japan. In England, Farmer and Rogers Oriental Warehouse sold Japanese art objects left over from the International Exposition of 1862. In 1875, Liberty & Co. opened its doors (having taken over Farmer and Rogers) and carried a wide variety of Japanese art and art objects; it continues to sell *ukiyo-e* to this day. Bing held exhibitions and sales in London,

[602] Meech and Weisberg, 54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Yamanaka & Co. opened a branch there in 1902. Paris was the primary location for purchasing Japanese art in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries but London also offered interesting opportunities. Many of the French *japonistes* (including Whistler) frequented shops such as Mme. Desoye's *Porte Chinoise, which* included Japanese among its Chinese arts. Bing, who had already begun selling Japanese art at auctions, opened his first shop in Paris in 1877. Hayashi Tadamasa -- who had arrived in 1878 as a manager of Japan's exhibits at the Paris Exposition of that year -- became a dealer in Japanese prints and guided such collectors as the Goncourts and Edgar Degas. In addition to Hayashi's and Bing's showrooms, Goupil's and Durand-Ruel's also exhibited and sold *ukiyo-e* and Japanese art. By the late 1880s, however, the important French *ukiyo-e* collections had been formed, so dealers such as Hayashi's former partner Bing took traveling sales exhibits to America, London, Brussels and The Hague. Hayashi closed his business in 1902 and what was left of his collection -- which Bing had endeavored to sell -- was finally auctioned off at the American Art Association in 1913 in New York.[603] Bing's estate was sold by Durand-Ruel's in 1906.[604]

Japanese art and art goods were readily available for viewing and purchase in the major cities of America, on both coasts, soon after the close of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition. Artists in New York and Boston had the greatest access for viewing dealers' holdings or exhibitions of Japanese art objects sold at auction. Philadelphia and San Francisco also offered many such opportunities. For those who spent time abroad, especially in Paris and London, Japanese art was readily accessible at dealers' showrooms from the 1860s on. This ready accessibility of Japanese art and art goods benefited the

---

[603] Segi Shinicki, "Hayashi Tadamasa: Bride Between the Fine Arts of the East and West," *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium*, Ed. Yamada Chisaburo (Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1980), 170; and, "Art Review: Hayashi Sale of Pictures at the American Galleries," *New York American* (January 16, 1913): 8.

[604] By this time, however, his holdings were stronger in Chinese than in Japanese art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artists who practices *japonisme* and *japonaiserie* both directly and because their viewing and buying public became more accustomed to the look of Japanese art and *japonisme*.

Museums (See Appendix 8)

Museums were another important resource for viewing Japanese art. Americans abroad had opportunities to see Asian art in museums in London[605] and Paris.[606] In addition, Japanese prints and art objects were on view in Vienna and Germany from about the 1870s, and even earlier in Holland. In America, if the 1870s was the decade of museums, then the 1890s was the decade of Asian art collections being formed within museums.

Although objects brought back to Salem by merchant seamen in the late eighteenth century were put on view at the turn-of-the-century and became the foundation collection of the Peabody Museum in Salem, the first major museum collection of Japanese art in America was at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The group responsible for founding the first major public collection of Japanese art in America, not surprisingly, came from Salem. Edward S. Morse (1815-1911), a scientist, first went to Japan in 1877 to collect and categorize worms and shells but became interested in Japanese culture. He collected and categorized more than two thousand examples of nineteenth century ceramics, which were donated to the Fine Arts Museum in Boston. Even more important, however, was his role in encouraging others from

[605] The South Kensington Museum, which changed its name to the Victoria and Albert Museum, had an Asian court in 1862 and an Asian collection on view by 1865. The British Museum acquired the Anderson collection (over 3,000 items) in 1881-2 and Anderson wrote its catalogue that was published in 1886. That same year, the Victoria and Albert acquired over 10,000 Japanese prints.

[606] Japanese prints and illustrated books were in the collections of small, specialized museums and libraries from the 1840s. In the 1880s, S. Bing made major donations to the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts and to the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris. In 1890, he made a donation to the Louvre. In 1891, thanks to Bing, the Burty Collection was put on public view at the Musée des Arts Decoratif. The following year, 1892, Duret's collection was bequeathed to the Bibliothèque Nationale, where Bing arranged a public display of the treasures that had a major impact in the art community. That year the Musée du Louvre opened its Ancient Japanese Art Department and the following year, 1893, the Department Japanese Prints.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Massachusetts to follow his example. Morse was responsible for Fenollosa being offered the appointment as Professor of Philosophy at the newly formed University of Tokyo in 1878, soon after his graduation from Harvard.

Morse lived in Salem[607] and it was to Salem that the young Japanese Buddhist priest, Bunkio Matsuki, came with a letter of introduction to Morse. He married an American woman and built his home, incorporating Japanese features, next door to Morse,[608] who wrote *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (first published in 1885 and still available today).[609]

Lectures were another way of disseminating information about Japan and Morse was a frequent lecturer. A prominent doctor, William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926), attended one of Morse's Boston lectures. Bigelow had spent time in Paris where he was swept up by the Japan craze and began collecting small art objects. Upon hearing Morse's lecture, Bigelow was moved to go to Japan in 1882 (see Appendix 3), staying for seven years, during which time he studied several forms of Buddhism and became, often in cooperation with Fenollosa, an avid collector. In 1889, the Bigelow collection of thousands of pieces went to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. At that time, Bigelow persuaded his wealthy Bostonian friend, Dr. Charles Goddard Weld (1857-1911), who joined him in Japan in 1886, to purchase Fenollosa's entire collection, which also went on permanent loan to the museum in Boston.[610] The combined Fenollosa-Weld collection was first exhibited the following year, in 1890. It was at that time that Fenollosa returned to Boston to take up his post at the museum. "The next four years were spent cataloguing and installing the collections and organizing a series of

---

[607] Morse was the Director of the Peabody Museum in Salem from 1880 to 1916. He was also named Curator of Japanese Ceramics at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1882.
[608] Lancaster, 70.
[609] Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1998).
[610] Weld also collected Japanese art during his time in Japan, under the guidance of Fenollosa. The Fenollosa-Weld Collection was on permanent loan to the museum until it was finally donated, along with Bigelow's loan collection, in 1911.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exhibitions of Japanese art, from Japan as well as from the Museum's own collections, which were undoubtedly the most significant held up to that time."[611]

After five years at the museum, Fenollosa was involved in a divorce scandal and left Boston. In 1906, Bigelow arranged for Okakura Kakuzo, with whom Fenollosa had established the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy,[612] to join the museum to continue expanding and cataloguing the collection. Okakura remained at the museum until his death in 1913. While there he mounted important exhibits and published several works on Japanese art and aesthetics that have become classics.

The museum provided an already-attuned Boston art circle with an excellent collection of fine Japanese art. Fenollosa and Bigelow tended to neglect the areas they did not like, most notably *bunjin-ga* (scholarly Zen ink painting). The bold and colorful Kano School, which Fenollosa joined during his time in Japan, was particularly well represented. The museum's first exhibit of Japanese art was held in 1889, when the Bigelow collection was put on view. In 1893 Fenollosa, who also wrote the catalogue, mounted a Hokusai exhibit. The following year Fenollosa wrote the catalogue for another exhibit, this time on the art of various schools (Kano, Tosa, Ukiyo-e, etc.). The exhibit also included a number of *ukiyo-e* provided by Bing. From the 1890s on, artists who lived in or visited Boston, which was most if not all of the East Coast artists engaged with *japonisme*, benefited from the extensive, high-quality collection at the Museum of Fine Arts.

Other museum venues for seeing Japanese art objects in Massachusetts included the Peabody Museum in Salem and the Worcester Art Museum to which John

---

[611] Jan Fontein, "Notes on the History of the Collections," in *Asiatic Art in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 9. The section on the Boston Museum's collection is taken primarily from this source. Due to Fenollosa's position within the Japanese government, he was able to put together an extensive and very high-quality collection.

[612] The aim of the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy was the preservation of the techniques of the traditional Japanese schools of painting, with particular emphasis on the Tosa and Kano Schools.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

C. Bancroft bequeathed more than three thousand prints and art objects in 1891. In 1895, the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum opened in Springfield. Smith purchased his Japanese and Chinese art collection in Europe, and it represented the Victorian taste in collecting, focusing on especially ornate decorative items. Cohen has noted that, "By the end of the era, little of what Smith admired would have been deemed museum quality."[613]

It is surprising, given the attention paid to the Japanese section of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, that the Art Institute of Chicago and the Chicago Field Museum (specializing in natural history), did not develop much more extensive holdings in Chinese and Japanese art and artifacts. Only in the area of prints did the Art Institute excel and that was due to the enthusiastic involvement of local collectors such as the Art Institute's Trustee Clarence Buckingham. His extensive collection of approximately fourteen hundred *ukiyo-e* went to the Art Institute at the time of his death in 1913.[614] Coming so late, however, it was not really a viable visual source in the development of *japonisme* among artists of the American Impressionist circle. Although Frank Lloyd Wright mounted several exhibitions of his *ukiyo-e* collections at the Art Institute (in 1906 and 1908)[615], they too were late to be considered important visual source material for the artists under consideration here.

Freer's gift to the nation of an Asian Art museum was accepted by the Smithsonian Institution in 1906, but it did not open its doors in Washington, D.C. until 1923 so would not have provided a visual nor information bank for the timeframe discussed here. In 1905-6, following the death of Robert Blum, his sister donated his

---

[613] Cohen, 73.
[614] Meech and Weisberg, 191.
[615] The 1906 exhibit was made up exclusively of Wright's collection and he wrote an accompanying catalogue. The 1908 exhibit was more extensive with 655 prints shown which were drawn from the Buckingham, Gookin and Wright collections. This represented the largest exhibit of *ukiyo-e* in America to that date.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

collection of Japanese albums and prints to the Cincinnati Art Museum. Collections such as those of Fenollosa, Freer, and Blum were often foundational to museums' Asian art departments.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York was gifted Asian art from time to time but did not name a Curator of Far Eastern Art until 1915. There were no major exhibits of Japanese art at that museum until the 1950s.[616] In 1893, the Charles Stewart Smith collection of five-hundred-twenty-two pieces of Asian ceramics was received by the museum[617] and Samuel Colman, the painter, also gifted his large collection to the Metropolitan.[618] The first *ukiyo-e* to enter the museum's collection were donated by Mary L. Cassilly in 1894.[619] The following year, Havemeyer purchased Japanese textiles from Bing to give to the Metropolitan Museum. In 1912, the museum purchased one-hundred-sixty-four *ukiyo-e* from the Francis Lathrop estate and Frederick Gookin was hired to clean, mount, and catalogue the collection. The museum received the gift of over two hundred more *ukiyo-e* from Samuel P. Isham in 1913 and S. C. Bosch Reitz was named the first Curator of Far Eastern Art in 1915. In 1918 and 1920 the Metropolitan Museum purchased additional *ukiyo-e* from the Frank Lloyd Wright collection and in 1919 Havemeyer donated a number of Japanese paintings and prints. It was not until 1929, however, that Havemeyer's bequest of 807 *ukiyo-e* was received by the museum.

To summarize, although impressive collections of Japanese art and *ukiyo-e* were formed by museums in Chicago, Washington, Cincinnati, and New York, they were too late to have represented important image banks for American artists practicing

---

[616] *Japanese Art Exhibitions with Catalogue in the United States of America, 1893-1981* (New York: Japan Society, 1981), 20. That 1953 show was titled "Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture" and it was a traveling exhibit that originated from the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.

[617] Smith's collection of *ukiyo-e* went to the New York Public Library in 1901.

[618] Julia Meech-Pekarik, "Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 17 (1984): 99.

[619] She gave the museum two albums at that time.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

japonisme. It was only in Massachusetts that such a resource existed during the late-nineteenth century.

Clubs (See Appendix 6)

Art-related clubs, whether social or professional, viewing themselves as keepers of high culture, mounted exhibitions and held lectures and thus provided an excellent opportunity for viewing and learning about art. They also provided the opportunity for an exchange of ideas among artists and art collectors, who frequently belonged to the same clubs. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Japanese art was so popular, several of the prominent New York clubs held notable exhibitions of Japanese art. New York had a long tradition of social clubs; the Sketch Club, for instance, was founded in 1829 and the Century Club in 1847.[620] Their members included the wealthy and the intellectual elite of their times – including artists and their patrons and writers and their publishers.

Among the New York City clubs that exhibited art were the Century Club, the Union League Club (founded 1863), The Lotos Club (1870), the Salmagundi Club (1871, as the New York Sketch Club),[621] the Grolier Club (1884) and the Players Club (1887). Several held notable exhibitions of Japanese art. In 1880, for instance, the Salmagundi's annual Black and White Exhibition included several Japanese works among those by Americans and Europeans.[622] Like many of the clubs, Salmagundi sporadically included Japanese art. Genjiro Yeto contributed a sketch for sale toward the Club Fund and as late as 1905 a woodblock lent by William G. Watt was included in

---

[620] There were earlier clubs to which artists belonged but the Sketch Club and The Century Club, as two examples, were still functioning and had members from among the Impressionists and *japonismistes* during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

[621] www.salmagundi.org/history.htm (Salmagundi Club official site)

[622] Salmagundi Club Black and White Exhibition Records, Archives of American Art, Reel 543, Frame 1065: #35 "Japanese Panel" belonging to G. P. Bartle and #155 "Japanese Proofs" belonging to E. H. Garrett.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the annual Black and White Exhibition.[623] Students from the National Academy of Design founded the Salmagundi Club. Among its members were Hassam, Chase, Blum, Inness, Blakelock, Moran, Tiffany, and Vedder. Its casual inclusion of Japanese among Western art is indicative of an almost matter-of-fact acceptance of Japanese art as fine art by notable artists of the day.

Japanese prints were displayed at the inaugural meeting of the Grolier Club in 1884. Shugio Hiromichi was a member of many of the more prominent clubs and was responsible for organizing a number of exhibits of Japanese art, including several at the Grolier Club.[624] In 1887, Shugio lectured at the club on Japanese books and prints and in 1889, he staged the first major *ukiyo-e* exhibit there that was open to the public. In 1896, Shugio mounted an important loan exhibition of Japanese prints at the Grolier's, which received favorable critical notice.[625] He wrote a catalogue for the exhibit and another club member, Howard Mansfield (a Trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), gave a lecture on Ladies' Day.[626] Shugio also organized an exhibit of Japanese art at the Aldine Club in 1890.

In 1895, the Union League Club, which held frequent exhibitions of both European and American paintings, held an exhibit of Japanese prints that, unfortunately was of such short duration that, as the New York Tribune commented, "its influence is sadly curtailed and the general public does not feel it at all."[627] Nevertheless, as this exhibit was closing another featuring Japanese prints was opening at the Wunderlich Gallery. Also, in the previous month there was an exhibit of forty-two Japanese paintings and prints at the newly established Cloister Club. Composed mostly of

---

[623] Ibid., Reel 454, Frame 53: number 16 "September Landscape," a woodblock print selling for $250 and an anonymous and untitled Japanese print for $15.
[624] Other members of the club included Freer, LaFarge, Mansfield, Havemeyer and Tiffany.
[625] Sadakichi Hartmann, "The Fine Arts: Japanese Prints at the Grolier Club," *The Critic* 25/739 (April 18, 1896): 279.
[626] Meech and Weisberg, 44.
[627] "The Chronicle of Arts," *New York Tribune* (April 14, 1895): 24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

newspapermen, it is not surprising that show's exhibit was given well-informed coverage that discussed individual artists and correctly identified the hanging scrolls as *kakemono*.[628] In New York, in the spring of 1895, Japanese art was continuously on view in at least three venues, including two clubs that made their exhibitions available to a broad public audience. The following spring (1896), while the *ukiyo-e* exhibit was going on at the Grolier Club, the Century Club also mounted an exhibition of the Weldon Collection of Japanese prints and John LaFarge delivered a lecture on Hokusai in conjunction with that exhibit.

In the first decade of the new century, exhibits of Japanese art continued at private clubs such as the National Arts Club, which hosted a Japanese Watercolor show in May of 1900 and another exhibit of work by members of the Nippon-Bijitsuin (Japanese Art Academy) in January of 1905. Charles de Kay, the *New York Times* art and literary critic had founded the National Arts Club in 1898. Its membership included collectors such as J. P. Morgan (1837-1913) and Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), and artists such as William Merritt Chase, Frederick Remington (1861-1909), Robert Henri (1865-1929), Cecilia Beaux (1863-1942), and George Bellows (1882-1925). Appropriately, its decorative architectural features included a stained glass dome by Tiffany and stained glass windows by LaFarge.[629] Located on Gramercy Park, the National Arts Club was neighbor to the Player's Club (founded a decade earlier in 1888) whose membership included all of the members of The Ten American Painters except Benson and which would have served as another excellent venue for the exchange of news about all that was current in the world of art.[630]

---

[628] "Japanese Art at the Cloister Club," *New York Tribune* (March 17, 1895): 20.
[629] www.nationalartsclub.org/pb_About_history.htm (the National Arts Club official site)
[630] Gerdts, et al., *Ten American Painters,* 9. The Ten American Painters had no official rules or regulations except that they would hold a planning meeting once a year at the Player's Club.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Similar clubs existed in other major cities such as Boston and Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Sketch Club, founded in 1860 by students from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, was established to provide instruction during the period when the Academy was closed due to a building project. Its instructors later included Thomas Eakins, Thomas Anschutz, and Joseph Pennell. By 1894, it boasted four hundred active members. It had a history of successful exhibitions of its members' work. Although, as far as can be determined, it did not hold exhibits of Japanese art, it did offer a meeting place for the dissemination of all that was currently under consideration in art communities around the nation and abroad.[631]

The same was true of the Providence Art Club (founded 1880)[632] and Boston's informal but prestigious Saturday Club (1855-1902),[633] a dining club made up primarily of Transcendentalists that met monthly at the Parker House Hotel. Founding members included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Generally trying to keep the numbers down to about ten, the makeup of its gatherings shifted. Others who participated regularly included Percival Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Louis Agassiz, Charles Eliot Norton, William Morris Hunt, and Oliver Wendell Holmes (who helped to draft the Japanese constitution).[634] In 1860, another member, Richard Henry Dana, Jr. delivered a lecture on his recent visit to Japan to the group.

The year 1855 also saw the founding of the Boston Art Club, which held annual exhibits attracting local artists until 1882, [635] when its new clubhouse was built, at which time major artists from around the country began to participate. It was dedicated to

---

[631] www.sketchclub.org/docs/history.html (Philadelphia Sketch Club official site)
[632] www.providenceartclub.org/history.cfm (Providence Art Club official site)
[633] Concord, MA Free Library official site: www.concordnet.org/library/scollect/Fin_Aids/RWEmerson.htm+Saturday+Club+Boston+1855&hl=en&ie=UTF-8
[634] Margaret Fuller was the only female participant and Samuel Clemens participated from time to time.
[635] There was a hiatus begun following the Civil War that ended in 1873.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exhibiting art by American artists and, like many such clubs; it afforded an opportunity for the exchange of art-related information and ideas.[636] So did other Boston clubs such as the Draughtsmen and Artists' Association (1880), the Boston Crayon Club (1880) the Society of Decorative Art (1880), the Etching Club (1881), the Tavern Club (1884), the Water Color Society (1885) and the Boston Water Color Club (1887).[637]

Another important Boston club, St. Botolph's (founded in 1879), was a major exhibition venue that showed both national and international art and artists. It held many first one-man exhibits for artists who were or would become the most prominent of the period. Sargent's first one-man show in America was held there in 1880, Metcalf's and Breck's in 1888 and Paxton's in 1900. Seeking to outshine the Boston Arts Club, it held multiple exhibitions each year. These were well attended and received good press coverage. St. Botolph's, associated in the 1890s with the still *avant-garde* art of the Impressionists, held a number of exhibits of the work of Claude Monet and also of his American followers.[638] The club was also advanced in terms of presenting the work of women artists like Mary Cassatt, Lilla Cabot Perry, Cecilia Beaux, and Jane Peterson (1876-1965) to the public. In the 1880s and 1890s it also displayed Japanese prints and ceramics.

While St. Botolph's constitution indicated that its purpose was to promote discussion of art and literature among authors, artists and prominent citizens, its membership (which read like a Who's Who of Boston *Brahmin* society) included a much

---

[636] A number of the American artists it showed employed japonisme in their work, especially those who had been at Giverny or were connected with the museum's school.

[637] Nancy Allyn Jarzombek, "A Taste for High Art: Boston and the Boston Art Club, 1855-1950," http://www.antiquesandfineart.com/articles/education/2000/09-10/vose/index.cfm. This website is published by the Vose Galleries and the article, written in 2000.

[638] Doris A. Birmingham, "Boston's St. Botolph Club, Home of the Impressionists," *Archive of American Art Journal* 31/3 (1991): 26-34. One-man shows of Monet's work were held at St. Botolph's in 1892, 1895 and 1899. It held one-man shows of Sargent, Metcalf and Breck; and, Wendel was included in several of its shows. The club also supported The Ten through exhibitions of their works. As early as the late 1870s works by Chase, Whistler and Twachtman were included with artists of the more established Barbizon School.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

smaller percentage of artists than the Boston Arts Club, the Paint and Clay Club, or others established by artists for artists. It was in those clubs that the more lively discussions of current art trends were likely to have taken place among the members.

Several of the artists connected with, and a number of those who were exhibited at St. Botolph's, were members of the Tile Club. Founded in New York in 1877, one year after the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, the club was a manifestation of the decorating craze that came out of that event. The decorative style that had the greatest impact following the fair was the Japanese (see Chapter 1). Members of the club met weekly at one of the member's studios on a rotating basis. There they decorated tiles that they hoped to sell, feeling that the decorative craze had severely cut into the sales of their canvases.[639] Club members included painters, illustrators, sculptors, an architect, art critics, and writers. Shugio was a member, as were Homer (one of four originators), Chase, Weir, Twachtman, Vedder, Parsons, Frank Millet, Edwin Abbey, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Stanford White. Each member went by a secret sobriquet. Shugio's was "Varnish" and Homer's "The Obtuse Bard." The club was very informal except in limiting its membership to about twelve at any given time. It was truly a fellowship of artists in a way that St. Botolph's was not.

All of these clubs either exhibited Japanese art or the work of artists employing *japonisme* or they provided an atmosphere of exchange in which Japanese art and its impact could be considered. Even if the Tilers, for instance, did not show tremendous

---

[639] A great deal has been written about the Tile Club, which was only in existence for ten years. The most recent work is Ronald G. Pisano, *The Tile Club and the Aesthetic Movement in America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999). For sources contemporary with the club see: F. Hopkinson Smith (a Tile Club member), *A Book of the Tile Club* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1886); and, a series of articles by members of the club in *Scribner's* – W. MacKay Laffan, "The Tile Club at Work," 17/3 (January 1879): 403-9; W. MacKay Laffan and Edmund Strahan, "The Tile Club Afloat" 19/5 (March 1880): 641-71; W. MacKay Laffan, "The Tile Club Ashore" 23/4 (February 1882): 482-98. More recent accounts include: Mahonri Young, "The Tile Club Revisited," *The American Art Journal* 11/2 (Fall 1970): 81-91; and, Constance Eleanore Koppelman, "Nature in Art and Culture: The Tile Club Artists, 1870-1900," Ph.D. Dissertation (State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1985). There are many more sources but these are the primary ones.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

influence from Japanese art in the tiles they painted, the club made experimentation its keynote.[640] Shugio, an active member, played a primary role in the promotion and explanation of Japanese art in New York. He too painted tiles, undoubtedly in a Japanese fashion that would have been noted by the others. Alfred Parsons, the British artist-illustrator-journalist and another Tiler, would spend several years in Japan for *Harper's* and for *Century Magazine*, but during his time in the club he was painting in a Barbizon-influenced style.[641] As an illustrator, his subsequent paintings of Japanese subjects appropriately maintained a Western flavor. J. Alden Weir was recently back from studying in France, where he would have been aware not only of Impressionism but also of the Japan craze sweeping that country in the 1870s. Others of the group would have had similar awareness. Although they spent a good deal of time storytelling, it is fair to assume that they also spent much of their time together discussing art.

Most of the artists who would become members of the circle of the American Impressionists belonged to at least one and often multiple clubs and art organizations.[642] The purpose of the clubs was generally the encouragement of culture, which tended to mean art and literature. Shugio belonged to a number of clubs as did Tiffany, Weir, Twachtman and Chase (who seems to have belonged to most of them). Certainly discussion of art trends in Europe, especially Paris, and America would have taken place, making the clubs an important center not only for viewing but also for talking about Japanese art and *japonisme*.

---

[640] Many of the tiles were blue and white and similar to Dutch tiles, which had their ultimate source in Chinese blue-and-white porcelains.

[641] Parsons, like his fellow Tilers Millet and Abbey, belonged to the community of expatriate American artists in England centered around Broadway. Born in Somerset and English, he spent a good deal of time in America as well so was right at home in the Tile Club.

[642] The art organizations to which many belonged were the National Academy of Design, the Society of American Artists, the Ten American Painters and the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Many of them also supplemented their incomes as illustrators for national magazines and as teachers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Studios

Another physical domain in which artistic exchanges took place was the studios. During the 1880s and 90s, there were several large studio buildings in New York and in Boston. New York's Tenth Street Studio Building, about which Annette Blaugrund has written,[643] was an important locale for leading artists of the period. John LaFarge was there from 1858 to 1910 and overlapped with Winslow Homer (1871-1880), William Merritt Chase (1878-95), Richard Morris Hunt (1858-71), Walter Shirlaw (1883-5), J. Alden Weir (1872-3 and 1904-19), Dora Wheeler (1881), and Theodore Wores (1888). All of these artists shared an interest in Japanese art and likely exchanged their thoughts about it during the time they were in joint tenancy. This was a period in which studios were lavishly decorated with exotic bric-a-brac from around the globe and many studios included a variety of Japanese goods, from textiles, to paintings, to prints, to metalwork, to ceramics, to fans, to umbrellas. Some of the artists, such as Chase, also held classes in their studios where their many students would also be exposed to the taste for objects demonstrating foreign aesthetics.

The Sherwood Studio Building, at Fifty-seventh Street and Sixth Avenue in New York, was another important gathering place for artists associated with the Impressionist Circle and often with *japonisme.* J. Carroll Beckwith was there for over two decades beginning with its opening in 1880. During his time there he overlapped with Otto Bacher (1889-92), Robert Blum (1880-84), Dennis Miller Bunker (1890), Theodore Butler (1890-92), Emil Carlsen (1889), William Coffin (1883 and 1895-after 1900), Willard Metcalf (1891-92), Maria Oakey (1880-81), John Redmond (1889-after 1900), Robert Reid (1889-93), Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1880-82), Edward Simmons (1897-99) and Theodore Wores (1891 and 1894-5). There were frequent social gatherings at the

[643] Annette Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists* (Southampton, NY: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

studios in which wine and conversation flowed freely. Such gatherings would certainly have afforded ample opportunity for interchanges on Japan and Japanese art.[644]

Boston also had its Tremont Street Studio Building where William Morris Hunt, among others, taught classes and its Fenway Studio Building where in 1905 Paxton, Benson and Tarbell all had studios. Martin Johnson Heade, an early responder to Japanese influence,[645] was in the Studio Building in 1862 and 1863 and was likely to have had contact with LaFarge there; both were also in the Tenth Street Studio Building in New York in 1859 and both were in Newport in 1859-60. Winslow Homer, with strong ties to Boston, also had a studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building in New York (1871-1880) where he too had contact with LaFarge.[646] It is assumed that all these artists had access to LaFarge's Japanese art collection and to Hunt's as well.

Summary

There were many ways in which artists of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were able to see and discuss Japanese art and *japonisme*. They were also able to learn about Japanese aesthetics and culture, as well as art practices, through reading the many articles and books published on those subjects in America and Europe. Some artists had their own collections of Japanese art and art objects, but if they did not, they were able to see them at the world's fairs and exhibitions held by clubs, dealers, and museums. Frequently, they had access to the collections of their patrons and friends. In addition, they shared and discussed their own or their friends' collections in studio spaces.

Finally, this study is devoted to treating *japonisme* as a phenomenon in American art, with a particular group of artists serving as a focal point of that phenomenon. This

---

[644] John Davis, "Our United Happy Family: Artists in the Sherwood Studio Building, 1880-1900," *Archives of American Art Journal* 36/3-4 (1996): 2-19.
[645] Laidlaw, 96.
[646] Ibid., 91-6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

section is intended to give some sense of the rapid development of knowledge about Japan, the growing availability of examples of Japanese art and *japonisme* to educate both artists and their public, and the means of disseminating information and current art trends, especially *japonisme,* among artists. It is intended to demonstrate how widespread interest in Japan and Japanese art was, not only in the art world but also in society in general, thus situating American *japonisme* as fitting naturally within the broader cultural framework of the period. The sheer volume of Japanese art and writing about it that was made easily accessible in America, not to mention Europe, meant that American artists would have been well aware of it as a possible source, whether or not they chose to employ its lessons. The American artists introduced to *japonisme* in Europe did not have to simply rely on the European *japonisme* of artists such as Monet and Whistler as a source but could have personal and differing first-hand experiences of good examples of the various types of Japanese art once they returned to the U.S. For those artists who did not travel to Japan, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and other world's fairs offered an almost total-emersion experience of fine Japanese art within its own historical context accompanied by a well-written Japanese interpretation of its significant aspects. All of this would serve to produce an ever-increasing variability of individual responses among artists. Simply stating this in a few paragraphs does not adequately communicate the volume and availability, let alone the pervasiveness, of Japanese art and information about it and the culture to which it belonged nearly as effectively as immersing the reader in it. As with the Japanese exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, the reader experiences the situation (albeit in very miniaturized version) rather than learning about it abstractly, which it is hoped provides a more powerful understanding. Finally, this section demonstrates that *Japonisme* was not a fringe phenomenon only recognized in retrospect. People, including artists, art critics,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

collectors, authors and journalists were well aware of it and acknowledged it in the period.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSION

As stated in the Introduction, *japonisme* has previously been dealt with extensively as a phenomenon in Europe, especially France. It has also been explored in terms of American architecture, decorative arts, and the print medium and individual artists. This dissertation has, for the first time, comprehensively examined *japonisme* as a distinct phenomenon in American painting in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In order to do this, it has focused on the artists most engaged with *japonisme* in the period – the American Impressionists and their circle, which included a number of artists who travelled to Japan. *Japonisme* has been treated as an American artistic phenomenon rather than simply one aspect among many in individual artists' oeuvres. In addition, American *japonisme* has been discussed here in the context of the period, in which artists often travelled through and trained in Europe, where they were exposed to *japonisme.* This study has further shown how the American traditions of those artists laid the groundwork for their acceptance of European art and of European *japonisme*, as well as for their own individual expressions of *japonisme.* Artists among the American Impressionists and their circle have been explored individually, demonstrating the great variety of responses to Japanese art and *japonisme* that occurred in American art of the period. How Japan, Japanese art and *japonisme* were known and perceived by artists and by the America public in the period. Without the acceptance of critics, collectors and the public, *japonisme* could not have progressed as it did in the U.S. This dissertation has shown the ways by which Americans were exposed to Japanese art and *japonisme*, making such acceptance possible. This contextual framework is essential to understanding American *japonisme* as the phenomenon that it was.

American *Japonisme* involved a complex of influences and sources, which resulted in a lack of cohesiveness and a diversity of forms. The influence of Japanese

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

art on American artists took dual paths – first from Japan to Europe and then to America (with Europe providing a mediating voice) and directly from Japan to America. *Japonisme* generally came to America via Europe through exposure to Monet and Whistler. In many cases, American artists were influenced by the *japonisme* of their contemporaries or by forms that were so absorbed into current practices that they were not necessarily recognized as deriving from Japanese art.

As stated, the primary practitioners of *japonisme* in America, as in Europe, were the Impressionist artists and members of their circle. Some artists among this group, such as William Merritt Chase, employed Japanese motifs for their exotic look or to create an aura of fashionability in their pictures, usually figure paintings. Other American artists, such as John LaFarge and John Twachtman, intuited the principles of Japanese art on a deeply personal level and painted works in which the sensibilities of Japan are inherent, though generally undetectable except by the well-informed. Similarly, American artists who visited Japan responded in very differing ways. Those who wrote and/or illustrated articles on Japan often employed a transcriptive approach. Some were more attuned and absorbed the aesthetic environment and made it part of their unique expressions. Individual artists responded to *japonisme* on a variety of levels that have been identified and exemplified here.

Rapid and often dramatic changes – cultural, economic, political and artistic – taking place in America and Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century coincided with a reawakened awareness of Japan. These changes and already existing conditioning factors worked together to ensure a positive reception to Japan and especially Japanese art. With the exception of certain visual strategies, Japanese art tended to coincide with and thus lend support to experiments already being considered by Western artists rather than serving as their source. For instance, photography, which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

developed in the nineteenth century, shared many visual strategies and effects with Japanese art.

There was a selective process at work in American *japonisme*, with those aspects of Japanese art that appealed to its European and American practitioners generally having precedents in or coincidences with elements of Western art. Velásquez and Hals became important models for figural artists of the nineteenth century in Europe and thus in America. These seventeenth-century artists employed many of the same visual strategies as the Japanese. In terms of landscape painting, seventeenth-century Dutch artists, as well as Constable and the French Barbizon painters, accorded with Japanese landscape artists on many levels. Familiarity with landscape art, primarily through the American Hudson River School, conditioned American acceptance of European models. Themes found in Japanese art could often be associated with the most up-to-date Western art themes. These and other similarities made Japanese art more easily digestible and paved the way for a smooth transition into *japonisme*.

American *japonisme* was supported by accessibility to examples of Japanese art and *japonisme* in the United States and abroad. Artists' collections and image banks were a primary source. Other venues for viewing Japanese art and *japonisme* included the world's fairs, exhibitions held by dealers, museums, and clubs, and access to the collections of fellow artists, dealers, and non-artist collectors. Museums and clubs also held lectures on Japanese art. Japanese art and *japonisme* could be discussed among artists and other interested parties at clubs and at studio gatherings. In addition, there were many writings on Japan and Japanese art, which became increasingly sophisticated throughout the period. Writings, exhibitions, lectures, and fairs also helped to create a public awareness of and openness to Japanese art and the *japonisme* of American artists.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This study has been confined to examining and reporting on *japonisme* as a phenomenon in American painting. It has demonstrated the phenomenon's complexity and resulting variety and has avoided drawing large sweeping conclusions characterizing American *japonisme* because the very complexity and variability involved defy such broad generalities. A number of lesser conclusions, however, have been reached. They include: American *japonisme* was largely a second-wave reflection of European *japonisme* and therefore was often less experimental and less deeply felt than it was in its initial phase in Europe; often (but not always) American artists responded to the *japonisme* of other artists rather than responding directly to Japanese art as an aesthetic from which they might garner valuable lessons for their own art, with the result that it is often difficult to detect their *japonisme* as such because their works merely look mainstream for the period; at the same time, when the sensibility and underlying aesthetic qualities of Japanese art were intuited and assimilated into artists' oeuvres, their *japonisme* is also difficult to detect; unlike their European counterparts, a number of American artists travelled to Japan but some of those simply made transcriptive pictures that chose the same subjects they had seen in Japanese *ukiyo-e* rather than taking artistic-aesthetic lessons from the experience; there was a great deal of information about Japan and Japanese art available in the U.S. during the period (some written by American artists and critics and appearing in popular journals as well as in art journals and books); artists would have had ample opportunity for viewing and discussing fine examples of a variety of forms of Japanese art, not just *ukiyo-e*; and, there was not a cohesive movement of artists employing *japonisme* in the U.S. in the period. It is hoped that some of these conclusions, and others implicit in the material presented here, may be the basis for continued discussion by being refuted or carried further on an artist-by-artist basis.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In summary, as a phenomenon American *japonisme* involved manifold processes of transmission and can only be understood in the context of the period in which it took place. It was often derived indirectly, at second-hand and sometimes unconsciously, in a period when American artists were looking to Europe to set the standards for their art practices and forms. Individual characteristics of each of the American artists involved with *japonisme* combined with a complex abundance of models -- Japanese, European, and American -- resulted in a great variety of expressions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIXES

FORWARD

These Appendixes have been compiled from sources far too numerous to credit but several sources have been used extensively. Gabriel and Yvonne Weisberg's *Japonisme: An Annotated Bibliography* was used repeatedly and expanded upon in Appendix 4. Christine Laidlaw's dissertation "The American Reaction to Japanese Art, 1853-1876" has been used in a number of the Appendixes, as have Klaus Berger's *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse*, the Galeries nationales du Grand Palais catalogue *Le Japonisme*, the Metropolitan Museum catalogue *In Pursuit of Beauty: The American Aesthetic Movement*, Siegfried Wichmann's *Japonisme,* William Langer's *An Encyclopedia of World History*, Julia Meech and Gabriel Weisberg's *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876-1925*, H. Paul Varley's *Japanese Culture*, and *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910* by Gabriel Weisberg, Phillip Dennis Cate, Gerald Needham, Martin Eidelberg and William R. Johnston. Other important sources for individual Appendixes include the Japan's Society's *Japanese Art Exhibitions with Catalogue in the United States of America, 1893-1981*, the *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (edited by Findling and Pelle), J. C. Y. Watt's *Asiatic Art in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, and Julia Meech-Pekarik's *Metropolitan Museum Journal* article "Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art." Magazines and newspapers from the period have also been used extensively.

The Appendixes are timelines, arranged chronologically and according to country. In an era of widespread travel by American artists, what took place in other countries was relevant because accessible. The names of American artists appear in bold print in the various Appendixes to facilitate further research. Question marks

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

occasionally appear in the date columns indicating that the date is approximate rather than exact. The Appendixes are extensive but not comprehensive; it is hoped that they will serve as a beginning for further development.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	Art Institute of Chicago
MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
NYPL	New York Public Library
PAFA	Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts
NY	New York
SF	San Francisco

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 1: "THE ERRAND-BEARERS"

[A poem by Walt Whitman commemorating the 1860 Japanese embassy visit to New York]

1. Over sea, hither from Niphon,
   Courteous, the Princes of Asia, swart-cheek'd princes,
   First-comers, guests, two-sworded princes,
   Lesson-giving princes, leaning back in their open barouches,
   bare-headed, impassive
   This day they ride through Manhattan.

2. Libertad!
   I do not know whether others behold what I behold pass,
   in the procession, along with the Princes of Asia,
   the errand-bearers,
   Bringing up the rear, hovering above, around or in the ranks marching;
   But I will sing you a song of what I behold,
   Libertad.

3. When million-footed Manhattan, unpent, descends to its pavements,
   When the thunder cracking guns arouse me with the proud roar of love,
   When the round-mouth'd guns, out of the smoke and smell I love,
   spit their salutes,
   When the fire-flashing guns have fully alerted me
   --When heaven-clouds canopy my city with a delicate thin haze,
   When, gorgeous, the countless strait stems, the forests at the wharves,
   thicken with colors,
   When every ship is richly drest, and carrying her flag at the peak,
   When pennants trail, and festoons hang from the windows,
   When Broadway is entirely given up to foot-passers and foot-standers
   --When the mass is densest,
   When the façades if the houses are alive with people
   --When eyes gaze, riveted, tens of thousands at a time,
   When the guests, Asiatic, from the islands, advance
   --When the pageant moves forward visible,
   When the summons is made
   --When the answer that waited thousands of years, answers,
   I too, arising, answering, descend to the pavements,
   merge with the crowd, and gaze with them.

4. Superb-faced Manhattan,
   Comrade Americanos – to us, then, at last, the orient comes.

5. To us, my city,
   Where our tall-topt marble and iron beauties range on opposite sides
   --to walk in the space between,
   To-day our antipodes comes.

6. The Originatress comes.
   The land of Paradise—land of the Caucasus—the nest of birth,
   The nest of languages, the bequeather of poems
   --The race of eld,
   Florid with blood, pensive, rapt with musings, hot with passion,
   Sultry with perfume, with ample and flowing garments,
   With sunburnt visage, with intense soul and glittering eyes,
   The race of Brahama comes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. See, my cantabile! These, and more, are flashing to us from the procession;
As it moves, changing, a kaleidescope divine it moves, changing before us.

8. Not the errand-bearing princes,
Not the tann'd Japanese only
--not China only, nor the Mongol only,
Lithe and silent, the Hindoo appears
--the whole continent appears
--the past, the dead,
The murky night-morning of wonder and fable, inscrutable,
The enveloped mysteries, the old and unknown hive-bees,
The North
--the sweltering South
--Assyria
--the Hebrews
--the ancient of ancients,
Vast desolated cities
--the gliding Present
--All of these, and more, are in the pageant procession.

9. Geography, the world, is in it,
The Great Sea, the brood of islands, Polynesia
The coast beyond
--the coast you, henceforth, are facing
--you, Libertad! From your western golden shores,
The countries there, with their populations
--the millions en masse
--are curiously here,
The multitudes are all here
--they show visibly enough to my eyes,
The swarming market-laces
--the temples, with idols ranged along the sides, or at the end
--bonze, brahmin and lama, also
The mandarin, farmer, merchant, mechanic, and fisherman, also,
The singing-girl and the dancing-girl
--the ecstatic person, absorbed,
The interminable, unpitied hordes of toilsome persons
--the divine Buddha,
The secluded Emperors
--Confucius himself
--the great poets and heroes
--the warriors, the castes, all,
Trooping up, crowding from all directions
--from the Altay mountains,
From Thibet
--from the four winding and far-flowing rivers of China,
From the southern peninsulas, and the dem'-continental islands
--from Malaysia,
These, and whatever belongs to them, pa'pable, show forth to me and are seized by me,
And I am seized by the, and friendlily held by them,
Till, as here, them all I chant, Libertad! For themselves and for you.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

10. I too, raising my voice, bear an errand,
I chant the World on my Western Sea,
I chant, copious, the islands beyond, thick as stars in the sky,
I chant the new empire, grander than any before
--As in vision, it comes to me;
I chant America, the Mistress
--I chant a greater supremacy,
I chant, projected, a thousand blooming cities yet, in time, on those groups of sea-islands,
I chant my sailships and steamships threading the archipelagoes,
I chant my stars and stripes fluttering in the wind,
I chant commerce opening, the sleep of ages have done its work
--races, re-born, refreshed,
Lives, works resumed
--*The object I know not*
--but the old, the Asiatic, resumed, as it must be,
Commencing from this day, surrounded by the world.

11. And you, Libertad of the world
You shall sit in the middle, thousands of years,
As to-day, from one side, the Princes of Asia come to you,
As to-morrow, from the other side, the Queen of England sends her eldest son to you.

12. The sign is reversing, the orb is enclosed,
The ring is circled, the journey is done,
The box-lid is but perceptibly opened
--nevertheless, the perfume pours copiously out of the whole box.

13. Young Libertad!
With the venerable Asia, the all-mother,
Be considerate with her, now and ever, hot Libertad
--for you are all,
Bend your proud neck to the long off mother,
now sending messages over the archipelagoes to you, young Libertad;
--Were the children straying westward so long?
So wide the trampling?
Were the precedent dim ages debauching westward from Paradise so long?
Were the centuries steadily footing it that way,
all the while, unknown, for you, for reasons?
--They are justified
--they are accomplished
--They shall now be turned the other way also, to travel toward you thence,
They shall now also march obediently eastward for your sake, Libertad!

WALT WHITMAN
The New-York Times
June 27, 1860

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 2: GENERAL HISTORICAL TIMELINE RELATED TO THE REOPENING OF JAPAN AND ITS EFFECT ON AMERICAN ART

AMERICA

1849 William **Heine** came to America from Dresden
Would accompany Perry Expedition as its artist-recorder
1853 Commodore Perry entered Edo Bay
Tiffany and Co. established by Charles Lewis Tiffany
CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION in New York
Japanese goods included in German section
1854 Treaty of Friendship signed between the US and Japan, negotiated by Perry
1856 Panorama *China and Japan Illustrated* by Joseph Kyle and Jacob Dallas
Exhibited in NY at Armory Hall
1857 Panorama of *Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan* by Charles L. Smith
Exhibited in NY at Armory Hall
1858 Consul General Townsend Harris negotiated US-Japan Treaty of Friendship
Establishing trade between the US and Japan through Nagasaki
US-China treaty of friendship and commerce
10th Street Studio Building opened in New York
1859 Port at Yokohama opened for trade
John **LaFarge** moved to Tenth Street Studio Building (to 1910)
1860 Japanese mission sent to the US (seventy-seven samurai)
Visited San Francisco, New York, Niagara Falls, Washington, Philadelphia ....
Walt Whitman poem based on a parade held for mission in New York
LaFarge married Margaret Perry, a niece of Commodore Perry
1860s P.T. Barnum put Japanese artifacts on display in his American Museum in New York
1861-5 **CIVIL WAR** diverted country's attention
1862 Studio Building opened in Boston
1863 Illustrated lecture series on Japan by Dr. Macgowan in New York at the Cooper Institute
U.S. steamer *Pembroke* fired upon by Japanese insurgents (during their revolutions) at Shimonoseki
U.S. war sloop *Wyoming* sank 2 Japanese vessels in response
1864 Indemnity extracted by the U.S. from the Imperial Japanese government in response to Shimonoseki incident
Returned in 1883
1868 Meiji Restoration; Japanese Emperor restored to political power
1870-1 Winslow **Homer** resident at Tenth Street Studio Building
1871 J. Alden **Weir** moves to Tenth Street Studio Building (1872-3, 1904-19)
1876 **CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION** in Philadelphia; Japan participated
Blavatsky, Olcott and Judge founded the Theosophical Society in Europe and US
1878 William Merritt **Chase** moved to Tenth Street Studio Building (to 1916)
Hosui Yamamoto in Paris to study Western-style painting
1880s Bigelow instrumental in arranging for O.W. Holmes' aid in drafting Meiji constitution
1881 Dora **Wheeler** resident at Tenth Street Studio Building
Bigelow heard lectures by Morse at Peabody museum and
Became interested in Japan and Japanese art
The next year he traveled to Japan with Morse
1882 Chinese Exclusion Act passed by Congress (after earlier failed attempt)
Morse lecture on Japanese architecture in Isabella Stewart Gardner's music room
She traveled to Japan the following year
1886 Fenollosa and Okakura in Europe and US
To study art education on behalf of Japanese government
1887 *Shin Nippon* the first Japanese language newspaper in US
Published in Oakland, CA

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1888 *Juukyuu*, the second Japanese language newspaper in US
Published in San Francisco, CA
Matsuki Bunkio, with introduction to Morse, arrived in Salem, MA to attend high school
1890s Beginnings of anti-Japanese demonstrations in San Francisco
1890 Fenollosa named Curator of Japanese Art at Museum of Fine Art Boston (MFAB)
1891 Morse named Curator of Japanese Ceramics at Boston MFAB
Boston the preeminent place outside of Japan for the study of Japanese art
1892 Theodore **Robinson** *Diary* recorded John **Twachtman**'s visit to Boston
Twachtman saw Fenollosa's exhibit of *ukiyo-e* there
Expressed feeling there was a great deal to be learned from Japanese art
Exhibition in Yokohama of Alfred **Parson**'s landscapes and flower paintings
Chinese Exclusion Act extended another 10 years
1893 **WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXHIBITION** in Chicago; Japan participated
Kubota Beisen, artist for Tokyo 's *Kokumin Shimbun* (newspaper) in US
Covering the World's Columbian Exposition
Met and influenced both Robert Henri and John Sloan
Fenollosa hired Arthur Wesley **Dow** as a part-time assistant
Dow taught 2-month course at Ipswich
189? Robert **Blum** teaching at Art Students' League
1894 Bing's first visit to US (February 12-April 7)
Lecture at Pratt Institute by Fenollosa comparing Japanese with European art
1895 William Quan Judge led a Theosophical secessionist movement in America
Following Blavatsky's 1891 death
1894-5 Sino-Japanese War over control of Korea
Japan gained power in Asia with Treaty of Shimonoseki
1895-7 **Dow** teaching at Pratt Institute
Using art education system he developed with Fenollosa
Based partially on Japanese principles
1896 Kuroda appointed Director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts' Western Painting Section
1897 **Dow** teaching at Art Students' League (until 1904)
1898 The Ten American Painters hold first exhibition in New York
1900 **Shugio** returned to Japan to enter government service
Member of imperial commission to overseas Japanese art exhibitions
Served as guide to Frank Lloyd **Wright** in his search for prints (1913 –1922)
MFAB exhibition of watercolor and oil paintings in the Western style by Japanese artists
1901 *Pacific Painting Society* founded
Japanese painters working in the Western-style
1902 Chinese Exclusion Act extended another 10 years
Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed
1900-18 67 Japanese-born students enrolled in the National Academy of Design's art school in New York
1904 **LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXHIBITION** in St. Louis
Japan participated despite war with Russia
Okakura arrived in Boston as member of Imperial Archaeological Commission
To investigate MFAB's Chinese and Japanese holdings
And to recommend preservation measures
Spoke excellent English and very well-mannered
Lectured at St. Louis World's Fair
Arranged by Mrs. Isabella Stewart Gardner
Who was introduced to Okakura by **LaFarge**
Dow became Director of Fine Arts at the Columbia Teachers' College
1904-5 Russo-Japanese War;
Japanese control of Korea and Manchuria resulted from Treaty of Peace
1905 Okakura became advisor at MFAB
Department Of Chinese and Japanese Art

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1906 Okakura and John Singer **Sargent** frequent guests together
At intimate suppers at Isabella Stewart Gardner's Fenway Court
1907-8 Chinese Exclusion Act broadened to include Japanese and Koreans
1908 Fenollosa's sudden death
1910 Japan-British Exhibition in London
1911 Okakura named Curator of collection at MFAB
Brought in Langdon Warner and John Ellerton Lodge to train them
1912 Okakura's untimely death (51 years old)
Denham Ross gave important Chinese sculpture at MFAB in his honor
Freer gave private (grudging) eulogy in letter to Langdon Warner
John Ellerton Lodge (Henry Cabot Lodge's son) succeeded Okakura at museum
1919 Freer selected him to oversee his collection
When donated to nation
Sinking of the Titanic
1913 Freer & others lobbied successfully for US inspection of imported antiquities
Preservation effort (anti-plundering)
1914 Japan entered WWI on the side of Great Britain and the Allies
Due to Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902
1915 **PANAMA-PACIFIC EXHIBITION** in San Francisco; Japan participated
1916 Frank Lloyd **Wright**'s *Imperial Hotel* built in Tokyo
-23 Japan the only foreign country he built in

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

1861 Goncourts visited Siebold Museum in Leiden
1862 First visit by Japanese Ambassador, Takeuchi, to Holland
Also visited France, England, Russia and Portugal
1872 Monet in Holland
Might have seen Utamaro, Hokusai, Toyokuni, Sharaku
1884 **Whistler** invited to participate in the first exhibition of *Les XX*
1886 Van Gogh saw Japanese prints for 1st time in Antwerp
Whistler exhibited with *Les XX*
Ensor expressed opposition
1893 Van Gogh and Jan Thorn-Prikker met Toulouse-Lautrec
When they exhibited at *Les XX*

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

1873 **INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION** in Vienna, US and Japan participated
1891 Edvard Munch in Paris
1892 Munch exhibition in Berlin
1893 Otto Eckmann, under Japanese influence, gave up painting
Turned to applied art
Disposed of all his paintings
1897 Founding of the Vienna Secession
1906 Gustav Klimt traveled to Brussels and then on to London
In Brussels he saw Stoclet's collection of Japanese prints
In London to study **Whistler**'s *Peacock Room*
1907 Klimt bought album of facsimiles of Japanese erotica published in Munich by Piper
Included Moronobu, Harunobo and Utamaro

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ENGLAND

1862 **INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION** in London
Japanese Court a sensation
First visit by Japanese Ambassador, Takeuchi, to England
Also visited Holland, France, Russia and Portugal
1863 **Whistler** moved from Paris to London
1872 Terajima, the first resident Japanese Consul, arrived in London
1878 **Whistler** sued Ruskin for libel
1886 Fenollosa and Okakura in Europe and US
To study art education on behalf of the Japanese government

FRANCE

1858 First French trade treaty with Japan
1862 First visit by a Japanese Ambassador, Takeuchi, to France
Also visited England, Holland, Russia and Portugal
The embassy was photographed by Nadar at his studio
Manet probably encountered Japanese prints through Whistler and Burty
Influence seen in his *Street Singer*
1863 First Japanese language course offered by Léon de Rosny
At l'École impérial et spéciale des langues orientales
1864 Whistler moved from Paris to London
Second Japanese mission to Europe visited Sèvre factory
1866 Zola praised Manet for his "japonisme" in a small pamphlet
1867 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
1869 Suez Canal opened
Facilitating access to trade with Japan – Japanese imports soared
1870 Samejima, the first resident Japanese Consul, arrived in Paris
1872 Term "*japonisme*" first used by Philippe Burty
Although the movement had existed for a decade already
Monet in Holland
Might have seen Utamaro, Hokusai, Toyokuni, Sharaku
1875 Approximate time for Degas' beginning use of Japanese devices
1878 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
1879 Degas with Pissarro, Cassatt and Bracquemond organizing *Le Jour et La Nuit*
A print journal that was never published
1880s *Ukiyo-e* art had major impact on poster art in France
1883 Monet moved to Giverny, decorated house with *ukiyo-e* and planted Japanese garden
Edward S. Morse visited Bing's shop in Paris
1885 Fenollosa and Okakura in Europe and US
To study art education on behalf of the Japanese government
1886 Emile Bernard confessed: "...the study of Japanese prints led Anquetin and myself to simplicity, so that we were able to found Cloisonnisme."
1887 The vogue for cheap Japanese objects was at an end
1888 Van Gogh and Gauguin in Arles
1889 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Gauguin decorated studio at Schuffenecker's with 'frieze' of Hokusai and Utamaro prints
1890s Technical innovations in color lithography in response to *ukiyo-e*
Created demand for color prints
1890 Albert Aurier applies the term "*symboliste*" to painting
1891 Edvard Munch in Paris
Vallotton began making woodcuts
Maurice Joyant succeeded Theo van Gogh as manager of Boussod & Valadon
Toulouse-Lautrec was his friend and thus had access to many Japanese prints

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1892 Toulouse-Lautrec began using signature similar to Japanese signature seal
Occasionally in red ink
He ordered an ink stone, ink stick and brushes from Japan
Drew ink sketches in the manner of Hokusai
1893-5 Gauguin carving woodcuts, often credited with their renaissance in France
1896 Lecture on Japanese painting by Emile Deshayes at the Musée Guimet in Paris
1900 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris; Japan participated
Interest in Japanese art rampant
However, Japan had become aware of its value and sought to protect it
La vogue des estampes (print craze) brought to an end
By the exhibition of Japanese painting at the Paris Universal Exposition
MFAB Exhibition of oil and watercolor paintings
By 2 Japanese artists -- Yoshida and Nakagawa
1905 The death of Siegfried Bing in Paris
1911-14 Matisse saw valuable Japanese and Chinese collections at Charles Vignier's

GERMANY

1867 Von Siebold proposed to give his ethnographic collection to Bavaria
Died before the negotiations were completed
1874 Aoki, the first resident Japanese Consul, arrived in Berlin

IBERIA

1862 First visit by Japanese Ambassador, Takeuchi, to Portugal
Also visited England, France, Russia and Holland

JAPAN

1563 Luis Frois, Portuguese missionary, compiled Japanese dictionary and grammar book
1623-51 Iemitsu is Shogun
Seclusion Policy with only Dutch and Chinese allowed to carry on trade
1641 Dutch traders confined to Deshima – artificial island in Nagasaki Harbor
1661 *Ukiyo Monogatari* novel by Asai Ryoi seems to be first use of expression "*ukiyo*"
Meaning "floating world"
1825 Government order to drive away by gunfire foreign ships approaching coast
To arrest and kill any foreign crew members coming ashore
1841 Suicide of the "Dutch learning" poet-artists Kazan
Imprisoned for life for opposition to Seclusion Policy
1842 Local authorities instructed to supply foreign ships with food and fuel
and "advise" them to go away
A response to fears of reprisals by more powerful foreign ships
1848 French warship traded arms at the Ryukyus
Under the control of the Lord (*daimyo*) of Satsuma
1853 Commodore Perry in Edo Bay delivered a letter from President Fillmore
Letter requested consideration of a treaty
1854 Commodore Perry returned to have the Treaty of Kanagawa (a friendship treaty) signed
1858 Townsend Harris secured a trade agreement
Japanese government restricted the sale of art objects to diplomatic missions
To the bazaar at Shimoda
1855 The Yôgakusho, a government-sponsored school of foreign studies opened

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1859 Ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate opened
To America, Holland, Russia, Britain and France
1860 Treaty between Portugal and Japan
Treaty between Prussia and Japan
1864 *Hyôryûki* (*Narrative of Drifting*) by Nakaham Manjiro
Japanese sailor shipwrecked in America
Described American history, politics, laws, religion, education and manners
1864 Treaty between Switzerland and Japan
1865 Felice Beato established a photography studio in Yokohama
1866 Treaty between Belgium and Japan
Treaty between Italy and Japan
1867 Treaty between Denmark and Japan
Succession of the young son of Emperor Komei following the latter's death
Xenophobia becomes pronounced
1868 Meiji Restoration ended shogunal rule of the country
Reestablished the power of the emperor
Imperial Capital moved to Edo (had been in Kyoto)
Anti-foreign agitation ended and a period of borrowing from the West ensued
Treaty between Spain and Japan
Treaty between Sweden and Japan
Treaty between Norway and Japan
1869 Treaty between the Confederation of Northern Germany and Japan
Treaty between Austrian-Hungarian Empire and Japan
Alfred, Prince of Edinburgh received by the Emperor in the imperial castle at Edo
Queen Victoria's fourth son
1872 Meiji government established the Exhibition Bureau for participation in international fairs
1873 First railroad opened between Tokyo and Yokohama
1874 Gregorian calendar replaced lunar calendar
1882 Central bank established
1884 Philippe Burty, French art critic recognized by Japanese government
Awarded the Medal of the Order of the Empire of the Rising Sun
1885 Cabinet formed with Itô as first Premier of Japan
1886 Fenollosa and Okakura travel in US and Europe on behalf of the Meiji government
Studying modern methods of art education
Impressed by popularity of *ukiyo-e*, Fenollosa developed interest in the genre
Which he had previously scorned
1887 Japanese Bureau of Survey of Treasures established
Thanks to Fenollosa, Okakura, Morse, and Bigelow
1889 Constitutional Monarchy established
Representative government (bi-cameral Diet) established
Oliver Wendel Holmes helped to write the Constitution
1891 Exhibition of Alfred Parsons' (English) landscapes and flower studies
At Imperial Hotel, Yokohama
1893 Seiki Kuroda returned to Japan from France after studying painting there with Raphäel Collin
1894-5 Sino-Japanese War
1897 Adoption of gold standard
1900 Japan joined international relief expedition to China necessitated by Boxer Rebellion
1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance
Renewed in 1911
1904-5 Russo-Japanese War
Treaty of Peace signed at Portsmouth, Sept 5, 1905
Through President Roosevelt's mediation
Japan the clear victor
1908 Treaties with France and Russia granted favored nation status
Also secured territories in China

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1909 "National Treasure" status awarded Daitokuji paintings sent to Boston for exhibition
Some never returned, sold in US by Fenollosa – possibly without permission
"Gentlemen's Agreement" to restrict labor emigration to the United States
1913 Formal protests to the US against proposed anti-alien land legislation in California
The bill nevertheless was signed on May 19

RUSSIA

1862 First visit by Japanese Ambassador, Takeuchi, to Russia
Also visited England, France, Holland and Portugal
1874 Enomoto, the first resident Japanese Consul, arrived in St. Petersburg
1929 Sergei Eisenstein essay credited Japanese art and kabuki theater
For his montage principle

NOTE: There is an intentional overlapping in section with other Appendixes. This is done for emphasis on certain events.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 3: TIMELINE OF WESTERNERS IN JAPAN

AMERICANS

1791 2 American ships entered Japanese waters
1797 Capt. William Robert Stewart (NY), Dutch East India Co. on the *Eliza*
Britain, at war with Napoleon, prevented Dutch from trading in FE
1799 Capt. James Devereux (Salem), for Dutch East India Co. on the *Franklin*
Brought home decorative arts and five *ukiyo-e*
Later given to Peabody Museum in Salem
1800 Capt. W. V. Hutchings (Boston), Dutch East India Co. on the *Massachusetts*
William Cleveland, a crew member, kept a journal (later published)
1801 Capt. Samuel G. Derby (Salem), Dutch East India Co. on the *Margaret*
George and William Cleveland, crew members, purchased goods
1802 Capt. G. Stiles, Dutch East India Company on the *Samuel Smith*
1803 Capt. James Deal (Baltimore), Dutch East India Company on the *Rebecca*
1806 Capt. Henry Lelar, for the Dutch East India Co. on the *America*
1807 Capt. J. Davidson, for the Dutch East India Co. on the *Mount Vernon*
1837 The *Morrison*; American merchants and missionaries visited Ryûkyû Islands
Bombed at Edo and Kagoshima trying to return Japanese castaways
Only 1 of 50+ efforts to establish relations with Japan prior to Perry
1845 Comm. James Biddle in Edo Bay with 2 warships
Under instructions from Washington
Trade refused but Japan alarmed and aware this was not the end
1849 Comm. James Glynn liberated 15 American castaways at Nagasaki
1853 Comm. Matthew Calbraith Perry in Edo (Tokyo) Bay
On behest of President Fillmore to promote trade
Four "black ships," 2 under sail and 2 steam driven
Steam ships symbolized advanced technology and Western power
Approximately 90 men aboard
Memorialized by four large colored lithographs by William **Heine**
Published in New York in 1856
Heine did a number of drawings
Some reproduced in *The Narrative ....* (see Appendix 4)
1854 Comm. Perry returned, to Yokohama
Treaty of Peace, Amity and Commerce signed March 31
Gifts exchanged between governments and individual officials
America gave Audubon prints and a daguerreotype camera
Along with other technological gifts
Japanese gave mostly decorative art goods
1854-5 Edward **Kern**, artist-topographer and photographer
With Ringgold-Rodgers North Pacific Exploring Expedition
Made many sketches and watercolors of Shimoda and Hakodate
? Dr. Macgowan, editor of a Chinese-language newspaper in China
Spent at least 21 years in China and Japan
Lectured in the US on China and Japan
1855 Lt. John Rodgers and squadron chart Japanese coast for President Pierce
Bayard Taylor, wrote a travel book about Asia which included Japan
1856-8 Townsend Harris in Japan to negotiate the Treaty of Edo
Allowing Americans to live and work in Edo, Osaka, Nagasaki, Hakodate and Kanagawa
1859 **Kern** stranded by typhoon on 2nd trip, again made a number of sketches
-60 Returned to San Francisco abroad the *Kanrin Maru* (Japan's first warship)
1859 Foreigners settled at Yokohama but attacks on foreigners quickly followed
Dutch Reform Church sent 3 missionaries
Fenimore Cooper wrecked and crew spent 6 months in Yokohama

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1859 -66 Francis Hall, correspondent, *New York Tribune* and *Elmira Weekly Advertiser*
Sent goods to Elmira for sale by Walsh, Hall and Co.
Became Yokohama's leading American trading firm
Brought home an important collection of Japanese art objects

1860 William **Heine** returned to Japan with the Prussian East Asian Squadron

Richard Henry Dana, Jr., author, one of the first tourists in Japan
Brought home art objects
Saturday Club member (Boston), shared stories of Japan there
Members included Longfellow

1861 Heusken, Townsend Harris' Dutch interpreter, murdered by anti-foreign *ronin*

1861 -3 Raphael Pumpelly, mining engineer for Japanese government
Author of important book on Japan
Brought hundreds of prints back to the US
Visited Nagasaki briefly in 1864

1863 -70 Dr. Alexander Vedder, naval physician, in Yokohama
Brother of artists Elihu **Vedder**
Sent letters and Japanese goods home to his brother
Elihu included them in his paintings
Left the service but remained in Japan
Physician to a leading lord (*daimyo*)

186? -7? Capt. Pfounds resident in Japan for more than 10 years
Japanese art objects collection exhibited in New York in June 1876

186? -8? Edward H. House resident in Japan, journalist
Articles appeared in *Harper's*, *Atlantic*, and *Galaxy*

1870-4 William Elliot Griffis went to Japan as a missionary, also taught science
Many articles and books on Japan published in American and Japan
Lectured on Japan when he returned to the U.S.

187? Noah Brooks, wrote about Japanese art for *Scribner's* and *Appleton's*

1877 Ex-President U.S. Grant visited Japan on a diplomatic missions to Asia

1877 -81 Winckworth Allan **Gay**, landscape painter
Possibly 1st American artist to reside in Japan

1877 -83 Edward Sylvester Morse, zoologist
Became avid collector of ceramics and important lecturer on Japan

1878 -90 Fenollosa in Japan to teach philosophy at the Imperial University, Tokyo
Conservator-collector of Japanese painting and fine arts
for Japanese government
The leading authority on Japanese art in US until his death
An important curator, lecturer and author
First Curator of Asian Art in America (MFAB)

1880 -81 Harry Humphrey **Moore**, artist, spent 2 years in Japan
Painted scenes of Japan in oil using academic approach

1880 C. F. Gordon-Cumming, wrote about climbing Mt. Fuji for *Harper's*

188? Percival Lowell, astronomer, in Japan collecting Japanese art in quantity
Wrote about Japan for *Scribner's* and *Atlantic Monthly*

1882-3 Morse returned to Japan, sponsored by Peabody Museum

1882-9 William Sturgis Bigelow in Japan
Traveling with Fenollosa and Morse
Converted to Esoteric Buddhism (like Fenollosa)
Contributed large sums to promote and preserve Japanese art

1883 The Gardners (John Lowell and Isabella Stewart), Boston art collectors
Accompanied by the Howe sisters (Julia Ward and Maude)
Traveled to Japan, China, Cambodia, Java, Burma and India
Visited with Bigelow

1885-7 Theodore **Wores**, San Francisco painter of Chinatown scenes (1881-4)
His paintings were exhibited in Tokyo in 1887
Wrote and lectured about his Japanese experiences

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1886 John **LaFarge** and Henry Adams in Japan
Charles G. Weld from Boston in Japan
Purchase Fenollosa's Japanese paintings for MFAB
Persuaded to by Bigelow
John Scott Bradstreet, designer and antiques dealer,
Began making biennial visits to Japan
? W. Henry Winslow, wrote on Japanese art for *The New England Magazine*
1890 Robert **Blum** in Tokyo
-92 To illustrate articles by Sir Edwin Arnold's *Japonica* for *Scribner's*
Accompanied **Shugio** Hiromichi, who introduced him around
Visited an *ukiyo-e* printing establishment to learn process
Juror for Third National Industrial Exhibition,
Judging Western-style paintings by Japanese
Took and purchased numerous photographs
Wrote series of articles on his experiences in Japan for *Scribner's* in 1893
Collected Japanese prints
1890? John H. Wigmore, articles on the Japanese Parliament for *Scribner's*
Illustrated by **Blum**
1889 Lafcadio Hearn in Japan for *Harper's*, then *Atlantic*
-1904 Also taught and wrote many books on Japan
Married Japanese woman, took Japanese name, remained until death
1889 Charles Dater **Weldon**, Ohio artist, accompanied Hearn for *Harper's*
1890 Charles Steward Smith, dry goods philanthropist and MMA Trustee
In Japan on honeymoon
Buying ceramics (522) which eventually went to MMA
and *ukiyo-e* (1700) which went to NY Public Library
1891-2 Jules **Turcas**, painter and illustrator, in Japan for *Scribner's*
1892-4 **Wores'** 2nd visit to Japan -- His work was exhibited in Yokohama
1893 Albert and Adele **Herter**, artists, honeymooned in Japan
Henry P. **Bowie** visited Japan for first time
Returned the next year to take up residence for 8 years
1893-4 Alfred **Parsons** in Japan as illustrator for *Scribner's* and *Harper's*
1894-5 Charles Lang Freer to Europe and Japan, art collector
1894 Henry P. **Bowie** in Japan to study its art and culture
-1902 Studied with Nishikawa Tôrei and Kubota Beisen, among others
Series of West Coast lectures on Japanese painting
Complied into book on Japanese painting (published 1911)
In 1899 exhibition sponsored by Japan Painting Society
and Japanese Fine Arts Academy
Among 27 second-place prizewinners
(with Francis **Curtis**, another American)
1894 J. Charles **Arter** in Japan, painting more than 50 transcriptive genre scenes
Frederic Pratt, Director of the Pratt Institute (founded by his father Charles)
Collected art during 3-month-long visit
He subsequently hired Fenollosa and Dow to teach at Pratt
Leo Stein, modern art patron and collector
Toured Japan with his sister Gertrude and Hutchins Hapgood
Leo and Gertrude collected Japanese prints
In Japan, in Oakland and then in Paris
Irving Murray Scott, engineer and orator
Had been on committee to welcome Japan at Chicago World's Fair
Trustee for *Overland Monthly* and Stanford University
Regent for University of California
Dr. B.G. Northrup, founder of Arbor Day
Responsible for Japan's observance of Arbor Day
? Frank **Bicknell**, American Impressionist associated with Old Lyme Colony

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1896-7 Henry Roderick **Newman** (ex-pat American residing in Italy) in Japan
Collecting and painting
1897 Fenollosa back to Japan
-1900 To teach English Literature at Imperial Normal School in Tokyo
1898 John Chandler Bancroft in Japan, artist
Studied with Hunt and friends with LaFarge
1898 Lilla Cabot **Perry**, resident in Japan, American Impressionist
-1901 Accompanied her husband Thomas Sargeant Perry to Japan
Exhibition of her paintings in Tokyo
Organized by Okakura (whom she had met in London)
Became an honorary member of the *Nippon Bijutsu-in*
Giverny colonist
1898 Walter Launt **Palmer**, New York-based painter
1899? Denman Ross, a Boston collector and museum benefactor
With Joseph Lindon **Smith**, a Boston painter
1899 Helen **Hyde** studied painting with Tomonobu of the Kano School
-1910 Also studied woodblock printing
1901 Japan Fine Arts Academy and Japan Painting Society exhibits
Won 1st prize for *Monarch of Japan*
1900 Mabel Hyde visited her sister Helen
They later collaborate on children's books based on Japanese experience
1901 Fenollosa made several trips to Japan
1903 Arthur Wesley **Dow**, artist and art educator
Visited art schools in Tokyo and Kyoto
To observe design and drawing classes
Studied painting with Kano Tomonobu
Studied printing with Murata Shôjirô (2 days)
Bought *ukiyo-e* (1000+)
Blondelle **Malone**, painter from South Carolina
Visited an art school where Western-style painting was taught
Bertha **Lum**, artist-printmaker from Minneapolis
Had studied at the Art Institute of Chicago
In Japan on her honeymoon to learn about the woodblock process
Spent one day in Yokohama with a printmaker and purchased tools
Langdon Warner, later wrote about Japanese Art
1903-5 Charles Hovey **Pepper**, artist, in Japan with family
Collected Japanese prints (600+)
Published his own prints through Kobayashi
Watercolor *The Conspirators* exhibited in Tokyo
1906 Pacific Painting Society exhibition
1904 James R. and Edna Boies **Hopkins** on honeymoon, artist
To study Japanese art
1905 Frank Lloyd **Wright** in Japan for 1st time
Purchased several hundred Hiroshige woodcuts
Japan the only foreign country in which his architectural designs were built
6 buildings constructed but only 3 remain today
1907 Freer to Asia, including Japan
Bertha **Lum**'s second visit to Japan to study printmaking
Apprenticed with the block carver Igami Bonkotsu
1908 Arnold **Genthe**, photographer,
Collected art and studied calligraphy and language
Francis D. **Millet**, artist, on US Government Fairs Commission
To investigate US participation in proposed Tokyo World's Fair
The Fair did not go forward for various reasons
1909 Freer to Asia, including Japan
Freer's last trip to Asia – China

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1910 MMA sent a curator to Japan and China on buying trip
Edward Robinson (Director) and J. P. Morgan (Trustee) initiated
1911 Bertha **Lum**'s third visit; she worked at her home in Japan
-12 A Japanese cutter and a Japanese printer assist her
1912 Exhibited at 10th annual exhibition of Pacific Painting Society
Works often based on Japanese stories of Lafcadio Hearn
1912 Helen **Hyde** in Japan
-14
1915 Bertha **Lum's** fourth trip to Japan
-16

BELGIANS AND DUTCH

1779 Isaac Titsingh, Director of the Dutch trading settlement in Nagasaki
-85 Took an interest in Japanese art
Published a book on Japanese industries (1812)
His collection auctioned, including Japanese woodcuts (1812)
1690-2 Engelbert Kaempfer, doctor at Deshima for Dutch East India Company
1823-9 Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold, author and collector
Doctor at Deshima for Dutch East India Company
1840s Chevalier Joseph Henry Levyssohn, Chief of Dutch station at Deshima
Collected Japanese goods
Shown at New York Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1853
1859 Von Siebold returned to Japan
-61
1882 Hugues **Krafft**, photographer
Collected Japanese objects, including a house reconstructed in France (1885)
1898 S. C. Bosch **Reitz**, academically-trained painter, to study Japanese art
Learned woodcut technique from Emil **Orlick**, Austrian graphic artist
Appointed Curator of Far Eastern Art at MMA (1915)

CENTRAL EUROPEANS AND SCANDINAVIANS

1775 C. P. Tunberg, Swedish scientist
Collected prints and other things
1863-4 D'Aimé Humbert, Swiss Minister
Published book on Japan in 1870
1879 Adolph Erik Nordenskiöld, polar explorer
Collected Japanese books (6000)
1889 Archduke Leopold-Ferdinand of Austria visited Japan
Collection eventually went to Folk Art Museum in Vienna
1900-1 Emil **Orlik**, from Prague, went to Japan after visiting Bing's shop in Paris
Taught colored woodcut technique in Tokyo
To Helen **Hyde** and S. C. Bosch **Reitz**

ENGLISH AND BRITISH ISLES

1795 Capt. William Broughton, British explorer, charted parts of Japanese coast
1808 Frigate *Phaeton* in Nagasaki under a Dutch flag, searching for Dutch ships
1819 Whaling ship entered Uraga Bay but forced away

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1824 Whaling ship landed on island near Satsuma coast
Armed clash with inhabitants resulted in 1825 *bakufu* policy change
Armed resistance to all foreign encroachments
1845 Survey ship *HMS Samarang* in Nagasaki treated courteously
1858 James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine
To negotiate a trade agreement for Britain
1859 -62 Sir Rutherford Alcock, British Consul in Tokyo
Collected Japanese art and art objects and wrote about Japan
1860 -62 Charles **Wirgman** in Yokohama, painter-illustrator
Correspondent (*Illustrated London News*)
Illustrator (Alcock's *The Capital ...*)
1860s -90s Capt. Frank Brinley, journalist, author, military advisor to Japanese government
Collector of *ukiyo-e* and pottery
Collection auctioned in NY in 1885
1863 Robert Fortune, author who wrote about Japan and China
1865 Charles **Wirgman**, artists-correspondent for *Illustrated London News*
Credited with introducing Western-style oil painting to Japan
Partner in Yokohama studio with photographer Felice Beato 1865-69
1865 -81 Harry Parks, British Minister in Japan
1866 Algernon Bertram Mitford, author and member of the British Embassy
1876 Frank **Dillon**, topographical painter, painting in the Western style
Later published a book on Japanese art
1876-7 Christopher **Dresser**, designer, collected ceramics and jades for Tiffany and Co.
Published book on Japanese architecture and art in 1882
1877 Josiah **Conder**, architect and engineer
Introduced Japanese landscaping and flower arranging to the West
Isabella Bird, author who later wrote travel book about Japan
187? William Anderson, Scottish professor of anatomy and surgery
At Imperial Naval Academy, Tokyo
Collection of Japanese and Chinese paintings
Donated to the British Museum
1879 Sir E. J. Reed, wrote a multi-volume history of Japan
1884 Henry Lucy later wrote about Japan
1885 Mr. and Mrs. Merton Russell-Cotes in Japan to collect art objects
Their home in Bournemouth became the Russell-Cotes Museum
and Art Gallery (1922)
? Sir George Bowen, diplomat
1887 Mortimer **Menpes**, an Australian artist living in London, in Japan
Assistant to Whistler
1888 Arthur Lasenby Liberty, importer of Japanese art and artistic goods
Later published his travel account in an article
Alfred **East**, landscape artist
Rudyard Kipling wrote eleven articles about his trip
1892 Kipling wrote 4 articles about this second trip
1893-5 Edward **Hornel** and George **Henry**, Glasgow School painters
Studied traditional Japanese painting
1896 Mortimer **Menpes'** second visit to Japan
1909 -20 Bernard **Leach** in Japan (close friend of Helen Hyde)
Studied pottery making with Kenzan VI, becoming Kenzan VII
7th in line inheriting Kenzan formulas
Introduced Japanese pottery techniques to England
With help from Shoji Hamada

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

FRENCH

1858 Baron Gros, French Ambassador, in Japan to negotiate trade agreement
1859 G. Duchesne de Bellecourt, Consul General of France
-64
1864 Pierre Loti, wrote *Madame Chrysanthemum*
Luther Long adapted Loti's novel into a shorter version in English
David Belasco's play *Madame Butterfly* based on Long
Puccini based his opera *Madame Butterfly* on Belasco
1871-2 Theodore Duret, art historian and critic, and Henri Cernuschi, financier and collector
Brought back decorative art, porcelain and illustrated albums
1873-4 Philippe Sichel
Brought back many works (5000 objects, 450 books)
Most entered Goncourt Collection
1876 Emile Guimet and Guillaume Régamey
Guimet wanted to study Eastern religions
Collected Japanese art and art objects
1879 Georges Appert, jurist and counselor to the Japanese government
-89
1880 Siegfried Bing visited Japan for first time (also visited China and India)
'Discovered' Utamaro
Important introductions through his German brother-in-law
Acting Consul in Tokyo
1881 Auguste Bing, Siegfried's son, resident in Japan as his agent
1882 Georges Bigot, magazine correspondent
-99 French *Le Monde illustré* and English *The Graphic*
1885 Pierre Loti (real name Julien Viaud), a naval officer, in Japan
1886 Pierre Barbouteau's first trip to Japan -- brought back sixteen Sharakus
Henri de Bourbon
Collection eventually ended up in Museo Orientale in Venice
1888 Louis **Dumoulin**, painter

GERMANS

1693 Engelbert Kaempfer, German physician, returned from Japan
Brought woodcut album by Ihara Saikaku
1869 Henrich Arhens, German Charge d-Affaires, installed at Kobe
1870 Michael Martin Baer, Acting Consul for the German Legation in Tokyo
-81 Brother-in-law of Siegfried Bing
Collector with access to important Japanese collections
Acted as agent in Japan for Bing and for Ahrens and Company
1877 Baron **von Stillfried**, a partner in Felice Beato's Yokohama photo studio
1892-5 Adolf Fischer, collector of Japanese art
1912 Peter Jessen, to purchase art for Bibliothek für Kunst und Gewerbe, Berlin

ITALIANS

1864 Felice **Beato**, official photographer for allied expedition at Shimonoseki
-84 Established a photography studio in Yokohama (1865)
1868 Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, diplomat
Took many Japanese prints back to Tuscany
1870s Tommaso **Gagliardi**, founded a school of sculpture in the Royal Academy in Tokyo
Had worked on the US Capitol (1855-69)
1875 Eduardo **Chissone**, painter

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1876-8 Antonio **Fontanesi**, landscape artist, taught at Technical Art School in Tokyo
1885 Adolfo **Farsari**, photographer
-1902 Yokohama studio sold many photo albums to Western visitors
Studio in business from 1886 to 1917

JAPAN

1542 Portuguese landed on Kyûshû
1549 St. Francis Xavier, Jesuit missionary, in Kyoto
-51
1587 Hideyoshi decree banished Portuguese missionaries from Japan
1593 Spanish Franciscans in Japan
Execution of 3 Jesuits, 6 Franciscans and 17 Japanese Christians
1602 Spanish traders in Eastern Japan
1609 Dutch established a trading post at Hirado
1613 English factory established at Hirado
1617 Executions of foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians resumed
All who came, from that point on, to be killed
1623 English leave Hirado
1624 Spanish forced to leave Japan
1636 No Japanese allowed to leave Japan,
Those already out of the country not allowed to return
1638 Portuguese traders expelled
1641 Dutch traders forced to move to Deshima (artificial island in Nagasaki Harbor)
Dutch and Chinese traders were the only foreigners allowed in Japan
This was the only contact Japan had with the outside world
1715 Exportation of copper greatly restricted
Dutch ships allowed at Nagasaki reduced to 2 per year
1720 Ban on foreign learning removed
Dutch-Japanese dictionary produced in 1745
1842 Order to drive off all foreign ships by force relaxed
1854 Treaty of Kanagawa (Friendship Treaty) signed with the United States
Negotiated by Perry
Allowed US ships at two ports (Shimoda and Hakodate) for supplies
Better treatment of American castaways
Followed quickly by similar treaties with Britain, Russia and the Netherlands
Warships and armaments ordered from the Dutch
New forts established on the coast
1854 Naval training school at Nagasaki and military training center at Edo
With Dutch instructors
1858 Trade treaty with the United States, negotiated by Townsend Harris
Permitted limited residence at 5 ports, unsupervised trade, a tariff,
and extra-territoriality
Opium importation prohibited
Soon, similar treaties with the Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France
1859 Foreign diplomatic envoys took up residence in Japan
1860s Strong anti-foreign feeling, especially among those favoring imperial rule
Led to numerous atrocities
Skirmishes with Americans, British, French and Dutch
1865 Allied forces impelled the Emperor to sign the foreign treaties
1864 Coalition government in which the Shogun acted on behalf of the Emperor
1868 Meiji Restoration – first unified government in Japan since the 14th century
Reinstated the Emperor as chief political power of the nation
Ended the Tokugawa Shogunate (military government)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

RUSSIANS

1792 Adam Laxman, a Russian lieutenant and envoy of Catherine II, in Nemuro in Hokkaidô
- Given permit to visit Nagasaki Harbor
- Sought but failed to establish trade relations
- In response, Hokkaidô was quickly colonized by the *bakufu*

1804-7 Nicholas Rezanov, representing the Russian-American Company
- In Nagasaki using Laxman's permit
- Failed to obtain a trade treaty
- Conducted retaliatory raids on Ezo and Sakhalin

1811 V. M. Golovnin, a naval officer, captured and imprisoned at Hakodate to 1813
- Closely questioned for information on a wide variety of subjects

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 4: TIMELINE OF WESTERN WRITINGS ON JAPAN, JAPANESE ART AND *JAPONISME*

AMERICA

1820 *North American Review* -- Review of *The Adventures of Capt. Golownin*
Translated from Russian into German in 1817

1841 *Manners and Customs of the Japanese...* by Philipp Franz von Siebold
Published in New York, edited by Mary Margaret Busk
Southern Literary Messenger – Review

1844 *Living Age* – "Intercourse with Japan," reprinted from *The Asiatic Journal*

1845 *New Englander and Yale Review* – "Buddhism" (in general, not specific to Japan)

1846 *Living Age* – "Visit to Japan" by C. F. Winslow, M.D.
About Capt. Cooper's visit on the whaler *Manhattan* out of Sag Harbor
"Borneo -- Japan" reprinted from *Quarterly Review*

1847 *Living Age* – "Proposed Commercial Mission to Japan,"
Reprinted from *Frasier's Magazine*
A short piece (15 pages) detailing correspondence between the King of Holland and the Emperor or Japan regarding the end of Japan's exclusionary policy
"Japan," reprinted from the *Philadelphia North America*
DeBow's Review – "New Fields for American Commerce" by J.D.B. DeBow, Ed.

1848 *Living Age* – "Captain Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of the Samarang,"
Reprinted from *The Spectator*

1849 *Living Age* – "Americans in Japan: Cruise of the U.S. Sloop-of-War Preble,"
Reprinted from *The New York Courier and Enquirer*

1850 *DeBow's Review* – "Commerce Department: 5. Prospective Commerce with Japan"
Living Age – "Commercial Mission to Japan," reprinted from the *United Service Magazine*
Scientific American – brief piece on "Dress in Japan" (unchanged in 2500 years)
"The Silks and Teas of Japan"

1851 *Living Age* – Review of *Memorials of the Empire of Japan* by Thomas Rundall
Reprinted from the *Examiner*
The International Magazine or Literature, Art and Science – "Our Phantom Ship – Japan"
Reprinted from *Household Words*

1852 *Japan...* by Charles MacFarlane published in London and New York
Living Age -- Review
New York Times -- "Desultory Notes About Japan" intended to educated Americans
Opposed Perry's mission to Japan and feared it might lead to war
Compared the Japanese favorably to the Chinese
Living Age – "Adventures in Japan," reprinted from *Chambers' Journal*
"Japanese Expedition," reprinted from *The Times* of March 26
American Whig Review – "Japan – The Expedition"
"The Japanese Expedition"
U.S. Democratic Review – "Japan"
Harper's – "Monthly Record of Current Events"
Included piece on Secretary of State's instructions on the Expedition
Daniel Webster was President Fillmore's Secretary of State
Commodore Aulick was 1st chosen to go to Japan
"Adventures in Japan"
De Bow's Review – "The Empire of Japan"

1853 **CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION** in New York
Japan: an Account Geographical and Historical ... by Charles MacFarlane, Esq.
Published in New York
North American Review – Review
Southern Quarterly Review - Review

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

United States Democratic Review – " The Japan Expedition and Its Results"
Putnam's – "Our Crystal Palace"
"Siebold's Japan"
"Japan"
Scientific American – "The Crystal Palace"
1854 *New York Times* – "The Japan Trade"
Harper's – "Dutch and English Intercourse with Japan"
Living Age – "Japan Entering the Commercial World," reprinted from the *Economist*
New Englander and Yale Review – "Unpublished Travels – Holland"
A paragraph on Japanese objects in the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities at Leiden
1855 *A Visit to India, China and Japan* by Bayard Taylor published in New York
Based on visit to Japan with Perry with sketches and photos made there
De Bow's Review – Review
Southern Literary Messenger -- Review
The Japan Expedition: Japan and Around the World by J. W. Spalding,
Published in New York; based on Perry Expedition
Ladies' Repository – Review
Southern Literary Messenger – Review
Japan as It Was and Is by Richard Hildreth published in Boston
Putnam's – Review
Harper's – Review
Southern Quarterly Review – Review
Southern Literary Messenger – Review
Japanese Botany, anonymous translation of a Japanese text; published in Philadelphia
A facsimile read in Japanese fashion (for Westerners, back to front)
Although the illustrations were not seen as art works, they were typical of a style of Japanese painting
DeBow's -- Review
Putnam's – "American Travelers," notice of Taylor's forthcoming (1857) book on Japan
His 3rd in a series of travel books
Living Age – "Taylor's Visit to Indian, China and Japan," reprinted from *The Spectator*
"Miscellaneous -- Japan" reprinted from the *Examiner*
1856 *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854*
By Commodore Perry with Francis L. Hawks, 3 volumes
15 journals of officers on those visits were subsequently published
Illustrated with lithographs after photos, drawings by American artists
Facsimiles of Japanese prints
Professor Peter Paul **Duggan** discussed Japanese art
The first American artist to judge Japanese art in print
There were numerous reviews in the popular press (just a few below)
Putnam's – Review
North American Review – Review
Southern Literary Messenger -- Review
Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition by William **Heine**
Published in New York and Leipzig
Colored lithographs too large to be included in the *Narrative...*
Heine was the first artist working in America to be influenced directly by works he saw in Japan with Perry
Japanese prints reproduced for the first time in Washington
Reise um die Erde nach Japan an Borad der Expeditions-Escadre unter Commodore C. Perry...
by William **Heine**, published in Leipzig and New York
A Review of Pierce's Administration by Anna Ella Carroll
Critical of Pierce for trying to stop Perry in Japan

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Harper's – "Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan," by Robert Tomes
2 lengthy articles including many illustrations
New York Times -- article by a member of Perry's party discussing trade prospects
North American Review – "The American Expedition to Japan," by Edward Everett Hale
Review -- Spalding's *The Japan Expedition*
Review -- Hildreth's *Japan as It Was and Is*
Living Age – Review of *Japan and Around the World* ... by J. W. Spalding
Reprinted from *The Athenaeum*
Review of *A Visit to Indian, China and Japan in 1853* by Bayard Taylor
Reprinted from *The Athenaeum*
Review of "Notes on the Late Expedition Against the Russian Settlements ... And of a Visit to Japan ..." by Captain Bernhard Whittingham
Reprinted from *The Examiner*
Review of Rundall's *Memorials of Japan*
"Japan, England and the United States," reprinted from *The Times* of January 23

1857 *Americans in Japan...* by Robert Tomes, published in New York
Helped to edit Perry's *Narrative*; this an abridged account of the same
DeBow's Review – lengthy Review – recommended for adults and children alike
Southern Literary Messenger -- Review
The North Pacific Surveying and Exploring Expedition; or, My Last Cruise
By Lieutenant Habersham; published in Philadelphia and London
Aboard the *John Hancock* on 1855 US naval survey of Pacific routes
Viewed Japanese as "only half civilized" but later was to change his mind
North American Review – Review of *Le Japon Contemporain* by Edouard Fraissinet
Published in Paris in 1857
The U. S. Diplomatic Review – "The Rose of Japan" by Mr. Quigg
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper – "Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan"
"A Japanese Tale – A Literary Curiosity"

1858 *DeBow's* -- An abridgement of the Perry *Narrative*...
Harper's – "Monthly Record of Current Events"
Gives notice of the successful completion by Harris of Treaty with Japan
"An American in Japan in 1858" by Habersham
Living Age – "Travel During the Last Half Century," reprinted from *Westminster Review*
"Mr. Harris' Progress with the Japanese – Com. Perry's Presents"
Reprinted from the *Philadelphia Ledger*
"Lord Elgin's Visit to Japan," reprinted from *The Examiner* (November 6)

1859 *Frankwei; or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of Indian, China and Japan*
By W. M. Wood, M.D., USN; published in London and New York
Living Age – Review, reprinted from *The Athenaeum*
Harper's – "An American in Japan in 1858," Anonymous
(Probably Taylor or Habersham)
"Editor's Easy Chair" piece on Japan as "... no longer a vision, but a fact..."
North American Review – Review of *The English Boy in Japan...* by William Dalton
Published in London in 1858
Ladies' Repository – "Japan" by Charles Nordhoff
DeBow's -- Review of *The Americans in Japan* by Robert Tomes
Published in New York by Harper & Brothers
Living Age – "A Chinaman's Journal in Japan," reprinted from *The Saturday Review*
"Teaching English to the Japanese"
"Consul Harris in Japan"
Scientific American – "Tea"
"American Enterprise in Japan"

1860 **JAPANESE EMBASSY VISIT TO AMERICA**
The Americans in Japan: An Abridgement of the Government Narrative of the U.S. Expedition to Japan, Under Commodore Perry by Robert Tomes, republished

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Historical Collections of the Essex Institute -- "Extracts of the *Franklin* Log"
"The First Voyage to Japan"
Accounts from the period before the Perry Expedition
Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan by Laurence Oliphant
Published in New York, 2 volumes
With reproductions of prints by Toyokuni II, Hiroshige I and Hiroshige II
Harper's –2 Reviews, one by A. H. Guernsey (14-pages)
Titled "John Bull in Japan" with illustrations from the book
New Englander and Yale Review – Review
Crayon – Review
De Bow's Review -- Review
Ladies Repository -- Review
A Cruise on the US Steam Frigate Mississippi ... to China and Japan by William Gragg
Published in Boston
Once a Week -- "Japanese Fragments" by Captain Sherard Osborn serialized
Illustrated with Hiroshige and Hokusai reproductions
New-York Times – "Japan and the Japanese," critical of Japanese art and architecture
"The Errand-Bearers" poem by Walt Whitman
Commemorating the Japanese embassy in New York
"The Japanese in New-York"
"The Japanese Ball"
Atlantic – "Japan," 11-page article on the Japanese embassy visit to America
Harper's Weekly and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* –
Series of articles on the first Japanese embassy in America
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper --
2 hanging scrolls given to Pres. Buchanan by the Shogun reproduced
Photographed by Matthew **Brady**
Ladies' Repository – in the Editor's Repository: "The Japanese Population"
"Japanese Names for Gods"
Vanity Fair – "Japanese Customs"
"The Japanese Ball"
"The Japanese Embassy
"A Japanese Curiosity"
"Japanese Customs" (Customs Inspection)
"Journalism and the Japanese," related to coverage of the embassy
Southern Literary Messenger – "The Life and Literature of Japan," illustrated
Living Age – Review of *Recollections of Baron Gros' Embassy to China and Japan*
By the Marquis de Moges, Attaché, reprinted from *The Spectator*
Translated and published in London
The Spectator called it "shallow" compared with English works on Asia
"The Japanese and the Russians"
"An Ode to the Japanese" by C.H.W., reprinted from the *New York Times*
"Recent Geographical Researches," reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*
Scientific American – "The Japanese Embassy"
"The Japanese, Their Proficiency in Mechanics, Agricultural Science, Etc."
"A Continental Railroad - the Japan and China Trade"
"The Japanese Ambassador and the New York Chamber of Commerce"

1860 *China and Japan ... the Cruise of the Steam-frigate Powhatan ... 1857*
By James D. Johnson, published in Philadelphia
Frontispiece a lithograph after Hiroshige's *Autumn View of Takanawa*
The first Japanese embassy to the US came on his ship, the *Powhatan*
De Bow's Review -- Review
Harper's – Report of Japanese embassy's 1860 visit
To Washington, Philadelphia and New York
Scientific American – "The Manufacture of Papier Mache"
Ladies' Repository – "A Letter from Japan" by P.B.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Japanese Agriculture"
Vanity Fair – "The Japanese Ball," a poem
"The Japanese Bill," a poem
"Tommy and The Times" on a member of Japanese Embassy
Nicknamed "Tommy" by the press
"The Parachenille"
"Poor Boston" because the Japanese did not visit there

1861-5 **CIVIL WAR**

North American Review – Review of *Ten Weeks in Japan* by George Smith
Published in London in 1861
Ladies Repository – "A Letter From Japan" by P.B., Yokohama

1862 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITON in London
The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Year's Residence in Japan
By Sir Rutherford Alcock
Published in London and New York at the same time
British minister to Japan from 1859-62
Illustrated with Hokusai reproductions
Comments on art by John Leighton (English artist)
Living Age – lengthy (4-page) review -- Many journals carried reviews
North American Review – Review (brief)
Harper's -- Review
Living Age – Review reprinted from *The Spectator*
Ladies' Repository -- Review
Enoch Arden by Tennyson published in Boston
Illustrated by **LaFarge,** who was inspired by Hokusai, and others
Continental Monthly – "Japanese Foreign Relations," based on lectures in New York
By Dr. MacGowan, English archaeologist in China and Japan 20+ years
Harper's – "Pictures of the Japanese – I. Life in the Capital" by Guernsey
Illustrations and ideas from Alcock's *Capital of the Tycoon*
"Pictures of the Japanese – II. Rural Life" by Guernsey, illustrated
"Pictures of the Japanese – III. Institutions and Policies" by Guernsey, illustrated
Scientific American – "Illustrated Lectures on Japan" by Dr. Macgowan (notice)
"New Books and Publications – Japan Husbandry"
The Reader – "Japanese Woodcuts"
Living Age – Review of *Yedo and Peking* ... by Robert Fortune
Reprinted from *The Athenaeum*
"Japanese Oddities"
"Dangers and Difficulties in the Far East – Japan"
Reprinted from *The Economist* (May 2)
Review of *A Lady's Visit to Manila and Japan* by Anna d'Almeida
Reprinted from the *Examiner*
"The Quest of Southern Asia," reprinted from *The Spectator*

1864 *Harper's* – "Pictures of the Japanese – III. Institutions and Policy" by Guernsey
Illustrated
Scientific American – "Another Silk Worm from Asia"
Living Age – "American Aesthetics" by William Rossetti
A review of Jarves' *The Art Idea*
Reprinted from *The Reader*

1865 "A Broadway Pagent," Walt Whitman's poem about the Japanese embassy of 1860
Reprinted in his Civil War collection *Walt Whitman's Drum-taps*
North American Review – Review of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*
Discusses the *japonisme* of a LaFarge illustration

1866 *A Tale of Japan* by Lady Georgiana Fullerton published in Baltimore
Catholic World -- Review
Scientific American – "Japan" article about its mineral resources

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1867 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
India, China and Japan by Bayard Taylor, published in New York
An abridged version of the *Narrative...*, and based on his 1855 articles
Hours at Home -- "Something About Japan" by George B. Bacon, serialized
Saw Japan as highly civilized (vs Habersham's views a decade earlier)
Ladies' Repository – "Journey Round My Room II: A Japanese Couch" by Hildegarde
Living Age – "Japan and its Currency" by Joseph Newton, H.M.
Reprinted from the *Intellectual Observer*
Scientific American – "The Language of Japan"
"Japanese Mechanics – How They Work"
Hours at Home -- "Something about Japan" by George B. Bacon
Galaxy – "The Pacific Railroad" by W.C. Church
On the effects of the railroad on trade with Japan
Harper's – "The Japanese Jugglers"
1868 *Dictionary of Japanese and English, with an English and Japanese Index*
By Dr. J. C. Hepburn
Printed in Shanghai by the American Presbyterian Mission Press
Putnam's – Review
The Nation – "The Fine Arts of Japan" by Russell Sturgis, serialized in 5 parts
Galaxy -- "Five Years in Japan" by Duane Simmons, missionary
"Marriage of Convenience—Mme. Butterfly"
Hours at Home – "The Religion of Japan" by Simmons
Putnam's – "Life in Great Cities – III. Yedo" by C. W. Elliott
"A New Yorker in Japan" by J. Bishop Putnam
"A Visit to Yeddo" by J. B. Putnam
"Familiar Letters from Japan" a series by J. B. Putnam
Living Age – Review of *A Japanese Grammar* by J.J. Hoffmann
Reprinted from the *Saturday Review*
Review of Jarves' *The Art-Idea* by W.M.R. (William Rossetti)
Critical of Jarves' treatment of Japanese and Chinese art
Harper's – Regular reports on events in Japan in "Monthly Record of Current Events"
Overland – "Japanese Holy Place" by Jas. Harris, M.D.
Scientific American – "Japan -- Abstract of Lecture of the Honorable George H. Fisher"
Lecture by U.S. Consul to Japan on treaties with that country
New Gazetteer and Business Directory for Livingston, NY – "Japan"
1869 *Life of the Blessed Charles Spinola, S.J., with a sketch of the other Japanese Martyrs beatified...* by Joseph Brockaert
Catholic World – Review
Art Thoughts by James Jackson Jarves, with a chapter on Japanese art
Reprinted from London -- (*Appleton's*) *Art Journal* article "Japanese Art"
Appleton's – "Japanese Theaters," serialized and illustrated
"Round the World" by Schele de Vere
Brief Review – Pumpelly's forthcoming *Across America and Asia*
No mention of **LaFarge**'s chapter
DeBow's Review – "Silk and Silk Manufactures" serialization
Galaxy – "Tea and Its Adulterations" by John C. Draper, M.D.
"Race for Supremacy in Asia" by Richard F. Hinton
Harper's – "Pictures of the Japanese" by Lyman Abbott
With illustrations from photographs and Japanese paintings
"The East," a report on the Japanese Civil War
Scientific America – "Japanese Art"
"Pocket Paper" about the Japanese use of paper for handkerchiefs
Putnam's – "The Emperor's Eye" by Ausburn Towner
"Japanese Criticism" supposedly by "Omo Tomogoro,"
A satire on American and European worship of *Fawshun* (fashion), *Vante* (vanity) and *Goole Roume* (loosely – the stock market)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1870s *Lippincott's Magazine* published a number of articles about Japan
1870 *Across America and Asia* by Raphael Pumpelly published in New York
"Essay on Japanese Art" by John **LaFarge**
Illustrated with sketches from Hokusai's *Manga*
Frontispiece was an illustration of the *Great Buddha* at Kamakura
Popular book, went through nine editions
New Englander and Yale Review -- Review
North American Review – Review
Overland -- Review
Nation – Review by Sturgis
Catholic World -- Review
Appleton's -- "Scenes of Yeddo" article with illustrations by J. Gauchard and others
"From a Correspondent in Japan"
"A Letter from Japan"
"The Silk-Culture: The Oak-Feeder from Japan"
Notice of *Stories of Old Japan* by Mr. Mitford
Secretary to the English embassy in Japan
Atlantic – "Shipping in the United States" by E.H. Derby
Manufacturer and Builder – "Notes on Japanese, Korean and Chinese Paper"
Punchinello – Satirical "Letter from a Japanese Student"
Galaxy – Review of *Le Japon Illustraté* by Aimé Humbert, Swiss Minister to Japan
Published in Paris
Harper's – "Japanese Culture"
Living Age – "A Tale of Old Japan," 63 pages, reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*
"The Last Japanese Blue Book," 63 pages, reprinted from *The Spectator*
British Parliament Blue Book on Japan – highly recommended
Ladies' Repository – "A Sojourn in Japan," by Aimé Humbert [*sic*] serialized
Overland – "The Silk-Culture in California" by Henry DeGroot
1871 *Appleton's* – "Miscellany: Japan"
"Japanese Fêtes"
"Changes in Japan"
"Table Talk" piece on American advisors invited to Japan to serve as officials
"Japanese Street Scene," illustrated
Atlantic – "A Japanese Doctor and His Work" by E. H. H. (House)
Galaxy – Review of A.B. Mitford's *Old and New Japan* published in London in 1871
"The Galaxy Club-Room" on Governor Ito's study of American Financial System
Ladies' Repository – "Porcelain Manufacture" serialized
Living Age – Review of Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* reprinted from *The Spectator*
"Change and Progress in Japan" reprinted from *The Spectator*
"The Manufacture of Paper in Japan" reprinted from *The Athenaeum*
Overland – "A Few Facts About Japan" by George Webster
"Some Japanese Interiors" by W.E. McArthur (the countryside, away from cities)
Scribner's – "Jaunts in Japan" by W. H. Hallock, illustrated
"An Adventure in Japan" by Gilman P. Briggs
"Sights In and Around Yedo" by Bayard Taylor, illustrated
1872 *Illustrated Library of Travel, Exploration and Adventure* – Vol. 1 "Japan,"
Edited by Bayard Taylor; published in New York
Scribner's – "Japan in our Day" – Review
The Japanese in America by Charles Lanman
American secretary to Japanese Legation; published in New York
Princeton Review – Review
Scribner's -- "Awakening Japan" by Noah Brooks
"Awakened Japan"
Atlantic – "A Day in a Japanese Theater" by House

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appleton's – "James Brooks in Japan"
"The Inland Sea of Japan" (from Brooks's *Seven Months' Run)*
"Art in Japan" (from Brooks's *Seven Months' Run*)
"Young Japan"
"Table Talk" piece on the Japanese social and political revolution
"William Henry Seward"
"Japanese Manners and Customs"
"The Mikado"
"Japan Paper"
Harper's – "Asia" about a fire in Yedo (Tokyo)
"Editor's Easy Chair" piece on the assessment of the US by Arinori Mori, Japanese minister to America
"Editor's Easy Chair" piece on the proposal by Japanese ministers to initiate a Buddhist mission in America
"A Japanese Statesman At Home" by E. H. House
Manufacturer and Builder – "The Largest Cities in the World"
Yedo 4th, after London, Paris and Peking; ahead of New York & suburbs
"Neat Work and Habits of the Japanese"
Ladies' Repository – "Table Talk" piece on Mikado's proposed visit to Europe
"Miscellany: Art in Japan" (from Brooks's *Seven Months' Run*)
Living Age – "Wanderings in Japan " by A. B. Mitford, 2 parts in 25 pages
Reprinted from *The Cornhill Magazine*
"New Chinese and Japanese Treaties," reprinted from *The Pall Mall Gazette*
"Reform in Japan," 14 pages, reprinted from *The Edinburgh Review*
"Japan," reprinted from *The Saturday Review*
Overland – "A Chapter of Condensed History" by Noah Brooks
"Japanese Wrecks in American Waters" by Horace Davis
"The Japanese Indemnity Fund"
By Daniel C. Gilman, President, University of California
"The Commerce of Asia and Oceania" by A.B. Stout, M.D.
Princeton Review – "Art VII -- Japan" by Rev. Asa S. Colton
"The Literature, History and Civilization of the Japanese" by Léon de Rosny
Translated by E.L.S.
Based on a lecture at the School of Oriental Languages in Paris
Watson's Art Journal – "Japanese Paintings In the Paris Salon"

1873 INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION in Vienna
Harper's – "The Present and Future of Japan" by House
"Report on the Tea Culture of Japan"
Scribner's – "Culture and Progress: A New Language Wanted"
About Japan's need to communicate internationally
"Japanese Fans" by Brooks
Appleton's – "The Paper Money of Japan" by Rev. William Elliot Griffis
"Social Transformations" by M. Howland
Selections from Seward's *Travels Around the World*
Atlantic – "Little Fountain of Sakanoshita" by House
Manufacturer and Builder –"Industries and Invention in Japan"
"Universal Exposition in Japan" (brief notice)
Galaxy – "Japanning the English Language" by Coates Kinney
Overland – "The Japanese Indemnity Fund"
By Daniel C. Gilman, President of the University of California

1874 *Japan and the Japanese* by Aimé Humbert published in New York
The History of Japan by Mr. Adams, volume 1 of 2 published
Overland – "The Mythical Zoology of Japan" by Griffis
"New Year's Eve in Tokio, 1872" by Griffis
"A Japanese Merchant at Home" by Griffis
Review of Eitel's *Buddhism*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appleton's -- Review of *Notes on Japanese Art* by Mr. G. A. Audsley
A privately circulated book
"Fine Arts" on bequeathing of the Bowles collection to the town of Barnard Castle
Japanese art and art objects
"Japanese Fans" by Griffis
"A Japanese City" by Griffis
"Japanese Fire-Proofs" by Griffis
"Miscellany: The Hard-Working Emperor," translated
Reprinted from the *Berlin National Gazette*
"Miscellany: The Mikado of Japan"
"Miscellany: The Inland Sea of Japan"
"Miscellany: New Edicts by the Mikado of Japan" from Mossman's *New Japan*
"Miscellany: The New Japan" from Mossman's *New Japan*
"Fine Arts" revision of Mr. Palliser's piece
On Bowes collection and London *Academy*
Ladies' Repository – "Pleasant Pathways Round the World" by Mrs. J. P. Newman
Serialized
Scribner's – "Awakening Japan" by Noah Brooks
Living Age – "The Romance of the Japanese Revolution," 12 pages
Reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*
"Childhood in Japan," reprinted from *All The Year Round*
"International Vanities III," third of 3-part serialization reprinted from *Blackwood's*
Piece on the Japanese Emperor
A column on current topics of interest within Japan
A piece on Japanese art included in an article on English architecture
At the International Fair in Vienna in 1873
"A Japanese Workhouse," reprinted from the *Hiogo News*
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japanese Dentistry"
Galaxy – "Technical Education in Japan"

1875 *Scribner's* – "A Bouquet of Japanese Verses" by Charles DeKay
"Some Pictures from Japan" by Noah Brooks
Appleton's – "A Daimio's Stable" by Griffis
"A Modernized Japanese City" by Griffis
Atlantic – Review of Baron Hübner's *Promenade autour du monde*
(Ramble Round the World)
Art Journal – Series of articles on Japanese Art by Sir Rutherford Alcock
Reprinted from the *London Art Journal*
Ladies' Repository – "Art Notes" on Alcock's articles on Japanese art
Published in the *London Art Journal*
North American Review – "The Recent Revolutions in Japan" by Griffis (34 pages)
Harper's – "Caricatures of Women" by James Parton (4 pages on women in Japan)
"Editor's Easy Chair" discussion of position of women in society (including Japan)
"Decorative Arts and Architecture in England" by M.D. Conway
Whistler's use of Japanese elements for interior decoration discussed
Review of Hübner's *Ramble Round the World*
Galaxy – Review of *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* by House, published in Tokyo
Review of Baron Hübner's *Promenade autour du monde*
(A Ramble Round the World, 1871)
Living Age – ½-page on the exchange of Kurile Isles for Saghalien
Between Japan and Russia
"The Mediterranean of Japan" by Cyprian A.G. Bridge
Reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*
"A Month in a Japanese Farmhouse," reprinted from *Temple Bar*
Manufacturer and Builder – "Education and Politics: A Lesson to be Learned
from the Japanese," in 2 parts
"Silk and Silk Manufacture"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Overland – "The Japanese Indemnity Fund"
"In a Japanese Prison" by Griffis

1876 **CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION** in Philadelphia
Numerous publications related to the Exhibition reproduced Japanese art objects

Official Catalogue of the Japanese Section: International Exhibition, 1876
Published by the Japanese Commission in Philadelphia

The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition by James McCabe
Published in Philadelphia

International Exhibition of 1876: Opening Ceremonies – "Hymn"
By John Greenleaf Whittier
Acknowledged the Asian exhibits at the Fair

Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia
By Thompson Westcott

A Glimpse at the Art of Japan by James Jackson Jarves published in New York
First appeared in the London *Art Journal* in 1871 as a 5-part serialization
Appleton's -- Review
Scribner's – Review
Atlantic – Review
Harper's -- Review

The Mikado's Empire by Griffis published in New York in 2 volumes
With illustrations from previously published works, such as Alcock's
Harper's – 2 Reviews, the second by Guernsey (23 pages)
Galaxy – Review
Ladies' Repository – Review
Appleton's – Review
Nation – Review by Russell Sturgis

Komats et Sakitsi, a Japanese novel by Riutei Tanefiko, translated by F. Turrettini
Published in New York
Scribner's – Review

Atlantic – "Characteristics of the International Fair," a series in 6 parts
"Pottery at the Centennial" by Charles Wyllys Elliott

Appleton's – "Ceramic Art at the Exhibition" by Susan N. Carter
"Household Superstitions in Japan" by Griffis
"Inside A Japanese House" by Griffis
Review of an article in *Revue des Deux Mondes* on the religion of Japan

Daily Graphic – "Japanese Art" (about a New York exhibit of Japanese decorative arts)

Galaxy – "Art at the Centennial" by Charles Wyllys Elliott
"Art Applied to Life, Seen at the Centennial" by Charles Wyllys Elliott
"Household Art at the Centennial" by Elliott
"The Japanese State" by Richard Williamson Jr.

Harper's – "Japanese Carpenters Construct Their Workshop"

Art Journal -- "Japanese Art" by Sir Rutherford Alcock (series completed)
"Household Art IV – Porcelain of Japan" by Elliott

Lippincott's – "Ceramic Art at the Exhibition" by Jennie J. Young

Living Age – "The Cruise of the *Challenger*" reprinted from *Nature*
"A Glimpse of Korea" by Cyprian A.G. Bridge, reprinted from *Fortnightly Review*
Description of how Japanese lacquerware was prepared
Reprinted from *Academy*

Manufacturer and Builder – "Centennial Notes"
"Japanese Carpenters' Tools," illustrated
"Centennial Exposition -- Japanese Building"

American Architect and Building News -- "Japanese Work at the Centennial Grounds"
"Japanese Houses" (in its inaugural issue)
"Constructive Art in Japan"
"Notes and Clippings: Japanese Architecture" (on Centennial buildings)

The Nation – "The Exhibition"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Scribner's – "The Beautiful Ballad of Waska Wee"
An illustrated poem about a Turkish man and Japanese woman
"In and About the Fair" by Donald G. Mitchell

1877 *From Egypt to Japan* by Henry M. Field, D.D., published in New York
Atlantic -- Review
North American Review – Review
Grandma's Letters from Japan by Mary Pruyn, published in Boston
Atlantic – "Crude and Curious Inventions at the Centennial Exhibition"
By Edward H. Knight
12-part series (May 1877-April 1878); many references to the Japanese
Galaxy – "Nebulae," on Chinese and Japanese Buddhist missionaries in America
Harper's – "Editor's Easy Chair" discussion of Japan at the Centennial Exposition
"Jamrach's" by M. D. Conway
Discussed Japanese art objects for sale at Jamrach's store in London
Living Age -- "A Ramble Round the World," reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*
An account of the travels of Baron de Hübner
Translated by Lady Herbert of Lea and published in London in 1874
"Japanese Children" by W. D. Cox, A.D.P., reprinted from *The Spectator*
On the problems of foreign teachers in Japan
"Japanese Mirrors" by R. W. Atkinson of Tokyo University, reprinted from *Nature*
"Fans" reprinted from *The Pall Mall Gazette*
"The Japanese New Year" reprinted from *The Spectator*
"A Japanese Newspaper" reprinted from *All The Year Round*
On *Yokohama Daily News*
Review of *A Ramble Round the World* reprinted from *The Quarterly Review*
Manufacturer and Builder – "Minerals of Japan"
"Japanese Wall-Papers, Etc." discussed Japanese paper and its uses
North American Review – Review of Griffis' *The Mikado's Empire*
"Moral Reflections by a Japanese Traveller"
Editor's note that author wished to remain anonymous (see next entry)
"Political Reflections by a Japanese Traveller"
Author was Oliphant
According to *Atlantic Monthly* 52/314 (December 1883): 798.
Princeton Review – Review of Griffis' *The Mikado's Empire*
Scribner's – "The Fan"
"Some Japanese Melodies" by Clara Louise Kellogg

1878 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
Wonder World Stories collected and translated by Marie Pabke and Margery Deane
Published in New York; Included Griffis'
"Toda the Archer and the Queen of the World under the Sea"
Scribner's – Review
The Armies of Asia and Europe ... by Emory Upton published in New York
Life and Adventures in Japan by E. Warren Clark published in New York
Scientific American – "Japanese Art"
Scribner's – review of *From Egypt to Japan* by Henry M. Field
"A Few Antiques" includes Japanese ceramics, lacquers, bronzes, embroideries
"The Home-Uses of the Exposition"
Discussed what children can learn by exposure to Japan at fairs
Harper's – "A Japanese School" by John C. Ballagh
"State and Society in Washington" by Martha J. Lamb
See Japanese government gifts to State Department in Washington
Atlantic – "Mosumè Sets Yo; or, Woman's Sacrifice," plot based on a well-known
Japanese novel
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japanese Art"
"Japanese Process of Varnishing"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

North American Review – "Japan and the Western Powers" by Matsuyama Makoto
Review of Griffis' *The Mikado's Empire*
New Englander and Yale Review – "The Japanese, as Compared with the Roman Family," by Kazuo Miura
Delivered as Master's Oration at Commencement of Yale Law School
Living Age – "Robert E. Cooper, Jr., A French Sketch of an English Businessman"
By Rudolph Lindau, Translated by C. W. Latimer; set in Yokohama
"Fred: A Tale from Japan" by R... L..., reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*
"Modern Japan" by David Wedderburn, 2-part reprint from *Fortnightly Review*
"Mushroom Cultivation in Japan" reprinted from *Chambers' Journal*
"Japanese Fans" reprinted from *Chambers' Journal*
"Curious Habits of the Japanese" reprinted from *Scientific American*
"Japanese Lady Seized by an Octopus" by Frank Buckland
Reprinted from *Land and Water*
Discusses an ivory carved *netsuke*
"A Japanese Newspaper," describing one issue as representative
Reprinted from *All The Year Round*
"Curious Habits of the Japanese," reprinted from the *British Medical Journal*
Asking if they or we have things backwards
"A Japanese View of Co-operation and Confidence"
Reprinted from *Choya Shinbun* (Japanese paper)
Advocating an end to the secrecy of the absolute government in Japan
"Recent Travels in Japan," reprinted from *The Quarterly Review*
Art Journal – "A Japanese Room" by Christopher Dresser

1879 *The Light of Asia* by Sir Edwin Arnold, published in Boston
Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876, and of the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1878 by Frank H. Norton published in New York
Contained photos by **Brady** of 2 hanging scrolls (*kakemono*)
Gifts from the Shogun to President Buchanan
Around the World with General Grant ... by John Russell
With an account of Grant's 1877 diplomatic mission to Japan
American Art Review – "Notes on Hokusai" by Professor Edward S. Morse
Harper's – "Japanese Rock-Crystal" by Griffis
"Editor's Drawer" containing a Japanese joke about doctors
Atlantic – Review of M. Camille Piton's album of china painting techniques and designs
Japanese art is the basis for the book and its elements are discussed
"Round the World at the Paris Exposition"
Living Age – "A New Dialect; or, Yokohama Pidgin"
Reprinted from *New Quarterly Magazine*
"A Japanese View of Co-Operation and Confidence"
Reprinted from *The Choya Shinbun*
Manufacturer and Builder – "Another Competitor to British Industry"
Princeton Review – "Continental Painting at Paris in 1878"
Mentioned the "Japanese craze" derisively
Popular Science Monthly – "Science Lectures in Japan" by Morse
"Health Matters in Japan" by Morse

1880 *Through China and Japan: The Boy Travelers in the Far East* by Thomas W. Knox
Published in New York
Harper's -- Review
Japanese Fairy World by Griffis, illustrated by Ozawa, published in New York
Atlantic -- Review
Book of Japanese Ornamentation ... a pattern book by D. H. Moser
Published in New York
Harper's – "The Ascent of Fujiyama" by C. F. Gordon-Cumming
New York Tribune – "Treasures of Japanese Art"
Manufacturer and Builder – "The Mineral Riches of Japan"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Scribner's – "Home and Society – Two Kinds of Decoration" by M. L. E.
Discussed use of Japanese objects for home decorating
"Japanese and Chinese Students in America" by Charles F. Thwing
Galaxy – Review of Arnold's *The Light of Asia*
Living Age – "Recent Travels in Japan" reprinted from *The Quarterly Review*
"Japanese Lady Seized by an Octopus" by Frank Buckland
Reprinted from *Land and Water*
About an ivory carving (a *netsuke*)
Atlantic – "The Silk Industry in America" by S. J. Barrows

1881 *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* by Isabella L. Bird published in 2 volumes in New York
The New Englander and Yale Review – Lengthy Review
Appleton's – Lengthy Review
Scribner's -- Review
The Loyal Ronin by Shiuichiro Saito and Edward Greey
An historical romance published by Putnam's
Based on the novels of Tamenaga Shunsui ("the Dickens of Japan")
Atlantic – Notice
Japanese Episodes by House published by Osgood
Atlantic – Review
Buddha and Early Buddhism by Arthur Lillie published in New York
Atlantic – Review
The Ornamental Arts of Japan by George Ashdown Audsley
Published in London and New York
Young Americans in Japan or the Adventures of the Jewett Family and Their Friend Oto Nambo
By Edward Greey, published in Boston with 171 illustrations
Scribner's – "The Wheel as a Symbol in Religion" by C. F. Gordon-Cummings
Review of Griffis' *Japanese Fairy World*
"John **LaFarge**" by George Parsons **Lathrop**, discusses his use of Japanese art
Atlantic – Review of Basil Hall Chamberlain's *The Classical Poetry of Japan*
Published in London
Review of Griffis' *Japanese Fairy World*
Review of Knox's *Through China and Japan ...*
"The Martyrdom of an Empire" by House
New Englander and Yale Review – – "Liberty of Man, Woman and Child in Unchristian Lands," By W.F. Crafts
Review of Griffis' *Japanese Fairy World* of 1880
Living Age – "A Large Crater" by Prof. John Milne of Japan
Reprinted from *Popular Science Review*
"A Japanese Bride" by the author of "Kitty," reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*
"Learned Societies of Japan," reprinted from *Nature*
Art Amateur – "Japanese Lacquer"
"Japanesque Decoration"
Appleton's – "The Manufacture of Bronzes and Porcelain in Japan"
Review of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* by Bird of 1880
Review – Griffis' *Japanese Fairy Stories* [sic]
Century – "The Corean Origins of Japanese Art" by Griffis
Living Age – "Kioto," reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*, 2 pages on art and artists
"Precious Coral," reprinted from *Nature*
"Art Metal-Work of Japan," reprinted from *Nature*
"Across the Yellow Sea," reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*
Atlantic – Review of House's *Japanese Episodes* of 1881
Notice – *The Classic Poetry of the Japanese* by Basil Chamberlain
Manufacturer and Builder – "Houses of the Japanese"

1882 *Art Amateur* – "The Japanese Designer"
Atlantic – Review of *L'Art*'s 29th volume, containing pieces on Japanese art

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1882-3 *American Architect* – Review of Dresser's *Japan: Its Architecture, Art …*, in 3 parts
1883 *Corea, The Hermit Nation* by Griffis published in New York
Overland -- Review
Atlantic – Notice
New Englander and Yale Review -- Notice
Japan: Its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures by Theodore Dresser
Published in New York
Century – Review
Leading Men of Japan by Charles Lanman (Lathrop) published in Boston
Bay State Monthly – Notice and Review
Atlantic – Review
Overland -- Review
Young Americans in Japan by Edward Greey published in Boston
Atlantic – Review
The Wonderful City of Tokio by Edward Greey published in Boston
With illustrations by Japanese and Western artists
Illustrated Catalogue of the Japanese Exhibits at the Foreign Exhibition, Boston
By S. K. Takahashi
Magazine of Art -- "Byways of Book Illustration, Two Japanese Romances"
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japan"
"Japanese Camphor"
"Japanese Carpenters at the World's Columbian Exposition"
"Science Teaching in Japan"
Living Age – "The Little World – A Story of Japan," reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*
"Earth Pulsations," reprinted from *Nature*
"Japanese Learned Societies," reprinted from *Nature*
Overland – "A Day's Ramble in Japan" by Joseph J. Taylor
Review of Griffis' *Corea, the Hermit Nation*
1884 *Bear Worshippers of Yedo* by Edward Greey with Japanese illustrations
Published in Boston
Catholic World -- Review
St. Nicholas – "The Japanese Mamma and Baby" by Griffis
Harper's Weekly – "Chrysanthemums" by John Thorpe
American Architect -- "Notes and Clippings: Japanese Fans"
Living Age – "Temples and Worshippers of Japan," reprinted from *Temple Bar*
Overland -- "Japanese and Oriental Women" by Griffis
"New Japan" by Shosuki Sato
1885 *The Leading Men of Japan*, by Charles Lanman
American Secretary to Japanese Legation at Washington
The Bay State Monthly – Review
Brinkley Collection of Antique, Japanese, Chinese, Korean Porcelain, Pottery & Faience
By Greey
Review of the Chapter on Painting in Gonse's "L'Art Japonaise" by Prof. Ernest Fenollosa
Published in Boston and Tokyo
Critical of Gonse for writing of Japan when he had never been there
Atlantic – Review
Kobutori ("The Old Man and the Devil") reprinted in US
Part of *Japanese Fairy Tale Series* (#7)
The Mikado, an opera by William Schwenck Gilbert with music by Arthur Sullivan
Published in London
Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant
With an illustrated discussion of his 1877 diplomatic mission to Japan
Atlantic -- "The Contributors' Club," on the Japanese Tea aesthetic (*Cha no Yû*)
North American Review – "European Influences in Asia" by Thomas W. Knox
Living Age – "Glass in China and Japan," reprinted from the *Pottery Gazette*
"A Japanese Custom," reprinted from the *Japan Mail*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Harper's -- "The East at New Orleans" by Lafcadio Hearn
Hearn covered Japan at the New Orleans Exhibition
"Editor's Drawer," humorous, on the practices of the Japanese Customs Service
Crockery and Glass Journal – "Anent the Japanese"
Catholic World – "A Japanese Town" (Kobe) by H. Yardly Eastlake
1886 *The Pictorial Arts of Japan* by William Anderson published in Boston and New York
Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings by Morse
Atlantic – Review
American Architect – Review by Henry Van Brunt, serialized in 4 parts
A Budget of Letters from Japan by Arthur Collins Maclay published in New York
Catholic World – Review by Maurice F. Egan
Harper's -- Serialization of **LaFarge**'s *An Artist's Letters from Japan*
Manufacturer and Builder – "Scientific Progress in Japan"
Overland – "Life in an ex-Daimio's Home" by Helen S. Thompson
"Some Japanese Folk-Lore" by Helen N.S. Thompson
Wide Awake – "Japanese Boys and Girls" by Morse
Catholic World – Review of Greey's *The Captive of Love* by Egan
Review of "a Penitent Peri's" *Flights Inside and Outside Paradise*
Century – "Urushima: A Japanese Rip Van Winkle" translated by Masayuki Kataoka
1887 *The Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* by Sylvester Baxter for Salem-Essex Museum
Matthew Galbraith [sic] *Perry* by Griffis published in Boston
Catholic World -- Notice
Art Amateur -- "Talks about Decoration VI—Robert **Blum** on Japanese Motives for Country Houses"
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japanese Art Metal," a technical discussion for industry
American Architect – "Domestic Architecture in Japan
Living Age – "Moss From a Rolling Stone: The Attack on the British Legation in Japan in 1861," by Laurence Oliphant
Reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*
"A Visit to Japan" by V. Brinkley, reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*
Atlantic – "The Thraldom of Japan" by House
Serialization of "The Soul of the Far East" by Percival Lowell
Scribner's – "The Sacred Flame of Torin Ji" a story in 2 parts
By House with illustrations by G. F. **Barnes**
Century – "The Rejected Japanese Lover," a poem by William Struthers
Overland – "Japanese Homes and Temples" by H.H. Berger
"The Japanese Farming Class" by Shosuki Sato
Review of Maclay's *A Budget of Letters from Japan*
1888 *Scribner's* – "Fuji: The Sacred Mountain," a poem by Percival Lowell
Illustrated by John **Twachtman**
"Japanese Art, Artists, and Artisans" by Griffis
Manufacturer and Builder -- Notice
The Magazine of Art – Articles on Japan and Japanese art
By Mortimer Menpes (Australian-English artist)
New Englander and Yale Review – Review by William L. Kingsley
Harper's – "Old Satsuma" by Morse
"Japanese Ivory Carvings" by Griffis
"Félix Buhot, Painter and Etcher" by Philippe Burty
Atlantic – *Yone Santo: A Child of Japan* by House, serialized over 8 months
Review of Griffis' *Matthew Calbraith Perry*
Catholic World – Review of Griffis' *Matthew Calbraith Perry* of 1887
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japanese Industries"
Overland – "The Women of Japan" by Helen H.S. Thompson
Living Age – "A Religious Revolution in Japan," reprinted from the *Spectator*
"A Visit to Japan" by V. Brinkley, reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1889 -1891 *Artistic Japan* – (English translation) published by Siegfried Bing (36 issues)
1st issue theme: "Back to Nature by following the Japanese Example"
Fine quality reproductions of Japanese art and important essays
Sold in Bing's showroom and at Brentano's bookstore in NY
Widely advertised in American newspapers and periodicals

1889 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris

The Soul of the Far East by Percival Lowell published in Boston and New York

Rudyard Kipling wrote eleven articles about his first trip to Japan

Catalogue of an Exhibition of Japanese Colored Prints and Illustrated Books
By Shugio Hiromichi, for the Grolier Club

Alice Smith and Japonisme by Martha Severens
Published by Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, NC

Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams (translator, Perry Expedition) published in New York
Commented on Japanese art and architecture

A Japanese Boy by "Himself" (Shiukichi Shigemi, a Yale student)
Published in New Haven by Sheldon

Mito Yashiki by Arthur Collins Maclay published in New York

Overland – Review

Artistic Japan -- "Program" by Bing
"The Japanese as Decorators" by Louis Gonse
"Japanese Architecture" by Victor Champier, parts 1 and 2
"Jewellers Work" by Lucien Falize
"A Traveling Writing Set, Made for one of the 47 Ronins"
by Edmond de Goncourt
"The Art of Engraving in Japan" by Théodore Duret
"Hokusai's Man-gwa" by Ary Renan, parts 1 and 2
"The Sword" by Burty, parts 1 and 2
"Ritsuo and His School" by Ernest Hart

Garden and Forest -- "Flowers in Japan" (I and II) by Theodore **Wores**

Century -- "An American Artist in Japan" by **Wores**
"Nature and People in Japan" by Griffis with pictures by **Wores**

Art Interchange -- Special issue dedicated to Japanese taste

Scribner's – "Japanese Art Symbols" by Griffis

Harper's – "American Artists at the Paris Exhibition" by Theodore Child
Discussion of the influence of Japanese art on Whistler
"A Ghost" by Hearn

Living Age – "An Autumn Visit to Japan," reprinted from *Nineteenth Century*
"The New Japanese Constitution," reprinted from the *Times*

New Englander and Yale Review – "Mr. Percival Lowell's Misconception of the Character of the Japanese," by Rikizo Nakashima
"Hints from Japanese Homes"

Manufacturer and Builder – "The Way a Japanese Artist Works"
Reprinted from *Magazine of Art*

1890 *In the Time of the Cherry Viewing – An Episode in Japan* by Margaret Peale
Published by Putnam's in New York

Atlantic – Notice

Overland -- Review

The Gentle Art of Making Enemies by Whistler available in America

Century – Serialization of *An Artist's Letters from Japan* by **LaFarge** (1890-93)
Appeared in *Harper's* in 1886

Studio -- "Truth in Japanese Art by **Wores** (excerpted from London periodical *Art Weekly*)

Atlantic – "The Cherries of the Ueno" by Ralph Adams Cram
"The Bering Sea Question" by Charles B. Elliott
"An Outline of the Japanese Constitution" by K. Kaneko
"The Fate of a Japanese Reformer" by Percival Lowell

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Artistic Japan – "The Origins of Painting Gathered from History" by Bing, parts 1 and 2
"Hiroshige" by William Anderson, parts 1 and 2
"Japanese Pottery" by Burty, parts 1 and 2
"Traditional Poetry in Japanese Art" by Dr. J. Brinckmann, parts 1 and 2
"Animals in Japanese Art" by Renan, parts 1 and 2
"Korin" by Gonse
"The Japanese Theater" by A. Lequeux, part 1
New England Magazine – "Japanese Popular Art and Sketch-Books"
By W. Henry Winslow
New Englander and Yale Review -- "The Invincible Armada in Japan"
By Prof. J. S. Sewell, in 2 parts
Review of *A Japanese Boy* by "Himself"
Studio – "Notes" give **Blum**'s first impressions of Japan
Living Age – "Real Estate in Volcanic Regions," 12-page article (10 pages on Japan)
"The First General Election in Japan," reprinted from the *New Review*
"Progress in Japan," reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*
Harper's – "A Winter Journey to Japan" by Hearn
"Japanese Women" by Pierre Loti
Critic – "Japanese Art at the Aldine Club"
Manufacturer and Builder – "Cremation in Japan"
"The Way a Japanese Artist Works"
Scribner's – "The Theatres of Japan" by T.J. Nakagawa, illustrated with Japanese prints
"From the Japanese" a poem by Richard Henry Stoddard

1890-1 *Scribner's* -- Series of 4 articles on Japan by the British Orientalist Sir Edwin Arnold
Illustrated by **Blum**
Artistic Japan – "Japanese Prints" by Bing
"Combs" by Duret
"Netsuke and Ornaments" by H. Seymour Trower, parts 1 and 2
"The Japanese Theater" by Lequeux, part 2
"A Japanese Drama" by Lequeux, parts 1 and 2
"Japanese Landscape" by Gustave Geffroy, parts 1 and 2
"The Industrial Arts of Japan" by A. Lasenby Liberty
"The Art of Collecting" by Marcus B. Huish
"On the Role and the Influence of the Arts of the Far East and of Japan"
by M. Roger Marx

1891 *Japonica* by Sir Edwin Arnold with illustrations by **Blum**, published in New York
Japanese Art by Louis Gonse, published in Chicago in 2 volumes
Jinrikisha Days in Japan by Eliza R. Skidmore
Atlantic – Review
Harper's – Review by Laurence Hutton
Japanese Girls and Women by Alice Mabel Bacon published in New York
Catholic World – Review
Atlantic -- Review
The Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima by Joseph Sherburne Hardy
Published in Boston and New York
New Englander and Yale Review – Review
The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan by Izano (Ota) Nitobe
Published in Baltimore
Overland -- Review
Harper's -- "Chrysanthemums in Japan" by N. Amenomori, illustrated by Charles **Weldon**
"Dashi" by Amenomori, illustrated by **Weldon**
Atlantic –"The Most Ancient Shrine in Japan" by Hearn
"At the Market of the Dead" by Hearn
"The Chief City of the Province of the Gods" by Hearn
"Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan" by Percival Lowell, serialized
With an illustration of Lowell by **Twachtman**

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Catholic World – "The Ruin of Japan" by S. J.
"Native Clergy" by Rev. J.R. Slattery
Scribner's – "Parliamentary Days in Japan" by John H. Wigmore, illustrated by **Blum**
"Starting a Parliament in Japan" by Wigmore, illustrated by **Blum**
"The Transfer of the Temples of Ise" by House
New Englander and Yale Review – "The Feudal System of Japan Compared with that of Europe," by M. Ichihara
Manufacturer and Builder – "The Kioto Canal in Japan"

1892 Kipling wrote four articles about his second trip to Japan
Japan in Art and Industry, With a Glance at Japanese Manners and Customs
By Félix Régamey, translated and published in New York
The Real Japan by Henry Norman published in New York by Scribner's
Atlantic – Review
Catholic World – Review
Terra-Cotta Roofing Tiles by Morse, published by the Essex Institute, Salem, MA
Illustrated Library of Travel – "Japan in Our Day" by Bayard Taylor
Atlantic – "In a Japanese Garden" by Hearn
"Chinese and Japanese Traits" by Fenollosa
"Townsend Harris, First American Minister in Japan" by Griffis
Century – "The "Wyoming" In the Straits of Shimonoséki" by Griffis
Letter to the Editor from Mr. Pearce and response from Griffis
"The Ascent of Fuji the Peerless" by Mabel L. and David Todd
Living Age – "New Japan" by F. T. Piggott, reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*
"Japanese Customs" by F. T. Piggott, reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*
Discusses the civilizing and improving effect on the West from encounters with Japanese culture
"Ancient Tombs and Burial Mounds of Japan," reprinted from *Nature*
"A Night with Japanese Firemen," reprinted from *Temple Bar*
Manufacturer and Builder – "Growth of Foreign Industries in Japan"
Catholic World -- Review of Arnold's *Japonica* and its illustrations by **Blum**

1892-3 *Cosmopolitan* -- "Japan Revisited" series of articles by Arnold
Illustrated with photos and sketches by Arnold

1893 **WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION** in Chicago
Hô-ô-den catalogue by Okakura Kakuzo published in Japan
With many photographs and drawn illustrations
Official guide to the Japan pavilion written by Captain Brinkley
Special Exhibition of the Pictorial Art of Japan and China, No. 1: Hokusai and His School
Exhibition catalogue by Fenollosa for MFAB
Paintings, albums and sketches from Bigelow collection (no prints)
The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition
"Introduction" by Halsey C. Ives
Japan in History, Folk Lore and Art by Griffis published by Houghton
Atlantic – Review
Japan As We Saw It by M. Bickersteth
Critic -- Review
An American Missionary in Japan by Rev. M. L. Gordon, M.D. published by Houghton
Atlantic – Review
Critic – Review
A Handbook for Travellers in Japan by Basil Hall Chamberlain published in Boston
Critic -- Review
A Japanese Interior by Alice Mabel Bacon published in Boston
American Architect and Building News – "San Francisco: The Mid-Winter Fair"
"The Arts and Art Manufactures of Japan at the Great Exhibition" by P.B. Wight
"Latrines of the East" by Morse
"Chicago – The Interior Treatment of the Hooden at the Fair"
Pieces in 2 issues on the Japanese tea-houses on the Lagoon

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Century – "Contemporary Japanese Art" (at World's Columbian) by Fenollosa
"In Aino-Land" by Mabel Loomis Todd, photographs by Professor W. K. Burton
Critic – "Chicago Letter" by Lucy Monroe, serialized
"Chicago Letter" by Lucy Monroe, devoted to Japan at the Exposition
"Moral Training in Japan"
"Lafcadio Hearn's Japanese Home"
North American Review – "Foreign Nations at the World's Fair"
By Gozo Tateno, Japanese Minister in Washington
Scribner's -- 3-part article "An Artist in Japan" written and illustrated by **Blum**
"Buddha's Flowers," an illustration by Alfred **Parsons**
Advertisement for group tour to Japan, to be led by A. dePotter of New York
Atlantic – "Of the Eternal Feminine" by Hearn
"The Japanese Smile" by Hearn
"Of a Dancing Girl" by Hearn
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japanese Women at Home"
Report of the United States National Museum of 1892 published by the Smithsonian
Contained "Japanese Woodcutting and Wood-cut Printing" by T. Tokuno

1894 *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* by Hearn published in Boston and New York in 2 volumes
"*Introduction*" by Fenollosa for catalogue of Bing exhibition of Japanese Prints in Boston
An Exhibition of Japanese Paintings and Metalwork by Fenollosa
A catalogue for a MFAB exhibit
An Exhibition of Japanese Paintings and Metal Work Lent by Mr. F. Shirasu of Tokio
A catalogue for MFAB exhibit
Japanese Engravings, Old Prints in Color by Bing
For the American Art Galleries exhibition and sale in New York
The Story of Japan by David Murray, Ph.D., Assistant to Japanese Minister of Education
Published by Putnam's in New York
Atlantic – Review
Wee Ones of Japan by Mae St. John Bramhall with illustrations by **Weldon**
Harper's – Review by Laurence Hutton
Critic -- Review
A Japanese Interior by Alice Mabel Bacon published by Houghton
Atlantic -- Review
Harper's Weekly – "The Prime Minister of Japan: Count Ito" by **Wores**
"The Time of the Lotus" written and illustrated by **Parsons**
"Some Wanderings in Japan" written and illustrated by **Parsons**
"The Japanese Spring" written and illustrated by **Parsons**
"Early Summer in Japan" written and illustrated by **Parsons**
"The H'yakusho's Summer Pleasures" written and illustrated by Sen Katayama
New England Magazine – "American Relations with the Far East" by Griffis
Manufacturer and Builder – Notice of article in review of *New England Magazine*
Living Age – "The New Japanese Constitution" by C.B. Roylance-Kent
Reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine*
"The Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592" by William W. Ireland
Reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine*
"Burning Questions of Japan" by A. Henry Savage-Landor
Reprinted from *Fortnightly Review*
Century – "Earthquakes and How to Measure Them" by Edward S. Holden
Manufacturer and Builder – "Japanese Lacquer"
"China and Japan"
"Japanese Homes and How They Are Built"
North American Review – "China and Japan in Korea" by Hon. Augustine Heard
"The Oriental War" by S. Kurino, Japanese Minister at Washington
Overland – "The War in the Orient" by Lucius H. Foote
"Palmistry in China and Japan" by Stewart Culin
"Impressions of the Art Display" at the SF Mid-Winter Fair by J.A. Stanton

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Atlantic – "At Hakata" by Hearn
"The Red Bridal" by Hearn
"From My Japanese Diary" by Hearn
Review of *The Real Japan* by Henry Norman

1895 *Special Exhibition of Color Prints Designed, Engraved and Printed by Arthur W.* **Dow**
With "Introduction" by Fenollosa, for MFAB exhibition
The Masters of Ukiyo-e catalogue for New York exhibition compiled by Fenollosa
Townsend Harris: First American Envoy in Japan by Griffis published in Boston
Included Townsend's journal descriptions of Japanese architecture and decorative arts
Overland -- Review
A Narrative of a Japanese by Joseph Heco (Hamada Hekozoo)
Shipwrecked Japanese sailor who became American citizen and a trader
Occult Japan (or *The Way of the Gods*) by Lowell published in Boston and New York
Atlantic – Review
Catholic World -- Review
The Religions of Japan by Griffis published in New York
Atlantic -- Review
Out of the East: Reveries and Studies in New Japan by Hearn published in New York
Atlantic – Review
Overland – Review
Lotus-Time in Japan by Henry T. Finck published by Scribner's
Atlantic -- Review
Atlantic – "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan – Out of the East" by Hearn
"Notes From A Traveling Diary" by Hearn
"The Genius of Japanese Civilization" by Hearn
"A Wish Fulfilled" by Hearn
"After the War" by Hearn
"In the Twilight of the Gods" by Hearn
"Recent Books on Japan"
Discussed Hearn's *Glimpses ...* and *Out of the East*,
Griffis' *The Religions of Japan*,
and Lowell's *Occult Japan* (or *The Way of the Gods*)
Limner – "Art Instruction in Japan" by Gaingero **Yeto**
A Japanese art student who studied with **Twachtman**
Monthly Illustrator -- "Japan in American Art" by **Lathrop**
New England -- "The Way of Life," a Zen poem by John White Chadwick
With a quote from Hearn
New York Tribune – "Some Beautiful Rooms – Japanese Decoration in New York"
Scribner's – "Point of View" article on Japanese manners (etiquette)
"Mental Characteristics of the Japanese" by George Trumbull Ladd
Harper's – "Autumn in Japan" by **Parsons**
"Fujisan" by **Parsons**
"Some Wanderings in Japan" by **Parsons**
Century – "The Armor of Old Japan" by M. S. Hunter
"Japanese War Posters" by D.P.B. Conkling, illustrated
"A Japanese Life of General Grant" by Kanagaki Robun
Illustrated by Sensai (Teacher) Yeitaku Drew
Translated by Rev. J. S. Motoda, residing at Episcopal Divinity School in West Philadelphia
Living Age – "The Imperial Family of Japan," reprinted from *Pall Mall Magazine*
"International Law in the War between Japan and China"
Reprinted from *Fortnightly Review*
"The Problems of the Far East," reprinted from *Edinburgh Review*
"The Japanese Constitutional Crisis and the War,"
Reprinted from *Contemporary Review*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Overland – "The Mongolian Triad: Japan, Corea and China" by Margherita Arlina Hamm
Catholic World – "More Light on 'The Light of Asia'" by Rev. R. M. Ryan, on religion
North American Review – "Two Years of Democratic Diplomacy"
By Senator Kushman K. Davis on the war between Japan and China
"Two Years of American Diplomacy" by Senator George Gray
"Military Lessons of the Chino-Japanese War"
By Hon. Hilary H. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy
"The Future of Japan" by S. Kurino, Japanese Minister at Washington
"The Growing Greatness of the Pacific" by Hon. Lorrin A. Thurston

1896 *Geschichte des japanishchen Farbenholzschnitts* (English translation) by Woldemar von Seidlitz
The Masters of Ukiyo-e: A Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School
Catalogue by Fenollosa for sale at Ketcham Gallery in New York
Dow designed the poster for the show
Catalogue of an Exhibition of Japanese Prints by **Shugio** Hiromichi for the Grolier's Club
Notes in Japan by **Parsons** published in New York
Atlantic – Review and publisher's (*Harper's*) advertisement
Harper's – Review by Laurence Hutton
Landscape Gardening in Japan by Josiah Conder
Imported from England and published by Scribner's
Atlantic – Review
Kokoro: Hints and Echos of the Japanese Inner Life by Hearn published in Boston
Scribner's – Notice
Japan and China by John L. Stoddard published in Boston with many photographs
Based on his lectures
John LaFarge, Artist and Writer by Cecilia Waern, published in New York and London
Atlantic – "About Faces in Japanese Art" by Hearn
"China and the Western World" by Hearn
"A Living God" by Hearn
"Out of the Street – Japanese Folk-Songs" by Hearn
"A Trip to Kyoto" by Hearn
"Dust" by Hearn
Review of Griffis' *Townsend Harris* of 1895
Century – "An Island Without Death" by Eliza Scidmore
Illustrations by **Fenn** and **Weldon**
"Japanese War Posters" by D.P.B. Conkling
Overland – a 3-part dialogue on Japanese industry in relation to American industry
"The Prospective Influences of Japan Upon the Industries of America"
By W. H. Mills
"The Question of Japanese Competition"
By John P. Young, Managing Editor, San Francisco Chronicle
"The Competition of Japan" by U.S. Senator Perkins
"The Japanese Steamship Subsidy" by Perkins
"Japanese Commercial Supremacy"
"Commerce Not an Accident" by Chas. E. Naylor
Review of Finck's *Lotus Time in Japan*
North American Review – "Is Japanese Competition a Myth?"
By The Honorable Robert P. Porter
Series of articles (1896-99) on East Asia, by John Barrett, US Minister to Siam
"American's Interest in East Asia"
By Hon. John Barrett, American diplomat in Asia
"The Plain Truth About Asiatic Labor" by Barrett
"A Hindrance to Our Foreign Trade"
By Thomas R. Jernigan, Consul-General to China

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Harper's Magazine Advertiser – "With the Chariot of the Sun," 4-page illustrated article
Advertising travel to Japan
Review of Parson's *Notes in Japan* by Laurence Hutton
Scribner's – "About the World" treated Japan as a major player on the world stage
The Independent – "The Three Japans: Old Japan, Official Japan and New Japan"
By Bishop E.R. Hendrix
"The Kumi-ai Churches in Session" by Rev. J. L. Atkinson
Review – *The Journals of Townsend Harris – First Envoy to Japan* by Griffis

1897 *An Artist's Letters from Japan* by **LaFarge** published in New York and London
Based on a series of articles in *Century* (1890-93)
Gleanings in Buddha Fields by Hearn published in Boston
Overland – Notice
The Gist of Japan by Rufus B. Peery published in New York
Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese, edited by Capt. F. Brinkley of Tokyo
Published in Boston in 10 volumes
Gods and Devils of Mankind by Frank S. Dobbins ("formerly a resident of Japan")
Published by M. J. Coghlin
St. Nicholas -- "Ah Gau's New Year's Celebration"
Written and illustrated by Theodore **Wores**
Scribner's – "The Wonderful Morning-Glories of Japan" by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore
Illustrated by **Weldon**
Atlantic – "In Quest of a Shadow – An Astronomical Experience in Japan"
By Mabel Loomis Todd
"Notes of a Trip to Izuma" by Hearn
Decorator and Furnisher – "Japanese Studies by E.A. Hornel"
Living Age – "Who Will Exploit China?" by René Pinon
Reprinted from *Revue des Deux Mondes*
North American Review – "The Coming Sea-Power" by Charles H. Cramp
"The Dream of Navigators" by Capt. A.S. Crowninshield, U.S.N.
Overland – "Japanese Rivalry" by M. L. Wakeman Curtis
Harper's – "The New Japan" by Toru Hoshi, Japanese Minister to the United States

1898 *Exotics and Retrospectives* by Hearn published by Little, Brown and Co.
Madame Butterfly, Purple Eyes, A Gentleman of Japan and a Lady, Kito Glory
Stories by John Luther Long, published in New York
Madame Butterfly based on Pierre Loti's novel *Madame Chrysanthème*
Which was the basis for a play of that title by David Belasco
Which was the basis for Puccini's opera of that title
Criterion -- "The Japanese Idea in American Art" by Sadakichi Hartmann
Cosmopolitan -- "The Wisteria Shrine of Kameido" written and illustrated by **Wores**
Century – "An Outline of Japanese Art" by Fenollosa, serialized in 2 parts
With "unique and unpublished examples" of the finest of Japanese art
The first comprehensive history of Japanese art published in America
"Madame Butterfly" by Long, illustrated by **Weldon**
"A Gentleman of Japan and a Lady " by Long
"Purple Eyes" by Long
"An American Artist in Japan" written and illustrated by **Wores**
"The Two Quick Devils of Totsuka" by Chester Bailey Fernald
A short story set in Japan
Harper's – "Our Navy in Asiatic Waters" by Griffis serialized
"Eastward Expansion of the United States" by Archibald R. Colquhoun
"The Coming Fusion of East and West" by Fenollosa
Atlantic – "The Social and Domestic Life of Japan" by K. Mitsukuri
North American Review – "America's Opportunities in Asia" by Charles Denby, Jr.
"The Basis for Anglo-American Understanding" by Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D.
Concern that America must act before England and Japan divide up Asia

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Living Age – "England and Japan" by H. W. Wilson, reprinted from *Fortnightly Review*
"The Women of Japan," reprinted from *Hansei Zasshi*
Century – "In Aino-Land" by Mabel Loomis Todd (reprint from 1893 in *Century*)

Overland – "Love and the Dai Butsu" by M.L. Wakeman Curtis
"A Japanese Sword" by Kinnosuki from Kobe, Japan
"Á Japanese View of Certain Japanese-American Relations"
By Hirokichi Mutsu, Japanese Consul at San Francisco

1899 *A History of Japanese Literature* by W. G. Aston published in New York
The Customs of the Country by Mrs. Hugh Fraser published in New York
Letters from Japan by Mrs. Hugh Fraser published in New York
Overland -- Review
Japan in Transition by Stafford Ransom published in New York
In Ghostly Japan by Hearn published in New York
Composition written and illustrated by **Dow** published in New York
Scribner's -- "Japanese Flower Arrangement" written and illustrated by **Wores**
North American Review – "The Paramount Power of the Pacific - Japan's New Responsibility," by John Barrett
"Americanism *versus* Imperialism" by Andrew Carnegie
"America and England in the East" by Charles W. Dilke, M.P.
"Japan's Entry into the Family of Nations" by T.R. Jernigan
Atlantic – "Japan and the Philippines" by Arthur May Knapp
Overland – "Japan, the Youngest Born," a poem by Margaret A. Brooks
"Greater California and the Trade of the Orient" by N.P. Chipman
"The Ascent of Mount Asama: Climbing a Japanese Volcano" by R.B. Peery

1900 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
Moon Babies with verses by G. Orr Clark and illustrations by Helen **Hyde**
Shadowings by Hearn published in Boston
Living Age – Notice
Japan from the "Nations of the World" series, by Walter Dickson, illustrated
The Literature of Japan from the "World's Great Classics" series, by Epiphanius Wilson
Published in New York
Verbeck of Japan: A Citizen of No Country by Griffis, published in New York
Catholic World – "Why Are Protestant Missionaries Disliked in the Far East?"
By Fr. Penman
"Christian Missions in Japan" by Fr. Penman
Overland – "Dramatic Art of Japan" by Dora E. Amseden
Illustrated with photos and drawings
"Our Pacific Opportunity" by John Barrett
Living Age – "Old and New Japan" by André Bellesort
Reprinted and translated from *Revue des Deux Mondes*
"The Intellectual Future of Japan" reprinted from *The Orient*
A Tokyo English-language monthly written by Japanese
"Coming Storm in the Far East," reprinted from *National Review*
"Japan and the New Far East," by Ignotus, reprinted from *National Review*
"Eastern Cry," a poem by Mary Fenollosa
New England – Review of Hearn's *In Ghostly Japan*
North American Review – "The Industrial Revolution in Japan"
By Count Okuma, Former Minister of Japan
"Commercial Aspects of the Yellow Peril" by Alleyne Ireland
"Misunderstood Japan" by Y. Ozaki
"Japan and Russia in the Far East" by James Murdoch
"The Powers and the Partition of China" by Rev. Gilbert Reid
Atlantic – "Recent Books on Japan" by Jukichi Inyoue
Scribner's – "The Theatres of Japan" by T.J. Nakagawa

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1901 *Outline of the History of Wood Engraving* by Fenollosa
Hiroshige, the Artists of Mist, Snow and Rain by Mary Fenollosa
Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery by Morse for the MFAB
A Japanese Nightingale by Onoto Watanna (Winifred Eaton Babcock)
Published in New York, illustrated by Genjiro **Yeto**
St. Nicholas -- "Glimpses of Child Life in Japan" written and illustrated by **Wores**
North American Review – "The Japanese View of the Situation in China"
By an anonymous Japanese diplomat
Atlantic – "Japanese Plants in American Gardens" by Frances Duncan
1902 *Kottô: Being Japanese Curios, with Sundry Cobwebs* by Hearn published in New York
Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature by Captain Frank Brinkley
Published in Boston and Tokyo
Jingles from Japan with verses by Mabel Hyde and illustrations by Helen **Hyde**
Craftsman -- "L'Art Nouveau, Its Origin and Development" by A.D.F. Hamlin
1903 *Japanese Art* by Sadakichi Hartmann published in Boston
Japanese Woodcarvings, Architectural and Decorative Fragments from Temples and Palaces, by Paul Chalfin for MFAB
Lotus: Special Holiday Number in Memoriam James McNeill Whistler
Published in Boston by Bunkio Matsuki
Articles by Bailey, Bunkio, Fenollosa, Norris ...
Japan and China from the 13-volume set of *Historical Tales* by Charles Morris
Published in New York
Recollections and Impressions of James A. McNeill ***Whistler***, by Arthur Jerome Eddy
Published in Philadelphia
Illustrations of Japanese Life by S. Takashima, originally published in 1896 in Tokyo
Republished in US
An Artist's Letters from Japan by **LaFarge** published in New York in book form
New York Sun -- "**Wores** Talk" on Japan
1904 **LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXHIBITION** in St. Louis
Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation by Hearn published in New York
Kwaidan: Stores and Studies of Strange Things by Hearn
The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan by Okakura
Miss Cherry Blossom of Tokyo by Long published in Philadelphia
Sunny Memories of Three Pastorates by Griffis published in Ithaca, New York
The Architectural Record -- "The Art of Whistler" by Kenyon **Cox**
New England Magazine – "Teacups and Bargains" by Warwick James Price
On shopping in Japan
Craftsman – "A Japanese Collection in America" by Daniel Howland Maynard
1905 *Japan in New York* published in New York
Japanese Color Prints by Charles Hovey **Pepper** published in Boston
On the technique and history of Japanese woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*)
The Awakening of Japan by Okakura
Logbook of the Captain's Clerk: Adventures in the China Seas by John S. Sewall
Sewell was on the *Saratoga* during the Perry Expedition
The Japan-Russia War: An Illustrated History by Sydney Tyler, illustrated
Published in Philadelphia
1906 *The Book of Tea* by Okakura written and published in English, illustrated
To explain the Japanese Zen aesthetic to an American audience
Sermons of a Buddhist Abbott by Soyen Shaku published in Chicago
1907 *Pacific Era* -- article by Fenollosa on Freer and his collection, supporting *japonisme*
1908 *The Exhibition of Ukiyo-e Paintings and Prints at the Yamanaka Galleries*
Catalogue accompanying a series of lectures by Fenollosa at the Waldorf Astoria
Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago -- "The Japanese Print Exhibition"
Buddhism and Immortality by Bigelow
1909 *The Whistler Book* by Sadakichi Hartmann published

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Little Sister Snow by Frances Little, illustrated by Genjiro Kataoka (Genjiro **Yeto**)
Published in New York

1910 *Manet and the French Impressionists* by Théodore Duret
Published in Philadelphia and London

A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-1854) by S. Wells Williams
Edited by F. W. Williams

Rare Days in Japan by George Trumbell Ladd published in Boston

The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn published in Boston (Elizabeth Bisland, Editor)

Craftsman – "The Relation of Modern American Art to That of China and Japan..."
By Wilfred B. Shaw

1911 *On the Laws of Japanese Painting* by Henry P. **Bowie**
Outlining the principles and techniques of Japanese brush painting

The Life of James McNeill Whistler by J. and E.R. Pennell
Published in London and Philadelphia

John LaFarge, A Memoir and a Study by Royal Cortissoz
Published in Boston and New York

1912 *The Japanese Print, An Interpretation* by Frank Lloyd **Wright** (with new edition in 1967)

Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art by Fenollosa, in 2 volumes
Published posthumously by Mary Fenollosa

1913 *Blossoms from a Japanese Garden*, book of poems by Mary Fenollosa
Published in New York
Illustrations after paintings by contemporary Japanese artists

Hepburn of Japan and His Wife and Helpmates by Griffis published in Philadelphia

Western New England Magazine –
"The Springfield Art Museum and the George Walter Smith Collection"
By Emmett Naylor

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on Lathrop *ukiyo-e* collection, by Gookin

Poetry: A Magazine of Verse – haiku verse "In a Station of the Metro" by Ezra Pound
(Pound would publish *Cathay*...)
Based on Fenollosa's notes on transliterated Li Po poetry

1914 *North American Review* – "The Hegemony of the Far East" by John C. Ferguson

The Evolution of a Missionary by Charlotte B. DeForest published in New York

A Missionary's Life in the Land of the Gods by Isaac Doonan published in Boston

1915 **PANAMA-PACIFIC EXHIBITION** in San Francisco

America to Japan (Eds. Masaoka Naoichi, Lindsay Russell)
Published by Japan Society in New York and London
Howard Mansfield's "American Appreciation of Japanese Art" included
Soyeda Juichi's "Outline of Japanese Civilization" stressed Aryan over Mongolian heritage and traits

Goblins and Pagodas by John Gould Fletcher, published in Boston

International Studio – "History of Hiroshige"

1917 *The Classic Noh Theatre* by Ezra Pound (based on Ernest Fenollosa notes)
Published in New York

1918 *Japan Day By Day, 1877-1883* by Morse

1920 *The Ideals of the East* by Okakura

1936 *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry* by Fenollosa
Edited by Ezra Pound, published in San Francisco

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

1727 *Natural, Civil and Ecclesiastic History of the Japanese Empire*
By Engelbertus Kaempfer, published in The Hague
Read by early American visitors to Japan

1812 Book on Japanese industries by Isaac Titsingh, collector of Japanese art
Director of Dutch trading settlement in Nagasaki

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Published in Paris

1817 Golownin's account of his capture by the Japanese
and of British commercial interests in Japan, published in Dutch

1831 *Nippon Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japon* by Philipp Frantz von Siebold
German doctor in Dutch service in Japan, collector of Japanese art
Published in Leiden and Amsterdam
Lavish illustrations based primarily on Keiga and Hokusai
Keiga was commissioned by Siebold, used Western means of depiction
Read by early American visitors to Japan

1832 *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Japansche Rijk* by Overmeer published in Amsterdam

1847 *Japan in zijne staatkundige en burgerlijke inrightingen enhet verkeer met Europesche natieen*, by Gerard Louts, published in Amsterdam

1852 *Nippon...* by Von Siebold, republished in Leiden in 8 volumes

1881 *L'Art Moderne* periodical founded in Brussels

1883 *Catalogue des liveres japonais de feu Mr. Le docteur A.J.C. Geerts* by L. Serrurier
For Ethnographic Museum, Leiden

1888 *L'imagerie japonaise* by Jules Destrée published in Brussels

1893 *Van nyu wen staks* (*From Now On*) Flemish periodical founded
Van de Velde was the graphic designer

1895 *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* by Friedrich von Wenckstern published in Leiden

1896 *Images japonaises*, a volume of poems by "Kwasson" (Emile Verhaeren pseudonym)
With illustrations by Munetaro Suzuki

1907 *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire*, 2nd volume published in Leiden

1910 *Zum Neuen Stil*, with essay "Die Linie' by Van de Velde

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SWITZERLAND

1847 *Sechs Wandschirme in Gestalten der Vergänglichenwelt* by August Pfismaier
Published in Vienna
57-page facsimile of text illustrated with woodblock prints by Toyokuni
First published in 1821 in Edo and given to Vienna library by von Siebold

1873 *Japasnk vier Vortrage, nebst einem anhange, japnischer Original-Predigten*
By von Kudriaffsky, published in Vienna

1881 *l'Empire japonais* by Léon Metchnikoff published in Geneva

1884 *Japansk Malerkonst* by Karl Madsen published in Copenhagen

1893 *Secession*, Vienna -- "Japanese Exhibition: 6th Exhibition of the Union of Austrian Artists"
By Herman Bahr

Studien und Kritiken, Vienna -- "The Japanese Exhibition of the Secession, February 1900," by Richard Muther

Kunst und Kunsthandwerk, Vienna -- article on the significance of the Japanese woodcut
By Woldemar von Seidlitz, based on lectures he had given in Vienna

ENGLAND AND BRITISH ISLES

1670 *Atlas Japanensis* published in London (illustrated)

1727 *A History of Japan together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam*
By Engelbert Kaempfer
English translation published in London in 2 volumes

1749 *Gentleman's Magazine* – Proposal to trade with Japan

1795 *Thunberg's Travels* by Charles Thunberg (4 volumes), English trans. published in London

1812 *Illustrations of Japan* by Isaac Titsingh translated by Frederick Shoberl
Published in London

1819 *Recollections of Japan...* by Vasilii Mikhailovich Golownin (Golovnin)
Translated and published in London
Reviewed in *North American Review* in 1820

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1822 *Illustrations of Japan ...* by Isaac Titsingh translated and republished in London
1853 *Japan and the Japanese* by Captain Golownin, 3rd revised edition, in 2 volumes
Published in London
Japan ... Charles MacFarlane, Esq., published in London and New York
The Edinburgh Review – "Japan"
1854 *An Account of Japan* by Engelbert Kaempfer translated and published in London
1855 *The London Journal* – "Japan and the Japanese"
1856 *The North Pacific Surveying and Exploring Expedition; or My Last Cruise*
By Lieutenant Habersham, published in Philadelphia and London
Viewed Japanese as "only half civilized"
Illustrated London News -- 3 articles on Japanese painting
Articles on Perry expedition and subsequent *Narrative*
Illustrations reproduced, including Hiroshige's *Crossing the Oho-e-gawa*
1857 *Illustrated London News* -- Reproductions of 2 Toyokuni illustrations
For a book published in 1847 by Pfizmaier
"The Folding Screen: A Japanese Tale"
Blackwood's – "A Cruise in Japanese Waters" by Captain Sherard Osborn, serialized
1858 *The English Boy in Japan ...* by William Dalton published in London
1859 *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan* by Laurence Oliphant
Published in London, in 2 volumes
With reproductions of prints by Toyokuni II, Hiroshige I and Hiroshige II
Two Journeys to Japan, 1856-7 by Kinahan Cornwallis published in London in 2 volumes
Second-hand accounts from writings by Habersham, Hawkes and Von Siebold
Insightful about Japanese art and the Dutch influence on Japanese art
A Cruise in Japanese Waters by Captain Sherard Osborn
Published in Edinburgh and London
1860s Pamphlet on Japanese art outlining Japanese aesthetic principles for Western artists
By John Leighton
1860 *Recollections of Baron Gros' Embassy to China and Japan*
By the Marquis de Moges, Attaché, published in London
Blackwood's – "Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan"
1860-1 *Once a Week* -- serialization of Captain Osborn's *Japanese Fragments*
1861 *Japanese Fragments* by Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B. published as book in London
"With facsimiles of Illustrations by Artists of Yedo"
Ten Weeks in Japan by George Smith, illustrated with photographs, published in London
Once a Week -- "Japanese Gardeners" by Edward Jesse
Blackwood's – "The Inland Sea of Japan"
1862 **INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION** in London
1862 *Catalogue of Works of Industry and Art, Sent from Japan, International Exhibition*
By Sir Rutherford Alcock
The Art of Decorative Design edited by Christopher Dresser included Japanese motifs
The Japanese – Their Manners and Customs by Clarke Westfield,
Illustrated with photographs, published in London
Blackwood – "Political Tragedies in Japan"
1863 *Niphon and Pe-che-li, or Two Years in Japan and Northern China*
By Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, published in London
Author served as official of the English government in Japan and China
The Capital of the Tycoon by Sir Rutherford Alcock published in London (2 volumes)
The Reader -- Review
A Lady's Visit to Manila and Japan by Anna d'Almeida published in London
Reviewed in Boston (*Littell's Living Age*)
Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture in the International Exhibition 1862
Published by J.B. Waring in London
Included the "Japanese Court" display of Japanese art objects
The Reader -- "Japanese Woodcuts," attributed to William Rossetti, 2-part article

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Discussed a book by Hokusai
Illustrated London News – "Royal Institution Lectures" by John Leighton on Japanese art
The Builder – "Japanese Ornamentation," in 3 parts
Building News -- "The Prevalence of Chinese and Japanese Ornament" by Dresser
Harper's – "Pictures of Japan" by Guernsey, a 3-part series
Blackwood's – "Sensation Diplomacy in Japan"

1864 *The History of Japan* by Sir Francis Ottiwell Adams (incomplete first volume)
Published in London

1865 *The Reader* – "Art – Japanese Fans"

186? *Yedo and Peking: A Narrative of a Journey to the Capitals of Japan and China*
By Robert Fortune, published in London

1866 *Notices of the Proceedings of the Meetings of the Members of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* – "On Japanese Art – Illustrated by Native Examples" by John Leighton
Art Journal – "Japanese Armour"

1867 *Sketches of Japanese Manners and Customs* by J.M.W. Silver, with chromolithographs, Published in London
Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary by William Rossetti, included discussion on Hokusai
The Treaty Ports of China and Japan, edited by B. Dennys, published in London

1869 *The Art Journal* -- "Japanese Art" by James Jackson Jarves

1870 *The History of Japan* by Sir Francis Ottiwell Adams, 2nd volume of 2-volume series
Published in London
Tales of Old Japan by Algernon Bertram Mitford published in London
Correspondence Respecting Japan (No.3) 1870 by Sir Harry Parkes with Mr. Mitford
British Parliament Blue Book on Japan
The Spectator – Review called it a full, intelligible history of the reorganization of the Japanese government
Atlantic – "A Japanese Doctor and His Works" (probably House)
Westminster Review – "Ancient Japanese Poetry"

1871 *The Far East, An Illustrated Fortnightly Newspaper* – "Art and Artists in Japan"
The Art Journal – "A Genuine Artistic Race" by Jarves, serialized in 5 parts
Published in book form in America in 1876
Review of *Tales of Old Japan* of 1870 by Mitford

1872 *The History of Japan*, a translation of Kaempfer's book, lavishly illustrated
Published in London
A Voyage round the World by the Marquis de Beauvoir, translated, published in London

1873 *A Ramble Round the World*, an account of the travels of Baron de Hübner
Translated and published in London
Buddhism: Its Historical, Theoretical and Popular Aspects by Ernest J. Eitel
Published in London
The Academy -- Review of Albert Jacquemart's *Histoire de la céramique*
By F. Bury Palliser

1874 *Japan and the Japanese* by Aimé Humbert, 2 volumes
Translated and published in London
The Academy – Review by Edward Duffield Jones
History of Japan by R. O. Adams published in London
The Academy – Review of first group show of the impressionists in Paris by Burty
Observed their *japonisme* in terms of their use of color
Review of Samuel Mossman's *New Japan, The land of the Rising Sun; Its Annals During the Past Twenty Years* --
Review of George Ashdown Audsley's *Notes on Japanese Art* by F. Bury Palliser
Journal of the Society of Arts – "On the Symbolism of Oriental Ornament"
By William Simpson
"On Eastern Art and Its Influence on European Manufacturers and Taste"
By Dresser
The Art Journal – "Oriental Art in Liverpool" by T.C. Archer

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1875 *The Keramic Art of Japan* by G. A. Audsley and J. L. Bowes, 2 volumes
Published in London
The Academy – Review by Philippe Burty
The History of Japan by Sir Francis Ottiwell Adams, 2 volumes, published in London
The Academy – Review by Alcock
The Academy – "Fine Art " by Burty, serialized
"Japonism" by Burty
Review – "Fine Art, Liverpool Art Club Japanese Lacquer Exhibition"
By P.H. Rathbone
1875-8 *The Art Journal* – "Japanese Art" by Sir Rutherford Alcock, serialized
1878 *Art and Industries in Japan* by Alcock published in London
The Academy – "Fine Art – Art Books"
Review of Alcock's *Art and Industries in Japan*
Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery Lent by A.W. Franks
For the South Kensington Museum
The Art Journal – a series of articles by Alcock
"A Japanese Room" by Dresser
Journal of the Society of the Arts – "The Art Manufactures of Japan, from Personal Observation," by Dresser
1879 *History of Japanese Pictorial Art* by William Anderson published in London
A Grammar of Japanese Ornament and Design by Thomas W. Cutler, 2 volumes
Published in London
The Satsuma Rebellion by Augustus H. Mounsey, F.R.G.S. published in London
The Academy – Review by Sir Robert K. Douglas
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan – "A History of Japanese Art"
By Anderson
The Academy – "Fine Art – China and Japan at the Burlington Fine Arts Club"
By Cosmo Monkhouse
1880 *Unknown Tracks in Japan* by Isabella Bird published in London
Drawings by Japanese Artists by Frank Dillon published in London
Japan: Its History, Traditions and Religions, with the Narrative of a Visit to Japan in 1879
By Sir E. J. Reed, M.P, 2 volumes, published in London
With maps and illustrations
Transactions of the Association Society of Japan – "Christianity in Japan"
By J. H. Gubbins
1881 *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* by Basil Hall Chamberlain published in London
The Academy – Review by Monkhouse in "Recent Books on Japan" in 2 parts
Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks*, Reed's *Japan* and Cutler's *Japanese Ornament*
Also reviewed
The Academy – "Art Books" reviews Hogarth's *Drawings by Japanese Artists*
1882 *Japan: Its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures* by Dresser
Published in London
The Academy – Review by Monkhouse
The Ornamental Arts of Japan by George Ashdown Audsley, 3 volumes
Published in London and New York
The Land of the Morning by William Gray Dixon published in Edinburgh
The Academy -- Review of Bowes' *Japanese Marks and Seals* by Monkhouse
1883 *The Athenaeum* – Review of Dresser's *Japan: Its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures*
1884 *East by West* by Henry Lucy published in London, in 2 volumes
Japan: Travels and Researches Undertaken at the Cost of the Prussian Government
By Johann Justus Rein, translated and published in London
The Academy – Review by Monkhouse
Japanese Enamels by James L. Bowes published in Liverpool
The Academy – Review of volumes 1 and 2 of Audsley's *The Ornamental Arts of Japan*
By Monkhouse, in 2 parts

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1885 *Ten O'Clock Lecture* by **Whistler** published in London
Nine Years in Nipon: Sketches of Japanese Life and Manners by Henry Faulds
Published in London
1886 *The Pictorial Arts of Japan* by Anderson published in London
Based on 1879 series of articles
The Academy – Review by Monkhouse
Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum, by Anderson, on his collection
Collection went to the British Museum in 1882
The Critic -- Review
The Academy – Review of "The Pictorial and Sculptural Art of Japan"
Exhibition at the Society of Art in London
Review of last volume of Audsley's *The Ornamental Arts of Japan* by Monkhouse
Review of Morse's *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* by Monkhouse
1887 *Artistic Japan* (English translation) published by Bing
1st of 36 monthly issues -- Theme: 'Back to Nature by following the Japanese example'
Lectures on Japanese Art Work by Ernest Hart published in London (based on lectures)
Art Amateur – A piece on Japanese "Snuff Bottles," illustrated
1888 *Catalogue of Notes upon the Loan Exhibition of Japanese Art held at the Fine Art Society*
"Introduction" by Marcus B. Huish for London exhibition
Catalogue of Prints and Books Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan by Anderson
For Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition in London
The Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arrangement by Josiah Conder
Illustrated with line cuts and color woodblock prints
The Magazine of Art – "A Personal View of Japanese Art" by Mortimer Menpes, serialized
New York Herald in London – "Mr. Theodore Wores, the Oriental Student, Discusses Japanese Art and Artists"
Artistic Japan – "Program" by Bing
"Japanese Architecture" by Victor Champier, serialized
"Jewellers Work" by Lucien Falize
"A Traveling Writing Set" by Edmond de Goncourt
"The Art of Engraving in Japan" by Théodore Duret
The Academy – "Fine Art – Japanese Art at the Fine Art Society" exhibition
Review by Monkhouse
1888-9 *Artistic Japan* -- "Hokusai's Man-gwa" by Ary Renan, serialized
1889 *The Light of Asia, or the Great Renunciation* by Sir Edwin Arnold published in London
Japan and Its Arts by Huish, with Kataoka Masayuke, published in London
The Academy – Review by A.H. Sayce
The Industries of Japan by J. J. Rein published in London
The Academy – Review by Monkhouse
The Critic -- Review
Artistic Japan – "The Sword" by Burty, serialized
"Ritsuo and His School" by Ernest Hart
"The Origins of Painting Gathered from History" by Bing, serialized
"Hiroshige" by Anderson, serialized
"Japanese Pottery" by Burty, serialized
"The Poetic Tradition in Japanese Art" by Justus Brinckmann
The Academy – Review of W.J. Dickson's *Gleanings of Japan* by Monkhouse
1890 *Japanese Pottery* by James L. Bowes published in Liverpool
The Academy – Review by Monkhouse
Catalogue of a Collection of Drawings and Engravings by Hokusai, exhibited at the Fine Art Society by Huish
Japanese Plays by Thomas R.H. McClatchie published in London
Journal of the Society of Arts -- "The Industrial Arts and Manufactures of Japan"
By Arthur Lasenby Liberty

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Gentle Art of Making Enemies by **Whistler** republished in London
Art Weekly -- "Japanese Artists" by **Wores** (American artist)
The Magazine of Art – "Hokusai: A Study in Two Parts" by Bing, with a 3rd "Postscript"
The Academy – "Fine Art – Mr. Alfred East's Pictures of Japan" by Monkhouse
1891 *The Nineteenth Century* – "A Japanese View of New Japan" by Daigaro Goh
The Academy – "Some Books about Japan"
Discusses Lowell's *Noto*, Alice Mabel Bacon's book on women in Japan and Goncourt's *Utamaro*
1892 *Landscape Gardening in Japan* by Conder published in London
The Book of Delightful and Strange Designs by Andrew W. Tuer published in London
Ancient and Modern Art by Ernest Hart published in London, based on 1886 lectures
Fortnightly Review – "New Japan" by F.T. Piggot
The Academy – Review of Régamey's *Le Japon pratique* by McCalmont Hill
1893 *The Studio* begins publication in London
Tales of Japan painted by J.J. Shannon reproduced in its March issue
Japan in Art and Industry, with a Glance at Japanese Manners and Customs
By Félix Régamey, with illustrations
English translation published in London and New York
Notes on the History of Lacquer by Ernest Hart published in London, based on a lecture
Japanese Books and Albums of Prints in Color in the National Art Library, South Kensington, by Edward F. Strange
La Plume special issue "*L'Art et la Femme au Japon*"
Articles by Duret, Burty, and Degron with illustrations by Régamey
Transactions and Proceedings of the Japanese Society, London – "Some Japanese Industrial Art-Workers" by Mrs. Ernest Hart
1894 *Fans of Japan* by Charlotte Salway with "Introduction" by Anderson
Published in London
Catalogue of Specimens of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work
For Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibit
The Studio -- "The Art of Utamaro" by Bing
1895 Supplement to Conder book includes 40 collotype plates (photography) by K. Ogawa
Japanese Wood Engravings: Their History, Technique and Characteristics
By Anderson, published in London
Old-World Japan, Legends of the Land of the Gods retold by Frank Rinder
Published in London
Notes on Shippo by James L. Bowes printed for private circulation in Liverpool
Journal of the Society of Arts – "Cantor Lectures. Japanese Art Industries"
By Ernest Hart, serialized
1896 *An Artist's Letters from Japan* by John **LaFarge** published in London and New York
John LaFarge, Artist and Writer by Cecilia Waern published in London and New York
1894 *Book of William Morris: Described with Some Account of His Doings in Literature and the Fine Arts* by H. Baxton Forman, published in London
Japanese Illustration. A History of the Art of Wood-Cutting and Colour Printing in Japan
By Edward F. Strange, published in London
The Studio – "Mortimer Menpes' Japanese Drawings"
The Architectural Review – "Architecture in Japan" by Edward F. Strange
1898 *Catalogue of Japanese Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum*, by Sir Robert K. Douglas
Books Relating to Japanese Art in the National Art Library, South Kensington
By Strange
The Studio -- "Photography and Color Printing in Japan"
By R. Hill-Burton on the Japanese artist Ogawa
"A Japanese Artist, Kawanabe Kyosai" by William Anderson
1901 *A Record in Color* by Mortimer Menpes published in London
1900 *Europe and the Far East* by Sir Robert K. Douglas published in Cambridge
The Athenaeum -- "Whistler" by Roger Fry

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1901 *The Colour-Prints of Japan: An Appreciation and History*
By Strange, published in London
1911 *Japan, a Pictorial Record* by Liberty, published in London
About his 1888 visit to Japan with his wife
The Whistler Book by Sadakichi Hartmann published in Boston and London
1912 *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* by J. and E.R. Pennell
Published in London and Philadelphia
1913 "In a Station of the Metro" Ezra Pound, his first *haiku* poem
1914 *The Egotist*, an essay by Pound on **Whistler**'s adaptation of Japanese art
Myths and Legends of Japan by F. Hadland Davis, illustrated by Evelyn Paul
1915 *'Noh' or Accomplishment: A Study of the Classical Stage of Japan*
By Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound
Based on Fenollosa's notes which Pound, with Arthur Waley, translator
Finished and published in London after Fenollosa's death (1908)
1920 *The Ideals of the East* by Okakura Kakuzo published in London
(Published in New York in 1904)
Burlington Magazine – "Some Parallels Between Western and Far Eastern Pictorial Art"
By H.F.E. Visser
1923 *Degas* by Julius Meier-Graefe translated and published in London

<u>*F R A N C E*</u>

1680 *Atlas Japanensis* by Arnoldus Montanus, French edition
Published in Amsterdam with engravings
1729 *Histoire naturelle, vivile et ecclésiastique de lémpire du Japon* by Engelbertus Kaempfer
French edition
1736 *Histoire et Description générale du Japon* by Charlevoix, published in Paris
1794 *Voyage en Afrique et en Asie, principalement au Japon ...* by Carl Thunberg
Translated and published in Paris
1812 Book on Japanese industries by Isaac Titsingh, collector of Japanese prints
Published in Paris
Titsingh was Director of Dutch trading settlement in Nagasaki 1779-85
1816 1st (incomplete) edition of Golownin's narrative translated and published in Paris
1818 *Le Japon ... d'après les relations de Krusenstern, Langsdorff, Titzing, etc. ... et de la captivité du captaine russe Golownin*, published in France
By Breton de la Martinière and Jean Baptiste Joseph
1821 *Histoire ... du Christianisme dans L'Empire du Japon*
By Father Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix
Published in Paris in 2 volumes (owned by John **LaFarge**)
1836 *Histoire de description generale du Japon* by de Charlevoix
Published in Paris in 9 volumes
1838 *Le Magasin Pittoresque* – "Le Japon"
1839 *Nippon Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japon* by Philip Franz von Siebold
-40 Translated and published in Paris in 5 volumes
1839 *Le Magasin Pittoresque* – "Armée japonaise"
1848 *L'art d'élever les vers à soie*, edited by Mathieu Bonafous, published in Paris and Turin
Illustrated with 50 engravings after Japanese prints by Uegaki Morikuni
1848 *L'illustration* -- "Collection japonaise de M. Fontanier" illustrated article
1853 *Le Magasin Pittoresque* – "Les Rochers du Japon"
1857 *Résumé des principales connaissances nécessaries pou l'étude de la langue japonaise*
By Léon de Rosny
1855-6 *Le Magasin Pittoresque* – "La Chasse au Japon"
1856 *Le Japon Contemporain* by Edouard Fraissinet published in Paris
Revue des Deux-Mondes – "Le Japon et le commerce européen" by J.C. Delprat

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1857 *Bibliographie japonaise ou Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs au Japonqui ont été publiés depuis le XVe siècle jusqu'à Nos jours* by Léon Pagès
Revue des Deux-Mondes – "Une ambasade américaine au Japon" by Charles Lavollée
On the Perry Expedition
1858 *Ornements du Japon. Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie*
By Collinot and de Beaumont, published in Paris
Bibliographie japonaise ... by Léon Pagès published in Paris
Le Magasin Pittoresque – "Le Japon ent'ouvert. Expédition américaine 1852, 1853, 1854"
1859 *La Chine et le Japon, mission du compte d'Elgin* ... by Laurence Oliphant
Translated and published in Paris
L'Empire des sources du soleil by an anonymous author published in Paris
1860 *Le Tour du Monde* – "Voyage en Chine et au Japon, 1857-1858" by Marquis de Moges
1861 *Recueil de dessins pour l'art et l'industrie*
Illustrated with engravings by Adalbert de Beaumont
After Hokusai's *Manga*
Le Japon, la Chine et l'Inde by Ambassador Baron de Chassiron
Illustrated with reproductions from Hokusai's *Manga*
Lettres à M. Léon de Rosny sur l'Archipel japonais ... by Le Père Furet published
Magasin Pittoresque – "Danseuse japonaise"
"La Musique japonaise et chinoise"
Revue Orientale et Américaine – "L'Expédition américaine au Japon, 1852-1854"
By Léon de Rosny
"Les Documents japonais des bibliothèque de Londres et d'Oxford by Rosny
1862 *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des porcelaines ... composant la collection de Madame Malinet*
Les Martyrs du Japon by Augustin Cochon published in Paris
1863 *Exposition universelle de 1862* by Natalis Rondot published in Paris
Official government report
Le Moniteur Universel – Review of de Chassiron's *Notes sur le Japon* of 1861
By Théophile Gautier
Review of M. de Mutrecy's book about his visit to China and Japan
1864 *Voyage autour du Japon* by Rudolphe Lindau published in Paris
Le monde illustré -- "Le Japon 1863-1864" by d'Aimé Humbert, Swiss Minister
Etudes asiatiques de géographie et d'histoire by Léon de Rosny published in Paris
1866 *Chefs-d'oeuvre des arts industriels* by Philippe Burty published in Paris
Un Parisien en Asie by Camille de Furth published in Paris
Une Campagne sur le côtes du Japon by Alfred Roussin published in Paris
Manette Salomon published by the Goncourts
Le Tour du Monde – "Le Japon" by Aimé Humbert, serialized
Journal of Edmond de Goncourt mentions the Japanese 'genius'
1867 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
L'Art Japonais booklet published by Ernest Chesneau
Analysis of Japanese art in relation to principles of design and color
L'Étendard newspaper published Zacharie Astruc's series "L'Empire du Soleil Levant"
Revue des Deux-Mondes – "La Chine et le Japon à l'Exposition Universelle"
By Pierre Duchesne de Bellecour
Le Tour du Monde – "Le Japon" by Aimé Humbert, serialization continued from 1866
Feuilleton de L'Etendard – "Beaux-Arts, l'Empire du Soleil Levant" by Zacharie Astruc
1868 *Les Emaux cloisonnés anciens et modernes* by Philippe Burty published in Paris
Le Japon en 1867 by C.J. Layrle published in Paris
Les Nations rivales dans l'art – L'Art japonais" by Chesneau
Based on articles in *Le Constitutionnel*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Catalogue de produits et objects d'art japonais composant la collection envoyée du Japon pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867 et groupée aujourd'hui rue de la Victoire, no. 41
Le Constitutionnel -- "Beaux-arts, L'Art Japonais" by Chesneau
L'Etendard -- "Le Japon chez nous" by Zacharie Astruc
With a list of artists, writers and collectors influenced by *Japonisme*
Included Manet, Fantin-Latour and Monet
La Vie Parisienne – "La Mode des japonaiseries" by C.Y. (Champfleury)
Le Tour du Monde – "Le Japon" by Aimé Humbert, serialization continued from 1866
Revue Maritime et Coloniale – "Le Japon en 1867" by Charles Jules Layrle, serialized
1869 *Chats: Historie—Moeurs-Observations—Anecdotes. Illustre' de 52 dessins par ... Delacroix ... Manet ... Ok'sai...* by Champfleury, published in Paris
L'Art japonais by Ernest Chesneau published in Paris
Text of a conference on Japanese art and it influence on Western art
Catalogue du Musée Oriental
Le Rappel – "Le Musée oriental à l'Union centrale" by Burty, serialized
Le Japon illustré by d'Aimé Humbert, Swiss Minister to Japan, 2 volumes
Published in Paris with illustrations
Japanese facsimiles, Beato photographs and Wirgman sketches
Le Tour du Monde – "Le Japon" by Aimé Humbert, serialization continued from 1866
Paris-Ancienne Gazette des Etrangers – "Exposition des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'industrie. L'Art oriental" by Edmond Duranty
Review of an exhibition at the Union centrale des arts décoratifs
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "Les Industries de luxe á l'Exposition de l'Union centrale"
By Philippe Burty (see above)
1870 *Anthologies japonaise poésies anciennes et modernes des insularies du Nippon*
By Léon de Rosny published in Paris
1872 *L'Art Francais en 1872* by Jules Claretie
La Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique – "Japonisme" by Burty, serialized
Uses the term "*japonisme*" to describe artistic cult of Japan
1873 *L'Usurpateur* by Judith Gautier, published in Paris
La Renaissance litteraire et artistique – "Japonisme" by Burty
Serialization continued from 1872
Promenade autour du monde by Baron Joseph Alexander Graf von Hübner
Published in Paris
Le Magasin Pittoresque – "Notes sur le Japon et les japonais," serialized
By an anonymous author
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "Les Bronzes japonais au Palais de l'industrie"
By Albert Jacquemart
Musée Universel – "Le Japonisme dans les arts" by Chesneau
1874 *Japon et la France* -- catalogue for Japanese art objects exhibit
With "Preface" by René Sieffert
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "L'Extrême orient au Palais de l'industrie. La Céramique"
By Jacquemart
Revue des Deux-Mondes – "Le Théâtre au Japon" by George Bousquet
Le Magasin Pittoresque – "Caricatures japonaises"
"Musée de La Rochelle – Curiosités japonaises"
1875 *Voyage en Asie* by Theodore Duret published in Paris
L'Art – "Japonisme, Histoire de la poétesse Ko Mati" by Burty
Chromolithograph illustrations after Hokusai by Félix Régamey
1876 CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION in Philadelphia
Promenade autour du Monde by M. Le Baron de Hübner published in Paris
Sketches by the author
Les Procédés industriels des japonais, l'arbe à laque by Paul Ory published in Paris
Le Japon, a 2nd edition of Oliphant's narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission
Published in Paris

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

L'Art -- "Japonisme – Les femmes de qualité" by Burty
"Japonisme – Yebi and Dai-Kokou" by Burty

1877 *Albums-Reiber. Bibliothèque poratives des Arts du dessin*
Objects from Cernuschi, Bing, and Maron of Yokohama ...
Promenades japonaises written by Guimet and illustrated by Régamey published in Paris
A travel book on Eastern religions
Journal of Goncourt tells of meeting Watanabe through Burty
Describes the technique of Japanese painting
Le Japon de nos jours et les échelles de l'Extrême Orient by Georges Bousquet
Published in Paris, 2 volumes
Gazette des Beaux-Arts -- "*Le Japon à Paris* " by Chesneau
L'Extrême Orient à l'Exposition Universelle by Edmond Duranty
Revue des Deux-Mondes – "L'Art japonaise, ses origines et ses caractères distinctifs"
By George Bousquet

1878 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des eaux-Arts sur la Mission scientifique de M. Emile Guimet dans l'extrême Orient by Emile Guimet, published in Lyon
16-page government report
Le Japon à l'Exposition Universelle de 1878
Published for the Japanese Imperial Commission in Paris
"Preface" by M. Matsukata, President
Japanese Commission to Universal Exposition
3-page survey of the history of Japanese painting
Introduced Josetsu, Shubun, Masanobu and Buson
Notice explicative sur les objets exposes par M. Emile Guimet et sur les peinturs et dessins faits par M. Félix Régamey
For the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878
Les Chefs-d'oeuvre d'art à l'Exposition universelle – "Le Japon à l'Exposition universelle"
By Emile Bergerat, in 4 parts
L'Art -- "Exposition Universelle de 1878, le Japon Ancien et le Japon Moderne" by Burty
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "Exposition universelle – Le Japon à Paris" by Chesneau
Serialized
"L'Extrême-Orient. Revue d'ensemble des arts asiatiques à l'Exposition universelle"
By Duranty
"Les Laques japonais au Trocadéro" by Charles Ephrussi
Le Moniteur Universel – "Le Tour du monde dans le Champs-de-Mars ..."
By Paul Dalloz, serialized
Yvonne Thirion quotes a contemporary critic:
"Japonisme is the idolatry of the moment;
let us hope that it will be the artistic religion of the future."

1879 *Le Japon pittoresque* by Maurice Dubard published in Paris
Le Japon artistique et littéraire by Le Blanc du Vernet published in Paris
Promenades Japonaises, Tokio-Nikko by Guimet, illustrated by Régamey
Published in Paris
La Maison d'un artiste by Goncourt published in Paris
Included an account of his Japanese collection
La Céramique japonaise by Bowes and Audsley translated and published in Paris
L'Art -- Le Blanc de Vernet publishes two articles on Japanese art
La Vie moderne – "Japonisme" by Duranty

1880 *L'Art Japonais* by Duret, on illustrated albums
Included Kiyonaga and Moronobu 'primitives', said Hokusai the best
Gazette des Beaux-Arts article by Duret on Hokusai
With illustrations by Hokusai, Hokkei and Hiroshige

1881 *La Vie en Chine et au Japon ...* by Maurice Dubard published in Paris
Catalogue de l'exposition retrospective de l'art japonais organisée par M. Louis Gonse
By Gonse, with section on ceramics by Bing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Salon Annuel des Peintres Japonais with "Introduction" by Bing

Okoma, a novel illustrated by Régamey after Japanese models
Published by Chez Plon in Paris
Contained margin notes on the woodblock printing technique
Dix eaux-fortes (10 aquatints) by Félix Buhot published in Paris
Based on Japanese objects in the Burty collection
Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon by Philippe Sichel published in Paris
With a "Preface" by Edmond de Goncourt

1882 *L'Art japonais* by Louis Gonse published (2 volumes)
La Civilisation japonaise by Léon de Rosny published in Paris
Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais
For exhibition organized by Gonse at George Petit Gallery in Paris
Catalogue de la bibliothèque japonaise de Nordenskiold by Léon de Rosny
Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Première partie Inde, Chine et Japon by Léon de Milloué
Salon annuel des peintres japonais
For Bing's 1st exhibit of contemporary Japanese paintings in Paris
Goncourt proclaims the 'Victory of Japonisme'
Ary Renan relates 'the present crisis in European art' to the advance of Japonisme
Gazette des Beaux-Arts (February) -- Gonse review of Manet exhibition
Referring to Manet's *japonisme*
"L'Art japonais. Le livres illustrés, les albums imprimés. Hokusai" by Duret
Serialized
"Exposition de l'art japonais" by Paul Mantz
L'Art – "L'Art japonais" by Le Blanc du Vernet

1882-3 *Revue des Arts Décoratifs* – "L'Art japonais. A propos de l'exposition organisée par M. Gonse," by Lucien Falize Josse

1883 *L'Art japonais* by Louis Gonse
In conjunction with exhibition of Japanese art at Galerie George Petit
Research provided by Wakai, Fenollosa, written documents
Wide range of types of Japanese art (9th – 19th centuries)available
Good barometer of what was or was not known about Japanese art
Critique d'avant-garde by Duret published
Un Tourist dans l'Extrême Orient, Japon, Chine, Indo-Chine et Tonkin
By Edmond Cotteau, published in Paris
L'Artû japonais by Ary Renan published in Paris
Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon by Philippe Sichel published in Paris
Salon annuel des peintres japonais – Bing's 2nd exhibition of contemporary Japanese painters
Poèmes de la libellule by Judith Gautier with illustrations by Hoosui Yamamoto
Published in Paris
A Japanese illustrated book of the lives of the Japanese counts (*daimyo*)
French edition, translated by J. Dautremer
L'Art – "Le Roman japonais" by Burty, serialized

1884 *L'Art japonais* second, revised edition by Gonse published
Extended account of prints beyond Hokusai
La Poterie et la porcelaine au Japon by Philippe Burty published in Paris
Based on a series of 3 lectures
Manifeste symboliste by Jean Moréas
Paris illustré -- Special issue with article by Hayashi
Contained woodcuts by Hiroshige, Utamaro, Hokusai, Toyokuni, Eisen ...
Ravenne, étude d'archéologie byzantine by Gaston Diel
With reference to a future 'Primitivism'
Paris Illustré -- Hayashi reproduced Kuwagata Keisai's woodblock printed book
Floral studies
L'Art – "Le Roman japonais" by Burty, serialization continued from 1883

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "Artistes contemporains" by Alfred de Lostalot

1885 *L'Art* – "La Caricature au Japon" by Champfleury

Poems de la libellule by Judith Gautier

A translation of Japanese poems celebrating the beauty of dragonflies

May have inspired their use as a decorative motif

1886 *Impressions sur la peinturer* by Alfred Stevens published in Paris

Paris Illustré – "Le Japon" by Hayashi

L'Art – "La Caricature au Japon" by Champfleury

Le Journal des Arts – "Les causeries d'un curieux. Une préface de Philippe Burty"

By Pierre Dubois

"Les causeries d'un curieux – Les Graveurs du XIXe siècle par Henri Béraldi"

By Dubois

1886-7 *Revue des Arts Décoratifs* – "Notes pour une histoire des laques du Japon et leur entrée en Europe" by Burty

"L'Art japonais et l'industrie" by Bing

1887 *La Culture Artistique en Amérique*, a pamphlet by Bing

Le Japon Artiste published by Burty -- The only issue of a periodical he planned

L'Art – Review of William Anderson's *The Pictorial Arts of Japan* by Burty

Ten O'Clock Lecture by **Whistler**, translated by Mallarmé and Francis Vielé-Griffin

Published in France

Madame Chrysanthème by Pierre Loti published in Paris

Le Musée secret de la caricature by Champfleury with assistance from Hayashi

La Revue Indépendante -- Edouard Dujardin's article on Cloisonnisme

Le Japon Artistique – "Programme" by S. Bing

"Le Génie des Japonais Dans le Décor" by Louis Gonse

"l'Architecture Japonaise" by Victor Champier, in 2 parts

"Travaux D'Orfèvre"" by Lucien Falize

"Une Écritoire de Poche: Fabriquée par un des 47 Ronins"

By Edmond de Goncourt

"La Gravure Japonaise" by Théodore Duret

"La Mangua de Hokusaï" by Ary Renan, part 1

L'Art Pour Tous – "Le Japon Artistique" by Bing

Paris Illustré – cover by Vincent Van Gogh after Japanese *ukiyo-e*

1887 -91 *Le Japon Artistique* published by Bing

Widely advertised in American newspapers and periodicals

In 1st issue Bing referred to Japanese art as "art nouveau"

Which would influence Western creativity

Theme: 'Back to Nature by following the Japanese example'

Attacked by *The Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo English-language weekly)

For its poor scholarship

1889 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris

Japoneries d'automne by Pierre Loti

Ornements japonais dessinés by Abel Guérineau published in Paris

Exposition Louis Dumoulin. Tableaux et études de l'Extrême Orient ... by Burty

Le Japon Artistique – "La Mangua de Hokusaï" by Renan, part 2 (continued from 1888)

"Les Sabres" by Burty, serialized

"Ritsuo et Son Écolel" by Ernest Hart

"Le Origines de la Peinture dans l'Histoire" by Bing, serialized

"Hiroshigé" by William Anderson, in 2 parts

"La Poterie au Japon" by Burty, in 2 parts

"La Tradition Poétique dans l'Art au Japon" by Justus Brinckmann

"Les Animaux dans l'Art Japonais" by Renan, serialized

"Korin" by Gonse

"Le Théatre Japonais" by A. Lequeux

La Cravache – "Les peintres-graveurs" by Félix Fénéon

L'Art – "Le Japon à l'Exposition universelle" by Emile Michel

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1890 *Exposition de la gravure japonaise* by Bing
Catalogue for Bing's exhibition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts
La Décoration et l'art industriel à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889 by Roger Marx
Published in Paris
Petit guide illustré du Musée Guimet by Léon Milloue
Le Japon Artistique – "Le Théatre Japonais" by Lequeux, part 2 (continued from 1889)
"La Gravure Japonaise" by Bing
"Les Peignes" by Duret
"Netsuké et Okimono" by H. Seymour Trower, serialized
"Un Drame Japonais" by Lequeux, 2 parts
"Les Paysagistes Japonais" by Gustave Geffroy, in 2 parts
"Les Arts industriels au Japon" by A. Lasenby Liberty
"L'Art de Collectionner" by Marcus B. Huish
"Sur le rôle et l'influence des arts de l'extrême Orient et du Japon" by Roger Marx
La Vie artistique -- 50-page positive review of Bing exhibition by Gustave Geffroy
Revue des Deux Mondes -- "La Peinture japonaise" by Theodor de Wyzewa
L'Art -- Review of Bing's *Maîtres de l'estampe japonaise* exhibit by Gustave Geffroy
Revue Politique et Littéraire-Revue Bleue – "Le Japon vu par un artiste" by Régamey
La Revue Blanche begins to be published by the Natanson brothers in Paris

1891 *Outamaro, le peintre des maisons vertes. L'art japonais au XVIIIe siècle*
By E. de Goncourt, aided by Hayashi
Published in Paris, 1st volume in intended series on Japanese art
Le Japon practique. Cent dessins par l'auteur by Félix Régamey published in Paris
L'Art – Review by Paul Leroi
La Vie artistique -- Geffroy expounded principles of Japanese art
Le Figaro illustré -- "Japanese Women" by Pierre Loti, illustrated by Keiki Kouroda [Seiki Kuroda?]

1892 *La Plume* published "Poésie populaire, les chansons et la musique au Japon"
By L.J.E. Baret
Le Chat d'après les Japonais by Jules Adeline published in Rouen
Le Couvent du Dragon Vert by Léon de Rosny published in Paris
La Vie artistique – "Maîtres japonaise" by Gustave Geffroy, serialized

1893 WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago
Le Figaro Illustré – "Japonisme in Art" by C.D.
La Plume – "L'Art et la femme au Japon," dedicated to women in Japanese art
Review of Bing's exhibit of Utamaro and Hiroshige prints at the Galeries Durand-Ruel
By Thadée Natanson

1894 *L'Estampe Originale* published a color lithograph by Henri Jossot
The Wave (A spoof on Hokusai's Great Wave and the impact of Japanese influence)
Implied print artists had gone overboard emulating Hokusai and *ukiyo-e*
Documents décoratifs japonais tirés de la collection C. Gillot published in Paris
La Revue Blanche -- Series of articles on Hokusai by Bing

1895 *La Nouvelle Revue* – "Etude sur Hokusai" by Edmond de Goncourt
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "Hokusai, ses albums traitant de la peinture et du dessin avec ses préfaces" by Goncourt

1896 *Hokousai* published by E. de Goncourt, aided by Hayashi
2nd and final volume in his proposed series
Also proposed Korin, Ritsuo, Gakutei, Harunobu, Hiroshige)
Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* called "the inspiration of Impressionist landscapes of the present day"
Journal. Mémoires de la vie littéraire by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, in 9 volumes
Published in Paris
Etude sur Hoksai by Michel Revon published in Paris
Based on a paper presented to the Faculty of Letters in Paris
La Revue blanche -- "The Life and Work of Hokusai" series of articles by S. Bing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1897 "Preface" to sales catalogue of Goncourt collection by S. Bing
L'Estampe et L'Affiche – "La Gravure japonaise" by Bing
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "Le Musée Cernuschi" by Gaston Migeon
1898 *Ornements industriels japonais* by E. Bernard published in Paris
Revue des Arts Décoratifs -- "L'Art japonais et son influence sur le goût européen"
By Gonse
Revue de l'art Ancien et Moderne – "La Peinture japonaise au Musée du Louvre"
By Gaston Migeon

Revue Populaire des Beaux-Arts – "Les Arts de l'Extrême-Orient et du Japon et leur influence sur l'Art français" by Roger Marx
1899 Catalogue of the Japanese illustrated books in the Bibliothèque Nationale by Duret
Landscapes and Interiors by Vuillard and *Aspects of Parisian Life* by Bonnard
Published by Vollard
Color-lithograph portfolios influenced by Japanese woodcuts
1900 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Catalogue special officiel du Japon for the Paris Exposition Universelle
Livres et albums illustrés du Japon collected and catalogued by Théodore Duret
Gazette des Beaux-Arts – "La Gravure japonaise" by Duret
"Les Arts à l'Exposition universelle de 1900. L'Exposition rétrospective du Japon"
By Emile Hovelaque, serialized
1904 LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXHIBITION in St. Louis
Collection of works dedicated to the victims of the Japanese-Russian war
Preface by Anatole France with illustrations by various *japoniste* artists
1905 *La troisième jeunesse de Madame Prune*, a novel by Pierre Loti, published in Paris
La Mer by Debussy sheet music cover inspired by Hokusai's *Great Wave at Kanagawa*
Gazette des Beaux-Arts -- "Artistes contemporains. **Whistler**" by Léonce Bénédite
Art et Décoration – "Félix Bracquemond, L'Animalier" by Léonce Bénédite
1906 *Collection S. Bing, Objets d'Art et Peintures du Japon et de la Chine*
1909 *Motifs décoratifs tirés des pochoirs japonais* published by Theodore Lambert in Paris
1909-14 Catalogue for exhibition of Japanese woodcuts at Musée des Arts Décoratif
1910 *La Revue de Paris* – "Harunobu et Toulouse-Lautrec" by Louis Aubert
1911 *Bulletin de la Société Franco-Japonaise de Paris* – "L'Influence de l'art japonais sur l'art décoratif moderne par M. Henri Vever" by N.D.L.R.
1914 *Bulletin de la Société Franco-Japonaise* – "L'Étude de l'art français par les artistes japonais" by Marie Valet
1915 PANAMA-PACIFIC EXHIBITION in San Francisco

<u>*G E R M A N Y*</u>

1795 Thunber's description of his voyage to Africa and Asia 1770-79 translated and published
1817 *Begebenheiten des Capitains von der Russisch-Kaizerlichen Marine Golownin, in der Gefangenschaft bei den Japanern in den Jahren 1811, 1812, 1813 ...*
Translated from Russian into German by Charles John Schultz
1855 *Reise um die Erde nach Japan an Borad der Expeditions-Escadre unter Commodore C. Perry...* by William Heine, published in Leipzig and New York
1858-9 *Die Expedition in die Seen von China, Japan und Ochotsk unter ... Collin Ringgold und ... John Rodgers* by William Heine, in 2 volumes
1868 *A Japanese Grammar* by J. J. Hoffmann, Ph.D., published in Leiden
1888-91 *Artistic Japan* by Bing published in German (36 issues)
1888 *Kunst und Handwerk in Japan* by Justus Brinckmann published in Berlin
Found its way into every library [see Klaus Berger]
1893 *Geshichte der Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts* by Richard Muthers
Includes chapter on *ukiyo-e* and its influence

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1895 *Simplicissiumus* founded in Munich
Contributors include: Toorop, Vallotton, Beardsley, Heine and Gulbrandsson
Japanische Motive für Flächenverzierung published by Friedrich Deneken
Pan magazine printed Otto Eckman's *Irises*
1896 *Geschichte des Japanishcen Farbenholzschnitts* published by Woldemar von Seidlitz
1907 Second edition, 1910 English edition
Japanische Motive für Flächenverzierung by Friedrick Deneken
Museum director in Krefeld

1897 *Dekorative Kunst*, No. 6
Julius Meier-Graefe published two Japanese 'primitive' prints from Bing collection -- Kiyomasa and Kaigetsudô
Referenced to contemporary tendencies in design
Geschichte des Japanischen Farbholzchnittes by Woldemar von Seidlitz published
1898 *Dekorative Kunst* published two 'primitive' woodcuts by Kiyomasu and Kaigetsudô
1900 -02 *Velhagen und Klasings Monatschefte* – "Der Einfluss China und Japans auf die Europaische Kundst" by Adolf Brüning
1901 *Japanischer Humor* by Curt Netto and G. Wagener published by Brockhaus in Leipzig
1902 *Modern Keamik* by Richard Borrman published in Leipzig
1903 *Kunst und Künstler* magazine founded in Berlin
Japnishce Kunstgeschichte by Oskar Münsterberg published
Japanische Holzschnitte by Friedrich Perzynski published
Die Kunst publishes Perzynski's essay *Der Japanishce Farbholzschnitt*
1906 *Ostasiatische Kunst und ihr Einfluss auf Europa* by Dr. Richard Graul published in Leipzig
1908 *Japan Kunst* by O. Munsterberg published in Berlin

JAPAN

1875 *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* by Edward H. House published in Tokyo
1862 *The Japan Herald* – Announcement of public sale of objects for export
Catalogue de la bibliothèque apportée au Japon, published at Deshima
A catalogue of his personal library by von Siebold
1871 24 translations of foreign books published in Japan (according to *Ladies' Repository*)
1873 *Life of Washington* in 45 volumes published in Tokyo
Appleton's – Notice – Pictured with heavy mustache and Skye terrier
1876 *Dresser Hokoku* by Tametake Ishida published in Tokyo
Report of Christopher Dresser's visit to Japan and his remarks made in Japan
1884 *The Japan Mail*
Portions of the journal of Heusken (Townsend Harris' secretary) killed in Japan
1887 *Japan Daily Mail*
"Mr. **Wores'** Pictures"
1888 *Ancien Japon* by Georges Appert, with Mr. H. Kinoshita, published in Tokyo in 3 volumes
1890 *Kokka*, Western-style art journal, established (still published today)
Fenollosa articles on the history of *ukiyo-e* serialized
Okakura also contributed articles
1892 *Flowers of Japan and the Art of Floral Arranging* by Josiah Conder published in Tokyo
1893 Fenollosa started writing catalogues for friend and partner, Kobayashi Bunshichi,
Print dealer in Asakusa who catered to Japanese and to foreign clientele
Landscape Gardening in Japan by Josiah Conder, with photos by K. Ogawa
Published in Tokyo in 2 volumes
Japan Mail – "Artistic Japan at Chicago" by Brinkley
1894 *Fables de la Fonainte* with illustrations by 5 Japanese artists published in Tokyo
1895 *Fables choisies de Florian* with illustrations by Japanese artists published in Tokyo

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Images japonaises by Emile Verhaeren with illustrations by Kwasson Suzuki
Published in Tokyo

1898 *The Boy Who Drew Cats*, translated by Hearn and published in Tokyo
For the *Japanese Fairy Tale Series* with brilliantly colored illustrations

1899 *The Floral Art of Japan* by Josiah Conder published in Tokyo
2nd revised edition of *The Flowers of Japan* ...

1899 *Japanese Fairy Tales* by Hearn published in Tokyo

1902 *An Outline of the History of Ukiyo-ye* by Fenollosa published by Kobayashi

1907 *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* ... by Friedrich von Wenckstern
Published in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto

1915 *Mitabungaku* – "Goncourt no Utamaro, Hokusai den" by Kafu Nagai
"Taiseijin no mitaru Katsushika Hokusai" by Nagai

<u>*R U S S I A*</u>

1816 Vasili Kihailovich Golownin's account of his capture by the Japanese and of the British commercial intercourse with Japan published in Russia

1894-1904 *Mir iskusstva* (*World of Art*) illustrated work of European *japonistes*

<u>*S C A N D I N A V I A*</u>

1780 Carl Peter Thunberg's account of his voyage to Africa and Asia, 1770-79, published

1860 *Japan och dess Innebyggare* (*Japan and its Inhabitants*), illustrated
Published in Stockholm

NOTE: Where articles from other countries have been reprinted in America, that is indicated and is usually the only time the article is listed. This is based on the assumption of priority being given to things printed in America. However, they may well have been read in their countries of origin by Americans visiting there. Note also that in some instances American journals carry book reviews of foreign publications, especially English ones.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 5: TIMELINE OF JAPANESE ART GOODS FOR SALE IN THE WEST

AMERICA

1845 Levy and Spooner, New York auction of M*agasin Japonais*
Japanese "lacquered" (enameled) porcelain, Dresden porcelain and other goods
1850 Cooley and Keese, New York auction of Chinese and Japanese wares
1853 **CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION** in New York
1853 Irving and Smith, New York auction of antique Japanese wares
1855 Schooner *Caroline E. Foote* brought lacquerware and silks to San Francisco
1856 Schooner *General Pierce* brought lacquerware from Shimoda to New York
Leavitt, Delisse & Co. auction of cargo in New York
1860 Henry H. Leeds & Co., 2 New York auctions of Japanese goods
Davis Collamore & Co., selling Japanese goods in shop on Broadway in New York
A.A. Low and Co., New York began selling Japanese wares
China Trade retailer, established 1840
1861 Walsh, Hall & Co. shipped 8 boxes of Japanese goods to New York on the *Fiery Cross*
1862 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION in London
1863 Fountain & Co., selling Japanese goods in shop at 858 Broadway in New York
1864 Henry H. Leeds & Co, New York, auction for Samuel **Colman**
1865 Auction of a number of John **LaFarge**'s Japanese prints
1866 Vantine's, selling Japanese goods in shop at 834 Broadway in New York
1866 Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., auction of books from **LaFarge** library
1867 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1870s Charles F. Libbie of Boston auction for Vantine's
Henry B. Herts auction in New York of Oriental Art for Sato
1874 Latimer & Cleary (D.C.) sale of personal property of Charles Sumner
Henry C. Bird & Co. (Boston) sale of personal property of Charles Sumner
1873 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION in Vienna
1876 **PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION**
George Turner Marsh opened a Japanese art goods emporium
In Palace Hotel in San Francisco
1st US establishment devoted exclusively to sale of Japanese art goods
Japanese art goods for sale at Japanese Bazaar at Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia
Also sold from displays in Main Building, Agricultural Building, Women's Pavilion
After fair closed, goods purchased by South Kensington Museum (London), Museum of Science and Art (Edinburgh), Museum of Fine Art in Boston and the New York collector Henry O. Havemeyer ...
Tiffany and Co. begins carrying fine Japanese wares, aided by Christopher Dresser
Drakes, Chambers Street, New York, devoted to Japanese arts
Rowland Johnson's, Beaver Street, New York, devoted to Japanese arts
Field, Morris, Fenner auction in New York of Japanese art
1877 Morimura Brothers in New York
The first Japanese-owned exporting firm to opening an outlet in America
Rowland Johnson dealers in Oriental art in New York (Beaver Street)
Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha branch opened in New York by Japanese government
To promote Japanese art industries goods
Vantine's opened new shop in New York at 879 Broadway
Branches in Philadelphia and Boston
Leavitt and Company auction of (2000+) Japanese objects
Objects were chosen for Tiffany and Co. by Christopher Dresser
Leavitt, Delisser & Co., New York, auction of Japanese goods from Centennial Exhibition
1878 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1879 Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., auction of Japanese decorative art objects in New York
From collections of Andres, Norton, **Colman**, **LaFarge**, Sturgis "and Others"
1880 First Japanese Manufacturing & Trading Co., 865 Broadway, New York
Mr. Yayi was Director and **Shugio** Hiromichi was proprietor
Advertised in Salmagundi Club 3rd Annual Black and White Exhibition catalogue
1880s Nippon Company, on Broadway in New York,
Advertised "Fine Art Goods" in *Art Amateur*
1881 George A. Leavitt & Co., auction of books from **LaFarge** library
1882 Libbie auction of James Jackson Jarves' Library
1884 A.A. Vantine & Co. advertisement for Chinese and Japanese Goods
In American Art Galleries catalogue for November-December
1885-6 Japanese Village display at Madison Square Garden in New York
Demonstrations and sales of crafts items
1886 J. P. Stevens Company, Atlanta, Georgia selling Japanese silk embroideries
1887 Moore's Art Gallery, New York (290 Fifth Avenue) auctions Bing's oriental decorative arts
Preview in "rooms of S. Bing" (220 Fifth Avenue)
American Art Galleries auction of Robert Graves art object
Including Japanese screens and decorative items
1888 Davis and Harvey's Art Galleries, Philadelphia (Chestnut Street)
Auction of S. Bing oriental decorative arts
Bing auction at his showroom in New York (1334 items)
1889 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
Nishimura and Company, San Francisco,
Advertising as a "Japanese Art Store" in *Overland Monthly*
189? Bunkio Matsuki opened Japanese art gallery on Boylston Street in Boston
1891 American Art Galleries sales
March 6, 7, 8, 10 – Alfred **Parsons**' Watercolors of Japan
March 12, 15 – Japanese prints by various artists
Purchasers included Mansfield, Havemeyer, J.A. **Weir**
1892? Yamanaka and Company of Kyoto opened in Boston
1893 **WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION** in Chicago (Mid-Winter Exposition in San Francisco)
Yamanaka and Company opened in New York (254 Fifth Avenue)
1894 American Art Galleries, New York auction of Bing's 1953 Chinese and Japanese objects
Japanese Engraving: Old Prints in Color Collected by S. Bing, Paris
Catalogue by Bing
American Art Galleries, New York sales exhibition of Bing's 290 Japanese prints & books
From late 17th century to the present
Bing's Japanese Print exhibition in Boston and Philadelphia (traveled from New York)
Fenollosa wrote "Introduction" to Bing's catalogue
1896 Sales exhibition *The Masters of Ukiyo-e* at Fine Arts Building in New York
Fenollosa compiled the catalogue
American Art Galleries sale of Japanese prints, porcelain etc. from Yamanaka & Co.
Shown upstairs with exhibition of Monet's *Rouen Cathedral* series downstairs
1898 Kobayashi opened a branch in San Francisco
Fenollosa was his partner in producing and selling prints in Asakusa
Bunkio Matsuki began holding annual Japanese art auctions in New York & Philadelphia
Dow estate auctioned by Bunkio in 1923
1899 American Art Galleries May sale of Japanese prints for J. B. Miller
Purchasers included Mr. Richard Morris **Hunt** and L.C. Tiffany
American Art Galleries November sale of Japanese paintings for Bunkio Matsuki
Purchasers included Mrs. K.S. Buckingham (Chicago)
1905 American Art Galleries auction of
"Property of Yamanaka & Co., Osaka, Kioto, New York and Boston"
Decorative arts, plus 585 lots of paintings and prints
1903 American Art Galleries sale of Japanese watercolor paintings for Bunkio Matsuki

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American Art Galleries sale of "Rare Objects" for Bunkio Matsuki
Brass, Leathers and Wood
1904 American Art Galleries sale of "Art of Old Japan" for Bunkio Matsuki
Carvings in Jade and Other Stones and Wood, Lanterns, Gold Lacquers
American Art Galleries sale for Mr. H. Deakin of Chicago
"Rare Old Japanese Color Prints, Kakemonos, and Modern Water Colors"
1905 American Art Galleries sale of *Collection of Mr. S. Nishimura*
"Old Japanese and Chinese Art Works"
1906 American Art Galleries auction of Property of Yamanaka & Co. (6-day sale)
Chinese and Japanese fine and decorative arts
1907 American Art Galleries auction of Bunkio Matsuki Collection
Doll and Richard, *Boston exhibition of painting Contemporary Japanese Paintings*
By Mr. Hiroshi Yoshida and Miss Fuji Yoshida
Japanese and American landscapes paintings in watercolors and oils
1908 American Art Galleries auction of "Rare Oriental Art Objects" from the **LaFarge** collection
1909 American Art Galleries auction of "Oriental Art Objects, the Property of John **LaFarge**"
1911 American Art Galleries auction of **LaFarge** art property in New York
Merwin-Clayton, auction of remainder of **LaFarge** library in New York
1913 American Art Galleries auction of Tadamasa Hayashi Collection of Western art
See: *New York American* 1/10764 (Monday, January 6, 1913): p. 8, c. 1-2
1914 American Art Galleries auction of Havemeyer watercolors, prints, books
1919 Doll & Richard sale of Spaulding collection of Japanese Prints
Walpole Galleries auction of Ernest Fenollosa Library and Japanese prints

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

1884 *La porte chinoise* at 88 rue Royale, Brussels selling Chinese and Japanese goods
Including prints
1888 Brussels exhibition and sale of *ukiyo-e* organized by Bing
1891 Compagne Japonaise selling goods imported from Liberty's of London in Brussels
1893 Hague Kunstring exhibition and sale of Japanese art organized by Bing
Also traveled to Amsterdam and Rotterdam

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

1888 Nordiske Industri Landbrugs of Kunstudstilling, Copenhagen
Bing had a kiosk displaying Japanese artistic items with works by French artisans

ENGLAND

1862 Farmer & Rogers Oriental Warehouse on Regent Street selling Japanese objects
At the close of the International Exhibition in London, Japanese objects went on sale
Purchased by **Whistler**, Godwin, Rossetti, Leighton, Dresser ...
1875 Liberty opened India House (which later became Liberty and Company)
One of his 3 employees was Japanese
1876 Sale of **Whistler**'s house in Chelsea
His collections also sold
1877 Jamrach's Department Store selling Japanese art objects
1887 Alex Reid, a colleague of Theo Van Gogh, exhibited Japanese prints in Glasgow gallery
1890 Bing mounted Hokusai exhibition in London
1891 Liberty catalogue *Eastern and Miscellaneous Bric-a-Brac*
Included Japanese books and prints
1902 Yamanaka and Company of Osaka opened a branch in London

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

FRANCE

1826 *La Porte Chinoise* opened by M. Gouilliette at 36 Rue Vivienne
Selling Japanese and Chinese objects (until 1886)
Originally called *Salon des Thé*
1827 Auction of Japanese objects from Titsingh Collection in Paris
1829 Auction of "précieuse collection d'objets d'art et de curiosité de la Chine et du Japon"
In Paris
1832 Auction of Japanese objects from Titsingh Collection in Paris
1840 MM. Deschaux et Cie auction of 2612 Japanese objects in Paris
1856 *À l'Empire Chinois* opened by M. Decelle at 55 rue Vivienne
Also sold Japanese objects, including illustrated albums
1857 Auction of Japanese objects of art by Mlle Rachel in Paris
1861 *Au Céleste Empire* opened by M. Houssaye at 20 rue Saint-Marc
-70 Selling Japanese art objects
1862 Mme. Desoye opened shop on the Rue de Rivoli in Paris selling Oriental curios
Frequented by *japonistes* (**Whistler**, Fantin-Latour, the Goncourts, Baudelaire,
Tissot, Duret, Millet, Burty, Manet, Degas and Monet, Rouart ...)
1863 Alfred Sensier sold Japanese pictures to the Barbizon painters Millet and Rousseau
1865 Estate auction of the Japanese collection of the Duke de Morny in Paris
1866 Léger selling "Chinoiseries et Japoneries" at 19 rue Le Peletier in Paris
Malinet selling Japanese curiosities at 15 quai Voltaire
Vandenbussche selling imported Japanese and Chinese lacquers and porcelain
1867 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
100 prints exhibited by the Shogunate sold after the Exposition closed
Sale of "produits and objects d'art japonais, composant la collection envoyée du
Japon pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867"
At 41 rue de la Victoire in Paris
1869 Brissonet, 22 rue Rambuteau selling Chinese and Japanese goods
With houses in Hong Kong and Yokohama
Suez Canal opened, facilitating access to trade with Japan -- Japanese imports soared
? Theo Van Gogh purchased *ukiyo-e* at a boutique on the avenue de l'Opera
? A. Portier sold Japanese woodcuts
Degas' major dealer who lived in same house as Van Gogh
1870s Le Bon Marché, Rue du Bac, selling Japanese print albums very reasonably
With branches around Paris
Guerrier and Company, a tea warehouse, selling Japanese print albums
Compagnie Coloniale, a *chocolatier*, selling Japanese print albums
1875 Siegfried Bing selling Oriental objects at public auction at Hôtel Drouot in Paris
1878 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
Bing opened Japanese art shop at 19 rue Chauchat to coincide with the Exposition
Hayashi Tadamasa selling Japanese art goods for Kiritsu-Kôshô-Kaisha
1880s Le Bon Marché in Paris opens its *Galerie de la faïence japonaise*
Père Tanguy's shop carried *ukiyo-e* (dealer for Lautrec, Signac and Bernard)
Goupil Gallery carried *ukiyo-e*
1882 Hayashi and Wakai Kenzaburô had a shop at 7 cité Hauteville
Auction of Paul de Saint-Victor collection of Japanese art
1885 Bing enlarged existing shop
Opened branches at 23 rue de Provence and 13 rue Bleue in Paris
Catering to two distinct clienteles with differing tastes and pocketbooks
New and expensive items sold at rue Bleue
Antiques sold at rue Chauchat and rue de Provence
Vincent van Gogh sold prints on commission to fellow artists for Bing
1886 S. Bing et Cie opened import-export offices in Yokohama
Hayashi and Wakai moved to 65 rue de la Victoire
1887 S. Bing et Cie opened offices in Kobe

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1888 *l'Exposition historique de l'art de la gravure au Japon* at Bing's, 22 rue de la Provence
1889 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1889 *Tableaux et études de l'Extrême-Orient* exhibition at George Petit's gallery in Paris
55 Views of Japan by Louis Dumoulin
188? Sale of Charles Gillot collection by Bing
1891 Exhibition and sale of Burty collection by Bing
Estate auction of Champfleury collection in Paris at Hotel Drouot
Georges Durand-Ruel exhibition of prints by Utamaro and Hiroshige
From the Burty collection
1892 Auction of the George Appert collection of Japanese Art at the Hotel Drouot in Paris
1893 Bing exhibition of Hiroshige and Utamaro at Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris
1894 Auction of Antoine Proust collection of Japanese art at Motel Drouot in Paris
Auction of Georges Clemenceau collection of Japanese art at Hotel Drouot in Paris
Preview at Bing's gallery
1897 Sales exhibition of Goncourt collection of Japanese and Chinese art, Hotel Drouot, Paris
Catalogue with "Preface" by Bing
Preview of items (1637) at Bing's Gallery
1899 Auction of Telinge Collection of Japanese and Chinese art at the Hotel Drouot in Paris
1900 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1901 *Nihon-Gwakei* exhibition sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of the Interior at Bing's
1902 Hayashi Collection exhibited and auctioned at the Hotel Drouot in Paris
1st part of auction
1903 Hayashi Collection exhibited and auctioned at the Hotel Drouot in Paris
2nd part of auction
Trois Maîtres Japonais exhibit and sale featuring Hiroshige, Hokusai and Kuniyoshi
Held at L'Art Nouveau Bing
Estate auction of Didron library at Paul et Fils et Guillemin Library in Paris
1904 Sale of Charles Gillot collection of Japanese paintings and art objects
At the Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris
Auction of Gillot collection of Japanese prints and illustrated books
At the Hotel Drouot in Paris
Auction of Pierre Barboutau collection of Japanese paintings, prints and objects
At Hotel Drouot in Paris
1906 Durand-Ruel Galleries sale of Bing estate
Marcel Bing (Siegfried's son) continued the business at 10 rue St. Georges
But tended to favor Chinese over Japanese art

JAPAN

1874 Kiritsu Kôshô Kaisha, an industrial and commercial export company, founded in Tokyo
1887 Bunshichi Kobayashi, with Fenollosa as partner, opened print and book shop in Asakusa
1902 Kobayashi opened branch in Yokohama

RUSSIA

1900-3 Art dealers from Japan selling woodcuts in St. Petersburg

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 6: TIMELINE OF WESTERN SOCIETIES ASSOCIATED WITH *JAPONISME*

AMERICA

1799 Salem East India Marine Society founded in MA
One goal was the founding of a museum for study of distant trading cultures
Later became the Peabody Essex Museum

1855 Saturday Club founded in Boston
1876 Members included: Longfellow, Dana, Norton, W.M. **Hunt**, Agassiz, Holmes, H. James Sr., Charles Adams' (Henry's father) and Perkins
Later: Pumpelly, Bigelow, Hooper and Higginson
1860 Richard Henry Dana, Jr. lectured on Japan there

1847 Century Club founded in New York
1896 Exhibition of Japanese art, with a lecture by **LaFarge** on Hokusai
Members included: **LaFarge**, **Johnson**, Hennessy, **Homer**, Conant, A.A. **Low**, Pumpelly, R. Sturgis, Avery, Phoenix, H.D. Martin, Lambdin, Taylor, Duggan

1866 American Society of Painters in Water Colors founded

1877 The Tile Club established in New York by a group of artists and writers
Spurred in part by the 1976 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia
Recognition that American decorative arts & manufacture were inferior
1880 **Shugio** Hiromichi joined ("Varnish")

1879 Associated Artists formed: **Tiffany**, **Colman**, **deForest** and **Wheeler**

1884 Grolier Club founded
Japanese prints displayed at inaugural meeting
1887 **Shugio**'s Grolier Club talk on Japanese books and printing
Displayed actual tools and materials of the printer
Well received by the press

1905 Nippon Club founded in New York (44 W. 85th St.)

1907 Japan Society founded in New York

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

1884 *Les Vingt* (The Twenty or *Les XX*) founded in Brussels by Octave Maus
An artists' collective which exhibited international avant-garde art

1894 *La Libre Esthétique* succeeded *Les Vingt* and broadened its emphasis
Stoclet collection exhibition - Japanese woodcuts alongside European paintings

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

1892 *Vereinigung der XI* formed by Walter Leistikow, Ludwig von Hoffmann and others

1897 *Vienna Secession* founded

ENGLAND

1863 Royal Institute of Great Britain speech by John Leighton "On Japanese Art"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

FRANCE

1858 *Société d'ethnographie* founded by Léon de Rosny, a *japoniste*
Members include Richard Cortambert, Rudolf Lindau, August Pfizmaier, Philip Franz von Siebold, G. Duchesne de Bellecourt, J. Hoffman, Charles de Chassiron, Foukousawa Youkitchi, Bertall ...
1862 *Société des Aquafortistes* founded in Paris
1867 *Jing-lar Société*, a dining club devoted to *japonisme*, founded in Paris
Members included: Burty, Astruc, Fantin-Latour, Jacquemart, Hirsch, Solon, Bracquemond
Non-member invitations
1869 *Union centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'industrie*
Lecture on Japanese art by Ernest Chesneau
1873 *Société des Etudes japonaises* founded in Paris by Léon de Rosny
Members included: Guimet, Sichel, Bing, Cernuschi, Sommier ...
1889 *Société des Peintres-Graveurs* formed
Nabi group formed
1900 *Société franco-japonaise* founded in Paris by Félix Regamey
Members included: Bing, Hayashi, Gillot, Vever, Hugues Kraft ...
c 1900 -14 Friends of Japanese Art group formed (also referred to as the Franco-Japanese Society)
Members included: Bing, Hayashi, Koechlin, Gonse, Migneon, Monet, Vever, Rivière ...
Guests, including Americans, sometimes admitted to dinners
? Society of Original Wood Engravers in Color organized by Auguste Lepère

JAPAN

1873 East Asian Society founded in Tokyo by Max von Brandt with Michael Martin Baer
Siegfried Bing and H. Arhens joined in 1874
18? *Ryuchi-kai* established
Japanese association dedicated to the continuation of the heritage of old Japan
Fenollosa and Okakura were both members, as was Bing
1884 *Kangakai* (Painting Appreciation Society) founded by Fenollosa
Original members included: Kano Tomonobu, Fenollosa, Bigelow
1889 Tokyo School of Fine Arts opened
Based on Fenollosa and Okakura's study of art education in the West
Okakura was Director (1890-98)
Fenollosa lectured on aesthetics with Okakura interpreting (1889-90)
1896 Kuroda Seiki the 1st teacher of Western painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts
Kuroda founded Hakuba-kai (White Horse Society)
For Japanese artists working in "Impressionist" style
1901 Pacific Painting Society founded by Japanese Western-style oil painters
From 1900 came to America often for commercial exhibitions
1908 *Pan* drinking club or artists formed to
Discussed *ukiyo-e* and modernism
Members included: Yamamoto Kanae, Ishii Hakutei, Bonkotsu

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 7: TIMELINE OF PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OF JAPANESE ART AND *JAPONISME* IN THE WEST

AMERICA

1799-80 Captain James Devereux, out of Salem, in Japan for Dutch East India Company
- Donation to the East India Marine Society (Peabody Essex Museum)
  - Japanese lacquerware, woodblock prints and decorative items
  - Prints by Utamaro, Toyokuni and Eishi and date from the 1790s
  - Put on display

1853 CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION in New York

1854 US government received gifts from the Japanese as a result of Perry's expedition
- Decorative arts were included but not paintings, sculptures or prints

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry given a number of gifts by the Japanese
- Such as Hiroshige triptych *Oigawa Kachiwatashi* (*Crossing the Oi River*)

Officers under Perry received many gifts and made many purchases
- Including books and prints

1856 John **LaFarge** acquired his first Japanese prints (probably in Paris)

1860s Russell Sturgis began collecting

William Morris **Hunt** began collecting

Samuel P. Avery, purchased his Japanese collection in Europe

George Walter Vincent Smith collecting Japanese paintings and art objects
- Purchased in Europe and America
- Preserved intact at the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum
  - In Springfield, MA

1862-3 Raphael Pumpelly brought large collection of old prints back from Japan
- **LaFarge** used some of these prints in his drawings of the late 1860s

1862-5 William Thompson Walters of Baltimore collected Japanese prints in Paris

1863-91 John Chandler **Bancroft** and John **LaFarge**
- Commissioned A.A. Low to collect prints in Japan
- Bancroft ultimately bequeathed 3000 objects to Worcester Art Museum

1870s Dr. William S. Bigelow began his collection, aided by Siegfried Bing

1876 CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION in Philadelphia

Henry O. Havemeyer's 1st purchases of Japanese decorative arts
- At 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition

Capt. Pfoundes collection of Japanese art objects on exhibit in New York
- Resident in Japan for more than ten years

1880s Frederick W. Gookin, scholarly Chicago consultant and dealer in prints
- Lectured and was a strong influence on American collecting of *ukiyo-e*

1880-1900 **Shugio** Hiromichi in New York with important collection of Japanese art
- Member of Tile Club and Grolier Club
- Lectured on Japanese art and advised artist friends
- Mounted several exhibitions of *ukiyo-e* at Grolier Club

1880-81 Harry Humphrey **Moore**, artist in Japan, collecting

1882-9 Bigelow searched for Japanese art treasures in Japan
- With aid of Morse, Fenollosa, Okakura

1887 Freer began collecting **Whistler** prints
- Specialized in American artists (**Dewing, Thayer, Tryon, Whistler** ...)
- **Whistler** introduced him to Asian art (1890), began collecting

1890s Charles J. Morse, Chicago, collection of *ukiyo-e*

Clarence Buckingham, Chicago, collection of *ukiyo-e* (1400+)
- Bequeathed to AIC, where he was a Trustee (1913)

George Mann Niedecken, Chicago, Japanese prints and Chinese ceramics

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dr. Charles Webster, Chicago
Collection of prints by Shunsho and his followers
From Carl Wright collection (Chicago)
Howard Mansfield, New York, collection of Japanese prints
1 of only 2 comprehensive collections of **Whistler** etchings & lithographs
Japanese decorative arts and *ukiyo-e* (more than 300)
Bequeathed to MMA in 1936
Francis **Lathrop** collection of *ukiyo-e* (12,000+)
An original member of the Grolier Club
Influenced by **Shugio** & Fenollosa (who catalogued part of his collection)
MMA purchased 164 (1912)
Denham W. Ross collection
Shugio Hiromichi, Japanese collector of prints and illustrated books
Oxford educated
Director First Japan Manufacturing and Trading Co. in New York
Early Grolier Club member
Organized print exhibition for Ladies' Day there (1896)
Organized New York's first major *ukiyo-e* exhibition there (1889)
Charles Hovey **Pepper** collection of Japanese prints
Begun after visiting *Musée Guimet* in Paris
Charles **Weldon**, artist and illustrator for *Harper's* in Japan

1890 Hamilton Easter Field collector of Japanese prints

1890-2 Robert **Blum** in Japan for *Scribner's*
Collected Japanese art objects and prints (about 600 prints)
Including set of Hiroshige's *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*
Collection donated to Cincinnati Art Museum (1905-06) by Blum's sister

1890-1919 J. Alden **Weir** collection of *ukiyo-e*

1892 Edward Morse collection of ceramics purchased by MFAB
Freer Collection turning point
Toward Japanese paintings and ceramics purchased from Takayanagi

1893 WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXHIBITON in Chicago (and San Francisco)
Bigelow Collection the basis for an exhibition on Hokusai by Fenollosa at MFAB
George Walter Vincent Smith opened museum to house his collection
In Springfield, MA
Theodore **Robinson** and **Weir** bought Japanese prints
At Boussod-Valladon in New York
At Bing's American Art Association sales
Robinson attended Ketcham sale of Fenollosa's Japanese prints
Freer bought first *ukiyo-e* in New York, a year before travelling to Japan

c. 1900 Arnold **Genthe**, photographer, began collecting *ukiyo-e* (2000)
After meeting Fenollosa

1900-10 William S. and John T. Spaulding of Boston collection of *ukiyo-e* (7000)
1921 Promised to MFAB
Howard Mansfield collected broadly (including paintings and 300+ prints)
1936 his collection acquired by the MMA
He was a Trustee of the museum
George Niedecken collection of Japanese prints and Chinese ceramics
Arthur Wesley **Dow** collection eventually numbered into the thousands
1923, after his death, sold at auction with catalogue by Bunkio Matsuki

1904 LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXHIBITION in St. Louis

1913-22 Frank Lloyd **Wright** collected *ukiyo-e*
Shugio served as his guide in Japan

19? Denman W. Ross purchased works sent to MFAB
From Daitokuji (a major temple complex located in Kyoto)
Questionable whether Fenollosa had the right to sell them
Harvard history professor and Boston museum benefactor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

19? Agnes Meyers, guided by Freer, collected East Asian art
1915 PANAMA-PACIFIC EXHIBITION in San Francisco (and San Diego)

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

? Jan Cock Blomhoff, head of Dutch factory at Deshima before Von Siebold arrived
Collection including Japanese prints
Eventually went to the museum in Leiden (1883)
? Johan Frederik van Overmeer Fisscher, at Dutch factory at Deshima
Collection including Japanese prints
Eventually went to the museum in Leiden
1823-9 Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold, doctor, Dutch East India Company
Important collection of Japanese paraphernalia
Employed Kawahara Keiga, a Nagasaki painter
To depict Japanese scenes using Western methods
Collection intended for ethnographic study
Divided among Brussels, Ghent and Leiden
1840s Chevalier Joseph Henry Levyssohn, chief of the Dutch station at Deshima
Collection of ceramics, fans, carvings and other objects
Shown by Dutch at 1853 New York Crystal Palace Exhibition
1876 Adolphe Crespin began collecting Japanese prints by Kunisada

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

1873 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION in Vienna
? Anders Zorn, Swedish artist, collected Japanese prints
1896 Justus Brinckmann bought Japanese books from Hayashi and prints from Bing
Director, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg
1900 Adolph Fischer collection of Japanese art exhibited by Vienna Secession
1906 Gustav Klimt purchased portfolio of Japanese erotica
Contained 36 woodcuts by Moronobu, Harunobu and Utamaro
Kiyonaga, Kuniyoshi and Kunisada also in his collection

ENGLAND

1850s Sir Rutherford Alcock, British Consul in Tokyo
Prints treated ethnographically
1862 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION in London
Whistler began collecting *ukiyo-e* in London
1862-3 Rossetti collected *ukiyo-e* (with no carry-over into his work)
1869 Dr. Barton lent famous tiger painting to the South Kensington Museum
For exhibition
1874 Bowes collection of Japanese art, primarily enamels
Bequeathed to town of Barnard Castle
1879 **Whistler** began second collection --
Lost first collection to settle law suit with Ruskin
Shunshoo, Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Eisho, Toyokun, Hiroshige, Kunisada
? Beardsley collection of erotic Japanese woodcuts

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

FRANCE

1774-1807	Royer (lawyer) collection of Japanese arts
	Catalogue of collection completed in 1804
1812	Isaac Titsingh Collection auctioned in Paris
	Director of Dutch trading settlement at Nagasaki 1779-85
	Included Japanese woodcuts
1840-60s	George Duseigneur, print maker, collection of Japanese albums
1861	Baudelaire already possessed a number of Japanese prints
	Goncourt *Journal* (June 8) records acquisition of Japanese prints
	At Port Chinoise
1862	Felix Bracquemond discovered Hokusai's *Manga* (some date this earlier)
	Collection Japanese prints of flora and fauna as design sources
	Philippe Burty, art critic, collection of Japanese illustrated books
	Available to many artists as sources
	Exhibited 7 illustrated books at Universal Exposition of 1867 in Paris
	1873 first discovered Hiroshige
??	Haviland collection of *ukiyo-e*
186?-	Camille Moreau, ceramic artist, collection of Japanese albums
	Focused on flora and fauna of Japan as a source for her designs
1863	Goncourt *Journal* (October 10) purchase of albums of "Japanese obscenities"
1864	J.-F. Millet began collecting Japanese prints
	Theodore Rousseau began collecting Japanese prints
1867	EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1868	MEIJI REVOLUTION in Japan
	The better Japanese collections came onto the market
?	Manzi's Japanese prints helped form Camondo Collection of the Louvre
?	A. Portier, Degas' principal dealer who lived in the same house as Van Gogh,
	A print connoisseur and collector of *ukiyo-e*
? 60s	Edgar Degas actively collecting Japanese prints
?	Henri and Alexis Rouart
1871-2	Duret & Cernuschi brought decorative arts & illustrated albums back from Japan
1872-3	Burty acquired over 100 illustrated Japanese books
	[According to *La Renaisance littéraire et artistique*]
1873	Goncourt collection received much of the art Sichel brings back from Japan
	Journal (March 31) visit to La Porte Chinoise
	Siegfried Bing began collecting Japanese art
??	Monet collection of Japanese art
	Included Hiroshige landscapes, Hokusai, Utamaro's women,
	and Toyohiro plants and animals [see Dufwa, Michels]
1878	EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1880	Bing in Japan -- discovered Utamaro
	Duret visited Anderson in London to study his collection
	First encountered 'primitives'
1881	Goncourt's *La Maison d'un artiste*
	Included an account of his collection of Japanese albums and prints
? ?	Gauguin collection traveled with him
	Probably had Hokusai's complete *Manga*
	(Based on pictures he used from it)
1883	Henri Toulouse-Lautrec began collecting Japanese prints and *objets d'art*
	Exhibition of Japanese art from French collections at the Galerie George Petit
	Included 9th-19th centuries
	Lenders: Gonse, Burty, Cernuschi, Bing, Duret, Hirsch, Montefiore and
	Hayashi
1882	The major Parisian private collections of Japanese art have been begun
mid-80s	Goncourt *Journal* says Nanga paintings by Baigai and Baiitus in his collection

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1886	Pierre Bourbouteau to Japan -- brings back sixteen Sharakus
1887-	Toulouse-Lautrec buying Japanese albums and prints
	From the dealer André Portier
1889	EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
	Collections of Gonse and others represented
	Gauguin bought a print by Utamaro for 300 gold francs
??	Maurice Joyant, art dealer and connoisseur-collector of Japanese prints
	Maurice Manzi, art dealer (partner with Joyant)
	Connoisseur-collector of Japanese prints
1890	Burty Collection auction included 1800 items
	One Utamaro print sold for 1,050 gold francs
1890-	Pierre Bonnard began collecting
	Spurred by Bing's exhibit at l'École des Beaux-Arts
	Collection tended toward late artists (Hiroshige, Kuniyoshi, Kunisada ...)
?	Mary **Cassatt** (collection of 55 ukiyo-e auctioned in 1950)
1891	Duret bequeathed collection of Japanese albums to Bibliothèque Nationale
1897	Goncourt collection exhibited and auctioned off in Paris
1902	Hayashi collection exhibited and auctioned in Paris
1903	Gillot and Barbouteau collections auctioned
	Gillot - printmaker who worked with Bing to produce *Le Japon Artistique*
	Important catalogue by Barbouteau
1903	Matisse bought Japanese woodcuts in Rue de Seine

GERMANY

1890-	Raymond Koechlin developed a major collection of primitive woodblock prints
	Close to Brinckmann, Seidlitz and Kümmel, German museum directors interested in *japonisme*
	Important to the spread of *japonisme* and development of *Jugenstil*
1892-5	Adolf Fischer in Japan to enhance his collection of Japanese art
	Eventually given to Museum in Cologne

ITALY

1860s	Elihu **Vedder**, an American resident in Italy
	Objects sent by his brother, Alexander, from Japan
	1870 Elihu inherited 3 trunks filled with Japanese items from his brother
1860s-70s	James Jackson Jarves, an American resident in Florence
	Collection of Japanese art and art objects
	Wrote important series of articles and book on Japanese art
1870s-	Henry Roderick **Newman**, expatriate American living in Florence
	Studio filled with Japanese ceramics and paintings

JAPAN

1860s-90s	Capt. Frank Brinkley, English, collection of *ukiyo-e*
	Sold in 1892 to Charles Stewart Smith, American
1920s	Matsukata Ko-ojiro-o important collection of Impressionist paintings
	Purchasing 34 from Monet at Giverny and many more in French galleries
	Now housed in National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo
	Japanese *Ukiyo-e* purchased in France (8000+) to return them to Japan
	For Japanese artists to study as Westerners had

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

RUSSIA

19?? Russian collections of Japanese art formed by I. E. Grabar, S. P. Yaremich, V. J. Kirbatov and S. V. Lebedev

NOTE: See Appendix 3, listing visitors to Japan, for further citations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 8: TIMELINE OF MUSEUM AND PUBLIC COLLECTIONS AND DEPARTMENTS OF JAPANESE ART IN THE WEST

AMERICA

AIC Art Institute of Chicago
MFAB Museum of Fine Arts Boston
MMA Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

1800 Captain James Devereux collection of Japanese lacquer, prints and decorative objects
Bequeathed to East India Marine Society museum in Salem, MA
Subsequently became part of Peabody Essex Museum collection
The first Japanese woodblock prints to have entered an American collection
1856 CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITION in New York
1876 CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION in Philadelphia
American museums purchased items from the Centennial Exhibition
MFAB purchased a large cloisonné piece from Japan
Philadelphia Museum of Fine Arts
1880 Peabody Museum, Salem, MA named Morse its Director (served from 1880 to 1916)
Later divided his collection between Peabody and MFAB
1882 MFAB named Morse Curator of Japanese Ceramics
Sold collection of ceramics (5000+) to MFAB
MMA received 1st of many donations from S. Bing (a Chinese porcelain)
Museum made him a Life Fellow
1886 Fenollosa sold his painting collection to Charles G. Weld
With understanding it would go to MFAB as Fenollosa-Weld collection
1889 Bigelow's collection of Japanese and Chinese art loaned to the MFAB
1890 MFAB exhibition of Bigelow and Fenollosa-Weld collection (given to the museum in 1911)
1890-7 Fenollosa was the first Curator of Oriental Art at MFAB
1891 Worcester Art Museum bequeathed John C. **Bancroft** collection (3000+ objects)
Prints by Hiroshige, Hokusai, Kuniyoshi, Sadashige, Shigenobu,Toyokun ...
1892 MFAB acquired Morse's collection of ceramics (5000 pieces)
1890s AIC -- Gookin serving as Curator of Japanese Prints
Samuel T. Peters Collection bequeathed to MMA
1892 Fenollosa collection of fine arts purchased by MFAB
1893 WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXHIBITION in Chicago
Fenollosa used Bigelow Collection as the basis for an exhibition on Hokusai at MFAB
MMA received Charles Stewart Smith collection of Japanese ceramics (522)
Purchased from Capt. Frank Brinkley, an English dealer who had lived in Japan
1893 MFAB Collection formed (23,000+ prints eventually)
-1919 Only venue for public to view fine Japanese art in US following WCE
1894 MMA received 2 albums from Mary L. Cassily
1895 George Walter Vincent Smith Museum opened in Springfield, MA, to house his collection
Decorative arts – gaudy, reflecting tastes of the 1890s
? MMA acquired many Japanese textiles brought to America by Bing for sale in 1894
Purchased and donated to the MMA by Havemeyer
1896 George Walter Vincent Smith Museum opened in Springfield, Massachusetts
His collection of Japanese paintings and art objects was maintained intact
1897-9 MFAB made Arthur Wesley **Dow** Keeper of Japanese Paintings and Prints
After Fenollosa left
1898 MFAB made Okakura Director of Asian Art Department
Okakura hired as a consultant by Isabella Steward Gardner to help with her collection
Her collection was endowed as a museum after her death in 1924
1900 MFAB purchased four Japanese subject paintings by Henry **Newman**

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1901 NYPL given Charles Stewart Smith collection of *ukiyo-e*
1904 LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXHIBITION in St. Louis
1905-6 Cincinnati Art Museum given Robert **Blum's** collection of albums and prints
Donated by Blum's sister
1906 Smithsonian Institution accepted gift of Freer Collection of Asian art
President Theodore Roosevelt supported this against opposition
Collection to go to Washington at time of Freer's death (1919)
Freer also provided money and design for the building (Charles A Platt, architect)
US government (Smithsonian) to maintaining collection and building
1911 MFAB given the Bigelow loan collection of Japanese and Chinese art
15,000 pieces, including 3600 paintings plus 40,000 *ukiyo-e*
1912 MMA purchased 164 *ukiyo-e* from Francis **Lathrop** estate
Gookin hired to clean, mount and catalogue the **Lathrop** collection
1913 MMA received Samuel P. Isham gift of more than two hundred *ukiyo-e*
Overseen and written about by Gookin
AIC bequeathed Trustee Clarence Buckingham's collection of *ukiyo-e* (1400+)
Frederick Gookin named Curator of the Buckingham Collection
Serving until his death in 1936
Collection particularly rich in 'primitive' period prints
1915 PANAMA-PACIFIC EXHIBITION in San Francisco
1915 MMA named S. C. Bosch Reitz the first Curator of Far Eastern Art
1918 MMA acquired F.L. **Wright** *ukiyo-e* from his sale
1919 Freer died and construction of Freer Gallery in Washington was completed
Opened 1923
MMA acquired Japanese paintings and prints from the Havemeyer Collection
1920 MMA acquired *ukiyo-e* from the **Wright** collection at his sale
1921 MFAB acquired Spaulding collection (collected by Wright)
1936 MMA acquired Mansfield collection

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

1837 Leiden ethnological museum (royal Dutch cabinet of curiosities)
Bequeathed Von Siebold Japanese art collection
Von Siebold was a German doctor in Dutch service in Japan
Collection included bronzes, ceramics and *ukiyo-e* prints
Part of the collection also went to Ghent and Brussels
1883 National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden opened
All Dutch museum collections of Oriental art merged into one holding
1891 National Museum acquired pieces from Burty collection
Sold by Bing, who also acted as Museum's agent

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

1836 Von Siebold donated Japanese books, maps and manuscripts
To the Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne
Additional gifts were given in 1839, 1840 and thereafter
1864 Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie established in Vienna
Exhibiting Japanese craft and design
1867 Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna opened its Japanese collection
Purchases made at the Paris Exposition
1873 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION in Vienna
Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna
Bought a number of Japanese objects at the close of the Vienna Exhibition

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1875 Oriental Museum opened in Vienna under the direction of Baron Hoffmann
1879 Adolf Erick Nordenskiöld, polish explorer, collected Japanese books (6000)
For Royal Library in Stockholm
1889 Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum in Vienna given 5000 Japanese pieces
Donated by Heinrich von Siebold
1897 Osterreichisches Museum acquired first *ukiyo-e* (27)
1899 Osterreichishces Museum established a Department of Japanese Prints
? Museum für Vokerkunde in Vienna
Received Archduke Leopold-Ferdinand of Austria's collection of Japanese art

ENGLAND

1857 Museum of Ornamental Art opened in London
1862 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION in London
1865 South Kensington Museum (Victoria and Albert) in London
"Japanese Court" installed, decorated by Owen
1867 South Kensington Museum purchased 150 objects
From the Japanese exhibits at the Paris Exposition
1875 South Kensington Museum purchased Japanese bronzes from S. Bing
1878 Glasgow Museum received a Japanese government gift of art objects
In exchange for replicas of 17th and 18th century European paintings
For the Imperial Palace Collection
1881-2 British Museum acquired Anderson Collection (3000+ Japanese and Chinese paintings)
Anderson wrote the catalogue in 1886
1886 Victoria and Albert Museum acquired 10,000 prints
Collection to provide ornamental examples for use by craftsmen and designers
c1900 British Museum -- Laurence Binyon took charge
Assiduously collected Japanese prints and paintings for their artistic quality
1901-2 British Museum acquired Ernest Hart collection
1906 British Museum acquired part of Arthur Morrison collection
1907 British Museum acquired Samuel Tuke collection
1907-9 British Museum acquired Ernest Satow collection
1913 British Museum acquired most of Arthur Morrison collection

FRANCE

1840 Museum of China and Japan was created by M. Paul Ginier in Marseille
1843 Cabinet des estampes of the Bibliothèque impériale, Paris
Acquired books on Japan owned by Von Siebold
Including Hokusai, Hokkei, Korin, Eisen
1848 Biliothèque impériale in Paris acquired prints by Korusai
1855 Bibliotèque impériale in Paris bequeathed W. L. de Sturler collection
Japanese books by Hokusai and Utamaro and
Prints by Hokusai, Kunisada I, Toyokuni, Eisen ...
? Louvre -- Manzi's Japanese prints helped form Camondo Collection
1863 Bibliothèque impériale in Paris purchased 14 Japanese volumes
1867 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1878 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
1879 Ancient and Oriental Museum established in Lyon by Guimet
1888 Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers
Bing donation of a study collection of Japanese ceramics and glass
Musée des Arts Décoratifs given and sold Japanese decorative arts by Bing
To make a comprehensive Oriental collection accessible to French artisans
1889 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Musée Guimet opened in Paris
Included important Japanese collections and Japanese views by Félix Régamey
1890 Musée du Louvre accepted Bing gifts
Including a Kano *kakemono*, a Hiroshige watercolor, a Hokusai fan
1891 Musée des Arts Décoratifs obtained art objects from sale of Burty estate by Bing
Collection Ph. Burty, Catalogue de peintures et d'estampes japonaises, de kakémonos, de miniatures indo-persanes et de livres relatifs à l'Orient et au Japon *(Paris, March 16-17, 1891)*
1892 Bibliothèque Nationale bequeathed Duret's collection
Japanese illustrated books and albums (600+)
Musée du Louvre opened Ancient Japanese Art Department
1893 Musée du Louvre opened Department of Japanese Prints
On the initiative of Gaston Migeon
The holdings eventually went to the Oriental collections of the Musée Guimet
Private museum, housing Georges Labit collection, opened in Toulouse
Situated on the rue du Japon
1898 *Musée Cernuschi* opened at 1874 avenue Velásquez in Paris
1898 Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale
Duret donation of 1,350 Japanese albums and *ukiyo-e*
1900 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue by Duret (with the aid of Kawada)
Japanese illustrated books
1906 Bibliothèque municipale of Lille received the personal library of Léon de Rosny
1907 Musée d'Ennery opened in Paris at 59 avenue du Bois de Boulogne
Japanese and Chinese objects (6296)
1910 Musée Guimet in Lyon received the *Tsuru-no-ma* decorations
From the English-Japanese Exposition in London

GERMANY

1867 Von Siebold proposed to give his ethnographic collection to Bavaria
Died before the negotiations were completed
1868 Bibliothek für Kunst und Gewerbe, Berlin
Acquired Japanese prints of nature studies from various merchants
1874 Munich ethnographic collection, founded 1868 by Louis II
Received 2000 objects from Von Seibold's sons
1883 Museum Für Kunst and Gewerbe, Hamburg
Began systematic collection of Japanese art under Brinckmann
1894 Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin
Bequethed Rudolf Springer collection (200+ prints, 100+ illustrated books)
1895 Museum Für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg
Began acquisition of woodcuts and books under Brinckmann (2000+)
1897 Dresden Museum began collecting Japanese woodcuts under Woldemar von Seidlitz
Von Seidlitz also purchased the complete graphic work of Toulouse-Lautrec at that time
Museum für Kunste und Gewerbe in Hamburg acquired objects from Goncourt auction in Paris
1904 Bibliothek für Kunst und Gewerbe, Berlin
Acquired prints from Gillot auction in Paris under Peter Jessen
1907 Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst established in Berlin by Otto Kümmel
Collection made up of the East Asian art from the Museum für Völkerkunde
Recontextualizing East Asian art from folk art to fine art
1909 Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne given Adolf Fischer collection
1912 Jessen purchased prints in Japan for the Bibliothek für Kunst and Gewerbe
1917 Bibliothek für Kunst und Gewerbe
Given Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum holdings following WW I (4,000+ combined)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ITALY

? Museo Orientale in Venice acquired Henri de Bourbon Collection
1899 The Academy of Linguistics and Fine Arts in Genoa
Bequethed the Chiossone collection of Japanese art

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 9: EMERSON POEM "DAYS"

Days

DAUGHTERS of Time, the hypocritic Days,
Muffled and dumb like barefoot dervishes,
And marching single in an endless file,
Bring diadems and faggots in their hands.
To each they offer gifts after his will,
Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all.
I, in my pleached garden, watched the pomp,
Forgot my morning wishes, hastily
Took a few herbs and apples, and the Day
Turned and departed silent. I, too late,
Under her solemn fillet saw the scorn.

Ralph Waldo Emerson
1857

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 10: TIMELINE OF WESTERN EXHIBITIONS OF JAPANESE ART

AMERICA

1780 Japanese woodblock prints (5) and decorative items exhibited
In East India Marine Society museum, Salem, MA
Contributed by Captain James Devereux

1851 Rhode Island State Fair
Included Gorham Silver Company exhibition of Japanese metal work

1853 **CRYSTAL PALACE EXHIBITON** in New York
Dutch Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations
Japanese items from Levyssohn collection

186? Japanese textiles and art objects brought back by Townsend Harris
On display at Patent Office in Washington, D.C.
Kimonos and silks, also porcelain and lacquer
Written about by Clarence Cook in terms of design elements in 1866

1876 **CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION** in Philadelphia
1st display of Japanese wares in America – prints and paintings included
Zeshin wins prize for album of lacquer paintings
Yosai and Seitei album paintings exhibited
Japanese Dwelling built by Japanese craftsmen using native methods & material
Highly praised in the press
Decorative art on sale through the Japanese Bazaar
Japanese-built, with adjacent tea house and garden
Beginning of the craze for Japanese wares for interior decoration in America
Exhibition of Japanese art objects from collection of Capt. Pfoundes
On view on East 14th Street in New York
Christopher Dresser collection of ceramics and carved jades
Auctioned in New York

1878 Exhibition of Japanese ceramics in New York

1883 Foreign Fair in Boston included Japanese section

1885 New Orleans World's Fair included Japanese decorative arts and paintings
Capt. Frank Brinkley's collection of Japanese prints and pottery auctioned in New York

1881 MFAB exhibition of Japanese art from Bigelow collection
Acquired in Paris from S. Bing

1882 Southern Exposition in Louisville, Kentucky included a Japanese village
A popular attraction

1883 Japanese government sponsored exhibition of Japanese art manufactures in Boston
S.K. Takahashi was the Chief of the Commission

1886 Albany Bicentennial Loan Exhibition, included several Japanese "Kakamona" [sic]
One was identified as *Baby Bears*, a water-color on silk, by Okio

1889 Grolier Club *ukiyo-e* exhibition staged by **Shugio** Hiromichi from his own collection
New York City's first major *ukiyo-e* exhibition

1890s Collector Clarence Buckingham hosted lectures on *ukiyo-e* in his Chicago home
Delivered by Frederick Gookin
Attended by: Helen **Hyde**, Howard Mansfield, Judson Metzgar, Arthur Ficke,
Helen Gunsaulus ...

1890 Aldine Club exhibition of Japanese art, organized by **Shugio**

1893 **WORLD'S COLUMBIAN** EXHIBITION in Chicago
Japanese Government exhibits arts, crafts, architecture
Hô-ô-den (miniature replica of Byodo-in or Phoenix Hall in Japan)
Represents three major periods of Japanese architecture
Each wing filled with art & decorations of 3 historic periods
Tea House -- demonstrations of tea ceremonies
Reflecting Japanese ceremonial practices

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fenollosa and **Shugio** were judges of Japanese art for Fine Arts Section
Young architect Frank Lloyd **Wright** influenced by *Hô-ô-den*
MFAB exhibit *Hokusai and His School* – paintings, sketches and albums
Organized by Fenollosa, who wrote the catalogue
Derived from collection he had sold to Charles G. Weld
Known as the Fenollosa-Weld Collection
1st of 5 exhibitions on the major periods of Japanese art, in reverse order
Visited by **Twachtman** and possibly **Weir**
Weir was being married in Boston at the time
American Fine Arts Society (New York) Loan Exhibition,
Including Japanese Section
1894 MIDWINTER EXHIBITION in San Francisco
Japanese Tea Gardens built in Golden Gate Park
Planned by Marsh, McLaren (Park Supt.) and T. Aoki (from Japan)
The oldest existing Japanese garden in America
Transportation around fair grounds by *jinrikisha*
MFAB exhibition of old Japanese paintings from various schools (Tosa, Kano, Ukiyo-e...)
Catalogue by Fenollosa
Included a number of prints borrowed from S. Bing
MFAB exhibit *Japanese Paintings and Metalwork*
PAFA exhibition of Japanese art objects
American Art Galleries, New York Exhibition of Bing Collection
"Japanese Engravings and Old Prints in Color"
1895 Exhibition of posters in Boston
Including a number of *ukiyo-e* triptychs lent by Bunkio
1896 Grolier Club *ukiyo-e* loan exhibition staged by **Shugio**
From **Shugio**, **Weir**, **Colman**, Buckingham, Gookin and C. Morse collections
Century Club exhibition of **Weldon** collection of Japanese art
John **LaFarge** gave a lecture on Hokusai
American Fine Arts Society Galleries exhibition of "Japanese Paintings and Color Prints"
1897 Exhibition of Posters in Chicago (revised from Boston exhibition of 1895)
1898 Pratt Institute exhibit Japanese prints belonging to **Dow**
1900 MFAB exhibition of oil and watercolor paintings by 2 Japanese artists
Yoshida Hiroshi and Nakagawa Hachiro
National Arts Club exhibition of Japanese Watercolors
1903 Exhibition of Howard Mansfield's Japanese prints in New York
MFAB exhibition of Japanese wood carvings from temples and palaces
1903-4 **LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXHIBITION** in St. Louis
Japanese art included in the Fine Arts section
Japanese government sent 26 Western-style watercolor and oil paintings
By 18 Japanese artists
Imperial Japanese Garden constructed by Japanese government
Replica of 14th C. *Kinkaku* (Golden Pavilion) included
Kabuki performances in Japanese theater in amusement area
Translated into English
Japanese Village on the Pike
1905 Sixteenth-century Buddhist temple gateway from Louisiana Purchase Exposition
Moved to Fairmount Park, Philadelphia
Placed on site of Japanese Bazaar in 1876 Centennial Exhibition
National Arts Club exhibit of Nippon-Bijutsuin (Japanese Academy of Art) paintings
1906 AIC exhibit of Hiroshige prints from Frank Lloyd **Wright** collection
Catalogue by Wright
Wright, a dealer in *ukiyo-e*, ultimately sold these to Buckingham
Buckingham donated them to the Art Institute of Chicago
1907 MFAB exhibition of Japanese sword guards

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1908 AIC exhibition of *ukiyo-e*
Largest *ukiyo-e* exhibition in America with 655 prints from local collections
Including those of Buckingham, Gookin and **Wright** (who lent 218)
1909 Exhibit of Japanese prints from the F.W. Hunter Collection at the 291 Gallery in New York
1910 Hamilton Easter Field gallery in Brooklyn exhibited Winslow **Homer** alongside *ukiyo-e*
1912 MFAB exhibition of Japanese screens by three artists of the Kano School
AIC exhibition of color prints by Hiroshige
1914-5 Albright-Knox, Buffalo, exhibition of Japanese and Chinese brocades
1915 PANAMA-PACIFIC EXHIBITION in San Francisco
Imperial Japanese Garden
Reception Hall based on the form of the *Kinkaku*
AIC exhibition of Nomura Collection
Chinese and Japanese brocades
AIC exhibition of Buckingham Collection of Japanese color prints

AUSTRALIA

1875 Inter-colonial Exposition in Melbourne includes a Japanese section
1887 Judge G. W. Paul has Japanese carpenters reconstruct a Japanese house from Kobe
In Brisbane

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

1812 Isaac Titsingh Collection auctioned off (Director of Dutch trading settlement at Nagasaki)
Included Japanese woodcuts
1837 Von Siebold's museum in Leiden opens to the public
Ethnographic treatment of Japan in Leiden and the Hague prior to this time
1883 Hugues Krafft photographs of Japan exhibited in Brussels
1889 Bing exhibition of Japanese art at *Cercle artistique* in Brussels
1891 Compagnie Japonaise showed Japanese *objects d'art*
Liberty's of London supplied the *objects d'art*
1892 *Association pour l'Art* exhibition of Japanese art in Antwerp [Berger says 1891]
1899 Exhibit of Japanese art at Rijks Ethnographisch Museum in Leiden
Organized by Shinkishi Hara, Brinckmann's assistant in Hamburg
1902 Japanese portal (entrance to *Tour du Monde* of 1900 World's Fair in Paris)
Reconstructed outside of Brussels
For King Léopold II by the architect Alexandre Marcel
1910 Adolphe Stoclet exhibition of Japanese prints at *La Libre Esthétique* in Brussels

CENTRAL EUROPE AND SCANDINAVIA

1873 **INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION** in Vienna
Japanese government sponsored lavish display of art objects
Equal in scope to European and American displays
Art works by Kunichika, Kuniteru, Ikkei, Hiroshige II, Hiroshige III, Zeshin, Katei and Kai exhibited
Japanese village and garden are attractions outside the main exposition
1899 Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie exhibit of Japanese woodcuts (150)
Lent by Ernest Arnold, Dresden art dealer
1900 Vienna Secession exhibited 114 Japanese prints from the Adolph Fischer collection
Sharaku and Utamaro among the artists represented

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ENGLAND AND BRITISH ISLES

1851 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION (Crystal Palace) in London
Dutch firm, F. Zeegers and Co., displayed a Japanese screen
1853 Great Industrial Exhibition of Ireland held in Dublin
Exhibition of Dutch royal cabinet's Japanese collection
1854 Old Water Colour Society Gallery exhibition of Japanese art in London
1857 Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester contained examples of Japanese art
1862 **INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION** in London
"Japanese Court" display of 614 objects including woodblock prints
Lent by Sir Rutherford Alcock and Captain F. Howard Wyse
1869 Dr. Barton lent a famous Japanese painting of a tiger to the South Kensington Museum
1874 Dresser and Lee reconstructed the Japanese village from the Vienne Exposition
In Musell Hill, north of London
1887 Alex Reid, colleague of Theo Van Gogh, exhibited Japanese prints in his Glasgow gallery
1888 Fine Art Society (New Bond Street, London) exhibition of Japanese arts objects
Lenders included: Anderson, the Harts, Huish, Menpes and Bing
1890 Bing mounted Hokusai exhibition at the Fine Art Society in London
1895 Burlington Fine Arts Club in London
Exhibition of Japanese prints and books
Catalogue by Anderson
1895 Edward F. Strange exhibition at South Kensington Museum (V&A) in London
Japanese illustrated books
1906 Hugues Krafft photographs of Japan exhibited in Bristol
1910 English-Japanese Exposition at Shepherd's Bush in London
Kyoto donated a Japanese gate which remained in Kew Gardens after the exhibit

FRANCE

1855 EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE in Paris
Dutch display of Japanese objects
1856 Hokusai's *Manga* "discovered" by Bracquemond
1867 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Decorative arts sent by the Shogunate and two Japanese provinces
Kunisada and Kuniyoshi pictures (100) in 2 albums entered as pictures on paper
Tosa-style silk folding screen in Renon et Maulde *Catalogue ...*
Illustrated books from Burty collection including Hokusai's *Manga*
French responses to Japan: Bracquemond porcelain, Christofle metalwork, and Martz jewelry
Cirque Napoléon debuts its Imperial Japanese troupe
Exhibition of Japanese prints in Paris
Featuring especially Sadahide and Hiroshige III
Arranged ethnographically to show Japanese life
1868 Exhibition of Far Eastern art at *Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts* in Paris
400 examples of Japanese porcelain
Chesneau lectures
1869 *Musée Oriental* exhibition of pieces shown at the 1867 Universelle
1873 Exhibition of Asian decorative arts at Palais des l'Industrie
From Cernuschi and Duret collections
1875 *L'Exposition des Beaux-Arts de l'Extrême-Orient* organized by Henry Cernuschi
Coinciding with the 1st International Congress of Orientalists
Presided over by Leon de Rosny in Paris
Folies-Bergère presented *La troupe japonaise de Yeddo* in Paris

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1878 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Japanese pavilion huge, with examples of art and industry
Japanese awarded a number of medals
Watanabe Seitei received a silver medal
Apogee of *japonisme* in decorative arts -- but no prints
Japanese experts provide information
On artists and the histories of the arts and crafts represented
Burty and E. de Goncourt assist Watanabe Seitei
At demonstration of woodblock printing
Hayashi arrived in Paris as part of Japanese Government Commission
Demonstration of painting techniques by Japanese artists
At Charpentier's and Burty's homes
For select gatherings of Japanophiles, including artists
1882 *Exposition des arts décoratifs* in Paris – Japanese exhibit includes folding screens
1883 *Exposition rétrospectif de l'art japonais* organized by Gonse and Hayashi
At Galerie Georges Petit in Paris
1st exhibition of Japanese art from private collections (3000 pieces)
Catalogue by Gonse (*L'Art japonais*)
Separate article on Japanese ceramics by Bing
Critically acclaimed as changing Western attitude
Toward serious consideration of Japanese art
Combined painting, prints, sculpture and decorative arts, 9th to 19th centuries
From Gonse, Burty, Duret, Hirsch, Bing, Cernuschi, Montefiore and
Hayashi collections
1st Annual Salon of Japanese Painters, representing members of the *Ryuchi-kai*
Held under auspices of *Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs*
At the Palais de l'Industrie in Paris
Bing organized the exhibit and wrote its catalogue
Fenollosa, a judge, leaned toward 19th century artists in Tosa and Kano traditions
1884 Hugues Krafft photographs of Japan exhibited in Toulouse
2nd Annual Salon of Japanese Painters
Bing organized the exhibit and wrote its catalogue
1884 *Midori-no-Sato*, a Japanese house, was erected in Loges-en-Josas (close of Paris)
For Hugues Krafft
Hayashi showed 57 of Hokusai's original drawings from *100 Poets*
To group of Japanese enthusiasts
[According to Goncourt *Journal* entry for December 28]
1887 Vincent and Theo Van Gogh organize a small Japanese exhibit
At Café Le Tambourin, boulevard de Clichy, Paris
[The event is recorded in Van Gogh's painting *La Femme au Tambourin*]
1888 *L'Exposition historique de l'art de la gravure au Japon*
At Bing's shop at 22 rue de la Provence (Utamaro prominent)
3rd International Exposition in Black and White exhibited paintings and prints
Harunobu, Hiroshige, Hokusai, Utamaro, Toyokuni ....
1889 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Collection of Gonse, Bing, Krafft and others represented
Japanese dance performances by Sada Yakko and her troupe
Gauguin exhibited his series of zincographs
1890 Japanese woodcut exhibit, organized by Bing as *Maîtres de l'estampe japonaise*
At l'École des Beaux-Arts in Paris
Included 1153 prints, albums and illustrated books from all periods
A key exhibition reinforcing the importance of Japanese prints for avant garde art
Attended by Degas, **Cassatt**, Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard ...
Hokusai had the strongest representation
Over 100 Utamaro woodcuts exhibited (89 prints, 16 illustrated books)
Approximately 50 Harunobu and 19 Eishi prints

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bing received Légion d'Honneur as a result (rare for a naturalized citizen)
1893 Siegfried Bing exhibition of Hiroshige and Utamaro at Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris (300)
1896 Exhibition of Japanese paintings and prints in Toulouse
Lecture on Japanese painting by Emile Deshayes at the Musée Guimet in Paris
1896 L'École des Beaux-Arts Exhibition, *Maîtres de l'estampe japonaise* (700 items)
Organized by Bing
1897 Print exhibition *Blanc et Noir* in Paris
Included Japanese section from Bing and Vever collections
?? Musée des Arts Décoratifs -- 6 Japanese print exhibitions held prior to WW I
Organized by Raymond Koechlin
1900 **EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE** in Paris
Hayashi was Commissioner-General for Japan
The Japanese pavilion's chief organizer
Ancient Japanese paintings exhibited with ceramics chosen by European experts
Japanese craftsmen constructed a Japanese pavilion, teahouse and garden
Also, the main portal to the *Tour du Monde*
Sada Yakko's dance troupe performed
Also in San Francisco, New York, London, Vienna, Brussels ...
l'École des Beaux-Arts *Exposition des maîtres japonais*
From the collection of Arthur Huc
1901 *Nihon-Gwakei* exhibition sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of the Interior
At Bing's galleries
Contemporary works by Japanese
Demonstrated a Western influence on space and composition
1902 l'École des Beaux-Arts print exhibition
Bing organized Japanese section
Hayashi Collection exhibited and auctioned off in Paris
1903 *Trois Maîtres Japonais* exhibit featuring Hiroshige, Hokusai and Kuniyoshi
At L'Art Nouveau Bing
1906 Hugues Krafft photographs of Japan exhibited in Paris
Louvre exhibit of Japanese decorative arts
1909 Musée des Arts Décoratifs – 6 exhibitions, 2500 items
-14 Organized by Raymond Koechlin
Overview of history of Japanese woodcuts
Important catalogue

GERMANY

1882 Exhibition of Japanese pictorial art at Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin
From collection of Professor Gierke, Breslau
1895 Exhibition of Japanese art in Dresden
1897 Exhibition of Japanese art in Dresden
1898 Japanese art exhibition at Ernst Arnoldsche Hofkunshandlung, Dresden
1897 Exhibition of Japanese *objets d'art* in Dresden
1899 Exhibition of Japanese art objects from Bing collection
At Kaiser Wilhelm Museum in Krefeld
1903 Exhibition of Japanese prints in Dresden [Berger says 1902]
1905 Special exhibition of Japanese color prints at Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin
1906 Album of facsimillies of Japanese erotica published in Munich by Piper
Included Moronobu, Harunobu and Utamaro
1909 Exhibition of Japanese prints at Städesches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Maim
Straus-Negbaur Collection

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

JAPAN

1872 Curio Street in Yokohama, called "a gallery of art" by Noah Brooks (*Appleton's*)
1898 Ernest Fenollosa and Kobayashi Bunshichi exhibition of *ukiyo-e* in Tokyo
1st exhibition of *ukiyo-e* in Japan
Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ikioye Paintings and Prints by Kobayashi

RUSSIA

1895 Exhibition of Japanese art by a sailor called Kitayev in St. Petersburg
Ethnographic in nature
1903 Contemporary Art group exhibition of Japanese woodcuts in St. Petersburg
Catalogue essays by Grabar, whose collection was used for the exhibition
1905 Kitayev collection on view at Society for the Promotion of the Arts

NOTE: In addition to these venues, Japanese art and examples of *japonisme* could be viewed regularly in books and magazines and occasionally in newspaper articles (see Appendix 4). In addition, any sale of Japanese goods (see Appendix 5) would offer an opportunity for viewing, as would any Museum collections placed on view (see Appendix 8).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

THE INFLUENCE OF *JAPONISME* ON THE AMERICAN IMPRESSIONISTS AND THEIR CIRCLE, 1893-1915

by

LAUREL LYMAN

Volume Two

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

2004

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

NOTE TO USERS

Copyrighted materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation at the author's university library.

Illustration pages: 345 - 473

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI®

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books, Papers, Theses and Dissertations

"1862: LONDON – The International Exhibition." *The Art of All Nations, 1850-73: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics.* Ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981, 355-431.

Adams, Adeline. *Childe Hassam.* New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1938.

Adams, Charles Francis. *Richard Henry Dana.* 2 Volumes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890.

Adams, Henry. *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918. Reprint, New York: The Modern Library, 1931.

Adams, Henry. "The Mind of John LaFarge." In Henry Adams, et al., *John LaFarge.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1987, 11-77.

Adams, Henry, Kathleen A. Foster, H. Barbara Weinberg, Linnea H. Wren, and James L. Yarnall. *John LaFarge.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1987.

Adams, Janet Woodbury. *Decorative Folding Screens: 400 Years in the Western World.* New York: Viking Press, 1982.

Adams, Steven. *The World of the Impressionists.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Adelson, Warren. *Childe Hassam: A Modern Painter.* Unpublished. New York: Gerdts Library, Childe Hassam, Box 3, 1999.

Adler, Kathleen. *Manet.* Boston: Salem House, 1986.

American Art Association March 15, 1891Auction Records. Washington, DC: Archives of American Art.

American Collectors of Asian Art. Ed. Pratapaditya Pal. Bombay: MARG Publications, 1986.

American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art. Eds. Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Heinz Ickstadt. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center, 1992.

American Japonisme: Contacts Between America and Japan, 1854-1910. Ed. Gabriel Weisberg. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975.

American Painters of the Impressionist Period Rediscovered. Eds. Kemper Jetté and Ellerton Marcel Jetté. Waterville, MN: Colby College Press, 1975.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Anderson, Ronald and Anne Koval. *James McNeill Whistler: Beyond the Myth*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1994.

Arnheim, Rudolf. *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye, The New Version*. Revised edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

The Art of All Nations, 1850-73: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics. Ed. Elizabeth Holt. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981.

The Arts of the American Renaissance. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1985.

Atkinson, D. Scott. "Shinnecock and the Shinnecock Landscapes." In D. Scott Atkinson and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock, 1891-1902*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987.

Atkinson, D. Scott and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock, 1891-1902*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987.

Avery, Kevin J. and Diane F. Rischer. *American Tonalism: Selections from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Montclair Art Museum*. Montclair: Montclair Art Museum, 1999.

Baekeland, Frederick. *Imperial Japan: The Art of the Meiji Era, 1868-1912*. Ithaca: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 1980.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair*. Chicago: Bancroft Company, 1893. Reprint, New York: Bounty Books, undated.

Banta, Martha. *Imaging American Women: Ideas and Ideals in Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Baudelaire, Charles. *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1995.

Baur, John I. H. *Leaders of American Impressionism: Mary Cassatt, Childe Hassam, John H.Twachtman, J. Alden Weir*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn, Museum, 1937.

----------. *Theodore Robinson: 1852-1896*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1946.

----------. *Three Nineteenth Century American Painters: John Quidor, Eastman Johnson, Theodore Robinson*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Becker, Eugene Matthew. "Whistler and the Aesthetics Movement." Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1959.

Bedford, Faith Andrews, et al., *The Art of Frank W. Benson, American Impressionist* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2000).

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Benfey, Christopher E. G. *The Great Wave: gilded age misfits, Japanese eccentrics, and the opening of old Japan.* New York: Random House, 2003.

Berger, Klaus. *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse.* Munich: Prestel-Verlag München, 1980. Trans. David Britt and reprinted, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Bizardel, Yvon. *American Painters in Paris.* Trans. Richard Howard. New York: MacMillan Company,1960.

Black, Mary. *What is American in American Art*, with Introduction by Lloyd Goodrich. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1963.

Blaugrund, Annette. *The Tenth Street Studio Building.* Southampton: Parrish Art Museum, 1997.

Blaugrund, Annette, Albert Boime, D. Dodge Thompson, H. Barbara Weinberg, and Richard Guy Wilson. *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.

Bogart, Michele, David Hanks, Kathleen Pyne, Nancy Rivard Shaw, and Deborah Fenton Shepherd. *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893.* Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983.

Bolger, Doreen and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. "American Artists and the Japanese Print: J. Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson, and John H. Twachtman," in *American Art around 1900: Lectures in Memory of Daniel Fraad*, Studies in the History of Art 37. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990.

Bolger, Doreen, et al. *American Pastels.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.

Bowie, Henry P. *On the Laws of Japanese Painting: An Introduction to the Study of the Art of Japan.* San Francisco: Paul Elder, 1911. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1952.

Bowie, Theodore, et.al. *East-West in Art: Patterns of Cultural and Aesthetic Relationships.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1966.

Boyle, Richard J. *American Impressionism.* Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974.

----------. "Willard Metcalf, The Cornish Hills," in Gerdts, et al. *Ten American Painters.* New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990.

Boyle, Richard J. and Mary Welsh Baskett. *John Henry Twachtman: A Retrospective Exhibition.* Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1966.

Brinton, Christian. *Impressions of the Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition.* New York: John Lane Company, 1916.

Bronstein, Léo. *Five Variations on the Theme of Japanese Painting.* Freeport, ME: The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1969.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brooks, Van Wyck. *Fenollosa and His Circle.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, Inc., 1962.

Bryant, Keith J., Jr. *William Merritt Chase: A Genteel Bohemian.* Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991.

Bryant, Walter Copeland. "What Some Famous Artists Have Said to Me." Reel 2542, Washington, D. C.: Archives of American Art.

Buckley, Laurene. *Joseph DeCamp: Master Painter of the Boston School.* New York: Prestel-Verlag, 1995.

Burgis, William. *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1862): 10-11. In *The Art of All Nations, 1850-1873: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics.* Ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt. New York: Anchor Press / Doubleday, 1981, 360.

Burke, Doreen Bolger. *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Vol. III, "A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born between 1846 and 1864." Ed. Kathleen Luhrs. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press for Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980.

----------. *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983

Burke, Doreen Bolger, Jonathan Freedman, Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, David A. Hanks, Marilynn Johnson, James D. Kornwolf, Catherine Lynn, Roger B. Stein, Jennifer Toher, and Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, with Carrie Rebora. *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.

Burness, Jessie Niles. *Sculpture and Mural Paintings in the Beautiful Courts, Colonnades and Avenues of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco 1915.* San Francisco: Robert A. Reid, Official View Book Publisher, 1915.

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

Busk, Mary Margaret. *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century from Accounts of Recent Dutch Residents of Japan, and From the German Work of Dr. Ph. Fr. Von Siebold.* London: J. Murray, 1840. Reprint, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841.

Carstensen, Nancy Stillwagon. "Edmund C. Tarbell's Pictures of Women in Interiors: Painting as Moral Metaphor." Ph.D. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1996.

Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters. Ed. Nancy Mowll Mathews. New York: Abbeville Press, 1984.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Catalogue De Luxe of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition. 2 volumes. Eds. John E.D. Trask and J. Nilsen Laurvik. San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1915.

Chase, William Merritt. William Merritt Chase Papers. Washington, DC: Archives of American Art.

Chesneau, Ernest. *Les Nations Rivals dans l'Art.* Paris: Didier, 1868. In *The Art of All Nations, 1850-73: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics.* Ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1981, pp. 486-490.

Childe Hassam, 1859-1935. Tucson: University of Arizona Museum, 1972.

Chisolm, Lawrence W. *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963.

Chotner, Deborah, Lisa N. Peters and Kathleen A. Pyne. *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes.* Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990.

Cikovsky, Nicolai, Jr. *George Inness.* New York: Smithsonian Institution, 1993.

----------. "Interiors and Interiority." In *William Merritt Chase: Summer at Shinnecock, 1891-1902.* Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987.

Cikovsky, Nicolai, Jr. and Franklin Kelly. *Winslow Homer.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Clark, Eliot C. *Theodore Robinson: His Life and Art.* Chicago: R. H. Love Galleries, Inc., 1979.

Cohen, Warren I. *East Asian Art and American Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Constable, W. G. *Art Collecting in the United States of America: An Outline of History.* London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1964.

Conte-Helm. *Japonisme: Japanese Reflections in Western Art.* Bristol, U.K.: Ceolfrith Press, Northern Center for Contemporary Art, 1985.

Corn, Wanda M. *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism, 1880-1910.* San Francisco: De Young Museum and Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1972.

Cortissoz, Royal. *American Artists.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

----------. "Childe Hassam." *American Academy of Arts and Letters Commemorative Tributes.* New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1942.

----------. *In Summertime: Paintings by Robert Reid.* New York: R. H. Russell, 1900.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

----------. "Willard Leroy Metcalf." *American Academy of Arts and Letters Commemorative Tributes.* New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1927.

Cox, Kenyon. Kenyon Cox Papers, Avery Library, Columbia University.

Crosscurrents in American Impressionism at the Turn of the Century. Ed. William U. Eiland. Athens, GA: Art Museum of the University of Georgia, 1995.

Cummings, Hildegard, Helen K. Fusscas, Susan G. Larkin. *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own.* Storrs: William Benton Museum of Art at the University of Connecticut, 1991.

Dawson-Watson, Dawson. "The Real Story of Giverny." In Eliot Clark. *Theodore Robinson, His Life and Art.* Chicago: R. H. Love Galleries, 1979.

Department of Education. *History of the Empire of Japan.* Tokyo: Dai Nippon Tosho Kabushiki Kwaisha, 1893.

Department of Fine Arts. *World's Columbian Exposition Official Publications: Revised Catalogue, Department of Fine Arts.* Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co., 1893.

DeVeer, Elizabeth and Richard Boyle. *Sunlight and Shadow: The Life and Art of Willard L. Metcalf.* New York: Abbeville Press for Boston University, 1987.

Dietrich, Linnea S. *The Subjective Vision of French Impressionism.* Tampa, FL: Tampa Museum, 1981.

Doezema, Marianne, et.al. *Childe Hassam: City Streets and Rural Retreats.* Lynchburg, VA: Maier Museum of Art, 1995.

Dormant, Richard and MacDonald, Margaret F. *Whistler.* D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996.

Dow, Arthur Wesley. *Composition.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913. 13th revised edition with Introduction by Joseph Masheck. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Dreishpoon, Douglas and Susan E. Menconi. *The Arts of the American Renaissance.* New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1985.

The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition. Introduction by Professor Halsey C. Ives, Chief of the Department of Fine Arts. St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing, Inc., 1893.

Dufwa, Jacques. *Winds from the East: A Study in the Art of Manet, Degas, Monet and Whistler 1856-1886.* Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1981.

Dumas, Ann; Colta Ives, Susan Alyson Stein, and Gary Tinterow. *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Edwards, Richard. "The Orthodoxy of the Unorthodox." In *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*. Ed. Christian F. Murck. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Elgar, Frank. *The Post-Impressionists*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977.

Evett, Elisa. *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982.

The Expanding World of Art, 1874-1902. Ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

"Extracts of the Franklin Log." *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*. Essex, CT: Essex Institute, 1860.

Fairbrother, Trevor J.; Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., William L. Vance, and Erica E. Hirshler. *The Bostonians: Painters of an Elegant Age, 1870-1930*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1986.

Fay, Stephanie Wasielewski. "American Pictorial Rhetoric: Describing Works of Art in Fiction and Art Criticism, 1820-1875." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1982.

Fenollosa, Ernest Francisco. *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry*. Ed. Ezra Pound. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1968.

----------. *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*. London, UK: Heinemann, 1912. Reprint, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1921.

----------. *The Masters of Ukioye: A Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School*. New York: W. H. Ketcham, 1896.

Ferber, Linda S. and Barbara Dayer Gallati. *Masters of Color and Light: Homer, Sargent and the American Watercolor Movement*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1998.

Fink, Lois Marie. *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution,1990.

"The First Voyage to Japan." *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*. Essex, CT: Essex Institute, 1860.

Fischer, Diane P., Linda J. Docherty, Robert W. Rydell, Gail Stavitsky, and Gabriel Weisberg. *Paris 1900: The "American School" at the Universal Exposition*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

Fontein, Jan. "Notes on the History of the Collections." In J.C.Y. Watt, et al. *Asiatic Art in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982, 6-15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fort, Ilene Susan. *Childe Hassam's New York.* San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1993.

Foshay, Ella M. *Reflections of Nature: Flowers in American Art.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

Foster, Kathleen A. "John LaFarge and the American Watercolor Movement: Art for the 'Decorative Age'." In Henry Adams, et al., *John LaFarge.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1987, 123-59.

Francis, David R. *The Universal Exposition of 1904.* 2 volumes. St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913.

Frelinghuysen, Alice Cooney, Gary Tinterow, Susan Alyson Stein, Gretchen Wold, and Julia Meech. *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

From the Classicists to the Impressionists: Art and Architecture in the 19th Century. Ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966.

Galassi, Peter. *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography.* New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981.

Gallati, Barbara. *William Merritt Chase.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1995.

----------. *William Merritt Chase: Modern American Landscapes, 1886-1890.* New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2000.

Gammell, R. H. Ives. *The Boston Painters, 1900-1930.* Ed. Elizabeth Ives Hunter. Orleans, MA: Parnassus Imprints, 1986.

----------. *Dennis Miller Bunker.* New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1953.

Gardner, Albert Ten Eyck. *Winslow Homer – An American Artist: His World and His Work.* New York: Clarkson N. Potter Inc., 1961.

Garner, Philippe. *The World of Edwardiana.* London: Hamlyn, 1974.

Gerdts, William H. *American Impressionism.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1984.

----------. *American Artists in Japan, 1859-1925.* New York: Hollis Taggart Galleries, 1996.

----------. "The American Artists in Grez." *The Painters in Grez-sur-Loing.* Tokyo: Yokunimi Simbun/The Japan Association of Art Museums, 2000, 267-77.

----------. *Artistic Transitions: From the Academy to Impressionism in American Art.* Jacksonville, FL: The Cummer Gallery of Art, 1986.

----------. *Down Garden Paths: The Floral Environment in American Art.* Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

----------. "Frank Benson – His Own Man: A Study of the Artist's Development and Its Critical Reception." In *Frank W. Benson: The Impressionist Years.* New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1988, pp. 28-48.

----------. *Impressionist New York.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1994.

----------. *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865-1915.* Chicago: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992.

----------. *Masterworks of American Impressionism.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990.

----------. *Monet's Giverny: An Impressionist Colony.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1993.

----------. *Theodore Robinson, American Impressionist (1852-1896).* New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc, 1966.

Gerdts, William H., Sheila Dugan, Ronald G. Pisano, Laurene Buckley, Susan Hobbs, Kathleen M. Burnside, Richard J. Boyle, Barbara H. Weinberg, Carol Lowrey, Lisa N. Peters, and Doreen Bolger. *Ten American Painters.* New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990.

Gerdts, William H., Diana Dimodica Sweet, and Robert R. Preato. *Tonalism: An American Experience.* New York: The Grand Central Art Galleries, Inc., 1982.

Gravalos, Mary Evans O'Keefe and Carol Pulin. *Bertha Lum.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution's American Printmakers Series, 1900.

Greeley, Horace. "The Crystal Palace and Its Lessons." In *Hints Toward Reform.* New York: Flowers and Bells, 1854, pp. 401-22.

Green, Nancy and Jessie Poesch. *Arthur Wesley Dow and American Arts and Crafts.* New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1999.

Griffis, William Ellis. *The Mikado's Empire.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876.

Hall, John Whitney. *Japan, From Prehistory to Modern Times.* New York: Delacorte Press, 1970. Reprint, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies at the University of Michigan, 1991.

Hall, Lee. *Olmsted's America: An "Unpractical Man and His Vision of Civilization."* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1995.

Harris, Neil. *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860.* New York: G. Brazille, 1966. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

----------. *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Harris, Neil; Wim de Wit, James Gilbert, and Robert W. Rydell. *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893.* Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993.

Hartley, Marsden. *Adventures in the Arts.* New York: Boni and Liveright, 1921.

Hartmann, Sadakichi. *A History of American Art.* Boston: L. C. Page, 1902. Revised, New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1932.

----------. *Japanese Art.* Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1906.

----------. *The Valiant Knights of Daguerre.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

----------. *The Whistler Book: A Monograph of the Life and Position in Art of James McNeill Whistler, together with a Careful Study of his more Important Works.* Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1910.

Hearn, Lafcadio. *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan.* 2 Volumes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1894.

----------. *Writings from Japan.* New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1986

Henri, Robert. *The Art Spirit.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1923. Reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1984.

Hiesinger, Ulrich H. *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist.* New York: Jordan-Volpe Gallery, 1994.

----------. *Impressionism in America: The Ten American Painters.* Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991.

Hillier, Jack. *Japanese Color Prints.* Revised (from 1966) edition. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1966. Reprint, 1991.

Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988. Eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Imperial Commission from Japan to the Exposition Universelle in Paris, 1900. *Histoire de l'Art du Japon.* Paris: Maurice de Brunoff, 1900.

History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Eds. Mark Bennitt, Frank Parket Stockbridge, et al. St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905.

Hobbs, Susan. "Thomas Wilmer Dewing." In William H. Gerdts, et al. *Ten American Painters.* New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990, 99-101.

Homer, William I., Ira Glackens, Richard J. Boyle, Van Deren Coke, and Robert C. Vose Jr. *French Impressionists Influence American Artists.* Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, Lowe Art Museum, 1971.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hoopes, Donelson. *The American Impressionists.* New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1972.

Hosley, William. *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America.* Hartford: The Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990.

Howat, John. *American Impressionist and Realist Paintings and Drawings From the Collection of Mr. And Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973.

Hunt, William Morris. *Talks on Art.* Compiled Helen M. Knowlton. Boston: O. H. Houghton, 1875; reprinted in 1877.

Husby, Andrea. "Birge Harrison: Artist, Teacher and Critic." Ph.D. Dissertation. New York: CUNY Graduate Center, 2003.

Hutt, Julia and Bennett, Jonathan. *Ukiyo-e: The Art of Japanese Woodblock Prints.* New York: Smithmark, 1994.

Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art from 1600 to the Present. Ed. N. Dekking. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1991.

Impey, Oliver. *The Art of the Japanese Folding Screen.* New York: Weatherhill, 1997.

Ives, Colta Feller. *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974. Reprint, 1978.

Jacobs, Michael. *The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America.* Oxford, UK: Phaidon Press, 1985.

James, Henry. *The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Japanese Art Exhibitions with Catalogue in the United States of America, 1893-1981. New York: Japan Society, 1981.

Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium. Gen. Ed. Yamada Chisaburo. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1980.

Jarves, James Jackson. *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan.* New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1876. Reprint, Philadelphia: Albert Saifer, 1970.

----------. *The Art Idea.* New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1864.

Johnson, William R. *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press / The Walters Art Gallery, 1999.

Johnston, Sona. *Theodore Robinson, 1852-1896.* Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1973.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jones, Harvey L., John Caldwell, Terry St. John, and Barbara Bowman. *Impressionism: The California View.* Oakland: The Oakland Museum Art Department, 1981.

Julian, Philippe. *The Triumph of Art Nouveau: Paris Exhibition, 1900.* Translated by Stephen Hardman for Phaiden Press, London. New York: Larousse & Co., Inc. 1974.

Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.

Kaplan, Wendy. *"The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920.* Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987.

Kennard, Nina H. *Lafcadio Hearn.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1912.

Kilmer, Nicholas, Virginia M. Mecklenburg, David Sellin, and H. Barbara Weinberg. *Frederick Carl Frieseke: The Evolution of an American Impressionist.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press for the Telfair Museum of Art, 2001.

Kirstein, Lincoln. *Memorial to a Marriage.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.

Kloss, William. *The Figural Images of Theodore Robinson: American Impressionist.* Ed. Bev Harrington. Oshkosh, WI: Paine Art Center and Arboretum, 1987.

Koeninger, Betty Kathryn. "Theodore Robinson's *La Débâcle*, 1892: An American Artist In France." MA Thesis, University of California, Riverside, 1992.

Komanecky, Michael, Virginia Fabbri Butera, and Janet W. Adams. *The Folding Image: Screens by Western Artists of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1984.

Konody, P. G. *The Art of Walter Crane.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1902.

Koppelman, Constance Eleanore. "Nature in Art and Culture: The Tile Club Artists, 1870-1900." Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1985.

Kurtz, Charles , Ph.D. *The Saint Louis World's Fair of 1904.* St. Louis: Gottschalk Printing Co., 1903.

Lacambre, Geneviève; Shûji Takashina, Akiko Mabuchi, and Caroline Mather. *Le Japonisme.* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988.

LaFarge, John. "An Essay on Japanese Art." In *Across America and Asia* by Raphael Pumpelly. New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1870, pp. 195-203.

----------. *An Artist's Letters from Japan.* New York: Century, 1897. Reprint, New York: Hippocrene Books, 1986.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

----------. John LaFarge and LaFarge Family Papers – 1850-1972. Washington, DC: Archives of American Art.

La For, Patricia Joan. "John LaFarge and Japan, An Instance of Oriental Influence in American Art." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern, 1978.

Lahikainen, Dean T. "Redefining Elegance, Benson's Studio Props," In Faith Andrews Bedford, et al. *The Art of Frank W. Benson, American Impressionist.* Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2000, 75-97

Laidlaw, Christine Wallace. "The American Reaction to Japanese Art, 1853-1876." Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1996.

Lancaster, Clay. *The Japanese Influence in America.* New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963.

Lane, Richard. *Images From the Floating World: The Japanese Print.* New York: Dorset Press, 1978.

Langer, William L. *An Encyclopedia of World History.* 5th edition revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972.

Larkin, Susan. *The Cos Cob Art Colony: Impressionists and the Connecticut Shore.* New York: The National Academy of Design, 2001.

Lawton, Thomas and Merrill, Linda. *Freer: A Legacy of Art.* DC: Freer Gallery of Smithsonian Institution, 1993.

Leader, Bernice Kramer. "The Boston Lady as a Work of Art: Paintings by the Boston School at the Turn of the Century." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1980.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Lee, George, Yasuko Betchaku, Mary G. Neill, and Lucie Weinstein. *The Edo Culture in Japanese Prints.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972.

Lee, Sherman. *Japanese Decorative Style.* New York: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1961.

LeFor, Patricia Joan. "John LaFarge and Japan, An Instance of Oriental Influence in American Art." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1978.

Levine, Gary; Robert R. Preato, and Francine Tyler. *La Femme: The Influence of Whistler and Japanese Print Masters on American Art 1880-1917.* New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, 1983.

Lewis, Arnold; James Turner, and Steven McQuillin. *The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age.* New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1987.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louisiana and the Fair, An Exposition of the World, Its People and Their Achievements. Ed. by J. W. Buel, Ph.D. St. Louis: World's Progress Publishing Co., 1905.

Love, Richard H. *Theodore Robinson: Sketchbook Drawings.* Chicago: R. H. Love Galleries, 1991.

Lovell, Margaretta M. *Venice: The American View, 1860-1920.* San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1985.

Lucie-Smith, Edward. *Symbolist Art.* London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1972.

Lynes, Russell. *The Art-Makers.* New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970.

Macomber, Ben. *The Jewel City: Its Planning an Achievement; Its Architecture, Sculpture, Symbolism and Music; Its Gardens, Palaces and Exhibits.* San Francisco: John H. Williams, Publisher, 1915.

Mandell, Richard D. *Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Manson, Grant Carpenter. *Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910: The First Golden Age.* New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1958.

March, Benjamin. *China and Japan in Our Museums.* New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929.

Martindale, Meredith, with Pamela Moffat, and Nancy Lowll Mathews. *Lilla Cabot Perry: An American Impressionist.* Washington, DC: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1990.

Masini, Lara-Vinca. *Art Nouveau.* Edison, NJ: Chartwell Books, Inc., 1984.

Mason, Penelope. *History of Japanese Art.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993.

Masterpieces of Chinese and Japanese Art: Freer Gallery of Art Handbook. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1976.

Mathews, Nancy Mowll. *Mary Cassatt: A Life.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Mathews, Nancy Mowll and Barbara Stern Shapiro. *Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.

McCabe, James D. *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition.* Philadelphia: The National Publishing Company, 1876.

McCarran, David, Jr. *The Ripening of American Art: Duveneck and Chase.* Mobile, AL: Fine Arts Museum of the South, 1979.

McNamara, Carole and John Siewert. *Whistler: Prosaic Views, Poetic Vision.* Detroit: Signet Printing Co. for University of Michigan, 1994.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mears, Patricia. *Japonism in Fashion: Japan Dresses the West.* Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1998. Gallery brochure.

Meech, Julia. "The Other Havemeyer Passion: Collecting Asian Art." In Frelinghuysen, et al. *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Meech, Julia; and Gabriel Weisberg. *Japonisme Come to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876-1925.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990.

Meixner, Laura L. *An International Episode: Millet, Monet and their North American Counterparts.* Memphis, TN: The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 1982.

Merrill, Linda. *An Ideal Country: Paintings by Dwight William Tryon in the Freer Gallery of Art.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery of Art, 1990.

Michels, Heide. *Monet's House: An Impressionist Interior.* Translated by Helen Ivor. Photographs by Guy Bouchet. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1997.

Michener, James A. *The Floating World.* New York: Random House, 1954. Reprint, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983.

Milgrome, David. "The Art of William Merritt Chase." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969.

Mills, Sally. *Japanese Influences in American Art 1853-1900.* Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1981.

Minks, Lois. *The Hudson River School: The Landscape Art of Bierstadt, Cole, Church, Durand, Heade and twenty other artists.* New York: Random House, 1989.

Moffett, Charles, Ruth Berson, Barbara Lee Williams, and Fronia E. Wissman. *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886.* San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums, 1986.

Morgan, H. Wayne. *Keepers of Culture.* Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989.

----------. *New Muses: Art in American Culture, 1865-1920.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *"Old Bruin":Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, 1792-1858.* Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1967.

Morse, Edward S. *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings.* Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1885. Reprinted 19th edition, Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1998.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931. Reprint, Dover Publications, Inc., 1955.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Murphy, Joseph C. "Exposing the Modern: World's Fairs and American Literary Culture, 1853-1907." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1997.

Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations. Ed. Akira Iriye. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Needham, Gerald. "Japanese Influence on French Painting 1854-1910." In Gabriel Weisberg, et al., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910.* Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975, 115-139.

Neuhaus, Eugen. *The Galleries of the Exposition.* San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1915.

The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886. Seattle, WA: University of Seattle Press, 1986.

Nishi, Kazuo and Kazuo Hozumi. *What is Japanese Architecture?* Trans. H. Mack Horton. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985.

Nochlin, Linda. *Impressionism and Post-Impressionism 1874-1904: Sources and Documents.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

----------. *Realism.* New York, Penguin Books, 1971. Reprinted 1978.

Noma, Seiroku. *The Arts of Japan: Late Medieval to Modern.* Volume 2, Sixth Printing. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1989.

Novak, Barbara. *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism and The American Experience.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979.

Nute, Kevin. *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1993.

Okakura, Kakuzo. *The Book of Tea.* New York: Duffield, 1906. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964.

----------. *Illustrated Description of the Hô-ô-Den (Phoenix Hall) at the World's Columbian Exposition.* Tokyo: K. Ogawa, Publisher, 1893.

Oliphant, Laurence. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan.* New York: Harper's, 1860.

Osborn, Captain Sherard, C.B. *Japanese Fragments.* London: Bradbury and Evans, 1861.

The Painters in Grez-sur-Loing. Tokyo: Yokunimi Simbun and The Japan Association of Art Museums, 2000.

Pal, Pratapaditya. "Introduction." *American Collectors of Asian Art.* Ed. Pratapaditya Pal. Bombay: MARG Publications, 1986, 2-9.

Paul, Tessa. *The Art of Louis Comfort Tiffany.* New York: Shooting Star Press, 1996.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pepper, Charles Hovey. *Japanese Prints.* Boston: Walter Kimball and Company, 1905.

Perry, Commodore Matthew Calbraith, with Francis L. Hawks. *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853 and 1854.* U. S. Government, 1856. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856.

Perspectives on Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on America. Ed. Phillip Dennis Cate. New Brunswick, NJ: Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University, 1988.

Peters, Lisa N. "John Twachtman (1853-1902) and the American Scene in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Frontier Within the Terrain of the Familiar." Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York, 1995.

----------. "Lilla Cabot Perry: Impressionist in the Gilded Age," unpublished paper, CUNY Graduate Center, 1984, located in William H. Gerdts Library.

Pierce, Patricia Jobe. *Edmund C. Tarbell and The Boston School of Painting, 1889-1980.* Ed, John Douglas Ingraham. Highham, MA: Pierce Galleries, Inc., 1980.

Pilgrim, Dianne H. *American Impressionist and Realist Paintings and Drawings from the Collection of Mr. & Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz.* Introduction by John K. Howat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973.

Pisano, Ronald G. *A Leading Spirit in American Art: William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916.* Seattle: Henry Art Gallery, 1983.

----------. *Summer Afternoons: Landscape Paintings of William Merritt Chase.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1993.

----------. *The Tile Club and the Aesthetic Movement in America.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999.

----------. *William Merritt Chase.* New York: Watson-Guptil, 1979.

----------. *William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916.* New York. M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., 1976.

Pisano, Ronald and Alicia Grant Longwell. *Photographs from the William Merritt Chase Archives at the Parrish Art Museum.* Southampton: The Parrish Art Museum 1992.

Postel, Mitchell P. *San Mateo: A Centennial History.* San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1994.

Pumpelly, Raphael. *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey Around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China.* New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1870.

Pyne, Kathleen. *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Thought in Late Nineteenth-CenturyAmerica.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Quick, Michael. *American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century*. Dayton, OH: Dayton Art Institute, 1976.

----------. *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987.

Reischauer, Edwin O. and Albert M. Craig. *Japan: Tradition and Transformation*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1978. Revised edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989.

The Religion of Beauty: Selections from the Aesthetes. Ed. Richard Aldington. Kingswood, UK: William Heinemann Ltd., 1950.

Rewald, John. *The History of Impressionism*. New York: Museum of Modern Art,1946. 4th Edition revised, 1973.

----------. *Studies in Post-Impressionism*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986.

Roberts, Laurance P. *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists*. Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1976. Fourth printing, 1980.

Robinson, Frank T. "F. Childe Hassam." In *Living New England Artists*. Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1888. Reprint, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1977.

Robinson, Theodore. Theodore Robinson Diaries 1892-1894. New York: Frick Reference Library.

----------. Letter to Kenyon Cox. Kenyon Cox Papers. Avery Library, Columbia University.

Roof, Catherine Metcalf. *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

Roper, Laure Wood. *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Rosenblum, Robert and H. W. Janson, *19th-Century Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984.

Rosenstone, Robert A. *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Ross, Nancy Wilson. *Three Ways of Asian Wisdom: Hinduism, Buddhism and Zen and their significance for the West*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966.

Rubinstein, Charlotte. *American Women Artists: From Early Indian Times to the Present*. New York: Avon, 1982.

Ruskin, John. *The Lamp of Beauty: Writings on Art*. Ed. Joan Evans. London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1995.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rutter, Frank. *Evolution in Modern Art: A Study of Modern Painting, 1870-1925.* New York: The Dial Press/Lincoln MacVeagh, 1926.

Rydell, Robert W. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 18876-1916.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Saarinen, Aline B. *The Proud Possessors: Lives, times and tastes of some adventurous American art collectors.* New York: Random House, 1958.

Sadakichi Hartmann, Critical Modernist: Collected Art Writings. Ed. Jane Calhoun Weaver. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991.

Salmagundi Club Black and White Exhibition Records. Washington, DC: Archives of American Art.

Sanford, Cynthia. "Edward Simmons, A Painter and A Yankee in the Gilded Age." Ph.D. Dissertation. New York: CUNY Graduate Center, 2003.

Sansom, George. *A History of Japan, 1615-1867.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963.

Santayana, George. *The Genteel Tradition: Nine Essays by George Santayana.* Ed. Douglas L. Wilson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Schapiro, Meyer. *Impressionism: Reflections and Perceptions.* New York: George Braziller, 1997.

Shelton, William Henry. *The Salmagundi Club.* Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918.

Shinicki, Segi. "Hayashi Tadamasa: Bride Between the Fine Arts of the East and West." *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium.* Ed. Yamada Chisaburo. Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1980, 167-172.

Shipp, Steve. *American Art Colonies: 1850-1930.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Siegert, Dietmar; Philipp, Caludia Gabriele; and Wick, Rainer. *Felice Beato in Japan: Photographien zum Ende der Feudalzeit 1863-1873.* Germany: Edition Braus, 1991.

Siewert, John. "Whistler's Decorative Darkness." In *The Grosvenor Gallery, A Palace of Art in Victorian England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 93-108.

Simmons, Edward Emerson. *From Seven to Seventy, Memoirs of a Painter and a Yankee.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922.

Simoni, John P. "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth Century America." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1952.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Singer, Robert T., John T. Carpenter, Hollis Goodall, Victor Marris, Matthew McKelway, Herman Ooms, Nicole Collidge Rousmaniere, Henry D. Smith II, Sharon S. Takeda, and Melinda Takeuchi. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1998.

Smith, F. Hopkinson. *A Book of the Tile Club.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1886.

Spence, Robert. *The Etchings of J. Alden Weir.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1967.

Staley, Allen and Theodore Reff. *From Realism to Symbolism: Whistler and His World.* New York: Columbia University, 1971.

Stebbins, Theodore E., Jr. *American Master Drawings and Watercolors.* New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

Stein, Roger B. *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840-1900.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Stern, Harold P. *Freer Gallery of Art 50th Anniversary Exhibition: I. Ukiyo-e Painting.* D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1973.

Stott, Annette. "American Painters Who Worked in the Netherlands, 1880-1914," Volumes 1 and 2. Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1986.

----------. *Holland Mania: The Unknown Dutch Period in American Art and Culture.* Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1998.

Sullivan, Michael. *The Meeting of Eastern and Western in Art.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973. Revised 1989.

Sutton, Denys. *Nocturne: The Art of James McNeill Whistler.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co, 1964.

Sweeney, J. Gray. *Themes in American Painting.* Grand Rapids, MI: Grand Rapids Art Museum, 1977.

Tappan, Henry Philip. *The Growth of Cities.* New York: R. Craighead, printer, 1855.

Taylor, Basil. *The Impressionists and Their World.* New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1957.

Taylor, Joshua C. *Nineteenth-Century Theories of Art.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Todd, Frank Morton. *The Story of the Exposition.* 5 volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company. 1921.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Toru, Arayashiki. "The Artists' Community of Grez-sur-Loing: Its Preceding History, Geographical Features, and Relationship with Japan." *The Painters in Grez-sur-Loing*. Tokyo: Yokuimi Simbun/The Japan Association of Art Museums, 2000, 242-54.

Tôru, Haga. "The Diplomatic Background of *Japonisme*: The Case of Sir Rutherford Alcock." In *Japonisme in Art*. Ed. Society for the Study of Japonisme and Chisaburô Yamada. Japan: Kodansha International Ltd., 1980, pp. 27-42.

Tsuji, Nobuo. *Playfulness in Japanese Art*. The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures VII. Lawrence, KS: Spencer Art Museum of the University of Kansas, 1986.

Ukiyo-e Prints and the Impressionist Painters: Meeting of the East and the West. Tokyo: Committee for the Year 2001, 1975.

Van Rappard-Boon, Charlotte; Willem van Gulik, Keiko van Bremen-Ito, and Tsukasa Kodera. *Catalogue of the Van Gogh Museum's Collection of Japanese Prints*. Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 1992.

Varley, H. Paul. *Japanese Culture*. New York: Praeger, 1973. 3rd edition. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

Wa Ei Nihon Bijutsu Yogo Jitan [Japanese-English Japanese Art Terms Dictionary]. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu Co. Ltd., 1990.

Walton, William. *World's Columbian Exposition Art and Architecture.* Philadelphia: G. Barrie, 1893.

Warren, Geoffrey. *All Color Book of Art Nouveau*. London: Octopus Books Ltd., 1972.

Watanabe, Toshio. *High Victorian Japonisme*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Land, 1991.

Watt, J.C.Y., et al. *Asiatic Art in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1982.

Weber, Bruce. "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) And His Milieu," Ph.D. Dissertation, City University of New York Graduate Center, 1985.

Webster, Sally. *William Morris Hunt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Weinberg. *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1991.

Weinberg, H. Barbara; Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry, with N. Mishoe Brennecke. *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.

Weir, J. Alden. J. Alden Weir Papers. Washington, DC: Archives of American Art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Weisberg, Gabriel P. *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992.

----------. "The First Phase of Japonisme in France," *Ukiyo-e Prints and the Impressionist Painters.* Tokyo: Sunshine Museum, 1980.

Weisberg, Gabriel P. and Yvonne M. L. Weisberg. *Japonisme: An Annotated Bibliography.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990.

Weisberg, Gabriel P.; Phillip Dennis Cate, Gerald Needham, Martin Eidelberg, and William R. Johnston. *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910.* London: Robert G. Sawers Publications, 1975.

Weitzenhoffer, Frances. *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986.

Whistler: A Retrospective. Ed. Robin Spencer. New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Assoc., 1989.

Whistler, James Abbot McNeill. *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies.* New York: F. Stoke and Brothers, 1890. 2nd revised edition, London, UK: H. Heinemann, 1892. Reprint, with Introduction by Alfred Werner, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1976.

----------. *Ten O'clock.* New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1899.

White, Henry C. *The Life and Art of Dwight William Tryon.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History.* 2 Volumes. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1970.

Whitford, Cecilia. *Japanese Prints.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

Wichmann, Siegfried. *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries.* Germany: Herrsching : Schuler Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980. Translated and reprinted, London, UK: Crown Publishers, 1981; New York: Harmony Books, 1980 and New York: Park Lane, 1984.

Williams, C.A.S. *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism & Art Motives.* Peiping: Customs College Press, 1931. 3rd revised edition, New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1976.

Wilmerding, John. "Winslow Homer's 'Right and Left'," in *American Views: Essays on American Art.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991, 223.

Wilmerding, John, Shiela Dugan, and William H. Gerdts. *Frank W. Benson: The Impressionist Years.* New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1988.

Wilson, Douglas L. *The Genteel Tradition: Nine Essays by George Santayana.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

With Perry in Japan: A Memoir of William Heine. Trans. Henry Trautmann. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.

Word in Flower: Visualization of the Classical Literature in Seventeenth-Century Japan. Ed. Carolyn Wheelwright. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989.

World Architecture. General Editor, Trewin Copplestone. New York: Hamlyn, 1966.

World Cultures and Modern Art: The encounter of 19th and 20th century European art and music with Asia, Africa, Oceania, Afro- and Indo-America. Development and direction by Professor Dr. Siegfried Wichmann. Munich: Bruckmann Publishers, 1972.

World's Columbian Commission. *Final Report of Executive Committee of Awards.* Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition, 1894.

Wright, Frank Lloyd. *The Japanese Print: An Interpretation.* Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, Co., 1912.

Wylie, Elizabeth. *Explorations in Realism, 1840-1880: Frank Duveneck and His Circle from Bavaria to Venice.* Danforth: Danforth Museum of Art, 1989.

Yarnall, James. "Nature and Art in the Painting of John LaFarge." In Henry Adams, et al., *John LaFarge.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1987, 79-121.

Yoshikawa, Itsuji. *Major Themes in Japanese Art.* Trans. Armins Nikovskis. New York: Weatherhill, 1976.

Young, Andres McLaren, Margaret MacDonald, and Robin Spencer, with Hamish Miles. *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

Young, Dorothy Weir. *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.

Journals, Pamphlets and Programs

"A Boston Artist's Comments on the Art Galleries of the World's Fair." *Boston Evening Transcript* 64/19207 (Friday, May 26, 1893): 5.

"A Chinese in Philadelphia." *The Academy.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 120/2798 (November 30, 1878): 564-567.

"A Fan Study." in *Scribner's* 6 (September 1873): 616-21.

"A Tale of Old Japan: The Forty-Seven Ronins." *Fortnightly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 106/1366 (August 6, 1870): 349-357.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"A Word to American Exhibitors in Vienna." *Manufacturer and Builder* 5/3 (March 1873): 63.

Abbott, Reinald. "'A Moment's Ornament' Wharton's Lily Bart and Art Nouveau." *Mosaic* 24/2 (Spring 1991): 73-91.

Adam, Madame. "Are French Novels Faithful to Life?" *North American Review* 153/420 (November 1892): 536-46.

Adams, Henry. "John LaFarge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*." *The Art Bulletin* 67/3 (September 1985): 449-84.

Alcock, Sir. Rutherford. "Japanese Art." (New Series) *The Art Journal* 16 (1877): 41-45, 97-99, 161-163. Alternatively: v1 (April 1875): 101-105; 1 (July 1875): 197-202; 1 (November 1875): 337-339; 2 (February 1876): 41-44; 2 (April 1876): 110-113; 3 (February 1877): 73-75; and, 3 (June 1877): 134-136.

"An Impressionist at the Paris Exposition." *Atlantic* 42/253 (November 1878): 585-596.

"Another Competitor to British Industry." *Manufacturer and Builder* 11/12 (December 1879): 275.

Appleton, T. G. "The Flowering of a Nation." *Atlantic* 28/167 (September 1871): 316-319.

Arnold, Sir Edwin. "Japonica." Illustrated by Robert Blum. *Scribner's* 8/6 (December 1890): 663-682; 9/1 (January 1891): 17-31; 9/2 (February 1891): 165-176, 266; 9/3 (March 1891): 321-340.

"Art." *Atlantic* 30/177 (July 1872): 119-120.

"Art." *Atlantic* 34/203 (September 1874): 377-379.

"Art." *Atlantic* 36/213 (July 1875): 123-125.

"Art." *Atlantic* 38/226 (August 1876): 250-251.

"The Art Display at the World's Fair." *The Studio* 7/43 (October 29, 1892): 389-90.

"Art Notes." *Ladies' Repository* 2/4 (October 1875): 366-368.

"Art Review: Hayashi Sale of Pictures at the American Galleries." *New York American* (January 16, 1913): 8.

"The Arts." *Appleton's* 14/352 (December 18, 1875): 794-795.

"The Atlanta Fair." *Manufacturer and Builder* 13/12 (December 1881): 269.

"The Austrian Universal Exhibition." *Manufacturer and Builder* 4/12 (December 1872): 280.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aylward, Emily Meredith. "The American Girls' Art Club in Paris." *Scribner's* 16/5 (November 1894): 598-606.

Barnham, P. T. "Notes and Comments I: What the Fair Should Be." *North American Review* 150/400 (March 1890): 400-401.

Barrington, Amy L. "A Fielde of Delite." *House Beautiful* 45/4 (April 1919): 189-91, 241.

Bartlett, T. H. "Barbizon and Jean-Francois Millet." *Scribner's Magazine* 7/5 (May 1890): 542-55.

Baur, John I. H. "Photographic Studies by an Impressionist." in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* Series 6, Volume 30 (October, November, December, 1946) 319-30.

"Benefits of the Centennial." *Manufacturer and Builder* 8/12 (December 1876): 266-267.

Benson, Eugene. "Exhibition of the Academy of Design." *Putnam's* 15/30 (June 1870): 699-708.

Berger, Georges. "Suggestions for the Next World's Fair by the Director-General of the Paris Exhibition." *Century* 39/6 (April 1890): 845-851.

Birmingham, Doris A. "Boston's St. Botolph Club: Home of the Impressionists." in *Archives of American Art Journal* 31/3 (1991): 26-34.

Blum, Robert. "An Artist in Japan." *Scribner's* 8/4 (April 1893): 399-414; 13/5 (May 1893): 624-636; 13/6 (June 1893): 729-749.

"Boston Artists and Sculptors in Intimate Talks. XII. Lilla Cabot Perry." *Boston Herald* (February 27, 1921): 6.

Bouillon, Jean-Paul. "À Gauche: Note sur la Société due Jing-Lar et sa Signification." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 9I/1310 (mars 1978): 107-118.

Bramhall, Mae St. John. "The Wee Ones of Japan." *The Critic* 21/639 (May 19, 1894): 338-9.

Breck, Edward. "Something More of Giverny." *Boston Evening Transcript* 66 (March 9, 1895): 13.

Brinton, Christian. "Robert Reid, Decorative Impressionist." *Arts and Decoration* 2 (November 1911): 15.

Brooks, Noah. "Art in Japan." *Appleton's* 8/176 (August 20, 1872): 165-166.

Broun, Elizabeth. "Thoughts That Began with the Gods: The Content of Whistler's Art." *Arts Magazine* 62/2 (October 1987): 36-43.

Brownell, W.C. "The Paris Exposition: Notes and Impressions." *Scribner's* 7/1 (January 1890): 18-35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

----------. 'The Younger Painters of America." *Scribner's* 20/3 (July 1880): 331-336.

Brumbaugh, Thomas B. "William M Chase Reports to St. Louis from Munich: A Correspondence." *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 15 (January 1959): 118-124.

Buchanan, Charles L. "The Ambidextrous Childe Hassam." *International Studio* 107/227 (January 1916): 83-86.

Burges, William. "1862: LONDON – The International Exhibition." *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1862): 10-11. Reprinted in *The Art of All Nations, 1850-73: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics.* Ed. Elizabeth Holt. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981, 355-431.

Burnham, D. H. "A Condensed Architectural History of the World's Columbian Exposition." *The Manufacturer and Builder* 25/10 (October 1893): 226-229.

Burns, Sarah. "Old Maverick to Old Master: Whistler in the Public Eye in Turn-of-the-Century America." *The American Art Journal* XXII/1 (1990): 28-49.

Caffin, Charles H. "The Art of Edmund C. Tarbell." *Harper's* 117/697 (June 1908): 65-74.

----------. "The Exhibition of Pictures and Sculpture – The Japanese Exhibit." *The World's Work* 8/4 (August 1904): 5179-5184.

----------. "Hashimoto Gahô: A Modern Master of Japan." *International Studio* 23 (October 1904): cccli-ccclix.

Carter, Susan N. "Ceramic Art at the Exhibition." *Appleton's* 1/1 (July 1876): 74-78.

Caso, Jacques de. "1861: Hokusai rue Jacob." *Burlington Magazine* 111/798 (September 1969): 562-3.

Cate, Phillip Dennis. "The Japanese woodcut and the flowering of French color Printmaking." *Art News* 74/3 (March 1975): 26-19.

Champrey, Elizabeth W. "Modern Dutch Painters." *Century* 56/3 (July 1898): 395-408.

"Characteristics of the International Fair." *Atlantic* 38/225 (July 1876): 85-91; 38/226 (August 1876): 233-239; 38/227 (September 1876): 350-360; 38/228 (October 1876): 492-502; 38/230 (December 1876): 732-740; and 39/231 (January 1877): 94-100.

----------. "Talk on Art by William Merritt Chase." *Art Interchange* 39/6 (December 1897): 127.

Chase, William Merritt. "The Import of Art." An Interview with Walter Pach. *Outlook* 95 (June 25-1910): 441-45.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

----------. "The Two Whistlers: Recollections of a Summer with the Great Etcher." *Century* 80 (June 1910): 219-26.

Chiba, Yoko. "*Japonisme*: East-West Renaissance in the Late 19th Century." *Mosaic* 31/2 (June 1983): 1-20.

Child, Theodore. "American Artists at the Paris Exhibition." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 79/472 (September 1998): 488-521.

----------. "Jean Françoise Millet: The Millet Exhibition in Paris." *Atlantic Monthly* 60/360 (October 1887): 506-15.

----------. "Literary Paris." *Harper's* 85/508 (September 1892): 489-507.

----------. "A Note on Impressionist Painting." *Harper's* 74/440 (January 1887): 513-515.

"Chinese Notes." *American Missionary* 32/4 (April 1878): 106-107.

"The Chronicle of Arts." *New York Tribune* 55/17,682 (April 14, 1895): 24.

Clark, Charles. "The Charter Oak City." *Scribner's* 13/1 (November 1876): 1-22.

Clark, Eliot C. "Childe Hassam." *Art in America* 8 (June 1920): 174.

----------. "Theodore Robinson." *Art in America* 6/6 (October 1918): 286-94.

Clark, Nichols. "Charles Lang Freer: An American Aesthete in the Gilded Era." *The American Art Journal* 11/4 (October 1979): 54-68.

Clarke, William. "In Paris at the Centennial of the Revolution." *New England Magazine* 7/1 (September 1889): 98-107.

Coan, Titus Munson. "People and Pictures at the Fair." *Galaxy* 22/6 (December 1876): 761-769.

Coburn, Frederick W. "Art Movements of Today: 11. – The New Composition." *Nations Magazine* 17/6 (March 1923): 744-49.

Cochrane, Albert Franz. "The Art of Lilla Cabot Perry." *Boston Evening Transcript* 104 (October 28, 1933): Magazine Section, 7.

Coffin, William A. "Jean-Charles Cazin." *Century* 55/3 (January 1898): 393-399.

----------. "Robert Reid's Decorations in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C." *Harper's Weekly* 40/2078 (17 October 1896): 1028-9.

Cole, Thomas. "Essay on American Scenery." *The American Monthly Magazine*, New Series 1 (January, 1836): 1-12.

"Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan." *Harper's* 12/70 (March 1856): 441-66; 12/72 (May 1856): 732-56.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Commodore Perry's Japan." *Putnam's* 8/44 (August 1856): 217-218.

"Contributor's Club." *Atlantic Monthly* 76/453 (July 1895): 139-44.

Conway, M.D. "Decorative Art and Architecture in England." *Harper's* 50/296 (January 1875): 35-49.

Cook, Clarence. "Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks." *Scribner's* 10/2 (June 1975): 169-182; 11/3 (January 1876): 342-356; 11/4 (February 1876): 488-504; 11/6 (April 1876): 809-922; 12/3 (July 1876): 168-175; 12/6 (October 1876): 796-808; 13/1 (November 1876): 86-96; 13/3 (January 1877): 318-328; 13/5 (March 1877): 656-666; 13/6 (April 1877): 816-821; and 14/1 (May 1877): 1-9.

----------. "Table Talk." *Putnam's* 13/18 (June 1869): 760-762.

----------. "Togas and Toggery." *Scribner's* 14/6 (October 1877): 783-808.

"Correspondence." *Scientific American* 6/7 (February 15, 1862): 102.

Cortissoz, Royal. "A Painter's Renaissance." *International Studio* 82 (1926): 10.

----------. "Disciplined and Independent Painting: Some Instructive Contrasts in Current American Art," *New York Tribune* 79/26,789 (March 21, 1920): Section III, 7.

----------. "Egotism in Contemporary American Art." *Atlantic* 42/439 (May 1894): 644-652.

----------. "Mural Decoration in America. First Paper." *Century* 51/1 (November 1895): 110-121.

----------. "Some Imaginative Types in American Art." *Harper's* 91/541 (July 1895): 165-177.

Cox, Kenyon. "Nordau's Theory of Degeneration. I. A Painter's View." *North American Review* 160/463 (June 1895): 735-40.

----------. "William M. Chase, Painter." *Harper's* 78 (March, 1889): 552.

Crane, Sumner and Susan Lehman. "In Memoriam, Simmons's *The Carpenter's Son*." *American Art* 14/2 (Summer 2000): 76-89.

"The Crystal Palace." *Scientific American* 8/46 (July 30, 1853): 362.

"Culture and Progress Abroad." *Scribner's* 3/5 (March 1872): 627-632; 5/4 (February 1873): 511-23.

"Culture and Progress – Talks on Art." *Scribner's* 10/6 (October 1875): 786-90.

"Current Events." *Putnam's* 11/4 (April 1868): 505-510.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Davis, Elliot Bostwick. "Mary Cassatt's color prints." *The Magazine Antiques* 154/4 (October 1998): 484-93.

Davis, John. "Our United Happy Family: Artists in the Sherwood Studio Building, 1880-1900." *Archives of American Art Journal* 36/3-4 (1996): 2-19.

Davis, Elliot Bostwick. "Mary Cassatt's Color Prints." *The Magazine Antiques* 154/4 (October 1998): 484-93.

Day, Prof. H. N. "Ruskin's New Lectures on Art." *New Englander & Yale Review* 29/113 (October 1870): 659-78.

DeKay, Charles. "A Bouquet of Japanese Verses." *Scribner's* 9/3 (January 1875): 330.

"Desultery Notes About Japan." *New-York Daily Times* 1 (February 7, 1852): 2.

Dewing, T. W., Childe Hassam, Robert Reid, Edward Simmons, and J. Alden Weir. "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation." *North American Review* 176/557 (April 1903): 554-562.

D.M.A. "Art at the Paris Exposition." *Scribner's* 17/2 (December 1878): 276-281.

Dominique, René. "Count Tolstoi's Ideas on Art." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, trans. Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 218/2825 (August 27, 1898): 607-14.

Dorra, Henri and Sheila C. Askin. "Seurat's Japonisme." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73/1201 (février 1969): 81-94.

Downes, William Howe. "New England Art at the World's Fair." *New England Magazine* 14/3 (May 1893): 352-377.

Duran, Carolus (Charles-Emile). "A French Painter and His Pupils." *Century* 31/3 (January 1886): 372-376.

"Editor's Drawer." *Harper's* 46/273 (February 1873): 475-480; 59/350 (July 1879): 316-320.

"Editor's Easy Chair." *Harper's* 44/264 (May 1872): 929-933; 45/264 (July 1872): 292-297; 53/315 (August 1876): 461-466; 55/329 (October 1877): 782-787.

"Editor's Historical Record." *Harper's* 47/278 (July 1873): 309-315.

"Editor's Literary Record." *Harper's* 61/361 (June 1880): 147-154.

"Editor's Scientific Record.' *Harper's* 59/349 (June 1879): 153-156.

"Editor's Table." *Appleton's* 9/198 (January 4, 1873): 57-64; 9/201 (January 25, 1873): 153-160; 10/236 (September 27, 1873): 409-410; 15/374 (May 20, 1876): 662-664; 4/1 (January-February 1878): 89-92; 6/31 (January 1879): 85-90.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Education and Politics: A Lesson to be Learned from the Japanese." *Manufacturer and Builder* 7/8 (August 1875): 170-171.

Eidelberg, Martin. "Bracquemond, Delatre and the discovery of Japanese prints," in *Burlington Magazine* 123/937 (April 1981): 221-226.

Elliott, Charles Wyllys. "Pottery at the Centennial." *Atlantic* 38/229 (November 1876): 568-597.

Fairbrother, Trevor J. "Notes on John Singer Sargent in New York, 1888-1890." *Archives of American Art Journal* 22/4 (1982): 27-32.

Fenollosa, Ernest. "An Outline of Japanese Art." *Century* 56/1 (May 1898): 62-75; 56/2 (June 1898): 276-289.

----------."Chinese and Japanese Traits." *Atlantic* 69/416 (June 1892): 769-775.

----------. "The Coming Fusion of East and West." *Harper's* 98/583 (December 1898): 115-122.

----------. "Contemporary Japanese Art, With Examples from the Chicago Exhibit." *Century* 46/6 (August 1893): 577-81.

"Fine Arts." *Putnam's* 13/17 (May 1869): 636-638.

"The Fine Arts." *Appleton's* 12/276 (July 1874): 27-29.

"The Fine Arts." *Boston Herald* (February 15, 1891): n.p.

Finn, Dallas. "Japan at the U.S. Centennial." *Orientations* 7/11 (November 1976): 49-50, 52-54, 56.

Floyd, Phylis. "Documentary Evidence of the Availability of Japanese Imagery in Europe in Nineteenth-Century Public Collections." *The Art Bulletin* 68/1 (March 1986): 105-141.

Fraser, W. Lewis. "American Artists Series: Charles H. Davis." *Century* 48/2 (June 1894): 319.

----------. "American Artists Series: H. Bolton Jones." *Century* 47/5 (March 1894): 799.

----------. "Open Letter – Will H. Low." *Century* 43/3 (January 1892): 477.

Fraser, W. Lewis, Robert C. Minor, and Bruce Crane. "Letters to the Editor: Theodore Robinson's Picture 'The Canal'." *Art Collector* 9 (February 15, 1899): 117-118.

"The French Decadence." *The Quarterly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 194/2506 (July 1892): 67-81.

Frelinghuysen, Alice Cooney. "Louis Comfort Tiffany at the Metropolitan Museum." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 56/1 (Summer 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fried, Michael. "Manet in His Generation: The Face of Painting in the 1860's," *Critical Inquiry*, 19 (Autumn 1992). Reprinted in Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or The Face of Painting in the 1860s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, 262-364.

Glynn, Eugene. "The violence within: The woodcuts of Félix Vallotton." *Art News* 74/3 (March 1975): 36-39.

Gorren, Aline. "The French Symbolists." *Scribner's* 13/2 (March 1893): 337-52.

Gosse, Edmund. "The Poetry of John Donne." *The New Review*. Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 199/2576 (November 18, 1893): 429-36.

Grant, Susan. "Whistler's Mother was not Alone: French Government Acquisitions of American Paintings, 1871-1900." *Archives of American Art Journal* 32/2 (1992): 2-15.

Gray, Basil. "Letters: *'Japonisme'* and Whistler." *Burlington Magazine* 107/747 (June 1965): 324.

"The Great Exhibition and Its Visitors." *Putnam's Monthly* 2/12 (December 1853): 577-593.

Greenwald, Helen M. "House Music." *Stagebill*. New York: NY City Opera, 1998-99 Season.

"Greta." "Boston Art and Artists." *Art Amateur* 17 (October 1887): 93.

Griffis, Rev. William E. "Mature and People in Japan." Illustrations by Theodore Wores. *Century* 39/2 (December 1889): 231-239.

----------. "Japanese Art, Artists, and Artisans." *Scribner's* 3/1 (January 1888): 108-120.

----------. "Japanese Art Symbols." *Scribner's* 5/1 (January 1889): 88-100.

Guernsey, A. H. "The Mikado's Empire." *Harper's* 53/316 (September 1876): 496-514.

----------. "Pictures of the Japanese." *Harper's* 28/163 (December 1862): 721-739.

Hale, Philip G. "Childe Hassam's Picture." *Boston Daily Advertiser* 176/107 (November 1, 1900): 4.

Hamerton, Philip Gilbert. "Continental Painting at Paris in 1878." *Princeton Review* 1 (January-June 1878): 389-414 and 489-509.

----------. "Type of Contemporary Painting. VI. The Lighthouse by Stanhope A. Forbes, A.R.A.." *Scribner's* 15/6 (June 1894): 688-692.

Harris, Jean C. "*Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910.*" Book Review, in *The Art Bulletin* 59/3 (September 1977): 450-54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Harris, Neil. "The Gilded Age Reconsidered Once Again." *Archives of American Art Journal* 23/4 (1983): 8-18.

Harrison, Birge. "The New Departure in Parisian Art." *Atlantic* 66/398 (December 1890): 754-764.

----------. "Quaint Artist Haunts in Brittany: Pont Aven and Concarneau." *Outing* 24/1 (April 1894): 25-31.

----------. "With Stevenson at Grez," in *Century* 93 (December 1916): 306-14.

Hartmann, Sadakichi. "A National American Art." *The Art Critic* 1/3 (March 1894): 45-59. Reprinted in *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist*. Ed. Jane Calhoune Weaver. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, 68-76.

----------. "Art and Artists." *Musical America* 1/4 (29 October 1895): 31. Reprinted in *Critical Modernist*, 250-1.

----------. "Art Talk." *The Criterion* (January 8, 1898): 17. Reprinted n *Critical Modernist*, 300-02.

----------. "Art Talk: The Japanese Idea in American Art." *The Criterion* 16 (January 1, 1898): 16-17 and (January 8, 1898): 17. Reprinted in *Critical Modernist*, p. 300-301.

----------. "The Fine Arts: Japanese Prints at the Grolier Club." *The Critic* 25/739 (April 18, 1896): 279.

----------. "The Japan Idea in American Art," *Criterion* 16 (January 1, 1898): 16-17 and (January 8, 1898): 17. Reprinted in *Critical Modernist*, 68-76.

----------. "Modern Portraits." *Bulletin of Photography* 16/406 (Wednesday, May 213, 1915) 581-2.

----------. "The Split in the Art Society: Some Characteristics of the "American Painters" Who Have Led the Secession." *Criterion* (November 22, 1898): 35. Reprinted in *Critical Modernist*, 284-286.

[Hartmann, Sadakichi.] "Thomas W. Dewing." *The Art Critic* 1/1 (November 1893). Reprinted in *Sadakichi Hartman: Critical Modernist*, pp. 237-241.

Hassam, Childe. "Twenty-five Years of American Painting." *Art News* 26 (April 14, 1928): 22-28.

Henshaw, Sarah E. "California Housekeepers and Chinese Servants." Scribner's 12/5 (September 1876): 736-742.

H.H. [House]. "A Symphony in Yellow and Red." *Atlantic* 36/218 (December 1875): 666-672.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Heisinger, Ulrich H. "Impressionism and politics: The founding of The Ten." *The Magazine Antiques* 140 (November 1991): 780-93.

"History of Hiroshige." *International Studio* 55/217 (March 1915): 31.

Hitchcock, D.H. "The Cafes of the Paris Exhibition. *Harper's* 36/212 (January 1868): 151-161.

Hobbs, Susan. "Nature into Art: The Landscapes of Abbott Henderson Thayer." *The American Art Journal* 14/3 (Summer 1982): 4-55.

"Home and Foreign Notes." *Appleton's* 13/308 (February 13, 1875): 212-213.

"The Hope of English Architecture." *Quarterly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 123/1594 (December 26, 1874): 771-790.

Hoppin, James M. "Some Criticisms on French Landscape-Painting." *New Englander and Yale Review* 52/241 (April 1890): 314-328.

Hooper, Lucy H. "From Abroad." *Appleton's* 15/371 (April 29, 1876): 573-574.

"How to See the Exhibition in Ten Minutes. " *Littell's Living Age* 74/946 (December 6, 1862): 480. Reprinted from *Punch*, signed "ANTIBABALON."

Howard, Seymour. "Early Manet and Artful Error: Foundations of Anti-illusion in Modern Painting." Art Journal 37/1 (Fall, 1977): 14-21.

Howells, William Dean. "A Sennight of the Centennial." *Atlantic* 38/225 (July 1876): 92-107.

Humphrey, Mary Lou. "Madame Butterfly." *Stagebill.* New York: NY City Opera, 1998-99 Season.

Huneker, James G. "Around the Galleries." *New York Sun* 75/129 (January 7, 1908): 6. Reprinted in *Americans in the Arts, 1890-1920: Critiques of James Gibbons Huneker*, Ed. Arnold T. Schwab, New York: AMS Press, 1985.

Ives, Colta Feller. "The great wave: Translations from the Japanese." *Art News* 74/3 (March 1975): 30-35.

James, Henry, Jr. "Daniel Deronda: A Conversation." *Atlantic* 38/230 (December 1875): 684-694.

----------. "On Some Pictures Lately Exhibited." *Galaxy* 20/1 (July 1875): 89-98.

"Japanese Art." *The Daily Graphic: New York* 19/1946 (Monday, June 19, 1879): 891.

"Japanese Art at the Cloister Club." *New York Tribune* 54/17,643 (March 17, 1895): 20.

"Japanese Fans." *Chambers' Journal.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 137/1768 (May 4, 1878): 319-320.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Japanese Paintings, in the Paris Salon." *Watson's Art Journal* 17/19 (September 7, 1872): 220.

"Japanese Prints to be Sold: Metzgar Collection Particularly Rich in Hiroshige Landscapes." *New York Evening Post* 118/150 (May 13, 1919): 5.

"Japanese Studies by E. A. Hornel." *Decorator and Furnisher* 30/6 (September 1897): 183-4.

"Japanese Woodcuts." *The Reader* 2 (October 31, 1868): 501-3.

"The Japan Trade." *New-York Daily Times* 4 (December 1, 1854): 2.

Le Japon Artistique. Ed. Siegfried Bing. Volumes I, II, III. Numbers 1-36. (1888-1891).

Jarves, J. Jackson. "A Genuine Artistic Race." *The Art-Journal of London* (London) 33 (March 1, 1871): 77-9; (April 1871): 100-101 (June 1871): 161-162; (July 1871): 185-186.

----------. "Japanese Art." *The Art-Journal* (London) 8 (June 1869): 182-183.

----------. "Museums of Art." *Galaxy* 10/1 (July 1870): 50-61.

Johnson, Deborah. "Japanese prints in Europe before 1840." *Burlington Magazine* 124/951 (June 1982): 341-348.

----------. "Reconsidering *Japonisme*: The Goncourt' Contribution." *Mosaic* 24/2 (Spring 1991): 59-71.

Katz, Ruth Berenson. "John LaFarge, Art Critic." *The Art Bulletin* 33/2 (June 1951): 105-18.

Kingsley, William. "Current Literature – The Magazine of Art." *New Englander and Yale Review* 49/221 (August 1888): 135-8.

"Kioto." *Fortnightly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 152/1960 (January 14, 1882): 115-126

Knight, Edward H. "Crude and Curious Inventions at the Centennial Exhibition." *Atlantic* 39/235 (May 1877): 517-529; 39/236 (June 1877): 645-659; 40/237 (July 1877): 22-34; 40/202 (August 1877): 161-173; 40/203 (September 1877): 305-316; 40/204 (October 1877): 420-430; 40/205 (November 1877): 548-560; 40/206 (December 1877): 689-702; 41/243 (January 1878) 19-30; 41/244 (February 1878) 224-235; 42/245 (March 1878): 288-301; and 241/246 (April 1878): 426-435.

Knaufft, Ernest. "An American Painter – William Merritt Chase." *Studio* 21 (December 1900): 151-8.

Knowlton, Helen M. "William Morris Hunt." *New England Magazine* 16/6 (August 1894): 685-705.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LaFarge, Henry. "John LaFarge and the1878 Auction of His Works." *The American Art Journal* 15/3 (Summer 1983): 4-34.

LaFarge, John. "An Artist's Letters From Japan." *Century* 39/4 (February 1890): 483-491; 39/5 (March 1890): 712-720; 39/6 (April 1890): 859-870; 40/2 (June 1890): 195-203; 40/4 (August 1890): 566-574; 40/5 (September 1890): 743-751; 40/6 (October 1890): 866-878: 42/3 (July 1891): 442-449; 46/3 (July 1893): 419-429; 46/4 (August 1893): 571-576.

Laffan, W. MacKay. "The Tile Club Ashore." *Century* 33/4 (February 1882): 481-98.

----------. "The Tile Club at Work." *Scribner's* 17/3 (January 1879): 401-09.

Laffan, W. MacKay and Edmund Strahan. "The Tile Club at Play." *Scribner's* 17/4 (February 1879): 457-478.

----------. "The Tile Club Afloat." *Scribner's* 19/5 (March 1880): 641-71.

Lancaster, Clay. "Oriental Contributions to Art Nouveau." *The Art Bulletin* 34/4 (December 1952): 297-310.

Larkin, Susan. "Genjiro Yeto: Between Japan and Japanism." *The Journal of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich* 5 (2000): 8-31.

----------. "Light, Time and Tide: Theodore Robinson at Cos Cob." *The American Art Journal* 23/2 (1991): 74-108.

Lathrop, George Parsons. "Japan in American Art." *The Monthly Illustrator* 5/15 (July 1895): 3-5.

----------. "The Progress of Art in New York." *Harper's* 86/515 (April 1893): 740-752.

"Latter Day Pagans." *The Quarterly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 206/2672 (September 21, 1895): 707-25.

Leader, Bernice Kramer. "Antifeminism in the Paintings of the Boston School." *Arts Magazine* 56 (January 1982): 112-19.

Ledes, Allison Eckardt. "Current and coming: The mature years of John Henry Twachtman." *The Magazine Antiques* 136 (November 1989): 942, 958.

Lees-Milne, James. "Japonaiserie—Vagaries of a 19th Century Fashion." *Architectural Digest* 45/4 (April 1988): 232, 236, 238.

Levy, Florence N. "Theodore Robinson," in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1/8 (July1906) 111-12.

Lewison, Florence. "Theodore Robinson and Claude Monet." *Apollo* 78 (September 1963): 208-11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lodge, Senator Henry Cabot. "Two Great Authors. I. Dr. Holmes." *North American Review 159/457* (December 1894): 669-77.

"Loitering Through the Paris Exposition." *Atlantic* 65/389 (March 1890): 360-374.

Lombroso, Cesare. "Nordau's 'Degeneration': Its Value and Its Error." *Century* 50/6 (October 1895): 936-41.

Long, John Luther. "Madame Butterfly." Illustrated by C. D. Weldon. *Century* 55/1 (November 1897): 374-392.

Low, Will H. "The Art of the White City." *Scribner's* 14/4 (October 1893): 504-513.

McBride, Henry. "Exhibitions at the New York Galleries." *Fine Arts Journal* 35/3 (March 1917): 224.

McCormick, Richard C. "Our Success at Paris in 1878." *North American Review* 120/272 (July 1879): 1-23.

Mandeles, Chad. "Theodore Wores's *Chinese Fishmonger* in a Cosmopolitan Context." *The American Art Journal* 15/1 (Winter 1984): 65-75.

Mathews, Nancy Mowll. "Mary Cassatt in the 1890's: The color prints in context." *The Magazine Antiques* 136 (October 1989): 860-71.

May, Stephen. "Review: Lilla Cabot Perry at the National Museum of Women in the Arts," in *Art Times* 6 (December 1990): 8-9.

Mayne, Jonathan. "The Literature of Art: *James McNeill Whistler.*" *Burlington Magazine* 107/747 (June 1965): 324-5.

Merrill, Linda. "Whistler Peacock Room." Gallery Guide. Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1994.

Meech-Pekarik, Julia. "Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 17 (1984): 93-118.

Mitchell, Donald G. "In and About the Fair – Dinners, Plants and Pictures." *Scribner's* 12/5 (September 1876): 742-749; 12/6 (October 1876): 889-897; and 13/1 (November 1876): 115-124.

Miura, Kazuo. "The Japanese, as Compared with the Roman Family." *New Englander and Yale Review* 37/146 (September 1878): 670-674.

M.L.E. "Two Kinds of Decoration." *Scribner's* 19/3 (January 1880): 466-468.

Monod, G. "Contemporary Life and Thought in France." *The Contemporary Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 158/2042 (August 11, 1883): 361-375.

Monroe, Lucy. "Chicago Letter." *Critic* 20/599 (August 19, 1893): 129.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Month in New York. *Broadway Magazine* 18 (June 1907): 96-97.

Morton, Marsha. *Pratt and Its Gallery: The Arts and Crafts Years.* New York: Pratt Institute and Jensen Fine Arts, 1998.

"Mr. Tarbell's Exhibition at the St. Botolph Club." *Boston Evening Transcript* 75 (Wednesday, February 17, 1904): 9.

"The New Orleans Exhibition." *Manufacturer and Builder* 17/1 (January 1885): 4.

"New York Sun, in its notice of the Society of American Artists' Exhibition --Mr. William Merritt Chase's Art." *The Art Interchange* 12 (1884): np.

Nixon, Richard. "The World's Exposition at New Orleans." *Century* 29/1 (December 1884): 312-313.

Nordau, Dr. Max. "Degeneration and Evolution. I. A Reply to My Critics." *North American Review* 161/464 (July 1895): 890-94.

Oakley, A. F. "A Trial Balance of Decoration." *Harper's* 64/383 (April 1882): 735-740.

"The Old Cabinet." *Scribner's* 13/3 (January 1877): 417-419.

"The Opening of the American International Exhibition." *Manufacturer and Builder* 8/6 (June 1876): 121-122.

"Opening of the Paris Exposition." *Scientific American* 16/16 (April, 20, 1867): 249.

"Ornament in Nature and Art." *North American Review* 95/196 (July 1862): 57-81.

"Our World's Fair Illustrated." *Harper's* 37/1902 (June 3, 1892): 91.

Pach, Walter. "The Import of Art – An Interview with William Merritt Chase." *Outlook* (June 1919): 4.

"Painting, Sculpture and Architecture." *Atlantic Monthly* 77/462 (April 1896): 554-5.

"Paris Exhibition Profits." *Manufacturer and Builder* 21/12 (December 1889): 273-274.

"The Paris Exposition." *Manufacturer and Builder* 10/11 (November 1878): 248.

"Paris Exposition—Award of Premiums." *Scientific American* 17/3 (July 20, 1867): 34-35.

"Patents and Prosperity." *Scientific American* 16/12 (March 23, 1867): 183.

Pennell, Elizabeth Robins. "English Faith in Art." *Atlantic Monthly* 61/366 (April 1888): 449-61.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perry, Lilla Cabot. "Reminiscences of Claude Monet from 1889 to 1909." *The American Magazine of Art* 18/3 (March 1927): 119-125. Reprinted in Martindale, Meredith, *Lilla Cabot Perry: An American Impressionist*, Washington D. C.: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1990, p. 115.

Pilgrim, Dianne H. "The Revival of Pastels in Nineteenth-Century America: The Society of Painters in Pastel." *The American Art Journal* 10/2 (November 1978): 43-62.

Pisano, Ronald G. "Prince of Pastels." *Portfolio* 5/3 (May-June 1983): 68.

"Porcelain-Painting." *Harper's* 61/366 (November 1880): 902-907.

Promey, Sally M. "The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church." *The American Art Journal* 26/12 (1994): 55.

Pyne, Kathleen. "Evolutionary Typology and the American Woman in the Work of Thomas Dewing." *American Art* 7/4 (Fall 1993): 16.

R-----L-----. "Fred: A Tale from Japan." *Blackwoods.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 130/2794 (November 2, 1878): 283-287.

Ralney, Ada. "In the Real of Art." *Washington Post* (October 5, 1924): np. Reprinted in Patricia Jobe Pierce, *Edmund C. Tarbell and the Boston School of Painting, 1889-1980.* Ed. John Douglas Ingraham, Highham: Pierce Galleries, Inc., 1980.

Reff, Theodore. "Manet's Portrait of Zola." *Burlington Magazine* 117/862 (January 1975): 35-43.

"Report Upon the Landscape Architecture of the Columbian Exposition to the American Institute of Architects." Reprinted in *The American Architectural and Building News* 41/924 (September 9, 1893): 151-154.

Review of *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan* by James Jackson Jarves. *Scribner's* 12/1 (May 1876): 130-137.

Review of *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan* by James Jackson Jarves. *Appleton's Journal* 15/358 (January 29, 1876): 152-154.

Review of *Hwan yeu ti chieu sin lu (New Account of Travels round the Globe)* by an anonymous Chinese gentleman. *The Academy.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 139/2798 (November 30, 1878): 564-567.

Review of *Japonica* by Sir Edwin Arnold. *Catholic World* 54/322 (January 1892): 603-624.

Review of *London Art Journal* articles by Sir Rutherford Alcock. *Ladies Repository* 2/4 (October 1975): 366-367.

Review of *Saturday Review* article on American art at the Vienna Exposition of 1873. "Art and Music." *Appleton's* 10/233 (September 6, 1873): 315-316.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rideing, William H. "At the Exhibition." *Appleton's* 15/370 (June 3, 1876): 723-724.

Robertson, Meg. "John Singer Sargent: His Early Success in America, 1878-1879." *Archives of American Art Journal* 22/4 (1982): 20-26.

Robinson, Theodore. "Claude Monet." *Century* 44/5 (September 1892): 696-701.

"The Romance of the Japanese Revolution." *Littell's Living Age* 122/1572 (July 25, 1874): 238-50.

Roof, Catherine Metcalf. "William Merritt Chase: An American Master." *Craftsman* 18 (April 1910): 33-45.

----------. "William Merritt Chase: His Art and His Influence." *International Studio* 60/240 (February, 1919): cvi, cviii.

----------. "Wm M. Chase: The Man and The Artist." *The Century Magazine* 93 (April 1917): 833-841.

Roque, Oswaldo Rodriguez. "American impressionist paintings in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. John J. McDonough." *The Magazine Antiques* 128 (November 12985): 1004-11.

"Round the World at the Paris Exposition." *Atlantic* 43/255 (January 1879): 41-48.

Rousmaniere, Nicole Coolidge. "The accessioning of Japanese art in early nineteenth-century America: *Ukiyo-e* prints in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem." *Apollo* 145/421 (March 1997): 23-29.

Saint-Saens, Camile. "Franz Liszt." *Century* 445/4 (February 1893): 517-25.

Sandberg, John. "The Discovery of Japanese Prints in the Nineteenth Century, Before 1867." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 71/1192-3 (mai-juin 1968): 293-302.

----------. "'Japonisme' and Whistler." *Burlington Magazine* 106/740 (November 1964): 500-7.

"Sculpture." *Scribner's* 4/5 (September 1872): 546-549.

Shaw, Wilfred B. "The Relation of Modern American Art to That of China and Japan: Demonstrated at the Recent Exhibition at Ann Arbor." *The Craftsman* 18/5 (August 1910): 522-30.

Sheldon, George William. "Characteristics of George Inness." *Century* 49/4 (February 1895): 530-33.

Sherrill, Sarah B. "Current and Coming: American Landscape Painting." *The Magazine Antiques* 126 (September 1984): 410, 416.

"Significant Aspects of the Atlanta Cotton Exposition." *Century* 23/4 (February 1882): 563-575.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Simmons, Edward Emerson. "The Fine Arts Related to the People." *The International Studio* 63/249 (November 1917): 9-13.

Smiley, Eugene V. "The New Orleans Exposition." Part I. *Century* 30/1 (May 1885): 3-14.

S.N.C. "Art at the Exhibition." Appleton's 15/370 (June 3, 1876): 724-726.

"Special Art Exhibitions." *New York Sun* 74/182 (March 1, 1907): 8.

Stanton, Theodore. "Open Letters: The International Exhibition of 1900." *Century* 51/2 (December 1895): 314-317.

"The State of English Painting." *The Quarterly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 117/1515 (June 21, 1873): 707-734.

Statham, H. Heathcote. "The Paris Exhibition." *The Fortnightly Review.* Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* 226/2926 (August 4, 1900): 305-315.

Stavitsky, Gail. "Childe Hassam and the Carnegie Institute: A Correspondence." *Archives of American Art Journal* 22/3 (1982): 3-7.

Stevens, Alfred and Henri Gervex. "The Paris Panorama of the Nineteenth Century." *Century* 39/1 (December 1889): 256-269.

"Story the Sculptor." *Living Age* 74/946 (July 19, 1862): 134.

Strahan, Edward [Earl Shinn]. "Frederick A. Bridgman." *Harper's* 63/377 (October 1881): 694-705.

Sturgis, Russell. "The Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition: A Retrospective." *Scribner's* 18/2 (June 1879): 161-182.

----------. "The Fine Arts of Japan." *The Nation* 7 (July 16, 1868): 56-57; (July 23, 1868): 76-77; (September 10, 1868): 215-216.

----------. "Multiplied Art." *The Nation* 2 (July 127, 1865): 123-125.

Sutton, Denys. "Cathay, Nirvana and Zen." *Apollo* 84/54 (August 1966): 148-157.

Symons, Arthur. "The Decadent Movement." *Harper's* 87/522 (November 1893): 858-869.

Tarbell, Edmund. "A Boston Artist's Comments on the Art Galleries of the World's Fair." *Boston Evening Transcript* 64/19207 (Friday, May 26, 1893): 5.

Tateno, Gozo. "Foreign Nations at the World's Fair: Japan." *North American Review* 156/434 (January 1893): 34-43.

Teevan, Bernard. "A Painter's Renaissance." *International Studio* 82/341 (October, 1925): 3-11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Tennyson's Enoch Arden." *North American Review* 100/206 (January 1865): 305-307.

"Theodore Robinson, A Brief Historical Sketch." *Brush and Pencil* 4 (1899): 287.

Thompson, D. Dodge. "Frans Hals and American Art." *The Magazine Antiques* 136 (November 1989): 1170-81.

Thwing, Charles F. "Japanese and Chinese Students in America." *Scribner's* 20/3 (July 1880): 450-462.

"The Tile Club." *Harper's Weekly* 24/1207 (January 31, 1880): 75.

Tomes, Robert. "Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan." *Harper's* 12/70 (March 1856): 441-466; *Harper's* 12/72 (May 1856): 733-756.

"Topics of the Time." *Scribner's* 13/1 (November 1876): 124-127.

"Twachtman's Painted Poems: Comparisons with French and Japanese Impressionists." *New York Times* 54/ 1767 (January 10, 1905): 6.

"Unpublished Travels." *New Englander and Yale Review* 12/37 (August 1854): 457-478.

Van Dyke, John C. "Painting at the Fair." *Century* 48/3 (July 1894): 439-446.

Vandam, Albert D. "Prosperity and Social Splendor." *North American Review* 161/465 (August 1895): 215-230.

Vanity Fair 1 (April 28, 1860); (June 16, 1860).

Van Rensselaer, M.G. "Does the Fair Owe Most to Americans or Foreigners?" *The New York World.* Reprinted in *The American Architect and Building News.* 41/921 (August 19, 1893): 120.

----------. "Impressions of the International Exhibition of 1889." *Century* 39/2 (December 1889): 316-318.

----------. "William Merritt Chase." *American Art Review* 1/2 (1881): 97.

"The Victorian mania for Japan." *The Magazine Antiques* 138/5 (November 1990): 902, 906, 910.

"Vienna Before the Exhibition." *Appleton's* 10/243 (November 15, 1873): 630-631.

"The Vienna Exposition." *Appleton's* 8/81 (September 14, 1872): 306

"The Vienna Exposition." *Manufacturer and Builder* 5/3 (March 1873): 66.

"The Vienna Exposition." *Manufacturer and Builder* 5/2 (February 1873): 40.

Waldstein, Dr. Charles. "The Work of John Ruskin: Its Influence Upon Modern Thought and Life." *Harper's* 78/465 (February 1889): 382-419.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Walls with a Desert Glow." *House Beautiful* 69/5 (May 1931): 510-512.

"The Water Color Club." *The New York Times* 43/13,179 (November 18, 1893): 4.

"Water-Color Club Exhibit." *Art Interchange* 38 (December 1897): 144.

Weinberg, H. Barbara. "Late-Nineteenth-Century Painting: Cosmopolitan Concerns and Critical Controversies." *Archives of American Art Journal* 23/4 (1983):19-26.

----------. ":Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the École Des Beaux-Arts." *American Art Journal* 13 (Autumn 1981): 66-83.

Weir, Professor John F. Review of "Talks on Art" by Mr. William Hunt. *New Englander and Yale Review* 37/143 (March 1878): 160-169.

Weisberg, Gabriel P. "Art for Art's Sake: 'In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement'." *Arts Magazine* 61/4 (December 1986): 41-45.

----------. "The Arts and Crafts Traditions in America: An Examination of 'The Art That Is Life' Exhibition." *Arts Magazine* 61/8 (April 1987): 46-49.

----------. "Félix Bracquemond and the molding of French popular taste." *Art News* 75/7 (September 1976): 64-66.

----------. "Félix Vallotton, Siegfried Bing, and L'Art Nouveau." *Arts Magazine* 60/6 (February 986): 33-37.

----------. "Japonisme in Paris." *Arts Magazine* 63/5 (January 1989): 36-9.

----------. "Manet and Modern Paris." *Art News* 82/6 (Summer 1983): 117.

----------. "On the Art and Exhibition of John LaFarge." *Arts Magazine* 62/2 (October 1987): 33-35.

----------. "Paris Cafés: Their Role in the Birth of Modern Art." *Arts Magazine* 60/5 (January 1986): 90-91.

----------. "Philippe Burty: A Notable Critic of the Nineteenth Century." *Apollo* 91/98 (April 1970): 296-300.

----------. "The Reanimation of 'Japonisme': 'Tokyo: Form and Spirit' in Context." *Arts Magazine* 60/10 (Summer 1986): 48-50.

----------. "S. Bing and *La Culture Artistique en Amerique*: A Public Report Reexamined." *Arts Magazine* 61/7 (March 1987): 59-63.

"Whistler's Nocturne." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1/8 (July 1906): 109.

Wight, P.B. "The Great Exhibition Reviewed: The Arts and Art Manufactures of Japan at the Great Exhibition." *American Architect and Building News* 41/934 (November 18, 1893): 86-88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wilmerding, John. "Walt Whitman and American painting." *The Magazine Antiques* 128 (November 1985): 996-1003.

"With Readers and Correspondents." *Catholic World* 47/279 (June 1888): 425.

Woolf, S. J. "Hassam Speaks Out For American Art." *New York Times Magazine* (October 214, 1934). American Artist Scrapbook, New York Public Library, Reel 2.

Wores, Theodore. "An American Artists in Japan." *Century* 38/5 (September 1889): 670-686.

Yeto, Gaingero. "Art Instruction in Japan." *The Limner* I/6 (July, 1895): 6-8.

Young, Mahonri Sharp. "The Tile Club Revisited." *The American Art Journal* 2/2 (Fall 1970): 81-91.

----------. "Duveneck and Henry James: A Study in Contrasts." *Apollo* 92/103 (September 1970): 210-217.

Internet

"Abiel A. Low." Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University. www.stanford.edu/~gray/html/amy/amy_3.html+Abiel+A.+Low+&hl=en&ie=UTF-8

Abraham Cowley Text and Image Archive. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia. http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/kinney/small/mars.htm

"Carolus Duran." Oxford, UK: Grove Art, Oxford University Press. <http://216.239.35.100/search?q=cache:NWcQEijXQMsC:www.artnet.com/library/01/0142/T014245.asp+%22Carolus+Duran%22+Astruc&hl=en&ie=UTF-8>

Chandler, Arthur. "Revolution: The Paris Exposition Universelle, 1889." San Francisco: San Francisco State University. <http://charon.sfsu.edu/PARISEXPOSITIONS/1889 EXPO.html>

Cikovsky, Nicolai, Jr. "American Impressionism and Realism: The Margaret and Raymond Horowitz Collection." Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art. <www.nga.gov/exhibitions/horo 945.htm>

Hooks, Richard. "World Civilizations." Pullman, WA: Washington State University. (http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~dee/ANCJAPAN/CREAT.HTM)

"Impressions of Light." Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. www.mfa.org/exhibitons/iol/preview

Jarzombek, Nancy Allyn. "A Taste for High Art: Boston and the Boston Art Club, 1855-1950." Boston: Vose Galleries. http://www.antiquesandfineart.com/articles/education/2000/09-10/vose/index.cfm.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jarzombek, Nancy Allyn. "A Taste for High Art: Boston and the Boston Art Club, 1855-1950." Boston: Vose Galleries.
<http.//www.antiquesandfineart/com/articles/education2000/09-10/vose/index.cfm>

"John LaFarge." New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
< http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/lafarge/Html/cat4.htm>

"The Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha." Chester, PA: Widener University Art Gallery.
www.widener.edu/students/gallery/kkkco.html

"Morimura Gumi." Tokyo, Japan: The Morimura Brothers. www.morimura.co.jp/english

"The National Arts Club.' New York: The National Arts Club.
www.nationalartsclub.org/pb_About_history.htm

"Noriaki Iwahasi's Still Life with Mallard." Mie Prefecture, Japan: Mie Prefecture Art Museum.
<http.://www.museum.pref.mie/jp/miekenbi/collection/works/iwaha.htm>

"The Philadelphia Sketch Club." Philadelphia, PA:The Philadelphia Sketch Club.
www.sketchclub.org/docs/history.html

Promey, Sally M. "The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church." *The American Art Journal* 26/12 (1994): 55. Reprinted by Smith College Art Museum. Northampton, MA: Smith College Art Museum, 1994.
http://216.239.37.100/search?q=cache:Kt9295hMwZ4C:www.smith.edu/artmuseum/exhibitions/spectrum/edinnessfull.htm+Inness+Swedenborgian&hl=en&ie=UTF-8

"The Providence Art Club." Providence, RI: The Providence Art Club.
www.providenceartclub.org/history.cfm

"The Salmagundi Club." New York: The Salmagundi Club.
www.salmagundi.org/history.htm

"The Saturday Club." Concord, MA: Concord Free Library.
www.concordnet.org/library/scollect/Fin_Aids/RWEmerson.htm+Saturday+Club+Boston+1855&hl=en&ie=UTF-8

"William Merritt Chase: *In the Studio* (c. 1884). *American Originals: Selections from Reynolda House, Museum of American Art.* Winston-Salem, NC: The American Federation of Arts and Abbeville Press, Inc., 1990.
< http://www.reynoldahouse.org/studio.htm>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.