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CREATING ART AND ARTISTS:
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ARTISTS' STUDIOS

by

KAREN ZUKOWSKI

Volume I

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.

1999

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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.

September 9, 1999 — Date
H. Barbara Weinberg, Chair of Examining Committee

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Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Abstract

CREATING ART AND ARTISTS:
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ARTISTS' STUDIOS

by

Karen Zukowski

Adviser: Dr. H. Barbara Weinberg

This dissertation examines the studios of American painters and sculptors working in the cosmopolitan era of the late nineteenth century. Between the Philadelphia Centennial and World War I, most makers of fine art worked in studios furnished with old furniture, personal mementos, historic relics and superbly-crafted *objets d'art*, all rich in evocative associations. In these spaces artists made art, taught art, sold art, entertained friends and patrons, and kept house. These studios were often opened to the public, they were featured in newspaper and journal articles, and they appeared in paintings and novels, making them quasi-public places. Born out of the era's impulse towards aestheticist endeavors, the studios were a deliberate attempt to create beauty for its own sake; thus they are termed aestheticizing studios in this dissertation. The dissertation has a dual thesis: that aestheticizing studios enabled artists to create their public personae and to create their art.

The dissertation is composed of six chapters, and an introduction and conclusion. The introduction surveys prior scholarship and discusses methodology. A chronological and stylistic survey of the phenomenon of aestheticizing studios is

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presented. Two chapters detail the contents of studios and the activities that took place in them. A fourth chapter analyzes texts and images that portrayed aestheticizing studios, as well as the messages and motivations embedded in them. Together, the studios themselves and the diverse media in which they were portrayed forged multi-faceted public personae for American artists; these separate facets are examined individually in a fifth chapter. The sixth chapter demonstrate the direct catalytic influence of aestheticizing studios on their inhabitants by presenting "close readings" of studios and works of art created in them. The conclusion places the patterns observed in studios within a larger cultural framework. While the dissertation discusses the artwork, writings, and lives of several hundred American artists and authors, the work of William Merritt Chase, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Francis Davis Millet and Frederic Edwin Church receive particular emphasis.

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation began as an independent study with H. Barbara Weinberg at the Graduate Center, and has matured under her guidance. I would like to thank Barbara for her wisdom, insight, and especially perseverance, over the long gestation of this dissertation. Marlene Park, as my second reader, provided that much-needed second opinion along with much encouragement. My other readers, Sally Webster and Kenneth Ames, not only gave me helpful commentary, they formed a quorum that validated my work.

I am deeply indebted to the libraries, archives, museums, and historic houses where I did my research, always in consultation with knowledgeable staff. My footnotes specify the contributions of individuals and institutions; the dissertation could not have been written without them. A few made extraordinary efforts to find material for me, and I would like to list them: the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters; the Boston Public Library; the New-York Historical Society; the Buffalo Bill Historical Center; the Holland Historical Trust; the Inventory of American Paintings; the Library of Congress, and most of all, the New York Public Library, especially the reference librarians at the main desk, and the librarians of the Art Division.

Many private individuals unselfishly shared the fruits of their own research with me. I would like to thank the following: William Ayres, for his wisdom on patronage issues; Annette Blaugrund, who let me use a pre-UMI version of her dissertation; Gerald Bolas, for sharing ideas about the late nineteenth-century art market in America; E. Davis Gaillard for his tour of Onteora; Irvin Haas for his list of artists' homes; Carolyn Lane, for sharing a bibliography on women and art study; Thomas Mairs, the

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unofficial curator of the Fenway Studio Building; Jeffery Muller, for his thoughts on the historiography of the appreciation of Rubens; Clark S. Marlor, for miscellaneous interesting citations; Larry Newton, for all his information on Pakatakan; Christine Oaklander, for an early, unpublished version of her paper on the YMCA Building; Kaycee Benton Para , for lending archival issues of the *Cragsmore Journal*; Ronald Pisano, for a lead on a crucial Chase painting; Mary Schmidt, for updated citations from her index of nineteenth-century art periodicals; Tara Tappert, for unpublished information on Cecilia Beaux; and Mr. and Mrs. Richard Thompson and Mary Alice Burke, for wonderful quotations from a youthful Elizabeth Nourse.

I reserve a special thanks for those who care for artist's houses, including Linda Wesselman Jackson at Chesterwood; John Dryfout and Gregory Schwartz at Aspet; Jean Kling at the Alice P. Berney House, and most of all, my colleagues at Olana State Historic Site and its administrative office of NYSOPHRP.

Many museums and institutions helped me research images and obtain copies to illustrate the final draft. I would like to thank especially Judy Throm at the Archives of American Art, Cheryl Leibold at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Kurt A. Dolnier for giving copies of his own fine photographs, and the Rettigs and the Bartons for allowing me to publish family archival material. Many galleries supplied photographs, including: the Albany Gallery; Beacon Hill Fine Art, Berry-Hill Galleries, The Cooley Gallery, Bob Habolt and Company, Jordan Volpe Gallery; Schwartz Gallery.

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Thank you to Donald J. Douglass of the Douglass Foundation, for support that allowed me the resources to illustrate the dissertation adequately, and to travel to view extant aestheticizing studios.

I would like to recognize the institutions that invited me to lecture about my dissertation; airing my ideas in public always re-charged my energies. Thank you to the Cooper-Hewitt seminar for graduate students, to Weir Farm, to the Norman Rockwell Museum, to Olana State Historic Site, and the Pollock-Krasner House and Study Center.

Friends, some of long-standing and some made over the course of this work, have always provided insight and words of encouragement. I would like to thank Terry Carbone, Susan Edwards, Linda Docherty, Anita Ellis, William Gerdts, Diana Linden, Cheryl Robertson, Jim Ryan, Anne Umland, Catherine Voorsanger, Sylvia Yount, and Cathie Zusy.

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Finally, my deepest thanks go to my family. To David, who has lived (not read) this dissertation, and to Ted, who has flourished on his own schedule.

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Illustrations

The illustrations for this dissertation are drawn from diverse sources, including private and public archives, nineteenth-century magazines and newspapers, and museums, galleries and private collections of art. In addition, some extant spaces are shown. In this list, the following conventions for the captioning of these images are used. I distinguish between ephemeral images published in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and extant archival photographs, manuscript materials and works of art. For the former, I provide full bibliographic citations. For the latter I provide the current location, or in the case of works recently on the art market, the last dealer known to have handled the work. Titles in italics are those used by the creator or the original publisher, and titles not in italics are those I have assigned. If known, I supply the name of the photographer, illustrator or artist. For photographs that are documentary in character I supply the date of the image and the location depicted, if known. For extant formal works of art I supply date, media and dimensions, and for extant places I supply the date that they were photographed.

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FIGURE 15. Elizabeth Bonsall, illustration of the studio of Howard Roberts. As published in Anne H. Wharton, "Some Philadelphia Studios," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 8 (May 1886): 38.

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FIGURE 86. William Merritt Chase, *In the Studio,* 1892, oil on canvas, 29" x 23". Collection of Erving and Joyce Wolf, New York.

FIGURE 87. William Merritt Chase, *Did You Speak to Me?,* c. 1897, oil on canvas, 35" x 40". The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, OH.

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FIGURE 109. Frederic Edwin Church's studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building, stereograph by S. Beer, New York, c. 1865. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 110. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the view across the lake towards the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 111. John Eberle, photograph of the east facade of the main residence at Olana, 1906, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 112. View from the bell tower of the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997

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FIGURE 113. The court hall, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 114. The dining room / picture gallery, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 115. The sitting room, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 116. South elevation of the studio wing on the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 117. North elevation of the studio wing on the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 118. West view from the studio window in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 119. The studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 120. The studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 121. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 122. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 123. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 124. The fireplace in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 125. The curio cabinet in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 126. The north alcove in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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Introduction

> William Merritt Chase occupies two vast apartments crowded with bric-a-brac, splendid and lavish, and on a scale with the rooms—expanses of dull-toned Persian loom-work, great faded fragments of tapestry; copies of the old masters . . . armour, weapons of every country, ancient altars, worm-eaten carvings, old brasses, pearl-inlaid long-necked stringed instruments, and even the glittering ebon countenances of prognathous Peruvian mummies suspended by their long black hair, which, after centuries, is as silken, soft, as living, as the locks of a three-year old child.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Once in a while [Saint-Gaudens] permits himself relaxations, one of which, a year ago, took the form of a Pompeiian supper, the big studio being decorated and hung with red, and the feasting artists disposed around the table on couches, clothed in Roman dress, and developing unexpected qualities of dignity and beauty brought out by filleted hair and classic draperies.[1]

These two excerpts describe not the art, but the studios of two important figures in late nineteenth-century American cultural life, William Merritt Chase and Augustus Saint-Gaudens. In the late nineteenth century, most American painters and sculptors kept elaborately decorated studios; Chase's [FIGURE 1] was not unique. Artists collected old furniture, personal mementos, historic relics and superbly-crafted *objets d'art* to adorn their studios. Collectively, these pieces were rich in the formal qualities of color, texture and shade, they demonstrated familiarity with foreign cultures and past epochs, and they commemorated a full life. They were arranged into tableaux, even elaborated into whole rooms, like stage settings. In these evocative spaces artists made art, taught art, and sold art. They often kept house in their studios. They enthusiastically entertained themselves and their guests with imaginative events, such as

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1. Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7, no. 1 (1889): 5-7.

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teas, costume parties and musicales. Late nineteenth-century studios were quasi-public places. They were open for visitors, they were well-publicized through newspaper and magazine reports, and they were known through novels and paintings which used them as a motif. Elizabeth Bisland's article offered an exciting glimpse into new terrain—the studio life and studio decor of American artists.

The elaborated studio of late nineteenth-century America was a distinct phenomenon practiced by the generation of artists that arose between the Hudson River School artists and the modernists. This generation sought to differentiate themselves from their predecessors who had created an emphatically nationalistic art. They did so by seeking training in Europe, by embracing the technical and stylistic hallmarks of European art, and—like their European contemporaries—by creating elaborate studios.[2] While international by association, American art and studios were still seen as constituting their own school, both by Europeans and by Americans. The next generation of modernists abandoned the elaborate studios as they moved away from representational art.

Terminology for the diverse art and artists of late nineteenth-century America, (indeed late nineteenth-century art internationally) is still evolving; there is no unification through labelling. Various publications and exhibitions have sought to define the era by focussing on specific styles, especially in painting, such as Tonalism, Barbizonism and Impressionism.[3] Other scholars have explored particular genres and

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2. See H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville, 1991), 8.

3. See, for example, William H. Gerdts, Diana Dimodia Sweet, and Robert Preato, *Tonalism: An American Experience* (New York: Grand Central Art Galleries Art Education Association, 1982); Daniel Rosenfield and Robert Workman, *The Spirit of Barbizon: France and America* (San Francisco and Providence, RI: The Art Museum Association of America and the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1986); William Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville, 1984).

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media, such as landscape painting or public sculpture, while others have chosen to focus on a moment within the era, such as its several great international exhibitions.[4] The Brooklyn Museum of Art's 1979 exhibition and catalog, *The American Renaissance 1876-1917* attempted to draw together diverse artists working in many media and many styles by finding reference to Renaissance ideals of clarity, classicism and didacticism in their art.[5] The Metropolitan Museum of Art's 1986 *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*, like the *American Renaissance*, sought to draw together artists working in diverse styles who were linked by their common interest in creating a particularly elegant art, one that had an emphasis upon formal values, craftsmanship, and a free use of historical reference.[6] Other scholars have sought to place American artists and their art in an international context, finding cosmopolitanism a common concern, especially one that links American painters and sculptors with their European peers.[7] Thus a single artist, William Merritt Chase, can legitimately be called an

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4. Bruce Weber and William H. Gerdts, *In Nature's Ways: American Landscape Painting of the Late Nineteenth Century* (West Palm Beach, FL: Norton Gallery of Art, 1987); Michele H. Bogart, *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Annette Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition* (Philadelphia and New York: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Harry N. Abrams, 1989); Carolyn Kinder Carr and others, *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, 1993).

5. *The American Renaissance 1876-1917* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979).

6. Doreen Bolger Burke, Jonathan Freedman, Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Rizzoli, 1986).

7. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris,* and Leon Fink, ed., *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1993).

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American Impressionist, an innovator in the Aesthetic Movement, and a leader in the production and dissemination of cosmopolitan art.[8]

This dissertation links American artists working in a variety of styles and media by focussing on a common bond between them—their studios. I treat the studios of American painters and sculptors working between the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 and the end of World War I in 1918. These limitations are not arbitrary; the phenomenon of elaborately decorated studios was confined mainly to this period and mainly to the makers of fine art, not decorative art.[9] Much of my discussion centers on

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8. See Burke and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty,* chap. 9 passim, and Gerdts, *American Impressionism.*

9. The linkage of elaborate studios and the fine arts, not the decorative arts, is related to the complex differences between the production and status of fine and decorative art in the late nineteenth century. Much decorative art of the late nineteenth century was made in multiples, on production lines and in factories; the designers of these wares did not work in elaborated spaces. Even when Arts and Crafts ideologies were infused into the workplace, hand-craftmanship emphasized, and small numbers of objects produced, designers rarely worked in spaces that were elaborately decorated. [See Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "The Aesthetic Movement—China Decorators, Consumer Demand, and Technological Change in the American Pottery Industry, 1865-1900," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, nos. 2-3 (1994): 121-53; Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), figs. on pp. 106, 107 and 113; and Wendy Kaplan and others, *"The Art That Is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), figs. on pp. 224, 225, 227 228)].

There were few practical barriers keeping the makers of decorative arts out of elaborated work spaces. The design process, as well as the fabrication and decoration of ceramics, wood, and other crafts could easily have been carried out in well-furnished spaces, but this did not happen. Not surprisingly, design reformer Candace Wheeler was among the few who did work in an elaborate studio; see an 1884 illustration of her design studio published in *Harpers*, reproduced in Boris, *Art and Labor*, 110. There were a few artisans/makers of decorative arts who did work in aestheticized spaces, such as Mary Louis McLaughlin, who was a ceramicist, woodworker, metalworker (and writer) and Louis Comfort Tiffany, maker and designer of glass, ceramics, furniture, and interiors. These two, however, were also painters. Notably, when McLaughlin was photographed in an elaborately decorated studio she stood at her easel [see a photograph in the Cincinnati Art Museum (1986.85)]. Likewise, Tiffany's well-known studio was in his home, and thus divorced from the factory and shop that made and sold his glass and other decorative arts. [See Alastair Duncan, Martin Eidelberg, and Neil Harris,

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the 1880s and 1890s, when the phenomenon was at its peak. Most of the artists I discuss were men (thus the deliberate use of male pronouns throughout my text), and they worked in studios both in America and abroad. The studios of artists who worked in genres other than fine art, such as photographers and architects, are occasionally discussed when they help tell the story of the studios of fine artists. This cosmopolitan generation expended much time and talent on the creation of their studios. In turn, the studios were admired by a wide public. Neither the efforts of the artists nor the attention of the public were frivolous; the studios were an important cultural phenomenon. Born out of the era's impulse towards aestheticist endeavors, the studios were a deliberate attempt to create beauty for its own sake, to aestheticize the creative environment. Thus, I term them aestheticizing studios.

Without labeling them as such, previous scholars have recognized the phenomenon of late nineteenth-century aestheticizing studios. They have been briefly described in publications for a general audience.[10] In recent monographs, such as Deanna Marohn Bendix's on James McNeill Whistler, the aestheticizing studios of

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Masterworks of Louis Comfort Tiffany (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), figs. on p. 32].

Clearly, the production of decorative arts was firmly connected with utilitarian workspaces in the late nineteenth century. This must have been a reflection of an entrenched attitude that ranked the decorative arts lower than the fine arts. This attitude was surely linked to the facts of decorative arts production: decorative arts are rarely the product of an individual artist, they are rarely unique, and they seldom have much narrative or didactic content. Instead, they reflect technical expertise. Scholars have yet to study the reasons why these facts led to the demotion of the decorative arts below the fine arts in the late nineteenth century. Although many called for the elevation of the decorative arts to the status of the fine arts, the absence of elaborated studios for craftsmen and designers reveals that profound differences between the two remained.

10. Michael Peppiatt and Alice Bellony-Rewald, *Imagination's Chamber—Artists and Their Studios* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1983); William McNaught, "Studios of Nineteenth-Century American Artists," *Horizon* 23, no. 2 (1980): 65-71; Celia Betsky, "In the Artist's Studio," *Portfolio* 4, (January/February 1982): 32-9.

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individual artists are treated perceptively.[11] A few topical works, such as Linda Skalet's dissertation on the late nineteenth-century American art market and Sylvia Yount's dissertation on the Aesthetic Movement and consumerism, discuss the role aestheticizing studios played in these issues.[12] A few recent studies have begun to explore the studios of European artists, proposing that studios were seminal to the production of art in England and Germany.[13] Several scholars have examined individual studio buildings, with admirable results. Christine Oaklander's article on the YMCA Building and John Davis's article on the Sherwood Building both examine the milieu of these buildings, the interactions among tenants and the relationships between the tenants and their landlords.[14] The Tenth Street Studio Building, the locus of the

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11. See Deanna Marohn Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995). Also to be noted are the analyses of the studio in the works and lives of the artists examined in Marc Simpson, Andrea Henderson, and Sally Mills, *Expressions of Place: The Art of William Stanley Haseltine* (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1992), and Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum in Association with Hudson Hills Press, 1990).

12. Linda Henefield Skalet, "The Market for American Painting in New York: 1870-1915" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1980), and Sylvia L. Yount, "'Give the People What They Want': The American Aesthetic Movement, Art Worlds, and Consumer Culture, 1876-1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995).

13. See Joseph F. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens: Lord Leighton and Late Victorian Studio Life" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1987), and Christine Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers im 19. Jarhundert* (Munich: Prestel, 1985). Giles Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914* (Aldershot, Great Britain: Scholar Press, 1994) surveys the architecture, and to a limited extent, the decor of London studios. While noting the existence of studios, and even illustrating a number, John Milner in *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), does not focus on studios as a phenomenon, nor explore their significance as anything other than a geographic fact.

14. Christine I. Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA, 1869-1903," *Archives of American Art Journal* 32, no. 3 (1992): 14-22, and John Davis, "Our United Happy Family: Artists in the Sherwood Building, 1880-1900," *Archives of American Art Journal* 36, nos. 3-4 (1996): 2-19.

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New York art world for two generations of Americans, has been the focus of a dissertation and later an exhibition and accompanying catalog by Annette Blaugrund.[15] She too examines the milieu of this building and takes up the issue of how the building helped artists market their work. The most perceptive analysis of the studio of William Merritt Chase, the seminal figure in the story of American aesthetic studios, remains Nicolai Cikovsky's 1976 article; it raises many of the issues I treat in greater depth.[16] None of these studies, however, treat aestheticizing studios as comprehensively as I intend to in this dissertation.

In an article and a subsequent book that incorporates that article, Sarah Burns has drawn conclusions about the function of late nineteenth-century American aestheticizing studios.[17] She believes that they were primarily sales pitches, clever devices that mediated between the high realm of art and the low realm of commerce. In a larger analysis of the formation of artistic images in late nineteenth-century America, she compares aestheticizing studios to department stores, treating both as manifestations of the consumer culture of the late nineteenth-century run amok. While I too demonstrate that studios were places where artists marketed their wares and the public

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15. Annette Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1987); Annette Blaugrund, "The Evolution of American Artists' Studios 1740-1860," *Antiques Magazine*, January 1992, 214-25; Annette Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists* (Southhampton, NY: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997).

16. Nicolai Cikovsky Jr., "William Merritt Chase's Tenth Street Studio," *Archives of American Art Journal* 16, no. 2 (1976): 2-14. See also his introduction to the exhibition catalog *The Artist's Studio in American Painting 1840-1983* (Allentown, PA: Allentown Art Museum, 1984).

17. Sarah Burns, "The Price of Beauty: Art, Commerce and the Late Nineteenth-Century American Studio Interior," in David Miller, ed., *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century American Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 209-38, and Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

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came to buy, I explore many other functions that the studio served. We both analyze the intertwined issues of the creation of artistic personae and the creation of art, however, she posits a circumscribed and contentious role for aestheticizing studios while I propose a more influential and constructive one.

This dissertation seeks to explain the reasons why American artists expended the extraordinary effort it took to establish and maintain aestheticizing studios. This is primarily an examination of the environments artists created for themselves, especially interior environments, and only secondarily an examination of the art they made there. Scholars have not yet produced much work that treats the complex domestic, professional and public spaces of the era in a holistic way, examining both decor and the way the spaces functioned.[18] The interiors of the late nineteenth century, whether created by professional decorators, homemakers or municipal commissions, were usually densely furnished and always laden with meaning. Artists' studios, a subset within the genre of late nineteenth-century interiors, were simultaneously artworks and social artifacts. This dissertation attempts to frame the messages studios conveyed and the purposes they served.

The sources used in this dissertation are diverse, reflecting my pragmatic efforts to gather data and develop organic conclusions that grew from this data. Primary documentation on aestheticizing studios was drawn from archival sources, contemporary illustrated magazines and newspapers, diverse visual imagery, and also from works of art, especially novels and paintings. I soon realized that I needed to do more than catalog the content of this primary documentation; I needed to analyze the purposes that these diverse bits of documentation were originally intended to serve. I recognized that the story of aestheticizing studios was told not only by artists and their studios, but by the media, by visitors to studios and by a larger public interested in

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18. One study that does is Elizabeth Stillinger, *The Antiquers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980).

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cultural matters. Thus, texts and images, archival documents and fictional sources, all appear in my work, all analyzed for the evidence they bring to bear on the issues at hand.

I have adopted no single methodological or theoretical approach, choosing instead to let the sources and the topics that they suggested dictate my methods of analysis. My dissertation encompasses a set of interconnected topics, which surface and resurface at various points in the story; the approach used at any point is wedded to the topic at hand. I believe that some methodologies and intellectual matrixes germane to studios are well-developed and over-used, while others remain unexplored. For example, much literature on the motivations of collectors is written using either the filter of psychoanalysis or Marxism. In these analyses the collector either fetishizes his objects or is enslaved by them; both theoretical approaches seemed to be Procrustean beds upon which to fit the artist/collector who had created an aestheticized studio. On the other hand, scholars have not yet developed tools to analyze the well-documented flights of fancy, the associationism, that aestheticizing studios inevitably inspired in contemporary commentators. While never straying far from traditional art historical connoisseurship in my analysis of interiors, I use the techniques of material culture, social history, gender studies, consumerism, and the psychology and history of creativity.

This dissertation is composed of six chapters, bookended by an introduction and conclusions. I begin by presenting a complete survey of the phenomenon of aestheticizing studios: their distant and more immediate antecedents; the flourishing of the studios in America in all their geographic, economic and stylistic diversity; the exceptional artists who did not adopt aestheticizing studios and the more typical artists who did, in spite of practical obstacles; the parallel story in Europe, and finally the decline of the studios. I go on to discuss the contents of studios in some detail, finding patterns in the choice and arrangement of objects housed there. The activities that

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occurred in studios, a substantial portion of the lives of this generation of artists, are thoroughly surveyed. The texts and images that publicized aestheticizing studios are explored, as well as the messages and motivations imbedded in them. I posit that artists, the media and other cultural commentators together constructed a multi-faceted public persona that represented the inhabitant of the aestheticizing studio; these facets will be investigated separately. Finally, I reason that if the studios influenced the works that came from them, individual works ought to show the influence of the studio in which they were created. Therefore pairs of studios and works created in them by artists working in various media will be explored to discern the aesthetic ties between them. My conclusions place the patterns observed in studios into their larger cultural context.

I seek to prove that aestheticizing studios were vital to artists as they went about the dual process of creating their public personae and creating their art. The public persona was created by furnishing the studio with a captivating mix of objects and staging intriguing activities there; self-definition was achieved with objects and actions. The correct note of exoticism and erudition had to be struck with the furnishings, while the artist's life had to be clearly bohemian, yet gentlemanly and businesslike. Forging the artistic persona was an on-going process of balancing different aspects of the creative self. The aestheticizing studio was also essential to the private activity of making art. Art could only be nurtured by a properly sympathetic atmosphere, one decorated with beautiful, evocative objects, and one in which a stimulating unconventional life could be lived. The anecdotes and associations connected to an artist's studio furnishings were not trivial; they had the power to provoke the imagination, and thus influence the creative process. Each artist surrounded himself with those objects and incidents which proved stimulating, so that each space was tailor-made to induce a personalized brand of art. Comparisons of specific works of art and the studios in which they were produced show aesthetic ties between the two,

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sometimes easily discernable, sometimes less direct. With their aestheticizing studios, this generation established themselves as distinct from their predecessors, and by infinite variations within studios, as distinct from one another. Aestheticizing studios were markers of a generation of artists and art, deliberately constructed to communicate artists' identities and to stimulate the creative process.

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Chapter One: Overview

In order to explain why Americans expended so much effort in establishing themselves in aestheticizing studios, we must first survey the studios themselves. What were the prototypes and precedents for these studios? Were these used as models, or standards against which to react? What was the situation in Europe, where so many Americans studied and traveled? When did the aestheticizing studio become established in America? How did an artist go about the practical process of creating a studio? Were there variations within the aestheticizing studio type? Where were studios established? Were there artists who chose not to adopt the aestheticizing studio, and if so, why? Finally, when did the aestheticizing studio die out, and what replaced it? All these questions can be answered with a thorough survey of aestheticizing studios which outlines their chronological, geographical and stylistic development.

Pertinent Predecessors: The Old Masters through the Hudson River School

American artists of the late nineteenth century looked to historical precedent, from the old masters to their own ancestors, for their own studios. George Boughton, the late nineteenth-century American genre painter, spoke for his generation when he noted: "Why should we not have handsome places? The old masters, so much, and many so deservedly, worshipped, had. Teniers had a fine place, so had Rubens. . . . Rembrandt's pictures of studios show one that it was a common thing for the artists of his time to have magnificent places." He goes on to praise the studios of Veronese, Holbein, and Raphael, as well as those of Reynolds and West, among others. He

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concludes: "Thank goodness the garret era is passed both for writers and painters—passed with the Georges and their narrow days."[1]

This discussion of the precedents for American artists' studios will focus not so much on what modern scholarship reveals of pre-nineteenth-century studios, as on what was known of such studios in the late nineteenth century. Though artists' workplaces are now reasonably well-documented, the state of scholarship in the late nineteenth century was far different.[2] Information was spotty, with what have proven to be excellent monographs and articles available for some artists and schools, and only abundant and enthusiastic misinformation available for others. For those who read only English, access to information would have been more difficult, because many of the best books and periodicals were published in French and German. Even a well-read artist, as Boughton seems to have been, would have fallen prey to what has proven to be hyperbolic reporting on studios of previous centuries. As we shall see, Boughton's conception of Rembrandt's studio is now considered incorrect. The important point, however, is this: it is the perceptions of previous artists' workplaces, however inaccurate, which formed the background to late nineteenth-century artists' own studio-making, and it is these perceptions I shall examine.

The little information available on artists at work before the Renaissance was broadly tinged with the attitudes of the Pre-Raphaelites. With their writing, lecturing and art, English artists John Ruskin and William Morris influenced countless American artists and art writers. Ruskin and Morris acted primarily as critics of the effects of

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1. [J. Hatton], "Some Glimpses of Artistic London," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67 (November 1883): 844.

2. A good survey of artists' studios is Francis Kelly, *The Studio and the Artist* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974). To see how artists have depicted their workspaces see Pierre Georgel and Anne-Marie Lecoq, *La peinture dans la peintre* (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1983), and Ronnie Zakon, *The Artist and the Studio in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978).

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industrialization on the arts, and to that end, they tended to glorify every aspect of the art and lives of pre-Renaissance artists. They believed that such artists were noble craftsmen, working in rough quarters which were quaint and homey. John Everett Millais's *Christ in the House of his Parents* (1850, Tate Gallery, London) showed Jesus and St. John the Baptist as boys learning a trade, illustrating a nineteenth-century conception of a first-century carpenter's shop. The painting taught that a bare workroom might nurture saints and saviors. Reproductions of this painting circulated widely all over Europe and America. The Pre-Raphaelites' love of the Medieval also drew them to Japan, which they understood to be a feudal society. They believed that the blue and white china and the paper fans and umbrellas flooding Western markets were the products of small workshops with handcraft production.[3] According to the Pre-Raphaelites, art in the golden pre-industrial era was produced in small workshops made beautiful by their simplicity. For the artists engaged in craft production, the medieval workroom remained a glorious prototype throughout the nineteenth century. For those nineteenth-century artists who rejected the Pre-Raphaelite tenets as they came to believe that "Truth" in art might encompass more than fidelity to Nature, the medieval workshop became less congenial, and they began to look elsewhere for models. The Pre-Raphaelite admiration for the artifacts of older cultures, however, was to remain a lingering influence throughout the century.

Over the course of the nineteenth century respect for the artists of the Renaissance grew, and with it respect for their houses and workplaces. Many assumed that Renaissance artists moved in nearly the same spheres as their patrons, and that a painter's studio might resemble a prince's *studiolo*. Casa Buonarroti, Michaelangelo's house in Florence, was often opened by his descendants in the first decades of the

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3. William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990), chap. 4, discusses the late nineteenth-century perception of Japan, and the reality of its transformation to industrial production.

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nineteenth century. It became a public museum in 1858 and accounts of it appeared in the press.[4] The house was part gallery of works by and about the great sculptor/painter/architect, and part sumptuous collection of objects he and his family had collected. In contrast, the room where he worked was shown to visitors, a modest nook furnished with a built-in bench and table. From the eighteenth century onwards, artist' houses were popular stops on the grand tour of Italy, and this practice became more formalized in the nineteenth century, with the proliferation of tourism. What one saw in these places might be only tenuously connected to the artist, but it was usually highly evocative. Artists' homes and studios were also described in the nascent art historical literature, and were even motifs in historical novels.[5] This all contributed to a body of truths and half-truths about the studios of Renaissance and post-Renaissance artists.

Rather than enumerating these examples at length, it will be instructive to focus in some detail on the nineteenth-century perceptions of two artists' studios, namely those of Rubens and Rembrandt. Among the most renowned artists in the nineteenth century, they serve as convenient polar stars.[6] In their art and in their lives they were portrayed as standing in opposition to each other: one an idealist, the other a realist; one moving in royal circles, the other a renegade. As we shall see, their houses and studios

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4. T. A. T., *The Literary Gazette* (London), n.s., 171 (5 October 1861): 326.

5. For example, [Anna Brownell Murphy] Jameson wrote an article bemoaning the loss of Titian's house in Venice. See her "The House of Titian," in *Memoirs and Essays Illustrative of Art, Literature and Solid Morals* (London: R. Bentley, 1846).

6. For example, *Poole's Index to Periodical Lterature* (New York: Peter Smith, 1938), which indexes American and British periodicals published between 1802 and 1881, cites twenty-four articles on Rubens, and eleven on Rembrandt. This is in contrast to six on the Hudson River School landscapist Frederic E. Church, and five on French landscapist Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot.

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too were portrayed as opposites, and thus they encompass the range of models available to the Americans.

Peter Paul Rubens's art and life were well-known and well-respected by the late nineteenth century. After Belgium gained its independence in 1830, Rubens became a national hero, and exhibitions and writings on his work became ever-more frequent.[7] National celebrations, such as that in 1840 to commemorate the Battle of Waterloo, drew attention to Rubens and provided an impetus to publications on the artist. By mid-century, Rubens was lauded in America. Washington Allston included a sonnet to Rubens in his *Lectures on Art* (1850), and Benjamin West, Thomas Cole and Thomas Sully all recommended copying his works. After 1840 Mrs. Jameson's translation of G. F. Wagen's biography of Rubens was available, and further biographies were published by George Henry Calvert in Boston in 1878, and Charles Henry Kett in 1879 in London. These English-language texts illuminated, even exaggerated, Rubens's career as an artist, diplomat and gentleman. Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens's *Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus*, issued in six volumes between 1886 and 1909, made good factual information available, including copies of letters and other documents relative to Rubens.

American artists could not escape being familiar with Rubens's art. Reproductions of his works could be seen after 1860 in a two-volume catalog by Charles Murquardt, and between 1886-92 Rooses issued a five-volume work, amounting to nearly a catalogue raisionné on the artist. Furthermore, copying after the old masters was a common practice in the teaching ateliers of Paris, where Rubens's cycle on the life of Maria de' Medici at the Louvre was only the most prominent of his

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7. My historiography on Rubens and his house, when not otherwise footnoted, is drawn from two sources: Jan-Albert Gorris and Julius S. Held, *Rubens in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1947), esp. 13-20, and Paul Huvenne, *The Rubens House, Antwerp,* trans. Colin Clapson (Antwerp: The Rubens House Museum, n.d. [c. 1985]).

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works available.[8] Charles-Emile-Auguste Durand, known as Carolus-Duran, one of the most popular teachers of Americans in Paris in the late nineteenth century, advocated copying Rubens and examples by his American students are documented.[9] Later in their lives the Americans John La Farge and Kenyon Cox wrote admiringly of Rubens's art.[10]

Naturally, interest in Rubens's painting would have extended to the quarters in which they had been executed. Rubens's house in Antwerp, though privately owned in the nineteenth century and divided into apartments, was a well-known landmark. Efforts towards public ownership of the house began in earnest in the 1880s, finally coming to fruition in 1937.[11] Though little documentation now survives concerning its accessibility in the late nineteenth century, one can assume that, as was true for other great houses, a letter of introduction would open doors. There were, however, no lack of published descriptions of this Italian Baroque mansion, actually a complex consisting of two main buildings, a courtyard, and a garden. A 1684 engraving of Rubens's house [FIGURE 2], which showed his large painting chamber, was among the documents made available by Rooses. Kett's biography was one among many that described the house in glowing terms. He (wrongly) believed that Rubens's studio was in the rotunda

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8. H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, trans. Louise M. Richter (Bielefeld: Velhagen and Klasing, 1904), 86, notes that the cycle had "long" been installed in the Louvre in a gallery built especially for it.

9. See Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, on the role played by the copying of old masters in the training of American students in Paris. For Carolus-Duran's interest in Rubens and copies of Rubens by his pupil J. Carroll Beckwith see pp. 196 and 202.

10. Noted in Gorris and Held, *Rubens in America,* 19. See Kenyon Cox, *Old Masters* (New York: Fox, Duffield, 1905), and John La Farge, *Great Masters* (New York: McClure, Philips, 1903).

11. Frederic Clijmans, *The House and Studio of Rubens-A Guide* (Antwerp: n.p., 1947), 4.

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in the garden, and noted that in it were "statues, busts, bas-reliefs, porphyry vases, onyxes, agates, metals and paintings-said to be more worthy of a prince than a private gentleman."[12] Rubens's abundant art and curiosity collection, documented in a seventeenth-century inventory, was also well-known through English transcriptions published in 1838 and 1859.[13] Too numerous to have been housed only in the studio, but instead present throughout the complex, were over 300 paintings, some by Rubens and some after old masters, as well as ivories and other rarities.

Rubens's house was enough of a national symbol that it was reconstructed in plaster for the World's Fair of 1910 held in Brussels.[14] As seen there, the studio was a luxurious room, far more ornate than it is now thought to have been. Decorated in Baroque style, the large room included extensive plaster moldings and brackets, a huge chimney held up by caryatids, and a large balcony, from which, as the guidebook explained, visitors could watch the proceedings. The furnishings were arranged in Victorian patterns, including a seating area with a rug on the floor, a small easel and paint table, and a suit of armor.

In contrast, Rembrandt van Rijn's studio was seen as a far less conventional affair, in keeping with his personality. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers on Rembrandt established him as an irascible rebel, haunted by tragedy, his genius unrecognized; nineteenth-century biographies of the artist in English turned this characterization into a stereotype.[15] Like those of Rubens, Rembrandt's works were

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12. Charles W. Kett, *Rubens* (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1879), 65-6.

13. Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), passim, especially p. 93.

14. Frederick Clijmans, *The Reconstruction of the House and Studio of Rubens* (Antwerp: n.p., 1948). Huvenne, *The Rubens House,* 8, publishes a photograph of the 1910 reconstruction.

15. The historiography of Rembrandt's reputation is outlined in Kenneth Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 6-7.

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known in America through mid-century publications, and from 1897 to1906 Wilhem von Bode and Hofstede de Groot's eight-volume work on the artist was published and became the definitive source.

Much of the late nineteenth-century perception of Rembrandt's private life in his house in Amsterdam was based upon an 1656 inventory of its contents.[16] This was taken ten years before the artist's death, when he had declared insolvency, adding an appealing note of drama. An English translation of part of this inventory appeared as early as 1836, and a more complete one appeared in French in 1853.[17] The house contained over one hundred paintings and sculptures, most by Rembrandt and his Dutch contemporaries, along with a few by Italian masters. The "Kunst Caemer," (translated in the inventory as "art rooms") were under the eaves, literally in the garret. American readers might well have assumed that these rooms served as Rembrandt's studio, and would have been impressed by the treasures packed into them. There were collections of minerals, natural history specimens, and busts of Roman emperors. There were hundreds of sketches, engravings and woodcuts, bound and unbound, amounting to a survey of the leading Renaissance and Dutch artists. And there were curiosities, some recognizable from Rembrandt's paintings, such as Venetian glass cups, a Spanish screen, ancient weapons, musical instruments, antique cloth of various colors, and a hand gun and a pistol.

The existence of the inventory seems to have been common knowledge in American art periodicals, and provided the foundation upon which to spin webs of speculation concerning Rembrandt's studio. An 1855 article in the American journal *The Crayon* cites the inventory to refute the myth that Rembrandt was a miser, and an

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16. The inventory is reprinted in Clark, *Rembrandt,* 193-209.

17. Clark, *Rembrandt,* 193, documents the various publications of the inventory.

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1874 article on studios mentions Rembrandt's "museum of antiques."[18] This later article, voicing a commonplace in the literature of the day, notes the correspondence between an artist's studio and his art, and using Rembrandt as an example of all artists, says, "You may guess what his pictures may be from his house and its contents."[19] One speculation was put into pictorial form by Jean-Léon Gérôme, and published in the New York edition of the *Art Journal* for 1879 [FIGURE 3]. This engraving after Gérôme's painting depicts Rembrandt hunched over his etching table, surrounded by jugs and vials, sitting on a seventeenth-century chair, in front of a brocade screen. The rest of the studio is in mysterious shadow.

By 1911 Rembrandt's house, a brick mansion of the type built by prosperous burghers in the early seventeenth century, was a museum.[20] Though it held few furnishings, the visitor could look at the rooms Rembrandt and his students had used, and at a collection of the master's etchings which had been assembled.

Clearly, by the late nineteenth century, the images of the two artists were established. Rubens had been a hugely successful artist and gentleman living in an elegant house filled with art treasures, which was suitable for the entertainment of patrons. In contrast, Rembrandt van Rijn was seen as a proto-Bohemian, creating art as a recluse in a garret, surrounded by piles of books and prints, and idiosyncratic objects. Thus, at least two styles of studios had been delineated in the popular imaginations of young American artists. Further examples of late nineteenth-century perceptions of old master's studios could be developed, but Rubens and Rembrandt are particularily pertinent to the Americans. As Annette Stott has made clear in her dissertation, the

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18. Leslie, "Rembrandt," *The Crayon* 2, no. 2 (1855): 26, and "A Gossip About Studios," *The Architect* (London) 11 (28 March 1874): 174.

19. "A Gossip About Studios," 174.

20. Anthony Bailey, *Rembrandt's House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), 27.

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long tradition of relative political independence which the Low Countries had enjoyed was seen as analogous to America's, and thus the climate for the production of art in the new young country was similar to that of the old country, with its rich artistic heritage.[21] As they looked to the art of the old masters in the Low Countries, the Americans could also look to their lives for models for art-making. Rubens and Rembrandt established the two extremes, leaving the Americans to pick either, or to settle themselves somewhere in the middle.

Indeed, the studios of the old masters proved to be more useful models for late nineteenth-century American artists than were those of their own countrymen. By the middle of the eighteenth century, successful English artists commonly established themselves in a "painting room," a simple room furnished with good furniture, a few plaster casts, and works by the artist in various stages. This was a room appropriate for work, instruction, and portraiture sittings. Americans adopted the model, and this type of painting room remained the standard for a century.[22] John Smibert had one in Boston after 1742, as did Washington Allston at his home in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, after 1831. Benjamin West's painting rooms attached to the fine house he built in London after 1774, which were the training ground for so many Americans, were a little more grand because they included a skylit gallery for the exhibition of West's works. Charles Willson Peale built a similar gallery onto his house and studio in Philadelphia in 1783, and, finding that his portrait gallery of American statesmen did not attract enough paying visitors, added natural history specimens and ethnographic material. Thus, what had been a studio and gallery became the Peale Museum. Samuel F. B. Morse had an equally idiosyncratic workplace. As an unpaid professor of the literature

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21. Annette Stott, "American Painters who Worked in the Netherlands, 1880-1914" (Ph.D. diss. Boston University, 1986). see especially chap. 3.

22. Blaugrund, "American Artists' Studios," 214-25. The artists discussed in this paragraph are documented in this article.

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of the arts of design at New York University, Morse took six rooms in their building on Washington Square from 1835 to 1843. These were used not only for painting and for the instruction of pupils, but for scientific experiments, which increasingly took Morse's time.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, most artists still worked in rooms resembling eighteenth-century painting rooms, and most were not wealthy enough to afford very grand ones. The surroundings depicted by William Sidney Mount in *The Painter's Triumph* (1838, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia) and described in print in 1858 were the norm: "Dilapidated walls, shaky floors, and rickety windows . . . a few fragments of chairs and table, with a tradionary [sic] easel, composed the furniture."[23] Such rooms were found in commercial buildings in the bigger American cities, and in left-over corners of buildings dedicated to other purposes, like the New York University building. While these painting rooms were used by gentlemen and were suitable for receiving visitors, they were primarily functional workrooms, with relatively few furnishings. The artists of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries seemed never to attain the grandeur of Rubens nor the novelty of Rembrandt.

The artists of the Hudson River School, the generation immediately preceding our artists, consciously took Nature as their studio, and much of the real work of these artists was performed out of doors.[24] These landscapists who came to dominate the American art world at mid-century established routine working patterns. Each year they devoted a long summer to travel, sketching *en plein air* and in their boarding houses. They returned to the city for winters in the studio, working this material into

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23. "Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 5 (January 1858): 24.

24. See Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Painted Sketch: American Impressions from Nature 1830-1880* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1998), which thoroughly documents the practice of *plein air* sketching by the Hudson River School artists.

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finished oils. While not every artist working at mid-century was a landscapist—portraitists, painters of still lives and genre scenes, and even sculptors found their audiences—the schedules and studio types established by the landscapists seem to have held true for the others as well.[25] The typical mid-nineteenth-century studio, while still essentially a workroom, was not as bare as its predecessor, being filled with the props required for the production of art, and with mementos of friendship and travel. Thomas B. Aldrich's description of the room of arctic painter and photographer William Bradford can be cited: "We candidly confess to having caught a severe cold from merely looking at his Icelandic relics,—Esquimaux harpoons, snow shoes, seal-skin dresses and walrus-teeth."[26] Significantly, the writer was impressed by items intimately connected to the artist's personality and art work.

Bradford's studio was in the Tenth Street Studio Building, which became the headquarters of the New York art world the moment it opened in 1858. The first purpose-built studio building in the world with some twenty-five studios, the Tenth Street Studio Building provided working quarters for many of the most prominent of New York's artists. Indeed, the bachelors and those who could not afford to maintain quarters elsewhere lived in the building as well. Each room had high ceilings and good light provided by tall windows (those on the top floor had skylights as well), and a balcony/storage space. Rooms were connected by sliding doors, enabling artists to take on and abandon additional space depending upon need and income. While no kitchens and scant bathing facilities were available, food could easily be ordered in, and a resident housekeeper could also provide meals and cleaning services. The building had

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25. Thomas B. Aldrich, "Among the Studios," part 2, *Our Young Folks* 1 (December 1865): 775-8. Aldrich noted that Launt Thompson, the sculptor, was the only artist in residence in the Tenth Street Building in the summer.

26. Thomas B. Aldrich, "Among the Studios," part 1, *Our Young Folks* 1 (September 1865): 597.

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a large exhibition space on the top floor, lit by skylight and gas, which could be rented by groups of artists or individuals.[27]

Noting the success of Tenth Street and wanting to provide further stimulus to the art life of the metropolis, the trustees of the Young Men's Christian Association, many of whom were art collectors, decided to set aside some of their new building for rental studios.[28] When it opened in 1869, on Twenty-third Street across from the National Academy of Design, the YMCA Building provided some forty studios, many with bedrooms attached, at rents higher than at Tenth Street. Likewise, it had a central exhibition space. Although small colonies of artists had been established in various commercial buildings in New York City, such as Waverly House and Dodworth's Dancing Academy, the Tenth Street Studio Building and the YMCA Building fostered a new collegial spirit among New York's artists.[29] As might be expected, artists found time to visit each other frequently, and made all manner of expedient arrangements for work and living, subletting their studios to each other, sharing studios, and lending them for work and even exhibition purposes.[30]

With the opening of the studios at Tenth Street and the YMCA, polite society found a locus for their impulses towards art patronage. The custom of visiting artists' working quarters seems to have developed in the first half of the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic simultaneously, as a natural extension of portraiture sittings

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27. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building." The facts concerning the physical and social conditions at Tenth Street are drawn from this study.

28. Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA, 1869-1903," 14-22. I have also had the benefit of a longer, unpublished version of Oaklander's paper, "Studios at the Young Men's Christian Association Building 1870-1903," given in the Spring of 1990 at a graduate seminar at the University of Delaware.

29. Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA, 1869-1903," 18.

30. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 110.

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and the previewing of works before the major annual exhibitions.[31] As the century progressed and the etiquette of paying and making calls at private houses was elaborated, it had an influence on the custom of visiting studios. An 1856 article noted the practice in America, but said there was little danger of "general irruption of the public" upon the artists.[32] The same article reported that Asher B. Durand, John F. Kensett and Jasper Cropsey "receive" on Thursdays, Daniel Huntington and Regis Gignoux on Saturdays, and "the rest, we believe, anytime." The custom of keeping visiting hours was maintained through the 1860s and 1870s by most artists.[33]

In order to attract larger numbers to their studios, artists within the two studio buildings banded together to hold receptions, to which visitors were admitted by a card of invitation. The popularity of these events, which were held at least annually and sometimes more often, seems to have waxed and waned.[34] The memoirs of art world mavens of the 1860s all recall these receptions fondly. Mrs. Thomas B. Aldrich met her future husband in Albert Bierstadt's studio in Tenth Street.[35] Candace Wheeler remembered an amusing exchange during a Tenth Street reception concerning a painting of flags in Venice by Regis Gignoux and Frederic Edwin Church's *The Heart*

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31. J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens." See especially pp. 21-4, 161-3, and 165-7, which describe the conditions in England in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Candace Wheeler describes the situation in America in the 1840s in *Yesterdays in a Busy Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1918), 89-91.

32. "Studios of American Artists," *The Home Journal* (New York), 26 January 1856, 1.

33. See Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life*, 89-98 for an account of the art life in New York City in the 1840-60s. Wheeler recalled that artists' studios were *more* open to the public in the 1850s and 1860s than when she was writing her memoirs, in 1918 (see p. 94).

34. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 101-3.

35. Mrs. Thomas B. Aldrich, *Crowding Memories* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), 55-7.

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of the Andes (1859, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), on view in their respective studios. When asked his opinion of Gignoux's canvas, Church replied, "Peppermint candy," and when Gignoux was asked his opinion of Church's canvas he replied, "Spinach, spinach."[36] Most recollections of receptions and visits to these mid-century studios mentioned the art and the notability of the assembled society. Occasionally the architecture of the studio buildings was noted, but rarely was there commentary on the furnishings of studios. There is no reason to imagine that these receptions and polite visits to studios were confined to New York City; wherever a concentration of only a few studios existed, the custom of visiting and holding receptions probably prevailed by mid-century.

In the 1860s the most successful artists began to build palatial homes for themselves, establishing another trend within studio life. While a fine home had always been the reward for success, as noted with West and Allston, earlier artists placed little emphasis upon their working quarters within the home. This changed, however, in the mansions Albert Bierstadt and Jasper Cropsey built, which each included elegant studios.[37] These artists were eager to class themselves with their patrons, but unlike those magnates of finance and industry, the artists were able to build homes that incorporated the workplaces that generated their success. These studios, while grand, were really little more than expanded and gentrified versions of the kinds of studios found at Tenth Street and the YMCA Building.

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36. Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life*, 96-7.

37. Frederic Edwin Church also built a magnificent home for himself on the Hudson, but retained a plain detached studio on his property which was not well-furnished. He also kept a studio in the Tenth Street Building, which, like Bradford's was a suitably-furnished room with souvenirs of his travels. Not until 1888 did he begin the studio wing for Olana, his Persian-style villa. I will discuss Olana and its studio in detail later in this dissertation.

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Bierstadt's Malkasten, a granite and bluestone *chateau* in Irvington-on-Hudson, was designed by Jacob Wrey Mould.[38] The house, which Bierstadt and his wife occupied by 1866, was perched on a hill and commanded a magnificent view. One wing of the house was a huge studio [FIGURE 4], measuring thirty by sixty feet, with thirty-four feet ceilings. The studio included gas jets, an interior balcony, and an attached library and music room. Large windows facing north, east and south were fitted with shades which regulated the light. These windows slid open, offering egress for Bierstadt's huge canvases, and allowing him to pose animals at a distance. The room was furnished with many of his small oil sketches fitted into wood paneling, and souvenirs of his travels, especially American Indian artifacts, which also served as props in his paintings. Also in the studio was a suite of Elizabethan-revival furniture, much like that found in elegant parlors of the day. A few idiosyncratic furnishings, such as a suit of armor, also decorated the studio. Malkasten burned to the ground in 1882, one among many events which turned the tide of Bierstadt's fortunes.

Though less is known about it, Cropsey's Aladdin rivaled Malkasten, by all accounts.[39] In 1869 the Cropseys moved into Aladdin, a twenty-nine room home near Warwick, New York, designed by the painter himself. The living quarters were luxuriously furnished, and the spacious studio included a high timbered roof with a central skylight and a large north window. The furnishings were slightly more exotic than Bierstadt's; the bric-a-brac around the fireplace included tall lamps in the form of a

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38. Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*, 34-9, and Martha Lamb, *The Homes of America* (New York: D. Appleton, 1879), 149-52.

39. William Nathaniel Banks, "Ever Rest, Jasper Francis Cropsey's House in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York," *Antiques Magazine,* November 1986, 994-1009, and William B. Rhoads, "The Artist's House and Studio in the Nineteenth-Century Hudson Valley," in Sandra S. Phillips and others, *Charmed Places: Hudson River Artists and their Houses, Studios and Vistas* (New York: Edith C. Blum Art Institute, Bard College, and Vassar College Art Gallery in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 83-5.

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Cavalier and a Roundhead, and a Chinese fender. Unable to maintain the large house, the Cropseys were forced to sell Aladdin in 1885, and they purchased an 1830s Gothic-revival cottage in Hastings on Hudson. Onto the modest house Cropsey immediately added a studio which was a replica of the one at Aladdin. This house and studio are preserved as a museum today, serving as a study center for Cropsey and the Hudson River School of art.

The entertainment of patrons and friends, no less than the work of the artist, was facilitated by these homes. The balcony in Malkasten's studio was furnished with a sofa, from which prospective patrons could hear a piano while viewing the latest picture on the easel. One author described his impressions of *Donner Lake from the Summit* (1873, The New-York Historical Society) under these conditions: "The distance from which he viewed, and the full blaze of the gas jets which lighted it up, made it look like another and better picture from which it had appeared in daylight and near by."[40] To such published reports were added stereographic photographs of the studio, published by Bierstadt's brother Charles, a respected photographer. Aladdin too, was described for the public as "a building in which every poet and painter delights . . . and to which no one is refused admission."[41] Thus, published words and pictures made these studios known to the public.

Role Models for the Americans

The American artists of the late nineteenth century, European-trained and cosmopolitan in outlook, naturally found the prototypes for their studios on the Continent. In the 1850s and 1860s a few studios that can be termed aestheticizing were

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40. Quoted in Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*, 38.

41. William H. Forman, "J. F. Cropsey, N.A.," *The Manhattan* 3, no. 4 (1884): 372; quoted in Banks, "Ever Rest," 1002-3.

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established by a handful of prominent European artists. These studios mark the transition from the elegantly-furnished painting room to an interior consciously furnished with aestheticizing accessories appropriate to the artist. All of these men were style-setters and a few of them were teachers of Americans. While the existence of elaborate aestheticizing studios in Europe in the late nineteenth century is known from abundant evidence, the exact dates when most were established can be difficult to pinpoint. For the most part, this task has not attracted modern scholars, and primary sources are vague. Memoirs, some of them written by American students of the Europeans, recall events of decades before and do not cite dates. Similarly, wonderfully descriptive photographs of the studios exist, but these are usually undated. Most appear to have been taken in the 1880s and 1890s, when the careers of the Europeans were well-established and when better lighting technologies and more portable photography equipment made interior photography much more commonplace. While the dates when artists built homes are documentable, one cannot necessarily conclude that the studios are contemporary with the main body of the house, or that they functioned as elaborately furnished spaces from the start. My account of the prototypes for the Americans therefore draws together what reliable visual and written evidence I have been able to assemble, especially English-language texts available to American artists.

If any one artist could have been called the leader of the London art world in the late nineteenth century, that man would have been Frederic Leighton; his studio house was among the first to be built and it helped establish his fame.[42] Leighton burst upon the British public by selling one of his first major pictures, *Cimabue's Madonna Carried in Procession through the Streets of Florence* (1855, Buckingham Palace,

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42. J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," is the basic source used for Leighton. See also Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 52-6; *Leighton House Museum* (London: Leighton House, n.d., (c. 1980s); and Louise Campbell, "The Design of Leighton House," *Apollo* 143 (February 1996): 10-6. The February 1996 issue of *Apollo* is devoted to Leighton.

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London), to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1855. In 1864 he was made an associate of the Royal Academy and began to build his studio house according to a design by George Aitchison. He chose the Kensington neighborhood of London, already familiar from his visits to Little Holland House, the home of art patrons Sarah and Thoby Prinsep. The Prinseps had established a literary and artistic salon whose most august member was George Frederick Watts, the painter/sculptor. Their son Valentine, a painter and contemporary of Leighton's, also began a studio house next door to his parents in 1864, but it was Leighton's that captured the public's imagination.

Completed in 1866, the symmetrical facade gave way in the interior to asymmetrically placed dining, drawing and breakfast rooms. The real focus of the house, however, was the studio, which took up most of the second floor. Measuring forty-five by twenty-five feet, with a seventeen-foot ceiling, it had a small balcony at its east end, and a gilded domed apse at its west end. A glass alcove facing north broke the plane of the garden facade. The walls were painted Pompeiian red, which served as a foil for the display of Leighton's art. The furnishings of Leighton's studio in the 1860s are difficult to document; most sources, including all photographs, are of a later date. By the early 1880s, however, along the south wall were a long cast of the frieze from the Parthenon and other casts of Greek and Roman statues; works by Leighton's contemporaries, including a version of Watt's *Hope* (replica of 1886, Tate Gallery, London); and a diverse array of smaller objects: Persian tiles and props like a lyre and stuffed leopard.[43]

Leighton was known in London as a prominent member of society who happened to paint, and his studio house was the staging ground for brilliant parties and gatherings. Again, it is difficult to document events specifically to the 1860s, but

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43. These are documented in Cosmo Monkhouse, "Some English Artists and their Studios," *Century* 24 (August 1882): 553-7; J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 143; and Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* 373-6.

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certain long-standing customs must have evolved then.[44] Formal dinners reportedly took a large part of Leighton's budget. Leighton was at home to visitors on Sunday afternoons, and the studio was open. The most important figures from literary, music and art circles were often to be found at the house, along with politicians, and even royalty. He held musicales, the most formal being at the end of March, to celebrate his artistic output of the year. Distinguished musicians like Piatti and George Henschel played in the studio in the gilded apse or the balcony. On the Sunday before "sending in day" (the day all works to be in that year's Royal Academy show were due), the artists of London held what came to be known as Show Sunday. Thus, a week or so before May first when the exhibition opened, huge crowds would circulate through Leighton's studio, allowing him to gauge his continuing popularity and make sales.

Leighton made several enlargements to his house, the most important being in 1869-70, when the studio became approximately sixty feet by twenty-eight feet, and had its windows enlarged. The most famous element of Leighton's house, the Arab Hall, was not added until 1877-9. Leighton had been collecting thirteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century Islamic tiles, and wanted to display them properly. Aitcheson designed a room of marble and tile with a fountain in its center, based on the twelfth-century Moslem palace of La Zisa in Palermo. Where Leighton's collection was inadequate to fill the space, Persian-style tiles by William De Morgan and mosaic friezes designed by Walter Crane were added. As we shall see, the enlargement of studios and studio houses was a common theme; most successful artists enlarged their homes as their reputations grew.

In another part of London at about the same time another artist was establishing himself in a consciously aestheticizing studio. The example of fellow countryman

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44. All references are to J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens." For Leighton's Sundays see pp. 124-5; for his musicales see pp. 132 and 163-4; for Show Sunday see pp. 166-9.

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James McNeill Whistler was particularly significant for Americans.[45] In 1863 he took up residence in Chelsea, at 7 Lindsey Row (now 101 Cheyne Walk), in a modest townhouse that looked out onto the Thames, and in 1867 he moved a couple of doors down to a similar townhouse at number 2. The originator of a radical aesthetic in painting based on color "harmonies," "arrangements," and "symphonies" applied the same theories to his decor. Careful balance was struck between all elements of its furnishings. On his walls Whistler used unorthodox color schemes like flesh tone, pale yellow and white, and he collected Orientalia, especially blue and white china. His studio at number 2, where he painted *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (1871, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) had the same tonal harmonies of gray and black. Whistler's home was sparsely furnished, a simplicity he constantly honed; his aesthetic was, as his biographer put it: "The growth of, not weeks, but of years. . . . The beauty of the decoration . . . was its simplicity, an innovaton when men were wavering between the riot of Victorian vulgarity and the overpowering opulence of Morris medievalism."[46]

It was at 2 Lindsey Row that Whistler's famous Sunday breakfasts were held.[47] These "twelve o'clocks" (which rarely began until two) were held in the dining room, which had a blue-on-blue color scheme enlivened with a "flight" of purple Japanese fans. Often the centerpiece was a Japanese bowl with goldfish swimming in it. Whistler attracted people of social and artistic distinction to these meals, and sometimes

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45. For Whistler's Lindsey Row studios see Elizabeth R. Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler,* 2 vols. (London and Philadelphia: William Heinemann and J. B. Lippincott , 1908), vol. 1, 106-95; Richard Dorment and Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art and Tate Gallery Publications, 1994), 307-9; and Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 79-80.

46. Pennell and Pennell, *The Life of Whistler,* vol. 1, 138.

47. Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* 87-91.

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served American buckwheat pancakes and molasses. He dominated the conversation and the meals helped establish his reputation for biting wit.

By the time he commissioned Edward William Godwin to design a studio house around the corner on Tite Street, all London expected unconventionality. Godwin and Whistler's "White House," as it came to be called, was built on a strict budget in 1877-8.[48] In its first configuration, it consisted of a lower third of white wall with asymmetrically placed door and windows, and an upper two thirds of green slate roof unbroken by dormers or chimneys. Municipal authorities did not permit Whistler to move in until changes were made, but even the revised façade was strikingly bare. The unusual façade was predicated upon the interior arrangement of rooms; the house was designed from the inside out. Focussed on the production of art, the house included a studio/drawing room, another studio for etching, and yet another to be used as a teaching atelier. Here Whistler continued his startling color schemes, and he intended to furnish them with Godwin's Japanese-inspired furniture, his collections of Japanese china and art, and his own wall paintings. Whistler's tenure in the White House was short-lived, and the house was never really finished. He was forced to sell the house by September of 1879, because he became bankrupt paying for cost overruns demanded by the officials, and settling legal expenses on the libel suit he brought against John Ruskin for his criticism of his painting *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1875, The Detroit Institute of Arts).

As Deanna Bendix's recent study has shown, Whistler's London studio homes of the 1860s and 1870s proved to his contemporaries that his talent for interior design matched his talent for painting. Whistler continued his spare decorating style and color harmonies in a succession of studios and homes in London, mainly in Chelsea, and in

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48. For the White House see Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 84-6; J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 81-5; and Mark Girouard, "The Victorian Artist at Home," *Country Life* 152 (November 1972): 1370-3.

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1892 he moved to Paris. Whistler's studios—the places where he actually painted—were always painted a neutral tone, described as "a gray flesh-tint" or a "grayish brownish rose" and were practically bare of furniture.[49] Visitors spent more time in the drawing room and dining room, where not only Whistler's collections and paintings were on display, but his famous wit was as well. Whistler exerted influence therefore not so much through his own studio, but through his larger interior schemes and through his life and personality.

Hans Makart, a German painter, was invited by the Emperor to establish himself in Vienna, and the studio house he built for himself there with imperial patronage became internationally known.[50] Arriving in 1869, he took over a complex of buildings centering on an old bell foundry, and made his own alterations and additions. It came to include two studios. One quickly proved too small, but the other was huge, measuring seventy-two by thirty-two feet. This had a large western-facing window, a balcony, a tall bronze fireplace, and rafters carved with designs. By 1874 a commentator noted the rich furnishings of tapestries and Venetian glass were commensurate with Makart's reputation as a colorist. By the early 1880s articles enumerated the furnishings, and one summarized by saying that Makart has had his choice of the "beautiful old furniture of bygone days" still to be found in Austrian castles. Makart's studio was open from 4 to 5 P.M. daily, and the artist was noted for being able to continue his work while socializing. His annual fancy dress balls were held in the studio. The artist selected a period from history, and guests were required to wear scrupulously appropriate costumes; invitations were prized.

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49. The two color descriptions are cited in Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* 168 and 196.

50. For Makart see Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers*, 81-6; B. Worth, "Hans Makart and His Studio," *Art Journal* (New York), n.s., 7 (1881): 205-8; Agnes Terry, "A Visit to Makart's Studio," *The Art Student* 1, no. 3 (1884): 8-9; and "A Gossip About Studios," 175.

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One of Munich's most respected teachers had an early aestheticizing studio which was open to his pupils. Karl von Piloty began teaching painting at the Munich Royal Academy in 1856, and took over an "immense" room in the ground floor of the building in 1860.[51] As was the fashion, this was probably decorated with examples of the master's works, but his own creative work was accomplished in his home. This was in an artistic quarter of Munich, on the Briennerstrasse. The "Gothic" studio on the second floor, also known as the drawing room, installed in 1869, was "the artistic crown of glory of the house and the center of family life."[52] In addition to Gothic details such as tracery on the vaulting and clear leaded-glass windows, the room had a pedimented chimney piece. Furnishings included portraits by contemporary Munich artists, Venetian mirrors, a tapestry, an unusual cupboard with huge locks, and a chandelier made from antlers embellished with a carving of a human figure. Downstairs much of the first floor was taken up by the dining room, "a perfect treasury of old German furniture." One end of this was a tap room; this, with its piano, made hospitality easy. On Sunday evenings the artist usually invited friends in, making a point to include younger artists, for in Munich, "'caste' is ignored, or rather, defied."[53] Drinking, dancing and recitals of poetry and song would go on throughout both floors of the house. Visitors generally did not go to the third floor of the house, where Piloty had his private studio [FIGURE 5]. Though still well-furnished, this was a plainer room, designed for work, not receptions. Piloty did not work exclusively in this third floor

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51. Information on Karl von Piloty's life and studio is drawn from Karl Stieler, "Karl von Piloty," in F. G. Dumas, ed., *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie d'Art, Ludovic Baschet, [1882-8]), vol. 1, 175-91.

52. Stieler, "Karl von Piloty," in Dumas, ed., *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* vol. 1, 185. It is unclear whether this room was installed into an older house, or whether the house was built then.

53. Stieler, "Karl von Piloty," in Dumas, ed., *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* vol. 1, 187.

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studio. In the evenings in the second floor studio/drawing room he "designed his pictures." Throughout the entire house "the joy of home life and the joy of creating are here happily combined."[54] Always a popular teacher, Piloty's influence only became more profound when he became director of the Academy in 1874.

It appears that Jean-Léon Gérôme, a leader of the Paris art world and perhaps the most important foreign teacher for Americans, had an aestheticizing studio by the mid 1860s.[55] In 1862 he married Marie Goupil, daughter of the international art dealer and publisher. In 1863 Gérôme was named head of one of the painting ateliers of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. With his marriage and teaching appointment Gérôme must have felt confident of financial success; he purchased a house on the Rue de Bruxelles, and over the course of the next two decades, annexed adjoining properties on the Boulevard de Clichy and Rue Chaptat.[56] Between his own tendencies to collect the artifacts of the peoples he painted, and his marriage into a family of art collectors, all of Gérôme's house must have resembled a museum. By 1875, in the studio in particular the "eastern tastes of the owner [were] strikingly manifested."[57] By 1885 the sumptuous studio on the top floor of the complex of houses was itself profiled.[58] Gérôme's collection

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54. Stieler, "Karl von Piloty," in Dumas, ed., *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* vol. 1, 189.

55. For biographical data on Gérôme, see Gerald M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean Léon Gérôme* (New York: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), and [Fanny Field Hering], *Gérôme: His Life and Works* ([New York: Cassell, 1892]).

56. The address of Gérôme's studio house is usually cited as Boulevard de Clichy, but the Rue de Bruxelles and Rue Chaptat are sometimes also cited. There were apparently multiple entrances to the painting studios on the upper floors, and the sculpture studio in the courtyard. The chronology of these spaces within the complex is undetermined. See also Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 140-1, for a discussion of the studio.

57. Lucy Hooper, "Among the Studios of Paris," *Art Journal* (New York) 1 (1875): 89.

58. "The Home of Gérôme," *Art Amateur* 13, no. 3 (1885): 47-9.

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became known not only for its quantity, but for its quality, and for the imaginative ways in which objects were displayed. While the whole house was full of treasures, the several rooms which functioned as studios [FIGURE 6] held especial rarities, such as a white marble Moorish fountain, a frieze of sword blades displayed on a gilt background, and a series of carpets framed in ivory and inlaid wood. Two cabinets attributed to the sixteenth-century maker Jean Goujon, and a portrait of Ingres by Jacques-Louis David were among the treasures of the studio. Gérôme's availability at his teaching atelier, and his tendency to protect his privacy appear to have made his home and studio not very accessible to the casual caller. Nonetheless, Gérôme did invite students to his studio for criticism of their paintings, and occasionally provided more intensive instruction, in all probability in his private studio.[59]

A few other prototypes may have been important for the Americans, but the exact circumstances surrounding the date, furnishings and accessibility of their studios are tantalizingly obscure. It appears that in Rome, where bare sculpture studios had been open to tourists since at least the eighteenth century, the American William Wetmore Storey lived in splendor in the Palazzo Barberini in the 1850s.[60] Like other marble sculptors, Storey kept a separate studio where the messy business of modeling and pointing was carried out, but he did hold receptions in his living quarters where the expatriate community could presumably view some examples of his works. In the same city, the painter Mariano Jose Maria Bernardo Fortuny-y-Carbo (known as Mariano Fortuny) established a splendid studio which was photographed in 1872.[61] Fortuny's

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59. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris,* 84 and 107, and Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 141.

60. J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 36-7.

61. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 247, and Peppiatt and Bellony-Rewald, *Imagination's Chamber*, 80-1.

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studio was filled with Moorish pottery, Persian carpets, Islamic metalwork armor, antique Spanish furniture and textiles.

Much closer at hand, the architect Richard Morris Hunt established himself in rooms in the New York University Building in New York in 1855, after his training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris.[62] After Hunt designed the Tenth Street Studio Building and it opened in 1858, he maintained an office there until 1871; here he trained apprentices.[63] The office was decorated with prints and photographs of architectural monuments, architectural fragments, stained glass and a carved chimneypiece.[64] An apprentice described Hunt's book collection as "by far the richest, most comprehensive and most curious collection of books on architecture and other fine arts which had at that time been brought together in the world."[65] Hunt's studio is usually credited as the inspiration behind Theodore Winthrop's 1861 novel *Cecil Dreeme*. The protagonist, though not an artist, establishes himself in a borrowed studio furnished lavishly like "the museum of some old virtuoso Tuscan Marquis . . . where he had huddled all the heirlooms of the race."[66] A typical corner of the studio included a cast of the Venus de Milo, the armor of a knight and the pike of a Puritan. A Venetian goblet and a medieval dagger from the studio figure prominently in the plot. This fictionalized description does spring from a real source; the impression Hunt's studio/office/lodging made must have been profound for others too. Indeed, architect Henry van Brunt remembered that apprentices worked in a "congenial and sympathetic brotherhood of painters and

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62. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 37-8.

63. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 358.

64. Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), 100.

65. Susan Stein, ed., *The Architecture of Richard Morris Hunt* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 4 and 112.

66. Theodore Winthrop, *Cecil Dreeme* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1861), 49.

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sculptors from the neighboring studios."[67] Hunt's studio was thus seen by many painters and sculptors, as well as visitors to the building, making it an important example of an aestheticized interior.

Setting the Stage: European Studios in Europe in the 1870s

By the 1870s the examples set by influential artists began to take root and flourish in their respective art communities. This is a strategic decade for my study, for in the 1870s more and more Americans traveled to Europe for formal training and an informal *wanderjahr* of touring, looking at art and making art on their own. In the cities where these art students congregated they witnessed not only new trends in art, but new trends in art life. The trends I will describe are difficult to document chronologically, and I will deal only with those that I have been able to document solidly. Nonetheless it is clear that the majority of the teachers of the Americans, and the style-setting artists in the various cities the Americans studied, were paying more and more attention to studios and studio life.

In London, Frederic Leighton's studio house was soon surrounded by many neighbors in the Holland Park section of Kensington. I have already mentioned that his friend Val Prinsep commissioned a house from Philip Webb, which was probably begun a month or two before Leighton's, in 1864.[68] Built on the parcel adjacent to Leighton's and around the corner from his parents, it helped popularize the Queen Anne revival style. Even though it was arguably the earlier of the two studio houses, and, with two major additions in 1877 and 1892 it became much the larger, Prinsep's house never became as well-known as Leighton's, probably because his fame as a painter was lesser.

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67. William A Coles, "Richard Morris Hunt and his Library as Revealed in the Studio Sketchbooks of Henry van Brunt," *The Art Quarterly* 30 (1967): 2270; quoted in Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 55.

68. J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 113-22.

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His house, with its red-brick gabled exterior and its interiors filled with wood paneling, Japanese leather, tapestries and Oriental porcelains, was, however, more imitated than Leighton's.

In the late 1860s and 1870s a number of prominent painters and sculptors commissioned a number of prominent architects to build houses in this neighborhood, along Melbury Road and nearby streets.[69] The list is impressive: Norman Shaw worked for Marcus Stone and Luke Fideles; Frederick Pepys Cockerell for George Watts; John Belcher for the Thornycroft family, and William Burges for himself. Built mainly in a Queen Anne style in red-brick with leaded windows trimmed in white paint, these house helped to make the style fashionable, and stereotyped the elements of a studio house: a large north or west facing studio window which designated the studio to passersby; special architectural arrangements for work, such as separate entrances and passages for models; interiors fashionably furnished in the new Aesthetic Movement mode.

For Americans, the home of expatriates George and Kate Boughton designed by Norman Shaw and built 1877-8 on Campden Hill Road in Kensington may have been especially important. The Boughtons were gregarious, and entertaining went on in an *enfilade* of public rooms decorated respectively in yellow, blue and gold, which showed the artist's skill at harmonizing potentially clashing colors.[70] The studio too, with its gray plaster walls and coved ceiling of gold, was used for parties. One of the most splendid was a fancy dress ball held to inaugurate the studio.[71] Though London was not a center for formal art training for Americans, it was nonetheless a gathering place for

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69. Both J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," chaps. 3-5, and Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* chap. 4, describe the Kensington phenomenon admirably.

70. Hatton, "Some Glimpses of Artistic London," 810.

71. Mrs. Aldrich, *Crowding Memories,* 232.

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American artists and patrons who attended exhibitions and socialized. Its growing numbers of studio houses would not have escaped notice.

The acknowledged capital for art instruction in the 1870s and 1880s, Paris, seems also to have been the original progenitor of studio houses. The complete history of the evolution of studio houses in Paris, and their quick adaptation by the English and Americans in other urban centers has yet to be written,[72] but it appears Parisian architects and artists may have originated the form. Anatole Jal designed two or three such buildings, and the example for Pierre-Jules Jollivet in the Cité Malesherbes was published in French architecture periodicals in 1858, and mentioned in an English periodical in 1862.[73] This house included two studios: one on the top floor, whose presence would have been signaled by the height of the windows; and an even larger studio hidden behind the house in a garden. The published elevations included decor, showing that one of the painting ateliers resembled a parlor and the other a picture gallery; these were not aestheticizing interiors. At almost the same time that Jal was at work, Richard Morris Hunt and the painter Thomas P. Rossiter, together in Paris in 1855, were at work on plans for a studio house for Rossiter, which was finished in New York City in 1857.[74] The house maintained a separation between family and working quarters, and provided all the professional accommodations the painter needed: spacious studio space on the top story, a gallery and a teaching room. The link between

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72. Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* would seem to be the source for this information, but his study does not include a chronological account of the development of the studios, and indeed makes scant reference to specific dates. As noted below, J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," and Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* both cite the importance of the Parisian prototype for the English artists, and note that the situation in Paris remains unresearched.

73. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 44-5, and J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 40-2.

74. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 57-9, and Stein, *The Architecture of Richard Morris Hunt,* 66.

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the Jollivet and Rossiter studio houses, though not documented, seems inescapable; both were luxurious townhouses modified to fit the working requirements of the painter. The houses were the urban equivalents of Bierstadt's Malkasten and Cropsey's Aladdin, which were mansions fitted out for artists.

By 1878 the English painter William Powell Frith was shocked at Parisian artists' houses—"palaces would be a better name"—saying those owned by Meissonier and Detaille were especially luxurious.[75] Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier's Italian Renaissance style home had been completed only the year before, on the Boulevard Malesherbes.[76] The enormous house included two studios. The larger was richly paneled, and functioned as a reception room, the smaller as the artist's work space. All were "encumbered" with numerous examples of his work and the props required to execute it.[77] Meissonier also had an estate in Poissy, with two studios. Karl von Piloty had visited Meissonier in Poissy in 1867, thus forming another international link in the nascent studio movement.[78] Meissonier's houses had carefully conceived architectural programs and details, upon which the artist had expended much time and money, but the studios themselves seem to have been furnished mainly with finished artworks and props. The studio of Jean-Baptiste-Edouard Detaille, also on the Boulevard Malesherbes near his master Meissonier, was likewise full of the military paraphernalia used for his meticulously accurate paintings.[79] By the late 1870s, the art commerce of

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75. William Powell Frith, *My Autobiography and Reminiscences*, 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1887), vol. 2, 139; cited in J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 42.

76. The date of its completion is recorded in J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 44.

77. John W. Mollett, *Meissonier* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882), 2-3, and Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 172-5.

78. Stieler, "Karl von Piloty," in Dumas, ed., *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* vol. 1, 180.

79. Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 172-3.

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Paris clearly sustained enough fortunes that numbers of "palaces" were built. The degree to which these differ from other luxurious houses, and their exact evolution into aestheticizing interiors remains to be documented.

By the early to mid-1880s, however, the studios of Léon Bonnat, Jules-Joseph Lefebvre and Alexandre Cabanel, as documented in datable photographs, were consciously aestheticizing. Cabanel's studio [FIGURE 7] was a large room furnished with tapestries, furniture in styles from the seventeenth century, and assorted bric-a-brac. By the late 1880s, the successful Parisian artists commonly had an aestheticizing studio, whether in a rented flat or a purpose-built house, as photographs of the studios of Carolus-Duran, Gustave-Rodolphe Boulanger, Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant, and Adolphe-William Bouguereau all testify.[80] Whether furnished exotically with Middle-Eastern artifacts (Benjamin-Constant), more sedately with Old-World antiques (Bonnat, Lefebvre, and Bouguereau), or with a messy, eclectic assemblage (Boulanger), all the spaces were far more than workrooms with props. In the photographs the studios look well-settled, as though the artists had been tenants for some years, but the exact dates the studios were established are not documented. Some of these studios were probably in existence by the late 1870s, and they may have evolved from well-furnished reception rooms into more consciously aestheticizing spaces over the course of the late 1870s and early 1880s.

It is important to note that for American art students, whether they studied in an atelier affiliated with Ecole des Beaux-Arts, or in one of the numerous ateliers of artists unaffiliated with the prestigious school, the situation was the same. Students of all nationalities worked side by side in bare rooms, furnished largely by palette

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80. Photographs of all these studios are published in Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste: images des peintres 1600-1890* (Paris: Habolt, 1991-2). Note that due to a publishing error, the photograph of Bouguereau's studio (plate 55, p. 141) is misidentified as that of Bonnat's.

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scrapings and the smoke from rarely-cleaned iron stoves. The studios of their teachers existed to facilitate their own private work and social life. Surviving accounts, as we will see, show that students were invited to these studios for critique sessions and for parties, but these were relatively formal occasions.[81]

That the studios of teachers and style-setters did make an impression on their American pupils is directly documentable in a few instances. James Taylor Harwood, who became a successful landscape and figure painter in Utah, went to Paris to study.[82] In 1889 he wrote his girlfriend back home, "I called on Bonnat and he has received me into his class. . . . What a fine studio he had. The finest rugs and draperies, it was a grand sight and it is very seldom one can get to see the studios of the great men. I went the day before yesterday but was a little too late, he doesn't receive after ten o'clock it don't matter who he is they are turned away."[83]

Likewise, William Stanley Haseltine, the successful landscape painter known first for his scenes of the rocky New England coastline and later for his views of Italy, credited Fortuny and his studio in Rome with inspiring him to be an art collector.[84] It should be noted that Haseltine had already been known as a collector when he lived in America, and that his marriage to a rich woman would have enabled him to pursue his inclination to collect. In any case, Haseltine's quarters in the Palazzo Altieri in Rome included a grand studio established around 1875. The studios, separate from the other

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81. For example, the American Henry Bacon recalled Cabanel opening his studio daily to his students. See Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris,* 138.

82. Harwood's career is documented in Will South, *James Taylor Harwood 1860-1940* (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, University of Utah, 1987).

83. James Taylor Harwood to Harriet Richards, 9 October 1889, letter in the collection of Will South, Bountiful, UT.

84. Andrea Henderson, "Haseltine in Rome," in Simpson, Henderson, and Mills, *Expressions of Place*, 48, n. 33, notes that Helen Plowden, Haseltine's daughter and biographer, credits Fortuny with inspiring Haseltine to collect art and exotic objects.

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rooms of the apartment, were furnished with "all those costly and lovely accessories and properties that artists delight in," as well as many paintings by Haseltine's fellow Romans of all nationalities.[85] The Haseltine's apartments were a nexus for artists and their families in Rome, American expatriates included.

Early Exemplars in America

By the mid 1870s, then, Americans were studying and travelling in Europe in greater numbers, and they could not have helped noticing the trend towards grand studio houses and aestheticized working spaces among the most successful artists of England and the Continent. As we have seen, some Americans were among the pioneers of this trend, including Albert Bierstadt, Jasper Cropsey, and Richard Morris Hunt. A critical mass appears to have been achieved by the end of the decade, when a number of studios were established which foretold the coming tide.

Louis Comfort Tiffany, whose fame now derives from innovative stained glass windows and glass holloware, started his art career as a painter. After training in America and in Paris with Léon Belly, a landscapist and painter of Islamic genre scenes, Tiffany traveled in North Africa. By 1874 his studio, probably in New York City, was furnished with "groups of Eastern silks, soft and splendid as the dyes of sunset, [and] bits of bronze, porcelain, and brass, placed on carved oak."[86] In the same year, Edwin Lord Weeks, who had also studied in Paris with a painter of Islamic genre scenes—Gérôme—and traveled through Islamic lands—North Africa, the Middle East and

85. Anne Hampton Brewster, "Holiday Week at Rome. A Children's Party—Mr. Haseltine's Studio," *The World* (New York), 15 January 1877; quoted in Simpson, Henderson, and Mills, *Expressions of Place*, 194.

86. "Fine Arts," *Appleton's Journal* 12 (12 December 1874): 764.

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Spain—was reported to have had a studio in the "Oriental" manner in Boston.[87] How long either studio existed is uncertain, for both artists seem to have been peripatetic during this period of their careers.

By 1878, James Rogers Rich, best known for his paintings of India, established himself in rooms in Boston on Tremont Street [FIGURE 8].[88] Though this may be only an early example of an aestheticized parlor, the presence of an easel suggests that the room was, in fact, his studio. Again, how extensively this studio was used and known is unclear; Rich also studied in Paris, enrolling as a student of architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from 1877-80, and travelling extensively in Europe. It seems that the inclination to paint exotic, especially Islamic cultures was a spur to the early establishment of a studio filled with the artifacts of those cultures. There may have been other examples of artists like Rich who established aestheticizing studios in the late 1870s, but the influence of these isolated cases cannot have been great.

The studio of painter William Morris Hunt, however, was more influential. William Morris Hunt, like his brother the architect, Richard Morris Hunt, was among few Americans active in the 1860s to have received significant training in France. With some five years in the independent atelier of Thomas Couture, some three years working alongside Jean François Millet in Barbizon, and a general familiarity with the Parisian art scene, Hunt returned to America with the seeds of an innovative painting style.[89] He settled in Boston in 1862, painting portraits and genre scenes striking in

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87. Doreen Bolger Burke, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* vol. 3 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1980), 77.

88. Rich's career is summarized in *Tenth Report of the Class of 1870 of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1920), 114-5. The photograph of his studio, which is inscribed and dated, is at the Boston Athenaeum, (#A/ B646B6 / Re.r.1878).

89. Hunt's training is traced in Sally Webster, *William Morris Hunt, 1824-1879* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chap. 1.

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their use of *chiaroscuro*. By 1864 he opened a studio in the Mercantile Building on Summer Street, where he was to remain (excepting two and a half years travel in France) until the great Boston fire of 1872. A contemporary recalls that Hunt "never indulged in the conventional furnishings of a painter's studio," and indeed, this studio was not as sumptuously decorated as others, yet it was important.[90] Hunt did keep some Japanese art there, including metalwork and perhaps prints.[91] The walls of the studio were hung with his own art and that of the French Barbizon painters, especially Millet; Hunt virtually introduced the work of Millet to Boston and thus America. A congenial and charismatic man, Hunt made his studio a social center. He and his actor friends performed tableaux in the studio.[92] In the Mercantile Building studio Hunt taught painting and drawing. He soon became so popular, especially among women students, that he devoted a large studio to his pupils, taking a smaller one in the building for himself.[93] The Boston fire destroyed not only much of Hunt's *oeuvre*, but many important works by Millet. Although Hunt had other studios in Boston, including a more lavishly-furnished one at 1 Park Square that opened in October of 1877, these were less important, Hunt died suddenly in 1879, cutting short his influence, yet his role in establishing an early teaching atelier, was to prove significant.

In 1874 newlyweds Richard Watson Gilder and Helena de Kay set up housekeeping in a former stable in New York City. Both had numerous connections to

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90. Martha A. S. Shannon, *Boston Days of William Morris Hunt* (Boston: Marshal Jones Co., 1923), 125.

91. Shannon, *Boston Days of William Morris Hunt*, 91, and Webster, *William Morris Hunt,* 69.

92. Webster, *William Morris Hunt,* 78.

93. Shannon, *Boston Days of William Morris Hunt* 99.

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the city's art world, especially its younger and more innovative members.[94] Helena, a painter and sister to art critic Charles de Kay, was then a student in the National Academy of Design's school. Richard Watson Gilder was the newly-appointed managing editor of *Scribner's Magazine*, and a poet besides. The painter Will Low called the former hayloft an "oasis in the first few years of our return to our desert home, as it appeared to us in comparison to the flowery regions of art whence we came."[95] This "studio" as they called it, at 103 East Fifteenth Street, was to be their home until 1882, when they moved to Eighth Street into a townhouse rebuilt for them by Stanford White.

The couple, unlike many of their well-connected friends, had no independent means and could not afford new furnishings. Consequentially, their loft contained a varied lot of wedding gifts and salvaged furniture. Besides shelves for casts and books, a hammock hung in one corner with a leopard skin below it, while a censer hung from the ceiling nearby. "Richard's two pictures," presumably portraits of Gilder by his wife, hung on the wall along with a "head of Dante by Giotto."[96] The studio played host to the Gilders' active social life. Their friends included the poet Walt Whitman; writers Mary Hallock Foote and Charles Dudley Warner, whose wife Susan was a concert pianist; actors Joe Jefferson and Helena Modrzejewska; as well as artists Saint-

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94. See Saul Zalesch, "Competition and Conflict in the New York Art World 1874-1879," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, nos. 2-3 (1994): 103-20, for a fascinating account of the Gilders' milieu.

95. Quoted in Rosamund Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, and the Riverside Press, 1916): 80.

96. The description of the first studio is in Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder,* 62. The "portrait of Dante painted by Giotto" must have been a print or photograph of a portion of a fresco discovered at mid-century in the Podesta in Florence, which was thought to depict Dante. Neither attribution nor identification is accepted today. See Charles L. Eastlake, ed., *Kugler's Hand-book of Painting* (London: John Murray, 1851), plate between pp. 134-5.

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Gaudens, La Farge, Low, and White. As Mary French, wife of sculptor Daniel Chester French, noted, ". . . Mrs. Gilders' house was more nearly a salon than anything it was ever my pleasure to know."[97]

To one figure alone must go the bulk of the credit for popularizing the idea of the studio in America; that is William Merritt Chase.[98] After five years of study in Munich and travel on the continent, Chase made a sensation exhibiting *Ready for the Ride* (1877, The Union League Club, New York) at the inaugural exhibition of the Society of American Artists in 1878. This full-length portrait of a woman in a riding habit demonstrated a masterful use of limited tonal values reminiscent of the old Dutch masters. Chase's next step to establish himself in the public consciousness was to set up his studio. Within a year of his return he opened his studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building in the large central exhibition gallery, which had not been used as such for many years. This was the building which the Hudson River School landscapists had made their headquarters, and indeed, the gallery space was where their "great picture" exhibitions had been staged: here Frederic Church exhibited his *The Heart of the Andes* and Albert Bierstadt his *The Domes of the Yosemite* (1867, St. Johnsbury Athenaeum, St. Johnsbury, VT). [99] Even while in Europe Chase was collecting objects for his American studio, and sometime around 1877 he declared to a fellow American student:

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97. Mrs. [Mary] Daniel Chester French, *Memories of a Sculptor's Wife* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 155.

98. All writing on Chase's studio is indebted to Cikovsky, "Tenth Street Studio." The studio is further documented in Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 238-87. Biographical information on Chase is drawn from Ronald G. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase: A Leading Spirit in American Art* (Seattle: Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, 1983).

99. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 104-8 and 142-4, documents Church's and Bierstadt's exhibitions, and both she and Cikovsky note the significance of Chase's decision to establish himself in the central space of the Tenth Street Studio Building.

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"I intend to have the finest studio in New York."[100] This studio, exactly as Chase planned, proved to be key to his success as painter, and his co-opting the center of the Tenth Street Studio Building signaled his intent to become a leader of the New York art world.

Chase received the bulk of his training in painting at the Royal Academy in Munich, studying there from 1872-7, becoming a favorite pupil of Karl von Piloty. He undoubtedly spent much time in Piloty's private studio in his home, the showplace already described. In fact, a commission from Piloty for portraits of his children provided Chase with funds to buy studio furnishings during a nine-month visit to Venice in 1877-8, swelling a collection already begun in Germany. Arriving in New York in 1878 with a job as instructor at the newly-founded Art Students League, Chase initially took one among the group of larger studios in Tenth Street. The next year he moved to the large central room, taking over a smaller ante-room, and a balcony as well. It appears that the studio may have been opened in stages, (the smaller ante-room was completed first, the larger room was apparently opened later) and the use of its various areas evolved over time.[101] The smaller room became used as Chase's reception room, and visitors usually entered through it to the larger room, where students were taught, and large receptions were held. The balcony was used as Chase's sleeping loft, and he apparently lived in his studio from 1880 until his marriage in 1886.

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100. The quote is recorded in Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 51; Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 248, notes the date of the quote.

101. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 263, notes that John Moran, in "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879): 343-5, only encompasses the ante-room and balcony, and concludes that the larger room was not yet complete. Whether or not this was true, the larger room was certainly opened soon thereafter, for none of the numerous accounts of the studio mention it enlarging over time, though they do sometimes mention the different spaces. See Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life*, 243, which mentions Chase having the large studio shortly after he returned from Munich.

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From the first to the last, writers describing Chase's studio did little more than inventory its contents in reverence, as so many spectators to Ali Babba's cave. The first article written on the studio was published towards the end of 1879 and set the tone for those to follow; Chase's was the first described in a series on studios, and his collections were too numerous and wonderful to encompass with words. One's eye traveled from a stained glass window of the 1600s taken from a church in Germany; to a Puritan hat; to a set of Italian court-swords; from a Venetian tapestry to a scarlet Spanish donkey-blanket; from a stuffed polar bear head to a stuffed cockatoo. [102] Though his taste was "omnivorous," Chase owned enough of some things to constitute collections: incunabula; paintings by modern Germans as well as Italian Renaissance and Baroque works; wood carving from the medieval era forward; and what was described as a "unique collection of woman's foot gear," from harem slippers to Lapland shoes. The article included a line engraving which showed one corner of the studio [FIGURE 9]. Light filtered through a window onto a studied disorder of brushes and palette, an overflowing portfolio, a Japanese umbrella and a brass censer, and draperies hid corners and highlighted the framed painting on the easel. Later articles similarly enumerate the collections, repeating items noticed by earlier writers or mentioning new ones, and illustrating the various nooks and crannies with engravings and photographs. Writers did not try to impose order upon this studio, instead they were struck by its "restful sense of harmony in color, by the deep and mellow tone, by the apparently fortuitous arrangement of line, drapery and grouping, which never suggests an awkwardness. You cannot tell, you do not want to tell, how the effect has

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102. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, 343-5. The most extensive primary sources on Chase's studio besides Moran are: Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 5-6; Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 4, *The Illustrated American* 5 (14 February 1891): 616-9; Clarence Cook, "Studio Suggestions for Decoration," *The Monthly Illustrator* 4 (June 1895): 235-6; and W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," part 1, *Godey's Magazine* 130 (January 1895): 291-8.

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been arrived at. It is there, and that is enough. . . . It is a matter of intuition rather than of reason."[103]

For Chase, acquiring studio furnishings, first for Tenth Street and later for his summer home in Shinecock, remained a lifelong passion. Even temporary headquarters, like the barge rented by the Tile Club for an excursion on the Erie Canal, were decorated by Chase with objects taken from the studio.[104] Each trip abroad was an opportunity to shop. Though not as profligate as some other artists dedicated to beautifying their studios, Chase often risked financial problems to purchase studio furnishings. As Nicholas Cikovsky has noted, the studio itself may have been Chase's greatest work of art.[105] The ways in which Chase's studio were to prove useful to his contemporaries and invaluable to himself will be a thread running throughout this dissertation.

Aestheticizing Studios Flourish in America

At just the time Chase established his formidable lair, commentators began to explicitly link elaborate studios with the new art being produced by the younger European-trained artists who had repatriated to America. The rise of the studios had been hinted as early as 1877, when a writer in the *Art Journal* noted that the inhabitants of some New York City "drawing room" studios were "exercising a decided liking for Oriental rugs, embroidered *portières*, carvings, and vases *ceramographiques*."[106] In late 1879 and early 1880, John Moran wrote a three-part set of articles on the studios of

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103. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, 344.

104. See Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 50.

105. See Cikovsky, ""Tenth Street Studio," 11-2.

106. E. T. L., "Studio Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York) 3 (1877): 268.

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New York, the first series to describe studios in lavish detail.[107] Of the six artists covered, all were young and European trained, and five were members of the Society of American Artists, the organization which, immediately after its founding in 1879, became linked with progressive art.[108] The series began with Chase's studio, noting his connection with "that section of artists popularly and often loosely described as 'the impressionists,'"[109] thus connecting Chase, if not the other five, with a new and radical aesthetic. In 1880 another magazine article, this titled "Young Artists' Life in New York" described the daily activities of the students and young teachers in the City's leading art schools. The author noted that these artists, recently returned from abroad, "make charming places of their studios in Tenth Street or the Christian Association building, bestowing in them their tapestries and carved chests, which have an added preciousness in their new situation," thus marking elaborate studios as a fixture of this generation.[110]

Surviving evidence indicates that the younger artists took the responsibility of establishing their studios seriously, and spent considerable time and energy on the practical details of their formation. Karl Kappes, a Zanesville, Ohio native and student of William Merritt Chase in the early 1880s at the Art Students League, went to Munich

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107. John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," series in 3 parts, *Art Journal* (New York) 5-6 (1879-80) (vol. 5 (1879): part 1, 343-5; part 2, 353-5; vol. 6 (1880): part 3, 1-4).

108. The six were: William Merritt Chase; Harry Humphrey Moore; Samuel Coleman; Henry Dolph; Louis Comfort Tiffany; and R. Swain Gifford. All but Moore were members of the Society of American Artists. See Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 30. Note that Dolph's election to National Academy of Design membership in 1877, the same year Tiffany and Gifford were excluded, instigated a public discussion over the National Academy of Design and its role in judging aesthetic merit. See Zalesch, "Competition and Conflict," 112-3.

109. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, 343.

110. [William H. Bishop], "Young Artists' Life in New York," *Scribner's Monthly* 19, no. 3 (1880): 362.

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for further study. In June of 1885 he wrote home to his parents concerning his studio, which he shared with two other Americans. He noted that they had their two rooms fixed up "very artistic," and went on:

> It is almost impossible to decorate a studio in America the same manner as in Munich-and another thing of importance in that it cost [s] almost nothing to fix up a studio in Munich—deer skins cost only 1 mk.—and furniture is very cheap—chairs 1 to 2 mks.—of course furniture and everything is old—you never find an art student buying new things—if an art student would jump the track and buy new furniture he would be laughed at . . ."[111]

Even older artists could become obsessed with the desire to create a studio. Timothy Cole, born in England and an immigrant to America, was one of the initiators of the engraving revival at the end of the nineteenth century, producing both his own art, and a well-known series of wood engravings after the old masters. He was well-established in his field by 1896 when he wrote to a friend and business associate, Sylvester Rosa Koehler, the art writer, about furnishing a studio in London:

> . . . In an evil day I took an unfurnished room and proceeded to furnish it, and began painting it [and] papering it and decorating the panels of the doors and the fireplace and then searching the shops for proper curtains—proper colors you know—and hanging them. (Lord, I could have hanged myself a dozen times before I got out of the mess I found myself in.) It seemed a demon had me in charge. I seemed at times perfectly fascinated. At first I made a symphony in red, but becoming disappointed as it proceeded to completion and I obtained the ensemble of effect, I painted all out and changed it to a symphony in green. I worked on bravely and with redoubled fury and the days flew by unnumbered. I could only tell it was Sunday by everything being closed, and a good month went by working every day and all day long, up till midnight often. My symphony in green however gives me pleasure and is a charming setting for flowers and palms. . . . I ought to have been at my block, and this thought yet makes me unhappy, and will temper what pleasure I might take in my surroundings. . . . Well I got a great deal of fun out of the experience, but I don't think I shall ever try it again. It has put me fearfully back in everything. I think I would rather take up my abode in a tub than undertake another such thing

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111. Karl Kappes, "An American Art Student Abroad—Selections from the Letters of Karl Kappes, 1883-5," Randoph C. Downes, ed., *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 23 (Winter 1950-1): 42.

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> single-handed. . . . It is but a single room of humble dimensions, and I have I am proud to say arrived at a degree of simplicity in its arrangement never before attained to in my career! and that very model of simplicity, Whistler, who by the way I find is my near neighbor, showed by his gestures of approval as he gazed around in silence while I watched him from the corner of my eye, and his one question "where did you find such beautiful wall paper"? that my labor had not been in vain.[112]

Cole thus won the ultimate approbation—the nod of approval from one of the first to have an aestheticizing studio.

Rents, of course, were another practical consideration in establishing a studio. Surprisingly, data concerning rental rates for studios are not common. As Kappes indicated, most Americans complained that rents for rooms suitable as studios were cheaper in Europe than in America. An 1880 article noted that the studio in America which rented for between $400 and $600 per year could be had in Munich for $200.[113] When the Tenth Street Studio Building opened in 1857, rents averaged $200 per year, which, while buying a good studio, did not purchase bathing or cooking facilities.[114] For long-standing tenants rents in the building seem to have risen slowly, and they varied greatly by location and size of room. Frederic Church's room cost $600 per year in 1880, while Aaron D. Shattuck paid only $240 per year in 1890 for a small third-floor studio.[115] In 1874 the YMCA studios rented for between $250 and $1,000 per year, depending upon size.[116] It is fair to assume that in late nineteenth-century New York City, studios could be rented for a variety of prices depending upon space and

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112. Timothy Cole to Sylvester Rosa Koehler, 27 July 1896, The Sylvester Rosa Koehler Correspondence, George Arents Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

113. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life in New York," 361.

114. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 83.

115. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 86.

116. Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA, 1869-1903," 16.

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amenities desired. Rents outside of New York City were presumably commensurately lower. The desire for a good deal always sprang eternal. By 1903, one commentator was bemoaning the fact that New York had no cheap studios. He wanted "something decent, that rents for $25 to $30 a month," which would mean $300-$360 per year. This, of course, was unrealistic, and his friend noted: "There is no such thing as a cheap studio. . . . No matter how much you pay it always seems too much."[117]

Nonetheless, artists did upgrade their quarters as their careers advanced. Reynolds Beal, for example, moved into a new studio on Fifty-seventh Street in October of 1899, increasing his rent from $37.50 per month to $42.50 per month, which brought his yearly rent to $510.[118] As one 1903 article noted: "Artists as a rule are making more money than they used. . . . They object to walking up five or six flights of stairs, for instance, and they insist upon bath tubs. They have a failing for electric buttons which call boys in brass buttons."[119]

Types and Styles of Studios

Just as studios varied in their rents, so might they vary in how their decor related to their inhabitant's work. Probably the most common sort of studio was set up in a relatively small rented room, and consisted of many disparate "artistic" objects strewn about seemingly haphazardly. R. Swain Gifford's studio in the YMCA Building, described and illustrated in 1879 [FIGURE 10], can be taken as typical of this type.[120]

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117. "Studios in New York: Many Kinds and All Prices—Some of Their Uses," *New York Tribune,* 17 May 1903, Illustrated Supplement, 7.

118. Reynolds Beal, Memorandum Book, Reynolds Beal Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 286, frames 4-11.

119. "Studios in New York," 7.

120. John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 3, 4. The location of the studio is given in S. G. W. Benjamin, *Our American Artists, with Portraits, Studios and Engravings of Paintings* (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1879), no pagination.

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At this date, Gifford was making his name as an Orientalist landscapist. The studio was furnished largely in Middle-Eastern objects such as Arab costumes, weapons and pottery. These were supplemented with many other items, including a carved Flemish cabinet, pen and ink drawings by the French landscapist Theodore Rousseau, and a violin and a piano, because Gifford and his wife were musicians. The whole was described as imparting a "general richness, a mellowness, an earnestness which impress and posses the visitor."[121]

Other artists made stripped-down versions of the same type of studio. Thomas Wilmer Dewing's studios were described as especially spare; it was said that when William Merritt Chase went to Dewing's studio he took along a brightly colored maraschino liquor jug, because he felt the surroundings were so uncongenial.[122] Nonetheless, surviving inventories and photographs show that Dewing's studio was not entirely bare, and included some fashionable antiques beyond those that appear in his paintings.[123] A photograph probably from the 1890s [FIGURE 11] shows, amid a utilitarian clutter of easels and unfinished canvases, a piano and a harp, chairs in several styles, and a tapestry-covered wall. This was the monastic version of the aestheticizing studio.

Less commonly, the studio furnishings and the art related directly to each other. Frederic Remington's studio in New Rochelle, New York [FIGURE 12], is an

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121. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 3, 4.

122. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 16.

123. Susan A. Hobbs and others, *The Art of Thomas Wilmer Dewing: Beauty Reconfigured* (Washington, DC: The Brooklyn Museum in association with the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), fig. 63. In addition, photographs in the Thomas Wilmer Dewing Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1818, frame 957, document Dewing's studios. One of these is a photograph that probably shows the studio in Cornish, New Hampshire. Here a Louis XVI-style chair, a Chippendale footstool, and other elaborate furniture can be seen.

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example.[124] It was added onto the family's mid-nineteenth century Gothic-revival cottage in 1896, when Remington's reputation as a painter and illustrator of the American West was well-established. The architectural shell was fairly typical of an ideal late nineteenth-century studio. It consisted of one big room, "Czar-size" as Remington put it, with high ceilings, red walls, and good light admitted through a large skylight. The focal point was a huge fireplace, which Remington described as "like this. - Old Norman farm house—Big- big."[125] Into this setting went Remington's large collection of western artifacts, which included southwest American Indian clothing and tools, Mexican sombreros and serapes, and military equipment, especially guns, as well as German beer steins and comfortable leather armchairs. These objects, while used often as props in Remington's paintings, were arranged in the studio with obvious concern for their decorative impact. The room thus took on a distinctly personal and unusually masculine tone through its furnishings. The studio was a work space during the day, and became a gathering place for family and friends in the evening.

Uncommonly, the studio was a transposition of the artist's work; the art and the environment became almost indistinguishable. John Rettig, a painter of genre scenes set in Holland, spent at least five seasons in that country, some of it in Volendam, in the American expatriate art colony that sprang up there.[126] He brought back to his native

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124. The studio is described in Peter Hassrick, *The Remington Studio* (Cody, Wyoming: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1981), and Peter Hassrick, "Frederic Remington's Studio-A Reflection," *Antiques Magazine*, November 1994, 666-73. Remington's New Rochelle studio has been reconstructed at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, and is open to the public.

125. Frederic Remington to Owen Wister, 1896, Owen Wister Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; quoted in Hassrick, *The Remington Studio*, 48.

126. Biographical information on Rettig and his studio is drawn from the Cincinnati Art Museum's artist's files for Rettig, including: *Cincinnati Enquirer,* 18 December 1921; *Cincinnati Enquirer,* 12 May 1932; *Cincinnati Times Star,* 12 September 1922; *Cincinnati Times Star,* [undated] August 1923; and *Cincinnati Times Star,* 9 September 1923. Information on the Volendam room at the Netherlands Museum was kindly

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Cincinnati architectural components and artifacts from Holland, and installed them in a studio on Kemper Lane by 1920 [FIGURE 13]. Known as his "Dutch Room," this included several walls of woodwork, an entire tiled fireplace, and hundreds of objects including kitchenware, furniture and costumes. Rettig used the studio as a setting for his genre paintings. Even though a humble peasant's home was suggested, strict authenticity was not the point; the hearth is crowded with household goods arranged decoratively, and a print of a Hals takes the place of honor in the center of the mantle. In his will the artist stipulated that the collection be sold as a unit, and it was installed, more or less intact, in the Netherlands Museum of Holland, Michigan, as a period setting depicting a nineteenth-century Volendam fisherman's cottage.

Variation was found too, between the artist's everyday studio, and one used during summer or vacations. The pattern of spending winter months in an urban setting and a long summer in a rural one, a pattern set by the Hudson River School artists, was maintained by many artists in the late nineteenth century. These artists did not spend their time literally in the field as had their predecessors; they worked in studios, but less formal ones. As Lizzie Champney, author and wife of painter Benjamin Champney put it: "In the city [the artist] often yields to the temptation of a show studio, a museum of rare bric-a-brac and artful effects of interior decoration; in the country he surrounds himself rather with the necessary conditions of work."[127] The two studios of James H. Moser are illustrative of her comment. His studio in Washington, DC had rich chairs

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supplied by Cobie Van Maas, Mary Voss and Grace Antoon. The Museum is operated by the Holland Historical Trust, of Holland, Michigan.

127. Lizzie W. Champney, "The Summer Haunts of American Artists," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 30 (May-October 1885): 846.

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set against a brocade curtain and striped *portières*, while in the summer he worked in a corner of a barn, using a rude wooden stool.[128]

As the generation grew older and more wealthy, more and more of them could afford to custom-build studios for themselves, which were usually attached to their homes. Some even made their whole home an extension of the studio. Harry Fenn, a leading illustrator at the end of the century, built a spectacular Queen Anne style house for himself in Montclair, New Jersey, in 1884 [FIGURE 14].[129] The asymmetrically massed house of clapboard, shingle and half-timbering was set on a hill with a view of New York harbor. Its plaster was incised with patterns and inset with glass bosses. Fenn's studio was up under the picturesque eaves of the house, and seems to have been the least elaborated portion of the house, decorated with sketches and a jumble of foreign costumes. The rest of the house was conscientiously artistically furnished. The walls were finished in yellow pine wainscotting and matting and were hung with drawings by Edward Burne-Jones, the hall had an overmantle of tooled Japanese leather, Delft and Moorish ceramics adorned the plate rail, and the furniture was Jacobean and William and Mary. The house was written up in a London art magazine, thus becoming a documented example of the transfer of the American Queen-Anne style of architecture back across the Atlantic.

As the Fenn studio house indicates, artists' studios were a part of interior design trends. When comparing studios to fashionable interiors one finds the artists more concerned with their own personal habits of working and predilections towards collecting than any particular style. In general, however, their studios parallel the style trends, or are slightly in advance of them. This may perhaps be explained by the media

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128. See the photographs in the James A. Moser Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 964, frames 8-19.

129. Champney, "Summer Haunts," 848, and R. Riordan, "Artists' Homes. Mr. Harry Fenn's, at Montclair, New Jersey," *Magazine of Art* (London) 9 (1886): 45-8.

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climate of the late nineteenth century, when illustrated magazines abounded and interest in decoration ran at fever pitch.[130] As will be discussed, coverage on studios was an important part of the popular press, and anything artists originated was publicized quickly. The changing patterns in the decorating styles of studios will be more fully elucidated over the course of the dissertation, but general activities can be sketched here with a few examples.

The ascendancy of aestheticizing studios coincided, not by chance, with the ascendancy of the Aesthetic Movement. This design philosophy, whose motto was "art for art's sake," found expression in all the arts. The Aesthetic Movement sought to beautify all objects and aspects of life and focussed attention on the formal qualities of objects. Beauty was rarely attained by the simplicity achieved through the honing of formal qualities; rather it was achieved by accretion and sophistication. The art was sumptuous, splendid and lavish, employed the best of materials, and sought to appeal to refined taste. In decorating, this aesthetic was translated by the newly-minted class of interior designers into the homes of America's most wealthy, and showcased in George Sheldon's *Artistic Houses* (1883-4), a book of deluxe photographs.[131] Here we see rooms densely furnished with expensive, exquisite items of art manufacture, or antiques with impeccable pedigree. The Aesthetic Movement was the sensibility that, more than any other, informed aestheticizing studios, but artists took a free and imaginative hand with it, avoiding the formulas seen in some rooms. Most of the items in the studio of sculptor Howard Roberts in 1886 [FIGURE 15] might have been found in any aesthetic

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130. Martha Crabill McClaugherty, "Household Art: Creating the Artistic Home, 1868-1893," *Winterthur Porfolio* 18 (Spring, 1983):1-26, surveys the literature on home decorating.

131. George W. Sheldon, *Artistic Houses*, (New York: D. Appleton, 1884). The photographs from this book have been reprinted, without their original captions, but with a new analytical text by Arnold Lewis, James Turner and Stephen McQuillin in *The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age* (New York: Dover, 1987).

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home of the last decades of the century: a rug used as a *portière*; a Japanese hanging lamp; plates adorning the walls. In addition, however, there were unusual objects, such as the Hindu figure on the bracket above the mantel, and the candlestand with a griffin base. The studio differed from a parlor in that furnishings were arranged without regard to conventional patterns of late nineteenth-century living. The objects demonstrated the highly distinctive and personal taste of their owner, and a workaday clutter was part of the decor. The eclectic idiosyncrasy of Rembrandt's seventeenth-century studio, as well as the new Aesthetic Movement style, were congenial wellsprings for the artists making studios in the late nineteenth century.

Another design trend, the American Renaissance, arose simultaneously with the Aesthetic Movement, and is seen by some as one manifestation of it, though the former outlived the latter. The American Renaissance also found its expression in a lavish use of money and materials, but here the source book was focussed on classicist motifs rather than all art. The movement was far from strictly historicist, drawing upon Greek to Baroque design, and emphasizing a pan-cultural approach to collecting. Under the rubric of the American Renaissance the country's great civic and public buildings were constructed. For example, the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, decorated by many leading figures in American art, was a showcase of mural painting, tilework, metalwork and glass, based loosely on Roman public buildings. In studio life, the American Renaissance found its expression in the greater connoisseurship shown in the collections artists formed, and somewhat greater discipline in their arrangement. The studio of Ben Ali Haggin in 1916 [FIGURE 16] contained objects from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Northern Europe and Spain, including, on the paired refectory tables, a silver nef. As was typical of other American Renaissance interiors, the density of furnishings seen in the previous decades has been reduced. The princely quality of this studio would have been seen as akin to Rubens's.

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The trend toward simplification seen in the American Renaissance became the leitmotif of the Arts and Crafts movement, which sought to improve the domestic environment through objects made beautiful by their sturdy utility. This became a mass movement, and its popularity, as well as its simplicity, made it uncongenial to many artists. Much of the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement, as we shall see, was felt in the architecture rather than the décor of studios. Nonetheless, the aesthetic did find expression in some interiors0. The studio of J. William Fosdick [FIGURE 17], photographed around 1914, was nearly bare of furniture and bric-a-brac, in contrast to earlier examples.[132] Fosdick began as a painter, and his studio did include a large tryptich of Christ with knights, as well as works by contemporaries: Edward S. Simmons, Charles H. Davis and Willard Metcalf. By 1914 Fosdick had turned to the deocrative arts. He was president of the Arts and Crafts Society in America, and his studio reflected his occupation as a carver, painter and etcher of wood. His studio resembled a medieval hall, with its huge fireplace and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century furniture ranged around the walls. Here the rough simplicity condoned by the Pre-Raphaelites was translated into studio decor.

The *fin de siècle* is identified with Art Nouveau, a new, radical art movement that took a distinctive stylistic form, characterized by sinuous line. This movement was more deeply-rooted in Europe, and indeed seems to have found expression more fully in European studios.[133] Here in America there seem to have been few expressions of Art Nouveau in studios. Only a trace of its influence was seen in the lamp in Carle Blenner's studio [FIGURE 18], which was otherwise a pan-cultural, American Renaissance interior.

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132. Ada Rainey, "The Decorations of a Gothic Studio," *Arts and Decoration* 4 (July 1914): 341-3.

133. See Hoh-Slodczyk, "Der Künstler als Architect," in her *Das Haus des Künstlers,* 99-140.

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The Geography of Aestheticizing Studios

Given the cosmopolitan character of this generation of artists, it is not surprising that they tended to establish their studios in big cities in America, and within those cities, often in particular neighborhoods. In the late nineteenth century, New York City was the art capital of the country, and consequentially has been the city most studied. In New York, the majority of artists studios were located in a large patch of Manhattan defined by Tenth and Thirty-fourth Streets, and Fourth and Sixth Avenues.[134] This was where some of the major art institutions were also to be found. The National Academy of Design was at Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue. The City's premiere venue for Opera was the Academy of Music, just off Union Square on Fourteenth Street, until it was forced to close by competition from the Metropolitan Opera at Thirty-ninth and Broadway, which opened in 1883. The New-York Historical Society had its rooms not far away on Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art had only recently moved, in 1879, from 128 West Fourteenth Street to its new home in Central Park.[135] Here, in the retail center of the city were found artists' supply stores, which commonly sold fine engravings and even finished paintings.[136] Also in this neighborhood were antiques and bric-a-brac dealers, and the fashionable shopping and theater district called Ladies' Mile.

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134. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 17. My own research has substantiated her analysis.

135. Morrison H. Heckscher, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Architectural History," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 53, no. 1 (1995): 17-8.

136. See *New York Art Guide and Artists' Directory* (Boston: The Wheat Publishing Company, 1893). The directory had advertising of interest to artists, including art supply stores, and antique dealers.

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Around this core the art neighborhood grew up. As we have discussed, the Tenth Street Studio Building had been opened in 1858, and the YMCA Building, across the street from the National Academy of Design, had opened in 1869. These two were among the most popular, but other structures also came to be designated as studio buildings. Most of these were not purpose-built to house artists, rather they were commercial buildings whose artist tenants co-existed with business tenants. The New York University Building, whose conversion from academic uses to artistic ones has already been described, stood on the east side of Washington Square, along with the Benedict Building, opened in 1879.[137] Artists also tended to congregate in upper floors of commercial buildings on Broadway.[138] An 1881 article listing about 150 artists then at work in New York City listed many addresses between 744 and 1300 Broadway, which were between Eighth Street and Thirty-fourth Street.[139] Quite a few buildings along East Twenty-third Street also housed artists.

As time went on and New York City advanced uptown, so did the artists. By 1880 two studio building complexes were open not far from each other: the Sherwood, at Fifty-seventh Street and Sixth Avenue (58 West Fifty-seventh St.) and the Holbein, a set of low buildings with matching Dutch-style facades on West Fifty-fifth Street

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137. See C. M. Fairbanks, "The Social Side of Artist Life," *Chautauquan* 13 (September 1891): 747-9, and Paul R. Baker, "The Cultural and Bohemian Community," in Mindy Cantor, ed., *Around the Square 1830-1890: Essays on Life, Letters and Architecture in Greenwhich Village* (New York: New York University, 1982), 64-73.

138. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life in New York," 363.

139. "Fine Arts. Art and Artists in New York," series in 21 parts, *The Independent* (New York) 33 (February-August 1881) (part 1 (24 February): 9; part 2 (8 March): 7; part 3 (17 March): 8-9; part 4 (24 March): 8; part 5 (7 April): 8-9; part 6 (14 April): 8-9; part 7 (21 April): 8; part 8 (5 May): 9; part 9 (12 May): 7-8; part 10 (19 May): 8; part 11 (26 May): 8; part 12 (2 June): 7-8; part 13 (9 June): 8; part 14 (16 June): 7; part 15 (30 June): 8-9; part 16 (7 July): 8; part 17 (21 July): 9-10; part 18 (28 July): 8-9; part 19 (4 August): 9; part 20 (11 August): 8-9; part 21 (18 August): 9-10.

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(various numbers, 139-154 West Fifty-fifth St.)[140] These were the vanguard of the new art neighborhood which was to spring up near Columbus Circle. This neighborhood was firmly established by the early 1890s.[141] When Carnegie Hall was opened in 1891, it seemed only natural to include artists' studios in this recital hall.

Boston too had its art neighborhoods. Its first studio building, called simply The Studio Building, was opened by 1863 at the intersection of Tremont and Bromfield.[142] This building appears to have been the stimulus for artist to take up quarters in other commercial buildings nearby. By the time of publication of an 1883 guidebook to the city, few artists were listed in the Studio Building itself, but many are listed at addresses ranging from 140 to 200 Tremont Street; number 149 in particular seems to have housed many.[143] These apparently were ordinary commercial buildings. A contemporary writer noted that artists were side by side with "dressmakers and piano-tuners, chiropodists and 'professors of vocal culture' . . . in just such noisy, undecorative, uninspiring quarters, with the inmates rubbing against one another on the stairs and swarming in the passages, the studios of many Boston artists are to be found."[144]

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140. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 9-10, mentions both these buildings. Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA, 1869-1903," 10, notes that the Sherwood Building was built in 1880, and p. 18, that the Holbein was built in 1878.

141. Fairbanks, "The Social Side," 749.

142. William H. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists and Their Studios," 2 part series, *The American Magazine* (Brooklyn) 7, n.s., 2 (January-February 1888), (part 1 (January): 331-42, part 2 (February): 466-78).

143. See Dexter Smith, *Cyclopedia of Boston and Vicinity* (Boston: Cashin and Smith, 1886), and *Boston Illustrated* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883).

144. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 1, 331.

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The opening of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1876 in Copley Square gave impetus to another art neighborhood. By the 1890s the area had not only the museum, but the Boston Art Club, and two art schools, the Cowles School and the Boston Art Students Association.[145] At least three studio buildings were opened in this neighborhood by the 1890s: the Harcourt Studios, on Irvington St; the Grundmann Studios, on Claredon St.; and the smaller St. Botolph studios, on St. Botolph Street. The Harcourt Studio Building, which was also the home of several manufacturing concerns, was destroyed by a spectacular fire in 1904.[146] Finally, in 1906 the Fenway Studio Building, purpose-built for artists in a brick Arts and Crafts style, was opened at 30 Ipswich Street.[147] Many of the displaced artists from the Harcourt found new studios in the Fenway Studio Building. This was located on the edge of the Fens, in the newly-fashionable Back Bay, not far from Isabella Stewart Gardner's house. This was to become yet another Boston art neighborhood with the relocation of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1909.

Little research has been done on other metropolitan centers of America, but they, no doubt, had art neighborhoods commensurate with their populations. Chicago's Tree Studios, built in 1894 on State Street between Ohio and Ontario, combined large

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145. Lepore Fine Arts, *Painters of the Harcourt Studios* (Newburyport, MA: Lepore Fine Arts, 1992), 4.

146. See *Boston Herald,* 12 November 1904: 1.

147. I am indebted to Thomas S. Mairs, an artist and long-term resident and historian of the building for sharing his research with me. In addition to the bibliographic citations he gave me, he sketched the history of the building in an interview on 26 March 1990, held in his studio. Further information on the building can be found in "Housekeeping in a Boston Studio," *Boston Sunday Globe,* 8 December 1907, Magazine Supplement, 5; "Want Something Painted? See the Half-Hundred," *Boston Sunday Herald,* 8 December 1907, Magazine Section, 7; and "Boston's Ideal Art Colony by the Fens," *Boston Sunday Globe,* 24 November 1907, 11.

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residential units above glass-fronted commercial spaces.[148] Wings were added to this building in 1912 and 1913. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Providence, Rhode Island also had congregations of artists.

Indeed, aestheticizing studios were to be found all over America; every city of any size probably had at least a few. James T. Harwood, the student of Bonnat who wrote home admiringly of his teacher's studio, eventually returned from Paris to establish his own studio in Salt Lake City, Utah. From 1890 until 1920, when he moved to California, Harwood kept a studio in that city, moving as his family and fortunes expanded. All were decorated with his paintings and memorabilia he acquired in various trips abroad; one had a fireplace Harwood himself had designed.[149] In New Orleans the Swedish immigrant B. A. Wickstom had a studio from 1883 to 1909. In relatively modest rooms the painter and printmaker had, besides an easel and large canvases, a full suit of armor, a piano, a starfish on the mantle, and a motley assortment of fur and fabric-draped chairs.[150] In Wilmington, Delaware the *trompe l'oeil* painter J. D. Chalfant kept a studio that, when it was photographed around 1895, was densely furnished with Middle-Eastern rugs, antique chairs, textiles on the walls, and his own paintings in various stages of completion.[151] The peripatetic Edward Hill, a second-generation Hudson River School landscapist, kept a studio in Denver from 1880 to 1890, was artist in residence at the Profile House hotel in the White Mountains of New

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148. Donald J. Anderson, "Those Haunting Trees," *Inland Architect* 25, no. 5 (1981): 4-11.

149. South, *James Taylor Harwood,* 30, 45 and 63.

150. J. B. Harter, Curator, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, to Karen Zukowski, 2 February 1990, collection Karen Zukowski, Pawling, NY.

151. Thomas Beckman, Registrar, The Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, to Karen Zukowski, 3 August 1993, collection Karen Zukowski, Pawling, NY.

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Hampshire for fifteen years, and occasionally also lived in Boston.[152] Not all these studios are fully documented, but the ones that are were elaborately decorated; we can presume that even in Denver in 1890 an aestheticizing studio could be found.

Just as artists tended to congregate within urban areas, they tended to congregate in rural settings. Artists' colonies flourished in the late nineteenth century and studios were usually the centerpieces of the private homes found there. Colonies sprang up in likely places which offered picturesque scenery, and unlikely places which caught the imagination of the artist. Cheap lodgings and/or real estate were prerequisites. So many artists' colonies existed we can do no more than mention a few of the most well-known.

In the Catskill Mountains, a relatively brief train ride up the Hudson River from New York City, several colonies were established. Probably the best known is Cragsmoor, on a mountaintop near Ellenville.[153] The genre painter Edward Lamson Henry was attracted to the place because of its spectacular views, and the old-fashioned farming and home-industries still pursued there. In 1883 he and his wife built a house which incorporated elements salvaged from old buildings. By the turn of the century Henry had induced other artists to build or rent there, who, in turn, attracted others: Eliza Pratt Greatorex, an illustrator for Louis Prang's lithography company; Frederic S. Dellenbaugh, topographic illustrator and architect of many of the homes and public buildings in the colony; Charles C. Curran and Helen Turner, impressionist painters;

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152. Charles Vogel, "Edward Hill (1843-1923), Artist," *Historical New Hampshire* 44, nos. 1-3 (1989): 5-24.

153. The best sources for Cragsmoor in the late nineteenth century are Barbara Ball Buff, "Cragsmoor: An Early American Art Colony," *Antiques Magazine*, November 1978, 1056-65; Margaret Hakam and Susan Houghtaling, *Cragsmoor—An Historical Sketch* (Cragsmoor, New York: The Cragsmoor Free Library, 1983); Julia Polk Hunsicker, *Memories of the Cragsmoor Artist Colony*, (Cragsmoor, NY: Cragsmoor Free Library, n.d.); and various issues of the *Cragsmoor Journal* 1903-14, housed in the Cragsmoor Free Library.

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Arthur Keller, the magazine and novel illustrator; and Edward Gay, George Inness, Jr., and Carroll Butler Brown, all Barbizon-style landscapists. The social life of the community was abundant, and included theatricals, readings and exhibitions of newly-completed art work. Not a few of these events were held in studios. Henry's studio in particular was large and well-appointed with the antique costumes and furniture he collected. On July 4, 1905, the Henrys held a celebration there complete with a small cannon that fired a firecracker.[154]

Also in the Catskills were Onteora and Pakatakan, both called after the American Indian names for the places where they were located. While Cragsmoor was always a mountaintop community where many artists lived, both Onteora and Pakatakan were begun more exclusively as artists' colonies. Onteora, on a mountain near Tannersville, was founded in the late 1880s by the artist Candace Wheeler, her brother Francis Thurber, a businessman with connections to the developers of the Ulster and Delaware Railroad, and his wife, a supporter of classical music.[155] This was a gated community, self-governed by an association of stockholders. At first the community grew by the invitations the Wheelers and Thurbers extended to their artist friends. Simple homes were built on the mountain, and a rustic life prevailed. The most prominent artists of Onteora besides Candace Wheeler and her daughter Dora Wheeler Keith were J. Carroll Beckwith and John Alexander White. The community enjoyed visits from luminaries, including Samuel Clemens. Before long, more elaborate homes were built, as well as an athletic club with a golf course, and Onteora became less dominated by artists.

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154. *Cragsmoor Journal,* July 1905, 1.

155. The sources on Onteora are Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* passim; E. Davis Gaillard, *Onteora, Hills of the Sky, 1887-1987* (Onteora, NY: Onteora Club, 1987); and Phillips and others, *Charmed Places,* especially pp. 91-4.

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Pakatakan was a more loosely organized community of artists living in a collection of shingle-style houses and free-standing studios.[156] Located on the northern edge of the Catskills near Arkville, its distance from New York City seems to have ensured it would never become as fashionable as Onteora. The community was the brainchild of landscape painter J. Francis Murphy, who in 1886 encouraged Peter Hoffman to build a hotel, promising an artist clientele to fill it. The next year landscapist Alexander Helwig Wyant summered at the hotel, and soon Wyant and Murphy both built houses. They attracted a large group of artists to the area, most of whom, like Wyant and Murphy, were landscapists. Most worked in the American Barbizon or Tonalist modes. The list included: Ada Clifford Murphy, (J. Francis' wife); Parker Mann; E. Loyal Field; Arthur Parton; George Smillie; H. D. Krusman Van Elten; and occasionally T. Worthington Whittredge. The architecture of Pakatakan, while related to simple vernacular wooden housing, also made reference to the higher-style Shingle of McKim, Meade and White, and had distinctive touches, such as decorative wrought-iron hardware. The buildings included a few large houses, but most were smaller cottages often amounting to little more than a large room with a big northern window. This room served as the studio.

American artists' studios were also found outside of America; many artists chose to be expatriates. As in their native country, artists tended to cluster in particular sections of cities, or in colonies. In Rome, the Americans could be found in studios along the Via Margutta. Both Elihu Vedder and Charles Caryl Coleman were leaders of the American community in Rome in the last decades of the century. Coleman's studio

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156. Pakatakan is mentioned briefly in Phillips and others, *Charmed Places,* 94-6, but the best source of information on the colony is in Robert D. Kuhn, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Pakatakan Artists (sic) Colony Historic District (Arkville, NY)" (filed with the National Register of Historic Places, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Albany, NY, 1989).

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was described as "perfect museum of beautiful things."[157] Vedder kept a series of studios in Rome from the late 1860s until his death in 1923. From 1888 until the end of the century he held receptions in a large studio at 20 Via San Basilio, near Via Margutta. Early in his career Vedder's wife wrote, "We will buy Venetian glass or an Etruscan vase, or a fine bolt of old silk" even at the expense of the dinner budget.[158]

Paris was, by far, the favorite headquarters of American expatriates. Even as students, the Americans were conscious of their studios. In the mid 1870s a group of pupils of Carolus-Duran congregated in a large building at 81 Boulevard Montparnasse, not far from their teacher's house. Will Low recalled that the building had two stories of studios, each with a single room, a ten-foot high window, and a bed in a loft. The students sketched from a model in a common room at one end of the courtyard.[159] All the Americans being quite poor, and aestheticizing studios not yet the institution they were to become, these studios were ornamented more by fellowship laced with good English ale than with expensive furniture.[160]

At the other end of Paris, in Montmartre, Francis Davis Millet kept a studio where Americans congregated.[161] By 1878, when the studio is documented, Millet had exhibited his paintings in the Brussels Salon and the National Academy of Design, but

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157. [David] Maitland Armstrong, *Day Before Yesterday—Reminiscences of a Varied Life* (New York: Chalres Scribner's Sons, 1920), 198.

158. Quoted in Reginia Soria, *Elihu Vedder: American Visionary Artist in Rome 1836-1923* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), 72-3.

159. Will H. Low, *A Chronicle of Friendships, 1873-1900* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 3-4.

160. Low, *A Chronicle of Friendships,* 63-4.

161. Sources on Millet are Armstrong, *Day Before Yesterday,* 275, and H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Career of Francis Davis Millet," *Archives of American Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (1977): 2-18.

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was perhaps better known as an arts administrator and writer. He had served as an assistant in the organization of the Massachusetts displays at the Vienna Exposition of 1873 and had worked extensively as a newspaper correspondent, notably on the front lines of the Russo-Turkish War in the Balkans. He was in Paris to serve as a United States juror for International Board of Awards for the Exposition Universelle. His studio had "innumerable" hanging lamps and divans, musical instruments and weapons, and alarmingly, a major domo in the person of a *bashi-bazouk* (a Turkish mercenary) attired in native costume complete with turban and swords. The group of young Americans that would gather at the studio might include: D. Maitland Armstrong, the United States Art Commissioner to the Exposition and an artist himself; painters George Maynard, William Gedney Bunce, Frederic Crowninshield, and Elihu Vedder; architects Russell Sturgis, Stanford White and Charles Follen McKim. It should be noted that this fully-elaborated aestheticizing studio was set up in Paris and used by a small circle of Americans abroad, at just the time Chase was establishing himself in New York for the wider home audience.

Later, as established artists, many Americans kept studios in Paris. The studios of John Singer Sargent and Frederick Bridgman were considered celebrated and attractive enough to be included in the portfolios compiled by two photographers of Parisian artists' studios. In the mid-1880s E. Bénard and Auguste Giraudon, competing publishers of art-related photographs, prints and other documents, assembled portfolios of several dozen high-quality photographs of famous artists in their studios. There the Americans were classed with the most popular artists in France, including Bouguereau, Detaille, Gérôme and Bonnat.[162] Likewise, an article on Elizabeth Nourse and her studio notes its location in Rue Notre Dame des Champs near those of Whistler,

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162. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste*. Due to a publishing error, the photograph of W. Bouguereau's studio (plate 55, p. 141) is misidentified as that of Bonnat's.

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Bouguereau and Carolus-Duran.[163] Thus the studios of the American expatriates were fully integrated into the Parisian art milieu.

Those without Aestheticizing Studios

Even in the aesthetic era, there were some artists who found an aestheticizing studio impractical, or a downright impediment. Sculptors were among the latter, since the making of sculpture was a messy business. Most sculpture in the late nineteenth century was figurative, some in the round and some in bas relief. Marble and bronze were the two preferred media for the finished piece. The sculpture was usually begun with drawings on papers, which would then be translated into a small-scale wax, clay or plaster *maquette*. This would be worked and reworked until the desired composition was attained. Sometimes the sculptor or his assistants made larger plaster versions of the finished composition, especially when the final piece was to be monumental. At this point, the work left the studio, because most sculptors handed the *maquette* over to a bronze foundry or to marble pointers, which were essentially industrial operations. In any case, even the fabrication of the *maquette* involved preparation and storage of dirty materials in bulk. Some sculptors did do some sculpting from the marble block, or finishing and polishing of marble, all of which produced great quantities of dust. Thus, the procedure for the making of sculpture was anathema to a highly-furnished studio. In *The Marble Faun* (1859), Nathaniel Hawthorne described a sculptor's studio as "a rough and dreary looking place."[164] This state of affairs did not change much over the course of the century. The typical sculptor's studio looked much like that used by John Q. A. Ward [FIGURE 19], a simple room lined with tools and plaster casts.

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163. C [harlotte] G. M [iller], "Lizzie Nourse and her Success in Paris," newspaper clipping labeled *Cincinnati Post*, July 24, (probably 1892), in the Elizabeth Nourse Scrapbook, no. 1, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Thompson, Ft.Thomas, KY.

164. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 88.

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Aestheticizing studios were less common among one genre of landscapists: marine painters. Perhaps this is because their subject is so little connected with the indoors. In the late 1880s, Ross Turner kept a studio in a deserted oil-cloth factory in Salem, Massachusetts, "a picturesque place, filled with ropes, sails and riggings," but not a space that can be said to have been consciously decorated by the artist.[165] William Formby Halsall became a painter only after a short career as a sailor, and took frequent long journeys by sea thereafter. Halsall's studio was on Tremont Street in Boston, and was decorated mostly with his own studies and finished works, one of which was so large it resembled a picture window with a view of a storm-tossed sea. A stuffed gull flew overhead, and "instead of the bits of bric-a-brac usually seen, there are model ships for ornaments."[166]

In some instances, artists who had become established in the 1860s or 1870s, and lived on into the 1880s and 1890s retained their old, un-aestheticizing studios. Alfred Thompson Bricher, a landscapist who specialized in coastal scenes, had a studio in the YMCA Building in New York City in 1881. In the opinion of a writer, his studio contained only articles which served the painter's purpose; "the bric-a-brac shop element is wholly lacking."[167] The genre painter John George Brown, famous for his painting of New York City bootblacks and other waifs, had a studio in the Tenth Street building from 1861 to 1913.[168] It was apparently never furnished with much show; in early accounts of Brown it is not mentioned. In 1891 a visitor noted that with its miscellaneous assortment of furniture and faded brown and purple curtains, "there was

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165. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 1, 337.

166. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 1, 340.

167. "Fine Arts. Art and Artists in New York," part 3, 9.

168. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 195-6.

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not much in the room to distract the eye from the easel."[169] After his mansion on the Hudson, Malkasten, was destroyed by fire in 1882, Albert Bierstadt occupied a studio on the second floor of a bank building at Thirty-second Street and Broadway in New York City. In 1891, an interviewer noted that it was "fitted up . . . with more regard to usefulness than beauty. There is no deliberate aestheticism in the disposal of his screens or easels, in the arrangement of the many interesting souvenirs which he has brought back from his travels, or in his own dress. Nay, in the plain Brussels carpet which covers the floor, you might read a protest against the perverse liking of some artists for more costly gauds and fabrics."[170]

Indeed, some artists apparently felt no need for those "costly gauds and fabrics." This was the case for a group of artists who termed themselves realists, or were so termed by later generations. One realist was Alexander Harrison, devoted to *plein air* painting from the model, and later to unpeopled seascapes.[171] Mostly an expatriate, Harrison painted in France and occasionally in America, but his studios in both countries were plain. In New York he had a room with "nude brick walls" and in Paris, his studio was a "big square barn of a place" in the same street housing the more elaborate studios of Nourse, Bouguereau, and Carolus-Duran.[172] Harrison made a point of exclaiming: "Studios should be not museums, but workshops."[173] Perhaps the consummate realist of the late nineteenth century, Thomas Eakins, joked, "Chase's

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169. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 7, *The Illustrated American* 6 (16 May 1891): 622.

170. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 5, *The Illustrated American* 6 (21 March 1891): 245.

171. Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889*, 160-4.

172. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 1, *The Illustrated American* 5 (3 January 1891): 238.

173. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 1, 238.

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studio is an atelier; this is a workshop."[174] His studio was on the top floor of his house in Philadelphia, and a c. 1892 photograph [FIGURE 20] reveals the aptness of the description. It is essentially a bare workroom, fitted out for both painting and small-scale sculpture. Aparently Harrison and Eakins, both self-avowed realists, saw no need to embellish their surroundings. It is significant that by commenting upon the plainness of their studios they were identifying themselves as iconoclasts.

Understandably, some older artists saw no need to adopt the innovative aestheticizing studios, and some realists never developed a need for them. But what of a handful of artists who made works termed "poetic" by their contemporaries, all the while working in plain, unadorned studios? Perhaps they are nothing more than the exceptions which prove the rule, but even in 1879 one writer identified this class. One among several types of studio decor he noted was that of the artist who, "being intensely subjective, does not acquire or need the immediate presence of picturesque or decorative accessories."[175] In other words, his art, being so much the product of an active imagination, would only be hindered by an elaborate studio.

This seems to be the explanation for several well-known late nineteenth-century artists who had plain studios. John La Farge was lauded for his sensitive work in the mediums of oils and stained glass. He was one of America's first collectors of Japanese prints, and remained a noted connoisseur of Oriental art. As Paul Bourget, the cultural commentator, put it: "On leaving John La Farge's studio, I have the impression, nay the evidence, that the American soul, when once it sees the beauty of being delicate, reaches acute shades of analysis and unequalled vision."[176] This proclamation was made

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174. quoted in Betsky, "In the Artist's Studio," 36.

175. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, 343.

176. Paul Bourget, *Outre-Mer: Impressions of America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), 369-70.

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about the art in the studio, rather than the studio itself. In his analysis of La Farge, couched as a studio visit, the only furnishing mentioned is a Buddhist priest's stole, and earlier accounts of the studio similarly emphasize the work, and neglect to discuss the furnishings.[177] The absence of commentary on La Farge's studio in the extensive contemporary writing on this artist leads one to conclude that the artist deemed decor unimportant.

Frederick S. Church was extremely popular for his fanciful pictures of children in the guise of elves and mermaids. He worked in a rough, dirty room on Thirteenth Street in New York City, which was adorned with little besides his own sketches. "Church can give no good reason for the inspirations of humor and beauty that drift into his head up here in this bare, ugly room," noted one commentator, in evident amazement.[178] The illustrator for the article must have concurred; rather than a photo of the studio, he provided a portrait sketch of the artist embellished with marginalia in a nocturnal motif.

Impractical Aestheticizing Studios

Even though an aestheticizing studio could be a demonstrable hindrance, some artists adopted them anyway.

Daniel Chester French found a way to have an aestheticizing studio amid the noise and dust of sculpting—he created a dual studio at Chesterwood, his home in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. When French bought an eighty-acre farm in 1897, he was already well-known to Americans for his patriotic monumental public sculpture, among them *The Minute Man* (1877, Concord, MA). The next year, even before replacing the

177. S. G. W. Benjamin, *Our American Artists: Painters, Sculptors, Illustrators, Engravers and Architects, For Young People* (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1881), 11.

178. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 21.

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dilapidated house on the property, French built a studio, working with architect Henry Bacon.[179] It was a simple rectangular stuccoed building, perfectly functional for a sculptor. Much of the building was dedicated to the production of sculpture, from the main modeling room, to the casting room, to the basement, fully fitted for the storage and preparation of clay and packing of finished works. The main room had good north light, and was filled with supplies and sculpture in various stages of completion. It also had an innovation by French: a set of railroad tracks leading to the outdoors, upon which rested the modeling table, which could thus be rolled outdoors to view the *maquette* in daylight. The only non-functional aspect of the room was its view out onto a porch overlooking a valley and Monument Mountain.

The functional half of the studio was separated from the other half by Doric columns and a *portière*; on the other side was French's "reception room." This was the formal entry into the studio, the space visitors saw as they came in from the garden designed by French. This space looked much like any other aestheticizing studio. It was centered around a fireplace designed jointly by French and Bacon, in a loose Baroque style, with herms supporting a frieze of puttos holding a garland. Furnishings included antiques, such as a tall case clock and a seventeenth-century style Italian chest. Off to one side of the room there was a niche with bookshelves and a Pompeiian-style couch designed by French; it was a cozy place for reading. The room was decorated with art by French's friends, including a bust by Herbert Adams. Here French occasionally painted oil portraits. The room was used far more frequently, however, for entertaining. Within days after the dust of construction was washed from the studio's

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179. The studio at Chesterwood and French's previous studios are described in Mesick, Cohen, Waite, Architects, "The Studio at Chesterwood, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Historic Structure Report," unpublished report prepared for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992, copy at Chesterwood, Stockbridge, MA, 7-30.

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windows, French was formally receiving visitors, and the studio was used for large-scale entertaining by the following summer.

The studio at Chesterwood was the last in a line of studios French devised for himself. The two most important previous studios were in Concord, Massachusetts, built to French's designs in 1879, and in New York City, where the artist converted a rowhouse on West 11th Street into studio and living quarters in 1888. Each of the studios had essentially the same arrangements as at Chesterwood: separate spaces for modeling and entertaining, the one plain and functional, the other decorated with care. And each studio was used by French for entertaining friends and clients. The only one of these studios to survive was Chesterwood, and today French's estate is operated as a museum by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Many other sculptors probably adopted the practical approach used by St. Clair, the character in S. Weir Mitchell's 1892 novel *Characteristics*. His studio was a disorganized set of rooms in a low brick building, full of tools and plaster body parts. For a tea the artist held, he draped all his "dingy" chairs and lounges with "brocades, priests' robes and superb Moorish rugs and embroideries," and set one of his finished sculptures in a tent of crimson stuffs.[180] A well-wisher sent flowers, and a friend distributed these around the bases of the sculptures as accolades. Thus a sculptor's studio could be temporarily turned into an aestheticizing studio.

Though most photographers did not work in aestheticizing studios, with the coming of art photography, a few began to do so. One was Katherine McClellan, who opened a photography studio in Northampton, Massachusetts.[181] An 1882 graduate of

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180. S. Weir Mitchell, *Characteristics* (New York: Century, 1892), 267-9.

181. Material on Katherine McClellan is available at the Smith College Archives, Smith College Northhampton, MA, including "In the New Studio," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, 7 June 1905, and Alice Ward Bailey, "A College Photographer and her Studio," *Good Housekeeping*, undated clipping.

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Smith College herself, McClellan returned to the town and in 1903 made her modest brick house into an artistic home, which included a studio, or "operating room" as it was also called [FIGURE 21]. A wall of windows provided the light she needed, but the decor went well beyond functional requirements. It was an Arts and Crafts room, with an inglenook furnished with massive oak settles, a mantle with old blue plates, and chairs of homely but beautiful design.

In St. Louis the enterprising Julius Strauss seems to have captured the portrait photography trade of the city at the turn of the century, and eventually operated a large turreted stone building entirely devoted to the business.[182] The building had wood paneling and leaded-glass windows throughout its offices and reception areas. A tap room called the Growlry hosted public receptions and the shop put out a stream of promotional trade cards. The studio itself was dignified and impressive, with a raftered ceiling, huge windows, and a tiled fireplace ornamented with a large overmantle set with expensive bric-a-brac. The building as a whole and the studio itself obviously made the sitters feel that they were patronizing a first-class artist.[183]

Architects had no obvious need for aestheticizing offices; their work consisted of drafting, and their models—historical buildings—could not be brought into the office. Nonetheless, as we have seen with Richard Morris Hunt, some architects had offices that qualified as aestheticizing studios. The young firm of Totten and Rogers set up dual offices in Washington and Philadelphia in 1897 and 1898.[184] Their office in

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182. Jill E. Sherman, Pictorial History Collections, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, to Karen Zukowski, 21 June 1990, collection Karen Zukowski, Pawling, NY.

183. The situation seems to have been the same for photographers in England. The studios were, for the most part, unaestheticizing. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 185, records one that, like Strauss's, did have fine furnishings, at least in its reception rooms.

184. *Laussat Richter Rogers 1866-1957* (Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine River Museum, 1986), 19-21.

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Washington [FIGURE 22] made the firm's cultivation clear, with its decor of heavy carved cabinets and tables, and exotic wall hangings, including Middle-Eastern rugs, Indonesian masks, and a poster by Alphonse Mucha. The only thing explicitly architectural was one of the framed renderings on the wall.

As further proof that the phenomenon of aestheticizing studios cannot be explained simply as so many collections of useful props, one can cite many artists who kept objects in their studios which were not strictly required for their artworks. The painter Harry Humphrey Moore was known before 1880 for his depictions of (appropriately enough) Moorish scenes, including *Almeh, A Dream of the Alhambra* (unlocated), which won a medal at the Philadelphia Centennial.[185] While his studio did contain many Islamic artifacts, including a saddle of green velvet with gold and silver mountings, it contained much else besides.[186] Japanese umbrellas, Russian samovars, Coptic rosaries as well as a stuffed flamingo ameliorated the atmosphere of the seraglio. Emily Maria Scott, a flower painter, was recognized in 1896 for her "pretty studio, with books, bric-a-brac and roomy seats" and a collection of blue delftware, iridescent urns and amber wine jugs.[187] Even one marine artist, Milton J. Burns, kept a studio in New York City in the 1880s that strove for aestheticizing effects [FIGURE 23].[188] While much of the furnishings of the room could be termed functional, such as a stuffed gull and several model boats in full sail, the Empire chest of drawers, the plaster cast on the

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185. For biographical information on Moore, see Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889,* 190-1.

186. See John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 2, 353-4, and "The Studio of H. Humphrey Moore," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* 10 January 1880, 345-6.

187. *Essays on Art and Artists* (New York: Eastern Art League, 1896), 18.

188. Biographical details for Burns and the photograph of his studio were supplied by Philip L. Budlong, Associate Curator of Collections, Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut, in a letter to the author of 12 November 1990.

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mantle, and the fishing net used to drape the high ceiling were fashionable studio accessories.

The same case can be made for landscapists, who, presumably, needed nothing more than their sketches made outdoors, or a large picture window. In fact, many landscapists of the era did have aestheticizing studios. Alexander Helwig Wyant kept both a winter studio in New York City, and a summer studio in Pakatakan, the art colony in the Catskills previously described. While the New York studio is not well documented, one would expect it, of the two studios, to be the well-furnished one. Wyant's studio at Pakatakan, just steps from the landscape he painted, was nonetheless an aestheticizing studio. It had a Shaker rocker and a tigerskin rug pulled up before an elaborate fireplace, which seems to have been composed of antique wood paneling fitted together into a mantle and overmantle, all framing a bas-relief of a Madonna and Child.[189] The fireplace was furnished with bits of bric-a-brac and flanked by a handsome bust. William H. Howe, like Wyant, was an American Barbizonist with an aestheticizing studio. Howe's was in Bronxville, New York, and was adorned with good furniture, including a carved secretary with a drop front, as well as many oil studies by other contemporary landscapists.[190]

The phenomenon of landscapists working in aestheticizing studios seems to have become something of a convention in literature. In Blanche Willis Howard's *Guenn*, a novel about a group of American landscape painters working in Brittany, one of the

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189. The studio is seen in Phillips and others, *Charmed Places,* fig. 95, where it is simply identified as an interior. In the 1988/9 exhibition "Charmed Places," held at Bard College, Annandale, NY, which the Phillips catalog documents, other photographs of the same room were shown, revealing that it was, in fact, a studio.

190. W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," part 3, *Godey's Magazine* 130 (May 1895): 462-6. Howe's studio is also seen in a portrait photograph in the collection of the Salmagundi Club, however, the location of that studio is not noted. This photograph also shows elaborate furnishings, and is probably the Bronxville studio.

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painters notes: "Even if one's out-of-doors most of the time, one wants some headquarters."[191] Indeed, the hero of the novel, a determined realist, converts an unused granary into his studio, carelessly decorating it with discarded bottles, cigarette papers, weathered red sails, and an ancient gnarled tree stump used as a seat. While not strictly an aestheticizing studio, the author clearly portrays it as atmospheric, "a place you could do as you pleased."[192] This novel was written in 1884 by a woman familiar with the American expatriate artists' colony in Concarneau.[193] By the 1905 short story "A Studio Mouse," the device of the landscapist in the studio is taken for granted.[194] Here a mouse observes the course of a romance between two painters in a studio building, the bachelor landscapist being housed in messy but hospitable quarters, with a brass kettle and fireplace. To the reader of fiction, a landscapist with an aestheticizing studio was plausible.

European Parallels—The 1880s and Beyond

While the aestheticizing studio was flourishing in America, it was also flourishing in Europe. As discussed earlier, a few prototypical studios were established in the art capitals of Europe and England, as well as in New York City, in the 1860s and 1870s. Also discussed has been the influence of the teachers of Americans in Paris and the style-setters in London and elsewhere in the later 1860s and 1870s. While these stood as influential examples to Americans, both those who studied or traveled abroad

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191. Blanche Willis Howard, *Guenn: A Wave on the Breton Coast* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1884), 75.

192. Howard, *Guenn,* 234.

193. David Sellin, *Americans in Brittany and Normandy 1860-1910*, (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1982), 44.

194. Georgia Knox, "A Studio Mouse—Being a Few Random Pages from his Diary," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 77, no. 456 (1905): 759-68.

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and those who merely read about them, they remained relatively rare examples of the type. The aestheticizing studio really became commonplace abroad and in America at about the same time. It was in the 1880s that aestheticizing studios flourished, and became an international phenomenon. While the finer points of chronology and influence are yet to be pinned down, it is safe to say that for an American artist coming of age in the 1880s, the model studios would have been located both at home and abroad. Here it is appropriate to discuss the obvious European showplaces, and enumerate some of the bountiful examples, keeping in mind that the ultimate flourishing of aestheticizing studios in Europe is quite parallel to that in America.

Perhaps more than in any other city in the world, the aestheticizing studio was a way of life in Paris. By the early 1880s, as discussed, most of the teachers affiliated with the Ecole des Beaux-Arts or teachers in unaffiliated ateliers probably had studios which could be termed aestheticizing. The opulence of these studios was captured by the Bénard and Giraudon photographs taken in the mid-1880s. The influence of these studios on their American students cannot be underestimated, but teachers were not the only ones with such showplaces. The studio of the Hungarian painter Michael von Lieb, known as Mihaly Munkacsy, was one of the spectacles of Paris.[195] His studio at 53 Avenue de Villiers could be visited on Fridays, the door opened by liveried servants; on that day "fifty vehicles of the best people stop at his door."[196] Munkacsy came to Paris in 1872, and by the late 1870s had become successful enough to bypass the Salons, exhibiting his genre and historical scenes solely in his studio. In a vast room, Munkacsy had gathered an astonishing collection. The painter worked under a *baldacchino*, akin to that found in St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, with twisted columns

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195. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste,* 206-7.

196. Albert Wolff, *La Capitale de l'art* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1886), 286-7; quoted in Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 177.

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and fully developed Corinthian capitals. Atop this rested a miniature *troika* embellished with gilding and carved swags of flowers. A stuffed horse, upon which rode a lay figure dressed in Arab costume, stood on a high ledge. Beside these, the massive carved cabinet, the row of costumes hanging on pegs, and the assorted bric-a-brac, must have paled.

Another society favorite, Georges Jules Victor Clairin, known for both his portraits of woman and murals for theaters, including Garnier's Opera, had a studio reminiscent of Moorish Spain and North Africa [FIGURE 24]. Clairin traveled to these regions several times, and brought back architectural elements and artifacts, which he incorporated into his studio.[197] One entered the studio through a screen of ornate horseshoe arches to admire large Oriental rugs hung on the walls and a set of Hispano-Mooresque lusterware platters arranged above the fireplace. Ceramics, furniture and paper lanterns from the Far East, a tiger skin rug on the floor, and Clairin's own paintings ensured the studio would not be mistaken for a mosque.

Clairin made a name for himself with a portrait of Sarah Bernhardt, the actress, who was a friend and neighbor. Though Bernhardt was a sculptress with a few exhibited pieces to her name, she was far better known as an actress, and her house stands as one of the earliest and most idiosyncratic examples of the aestheticizing studio being adopted by non-professional artist. Bernhardt's house was built in 1877 on the Rue Fortuny.[198] Besides a divan covered in tiger skins, spears, antlers and palms, there was much art, some of which rested on chairs which served as easels.

For every Munkacsy and Clairin working in their own studio house, there were hundreds of lesser-known artists working in commensurately smaller, less grand studios. Again, the history of studios in Paris has not been fully developed, but it seems

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197. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste*, 156-7.

198. Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 178.

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clear that unlike New York, there were few buildings designed specifically as studios, and few commercial buildings that evolved into studio buildings. Instead, skylights and large north-facing windows would be installed on one of the upper stories of a residential building, and a studio would be born, leaving the other tenants undisturbed.[199] Certainly this kind of renovation was not new in the late nineteenth century, its pace just became greatly accelerated. A studio type unique to Paris was the *cité d'artiste*, groups of studios gathered around a courtyard.[200] The atelier Carolus-Duran described by Will Low was one such *cité*; in the 1880s the pupils of Benjamin-Constant formed another near their masters' studio in the Impasse Hélène.[201] While a few of these may have been purpose built, or "purpose-renovated," many were apparently only loose affiliations between pre-existing buildings. One of the few true studio buildings, *la Ruche*, or "the bee-hive," was in Montparnasse. This was a twelve-sided building with 24 wedge-shaped studios, thus giving rise to its name. *La Ruche* opened in 1906, and its history belongs mainly to the avant-garde artists who worked there, among them Marc Chagall and Fernand Léger.[202] In the late nineteenth century, artists' studios were to be found everywhere, but especially in Montparnasse, Montmartre, and wherever rents were cheap. All over Paris evidence of these studios can be seen in tall north-facing windows even today, a testament to the artistic ferment of the late nineteenth century.[203]

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199. Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* illustrates numerous examples, see especially p. 182.

200. Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 220.

201. John Shirley Shirley Fox, *An Art Student's Reminiscences of Paris in the Eighties* (London: Mills and Boon, 1909), 201-2, and Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 149-50.

202. Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 229-31, and Peppiatt and Bellony-Rewald, *Imagination's Chamber,* 128-32.

203. Because the architectural requirements of twentieth century artists did not change, the addition of north windows and skylights to old buildings, or the inclusion of these elements in new buldings continued well into the twentieth century. Until cheap

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London had its own share of imposing studio houses. John Everett Millais, who began as a Pre-Raphaelite painter, later came to repudiate the style and tenets of the movement, and, in 1878, built a magnificent marble *palazzo* in Kensington.[204] In its conception and decor, it was much like any other home of a wealthy British citizen. It was richly decorated with ironwork, paneling and carvings designed by the artist himself in a traditional classicist style. "Artistic properties do not encumber even his studio, which but for its large north window, is like any spacious chamber in any rich man's house."[205] Nonetheless, with the flourishing of aestheticizing studios internationally, it was often included in articles on studios, and helped to set the standard by which other artists' homes were judged.

More in keeping with the trend was the home of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema.[206] In 1855, after some fifteen years of living in and continually remodeling a house near Regent's Park, Alma-Tadema bought the former home of the painter Jacques Joseph Tissot in St. John's Wood. He proceeded to tear down 80% of it and construct Casa Tadema, a show-stopper of sixty-six rooms, including three studios, one each for Sir Lawrence, his wife Laura and daughter Anna. In a house of superlatives, Sir Lawrence's studio was the grandest. It was, in plan and scale, roughly equivalent to an Early Christian basilica, complete with an aluminum-leaf apse. The painter was "at home" on Tuesdays, and a simple letter of introduction would allow the visitor to wander through not only the studio, but through its foyer, paneled with small "calling

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electricity was available, these requirements remained. This, of course, clouds the charting of the chronological developement of the studio type.

204. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 73-4, and J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 80-1.

205. Cosmo Monkhouse, "Some English Artists," 559.

206. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 127-32, and J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 77-80.

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card" paintings by contemporary artists, through the atrium with a stained glass window by John La Farge, and possibly through Lady Laura's studio, finished in a Dutch Renaissance style with an oak-beamed ceiling.

While few lived on the scale of Millais and Alma-Tadema, many members of the Royal Academy displayed their success through their homes.[207] A writer noted in 1879: "The days are gone when studios could be improvised out of the rooms of common dwelling houses, or those over shops and warehouses . . . and it seems to be no longer possible for a good picture to be produced unless the painter can regard every stroke of his brush from a long distance."[208]

The Queen Anne aestheticism popularized by the Holland Park artists was quickly disseminated elsewhere. The hilltop village of Hampstead had by this time been absorbed by London, and here the Hollidays, a multi-talented couple in the spirit of William Morris, built a large house. Henry Holliday painted and sculpted but was best known as a maker of stained glass, and his wife Kate was a needleworker. The huge studio of their red brick Oak Tree House accommodated all these arts. The Orientalism of Gérôme, Bridgman and Clairin could also be found in Carl Haag's studio, a German painter of Near East scenes who also lived in Hampstead.[209] In a story

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207. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* provides the most complete modern assessment of the scene in London; for primary souces see Cosmo Monkhouse, "Some English Artists"; Maurice B. Adams, *Artists' Homes: A Portfolio of Drawings, including the Houses and Studios of Several Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1883); Edward Tarver, "Artists' Studios," series in 2 parts, *Art Journal* (New York), 6-7 (1880-1) (vol. 6 (1880): part 1, 273-6, vol. 7: part 2 (1881): 109-12); "Artists' Houses," *Art Journal* (London) 44, n.s., 34 (1882): 57-8; and C. Lewis Hind, "Painters' Studios," series in 3 parts, *Art Journal* (London) 52, n.s., 42 (1890) (part 1, 11-6; part 2, 40-5; part 3, 135-9).

208. "Notes and Comments," *Architect* 22 (15 November 1879): 286; quoted in J. Lamb, "Lions in their Dens," 86.

209. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 103.

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added onto an existing house, Haag incorporated Islamic stonework, pierced wood screens, tiles and divans covered with Persian rugs. Studio houses could also be built on a budget: Kate Greenaway's house by Norman Shaw was a simple brick four-bedroom house with a large studio placed ingeniously at a forty-five-degree angle to the rest of the house on the topmost story.[210] Briton Rivere managed to combine live animals, which were his models, and luxurious decor by keeping them in separate quadrants of his spacious studio, a kind of balancing act akin to that devised by sculptors.[211]

Whether attributable to the relatively lower cost of real estate, or the British love of hearth and home, it seems true that more artists in England than elsewhere had their own studio house. While varying greatly in style, typically the largest room was the studio, which had special architectural arrangements that facilitated art production, as well as decor that was distinctly unconventional.

Munich, which rivaled Paris as a center of study for Americans in the 1880s and remained popular later, also had its allotment of aestheticizing studios. The rise of the studios in Munich appears to be roughly contemporary with its flourishing in America. An 1874 article noted that "for the most part, Munich studios are simple enough places to work in and smoke in," but that "already one or two emulate the artistic opulence of French and English ateliers."[212] The tone was probably set by the teachers at Munich's Royal Academy, who had always had large studios there, filled with art, and possibly bric-a-brac of various sorts.[213] Though little documented,

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210. Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914,* 113-4.

211. Hind, "Painters' Studios," part 3: 137-8.

212. "A Gossip About Studios," 175.

213. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 249, and n. 33.

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presumably the Academy studios of Karl von Piloty (director 1874 to1890) and Frederich August von Kaulbach who succeeded him, were well-furnished. The opulence of Piloty's private home and studio has been discussed; Kaulbach's will be. By 1890 there were, by one estimate, 1,500 studios housing some 3,000 artists in Munich and its suburbs, many in the district of Schwabing.[214] As we have seen from Karl Kappes's 1885 letter home from Munich, even students had their rooms fitted up "very artistic." Clearly, the aestheticizing studio became established as a phenomenon in Munich in the 1880s; a survey of the more well-known examples will serve to illustrate its flourishing in the city.

In many respects, the furnishings of Munich studios were like their counterparts elsewhere, with perhaps greater attention paid to collecting German objects. This was probably related to the establishment of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in 1852, with its emphasis on tracing what we would today term the material culture of Germany, especially Bavaria.[215] The home of Franz von Seitz, built 1872-3, reflected this influence, as well as a host of international styles; the studio itself was done in a German Renaissance style.[216] Eduard von Grützner's home, built by 1883, included a chapel with Medieval wood fittings and a "kneipe" or tap-room, as well as a studio furnished with heavily carved German furniture.[217] Grutzner was a friend of William Merritt Chase's; both were pupils of Piloty.[218] Other studios were

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214. E. P. Evans, "Artists and Art Life in Munich," *The Cosmopolitan* 9, no. 1 (1890): 3.

215. Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers,* 43-6, traces the influence of this museum.

216. Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers,* 48-9.

217. Evans, "Artists and Art Life," and Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers,* 51-4.

218. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 29, and Michael Quick and others, *Munich and American Realism in the nineteenth Century* (Sacramento, CA: E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1978), 39.

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more like their Parisian and American counterparts. Hermione von Preuschen, a still life painter, had one furnished with drapery, a bear skin rug, and an Islamic *tabouret* table; in short, a "real" studio in the eyes of a contemporary.[219] In Munich, as in America, there were landscapists with elaborately decorated studios, and an etcher who kept a "show" studio along with another, plainer one which would not be ruined by the acids used in his work.[220]

Munich also had its very grand studio homes. Both the art and the home of Franz von Lenbach were compared to that of John Everett Millais. Over the years 1887 to 1902 Lenbach built a large marble house and eventually a separate studio building. Though the studios were large and filled with artwork and tapestries, they were, "essentially a workroom."[221] Similarly, although the *piano nobile* of Friedrich August von Kaulbach's *palazzo* built in 1889 was given over to studio spaces, their actual decoration was somewhat spare.[222] These studio palaces bore a striking resemblance to the homes of other rich Germans.

By the 1880s the aestheticizing studio could be found wherever artists considered themselves *au courant*. In Florence, Odoardo Gelli had an aestheticizing studio in the formal rooms of a *palazzo*, his Middle-Eastern draperies dividing the marble-columned and frescoed room in two.[223] Francesco Vinea, a professor at the Academy of Florence, lined the walls of his *palazzo* with tapestry, and arranged still-

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219. Hind, "Painters' Studios," part 1: 13.

220. Evans, "Artists and Art Life," 42 and 44-5.

221. Hind, "Painters' Studios," part 1: 12. See also Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers,* 58-68.

222. Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers,* 68-72.

223. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste*, 170-1.

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lives of artistic properties on the floor.[224] Aestheticizing studios could be found in Norway, their ascendancy and decline coinciding with developments in the rest of Europe.[225] The aestheticizing studio was truly an international phenomenon.

The Decline of the Aestheticizing Studio and Late Survivals

By the turn of the century, however, the tide was beginning to turn. In 1896 William Merritt Chase dismantled his studio in the Tenth Street building and auctioned off its contents. This occasioned an article on the decline of elaborate studios, the writer noting a "general disposition on the part of the better-inspired modern painters and sculptors to return to simpler and somewhat more austere forms of expression in their works and in their working-places."[226] The article cast aspersions upon art which required an aestheticizing studio for it to be seen to advantage. It asked the question:

> Amid the distracting and alien influences of bibelots and *brimborions*, the confused, contradictory, frequently completely unartistic clamor and intercession of a multitude of archaeological objects collected from at least three of the quarters of the globe, and brought together arbitrarily and without the slightest regard for their own inclinations—how can undisturbed introspective work be done in such an atmosphere?

The quote is illuminating. Collections like Chase's were no longer select, they were arbitrary; objects no longer spoke to each other, they set up a clamor. With only a few changes in vocabulary and tone, the words once used to laud studios were now used to condemn them.

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224. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste*, 232-3.

225. Eric Morstad, "Ateliermotivet i norsk billedkunst," *Kunst og Kultur* 4 (1989): 186-218.

226. "The Field of Art," *Scribner's Magazine* 19, no. 4 (1896): 523. Cikovsky, "Tenth Street Studio," 12, dates the auction.

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The Ash Can artists answered this writer's question with their own studios, which were simple workrooms. John Sloan's studio in Philadelphia in 1898 was a bare space, with chairs piled in a corner, while only slightly more effort was expended upon the decor of Thomas Anschutz's 1913 Philadelphia studio [FIGURE 25].[227] In William Glacken's studio a costume collection like many found in earlier studios was not arranged for effect but rather left in a jumble.[228] Robert Henri did display a few choice objects in his otherwise bare studio—an Imari plate, an African statuette, a copy of an old master—but he spoke for his generation's attitude towards studios in an address to the Art Students League in 1915. "Why should a studio be a boudoir, a dream of oriental splendour . . . and rarely a good and convenient workshop for the kind of thought and work that the making of a good picture demands."[229]

The studios of modernists were, if anything, stripped down versions of these "good and convenient workshops." Arshille Gorky's studio in Union Square in 1934 is little more than a factory, the lines of the window frame echoing those in his canvas [FIGURE 26]. Just as aestheticizing studios had been an international phenomenon, so was the new spareness. Artists as diverse as Pablo Picasso, Constantin Brancusi, and Wassily Kandinsky all worked in studios which held little more than work in various stages of completion and the raw materials needed to produce them.[230]

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227. Sloan's studio is seen in photographs at the Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, roll 141, frames 45-8.

228. Bernard B. Perlman, *The Immortal Eight* (New York: Exposition Press, 1962), 48.

229. quoted in Christopher Gray, "Portrait of the Artist's," *Avenue Magazine,* February 1988, 110-1.

230. Peppiatt and Bellony-Rewald, *Imagination's Chamber,* record the twentieth-century studio story. See pp. 152-3 for the studio of Picasso; p. 144 for Brancusi; and p. 141-2 for Kandinsky.

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The death knell for aestheticizing studios began to toll around the turn of the century, and fewer and fewer examples were to be found by the outbreak of World War I. Nonetheless, some artists who had grown accustomed to such spaces continued to use them, and even to construct them anew. John Singer Sargent's studio on Tite Street in London, photographed after 1920 [FIGURE 27] answered to the same sort of description as his studio of 1884.[231] In both we see Sargent's taste for Oriental objects, and in the later studio there are fine European ones as well. Perhaps the most remarkable example of the aestheticizing studio surviving into the twentieth century is found with Gari Melchers's home and studio Belmont, now preserved as a museum in Fredericksburg, Virginia.[232] In 1916 he and his wife purchased a fine late eighteenth-century frame house, and filled it with their collections. In 1924 Melchers went on to build a stone studio, though the painter famous for his depictions of the Dutch peasantry was then 64. From the first, the studio was designed both as a workplace and as a gallery not only for Melchers's era, but for posterity. The furnishings included fine examples of his works as well as antiques: massive paired clothes presses, and an unusual blanket warmer that hung from a fireplace mantel; all might have appeared in studios of decades earlier.

Conclusions

The aestheticizing studio was a singular phenomenon which arose and flourished in the late nineteenth century. It was an international phenomenon, in which American artists played their part. For the generation of American artists that arose between the Hudson River School and the modernists, the aestheticizing studio was a

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231. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste,* 222-3 records Sargent's studio in c. 1883-4.

232. Information on Belmont was kindly supplied by Joanna D. Catron, its curator.

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cosmopolitan marker that set them apart and linked them to their European teachers and peers. Though previous generations of American artists had established the desirability of a fine home and respectable working quarters at which patrons and visitors might call, it was left to the artists of the late nineteenth century to develop the aestheticizing studio. To do so, they looked to the old masters, whom they believed had lived and entertained in splendor. They also looked to a select group of individuals, modern masters, who had established aestheticizing studios in the late 1860s and 1870s in London, Paris, Munich, Vienna, Rome, and New York. By the mid-1870s, more European artists were joining their ranks, especially in Paris and London, though the exact chronology of this transformation in the crucial decade of the 1870s is not yet known. By the time William Merritt Chase returned in New York from study in Munich and travel in Venice, the stage was set for the flourishing of aestheticizing studios in America. Chase's studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building, established in 1879, set the standard for the coming decades.

By the beginning of the 1880s, most artists took great care to aestheticize their studios, spending as much time and money as they could on the endeavor. A few faithfully recreated a particular period interior, but most brought together a delightfully disparate melange of old and exotic furnishings. American aestheticizing studios could be found singly in art districts of cities, collectively in studio buildings, in art colonies, and in many cities abroad, especially in Paris, and even in the American West. However, not all artists adopted the aestheticizing studio. Sculptors, realist painters, and artists termed "poetic" sometimes eschewed them, all the while acknowledging their non-conformity. Counterbalancing this, there were artists among these groups who found ways to have aestheticizing studios in spite of the practical difficulties. Aestheticizing studios finally began to give way to more barren work spaces by the first decade of the twentieth century. Survivals existed until at least World War I, maintained by artists who had always worked in aestheticizing studios. A few rare

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examples were created even later. The modernist aesthetic, whether realist or abstractionist, ultimately proved inconsistent with the aestheticizing studio.

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Chapter Two: The Contents of Aestheticizing Studios

Upon entering the aestheticizing studio, whether in real life or through the historical survey just completed, the visitor naturally wants to know more about the room. How does it reflect the working habits of the artist? What are all these resplendent objects that have been gathered together? Are there patterns behind the choice and arrangement of the furnishings? Are there stories that go along with the objects? A survey of the architectural features, the furnishings, their arrangement and the meanings of objects commonly found in studios will answer these questions.

Architectural Specifications

A set of ideal architectural specifications existed for the aestheticizing studio. The most elemental of these specifications, the essentials for the crafting of art, were not new. To these practical requirements, however, the artists of the late nineteenth century added other architectural arrangements which had more to do with the display of objects, a function of the studio that they held essential. Some artists were lucky enough to find these specifications ready-made in rented quarters, others were wealthy enough to dictate them in their private homes, while many sought to have them installed in their studios.

The most important requirement in an artist's studio, from time immemorial, has been adequate light. The artists of the late nineteenth-century were the last generation to live without strong, dependable electricity, which was not widely available until after World War I. Although gas and oil lighting technologies improved throughout the century, all artificial light was weak, inconstant, and unpredictable compared to sunlight. All artists who needed to draw and those who needed to judge color, needed a

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constant light source. Painters, of course, had the most stringent requirements, but nearly all artists wanted good light. Universally, they chose daylight as the best light source, and specifically daylight provided by a north-facing window or skylight.

To this day, a large north-facing window is a telltale sign of an artist's studio. The north window had to be big enough to let in sufficient light, usually at least ten feet high, and was usually fitted with some system of blinds and curtains which allowed the light to be regulated. No one system of light regulation prevailed, rather, each artist devised the method that suited him best. Such windows and skylights were installed on the top floors of commercial and residential buildings in cities all over America, and in Europe. Their presence in Paris and London has already been remarked upon. But these windows were not confined to urban areas. In Blanche Willis Howard's novel *Guenn*, the one essential architectural alteration Hamor must make to convert the granary to his studio is the installation of a skylight.[1] E. Loyal Field, a landscape painter in Pakatakan, the artists' colony in the Catskills, built a modest shingled studio house there in 1889 [FIGURE 28].[2] Still extant, it consists of little more than a large room, marked by one very large north window. The typical north window, whether urban or rural, looked much like Field's.

Nearly as essential to artists as good light was adequate space; the functional needs of the craft had to be met. Artists needed room for their raw materials and for storage. They also needed room to pose models, as well as room enough to step back and gain perspective on the work in progress. Since many artists lived in their studios, they also need room for housekeeping arrangements, even if only rudimentary ones. Beyond these minimal requirements many artists wanted space for entertaining, for the display of their own finished works, and for the display of their collections. Some

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1. Howard, *Guenn,* 85.

2. See Kuhn, "Registration Form for Pakatakan."

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artists used a great deal of space. Howard Roberts, the sculptor whose studio was used as an example of Aesthetic Movement decor, in fact operated a suite of studios.[3] Figure 15 shows his reception room in 1886, and he had another room for modeling, another for casting, and another for cutting from the block.

Balconies were frequently found in aestheticizing studios. They were found in earlier studios also, and were probably installed so that artists could get a good view of large works. Bierstadt's studio at Malkasten had a balcony, and the favorable influence its view exerted over *Donner Lake from the Summit* has already been described. By later in the century balconies were also found in less imposing studios. The Grundmann Studio Building in Boston, converted from a skating rink in 1893, consisted of thirty-nine modest rooms. The ones on the second floor had balconies tucked under the skylights which were used either as working or living spaces. The "artistic" possibilities of the balconies were also exploited. "Oriental stuffs are draped from the railing, antique lamps and curious old lanterns depend therefrom, and sconces are fastened to the beams on the sides in which candles are lighted on festive occasions."[4] As we shall see, balconies in other studios served as often for display as for extra working and living space.

Another architectural feature in some studios was a set of accommodations for models, including separate entrances, passages, and changing rooms. These were found especially often in Great Britain, to discourage fraternizing between the models, family, and servants. George Boughton's studio in London, in the home designed by Richard Norman Shaw, had separate entrances for models, visitors, and the artist himself.[5]

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3. Anne Wharton, "Some Philadelphia Studios," part 4, *The Decorator and Furnisher* 8 (May 1886): 38-9.

4. "Grundmann Studios," *The Providence Sunday Journal,* 11 December 1898, 14.

5. Tarver, "Artists' Studios," part 1: 273-4.

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Though rarely elaborated to the degree found in the Boughton household, such arrangements were relatively common in Europe. They do not seem to have been found as often in America, where intricate accommodations for the separation of servants and family were not made except in the wealthiest households.

Some artists designed built-in architectural features in their studios. Occasionally, these might be quite elaborate. Sidney Burleigh and Charles Walter Stetson's "Fleur de Lis" studio building in Providence, Rhode Island was designed by themselves in a medievalizing half-timbered style, claimed to have been derived from examples in Nuremberg, Great Brighton, and Holland.[6] It was an early example of Arts and Crafts architecture. Both large studios had raftered ceilings, expanses of wainscotting, and huge fireplaces with built-in settles, and each had its component of special touches, like hand-wrought hinges. The result was a *gesamtkunstwerk* of medievalizing taste. Introducing salvaged architectural elements into an old studio was another tactic artists used. The fireplace in Hamilton Easter Field's Brooklyn studio was composed of seventeenth-century Flemish tiles, a seventeenth-century French fireback, and caryatids in the Louis XIII style.[7] More often, artists devised cheap but attractive architectural modifications to their studios. An undated photograph of the studio of the landscape painter John Ottis Adams [FIGURE 29] shows that he dandied up a rather plain doorway with wooden doweling, giving it a Japanese effect.

The Climate for Collecting

In the vast majority of aestheticizing studios, it was the furnishings rather than the architectural fittings that were the main attraction. Once the minimum requirements

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6. Frank T. Robinson, "The Sign of the Fleur de Lis," *Art and Decoration* 3 (May 1886): 6, 8-9. See also Kaplan and others, *"The Art That Is Life,"* 112-3.

7. "The Looker-On," *Brooklyn Life* 28, no. 729 (1904): 6.

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of light (preferably north) and space (preferably more than ample) were met, artists were often satisfied. It is not hard to guess why. Most artists had limited and unpredictable incomes, they lived in rented quarters, and they moved often, whether in search of better clients or different subjects for their art. Being poor and peripatetic, they were unwilling to invest much in their permanent architectural shells. Instead, they invested in portable furnishings. Even an article written specifically to detail the architecture of studios noted that a description of studio furnishings would "convey a more vivid impression of these delightful and luxurious apartments."[8]

There are also more profound reasons artists avidly collected objects for their studios. Before proceeding to a detailed discussion of the furnishings of studios, it is important to take note of the rise of the cult of antiques. Before the end of the century, the appreciation and the collecting of older works of fine and decorative art had been mainly the purview of the European aristocracy. Indeed, many Americans traditionally looked upon the collecting and commissioning of art as fundamentally undemocratic. With the industrial revolution and the concomitant rise of a middle and upper-middle class, this began to change. A wide range of period commentators—from economist Thorstein Veblen to design reformers Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman—acknowledged that the proliferation of the products of industry fundamentally changed patterns of human consumption, and ultimately, patterns of living.[9] Over the course of 100 years or so, the census of household furnishings exploded. In 1750 a middle-class household had perhaps four or five chairs; by 1850 it had dozens. People felt the need

8. Tarver, "Artists' Studios," part 1: 273.

9. See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York: Random House, 1931), and Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman, *The Decoration of Houses* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897).

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for a hierarchy separating ordinary from extraordinary objects.[10] This hierarchy was based on many factors, including quality of craftsmanship, rarity and age. Though many objects of nineteenth-century manufacture, especially products of "art" manufacture, were granted value in the hierarchy, increasingly the products of pre-industrial cultures were admired. The cult of antiques was born.

Modern scholarship on late nineteenth-century culture acknowledges the new-found interest in antique objects as a hallmark of the period.[11] A small body of literature focuses on nineteenth-century collectors, none of them artists, summarizing their collections and examining their motivations.[12] All of this literature tends to focus on the nineteenth-century fine art in these collections, even while acknowledging that the collectors themselves were also interested in older fine art, and nineteenth-century and older decorative arts. Some scholars find the collections a manifestation of obsessive/compulsive behavior, some find them an embodiment of status seeking; others see them as an expression of the human search for beauty, seeing this search

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10. E. Wharton and Codman, *The Decoration of Houses,* 187, are explicit in the need to distinguish *objets d'art* from other furnishings and knick-knacks. They state that astute collecting through the cultivation of the taste for fine old things is the way to give a room the "crowning touch of distinction."

11. Perhaps the best summary and reflection on this issue is Rémy Saisselin, *Bricabracomania: The Bourgeois and the Bibelot* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985). This provocative book-long essay examines the entire late nineteenth-century phenomenon of purchasing modern objects of manufacture and collecting art as a new component in the formation of the modern psyche.

12. Aline B. Saarinen's *The Proud Possessors* (New York: Random House, 1958), has several chapters on eminent late nineteenth-century collectors, such as J. Pierpont Morgan and Isabella Stewart Gardner. Elizabeth Stillinger, *The Antiquers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), charts the rise of the collecting of American antiques, and William Smallwood Ayers's "The Domestic Museum in Manhattan: Major Private Art Installations in New York City, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1993), discusses American collectors of European art and how they displayed their works.

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itself as self-justifying, or as a quest for spiritual fulfillment.[13] One study explicitly links the collections found in artists' studios with the larger commodification of the culture carried out by mass marketers of modern goods.[14] Clearly, the antiques and fine art in artists' studios were part of a larger phenomenon of collecting that bears further study.

The rise of the collector was made manifest in various loan exhibitions held in the last half of the century throughout America. These loan exhibitions were one component of the many large international fairs, fund-raising exhibitions, and centenary celebrations held throughout the industrialized world. In America, there was a series of exhibitions featuring fine and decorative arts borrowed from private collectors, including: the Sanitary Fairs of the Civil War; the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876; and smaller fund-raising events such as the New York Society of Decorative Art Loan Exhibitions of 1877 and 1878, the Boston Society of Decorative Art Loan Exhibition of 1879, and the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition of 1883.[15] These loan shows were distinct from the exhibitions of the products of modern industry also to be found at the major fairs, where "art" manufactures such as furniture, glass and textiles might be shown near tools and machinery.

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13. See, respectively: Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Ayers, "The Domestic Museum in Manhattan"; Saarinen, *The Proud Possessors*; Stillinger, *The Antiquers*; and T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

14. See Burns, "Price of Beauty," in Miller, ed., *American Iconology.*

15. These are documented in Stillinger, *The Antiquers*, 4-16, and Maureen C. O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty: European Paintings at the 1883 Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition* (Southampton, NY: Parrish Art Museum, 1986). See especially the chapters by Christopher P. Monkhouse, "Bric-a-Brac at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition," 87-94, and Maureen C. O'Brien, "European Paintings at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition," 27-58. See also Boston Society of Decorative Art, *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition* (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1879).

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These loan exhibitions provide a window into the American taste in collecting. The preeminence of European Salon laureates in painting and sculpture in these exhibitions was taken for granted, but works by the old masters up to and including eighteenth-century English portraitists were given their due. Modern American works of art were decidedly less important. In these exhibitions the growing value collectors placed upon the decorative arts also became apparent. Almost universally Americans collected antique decorative arts, rather than the products of modern craftsman. They collected a broad spectrum of decorative arts, from tapestry to ceramics to arms and armor.[16] Collectively, these decorative arts, especially the smaller objects of display, tended to be called bric-a-brac. By 1887 the collecting movement was recognizable enough to be summarized by Obadiah Sypher, a dealer credited with influencing the taste for antiques: "The real movement in favor of bric-a-brac dates only from 1876, that is from the Centennial year. Then it was that our fellow-citizens warmed up at the idea of collecting ancient pieces of furniture, old china, old plate, curious relics of all sorts, as well as masterpieces from artists of present and past ages."[17] The quotation shows that fine and decorative arts were ranked on par, and reveals the preference for old objects over new ones.

Artists were involved with the collecting movement not only in their studios, but in other aspects of public life. They were lenders to these exhibitions and helped organize them. The fine art section of the Pedestal Fund Art Loan exhibition was chosen by two collectors, a dealer, and the painters William Merritt Chase and J. Carroll Beckwith. The decorative arts section was chosen exclusively by artists. That panel

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16. See especially Christopher Monkhouse, "Bric-a-Brac," in O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty.*

17. Obadiah Sypher, "Bric-a-Brac," *The Curio* 1, no. 2 (1887): 192; quoted in Christopher Monkhouse, "Bric-a-Brac," in O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty,* 87.

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consisted of Chase and the members of the newly-formed interior design firm of Associated Artists: Candace Wheeler, Louis Comfort Tiffany, Samuel Colman and Lockwood de Forest.[18] Painters Dora Wheeler and Rosina Emmet, and photographer Napoleon Sarony lent costumes to this section.[19] Artists also served as agents in the formation of collections. Stanford White's role in the great collections gathered together in the houses he helped design has been documented, and he is known to have supplied furnishings for the studios of transient artists.[20] The influence artists exerted in the nascent field of art collecting in America was certainly profound. While the topic in its totality is beyond the scope of this dissertation, here we do have the opportunity to examine artists' own collections. The true significance that artists had as collectors was revealed nowhere better than in their studios.

The Furnishings of Aestheticizing Studios

In late nineteenth-century publications aimed at artists, the importance of studio furnishings was highlighted. In Horace Rollin's manual for beginning artists, published in 1878, the section on studio furnishings offers a prescription for success. After recommending north light controlled by shades, and ample space for making and storing art, he goes on to speak of furnishings:

> The artist should adorn his studio with objects that are attractive in form, color or expression, for these cultivate and refine the taste. Many such things are easily obtained—beautifully colored fabrics, the plumage of birds, autumn leaves, grasses, wheat, etc.; stones and section of tree limbs which have mosses

18. Christopher Monkhouse, "Bric-a-Brac," in O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty,* 90-1.

19. Christopher Monkhouse, "Bric-a-Brac," in O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty,* 92.

20. Paul Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), especially pp. 113 and 249.

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> or lichens. If he can afford them, he should have small pieces of statuary (good plaster casts are not expensive), rare pieces of furniture, richly colored rugs, elegant vases, etc.[21]

The kinds of items Rollin described in the last sentence were becoming more easily obtainable. An 1880 article on young artists in New York noted their delight that "household art has invaded every furniture shop and there is a curiosity shop in nearly every street."[22] Indeed, publications aimed at least partially at artists, such as directories of artists and art guide books, had advertisements for shops that sold such items mixed in with ads for art supplies, picture framers, and art teachers.[23]

At this point, a caveat on the authenticity of the furnishings found in studios is in order. In the following pages many attributions will be made for the objects found in studios. These attributions are derived mainly from two sources: claims made in written descriptions of studios, and my own assessment of the impression that illustrations of studios were meant to convey. By modern standards, many of the attributions which will be given are untenable. This should not be surprising, for several reasons. First, connoisseurship of both the fine and decorative arts in the late nineteenth century was in its infancy. Outright forgeries were not uncommon, and pastiches were the order of the day. It was not unusual for a dealer to describe a chest as "authentic Jacobean" if it consisted of a seventeenth-century front, eighteenth-century sides and a brand-new top and feet. In fact, this sale might not be considered unethical, since the important part of the chest, the carved front, was Jacobean; the additions were deemed little more than repairs. Secondly, distinctions we now make between authentic antiques, strict copies

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21. Horace J. Rollin, *Studio, Field and Gallery: A Manual of Painting for the Student and Amateur, with Information for the General Reader* (New York: D. Appleton, 1878), 92.

22. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life," 362.

23. See the advertisements in Sylvester Rosa Koehler, *The United States Art Directory and Year Book* (New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, 1882). See also *New York Art Guide,* 106.

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of them, and newer objects made more or less in the style of older furniture, were not so clearly drawn. Thirdly, deliberate exaggeration and deception must have played a part in many an account. Given this state of affairs, it is no wonder that artists and writers may have made mistaken claims for objects.

Finally, the modern scholar is hampered by the available documentation for objects in artists' studios; precise attributions using it cannot be made today. The quality of the photographs printed in most late nineteenth-century periodicals was particularly bad, and while published engravings were better, these are often not detailed enough, or are distorted with artistic license. In any case, photographs can not substitute for careful visual examination of the objects themselves, and the current whereabouts of the objects in artists' studios is mostly unknown.

These would be insurmountable problems if correct attributions were required. Happily, they are not; we are concerned only with the nineteenth-century attributions of objects, and these can be determined without much divination. As mentioned, attributions are often stated outright in the text. In the absence of textual references, my assessment of illustrations was guided by the illustrations themselves. Objects were taken at "face value"; they were accepted as what they appeared to be. Often, the illustrations themselves included highlighted decorative details, keys to the suggested attribution. Here, it is not important to determine if an artist's Queen Anne chair is entirely from the 1720s or only partially so, or if his Frans Hals is an autograph work or only a piece from the workshop. What is important is what the artists and their audiences believed these objects to be.

The most popular kinds of furniture found in aestheticizing studios were unsophisticated pieces dating from the late Medieval to the Baroque eras in Europe, pieces characterized by massiveness, dark wood, deep carving, turnings and joinery, and few other embellishments. Pieces in any number of styles and regions that fit this description were common. Especially favored were northern European Gothic

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furniture; the less elaborated versions of French furniture from the François I to Louis XIII periods, English Tudor and Elizabethan furniture of all sorts; and furniture from regions distant from the style centers of London, Paris, and Amsterdam. Certain furniture forms were especially popular: Italian *cassoni*; refectory tables; simple joint stools; backstools (sometimes called Farthingale chairs), both plain and upholstered; Savonarola chairs and their variants (a folding x-shaped chair derived from Roman campaign chairs); anything with elaborate turnings; and massive cupboards, both closed and with open shelves, often with abstract or figural carving or inlay. This sort of furniture could have been brought back from Europe by the artists themselves, and certainly reflects the circumstances of their study and travels, as well as their bankbooks. Such pieces were also increasingly available in America, as were copies.

The studio of R. D. Sawyer, pictured in 1889 [FIGURE 30], contained furniture typical of aestheticizing studios. Seen from left to right are a large cabinet-on-stand from the first half of the seventeenth century; a chair in a late seventeenth-century revival style (with uncharacteristically large upholstery tacks); a seventeenth-century cabinet with figural pilasters; a highly-carved chest with a central figural panel, possibly dating from the late sixteenth century; and an undatable stool with a carved back and splayed legs. All except the stool could well be English. The salient features of the furniture in Sawyer's studio, as well as that found in other aestheticizing studios, were its obvious age and handcraftmanship, and the evidence it gave of use by a rural or provincial people and their outmoded ways of life.

A subset within artists' taste for unsophisticated furniture was their preference for American colonial pieces. In general, their American furniture paralleled their European pieces, with preference shown for heavy carved items, but the artists also liked Queen Anne and Federal styles. A few artists had enough to constitute collections. A sketch of Frank Benson's studio in the Fenway building in 1914 showed an early eighteenth-century gateleg dining table with turned stretchers, a Queen Anne

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candle stand, and a Federal card table with elegant slim legs.[24] More commonly, artists had simpler, more vernacular pieces. William Ladd Taylor's studio in Boston around 1888 included a simple Chippendale highchest and a ladder-back rocker drawn up before the fire.[25] Not uncommonly, artists mixed their colonial objects with disparate items; in 1889 Percy Moran's spinning wheel stood near an Oriental rug, his armor collection and a divan [FIGURE 34].

Finer, more sophisticated furniture was sometimes found in artists' studios, but it was far less popular. The products of the highly-developed guild system of eighteenth-century Europe, made primarily for the aristocracy, did not appeal to American artists. In the eighteenth century, French and English cabinetmakers led the way, and the most skilled in the profession, such as Jean-Françoise Oeben, Jean-Henri Riesener, William Kent and Thomas Chippendale, became famous, and their names are still linked with luxuriousness. Their products incorporated rich materials: Oriental or European lacquer; tortoise shell inlaid with brass; gilded brass mounts; inlays of rare woods. These were the products of the late Baroque and the Rococo. A succession of kings, political entities, and cabinetmakers have given their names to the styles for this furniture: French furniture is known as Régence, Louis XV and XVI, and Directoire; English furniture is known as William and Mary, Queen Anne and within Georgian, as Chippendale, Hepplewhite and Sheraton.

All these eighteenth-century styles and techniques were translated at the time into less elaborate, less costly versions, often influenced by vernacular furniture. It was only these less sophisticated pieces of eighteenth-century furniture that the artists of the late nineteenth century collected. In his Paris studio, the portraitist Julian Story had an

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24. Mrs. Barbee-Babson, "Studios of Some Who Have Made Boston Famous in the World of Art," *Boston Sunday Herald*, 1 March 1914, Special Section, 3.

25. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 2, 477.

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eighteenth-century Venetian arm chair that was admired by Edith Wharton because it was "less skillful in execution, yet freer and more individual in movement" than French eighteenth-century furniture.[26] Henry Mosler, a genre painter, had in his Carnegie Hall studio in 1895, in addition to several seventeenth-century cabinets, an eighteenth-century tall case clock bedecked with ornament: a kidney-shaped cartouche on its case, an engraved face, and pediment figures of trumpeting angels executed in the round.[27] The lack of fine eighteenth-century furniture in studios is certainly a reflection of the limited availability of great pieces, as well as the limited bank accounts of artists. Nonetheless, artists seemed to avoid high-style eighteenth-century furniture; perhaps they were suspicious of it. Wharton, ever the hyper-astute observer of interiors and people, in the *Custom of the Country* (1913) uses a "gilt armchair of pseudo-Venetian design" in the studio of portraitist Claude Popple as a symbol of his and his sitter's shallowness.[28]

The next category of furnishings found in aestheticizing studios is Oriental objects. In the late nineteenth century the Western world became fascinated with the products of the East, and China and Japan began to produce a great variety of objects to meet this new interest.[29] A great many of these new objects, as well as Western ones in direct imitation of them, made their way into artists' studios. Paper goods such as fans, parasols and lanterns, the ubiquitous symbols of the Orient, were extremely common in

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26. Edith Wharton, *A Backward Glance* (1933; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 101.

27. W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," part 4, *Godey's Magazine* 130 (June 1895): 564.

28. Edith Wharton, *The Custom of the Country* (1913; New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 109.

29. See Cynthia A. Brandimarte, "Japanese Novelty Stores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26, no. 1 (1991): 1-26, and William Hosley, *The Japan Idea.*

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aestheticizing studios. James McNeill Whistler's 1860s device of arranging paper fans in patterns across walls and ceilings was adopted by countless artists. Several clusters can be seen in Robert Blum's studio of 1889 [FIGURE 37]. Paper parasols and lanterns were often hung from the ceiling. Often these functioned as shades for gas lights, but the huge parasol pictured in 1885 in Roswell Shurtleff's studio [FIGURE 31] loomed over the whole room. Another Oriental or Orientalist object can be seen in Shurtleff's studio—the folding screen. Some screens were imported from the East, but more commonly, artists had screens of Western manufacture; some even made them themselves. Cecilia Beaux had several in her Philadelphia studio in 1885, and one, composed of tea-box matting and Japanese dull blue calico on a frame of plain stained wood and brass rods, was probably designed by her.[30] Oriental ceramics were usually found in aestheticizing studios, especially blue and white wares. The mantle in George Henry Smillie's studio on Fourth Avenue was laden with what appear to be Chinese vases, ginger jars and bowls.[31] A blue and white ginger jar reportedly owned by Charles Courtney Curran still survives; a rare instance of a traceable object from a late nineteenth-century artists' studio.[32]

A smaller number of artists foreswore the cheaper Oriental objects and Orientalia of Western manufacture, preferring to collect rarer specimens. Though much has been written of Félix Bracquemond's discovery of Japanese prints in Paris in 1856 and the subsequent influence this had on the course of avant-garde art in France,[33]

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30. Anne Wharton, "Some Philadelphia Studios," part 1, *The Decorator and Furnisher* 7 (December 1885): 78-9.

31. See an undated photograph in the George Henry Smillie Papers, Archives of American Art, roll 1027, frame 1205.

32. The vase is owned by Kaycee Benton Para, of Cragsmoor, New York, the artists' colony where Curran had a home. I thank Ms. Para for showing me the vase.

33. Two standard surveys of Orientalism cite Bracquemond as a focal point for the dissemination of Oriental motifs. See Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese*

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American artists became interested in Oriental art at about the same time, and this phenomenon has been less studied. John La Farge was collecting Japanese prints in Paris by 1856, and owned ceramics and lacquer in the 1860s; James McNeill Whistler's interest in blue and white china, already mentioned, began as early as 1864.[34] These two Americans are only the best known of many American artists to collect fine Oriental objects. Fidelia Bridges, an American Pre-Raphaelite painter, collected Oriental scrolls and compositionally her work of the 1870s shows their influence; there are doubtless many more like her.[35] While it is not possible to assess here the large and complex part that American artists and their collections played in the assimilation of Oriental art into American culture, we can note a few collections known to have been housed in studios.

Samuel Colman, the painter and decorator, had an extensive collection of Chinese and Japanese objects in his studio at Twenty-fifth Street and Fourth Avenue in New York City [see FIGURE 40], described in 1879.[36] The Japanese items included some fifty swords, a lacquer suit of armor with metal inlay, several large Imari vases, and an embroidered court robe, while the Chinese items included a lacquer screen; and a collection of small tea jars. John Singer Sargent's studio in London in 1884 had a

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Influence on Western Art in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (New York: Park Lane, 1985), 9, and Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Abbeville, 1983), 33.

34. Henry Adams, "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*," *Art Bulletin* 67 (September1985), especially pp. 451-9, and Dorment and MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler,* entry 22, pp. 86-7.

35. Hosley, *The Japan Idea,* 91.

36. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 2, 354-5. The address is noted in Benjamin, *Portraits, Studios and Engravings*, no pagination. By 1885, at least part of Colman's collection was probably to be found in his house in Newport, Rhode Island, although he kept a New York City studio until 1881, and probably beyond.

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large silk hanging, probably Chinese, and a collection of *ningyo*, Japanese costume dolls.[37]

The third category of furnishings found in aestheticizing studios is textiles. Artists collected a wide variety of antique textiles, both loose pieces of fabric and functional textile objects. Fine brocades, silks and velvets of European and Oriental manufacture, as well as rougher woven textiles from exotic lands were collected. Artists exploited the formal characteristics of textiles—patterns, textures and especially, their mellowed colors. They often hung their walls and doors with fabric, juxtaposing many different sorts. Frederick Bridgman's studio in Paris, photographed around 1887, had a surprising array of textiles hung on the upper portions of the walls, including what appear to be many pieces of hand-painted Chinese silk, a piece of Indian cotton in a paisley print, and a piece of European brocade.[38] Rarities, such as the embroidered altar cloths found in the studio of Leon Moran in 1889 [FIGURE 32] were also desirable.

Artists seem to have taken a special interest in tapestries, especially seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European ones. They can be seen in the studios of Thomas Shields Clarke, Cecilia Beaux, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, and Carle Blenner [FIGURES 33, 39, 11, 18]. The tapestries in William Stanley Haseltine's studio in Rome were already well known by the 1860s; his collection eventually included at least two fifteenth-century Flemish Arras pieces.[39] The other sort of large-scale hangings htat artists favored, *portières*, were hung across doors and offered a wide expanse to show off the artistic possibilities of fabric. The visitor entered Isaac Henry Caliga's Boston studio in the late 1880s by passing through *portières* of copper plush, which set the

37. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste,* 222-3.

38. Habolt and Co., *Portrait de l'artiste,* 144-5.

39. Simpson, Henderson, and Mills, *Expressions of Place,* 182, 199, 203.

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color key for the studio.[40] While any sort of cloth might be used as *portières*, artists often used new fabric or even ready-made *portières*, an unusual instance of artists choosing modern decorative goods.

On the floors of aestheticizing studios one was likely to find two things: Middle-Eastern rugs and animal skins. Artists were among the first to collect Middle-Eastern rugs, which were not generally valued by collectors until the turn of the century. They did not use large, room-sized rugs (and perhaps could not afford them), preferring instead many smaller rugs scattered about the room. These were laid side by side, or underneath various animal skins, such as tiger, polar bear, and black bear.

Textiles were also found in all other parts of the aestheticizing studio. Robert Blum's studio had a row of pegs hung with "bullfighter's costumes, queer spangled muslin frocks of the Empire period, and prim lace caps that once framed fresh little Dutch faces."[41] While these costumes may have functioned as props, they certainly functioned as decoration. Divans and couches, used (as we shall see) for lounging or a full night's sleep, offered another opportunity for the display of fabric. One is seen in Leon Moran's studio [FIGURE 32]. Often these were covered with Middle-Eastern rugs, but rougher fabrics and even shawls of all sorts were also used. Divans were often furnished with pillows which offered yet another opportunity for artists to display whatever pieces of fabric had come to hand. Finally, great swathes of fabric might simply be draped from convenient points, such as chairs, doorways, and especially, along the railings of balconies.[42]

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40. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 1, 342.

41. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 17.

42. See A.C. David, "A Co-operative Studio Building," *The Architectural Record* 14, no. 4 (1903): 249, for a photograph of the studio of Frank V. DuMond, whose balcony is draped with fabric.

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The fourth category of furnishings seen in aestheticizing studios was metalwork; by displaying them artists could indulge their taste for the exotic and militaristic. Very often, the aestheticizing studio was lit by Middle Eastern pierced-metal oil lamps, which would cast intricately patterned shadows. At least five of these can be seen hanging from the ceiling of Thomas Shields Clarke's studio of 1895 in the Sherwood Building in New York City [FIGURE 33]. Censers and incense burners, either from Islamic cultures or ones made for ecclesiastical use in the West, were also hung from the ceiling of many studios. Bright brass samovars were found in studios, and they were used to brew tea and coffee for visitors. They were such a symbol of aestheticizing studios that Henry Blake Fuller's collection of short stories *Under the Skylights* (1901), uses a samovar as the centerpiece of regular Saturday teas in a studio building, teas which led to the downfall, through romance, of a ultra-realist journalist.[43]

A subset of metalware is weaponry and armor, which was found in abundance in aestheticizing studios. A full suit of fifteenth-century Spanish armor, displayed standing and holding a massive pike, can also be seen in Clarke's studio of 1895 [FIGURE 33].[44] His collection of firearms, swords, and crossbows, which included a fifteenth-century sword by Andrea Ferrara, can be glimpsed ranged along the wall behind the armor. Percy Moran, who came from a family of artists (he was the son of Edward, the painter, and the brother of Leon, whose textiles and divan were described above), displayed his weaponry in an espalier pattern on his studio walls, as an 1889 photograph shows [FIGURE 34]. Indeed, some artists seem to have become distinguished collectors of weaponry. Daniel Beard, a genre painter and illustrator, had an extensive collection of small arms, which included a flint-lock blunderbuss, a

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43. Henry Blake Fuller, *Under the Skylights* (New York, D. Appleton, 1901; reprint, New York: Manuscript Information Corporation, 1968), especially p. 14.

44. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 3, 474.

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double-bladed Chinese sword, three Japanese samurai swords and a fifteenth-century cross-bow. Some, such as the two swords carried by Beard's elder brother in the Civil War, had histories, making their possession "all the more desirable."[45]

Taking up Horace Rollin's suggestion to adorn the studio with "autumn leaves, grasses, wheat, etc.," artists used objects gathered directly from nature to decorate the aestheticizing studio.[46] Few studios were without some arrangement of dried or fresh plant material. Some of these reached striking proportions; the one of mixed dried leaves atop a cupboard in Robert Minor's studio in 1895 was fully five feet high.[47] Artists also admired bird plumage. They often included feathers in arrangements in vases, and even had the whole bird stuffed and displayed. William Merritt Chase's white swan hung against maroon velvet achieved some measure of fame,[48] and others made similar effects; Harry Humphrey Moore hung a flamingo against rich drapery.[49] Other animals and animal parts were also exploited for decorative effect. Besides his collection of weaponry, Daniel Beard had stuffed birds and monkeys in the studio he had shared with his brother at 191 Broadway in New York City in 1889.[50] Henry Ward Ranger had what appear to be moose antlers hanging on the wall of his studio in 1903,

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45. W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," part 6, *Godey's Magazine* 131 (August 1895): 177-9. See also *Essays on Art and Artists,* 93, which describes the collection as consisting of "quaint and artistic relics."

46. Rollin, *Studio, Field and Gallery,* 92.

47. Cook, " Studio Suggestions," 234.

48. The swan was mentioned often in accounts of Chase's studio and was remembered years later by one of Chase's pupils, Gifford Beal. See Cikovsky, "Tenth Street Studio," 12.

49. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 2, 353.

50. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 22.

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and Francis Coates Jones had a chandelier composed of antlers in his sumptuous studio of the 1890s [FIGURE 35].[51]

Not surprisingly, in the era of the Aesthetic Movement and the American Renaissance, aestheticizing studios held many small articles of bric-a-brac. The bric-a-brac found in the homes of Americans was usually of modern "artistic" manufacture, showing good craftsmanship which often revived glass, ceramic, and silver techniques and forms of earlier centuries. While artists did sometimes collect such fashionable objects, their bric-a-brac tended to be old, rare and distinctive, though not necessarily costly. On the mantle in the studio of Hamilton Easter Field in Brooklyn in 1904 were three pieces of religious statuary: a della Robbia-type terra cotta Madonna; a seventeenth-century gilded and colored Madonna; and a seventeenth-century Japanese Buddha.[52] Good collections of certain classes of objects belonged to some artists, though they rarely grouped them together in the studio. Scattered around the studio of John Henry Dolph in 1880 were several pieces of northern European late Renaissance ceramics, ranging from a sixteenth-century Rhenish mug, known as a graybeard, to a seventeenth-century piece of Palissy-ware, with characteristic fish and shells in high relief.[53] The "strange relics of Cleopatra's land" in the studio of Edwin Blashfield, son-in-law of noted Egyptologist Charles Wilbour, were mentioned along with his "peculiarly rich and splendid armor" and "antique jars and vases."[54] Not systematic

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51. Ranger's studio was at 25 West Sixty-seventh Street in 1903; see David, "A Co-operative Studio Building," 232.

52. "The Looker-On," 6.

53. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 3, 2.

54. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 12; see Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889,* 114-5, for biographical details.

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collections, the bric-a-brac found in studios was a reflection of the personal taste and interest of each owner.

Works of fine art comprise the next category of the furnishings of aestheticizing studios. Plaster casts after antique statuary were very common. The Venus de Milo can be seen on top of a Gothic choir stall in the studio of portraitist C. Ayer Whipple in 1895 [FIGURE 36], and many a studio had a cast of part of the frieze from the Parthenon. Oil copies of historical art were also very common. Many of these were by the artists themselves, done in their student days abroad; this was true of the copies of Rubens, Rembrandt and J. M. W. Turner that Thomas Waterman Wood had on the walls of his studio.[55] Some of these were more than pedagogical exercises. In her Paris studio in 1892 Elizabeth Nourse had several of her "tapestry paintings," copies of Lorenzo da Viterbo's *Marriage of the Virgin* and Botticelli's *Spring* done on old-gold sateen, in imitation of aged tapestry.[56] Even if they had never executed copies after the old masters, the Americans were likely to own prints after them and photographs of them, which would be collected into portfolios or framed and hung for display.

Many aestheticizing studios contained original, unique works of art. When they could, American artists collected the old masters. A late sixteenth-century Dutch portrait of a little girl and her dog hangs above the mantle in Robert Blum's studio in 1889 [FIGURE 37].[57] When a spectacular fire burned down the Harcourt Studio Building in Boston in 1904, Mary Macomber lost a Tiepolo valued at $15,000, which

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55. W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," part 5, *Godey's Magazine* 131 (March 1895): 3.

56. M[iller], "Lizzie Nourse."

57. This painting is now in the collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum (CAM X.1939.131). Correspondence between John Wilson, Curator of Painting and Sculpture, and the author, (dated 6 February 1996), has established that the painting was probably donated by Blum's sister.

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had been loaned to her by Seth M. Vose, the dealer.[58] Artists also collected works by their contemporaries. William Howe, an American cattle painter who had trained and worked in Dusseldorf, Paris and Holland, had many works by European and American landscapists in his studio in Bronxville, New York, including ones by Anton Mauve, Gari Melchers, Constant Troyon, and Charles Sprague Pearce.[59]

The next category of furnishings is predictable—the utilitarian objects needed to make art. The raw materials of the various arts practiced by Americans were found in studios: paints, brushes, canvas, charcoal and pencils for sketching and painting; clay, acid and plates for etching; more arcane instruments such as calipers and burins; and finally, frames and pedestals. Artists who painted and sculpted the human figure needed models to complete their work. Sometimes these were live people, but often they were lay figures—a mannequin which could be dressed and posed as a live model— which turn up as ghostly presences in photographs of studios [see FIGURES 32 and 35]. Plaster casts of human body parts and animals could also serve as models. These are seen mixed in with *maquettes* for finished works in the 1894 studio of Henry Kirke and Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown [FIGURE 38], who were sculptor and painter respectively. All artists used their own drawings as documents from which to work, and these helped to furnish the studio; "the half-open portfolio, filled with proofs of the artist's sketches . . . seems to be offering mute apologies for its rakish and disturbed appearance."[60] One is visible in FIGURE 38. The main furnishing of the studio, however, was the work of the artist, seen in all stages of its completion.

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58. "All the Harcourt Studio Fire Missing are now Accounted for," *Hearst's Boston American*, 12 November 1904, 4.

59. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 3, 466.

60. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 3, *The Illustrated American* 5 (24 January 1891): 410.

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Finally, certain furnishings turn up so frequently that they appear to have become clichés of aestheticizing studios. The peacock, which also became a symbol for the Aesthetic Movement, appeared on both sides of the Atlantic stuffed and perched on railings in the entrance halls of Frederic Leighton's and Harry Fenn's studio houses in the 1880s.[61] A distinctive type of chair, a wooden backstool with splayed legs, appears in aestheticizing studios, often used as the painters' chair drawn up to the easel [see FIGURES 30, 33, 35 and 36]. This sculptural chair, which usually had a carved or shaped back, was sometimes known as a Swiss stool, though variants of it were made by many European cultures; all sorts were found in the studios.[62] Mandolins, guitars, and other musical instruments used as wall adornments were commonplace [see FIGURES 32 and 34].[63] Finally, fishnets were hung from ceilings and walls in countless studios. In Cecilia Beaux's studio of the 1890s in Philadelphia they provide interesting counterpoint to the tapestry on the neighboring wall [FIGURE 39].

The Arrangement of Furnishings

Upon first glance, the dense mass of furnishings in aestheticizing studios gives the impression of impermanence and disorder. Many aestheticizing studios looked like temporary encampments or trading bazaars, very elaborate, and yet capable of disassembly. This is in sharp contrast to domestic households, which, though furnished

61. The peacock is documented in Leighton's studio in 1882, but the text makes it clear that it was there earlier. For Leighton see Cosmo Monkhouse, "Some English Artists," 553; for Fenn, see Riordan, "Artists Homes," 48.

62. Clarence Cook illustrated one of these chairs which had been manufactured recently in Toelz, Tyrol, Bavaria and noted that the New York firm of Kimbel and Cabus had also made some of similar design. See Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful*, Hugh Guthrie, ed. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1878; reprint, Watkins Glen: American Life Foundation, 1968), 177.

63. See Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 1, 334, for a mention of a mandolin in Ignaz Gaugengigl's studio.

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as densely, were arranged in predictable and fixed patterns. This quality was noticed as early as 1880 by one commentator: "There is at least one place on this earth where the dominion of the busy and tidy housewife does not hold sway, and that is the studio of the artist. A certain degree of studied untidiness seems essential to his dreams."[64] The studios were workrooms, and were thus exempt from normal domestic standards.

When one looks closely at the studios, however, patterns of order begin to emerge. Many of the furnishings seem to have been arranged into still life patterns. Sometimes these were very subtle and perhaps manipulated by the illustrator, whose pencil could highlight the artistry of an arrangement. Such may be the case in the illustration of R. Swain Gifford's studio of 1879 [FIGURE 10], where a sword, a basket and an exotic musical instrument lie casually but beautifully on the floor next to a cupboard. Sometimes the still lives were more obvious and were documented by a photograph, like the two groupings seen in Francis Coates Jones' studio of the 1890s [FIGURE 35], one on the chest, the other on the window sill. Often quite complicated tabernacles of still lives were created; though formed of diverse objects, they had a centerpiece or focus. In Samuel Colman's studio of 1879 [FIGURE 40], the illustrator chose to focus on what was probably an arrangement created by the artist. There a series of vases and boxes set on a Chinese chest, and a chain mail shirt and a shield hung on the wall; all surround and draw the eye to a large Imari vase.

The enshrinement of objects was often accomplished by combining objects with drapery, following and elaborating upon a precedent set by the Hudson River School artists when they showed their monumental works in public exhibitions swathed with drapery and flanked by vegetation.[65] This was done in a modest way by R. Swain

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64. Benjamin, *Portraits, Studios and Engravings,* no pagination, see section on William H. Beard.

65. Kevin Avery, "'The Heart of the Andes' Exhibited: Frederic E. Church's Window on the Equatorial World," *American Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1986): 52-72, and Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt,* especially pp. 31-2.

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Gifford and John Ottis Adams; the drapery they hung over their paintings on their easels may have served to protect the art as well as highlight it [see FIGURES 10 and 29]. George Gibson's arrangement in 1885 was less subtle, as seen in an especially documentary illustration [FIGURE 41]. He placed one of his paintings on a rug-draped platform, with vases, books, and piles of drawings set votive-like before it. Another rug, a platter and a massing of spears and antlers hung above the painting and further framed it. Amusingly, Gibson's own painting is a still life, set within the larger still life. A shine-grouping of monumental proportions was reached in the studio of Irving R. Wiles in 1889 [FIGURE 42]. Though the original photograph is somewhat blurred, it still reveals that Wiles's tiered arrangement of drapery, bric-a-brac and paired Japanese lamps had a triple focus on a vase and two paintings, presumably his own.

Artists also created rooms within their studios, using fabrics, rugs, screens and parasols. Sometimes these had the utilitarian function of providing privacy for models as they changed, or of hiding supplies or housekeeping arrangements. Many of these spaces were semi-private nooks within the studio for lounging. The device of creating a room within a room also occurred in domestic settings, and whether in the studio or in the house it was often known as a Turkish corner, or a cozy corner.[66] The Turkish corners in studios were often large spaces, furnished with a divan, cushions and comfortable chairs. Bracketing the era of aestheticizing studios, William Merritt Chase had one in his at least by 1895 [FIGURE 1] (which probably existed much earlier) and Frank Albert Bicknell had a professional photographer portray him in his around 1910 [FIGURE 43].

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66. See Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850-1930* (Rochester, NY: The Strong Museum, 1988), 194-5. At least one period source credits artists with originating Turkish corners in their studios. See "The Cozy Corner," *Munsey's Magazine* 15 (May 1896): 245.

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The Evocations of Furnishings

To the late nineteenth-century artists and those who visited their studios, furnishings were more than so many chairs to sit on or vases to admire; they told stories. Virtually every description of studio furnishings adds a historical anecdote concerning the object's provenance, or spins a yarn on the deeds it has witnessed, or inspires a pure daydream. Such embellishments are not confined to studio furnishings; they appear throughout nineteenth-century writing about art and objects, and indeed, appear in fiction as well. Most modern commentators have ignored this literary tactic, but when they have noticed it, they have dismissed it as trivial.[67] A very few commentators have recognized it as a desire to attach meaning to objects, and have sought to interpret classes of objects and their meanings.[68] Undeniably, attaching anecdote and evocation to objects was a leitmotif of the era, carried out both by artists

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67. See the analytical introduction by Lewis and others, *Opulent Interiors*, 19, where Sheldon's tendency to discuss the "associative aspects of art, those extrinsic to the formal properties of the work itself," such as its age, cost, and provenance is described. The authors see in this a tendency to "resort to words as compensation, and even as substitution, for understanding and engagement."

68. Celia Betsky, "Inside the Past: The Interior and the Colonial Revival in American Art and Literature, 1860-1914," in Alan Axelrod, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 241-77, finds in the late nineteenth-century American attachment to colonial items, including those in the studios of Thomas Wilmer Dewing, Frank Benson, and William McGregor Paxton, a desire to find a useable heritage which would confirm the possessors' superior pedigree, and intellectual and moral life. Similarly, Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Künstlers,* especially her chapter on Munich, finds objects and architectural fittings evocative of Germany's Renaissance past an expression of nationalistic impulses. Burns, "The Price of Beauty," in Miller, ed., *American Iconology,* 217-8, notes several instances in which stories or speculations were attached to studio objects. While she feels that they may have been powerful, she concludes that such stories were a part of a sublimated sales pitch made by studios as a whole in the consumerist climate of the era.

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and their studio biographers.[69] Such embellishments went unchallenged; clearly the late nineteenth-century audience found currency in them. I would like to examine a representative sample of these anecdotes and evocations to see what meanings were attached to studio objects in the late nineteenth century.

Many of the objects in studios were personal memorabilia that commemorated people and places. David Maitland Armstrong had his grandfather's army chest in his studio, a "huge and ponderous affair" which had, along with his relative, served the British army in the Revolutionary War.[70] Gifts from her sitters and friends furnished Elizabeth Nourse's studio, including old Holland delft from Dutch peasants, Austrian needlework, and a Russian peasant's sheepskin coat and embroidered undervest.[71] The

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69. To my knowledge, there has been little scholarly interest in the phenomenon of associationism in the nineteenth century, though it occurs widely in commentary on art. Associationism is also a common motif in late nineteenth-century literature. I use the term (as it was used in the nineteenth century) to refer to the theory that mental activity proceeds by generating chains of associations. The visual arts, music, and nature were particularly strong generators of strings of associations. Today, the theory of associationism as it was embodied in the late eighteenth-century writings of philosophers Alexander Gerard and Archibald Allison has been discredited: see George Dickie, *The Century of Taste: The Philosophical Odyssey of Taste in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Modern philosophers note, however, that the study of associationism was an important effort to define taste and the nature of the aesthetic experience. I believe that associationism, like nostaligia and sentimentality, was not only common, but was a deliberately cultivated mental process in the nineteenth century. For inquiries into the operation of nostalgia see Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), and David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). For an inquiry into sentimentality see Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: a Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). For a discussion of associationism and upholstered furniture in the nineteenth century see Grier, *Culture and Comfort,* chap. 1, "Symbols and Sensititivty." The nineteenth-century American manifestations of all three linked phenomena—associationism, nostalgia and sentimentality—deserve further study.

70. Armstrong, *Day Before Yesterday,* 6.

71. M[iller], "Lizzie Nourse."

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visitor might hear straightforward, if colorful, anecdotes concerning these objects, stories from the artist's personal stock of travel and family lore.

The formal properties of studio furnishings, which were apt to be called their "artistic" qualities, prompted a further class of embellishment. In William Merritt Chase's studio in 1881 were "gay-plumaged birds—parrots that talk, parrots that bite, parrots that, in their scarlet and gold, look contemptuously on the quiet grays and browns which visitors wear."[72] George Hitchcock wrote a sensuous description of a tiled fireplace in Holland. Although it does not describe a studio furnishing *per se*, it does articulate the painterly appeal of Dutch artifacts that he highlighted in his own art:

> A bewildering arrangement of brass fire-irons, pewter trenchers, and copper pots, adding the beauty of various metallic colors and textures to that of the shining tiles, and with all these attractions, a perfection of tone, a peculiar charm, the result of long care and cleanliness, fresh and yet rich, bright and yet deep or golden, much as De Hoog must have seen them and as he has indeed painted them.[73]

The reader got more than a simple description of the pure visual appeal of objects; fanciful explanations for their attractiveness were also given.

Studio furnishings that were the products of exotic foreign cultures inspired daydreams. The studio of Harry Humphrey Moore, filled as it was with Islamic artifacts and more, prompted two writers to similar accounts. "As I gazed dreamily about me, I fully expected to find the Oriental hangings thrust suddenly aside to admit either some female slave of surpassing loveliness, or perhaps, the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid himself."[74] The other account similarly dwells on "languorous ladies, with

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72. "Fine Arts. Art and Artists in New York," part 7, 8.

73. George Hitchcock, "The Picturesque Quality of Holland—Interiors and Bric-a-Brac," *Scribner's Magazine* 5, no. 2 (1889): 168-9.

74. "The Studio of H. Humphrey Moore," 345.

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henna-stained fingers and khol-tinged eyes" as well as "swarthy Moors" who run through the halls of the Alhambra to "do battle with the Christian hosts."[75] Interestingly, for both writers the Islamicizing atmosphere provoked first a sexual and, in quick succession, a military fantasy. Given the presence of so many artifacts from foreign cultures that were perceived to have different, and perhaps more permissive moral standards, one might expect to find many flights of fancy revolving around sexual themes.[76] In fact, such reveries do not occur often in the writings of Americans on American studios. Exotic artifacts were more likely to stimulate reveries of the bazaars and cottages, the slaves and peasants, where and for whom the objects had once done service.

Aged objects seemed to carry a freight of stories, which commentators were only too happy to tell. In 1916 in the studio of portraitist Ben Ali Haggin, "a clock chimed delicately from its polychrome cover of blue and pink and ivory—a clock that had warned lovers and hastened executions in Italy centuries ago." In this studio, so we were told, the Jacobean stools in his studio were "really used as coffin rests in the old English days."[77] "Doubtless, could it speak," a Venetian Renaissance chest in William Merritt Chase's studio in 1879, "could tell strange tales; it has heard many a page whisper soft speeches in the ears of pretty, black-eyed tirewomen, men-at-arms telling

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75. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 2, 354.

76. Burns, in "The Price of Beauty," in Miller, ed., *American Iconology,* 217-8 and 232, also cites John Moran's account of Moore's studio for its sexually suggestive tone. Using it and two other citations she generalizes that studios were often sexually suggestive. She goes on to liken studios to department store displays; in both "Oriental eroticism made its seductive appeal, awakening desire and promising fulfillment" (p. 235). I maintain that while promises of seduction and fulfillment made by studio furnishings seem obvious to twentieth-century eyes, such promises seemed less obvious to nineteenth-century viewers. Certainly, sexual innuendo is rare in American writing on American studios.

77. "A Studio that is a Series of Medieval Pictures," *Craftsman* 30 (1916): 160 and 166.

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of their doughty deeds, or assassins plotting some secret crime."[78] "The Puritan forefathers of many of our readers doubtless quaffed mighty measures of sack or old ale ere Puritan came to a synonyme of teetotaler," noted another article concerning English Tobie jugs in John Henry Dolph's studio in 1880.[79] Sometimes the stories surrounding objects were so real they might even be detected by the senses. "A soft odor of dried roseleaves and marechaie powder, spicy and fragrant" hung around the ivory-inlaid *escritoire* in William Stanley Haseltine's studio. "Who was the pretty Louis Quatorze woman that kept her love-letters and love tokens in those perfumed drawers?"[80] Whether these stories originated with the reporters or the artists, surely neither believed them; rather, both chose to suspend disbelief.

American antiques seemed especially potent prompters of stories for American artists and writers. As a writer on early American furniture put it: "It is through its power to exhale the past and the quickening touch it lays on memory, recalling a sentiment here, a tragedy there, that the furniture used by the early settlers of America commands our interest, often our affection."[81] In Daniel Beard's studio in 1895, "possibly the most interesting thing" was a "home-made Confederate flag, made by the loving hands of some Southern mother or sister, with two stripes of Turkey red and one of fine white linen."[82] The flag had been captured by Beard's older brother, a Union soldier, and sent home as a Christmas present. America's heritage was so alluring that when artists happened upon a portion of it preserved, as they did when they discovered

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78. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, 345.

79. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 3, 2.

80. As cited in Simpson, Henderson, and Mills, *Expressions of Place,* 203.

81. "The Furniture of Our Forefathers: How It Embodies the History and Romance of Its Period," *Craftsman* 24, no. 2 (1913): 148.

82. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 6, 179.

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the Holley House in Cos Cob, Connecticut, they moved in. John Twachtman first discovered this colonial house with its Federal additions around 1890, and soon came to base his summer classes at the genteel boarding house. Constance Holley, descended from the "ancient" Philips family and niece of Irving W. Lyons of Hartford, an early collector of American furnishings, became the wife of one of Twachtman's students, Elmer MacRea.[83] The atmosphere was perfect for artists: "The walls are hung with photographs of the old masters; the living room is furnished in mahogany and the dining table is set with old silver and quaint blue china. There are four huge fireplaces where on cold evenings the students gather, telling stories, popping corn and making fudge."[84] The house, as much as Twachtman, was a stimulus for the flourishing of the Cos Cob art colony, whose members included some of America's greatest Impressionist painters.

Conclusions

Late nineteenth-century American artists expended a great deal of effort in decorating the interiors of their studios. While a certain set of architectural specifications including adequate space and north light were essential for virtually all artists, a few could afford more elaborate arrangements, including custom-designed studios in their own houses. The *raison d'être* of aestheticizing studios, however, was not their architecture, but their furnishings. The artists transformed their bare rented rooms with a rich mélange of objects. Certain sorts of furnishings were preferred: heavy carved furniture from the Gothic to the Baroque eras; Oriental objects, especially paper goods and ceramics; textiles of all sorts; metalware, from Middle Eastern lighting

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83. Kathleen Johnson, "Holley House: Revisiting the Cos Cob Art Colony," *Antiques and the Arts Weekly* 28 (September 1990): 166.

84. "An Art School at Cos Cob," *The Art Interchange* 43 (1899): 56; quoted in Susan G. Larkin, *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House* (Greenwich, CT: The Bruce Museum, 1990), 21.

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fixtures to weaponry; plants, stuffed animals and other objects fashioned from the materials of nature; small articles of bric-a-brac and *objets de virtue*; fine art, including copies, prints and original works by artists of all eras; the utilitarian tools of the artist's trade; and a set of clichés. Old objects that showed obvious signs of handcraftmanship were much more highly prized than newly-manufactured objects. With this wealth some artists did little more than create jumbled piles of objects, but most devised still life arrangements of varying degrees of formality within the dense mass of furnishings. Turkish corners comprised of rugs, screens and divans were another way of reaching a crescendo amid the composition. The furnishings were far more than props needed for the production of art, they were prized possessions, chosen and arranged with care.

The furnishings of studios held meanings for the artists and their audiences. Studio furnishings were often presents from friends and sitters, souvenirs of travel, heirlooms, or otherwise mementos of an artist's life. As such, the biography they traced was likely to be conveyed to the studio visitor. Some objects were collected because of their spectacular formal qualities, which were usually highlighted by their placement in the studio. Observers described the colors, textures and shapes in detail, and embellished upon these; a parrot might be invested with the discrimination to "look contemptuously" on drably-dressed visitors. The products of exotic foreign cultures would invariably lead an observer to daydream about the lands from whence the object had come and report on both the object and his daydream. Aged objects prompted a rich stock of stories, ranging from purported fact to pure fancy. Often these stories revolved around the provenance of an object or its original function. Studio furnishings thus suggested shades of meanings, from simple personal anecdote to romantic fairy tale.

It is hard to know if artists suggested these meanings to writers, or if writers made them up. Probably many were told to reporters as they took an informal tour of the studio. Many stories may well reflect the artists' own beliefs about their

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furnishings. Whether the artists originated or encouraged the stories, the documentation makes it clear that artists did not deny them; they were either vocal or silent partners in the telling. As we shall see, all the anecdotes, embellishments and stories were conjured up in the belief that they would make oneself receptive to the suggestiveness of old and exotic things—their "poetry." We will explore the stimulus this was meant to give to the imaginations of artists. Before we do, however, we must examine the other half of the studio story. Amid their resplendent interiors artists lived zealously, putting as much thought into their work and play as their furnishings. We will next turn to an examination of those lives.

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Chapter Three: The Activities in Aestheticizing Studios

What went on in aestheticizing studios? Visitors to the studio must have suspected that more than making art took place in those elaborately furnished spaces. Did artists do business in their studios? Who visited studios, and why? How did the artists entertain themselves? If artists lived in their studios, how did they deal with the practical details of housekeeping? The lives artists led in their studios provoked as many questions as the contents of studios. The activities that took place in studios, however, are not as well-documented as their contents. This is understandable. Artists, accustomed to creating visual images for the public, presented their studios as yet another image to be seen. Their lives, however, were considered more private. In subsequent chapters we shall examine the various media that disseminated information on aestheticizing studios, to determine whether artists were successful in maintaining their privacy, and indeed, whether they cared. First, we shall survey the activities that took place in aestheticizing studios.

Making Art

Though the casual observer probably doubted it, the primary activity which took place in the aestheticizing studio was making art. Most aestheticizing studios were designed to house one artist working alone. This follows from the premise that in this era the production of fine art was understood to be a solitary activity carried out by an inspired genius. In contrast to architecture and most decorative arts, only the fine arts of painting and sculpture were executed by one person who conceived the work and carried it through to its completion. The other arts involved essential partners and

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subordinates, and even industrial methods of production. Whether he worked with oil paints, watercolor, etching plates, sketch paper or clay, the artist put his hand to the raw materials of his craft in the aestheticizing studio. The artist might on occasion have the company of models, or even assistants who set the palette, prepared the clay, cleaned brushes and performed like tasks. In essence, however, the studio housed only one person: the artist.

On rare occasions, simultaneous work or even collaborative efforts took place in the studio. For example, Dora Wheeler loaned artists her studio when they made extended visits from abroad. In this manner, Wheeler shared her working space with Anders Zorn and Hubert von Herkomer, although when John Singer Sargent used it, the space was "free from bric-a-brac and hangings, and [was] evidently a workroom and nothing more."[1] The King Memorial (1878, Island Cemetery, Newport, RI), a funerary monument designed by John La Farge and executed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, was developed in 1876 in La Farge's studios in Newport and New York City.[2] Saint-Gaudens seems to have been especially social, for when he worked on the portrait bas-relief of the writer Robert Louis Stevenson, the painter Will Low, who had introduced them, kept them company and read aloud.[3] Even these incidents of cooperation illustrate that, when work was being carried out, studios were essentially private spaces rarely opened to artistic collaborators.

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1. [Untitled article], *The Studio* 5 no. 25 (1890): 249, and Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* 260-1.

2. Armstrong, *Day Before Yesterday,* 263; Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed., *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens,* 2 vols. (New York: Century, 1913), vol. 1, 161 and 164-5; also John Dryfhout, *The Work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1982), 90.

3. Low, *A Chronicle of Friendships,* 387-95.

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Teaching

Many late nineteenth-century American artists made a significant portion of their living from teaching, so it is not surprising to find that art instruction was carried out in the aestheticizing studio. Before the establishment of the state-sponsored systems of instruction, such as the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and the Royal Academy of Munich, all instruction in the arts was at the hand of the master, in his studio or workshop. By the second half of the nineteenth century, art instruction in America and in Europe for those hoping to become professional artists was, in large measure, co-opted by art schools. Whether these were large public institutions such as the Ecole, or small privately-run establishments such as the Cowles Art School in Boston, classes convened in bare rooms that had little decorative appeal.[4] For example, even William Merritt Chase's classes at his own New York School of Art met in unadorned rooms.[5]

Alternatively, some students sought private lessons with a master, or at least smaller classes, and it is this sort of instruction that took place in the aestheticizing studio. The story of who received training in aestheticizing studios is bound up with the changing definitions of professional and amateur artists in the late nineteenth century. The numbers of Americans receiving art instruction swelled in the era, and women made up much of this influx.[6] Both women and men art students had many potential roles open to them: that of the painter, sculptor, illustrator, or designer who earned a

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4. See C. Danforth, "Jottings from the Art Schools," *The Art Amateur* 30, no. 5 (1894): 137, which is a comparison of the Cowles Art School and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, by someone who had been a pupil of both.

5. Barbara Dayer Gallati, *William Merritt Chase* (New York and Washington, DC: Harry N. Abrams, in association with The National Museum of American Art, 1995), 37.

6. See Kirsten N. Swinth, "Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of a Professional Ideal in American Art, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1995), Introduction.

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living making art; and that of the dilettante, the man or woman with leisure to make art for their own satisfaction. As modern scholars have shown, the boundaries between professional and amateur artists were not always clearly drawn, and art students of all sorts mingled in the schools even as the schools themselves began to differentiate between the training of amateurs and professionals.[7] Currently, neither modern scholarship nor contemporary documentation indicates whether amateurs or professionals were more likely to receive instruction in private studios. Simply because women constituted a large part of the art student population in the late nineteenth century, and because many probably hoped to combine the status of amateur artist with marriage, it seems reasonable to assume that they, more often than men, sought the greater flexibility of private instruction in studios. As discussed in Chapter One, William Morris Hunt taught women students in his proto-aestheticizing studio in the Mercantile Building in Boston until it burned in 1872. The class apparently continued for several years in his other Boston studios. In the seven years the class operated, more than fifty women were enrolled.[8] Hunt set a precedent—he made instruction for women pupils in the private studio a respectable option. Probably, budding amateurs and professionals of both sexes received instruction in the basic skills of drawing, painting and sculpting that the inhabitants of aestheticizing studios could provide.

Notices for art instruction in private studios commonly appeared in art directories, guide books, and in the classified sections of art magazines. Ross Turner and Helen Knowlton, along with many other Boston artists, advertised their services in

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7. See Swinth, "Painting Professionals," chap. 1; Diana Korzenik, "The Art Education of Working Women, 1873-1903," in Alicia Faxon and Sylvia Moore, eds., *Pilgrims and Pioneers: New England Women in the Arts* (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1987), 32-41; and Yount, "'Give the People What They Want,'" especially chap. 4.

8. Webster, *William Morris Hunt,* 94.

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a Boston guidebook.[9] Walter Satterlee offered instruction for both men and women in his YMCA studio in New York, which had all the appropriate furnishings: a big chest, fur rugs, armor, and a fishnet hung with glass balls.[10] Rhoda Holmes Nicholls taught classes in the Sherwood Building and later in a studio on Twentieth Street in New York. Her studio was "heaped about with a confusion of stuffs and artistic lumber, and with a small space in the center cleared away, where she worked with tremendous industry and energy, producing medal pictures or teaching the young idea how to paint, in classes of respectful and admiring women."[11] Most classes conducted by William Merritt Chase, who was well-known not only as a teacher, but as a teacher of women, met in institutional settings such as the Art Students League.[12] Chase also gave private lessons, and some percentage of these were probably conducted in his own studios in the Tenth Street Building and in Shinnecock, New York.[13] Thus the evidence indicates that at least some private art instruction went on in aestheticizing studios, and more women students than men were probably found there.

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9. *Boston Art Guide and Artists' Directory* (Boston: The Wheat Publishing Company, 1893), 66.

10. See Oaklander, "Young Men's Christian Association Building," 19, and Clarence Cook, "Shall Our Rooms Be Artistic or Stylish?" *The Monthly Illustrator* 5 (1895): 52-7.

11. Bisland,"The Studios of New York," 14.

12. For Chase as a teacher see Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* chap. 10; Ronald G. Pisano, *The Students of William Merritt Chase* (Huntington, NY: The Heckscher Museum, 1973); and Keith L. Bryant Jr., *William Merritt Chase: A Genteel Bohemian* (Columbia MI: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 170, and chap. 6 passim.

13. Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase*, 58 and 165, records the presence of pupils in Chase's studio, as opposed to his own private school or the institutions where he taught, but few sources note this distinction.

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Forming Art Institutions

The aestheticizing studio was also the site where artists' clubs and organizations of all sorts were formed. The story of the formation of the Society of American Artists has been told often, both in the nineteenth century and in modern scholarship, but it bears repeating that the organization was born in a studio.[14] On 1 June 1877, a group of artists, disaffected with the jurying done for the recent National Academy of Design exhibition, gathered at the Gilders's studio house and the Society grew out of that meeting. At least some of the further meetings of the Society were held in Chase's studio.[15] The Society's primary purpose was to sponsor exhibitions, and these immediately became identified with the "new" art, that made by younger, mostly European-trained artists, the very group that kept aestheticizing studios.

The well-known story of the Tile Club need not be repeated here, but the fact that its meetings were held in studios can be underscored.[16] The Club first met in 1877, rotating among the members' studios, and from 1881 to 1887 a room in the shared studio of Edwin Austin Abbey and Alfred Parsons, at 58 1/2 West Tenth Street, was devoted to the Club. The group of artists and writers would gather to talk, to eat the refreshments provided by the host, and to paint tiles, which became the property of the host at the end of the evening. The Club gave the artists a chance to do decorative

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14. For nineteenth-century sources see: Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder,* 79-82; Low, *A Chronicle of Friendships,* 233-8; and Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 1, 184-9. For modern scholarship see Zalesch, "Competition and Conflict"; Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 29-34; and Jennifer A. Martin Beinenstock, "The Formation and Early Years of the Society of American Artists 1878-1884" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1983).

15. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 40.

16. For information on the Tile Club see Burke and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty,* 296-7, and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 76-81.

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work, and the artists initially publicized their versatility through a series of magazine articles on the Club's activities and later through a deluxe book.

The Boston Art Students' Association was founded in 1879 to give the alumni of the new Boston Museum School the opportunity to continue their friendships and to show their art in annual exhibitions.[17] Whether this combination alumni and professional organization was actually founded in a studio is not recorded, but studios did nurture the organization. At first the Association met in the basement of the Museum, but finding the rooms uncongenial, the club soon moved to Frederic Crowninshield's studio, where it met for many years. In other years, the studio of Madaline Winne and Anne C. Putnam, a converted two-story stable on Branch Street, served as a meeting place. The Association broadened its membership to all artists in 1891, and was instrumental in opening the Grundmann Studio Building in 1893, which became the organization's home. In 1901 the Boston Art Students' Association became the Copley Society, which still exists and still sponsors exhibitions.

The Salmagundi Club, founded in 1871 as "the Sketch Club," offered artists the opportunity to socialize and sketch on a topic chosen by the assembly.[18] The Salmagundi's annual Black and White exhibition, begun in 1874, gave its members the opportunity to show their drawings and etchings. The exhibitions were well-attended though not financially successful. Founded before the aestheticizing studio era, the Club's meetings rotated among various members' studios until 1888. As studios became more aestheticized, the Club found itself meeting in better-furnished

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17. See *The Copley Society of Boston—The First Hundred Years in Review* (Boston: The Copley Society, 1982); and H. Winthrop Peirce, *Early Days of The Copley Society—Formerly the Boston Art Students' Association 1879-1891* (Boston: The Rockwell and Churchill Press, 1903), especially pp. 21-5.

18. Unless otherwise noted, historical facts concerning the Salmagundi Club have been drawn from William Henry Shelton, *The Salmagundi Club* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919).

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surroundings. Included among the studios used by the Club during the 1880s were those of Milton Burns [FIGURE 23], the marine painter noted in Chapter One for his aestheticizing studio; [19] and photographer Napoleon Sarony, a Tile Club member, and noted member of New York's art world.[20] Sarony's studio was a veritable summary of the aestheticizing studio; it held Russian sleighs, Egyptian mummies, Indian pottery, Japanese armor, Medieval arms, statuary and Eastern draperies. In January of 1888 the Club rented rooms, and by 1895 it purchased the home of sculptor John Rogers, turning it into a clubhouse. The rented rooms and the house were decorated by the artists in much the same way that their studios were decorated, with odd items like fishnets, red calico, and brass cuspidors that hung from the ceiling. The Club's signature drink, a mixture of coffee and chocolate, was in keeping with the Club's name, which (via François Rabelais and Washington Irving) denotes a highly-seasoned mixture. In the 1880s and 1890s the Salmagundi Club promoted an image of itself as a fun-loving but hard-working artists' organization.

The organization that came to be called the American Fine Arts Society germinated in William Merritt Chase's studio in 1889.[21] Realizing that there was "in this country a distinct modern art movement" and that it "would come into greater prominence and favor with the public if these younger organizations were united in cooperation with a permanent domicile of their own," the young painter Howard Russell Butler formulated a plan for the erection of a building to house exhibition

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19. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life," 397, notes that the Club was at that time meeting in the studio of a "marine painter in Astor Place." Burns was documented as a long-standing member of the Club, and his studio was in Astor Place.

20. Shelton, *The Salmagundi Club,* 41.

21. The history of the American Fine Arts Society is charted in Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 63-5.

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galleries and administrative rooms for a coalition of art organizations.[22] He first presented the plan to a group in Chase's studio, then at meetings of the Society of American Artists, the Art Students League and the Architectural League. These organizations, plus the New York Art Guild and the Society of Painters in Pastel, joined forces, and their building on Fifty-seventh Street between Broadway and Seventh Avenue was opened in 1892. Eventually the American Institute of Architects, the American Society of Mural Painters, the Artists Aid Society, the New York Watercolor Club, the American Water Color Society and the American Federation of Arts and School Art League also had headquarters there, and the gallery became an important exhibition space not only for the member organizations, but for others, who rented it.

Whether or not an organization had been founded in an aestheticizing studio, its members apparently felt that it ought to have been. An early 1880s exhibition catalog of the New York Etching Club described the first meeting of the four-year old organization:

> The scene was no doubt fittingly picturesque. . . . Aloft, a great skylight is filled with dusky gloom; remote corners recede into profound shadow; easels loom up, bearing vaguely-defined work in progress; screens and hangings, rugs, bric-à-brac, and all the aesthetic properties that we may believe to be the correct furniture of such a place, assume proper and subordinate relations. Our imagination having furnished the background, let us go on with the history.[23]

Like the Tile Club, the members of the Etching Club met to take on a new medium, and they made etchings in each other's company.

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22. Howard Russell Butler, "Autobiography," typescript loaned to the Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, 43; quoted in Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 64.

23. "Art and Art-Life in New York," *Lippincott's Magazine,* n.s., 3 (1882): 603. The article quoted from the current catalog of the New York Etching Club, which held yearly exhibitions at the National Academy of Design in conjunction with the American Watercolor Society.

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Selling and Visiting

Of necessity, aestheticizing studios functioned as salesrooms for American artists. The new generation of cosmopolitan artists found the market for their art conditioned by a number of factors. When the aestheticizing studio era began, many collectors were recovering from the financial panic of 1873, then another crisis in 1893 depressed the art market. Furthermore, few collectors focussed solely on the work of American painters and sculptors. As noted in Chapter Two, Americans collected the decorative arts of all eras, as well as works by nineteenth-century European artists.[24] Even Thomas B. Clarke, singular in his devotion to American art, also collected antiquities, Oriental art and other decorative arts.[25] While the claim made by many American artists and their supporters that "in the flush period of inflation that followed the Civil War, the *nouveaux riches* who suddenly appeared as art collectors ignored the American artists, buying exclusively the work of foreign painters" was an exaggeration, it contained a core of truth.[26] As many scholars have noted, the new American magnates of the late nineteenth century did purchase much European art, exerting a considerable influence on contemporary European artists and the art market.[27] In short,

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24. See Ayers, "The Domestic Museum in Manhattan," which documents the diverse collections of William H. Vanderbilt; Caroline and William Astor; Henry G. Marquand; J. Pierpont Morgan; Henry and Louise Havemeyer; Harry P. and Gertrude Whitney; Collis and Arabella Huntington; and Benjamin Altman and Henry Clay Frick.

25. See H. Barbara Weinberg, "Thomas B. Clarke: Foremost Patron of American Art from 1872 to 1899," *American Art Journal* 8, no. 1 (1976): 54. O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty,*
offers a good index to the diversity of objects in American collections at the beginning of the aestheticizing studio era, and shows that American artists too, were catholic in their tastes.

26. William Henry Shelton, "Artist Life in the Days of Oliver Horn," *The Critic*, 43 (July 1903): 36.

27. For America's influence on Salon artists see Albert Boime, "America's Purchasing Power and the Evolution of European Art in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Francis

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American painters and sculptors found themselves competing in a crowded marketplace. To understand how American artists made their aestheticizing studios a part of that marketplace it is necessary to first examine the alternative sales devices they could exploit, and how these alternatives developed.

Few among the new generation of cosmopolitan American painters and sculptors could count on art dealers to sell their work. In the beginning of the aestheticizing studio era, the prominent dealers carried European art almost exclusively.[28] Only a few of them would act as regular agents for a handful of American artists and none would hold a stock of finished artworks.[29] The dealer who did frequent studios was satirized in 1880. He "never pays cash," instead, he "will exchange anything for a picture—a stem-winding watch, a diamond solitaire, a spavined horse, a tombstone."[30] Although art magazines encouraged patrons to visit the studios themselves and to buy directly from the easels, thus saving both buyers and sellers a dealer's commission, few did in this era.[31] When a buyer did turn up, as one did in Dora Wheeler's studio in the early 1880s, he proved to be not a patron, but the

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Haskell, ed., *Saloni, Gallerie, Musei e loro Influenza sullo Sviluppo dell'Arte dei Secoli XIX e XX,* Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, Bologna, 1979, 123-39; for America's influence on the Impressionists and more radical painters see Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin de Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

28. "Commerce in Art," *New York Times*, 26 February 1882, 6, and B. Sienna, "Picture Buying and Selling," *The Art Union* 1, no. 3 (1884): 71.

29. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," chap. 4.

30. John Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 2, *Art Journal* (New York) 7 (1881), 123.

31. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 21-2.

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dealer Samuel P. Avery, one of the few who occasionally sold American art.[32] Indeed, the market for American art was so undeveloped that some considered Clarke the art patron a dealer, simply because of the selling, trading, and exchanging he executed in the course of his collecting.[33] Not until the 1890s were more dealers willing to carry American paintings, with one, William Macbeth, opening a gallery in 1892 that was for some years devoted solely to American art.[34]

Another method artists could use to sell their work was the auction, but this often proved unsatisfactory. When they were in financial distress or needed a quantity of cash, artists often offered a large stock of their pictures in a single auction. Because this practice flooded the market, it predictably and invariably depressed the value of that artist's work. In the 1880s Charles F. Libbie and Leonard and Company in Boston and in the 1890s Orties and Company and James P. Silo in New York City held periodic sales which contained new work by many different American artists.[35] These sales proved more successful, but auctions never became a dependable source of income for artists.

The American Art Association, a hybrid organization that was part auction house, part dealer, and part altruistic promoter of American art through its Prize Fund Exhibitions, played an important role in increasing the visibility of the new generation of cosmopolitan artists. As Gerald Bolas's recent dissertation on the Association has made clear, the market for art in America in the 1880s and 1890s was becoming

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32. Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life.* 255-6. The date of this sale is deduced from its discussion along with the other affairs of the Associated Artists, which existed from 1879-83. Interestingly, Dora used the money from the sale to buy antique oak chests and Indian teak furniture in England.

33. Weinberg, "Thomas B. Clarke," 53.

34. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 201.

35. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 56.

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increasingly complex.[36] From 1879 to 1882 the forerunner of the American Art Association, an organization called the American Art Gallery, bought outright and sold on commission the work of established and younger American artists and exhibited it for sale in a gallery in New York City. What did not sell was consigned to Leavitt's Gallery to be auctioned. In 1883 the principals in the organization changed, and it became the American Art Association, calling itself an "educational institution."[37] In its gallery it now staged exhibitions of art on loan and offered works for sale. While the organization listed itself in a directory as a gallery exhibiting American art solely, this was never truly the case, since it also showed Oriental and European art.[38]

From 1885 to 1889 the Association sponsored the Prize Fund Exhibition. The exhibition was composed of submissions by American artists, and from among them a jury picked a number of prize winners, who were awarded $2,000 to $2,500, which came from a fund contributed by wealthy patrons of American art. The winning art was donated by the Association to deserving institutions, usually fledgling museums, and the exhibition circulated to the cities that received the prizes. At the same time that the Association was displaying American art and organizing the Prize Fund Exhibition, it became a more prominent auction house, under the leadership of Thomas Kirby, one of the partners. While these auctions were prestigious affairs, in contrast to the tone of earlier auctions in America, they did little to promote American art specifically since they contained art of all sorts.[39] By 1895 all other activities of the Association ceased

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36. Gerald Bolas, "The Early Years of The American Art Association, 1879-1900" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1998).

37. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 194.

38. Sylvester Rosa Koehler, *The United States Art Directory and Year Book* (New York: Cassell, 1884), 126.

39. Bolas, "The Early Years," chap. 17.

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and it became solely an auction house. By all accounts the Prize Fund Exhibitions gave much encouragement to younger American artists, but the mixed motives of the Association always engendered mistrust from the artists.[40]

Because neither dealers nor auction houses could provide a stable source of income for them, American artists had to patch together a living from other sources. They did so from the occasional sale of individual works of art, from teaching, from the sale of illustrations to popular magazines, and from activities unconnected to art. To improve their sales opportunities, artists worked hard to expose their work in public venues where it would be offered for sale. They did this by taking advantage of existing artists' organizations with their regularly scheduled exhibitions, by forming other artists' organizations which held exhibitions, and by participating in exhibitions held under other auspices.

Before the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the preeminent artists' organization was the National Academy of Design, and its annual spring exhibition was by far the most important exhibition opportunity for American artists. The importance of this institution never declined, and most of the younger generation of European-trained artists took every opportunity they could to exhibit there, but they also invented other venues for themselves. As previously discussed, the Society of American Artists was one such venue.[41] It held exhibitions almost every year between 1878 and 1886, and frequently thereafter until it was merged with the Art Students League in 1906.[42] The short-lived American Art Union (which took the name of an organization that had

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40. See Bolas, "The Early Years," 177-96, for an account of the waxing and waning of the Prize Fund Exhibitions.

41. See Zalesch, "Competition and Conflict," for a discussion of the relationship between the Society of American Artists and the National Academy of Design.

42. Beinenstock, "Formation and Early Years," 188-93, discusses the later years of the organization.

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flourished in the 1840s) was another exhibition venue.[43] In 1883 a group of artists formed the organization, which established a permanent gallery of American art in New York City, organized exhibitions which traveled to other cities, and issued engravings and an art journal. None of these activities proved remunerative, and the organization was disbanded around 1887. In that year the Salmagundi Club expanded its well-known "Black and White" exhibitions to include work in all media, and these, while juried, were open to all American artists.[44] The Ten American Painters, a coalition of artists many of whom often worked in an Impressionist style, held yearly exhibitions between 1898 and 1906 in New York City.[45] Outside of New York City, many cities had art clubs which were either separate institutions or affiliated with an art school or a museum; Sylvester Rosa Koehler's *United States Art Directory and Year Book* for 1883-4 lists over sixty such organizations which held art exhibitions of some sort.[46] Although few of these clubs were interested solely in the work of living American artists, they sometimes exhibited it.

In addition to these generalist organizations, others were devoted to exhibiting work done in specialist media. The American Watercolor Society, which had been holding exhibitions since 1866, continued to do so, and the New York Etching Club, already described, held at least a few exhibitions in conjunction with the Society in the 1880s.[47] The Salmagundi Club's annual Black and White exhibition was held from

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43. For facts on the American Art Union see Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 42-50.

44. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 109-13.

45. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 58-62.

46. Koehler, *Art Directory,* (1884), 215-7.

47. "Art and Art-Life," 603; Koehler, *Art Directory,* (1884), 124; and Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 27.

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1878 to 1887.[48] The Society of Painters in Pastel held four exhibitions between 1884 and 1890.[49]

Furthermore, artists could exhibit their works in a heterogeneous mix of gentlemen's clubs and loan shows. The Century Club and the Union League Club in New York City, important in the 1860s as places where artists and patrons could associate as equals, thrived into the 1890s. These clubs sponsored art exhibitions which often mixed loans with work borrowed directly from artists. The Lotus Club, founded in New York in 1870 by journalists and artists, also held exhibitions. At all these exhibitions works that had been submitted by artists were discretely understood to be for sale.[50] The era saw an increasing number of important fund-raising exhibitions and international and national exhibitions, such as the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition held in New York City in 1883, and the Universal Exposition held in Paris in 1889.[51] For the fine arts section of these exhibitions, works were borrowed from private collectors and artists. While the art on view was not expressly offered for sale, the exhibitions did provide exposure.

The improved situation for the sale of American art was also a more complex one. In the 1860s and 1870s a prospective patron could visit one studio building (the Tenth Street) and see one exhibition (the annual at the National Academy of Design) and feel that he had surveyed current American art. Instead, in the 1880s and 1890s the artists were to be found all over town, in other American cities, and even abroad. Their works were sometimes at dealers and in auctions, but were more frequently to be found

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48. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 109-10.

49. Dianne H. Pilgrim, "The Revival of Pastels in Nineteenth-Century America: The Society of Painters in Pastel," *American Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (1978): 43-62.

50. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," chap. 2, makes this clear.

51. O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty*, and Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889.*

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in exhibitions great and small, where they were either openly offered for sale or might be made available upon inquiry.

Even as opportunities to present their art to the world increased, artists took measures to bring the world to their studios. They did so by gradually refashioning and redefining the mechanisms which had always brought prospective patrons to their doors. The old and intertwined practices of studio receptions and studio visiting evolved as the art world decentralized and became more dynamic.

As discussed in Chapter One, large public receptions had long been a feature of the American and British art scenes, and many of them were timed to coincide with the major annual exhibitions. From the late 1850s until the 1870s, such receptions were held with some regularity, and they usually occurred in studio buildings, including Dodworth's Dancing Academy, the Tenth Street Studio Building, and the YMCA Building in New York City, as well as the Studio Building and the Mercantile Building in Boston.[52] A large hall was a feature of most of these buildings, and for receptions artists used it and the passageways for exhibitions of their own current work. Moreover, their exhibitions were sometimes augmented with other contemporary or historical works. Many of the receptions at Dodworth's also featured music. The crowd viewed the exhibition, and often individual studios were open as well. These receptions were fashionable events. A writer commenting on New York art receptions in 1860 felt that they were staged simply for the artists to garner praise. "To find fault

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52. See "The Artists' Receptions," *The Crayon* 5 (February 1858): 59; "The Artists' Reception," *The Crayon* 5 (April 1858):114-5; "Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 6 (June 1859): 194-5; "Receptions," *The Crayon* 6 (April 1859): 132; "New York," *The Crayon* 7 (March 1860): 83; "Sketchings—Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 7 (April 1860): 112-3; and Walter Montgomery, ed., *American Art and American Art Collections,* 2 vols. (Boston: E. W. Walker, 1889), vol. 1, 85-6. The contemporary source "Exhibitions and Sales," *The American Art Review* 2, 1st division (1881): 253, provides an interesting summary of artists' receptions, although it glosses over dates. Modern sources also note these receptions, including Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA, 1869-1903," 18-9, and Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 92-102.

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with a picture on the walls would be like finding fault with the wine at the table of a generous host."[53] The writer went on: "This is our opinion of 'Artist's Receptions,' in an artistic sense. Sociably they are well enough, particularly for those who like to be placed in the closest possible proximity to crinoline and barber's perfume."[54] Figure 44, which shows a Tenth Street Studio reception in 1869, reinforces this point; the illustrator paid as much attention to the clothing on the women as the paintings on the walls.

The popularity of these events declined, and fewer were held through the 1870s, until by 1877 it was said that tickets to the event were being passed along to the servants.[55] Less formal building-wide open houses also were held in the 1860s in Tenth Street and elsewhere, often on Saturdays.[56] By the mid-1870s these too occurred less often and were less well-attended, and eventually, they were "no longer the fashion."[57]

Instead of abandoning group receptions and open houses, the artists of the aestheticizing studios changed the nature of these events. The focus was no longer on the central exhibition and the crush of a fashionable crowd; it now shifted to the individual studios, where each artist would make his own arrangements to show off his works. Within a two-week period in 1881, artists in three different studio buildings in New York revived the custom of studio receptions. At Tenth Street and the YMCA the

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53. "Art Gossip," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (1860): 34.

54. "Art Gossip," 34.

55. E. T. L., "Studio Life in New York," 268.

56. See Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 18; Oaklander, "Young Men's Christian Association Building," 25; Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 97-8; and Almira B. Fenno-Gendrot, *Artists I Have Known* (Boston: The Warren Press, 1923), 11, for the Studio Building in Boston.

57. E. T. L., "Studio Life in New York," 267. See also Skalet, "The Market for American Painting," 18, and Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 102-3.

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artists "clubbed together" to defray costs and made a special exhibition of their art in the halls and gallery.[58] The artists of the Sherwood Building, which had no central exhibition space, appointed a Committee of Arrangements and issued 1,400 cards of invitation. All the receptions were well-attended – four thousand came to the Sherwood Building – and the events received extensive press coverage. Two further documented receptions were held at the YMCA in 1882 and 1883, and the Sherwood Building artists held several more receptions in the 1880s.[59]

In time, however, the artists stopped hosting these large-scale receptions apparently because they resulted in few sales. After the first Sherwood Building reception in 1881 resident J. Carroll Beckwith, although "dead with fatigue" exalted: "The house has been crowded with the best people of NY. I am sure it has done my reputation more good than any academy exhibition." By 1886, however, he was dreading the preparations for the next reception, saying, "They never brought me any money and that is what I need now." As one newspaper account noted, the artists were "making themselves felt as a social body" by hosting receptions, but they were not selling their art.[60] Large group receptions were not worth the trouble it took to organize them.

The public, however, liked these receptions, as a writer for *The Art Union*, the publication of the short-lived art organization noted:

> It seems strange to the writer that artists' receptions are not more general and more frequent especially the 'studio-building receptions.' . . . The era of general 'studio visiting' seems almost to have departed. . . . Many of the artists are now setting apart certain days for the reception of visitors, upon these grounds.

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58. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 103-4, and "Art Notes—Artists' Receptions," *Art Journal* (New York) 7 (1881): 93-4.

59. Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 13-4, and Oaklander, " Young Men's Christian Association Building," 25.

60. Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 14.

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> However, though the picture buying public may be invited to call on such days, persons are more easily attracted for the first time by a studio reception, particularly when a large number of studios can be visited without special calls upon each artist.[61]

In these transitional times both the artists and their potential patrons wanted to simplify and clarify their roles. The public wanted to the convenience of seeing a large quantity of art without making formal calls upon the artists; the artists wanted to introduce themselves and their work without too much disruption to their studios and their psyches.

The large studio receptions, however, no longer served either group. By the late 1880s communal receptions were largely abandoned, though a few more were held in later years. The artists of the Holbein Studios on West Fifty-fifth Street in New York City gave one March 10 and 11, 1890, and the artists of 96 Fifth Avenue gave one on November 21, 1891.[62] By 1897, when the occupants of the Tenth Street Studio Building held a reception, it was described as "a delightful old-time custom."[63]

Evidence for the changing nature of building-wide open houses is provided by the invitation cards for two receptions: one in the Harcourt Studios in Boston in 1890,[64] and the other in the Holbein Studios in 1892 in New York City [FIGURE 45]. Apparently the only cooperative aspect of the receptions were the cards themselves. Someone attending this type of "reception" would not have a sense of a large gathering or an organized exhibition, but would remember travelling from room to room,

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61. "The Artists' Receptions," *The Art Union* 1, no. 3 (1884): 69.

62. See "American Notes," *The Studio* 5, (15 March 1890): 154, and "American Notes," *The Studio* 7, no. 1 (1891): 13.

63. Charles H. Israels, "With the Artists," *Home and Country* 14, no. 1 (1897): 115-22.

64. The artists of the Harcourt Building invited visitors to their studios on the afternoons of Saturday 6 December, Monday 8 December, and Tuesday 9 December, 1890. The Harcourt invitation is at the Art Department, Boston Public Library.

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experiencing each studio as a discrete and distinct event. Such was the case when a reporter attended a group reception at the Grundmann Studios in Boston in 1898, and marveled not at people, but at the ingenious housekeeping arrangements, the furnishings, and the art on display in each studio.[65]

While the importance of building-wide receptions declined, artists stepped up efforts to invite the public into their individual studios more directly. As the 1884 article in *The Art Union* noted, artists found it necessary to establish fixed hours when they could be found in their studios, ready to receive visitors. Artists began to list their addresses in articles on their work so that members of the public could find their way to the studios.[66] Guide books and artists' directories also gave the addresses for artists, as well as their visiting hours.[67] One art magazine, *The Studio*, printed artists' addresses in a column called "Studio Cards" which appeared regularly.[68] Many artists undoubtedly adopted the device that Eulabee Dix, a portrait miniaturist, used. She had a card printed that gave her address at the Carnegie Hall studios and listed her receiving hours: Fridays, 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.[69]

And visit the public did. With the informal structure of the "at home" days and published addresses, which were supplemented by more formal receptions in each

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65. "Grundmann Studios," 14.

66. "Fine Arts" discusses the work of approximately 70 artists and is careful to list the address of each.

67. For New York City, see *New York Art Guide,* and *The Artists* [sic] *Year Book* (Chicago: The Art League Publishing Association, 1905). For Boston see Smith, *Cyclopedia*; [Edwin Monroe] Bacon, *Bacon's Dictionary of Boston* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886); and *King's How to See Boston* (Boston: Macullan, Parker, 1895).

68. "Studio Cards," *The Studio* 2, no. 51 (1883): 294.

69. Anne Sue Hirshorn, "The Portrait Miniatures of Eulabee Dix," *Antiques Magazine*, November 1994, 664, n. 7.

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artist's space, visitors found their way to the studios. Many different sorts of people made studio visits, and their roles might change over time, even over the course of a studio visit. Prospective students, art enthusiasts, potential patrons, and the curious all came. A woman who had come to the studio with a party of ladies might be moved to commission a portrait. An admirer might become a student. Artists had to make themselves available to all, not knowing the outcome of a call. Simple socializing, mining for prospective patrons, and talk of technique for students all became intermingled in the studio visit.

As *The Art Union* hoped, the most common way the public became acquainted with an aestheticizing studio was by attending a small reception; not a group reception, but one hosted by a single artist. Often this took the form of afternoon tea. While genuine hospitality and good company were offered as they were at tea served in a private house, many found that studio teas were made more theatrical by exotic decor, art talk, and unusual refreshments. An artist's reception often attracted the best society. In William Dean Howells's *Indian Summer* (1886), the protagonist, Mr. Colville, attends the reception in Florence, Italy, of an artist of "distinct social importance," where "one was sure at least to meet the nicest people," in order that the heroine "might see that he was not the outlaw, the Bohemian, he must sometimes have appeared to her."[70] The typical artist's reception must have looked something like the occasion captured in a photograph of Cecilia Beaux's studio, around 1890 [FIGURE 46]. Here Beaux serves tea using a cobbled-together service, while her studio mate, Emma Leavitt, looks on.

When potential patrons came to these receptions, the artist had to balance business and social interests. In Henry B. Fuller's 1901 story "Little Grady vs. the

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70. William Dean Howells, *Indian Summer* (Boston, Ticknor, 1886; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 129-30.

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Grindstone," Jeremiah McNulty, a bank director responsible for commissioning a mural, went to a reception in the studio of Daffington Dill and found all his senses assaulted. "His eyes were still blinking at the duskiness of the place, his nose was still sniffing the curious odor of the burning pastilles, and his ears were still full of the low-voiced chatter of a swarm of idle fashionables." Worse, the artist "could not be brought down to business. He dodged; he slipped away; he procrastinated; . . . he wouldn't come within a mile of a contract." As McNulty's more artistically-aware colleague remarked, "You can't expect anything different on an 'afternoon.'"[71]

Most sales were, instead, probably made in a private studio. In 1892, after making a sale to a chance visitor, Beckwith noted in his diary that this was only the third time in his career that such an unanticipated sale had occurred.[72] Instead, the delicate business of closing a sale was probably most often conducted by the patron and the artist after a ritualized meeting of the two. Such transactions are infrequently recorded. John Sherwood, the owner of the Sherwood Studio Building, bought art during studio visits, and Thomas B. Clarke purchased much art directly from artists, presumably through deals made in the studio.[73] Women also seem to have purchased art directly from artists in the studio; in any case, the sparse documentation available indicates that no strictures prevented such transactions.[74] As Thomas Kirby, one of the

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71. Fuller, *Under the Skylights*, 180-1.

72. Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 17, n. 43.

73. Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 6. The checklist of paintings owned by Clarke, as listed in Weinberg, "Thomas B. Clarke," 71-83, shows that a significant percentage of works were bought directly from the artist.

74. The collection of satirical cartoons published by Burns in *Inventing the Modern Artist*, shows women and men as potential patrons, and in the process of making purchases. The cartoons make fun of the critical faculties of both genders (see especially figs. 106, 108 and 116). Some women were noted collectors in the era, clearly making buying decisions independently of their husbands; see Erica Hirshler, "The Great Collectors, Isabella Steward Gardner and her Sisters," in Faxon and Moore,

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principals of the American Art Association noted, the first incarnation of the organization failed because artists cut deals in their studios that undermined gallery price structures.[75] Clearly, private purchases in studios were regular occurrences.

Visitors took advantage of artists' calling hours and came to studios on their own, and artists were obliged to entertain them. Artists often had good-humored if sarcastic words about their guests. Hudson River School landscapist Frederic Edwin Church, who himself had been pestered by studio visitors in the 1860s,[76] joked about the new generation of studio habitués. Writing to his friend, Erastus Dow Palmer, the sculptor and father of painter Walter Launt Palmer, in 1885, Church said: "Walter's 'teas' are a feature evidently, in Albany life—Years later there will be a long row of lean spinsters—now sweet young ladies—who will recall with pleasure the enjoyment of the famous 5 o'clock Teas—but will execrate the china weeds which destroyed their health and condemned them to blessed singleness."[77] At the root of artists' complaints was disappointment at their visitors' ignorance of art. Hamor, the landscapist in the novel *Guenn*, found the company of his unpretentious Breton model preferable to that of his usual lady visitors, who tried to say something clever, "using stereotyped art

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eds., *Pilgrims and Pioneers*, 24-31, among other sources documenting women collectors of American art. In a later chapter I will discuss American artists' paintings of women as patrons.

75. Bolas, "The Early Years," 115.

76. See the letter from Frederic Edwin Church to William Osborn, 13 January 1869, typescript copy of a lost original, Estate of Sally Church Papers, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

77. Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 26 February 1885, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

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phrases which they did not understand, and affecting a superhuman knowledge of technique."[78]

For their part, visitors were often candid about their impressions of aestheticizing studios. The young Elizabeth Nourse came to New York City in 1882 and visited several artists, hoping to adopt one as a teacher.[79] She saw Douglas Volk at the Cooper Union, a Mr. Murphy (perhaps J. Francis Murphy) and J. Alden Weir. She visited the studios of Weir and Edward Moran and admired them, but she wrote an excited description of Chase's studio to her sisters (using her inimitable spelling and grammar):

> The studio of studios is Chase's. . . . I never saw such a wild, weird, gasthly place in all my life, it was oriental to the last degree, terrible high ceilings, floors covered with rugs, great sails from vessels draped from the ceiling, fishing nets, jars, pipes, pistols, shoes gathered from all parts of the world, two great lovely greyhounds (alive) 3 beautifully coloured parrots, cokatoos chained to immense poles, all making a terrible fuss, magnificent drapery, big japanese umbrellas, all kinds of oriental things. . . . I didn't present my letters, so I am going again. I would not stay in that studio alone for a hundred dollars.[80]

She had visited the studio during its regular Saturday hours – though alarmed by it, she kept her letter of introduction so she could return!

Pure socializing also occurred in aestheticizing studios. In the evenings, Frederic Remington's masculine studio in New Rochelle became a living room where friends would gather around the "czar-sized" fireplace. "And so we sat, many evenings into the night, Frederic and Jack stretched in their big leather chairs puffing away at their pipes, Eva with her needlework, and myself a rapt listener: wondering at this man

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78. Howard, *Guenn,* 235.

79. Mary Alice Heekin Burke, *Elizabeth Nourse, 1859-1938: A Salon Career* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 26-7.

80. Elizabeth Nourse to her sisters, the 25th of an unnamed month, [1882], collection of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Thompson, Fort Thomas, Kentucky.

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of genius, who could work with his creative brush all day long and talk with . . . eloquence . . . half the night," recalled a friend.[81] In their studio house on Fifteenth Street, Richard and Helena Gilder kept a general Friday evening open house, which, to some, took on the characteristics of an American salon.[82] The evenings began with their marriage in 1874 and continued for decades, on into the second Gilder studio house, on East Eighth Street, to which they moved in 1888. As noted in Chapter One, here one was likely to meet the Gilders' good friends, many of them active in the plastic, theatrical or literary arts. Among them were numbered the actress Helena Modrzejewska,[83] musician Ignacy Jan Paderewski, and art critics Mariana van Rensselaer and Leila Mechlin.[84] In fact, aestheticizing studios seemed to attract the cultivated and the uncommon visitor. Cecilia Beaux received a lesson in the formal Japanese tea ceremony in her studio from her friend Okakura Kazuko, an authority on Japanese and Chinese art.[85] The unexpected guests in Dora Wheeler's studio included writer Oscar Wilde, actresses Lily Langtry and Ellen Terry, and even the Queen of the Sandwich Islands.[86]

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81. Martha Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman* (Salem, MA: The Salem Press,1911), 289; quoted in Hassrick, *The Remington Studio*, 60.

82. So Cecilia Beaux termed it. See Cecilia Beaux, *Background with Figures* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 210.

83. She is mentioned in Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder,* as Helena Modjeska, but Modrzejewska is the full and correct spelling of her name.

84. See Beaux, *Background with Figures,* 208-10, and Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder,* 82-4.

85. Beaux, *Background with Figures,* 234.

86. Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* 253-5.

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Perhaps the most common studio visitors were other artists. Abundant documentation shows that artists dropped into each other's studios casually, and that their lives were enriched by these visits. Daniel Chester French reported to his brother in 1883 that he had taken a new studio in the same building as Abbott Handerson Thayer. He noted: "I expect to gain a good deal by his criticism and companionship."[87] In Henry B. Fuller's novel *With The Procession* (1895), the protagonist hopes to be the exemplar of a new leisure class in Chicago: a gentleman artist. He imagines his daily life upon his return from Europe:

> He figured mornings given over to music and painting—his own; and afternoons of studio-rounds, when fellow-artists would turn him their unfinished canvases to the light, or would pull away the clinging sheets from their shapes of dampened clay; and evenings when the room would thicken with smoke and tall glasses would make rings on the shining tops of tables, while a dozen agile wits had their own way with Monet and Bourget and Verlaine.[88]

Likewise, the novelist and painter F. Hopkinson Smith offered a rosy picture of artistic comradeship in his collection of stories *The Wood Fire in No. 3* (1905).[89] The protagonist, Sandy MacWhirter, an artist whose studio lacks a fireplace, contrives to have one built and it soon becomes the centerpiece for his whole studio building. The book is a collection of stories told around this fire by the various artists, who have all contributed their most comfortable chairs to MacWhirter's studio, making an artistic assemblage. John Davis's account of life in the Sherwood Studio Building, as narrated

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87. Daniel Chester French to William Merchant Richardson French, 4 January 1883, French Family Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, container 82, microfilm reel 40, frame 437; quoted in Mesick, Cohen, and Waite, "The Studio at Chesterwood," 12.

88. Henry Blake Fuller, *With the Procession* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895; reprint, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 73.

89. F. Hopkinson Smith, *The Wood Fire in No. 3* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905).

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by J. Carroll Beckwith's diaries, parallels Smith's novel; Beckwith habitually called his fellow artists "our united happy family."[90]

The workdays of most artists were punctuated by rounds of socializing for business and pleasure. Some socializing occurred at more formal receptions, some during regular calling hours, and some in casual visits from friends and fellow artists. Elihu Vedder, an expatriate painter in Rome, kept a guest book for thirty three years which serves as a good summary of the changing patterns of studio visits.[91] Though it was apparently used more in some years than in others, and we can be sure that not all guests signed it, the book is still illuminating. In the earlier years, fewer people visited Vedder, and they came every few days. By the 1890s he seemed to allow visitors only one day a week, and then as many as twenty a day came. In earlier years many of the names repeated themselves, indicating friendships sustained; by the later years tourists from far-flung places such as Tacoma, Washington, and Utica, New York, appeared in the book. Throughout the years, Vedder gave parties, with 50 or 60 people in attendance. Clearly, as Vedder became older he limited visitors to his "at home" days. Probably, this was a common pattern. The most successful artists could afford to be more restrictive, and often made that choice. Thus, Candace Wheeler could comment in her autobiography, written in 1918, that to her, the studios of the early twentieth century seemed less open than those she knew in New York City in the 1850s and 60s.[92] In fact, greater numbers of people were visiting studios, but in more systematic patterns.

As all these accounts demonstrate, ladies were frequently found in aestheticizing studios – but did women constitute the majority of visitors to the studios? In the

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90. Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 5.

91. Guestbooks from the Rome studio of Elihu Vedder, 1877-97, 1897-909, 1909-14, American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York City.

92. Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* 94.

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absence of statistics or surveys the question is difficult to answer definitively, but we can summarize the impressions of period observers. An 1882 article on a building-wide reception at the Tenth Street Studio building notes that "ladies constituted the majority of the visitors" but few other accounts make such a specific observation.[93] Rather, the presence and participation of women in studio activities is described, and neither advocated nor censured. Women visited studios during receptions and in private visits, they socialized with artists, and they purchased art. Men did the same. Clearly the aestheticizing studio was an appropriate milieu for men *and* women in the late nineteenth century. We can deduce that the studio visit was not recognized primarily as a gendered experience. Rather, as will be discussed in a later chapter, the studio visit was considered an aesthetic experience.

La vie de Bohème

As discussed in Chapter One, many artists lived in their aestheticizing studios and had to find ways to combine their private lives and their work in just a few rooms, or even a single one. Many artists married; spouses and eventually children became part of life in the aestheticizing studio.[94] Housekeeping, hobbies, and friendships – all were carried out in aestheticizing studios. The limits of space and income, as well as the inclinations of artists to set themselves apart from the mundane, meant that the conventions that governed activities in everyday households were not applicable. Instead, artists' lifestyles conformed to an imprecise understanding of *la vie de Bohème.* In later chapters we shall examine the literary underpinnings of the label "bohemian"

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93. "Artists Receiving. Some of the Pictures Exhibited Yesterday," *New York Times,* 5 March 1882, 9.

94. See Davis, "Our United Happy Family," which discusses the subject of family life in the Sherwood Studio Building.

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and its multiple resonances in America; here I would like to examine the private lives of artists in their aestheticizing studios, as they were revealed by contemporary sources.

For many artists, the aestheticizing studio was not only workroom, it was parlor, kitchen, dining room and bedroom. All sorts of ingenious arrangements were devised to make the most of space and furnishing. In 1898, the majority of the studios in the Grundmann studio building in Boston were occupied by women, whose domestic arrangements were "of a primitive character;" this reduced the "drudgery of housekeeping to the minimum."[95] The prosaic details were hidden away on open-house days, as one reporter learned:

> Before the tour of observation was completed, she had learned to suspect every prayer-rug and every piece of Oriental drapery that was disposed apparently for its artistic effect alone. She knew that there was some occult reason for the Delhi drapery across the corner, and further investigation revealed the fact that it concealed, not the oracle, but the kitchen; and that in fact, there was a skeleton, not only in every cupboard, but under every innocent appearing table and improvised divan on the premises.[96]

The divan not only offered display space for an interesting textile, it became the bed at night.[97] In fact, the number of artists whose only bed was the studio divan cannot be counted.

The onerous task of laundry was rarely attempted in the studio; it was sent out instead. If the artist could not afford the bill, he could become expert in the "art of renovating a linen front with Chinese white, instead of sending it to the laundry."[98] And while artists did not entirely sacrifice valuable studio furnishings to squalor, most

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95. "Grundmann Studios," 14.

96. "Grundmann Studios," 14.

97. See John Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 1, *Art Journal* (New York) 6 (1880), 58, and Fairbanks, "The Social Side," 749, which both generalize about this practice.

98. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life," 363.

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cleaned rarely, and apparently hoped the effect of accumulated dust and dirt would not be noticed, or would be thought artistic. The effect was probably intentional in William Merritt Chase's huge Tenth Street studio, where dust was allowed to accumulate on the objects nearest to the ceiling, while metal objects and the highly-polished floor glistened below. According to one student, "There was a gradual transition from the richness and brilliance near the floor up the side wall into the gray atmosphere of the ceiling."[99] As Charmian Maybough, the lovable and ingenuous artist in William Dean Howells's *The Coast of Bohemia* (1893) remarks, when her mother insists upon having her studio cleaned: "But don't you see, mamma, that if you have it regularly dusted, it never can have any sentiment, any atmosphere?"[100]

Cooking in the aesthetic studio presented a challenge. At Tenth Street the resident housekeeper could cook meals, while a restaurant served the inhabitants of the Sherwood.[101] A great many cooked in their studios, on all sorts of makeshift apparatus. Very few had proper cooking stoves, but many had a parlor stove, or a small stove fueled with the same gas provided for lighting. The chafing dish proved indispensable; one figures prominently in a photograph of the Paris studio of William Cushing Loring around 1900 [FIGURE 47]. The routines artists established, as is so often the case for the commonplace, are not well-documented, but most artists probably established a pattern, eating breakfast and some sort of luncheon which required little cooking in their studios, and dining out for dinner, often at restaurants frequented by their colleagues.

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99. Gifford Beal, "Chase—the Teacher," *Scribner's Magazine* 61, no. 2 (1917): 257-8.

100. William Dean Howells, *The Coast of Bohemia* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), 203.

101. "Exhibitions and Sales," 253, mentions a "cateress" at the Tenth Street Studios, and Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 90, also notes the presence of a housekeeper who could cook. Although there is little documentation of it, we can assume that artists frequented inexpensive restaurants.

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Unusual eating and cooking in aestheticizing studios is better documented. One artist, having passed his days of youthful poverty, reveled in "the matutinal preparation of omelettes, devilled chicken and similar *bonnes bouches*, which his fragrant minglement of Java and Mocha appropriately washes down."[102] While preoccupied with making his studio a "symphony in green," as described in Chapter One, Timothy Cole survived for six weeks on brown bread and tea with milk. He found this improved his health, and he was moved to versify:

> No odor of fish
> Or buttery dish
> My larder shall e'er profanate.
> But its flavor shall be
> Of the spicy Bohee
> and the sweet little loaf in the plate.[103]

The poorest among the artists might indulge in a chop or a steak, even if they had to cook it by lowering it on a wire into the parlor stove.[104]

Dinner parties and luncheons occurred frequently, though the guests sometimes had to contribute food or cutlery, or eat unorthodox meals. The well-developed formalities of dining typical of the era were dispensed with in the studios. "No one is disturbed when the bouillon is served up in comfit jars, or Welsh rabbit in a beer mug, while a miniature soup tureen does duty as a sugar bowl."[105] Dinner parties in studios were nothing new; the artists at Tenth Street entertained in their studios frequently.[106]

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102. Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 1, 58.

103. Timothy Cole to Sylvester Rosa Koehler, 27 July 1896, The Sylvester Rosa Koehler Correspondence, George Arents Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

104. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life," 363.

105. "Grundmann Studios," 14.

106. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 89-92.

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Jervis McEntee did so throughout his long tenure at Tenth Street, as documented by his diary. In 1886, now a widower, McEntee still entertained. His sister Sara served as hostess, in the studio filled with Venetian glass, antique chairs, brocade curtains, and other aestheticizing furnishings. He gave a festive luncheon of roast duck, ices, fancy bread and fruit, all ordered pre-made. While the studio was being prepared, patrons dropped in to look at a painting they later purchased, and McEntee's friend, the actor Edwin Booth, came in to offer theatre tickets.[107] In 1882, upon unexpectedly meeting his old friend Susan Hale, who was an artist and a writer, Frederic Edwin Church invited her back to his Tenth Street studio for an impromptu luncheon of squabs, champagne and bananas, all prepared by the building's housekeeper.[108]

Athletics formed some part of life in the aestheticizing studios. Boxing was traditionally on the agenda of the early Salmagundi Club meetings, as commemorated in a sketch by Will Low, published in an article discussing the Club in 1880.[109] Fencing, or perhaps only the impression that artists fenced, also seems to have been engendered by the studios. This may have been spawned by the great numbers of swords used as decorations and by George du Maurier's very popular novel *Trilby* (1894). The novel's importance in popularizing aestheticizing studios will be discussed in the next chapter, but here we can note that the protagonists took their exercise by fencing in their studio.[110] The image appeared in another novel, F. Hopkinson Smith's *The Fortunes of*

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107. Garnett McCoy, "Visits, Parties and Cats in the Hall: The Tenth Street Studio Building and Its Inmates in the Nineteenth Century," *Archives of American Art Journal* 6, no. 1 (1966): 6.

108. Susan Hale to Jack Hale, 14 March 1882, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

109. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life," 360.

110. See George du Maurier, *Trilby* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, 1894) especially the illustration on p. 127.

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Oliver Horn, published in 1902, but set in a large studio building in an earlier era.[111] In the book, the artists of the building give an elaborate costume banquet, after which a mock fencing match takes place. Two artists, one dressed as an Arab and the other as Shakespeare, duel over which actor, Edwin Forrest or Edwin Booth, would have been capable of the best fencing had they met on stage.[112] Though these were fictional accounts, a real fencing club was reported to exist at the Fenway Studio Building in Boston in 1907.[113]

Music-making was also a part of the studios. Not only were instruments part of the furnishings, as noted in the last chapter, they were taken down off the walls or their ornate draperies were removed, and they were put into use. An 1889 photograph documents painters Henry Kenyon and Arthur Dow in their Paris studio, one playing a guitar.[114] An 1895 article shows painter Mabel Welch playing a lute in her studio, and an 1889 article reports that J. Carroll Beckwith "knocks off work occasionally to lie on a divan under a low canopy, and strum his mandolin."[115] Music was taken along to the summer studios too, as seen in an undated photograph of guitar playing under the arbor at William Sartain's Ridgefield, New Jersey studio [FIGURE 48].

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111. F. Hopkinson Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902). Though the book includes an incident from the Civil War, the protagonists are European-trained artists working in aestheticizing studios.

112. Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn,* 511-5.

113. "Boston's Ideal Art Colony," 11.

114. Photograph of Arthur Wesley Dow and Henry R. Kenyon in their Paris studio, 1889, Archive of American Art, Miscellaneous Artists' Papers, roll 1271, frame 84. Unfortunately, this photograph is not available for reproduction.

115. Mabel Welch is seen in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," part 9, *Godey's Magazine* 132 (January 1896): 75. Beckwith is documented in Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 12.

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Finally, although modern scholarship has revealed that sexual liaisons were conducted in artists' studios, little information concerning such events was available in the era of aestheticizing studio. We now have records that Thomas Wilmer Dewing probably consummated many of his extra-marital relationships in his studio; that Augustus Saint-Gaudens's long-term affair with Davida Johnson Clark, his former model, probably began in the studio; and that Thomas Eakins took sexually-charged photographs in his studio.[116] Dewing and Saint-Gaudens are now also connected with the "Sewer Club," a small group of men who pursued their sexual interests in, among other places, aestheticizing studios.[117] Standford White, the architect, was the acknowledged kingpin of this loosely-organized club of artists; besides White, Dewing and Saint-Gaudens, other members were sculptor Louis Saint Gaudens (brother of Augustus), painter Francis Lathrop and architect Joseph Wells. In the late 1880s the Club met in the Benedict Building on Washington Square in a room decorated by White; the building also held many artists' studios. From 1891 to as late as 1905 White and Dewing shared the rent on three successive "studios" (as they termed them) in the Holbein Studios complex on West 55th St. Dewing and the others who used the studio referred to it as "the Morgue," an ambiguous but suggestive codename. These artists, however, took care to keep their illicit affairs out of the public eye. Often, even those

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116. Dewing's affairs are discussed in Hobbs and others, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing*, 60-70 132-4 164-6. Saint-Gaudens's relationship with Clark is described in Burke Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay: The Life and Works of Augustus Saint Gaudens* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, 1985), passim, especially 137-45. (It should be noted that Wilkinson spells the artist's name without a hyphen, but virtually all other sources include it.). For Eakins, see Susan Danly and Cheryl Leibold, *Eakins and the Photograph* (Washington, DC and Philadelphia: Smithsonian Institution Press and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1994), especially the essay by Elizabeth Johns, "An Avowal of Artistic Community: Nudity and Fantasy in Thomas Eakins's Photographs," 65-93.

117. The Sewer Club is documented in Baker, *Stanny,* 131-2, and Hobbs and others, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing,* 9-10.

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close to the artist knew little or nothing of these relationships. The circumspection surrounding sexual liaisons was in sharp contrast to the way other parts of *la vie de Bohème* were treated. Accounts of the unconventional housekeeping and cooking that took place in aestheticizing studios appeared in magazines, while athletics and music-making in studios were affectionately recorded in memoirs and photographs. As we shall see, the discretion of artists who conducted sexual affairs in aestheticizing studios was, in some measure, made irrelevant by the media in the later part of the aestheticizing studio era.

Artful Entertainments

Dinner parties and costume parties, musicales and theatricals, all with an artistic flavor, were staged in aestheticizing studios. Some of these parties were not so different from other formal banquets of the era. One series of photographs shows a festivity being held in an unidentified studio, probably in the mid-1880s [FIGURE 49].[118] The labels identify the participants: Frank Vinton, Daniel Chester French, Francis Davis Millet, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, William Merritt Chase, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, Harry Cannon, Stanford White, Edwin Howland Blashfield, John La Farge, John Singer Sargent, Charles Melville Dewey, J. Alden Weir and Francis Lathrop. In the background is Robert Blum's pastel *My Studio* [FIGURE 64], suggesting that the party

118. The series is in papers donated by Mrs. Chester Dale to the New-York Historical Society; they are now in the portrait file for J. Carroll Beckwith, in the Print Room of the society. I am grateful to Pamela Dewey, of the New-York Historical Society, who traced the provenance of this material, and confirmed that Mrs. Dale gave the "Beckwith portfolio," containing artwork and photographs associated with J. Carroll Beckwith. See also Figure 51. The photographs are dated by noting that the artists all appear to be between thirty-five and forty-five years old. The Society labels the series as taking place in Chase's studio, with no evidence to support this. Though the photographs were found in papers associated with Beckwith, one cannot assume they are of his studio. The presence of a lay figure makes it clear that this space is a studio, and probably that of a figure painter.

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has some relationship to the exhibitions of the Society of Painters in Pastel.[119] The series shows the guests consuming a generous feast around a table set up on trestles. The table is lit with candles, laden with champagne, and decorated with greenery; it resembles other banquet tables of the era. In other photographs in the series the artists play violins, while Stanford White carouses with a lay figure, giving it a passionate embrace.

Other parties were more permeated with signs of the profession of the participants. Enthused with the photographs of New York City street scenes that Alexander Black was taking with his new hand-held camera, Chase insisted that he host an "Eleven O'clock" in his studio, thereby going Whistler one better. The event attracted a large crowd of artists in Chase's ornate studio, because it was held after an opening of one of the Society of American Artists exhibitions. As Black's lantern slides were projected he was embarrassed to hear the artists add their own commentary, as recorded in his autobiography:

> A picture of New York bootblacks in action elicited a recognizing shout. 'A perfect J. G. Brown!' A park scene brought 'A Chase to the life!' 'Ah, a Thayer!' was the comment on a tenement madonna. And when a street vista included one of New York's worst atrocities of sculpture there was a groaning voice to say, 'Imagine how Saint-Gaudens feels.' Voices at the back fell into discussions as to composition. One spectator gave a despairing drawl to the remark: 'No use. Nature is awful!'—then in another moment the tone changed: 'Ah! As Jimmy would say, Nature's looking up.'[120]

And still other parties were decidedly unique. To dedicate Dora Wheeler's new log studio at Onteora, the artists' colony in the Catskills, her mother decided it should be lit first by a fire which was "heaven born." At noon on the day of the celebration, Candace Wheeler used the lens of an opera glass to light a candle. When evening fell, the guests gathered around the huge fireplace in the studio. They watched as first an

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119. The pastel will be discussed in the next chapter.

120. Alexander Black, *Time and Chance* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), 103.

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"acolyte" scattered oil and wine on the huge pile of brush in the fireplace. Next, a "priest of the Sun, in flowing robes covered with signs of the Zodiac" blessed the fireplace. Finally, "four beautiful virgins of the Sun," lit the brush, "until light and flame went roaring up the chimney, while a voice from a shadowed angel chanted an invocation to the Sun. That was the beginning of the life of the studio."[121]

Artists were particularly fond of hosting costume parties in aestheticizing studios. This dissertation was introduced with a quote about Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Pompeiian supper, at which guests reclined to dine, their filleted hair and classic draperies bringing out "unexpected qualities of dignity and beauty."[122] At the "Infants' Party" hosted by J. Carroll Beckwith and his wife in 1897 in their Sherwood Building Studio, guests came dressed as children and were required to perform entertainments in character; the event received attention in the press.[123] The Boston Art Students' Association established a tradition of annual costume parties, or "Fancy Dress parties" as they called them, which were nearly always held in studios.[124] At the first, given by Mrs. Frances Houston, guests were met at the head of the stairs by the artist herself, dressed as "a genuine Paul Veronese" in a gown of white and gold, with amber beads twined in her hair. She stood flanked by two children, one dressed as a Velázquez Infanta, the other as Reynolds's *Miss Penelope Boothby. Tableaux vivantes* staged in a large gold frame followed in the top-floor studio. The next Association costume party was held in the studio shared by Holker Abbott and William Bicknell. This party was

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121. Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* 294. Ironically, the studio has recently been destroyed by fire.

122. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 7.

123. Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 7.

124. The parties of the Boston Art Students' Association are documented in Peirce, *The Copley Society,* 18-21.

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more unconventional in flavor, with at least two men attending in female dress: one as a nun, the other as Lady Teazel, the flirtatious young wife from Richard Sheridan's *School for Scandal* (1777). Walking to the party with no overcoats, they were roundly jeered by the crowd which had assembled to witness the parade of bizarrely-dressed guests. Further Association costume parties were held in Frederic Crowninshield's studio.

Dances and theatricals were also a feature of aestheticizing studio life. A photograph taken around 1900 shows a dance in the studio of sculptor Bessie Potter Vonnoh [FIGURE 50]. A line of men and a line of women meet, the couple at the head exchanging a bow and a curtsey. When the Polish actress Helena Modrzejewska appeared at the Gilders's studio house on an autumn evening in 1876 to perform an informal charade of Cleopatra, she was greeted by the audience with bouquets and newly-learned phrases of compliment.[125] Keeping the character of Cleopatra, she went on to recite several poems, speaking in Polish. The audience cheered her and declared it great acting. Among the most well-known musical events held in studios were the series of concerts Joseph Wells organized in the studio of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, attended mostly by an audience of artists.[126] From 1883 until the end of the decade, the architect and sculptor hosted concerts of chamber music and quartets on Sundays from October to May. The concerts were eventually moved to the studio of painter Francis Lathrop, and were only halted by Wells's death in 1890. They were resumed two years later by Saint-Gaudens, who began hosting an annual memorial concert on March 1, the birthday he and Wells shared.

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125. Gilder, ed., *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder,* 82-3.

126. Low, *A Chronicle of Friendships,* 275-6; Baker, *Stanny,* 87-8, 153; and Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 1, 306-7.

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In entertaining, as in decor, it was Chase who led the way. His studio, used so often for receptions and meetings, was also the site of entertainments. Perhaps the most notable were those held under the auspices of the Music Club. This prestigious club of the 1890s was organized by Helena Gilder, Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mrs. Henry Holt, and George Vanderbilt.[127] When pianist Ignacy Paderewski played in Chase's studio for "the most select set in New York," he found the room "most sympathetic. One could not conceive of a place more suitable to the highest artistic sense or more capable of drawing out all that was poetic in this great pianist, and he so expressed it to Mr. Chase."[128]

The performances of Carmencita, a Spanish dancer, in Chase's studio are among the most renowned events of the aestheticizing studio era.[129] "The Pearl of Seville," as she was called, actually performed in several New York City studios over the course of 1890, at the same time that she was becoming famous through public theatrical performances. The first studio performance apparently took place in the studio of J. Carroll Beckwith, and surviving photographs showing her in action are probably of this performance [FIGURE 51].[130] Carmencita next performed in the studio of John Singer

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127. The organizers of the club are listed in Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America*, (New York: Covici, Friede, 1933; rev. ed., New York: Dover, 1960), 88. The club is also mentioned in Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 45, and [M]. French, *Memories of a Sculptor's Wife*, 161-2.

128. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 1, 296.

129. For information on Carmencita, see Burke, *Elizabeth Nourse,* 87-9; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 45; and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 124-6.

130. The photographs, from the Beckwith portrait file in the Print Room of the New-York Historical Society, consist of two sheets apparently excerpted from a photograph album. There are six photographs on each page, and one page is labeled "Carmencita dancing in my studio." The studio is definitely not Chase's. The two album pages were among material donated to the society by Mrs. Chester Dale, who gave the "Beckwith portfolio," consisting of photographs and artwork associated with J. Carroll Beckwith. See also Figure 49.

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Sargent, who was painting her portrait. Hoping to show off the dancer to Isabella Stewart Gardner, and perhaps to sell his paintings, Sargent asked Chase to lend his studio for a performance. Chase readily agreed, and on April 1, 1890, the event took place. Though the dancer was surly at the start of the performance, by its finish she was dancing brilliantly, and reportedly some of the ladies in the audience threw their jewelry at her feet in tribute. A second performance in Chase's studio also went well. As a contemporary noted, the "picture was one to be remembered long by those who saw it."[131] Indeed, pictures of the scene were produced. Not only did Sargent paint Carmencita, Chase did also. The significance of these paintings for the story of aestheticizing studios will be told in a later chapter.

Finally, spontaneous high-jinks were a highlight of studio life. The tendency for artists to turn impromptu gatherings into full-scale parties was not new to the aestheticizing studio era. An 1860s dinner party at the home of writer Bayard Taylor proved to be so much fun that the participants, leading artists and writers, moved it to the Tenth Street Studio Building, and turned it into a masquerade party, with artists raiding each other's studios for costumes.[132] These kinds of escapades continued through the decades. A writer in 1880 describes one evening's entertainment in a studio, wherein the artist's guests, all attired variously in studio costumes as "dervishes, Moorish soldiers, almèhs, princesses &c" would play a game of their own devising, which was somewhere between twenty questions and charades.[133] An object in the studio would be selected, and the group would assign it an obscure task. One among the group, having waited in the hall during the process, would be called upon to guess the object's function and act it out. As he did so, he would be soliloquized by a violin,

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131.Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 1, 296.

132. The description is quoted, without citation, in McCoy, "Visits, Parties," 6-8.

133. Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 1, 58.

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played softly while he was "cold" and loudly when his guesses grew "hot." In fact, the impromptu masquerade might well serve as a leitmotif for the aestheticizing studio, and a photograph of one [FIGURE 52], in which artists formed a rag-tag military band in 1889 in the Sherwood Studio Building, might be an emblem for studio life.

Conclusions

Although making art was the *raison d'être* of aestheticizing studios, many other activities occurred there. In their studios artists conducted all the tasks essential to making a living. Much art instruction took place in aestheticizing studios, apart from and in addition to that occurring in the more formal setting of art schools. Smaller classes, private lessons and critique session were held in the aestheticizing studio. There is some indication that female students, both those seeking professional status and those intending to be amateurs, participated in this sort of instruction in greater numbers than men. Another activity crucial to earning a living, the formation and perpetuation of professional organizations, took place in aestheticizing studios.

Another critical aspect of artist's livelihoods—the private sale of works of art in the studio—became intertwined with artists' social lives in the late nineteenth century. As the art market expanded over the course of the aestheticizing studio era, more varied sales outlets for American art arose. Nonetheless, American artists always sought more ways to assert themselves in the crowded marketplace. The did so by inviting potential patrons to the aestheticizing studio, through group receptions and open houses, and especially through smaller, more intimate teas and receptions, and other entertainments. At these events, potential patrons were introduced to the artwork and the artist. They also were likely to meet other artists, other patrons and other people interested in art; the aestheticizing studio was their entrée into the art world. Women were active participants in the social and business life of aestheticizing studios, as visitors and patrons. For all who entered an aestheticizing studio, the visit was as much an aesthetic

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event as a social or business transaction. Though patrons and friends had always visited artists in their studios, never before had their visits been charged with the exotic atmosphere of aestheticizing studios.

The private lives of artists in their aestheticizing studios conformed to a generalized notion of *la vie de Bohème*. Many artists had no other residence than their studios, and some lived there with spouses and children. The practical concerns of daily life—housekeeping, cooking, laundry, and the like—were chores to be accomplished pragmatically. Leisure activities like exercise and music-making were to be carried out in style. Parties of all sorts were the spice of life in aestheticizing studios; banquets, dances, musicales and costume parties were common. Some became quasi-public events because they became known well beyond the circle of invitees, primarily through the press. The leitmotif for these events was originality; the imagination and creativity of artists were abundantly displayed in their artful entertainments. Thus, the conventions that governed the private lives of middle class households were stretched, but not violated. As we shall see, *la vie de Bohème* was the lifestyle expected of artists.

Artists spent as much energy in planing and executing the details of the professional, private and social lives they lived in their aestheticizing studios as they did in assembling and arranging the decor of their studios. Aesthetic studios were extraordinary places because artists put so much care into selecting objects and engineering activities. In prior eras artists had lived in their studios, taught there and sold art there. Now they began to intertwine their personal and professional lives in their studios as never before. Visiting an aesthetic studio might be a business chore, part of a course of education, social ritual, stimulating diversion, but it was sure to be an aesthetic experience. The daily routines of artists, the entertainments they offered their guests, the ritualization of commerce—all took place in the new setting of aestheticizing studios with their exotic decor. The aestheticizing studio was both a response to an increasingly complex and fragmented art world, and a factor in its elaboration. We

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shall now examine how the aestheticizing studio was presented to the public of that art world.

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Chapter Four: Aestheticizing Studios and the Public

This dissertation has described the phenomenon of the late nineteenth-century aestheticizing studio, outlining its development, its flourishing, and its decline. I have examined the furnishings of studios and the art life that took place in them in some detail. Now I wish to turn to an examination of the audience for aestheticizing studios, an audience that was reached primarily through the media and the art of the era. Information on aestheticizing studios was disseminated by reportorial media, especially newspapers and periodicals which contained both texts and images. I shall survey these media, analyzing their studio coverage. I also wish to go behind and beyond the reportage to examine the motives of the editors, publishers, and writers who created this coverage, and to examine some studios and some reports of studios that were especially accessible to the public. Information on aestheticizing studios was also available through works of visual art and fiction. Like all artworks, their intent was not to document but to express the attitudes and opinions of their creators. By analyzing the reportorial media, visual art, and fiction that used studios as a motif, this chapter will outline the diverse impressions of aestheticizing studios presented to the public.

Texts and Images: Publicizing Aestheticizing Studios

As detailed in the last chapter, artists acted as hosts for a limited audience. Studios were open at specific times for the general public and potential patrons; moreover, other acquaintances saw studios during receptions, students received instruction there, and friends socialized in studios. Most Americans, however, had no

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personal experience of the studios. As one commentator put it, the studios were "*terra incognita* to the masses."[1]

While few could visit the studios, many could read about them; aestheticizing studios appeared frequently in the media of the day. One commentator on studios noted that the newspaper reporter was "a ubiquitous individual, who can no more be ignored than a New Jersey mosquito."[2] Magazine writers as well as newspaper reporters frequented the studios, and together they produced a huge body of writing on aestheticizing studios.

The era of the aestheticizing studio coincided with great growth in the periodical industry in America. More and more newspapers and magazines appeared, catering to ever-more specialized audiences.[3] Technological advances made printing illustrations in newspapers and magazines cheaper. By the 1890s photographs could be transferred to printing plates, and the electrotype made the number of impressions from a single plate virtually limitless.[4] Illustrations flooded the media like never before.[5] Newspapers flourished, and the number of weeklies published in towns with

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1. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 3.

2. Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 2, 122.

3. See Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism—A History of Newspapers in the United States through 250 Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 478-502, and Helene Emylou Roberts, "American Art Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century" (M.L.S.diss., University of Washington, 1961).

4. Mott, *American Journalism,* 501-2, and Roberts, "American Art Periodicals," 32-7.

5. See Neil Harris's essay, "Iconography and Intellectual History: The Half-Tone Effect," in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 196-211, which charts the development of the photomechanical process of reproduction during the period 1880-1900. Harris describes the reception of these various sorts of illustrations, with their varying capacities of representation, and suggests the phenomenon deserves far more study.

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populations under 100,000 tripled between 1870 and 1890.[6] In the 1890s many newspapers published illustrated Sunday editions, with the *New York World* and the *New York Herald* leading the trend as they competed for readers.[7] William Dean Howells, who began his career as a journalist for a midwestern newspaper, poked fun at the fact that art coverage was to be found everywhere. The heroine of his novel *The Coast of Bohemia* (1893), an aspiring art student from a small Ohio town, learned about the New York art world from the *Lakeland Light*, her local paper. She "kept herself informed of the 'Gossip of the Ateliers,' and concerning 'Women and Artists,' 'Women Art Students,' 'Glimpses of the Dens of New York Women Artists,' and other aesthetic interests which the Sunday edition of the *Light* purveyed with the newspaper syndicate's generous and indiscriminate abundance. She did not believe it all; much of it seemed to her very silly; but she nourished her ambition upon it all the same."[8] In his interest to explore the career of a woman artist, Howells provides insight into the quantity and quality of art coverage available to the alert reader.

Art coverage, which lent itself to illustration, was a highlight of the booming magazine industry. The monthly general-interest magazines, such as *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1850-1900), *Scribner's Monthly* (1870-1881) and its successor *Century* (1881-1929), and the new *Scribner's Magazine* (1887-1939), were largely post-Civil War phenomena.[9] These all had excellent art coverage, written by some of

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6. Mott, *American Journalism,* 478-9.

7. One example of studio coverage in a Sunday supplement is "Studios in New York," 7.

8. Howells, *The Coast of Bohemia*, 80-1.

9. These publications were each known under variants of these titles.

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America's best critics. Art coverage as well as other feature writing was illustrated by staff artists and professional artists working free-lance.[10]

The art magazine also came into its own in America in this period. By the last decade of the century, at least fifty magazines concentrating on the visual arts were being published, in comparison to six in the years 1840-50.[11] Two of the leading periodicals, the *Art Journal* and the *Magazine of Art*, were British magazines, but they had American editions that included articles written by and for Americans. Specialized magazines, such as combination literary and art magazines, and the publications issued by art schools also flourished.[12] With all these sources appearing, a great quantity of well-illustrated writing about art appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. Art periodicals were the most important genre in the publicization of aestheticizing studios.

Aestheticizing studios were mentioned in diverse types of periodical literature that covered art. Biographical articles often mentioned the artist's studio.[13] Art criticism was sometimes delivered as though the reader were accompanying the writer

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10. Roberts, "American Art Periodicals," 16-33. See also Henry James, "Our Artists in Europe," *Harper's Monthly* 79 (June 1889), 50-66, for an article about the art of Francis Davis Millet, Edwin Austin Abbey, and Charles S. Reinhart, and their work as illustrators for *Harpers*. See also Montezuma, "My Notebook," *The Art Amateur* 5, no. 6 (1881): 113, which notes that American publications were the leaders in the illustrated periodical industry, and attributes it to the cooperation shown between publishers, editors, printers, and engravers, which existed only in this country.

11. Roberts, "American Art Periodicals," 15.

12. The schools of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Chicago Art Institute, and the Art Students League published magazines, as did the St. Louis School of Art. See Roberts, "American Art Periodicals," 46. Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders,* 94-7, and 146-230, cites nine different magazines with "bohemian" in the title that existed in the 1890s; these had varying amounts of art coverage.

13. See, for example, Edward T. Heyn, "An American Painter in Munich," *Home and Country* 14, no. 1 (1897): 5, which illustrates the studio of Carl Marr.

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on a visit to a studio.[14] When social events were held in studios, or newsworthy events took place in them, the interiors were often described.[15] And descriptions of studios and the events that took place there made their way into the regular news columns that most art magazines ran; *Art Interchange*'s was even called "Studio Notes."

But often, the studio itself was the topic of the article. John Moran's important series has been noted. Written at the beginning of the aestheticizing studio era, it inaugurated the sort of article focussing on the studio, not the art or the artist. The first three parts of his article, published in 1879 and 1880, described the interiors of six different studios, while another two parts, published in 1880, described studio life.[16] Other landmark articles included one in *Cosmopolitan* and a ten-part series in *Godey's Magazine*; both were mixtures of art criticism, biography, and effusive descriptions of the studios.[17] Many other articles focused solely on the studio.[18]

A limited amount of coverage of aestheticizing studios was found in books. At the very beginning of the studio era, Samuel G. W. Benjamin wrote two surveys of American art and artists, one directed at children, the other directed at adults; their texts,

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14. For example, Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 1, 238, prefaces his seven-part article, by noting: "You would not credit me if I told you how many thousand stairs I have walked up and down this week, how many miles of space I have whisked through in elevators, and how many yards of canvas I have looked at." Each of his installments consists mainly of art criticism.

15. For example, the New York *Evening World* described Elmer MacRae's studio and home in its coverage of his exhibition (quoted in Larkin, *On Home Ground,* 32). And the fire in the Harcourt Studio Building in Boston in 1904 occasioned newspaper coverage and consequent description of artists' studios. See *Boston Herald*, 12 November 1904, 1 and 5; *Boston Sunday Globe*, 13 November 1904, 5; and *Hearst's Boston American*, 12 November 1904, 4.

16. See Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," and Moran, "Studio-Life in New York."

17. See Bisland, "The Studios of New York," and Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios."

18. For example: "The Looker-On" and "A Studio that is a Series of Medieval Pictures."

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however, were quite similar.[19] Despite the fact that the book for adults was entitled *Our American Artists, with Portraits, Studios and Engravings of Paintings*, both books contained similarly brief texts on studios. Both books did illustrate the studio of each artist mentioned. Though William Merritt Chase's newly-established studio was described in detail, Benjamin did not identify aestheticizing studios as a new phenomenon in either of his original books, or in his 1886 edition of the book for adults. By reprinting John Moran's 1879/80 article, including its illustrations, George William Sheldon's *Hours with Art and Artists* (1882) was the only contemporary survey that identified the aestheticizing studio phenomenon, but it did not otherwise discuss studios or the role they were beginning to play in American art.[20] Maurice B. Adams's luxurious folio book *Artists' Homes* (1883) described the large group of houses built in England and included floor plans and illustrations of the interiors.[21] While nothing comparable existed for American artists, George William Sheldon's *Artistic Houses* of 1884 did illustrate some rooms, although not the studios, in the homes of three artists: Samuel Colman, Louis Comfort Tiffany, and Frank Furness.[22] It was not until those involved in the art world wrote their memoirs that aestheticizing studios and the lives lived in them were described in books; Candace Wheeler's *Yesterdays in A Busy Life* (1918) and Mrs. Thomas B. Aldrich's *Crowding Memories* (1920), for example, offer particularly lively accounts.

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19. Benjamin, *Sculptors, Illustrators, Engravers,* and Benjamin, *Portraits, Studios and Engravings.*

20. See George William Sheldon, *Hours With Art and Artists* (New York: D. Appleton, 1882), 171-82.

21. Adams, *Artists' Homes.*

22. Lewis, Turner, and McQuillin *The Opulent Interiors*. The work by R. H. Stoddard and others, *Poets' Homes* (Chicago: The Interstate Publishing Company, c. 1880.), venerated the homes of poets.

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Thus, most coverage of aestheticizing studios was found in periodicals, and these articles were profusely illustrated. A great many of the illustrations for this dissertation have been taken directly from periodicals, which used both photographs and engravings to make their points. Photographs appeared more often than engravings. Little rearranging of studio furnishings appears to have been done for these photographs; the everyday appearance of the studio, which had, of course, been many years in the making, was captured. For example, the photograph of William Merritt Chase's studio published in 1895 in *Godey's Magazine* included an untidy stack of paintings [FIGURE 1], and the photographer from *Cosmopolitan* may well have captured Robert Blum at work in 1889 [FIGURE 37]. The engravings, like the photographs, were essentially documentary, and may often have been executed after photographs. The illustrator of Howard Roberts's studio obviously sought to document the abundance of objects that she had found there [FIGURE 15]. We know little about how these illustrations originated, but evidence indicates that while most were commissioned by editors and publishers, some were supplied by the artists. For example, of the ten illustrations of Boston studios in one article, eight were by four different illustrators, while two artists supplied illustrations of their own studios.[23]

On occasion, an engraving could make an ordinary studio look like an aestheticizing one. The studio of Frederick Stuart Church, noted in Chapter One for its non-aestheticizing qualities, was made appealingly mysterious in an illustration by the addition of etched shadows [FIGURE 53].[24] The illustrations for John Moran's 1879/80 series on studios [FIGURES 9, 10, and 40] verged on this sort of suggestiveness. Interestingly, many of the artists featured in Benjamin's 1879 book supplied the author with drawings of their studios, and some of these, particularly the ones by William

23. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists."

24. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 20.

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Merritt Chase and Walter Shirlaw, were left provocatively sketchy.[25] For every shadowy engraving, however, there appeared several more precise photographs.

Some visual material documenting artists studios was produced independently of books and articles, although it was probably not widely circulated. Some artists had formal, posed portraits taken of themselves in their studios; Frank Albert Bicknell's portrait [FIGURE 43] taken in his tented cozy corner represents the type. Other photographs of studios were more casual and seem to have been executed as personal mementos of the interiors and the activities that took place in them; for example, Cecilia Beaux had photographs taken showing the furnishings of her studio and a tea she had given in it [FIGURES 39 and 46]. These sorts of studio photographs were known mainly to friends and patrons, although a few undoubtedly were published in periodicals.[26] At the turn of the century, photographs of at least a couple of the more elaborate artists' houses were issued as postcards. Francis Davis Millet's studio home in Broadway, England, a complex consisting of a fourteenth-century priory and its gardens, as well as Olana, Frederic Church's home on the Hudson River where a studio wing was completed in 1891, were thus publicized.[27] Lacking specific evidence, it is difficult to know whether these post cards were produced for sale, as part of the general desire for views of scenic spots, or whether they were produced solely for the private use of the artists. Either was economically practical.[28]

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25. Benjamin, *Portraits, Studios and Engravings,* n.p.

26. Both of Beaux's photographs were found among the papers of artists and their friends and descendants, indicating they were not meant for wide circulation.

27. The photographic files for Francis Davis Millet at the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York, have a copy of this postcard. Millett's Broadway home will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six. The postcards showing Olana are OL.1987.205-207, in the Estate of Sally Church Papers, Olana Archive, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

28. George Miller and Dorothy Miller, *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1976), passim, especially pp. 146-7.

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On the initiative of their publishers, stereographs depicting artists' studios were issued, a sure sign that a market existed for such images. Three different views, all issued around the turn of the century, helped to disseminate three contrasting stereotypes of artists and aestheticizing studios. A 1907 stereograph [FIGURE 54] might well document an actual studio. The photograph shows the typical aestheticizing studio, the artist diligently at work under a balcony displaying an impressive collection of old weaponry and armor. The second stereograph, dated 1897 [FIGURE 55], probably does not document an actual studio; the scene was presumably posed by the photographer. The image sanctifies the work of artists by showing a painter at work on a portrait of a mother and her baby, the two posed as the Madonna and the Christ child. The artist is a St. Luke figure, toiling amid the inspiration of his studio furnishings, while his models smile beatifically. And in an amusing stereograph of 1900 [FIGURE 56], a Muse seems to have alighted in a sumptuous aestheticizing studio and is completing a painting of a toga-clad water-carrier. These stereographs are impressive evidence that the public wanted images that purported to document artists' studios, that commerce was ready to supply them, and that contrasting, even contradictory, imagery met that demand.

Who read the texts and looked at the images that portrayed aestheticizing studios? Who read the general interest and art magazines that carried stories on aestheticizing studios, and who perused their illustrations? Who bought the post cards and stereographs that depicted aestheticizing studios? Modern scholarship cannot give us definitive answers to these questions. Audited systems for verifying the circulations of magazines were not established in America until 1914 and publishers did not query their readers as to gender, race, age, income or household composition.[29] Likewise,

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29. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1885-1905* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 16, and chap. 2 passim. Likewise, Roberts,

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profiles of the book readers and art photograph purchasers do not exist. In any case, texts and images of aestheticizing studios were available in a diverse range of publications meant to appeal to various sorts of readers, not just one type.

Lacking all but the most basic data on the readers we must draw generalizations from the material itself. Without a doubt, the publishers and producers of art related material theorized an aesthetic consumer and devised their products with this consumer in mind. The aesthetic consumer wanted to learn about current events in art and about contemporary artists. This consumer might be an amateur painter, a collector, a maker of home handicrafts, or simply someone who wanted to know more about the cultural life of his era. This consumer might be a man or a woman. Modern scholars are now beginning to explore the gender issues relating to aesthetic consumption, but much remains to be learned.[30] Increasingly, however, scholars are finding that in the late nineteenth century, women and aesthetic consumption are linked. I maintain that while an interest in aestheticizing studios was not predicated by gender, probable women were more interested in them than men. The ramifications of this fact for aestheticizing studios are subtle but far-reaching, and will be traced in this and later chapters. We

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"American Art Periodicals," includes no discussion of the profiles of art magazine readers.

30. For a discussion of gender and the purchase of aesthetic-movement goods see Yount, "'Give the People What They Want'"; for a discussion of gender and institution-building see Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); for a discussion of gender and art study see Swinth, "Painting Professionals." O'Brien, "European Paintings," in O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty,* and Christopher Monkhouse, "Bric-a-Brac," in O'Brien and others, *In Support of Liberty,* demonstrate that most of the paintings in the 1883 Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition were lent by men, while women lent much of the decorative arts, especially textiles. While the association of women with the production of decorative arts in the late nineteenth century has been a fertile area for modern scholarship, little has yet been done to determine whether consumption of decorative and fine arts divided itself along gender lines.

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shall see that in the story of aestheticizing studios, aesthetic consumers were characterized more by their interest in cultural matters than by their gender.

Beyond Reportage—Tailoring the Studio for the Aesthetic Consumer

The motivation behind the creation of some aestheticizing studios may have been, at least in part, their appeal to the public. Certainly some artists received more press on their studios than on their art. The painter Abram A. Anderson built a studio building in New York City at Sixth Avenue and Fortieth Street, overlooking Bryant Park, and designed a lavish apartment for himself at the top of the building [FIGURE 57].[31] His apartment had two studios: a smaller one in the François I style, with oak paneling and tapestries, and "the grand studio" which measured fifty-foot square, with thirty-foot ceilings, and included a huge pipe organ. Most articles on the artist, including his obituary, noted the studio.[32] We cannot know how many artists created and developed their studios with an eye towards their eventual appearance in the media.

A few artists chose the locations of their studios based upon their proximity to potential patrons. From 1877 to 1893 the landscape painter Frank Shapleigh had a studio at the Crawford House in the White Mountains in New Hampshire.[33] After 1881 he worked in a free-standing cottage with an aestheticizing interior on the grounds of the hotel [FIGURE 58]. The artist was an active participant in the life of the hotel,

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31. "A New York Studio," *American Architect and Building News* 77 (1902): 14, and "Mr. Anderson's Model Studio," undated newspaper clipping, Artists' Files, Art Division, New York Public Library, New York. The building is extant, and Anderson's studio is still clearly demarked by large windows, although few of the original fittings he installed remain.

32. See "Col. Anderson Dies: Artist and Indian Fighter," *The New York Herald*, 28April 1940, and the articles in the Artists' Files, New York Public Library, New York.

33. For information on Shapleigh, see New Hampshire Historical Society, *"Full of Facts and Sentiment": The Art of Frank H. Shapleigh* (Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1982), 9-17.

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judging coaching parades, organizing softball games, and presiding as "resident raconteur" at dinner parties. For about five winters beginning in 1889, Shapleigh worked in a studio at the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine, Florida. There he was one of several artists in residence; Martin Johnson Heade was another.[34] The artists of the Ponce de Leon Hotel gave a reception to mark the close of the season in 1894, obviously a device to market their paintings.[35] And in 1879 Daniel Chester French decided to build a studio in Concord, Massachusetts, because it would make him better known. He wrote to a friend:

> I am not sure that it w'ld not be better as an advertisement than anything else I could do. Most of the noted people of the country come here in the course of the season, & I should try to make my studio a point of interest.[36]

Thus with their studios, artists made an effort to bring their work to people who had the leisure and the money to buy it. Anderson obviously encouraged press coverage of his studio. Shapleigh's studios at the Crawford house and the studios at the Ponce de Leon were scarcely-veiled tourist attractions. French hoped his studio might become one. Although all these artists undoubtedly arranged their studios to suit their own tastes and were productive in them, the *raison d'être* for their studios was, in some measure, the attention they attracted from the press and the public.

The era of the aestheticizing studio coincides with the aestheticization of the domestic sphere, and in the popular periodicals studios were offered as design exemplars for the average homemaker. Clarence Cook, both art critic and design reformer, naturally cast himself as a leading proselytizer for this idea. He

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34. New Hampshire Historical Society, *"Full of Facts and Sentiment,"* 14-6.

35. "What Our Artists Are Doing," *The Studio* 9, (28 April 1894).

36. Daniel Chester French to Ellen Ball, 9 February 1879, French Family Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, container 1, microfilm reel 1, frame 226; quoted in Mesick, Cohen, and Waite, "The Studio at Chesterwood," 10.

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communicated most straightforwardly in an 1885 article for *The Monthly Illustrator* entitled "Studio Suggestions for Decoration":

> The artist's studio is a not unfit type of what might in many ways be desirable in our homes. We do not mean that we should make studios of our houses, but that we should try for some of that freedom from conventionalities and old-time preciseness that is at least shadowed forth in the best of our artists' studios.[37]

And, in another article, entitled "Shall our Rooms be Artistic or Stylish?" he opted for the former, praising the way artists arrange their studios and encouraging women (whom he assumed made the decoration choices for the household) to abandon fashion. He noted that his advice would be useful only to those who are "artistically inclined, and who are free to follow their inclinations."[38]

Other writers also encouraged homemakers to borrow from studios, sometimes quite directly, and sometimes in language that was more oblique. In an article surveying Boston studios and artists, the author noted:

> There are few studios from which we cannot bring away some novel idea in the way of decoration, for the artistic mind is full of ingenuity in the creation and utilization of ornament. Things not thought of in any aesthetic scheme before, and quite different from the ordinary trophies of travel, suddenly acquire, by their arrangement, a decorative value which leads the visitor to wonder how their beauty and availability ever escaped him.[39]

An article on William and Lee Kaula, husband and wife painters with a studio in the Fenway building in Boston, dealt not with their art but with their housekeeping. It went into great detail on how groceries were obtained, how the studio was kept clean and heated, and how the couple entertained, all within a compact space. The reporter noted that women visitors to the studio declared: "How delightful, how unconventional,

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37. Cook, "Studio Suggestions," 234-5.

38. Cook, "Artistic or Stylish?" 56.

39. Rideing, "Some Boston Artists," part 2, 476.

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how Bohemian. How I should like to live this way."[40] Although the drawbacks of studio living were noted, the author nonetheless produced an article that flattered the Kaulas' lifestyle, probably because he or she suspected that so many readers felt that they too might like to live in a studio. Indeed, the frequent inclusion of articles on studios in decorating magazines indicates that editors believed that studios were relevant to their readers.[41] Thus, some portion of the reporting on studios fed the public appetite for information on innovative home design and aesthetic reform.

By the turn of century the word "studio" had acquired so much cachet that it was used to describe many other places besides those where painters and sculptors lived and worked. In Chapter One, I described aestheticizing studios kept by photographers, architects and other workers in fields aligned with the fine arts. But many others who had only the most tenuous connections to visual arts kept "studios." As one group of artists complained: "The woman who teaches your scales calls her hall bedroom a studio, and the man who blacks your boots does it in a 'studio'. . . . I thought we all agreed to call them 'workshops' after Tom ran across that tonsorial studio."[42] Some of these "studios" probably looked like Mrs. Sherman Raymond's music studio in Boston [FIGURE 59], a wallpapered room hung with prints and photographs of musicians, which was photographed in 1901. There was even a restaurant on Sixth Avenue in New York City called The Studio. When its proprietor, Rainsford Ingalls, died in 1895, the editor of an art magazine eulogized him and the restaurant, saying, "The place was

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40. "Housekeeping in a Boston Studio," 5.

41. See Ada Rainey, "Decorative Art in an Apartment—Decorations Carried out by Two Artists in their Studio." *Arts and Decoration* 3 (June 1913): 268-71; Rainey, "The Decorations of a Gothic Studio," 341-3; Charles de Kay, "A Studio Home in Rose Valley—Turning an Old Stone Barn into a Home for a Family of Artists," *Arts and Decoration* 1 (March 1911): 198-201; and A. Wharton, "Some Philadelphia Studios."

42. "Studios in New York," 7.

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fitted up like a studio, even to its fender at the grate, its Dutch clock in the corner, the old decanters in which your wine and spirits came upon the table."[43] The situation prompted one artist to tell her friends a riddle: "When is a studio not a studio? . . . Nine times out of ten."[44]

Further confounding the meaning of the term, some studios were established by people who never intended to create art, or by speculators who knew studio spaces would appeal to non-artists. "There is one woman of moderate wealth in this city who does not even make a pretense of doing anything in the elaborate studio which she has fitted up. 'I like the artistic atmosphere of the place,' she says frankly."[45]

By the turn of the century, whole "studio" buildings were being built for the fashionable and wealthy.[46] Each of the apartments in these buildings generally had one large room, often double-height, and this was the feature that distinguished it from other apartments and gave it the studio appellation. Apartments in such buildings often had fireplaces, numerous bedrooms, bathrooms, servants' quarters and other amenities not found in artists' studio buildings. In 1906 in New York City three buildings opened on East Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Streets, designed by Charles Platt, who was a painter and a landscape designer as well as an architect.[47] Other luxury studios included a building at 471 Park Avenue, two of whose fifteen apartments were occupied by artists and the rest by people of other professions, including bankers, businessmen, and

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43. "Happenings and Futurities," *The Collector* 6, no. 16 (1895): 253.

44. "Studios in New York," 7.

45. "Studios in New York," 7.

46. See Christopher Gray, "Lofty Intentions," *Avenue Magazine,* April 1991, 57-60, and Gray, "Portrait of the Artist's."

47. Gray, "Lofty Intentions," 58.

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doctors.[48] Artists were important managers and tenants of the Gainsborough, which was opened in 1908, though non-artists lived in the building as well.[49] The Gainsborough remains perhaps the most prominent extant studio building in New York City, with its double-height north windows overlooking Central Park. The era's more luxurious studio buildings, however, were simply too expensive for most artists. As "studio" became a desirable real estate term, it was used more widely and gradually came to denote any apartment made up of one primary living space, whether or not it was intended for the use of artists. So, by the turn of the century, the word "studio" was applied to many sorts of residential and commercial spaces.

Art Atmosphere

Implicit in the reportage on studios and in the creation of pseudo-studios was the notion that studios were special places. Much of the same material that documented the furnishings of studios and the activities in them went further and described what made them special, an intangible yet detectable aura found in them. This aura had a name—art atmosphere.[50]

In the first few years that the aestheticizing studio was becoming established in America, a number of writers used this phrase to describe studios. In 1877, even before the aestheticizing studio era was fairly underway, a reporter noted a special presence in the Tenth Street Studio Building. There he found "an atmosphere felt at once to be

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48. Gray, "Portrait of the Artist's," 110.

49. Christopher Gray, "The Restoration of an 1881 Co-op," *New York Times,* 10 July 1988, Real Estate Section, 12. Despite the article's title, the building was opened in 1908.

50. Nicholas Cikovsky recognized the importance of art atmosphere in William Merritt Chase's studio and discussed the use of the term in the nineteenth-century media (see Cikovsky, "Tenth Street Studio.") My discussion of art atmosphere is greatly indebted to his article. Here I amplify some of his ideas and apply them to all studios of the era.

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toned by the real essence of artistic life." Any visitor to the building would experience "a certain solemn ideal sense . . . until a mystical significance is impressed upon the place."[51] Two years later, after William Merritt Chase had established his studio and set the example that would prove so influential, John Moran described the aura more precisely. He began his article on studio life by asking: "How many of those who actually purchase and possess pictures, know anything of the places where they are fashioned and whence they issue, of the manner of men who paint them, or of the Art atmosphere of which they are, so to speak, the visible crystallization?"[52] Just a year later, after describing the exotic Middle-Eastern furnishings of Harry Humphrey Moore's studio, a writer noted that there was "Art in the very atmosphere."[53] And finally, in 1881 James Beard's studio was described as being "pervaded with a delightful art atmosphere and with the genial personality of the artist himself."[54]

"Art atmosphere" seemed to be securely connected with artists, art life and studios by 1895, when the author of the *Godey's Magazine* multi-part series began by noting: "A visit to the colony of artists . . . will be profitable to those who wish to catch a glimpse, for the first time, it may be, of the studio life, of the atmosphere of art in which the painters live, and of their particular leanings and tastes, as shown by their surroundings."[55] Art atmosphere was a palpable presence in the studios, as describable as the furnishings and the events that took place there.

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51. E. T. L. "Studio Life in New York," 267.

52. Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 1, 343.

53. "Studio of H. Humphrey Moore," 345.

54. "Fine Arts. Art and Artists," part 3, 8. The studio of James's brother, William Holbrook Beard, was not much more elaborate than a parlor, but the weaponry collection and the stuffed birds and monkeys in the studio of James's sons, Daniel and Harry, were mentioned in chap. 2.

55. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 1, 291.

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To be sure, art atmosphere might be found in other places besides studios, although the phrase was always used in connection with artists and their ideal environments. The phrase was used to describe a restaurant frequented by artists: "There is an atmosphere of art and smoke there that is simply delightful."[56] Also, it might be experienced not in any one place but cumulatively. For example, Chase personally conducted his students on visits to galleries and studios, in "an effort to create art atmosphere."[57]

Art atmosphere was especially pervasive in Europe, and the lack of it on American shores could be debilitating. In discussing foreign art education for Americans, Francis Davis Millet cited the importance of the "art atmosphere" that the student found when surrounded by "those whose life is in art, who think, talk and dream about it."[58] Similarly, in a set of essays on art published in 1896, an unnamed author claimed that although America's art was as good as any nation's, the country was handicapped by a "lack of 'art atmosphere.'"[59] Hamilton Easter Field's studio, furnished with European antiques, was "nothing short of a revelation" amid Brooklyn's "almost complete lack of art atmosphere."[60]

Even when the phrase was not explicitly used, the presence or lack of art atmosphere was noted. In 1874, a writer waxed poetic on the environments where art was created:

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56. Fairbanks, "The Social Side," 750.

57. Maibelle Justice, "New York's Newest Art-School," *Demorest's Family Magazine* 33, no. 6 (1897): 309.

58. Francis Davis Millet, "The Art Competitions," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 69, no. 414 (1884): 922.

59. *Essays on Art and Artists*, 95.

60. "The Looker-On," 6.

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> All within the artistic precincts is found at once tranquilizing, soothing, ideal. . . . The library of Genius and the studio of Art are holy ground; and there, if ever, we feel the sacredness of being; the most giddy and thoughtless talk in these places in a subdued tone, as we do in a church, for indistinctly it may be, still they are associated with our holiest affections.[61]

While not using the phrase, in 1889 Henry James described the art atmosphere of Broadway, England, where a colony of American artists had established themselves. They went there, James noted, because "furnished apartments are useful to the artist, but a furnished country is even more so. A ripe midland English region is a museum of accessories and specimens . . . there is portraiture in the air and composition in the very accidents."[62] Weary after climbing stairs, a writer visiting a series of studios in 1891 noted, with both sarcasm and envy, that artists "dwell much nearer heaven, most of them, than you or I, with little but roof to divide them from the clouds."[63]

Eventually the phrase became common enough that it could be used for satire and ironic effect. In 1903 a writer reminisced about his experiences as an art student at the Lowell Institute in Boston in the 1870s. The combination of many gas jets and pupils, as well as a "medicated vapor bath establishment" in the basement, made for a particularly potent "art atmosphere."[64] Charmion Maybough, an art student in William Dean Howells's *The Coast of Bohemia* (1893) spends more time creating her studio than in making art. Howells had her fatuously exclaim, "I'm like fish out of water when I'm out of the atmosphere of art."[65]

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61. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, "Studio of an Artist," *Baldwin's Monthly* 8 (1874): 2.

62. James, "Our Artists in Europe," 52.

63. Ishmael, part 1, 122.

64. Peirce, *The Copley Society,* 11.

65. Howells, *The Coast of Bohemia*, 130.

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Whether or not they used the phrase "art atmosphere," writers suggested that the environment of artists' studios had a direct influence on the art produced in them. In an 1891 series of articles on studios, in connection with two different artists, the author "Ishmael" credited studios and artists with exerting influence upon each other: "The man sets his seal on his environment. The environment reacts upon the man. The art and something of the artist are reflected in his studio." And, later in the series he wrote: "The artist fits his surroundings, or, to put it in another way, his surroundings fit the artist."[66] Clarence Cook, so dedicated to explaining art life to the general public, wrote on the topic in 1895: "The artist who is really an artist, not merely one by profession, fits up his rooms instinctively in a way that at once feeds his artistic sense, and reflects his artistic character. He must have things about him that keep his artistic senses keyed-up and serve as a standard by which he can judge his own performance."[67] In 1889, Elizabeth Bisland spoke at length on the connection between an artist and his environment:

> Generally speaking, the kind of workshop in which a man with greatest ease and satisfaction to himself brings forth and perfects his creations, is an accurate suggestion of the quality of the work attempted there, and of the character of the workman.
>
> Unconsciously his individuality impresses itself upon his surroundings, until they in turn acquire a reactive potency which has its appreciable effect upon the man, as Heine was wont to declare had been the case between the women and the sculpture of Italy—the marbles were beautiful, first, because of the clean, firm outlines of the women, and the women eventually became more sculpturesque because of the forms of beauty that were an unconscious influence in their daily life. . . .[68]

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66. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 6, *The Illustrated American* 6 (21 March 1891): 328, and part 3, 410.

67. Cook, "Artistic or Stylish?" 52.

68. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 3.

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William Merritt Chase, in a 1906 lecture on great artists, spoke not of studios directly but in general of the influence of environment: "The secret of [the] success of the old masters in the good times when they left their great works, was the environments—and it was this influence that helped to produce their great works. It is really that in art that counts and it was this kind of art atmosphere that was of importance."[69]

To summarize, writers who discussed aestheticizing studios and other aspects of late nineteenth-century art and art life declared the importance of art atmosphere. It was a distinct, detectable aura in studios, the perfume distilled from the exotic furnishings artists collected in their studios and the activities they staged in them. Art atmosphere was discussed as a real presence in studios and as a fact of artists' lives. While artists created art atmosphere, art atmosphere in turn influenced them. We will turn to the ramifications of art atmosphere later in this chapter and in the ones to follow.

Behind Reportage—The Engines Driving the Media

The documentation of aestheticizing studios consists of more than facts concerning the furnishing of spaces and the activities carried out in them. Like all communication, the motivations of the people who wrote the articles and produced the illustrations can be discovered in it. Some of the more blatant economic motivations have been examined already: the publishers of stereographs wanted to sell them, and realtors could market "studio" apartments. Now we can examine the motivations behind the mass of documentation.

Artists, of course, were not passive recipients of press coverage; they were accomplices in the effort. Artists cooperated with writers, at least letting them in to the studios, if not giving them a "tour" of the room, and providing them with photographs

69. William M. Chase, "Talk on the Old Masters by Mr. Chase," given at New York School of Art, November 17, 1906, typescript, William Merritt Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, reel N69-137, frame 497.

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of it. We may be sure that artists were the source of much of the information on the objects found in studios and the activities that had happened there. As discussed in Chapter Two, artists often must have had a hand in the fanciful stories concerning the studio objects that appeared in print. They occasionally even furnished their own artwork depicting their studios to use as illustrations that appeared in magazines or books [see FIGURE 41]. Some studios were so grand, they appear to have attracted more press than the art; perhaps these studios were cannily created to ensure that they and their occupants would receive press attention. In any case, few artists seem to have complained about the attention their studios received.[70]

For their part, writers and editors were eager to bring their readers news of aestheticizing studios. Having invented the new media of the illustrated press, publishers wanted to exploit it, and aestheticizing studios were just the sort of topic they seized upon in the effort. The studios lent themselves to illustration and the activities that took place in them made equally vivid copy. Furthermore, there is some evidence that at least some of the editors and writers of New York had strong connections to the progressive artists of the city. For example, we have already noted that Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *Scribner's Monthly,* and its successor, *Century*, was married to Helena de Kay, a painter and a founder of the Society of American Artists. Helena's brother was Charles de Kay, a leading critic and the art editor of the *New York Times.*[71] William Henry Hurlbert, editor of *The World* (a New York City newspaper) from 1867 to 1883 and journalist thereafter, was an art patron who purchased the work of younger artists,

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70. An exception to this is Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 2, 122, which complains that the press pesters artists in their studios. His larger concern, however, is the ineptitude and even corruption of the press in their coverage of art. This section of Moran's article is generally satirical.

71. Zalesch, "Competition and Conflict," 107.

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including Walter Launt Palmer.[72] Such people had every reason to report on or authorize reporting on the studios of the artists whose work they found interesting.

For their part, the public seemed eager to read about aestheticizing studios. The magazines, newspapers, books and photographs portraying aestheticizing studios found purchasers. The large body of writing on aestheticizing studios is itself proof that the audience for studios went beyond those who might actually buy art or meet artists. Anyone interested in art culture—the aesthetic consumer—was interested in aestheticizing studios.

Art atmosphere was the newsworthy quality of aestheticizing studios that writers enthusiastically described, and that illustrators suggested with their drawings; the public seemed eager to learn about it. Art atmosphere was more than the sum of the decor and realities of studio life; it was nothing less than the force responsible for the creative potency of studios. Art atmosphere was described in the same terms used for religion.[73] The Tenth Street Studio Building was permeated with "a certain solemn ideal sense" and "a mystical significance." Paintings were the "crystallization" of art atmosphere. Studio furnishings exerted "reactive potency" and "unconscious influences." And, most explicitly, writers' libraries and artists' studios were "holy ground," where all was "tranquilizing, soothing, ideal," where "we feel the sacredness of being." Simply put, "Artists dwell much nearer heaven . . . than you or I." Using rhetoric with a religious tone, writers could thus suggest that art atmosphere, while a fact, was something akin to the intangible spiritual force found in the sacred spaces of churches. Ultimately, art

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72. See Maybelle Mann, *Walter Launt Palmer: Poetic Reality* (Exton, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 1984), 20, and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935-6), s.v.

73. Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society. The Formative Years 1790-1860* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 241, has noted that the writers describing the studios of an earlier generation of American artists sometimes adopted religious rhetoric.

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atmosphere represented the mystery and power inherent in the creative process, and it justified the exalted prose it generated.

The Events of 1895 and their Aftermath

Around the turn of the century, cultural commentators began to link aestheticizing studios with a drift that they were observing towards moral and spiritual degeneracy. Modern scholars have examined this perception of cultural decay; T. J. Jackson Lears has characterised the introspective malaise of the era as anti-modernism, while Sarah Burns has focussed more specifically on the means by which a diagnosis of "aesthetic pathology" became established in America.[74] For aestheticizing studios, the year 1895 proved to be a turning point.

The publication in 1895 of the first English-language edition of Max Nordeau's *Degeneration* set the prevailing tone. First published two years earlier in Berlin, the book argued that artistic genius lay dangerously close to neurosis, and that the talents of many artists were being perverted by the devolution—the degeneration—of modern life. The book stimulated debate. In America, painter Kenyon Cox defended the "purity" of American art and artists, while Brooks Adams published *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (1895) which portrayed the modern age as beginning the downward portion of a cycle fueled by too much materialism.[75] In May of 1895, the English writer Oscar Wilde was convicted of homosexual conduct, an event that had profound ramifications in the United States. Wilde had become an American celebrity in 1882 when he toured the country to promote Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Patience*, and to promulgate the ideals of the Aesthetic Movement. Wilde's public

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74. Lears, *No Place of Grace,* and Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, chap. 3. The term "aesthetic pathology" is used on p. 79.

75. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 80-2, and 86.

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presence in the 1880s and 1890s, in person and in print, were enormously influential. Burns has discussed Wilde's role as a magnet for those seeking to embrace or censure aestheticism, and Sylvia Yount has, by noting Wilde's image on everything from teapots to trading cards, traced his influence in the commodification of the aesthetic movement.[76] Wilde's imprisonment, Nordeau's writing and the debate it spawned; all cast a shadow upon any aestheticizing enterprise.

Another minor but highly sensationalized event of 1895, the "Pie Girl Dinner," helped to taint aestheticizing studios in the minds of many. In May of 1895 stock broker Henry Poor gave a dinner for a friend in the studio of portrait photographer James L. Breese.[77] Stanford White, the architect, apparently helped organize the event, and many artists attended, including Augustus Saint-Gaudens, J. Alden Weir, Robert Reid, Willard Metcalf, Edward Simmons, and J. Carroll Beckwith. After a twelve-course meal, a huge pie was wheeled into the studio and a sixteen-year old artists' model jumped out of the pie, dressed in filmy black gauze, a stuffed blackbird perched on her head; the guests struck up *Sing a Song of Sixpence*. Reportedly, other models were pouring the wine, and the place cards were decorated with risqué motifs. On October 13, the New York newspaper *The World* ran an exposé of the event; the girl in the pie, Susie Johnson, had disappeared, and the article alleged that "somewhere in the big studio buildings of Bohemia the girl is hidden." While not all the details of the event were described, the article explained that the easy money she had earned posing and the flattery won during the dinner had ruined Susie, implying she had become a mistress to an artist, or a prostitute. Studios were specifically indicted: "Safely screened in the luxurious studios of artists' friends, the shocking scenes of dissipation are

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76. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 89-100; Yount, "'Give the People What They Want,'" 80-5.

77. The event is recounted in Baker, *Stanny,* 249-51.

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carefully kept from the knowledge of the public."[78] Thus, all "studios" were breeding grounds for licentious behaviour.

Other editors and writers connected aestheticizing studios with scandalous romantic and sexual liaisons, hoping such provocative reading would sell their publications. For example, in 1897 the *New York Herald* published an article on artists' model Julia Baird that included a graphic account of her posing for the plaster cast for Augustus Saint-Gaudens's *Diana*, the controversial life-size nude that topped the Madison Square Garden entertainment complex. The article also discussed her nude posing for many painters.[79] As Barbara Gallati's account of the article in connection with Dewing's paintings of Baird notes, all models "occupied a part of society that was vaguely unacceptable," at least in part because of their work in studios.[80]

Baird worked as a chorus girl, as did Evelyn Nesbit, another artists' model and Stanford White's mistress. White, Nesbit and her husband Harry K. Thaw, whom she married after her affair with White, became the key players in a media circus that matched any occurring in this century.[81] On June 25, 1906, Thaw murdered White in the public dining room of Madison Square Tower. Thaw's insanity plea hinged on the belief that his wife's honor had been irrevocably lost with White; the seduction had taken place in a room White called a "studio," one of many he was alleged to have kept solely for his sexual liaisons. The melodrama played itself out in the press, over two

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78. "The Story of an Artist's Model—A New York 'Trilby'," *The World* (New York), 13 October 1895, 29.

79. "The Real Diana of the Garden," *New York Herald*, 5 December 1897, part 5, 1; reproduced in Hobbs and others, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing*, 66.

80. See Barbara Dyer Gallati, "Beauty Unmasked: Ironic Meaning in Dewing's Art," in Hobbs and others, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing*, 66.

81. The facts concerning the murder of White and Thaw's trial are taken from Michael MacDonald Mooney, *Evelyn Nesbit and Stanford White: Love and Death in the Gilded Age* (New York: William Morrow, 1976), 231-75.

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trials and numerous legal hearings, Thaw's escape from an institution for the criminally insane and his extradition from Canada. Finally, on July 15, 1915 Thaw was declared sane and acquitted of all charges. Over those nine years Thaw became a public hero while White was vilified and aspersion was cast on anyone who kept an aestheticizing studio.

As these accounts make clear, much of the reportage on artists was sensationalized, and most was only tangentially connected to the aestheticizing studios of painters and sculptors. Yet, as I shall discuss later in this chapter, such writing formed the background to the characterizations of artists in late nineteenth and early twentieth century novels. As we shall see, the portrayal of artists and their aestheticizing studios in the media and in novels were two of the factors influencing the public perception of aestheticizing studios. The events of 1895 and their aftermath created a climate in which innuendo of sexual and moral degeneracy could more easily be connected to aestheticizing studios.

The Aestheticizing Studio in Art

The public not only drew information about aestheticizing studios from the reportorial media; it looked at art depicting the studio. These artworks were not reportage; they were works of the imagination. Produced by artists who surely sought to justify the efforts they had taken to establish aestheticizing studios, these paintings can also be characterized as self-promoting propaganda. In order to understand how influential painted depictions of the aestheticizing studio were, we need to examine some questions.

What audience did these paintings reach? Were any of these paintings published as engravings, or published in magazines? Were they for sale, or commissioned? How did American artists portray the aestheticizing studio, and what ideas were they trying to communicate with their depictions? I will look in some detail at paintings produced

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in New York City in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the epicenter of the American art world at the moment the aestheticizing studio was becoming established, in order to examine the audience for one set of aestheticizing studio paintings. Then I will undertake a survey of the types of aestheticizing studio paintings produced by Americans from the 1880s until the first World War.

Before the cosmopolitan generation of American artists established their studios, a venerable body of artwork had been produced showing studios, and these provided a context for the late nineteenth-century paintings that depicted the aestheticizing studio.[82] Among those most famous and pertinent to Americans were Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656, Museo del Prado, Madrid) and Rembrandt van Rijn's various self-portraits at the easel or in artist's garb (especially *The Artist in His Studio*, c. 1628, Boston Museum of Fine Arts; and *Self-Portrait at the Easel*, 1660, Musée du Louvre, Paris).[83] There were many nineteenth-century canvases that used satire, allegory, and even fantasy, in order to depict the creative process going forward in a studio. Among them were William Sidney Mount's, *The Painter's Triumph* (1838, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia); Gustave Courbet's, *The Painter's Studio: A Real Allegory; Summing Up Seven Years of My Artistic Life* (1855, Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Jean-Léon Gérôme's various versions of *Pygmalion and Galatea* (version of c. 1880s, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

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82. Paintings depicting kunstkammers are parallel to those showing studios. Kunstkammers, literally "art rooms," were the rooms in which collectors stored their coins, shells, paintings, small statuary, and other treasures. Paintings of kunstkammers were produced from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Such paintings are portraits of the workplaces of connoisseurs, rather than artists, in an era when the creative thinking of patrons was more valued than that of artists, who were considered manual workers.

83. See H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt's Self-Portraits: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), chap. 4, for an excellent discussion of Rembrandt's portrayal of himself as an artist.

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Another group of pictures were those in which an artist depicted another artist at work. In these paintings the artist paid homage to his predecessor, while revealing his own notions of the creative process. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Raphael and the Fornarina* (version of c. 1814, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA), and Thomas Eakins's *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River* (1879, Philadelphia Museum of Art, and 1876, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT), were probably among the most well-known and most important for American late nineteenth-century artists.

Running parallel to the tradition of paintings that were imaginative depictions of artists' studios were ones that showed the studio realistically. Louis-Léopold Boilly's *The Artists' Wife in his Studio* (c. 1796-800, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA) depicts a self-assured woman looking over a portfolio.[84] Mathew Pratt's *American School* (1765, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), painted in England by an American, shows a group of American art students and their teacher Benjamin West. The tradition continued into the nineteenth century, and John Ferguson Weir painted several canvases, among them *An Artist's Studio* (1864, collection of Jo Ann and Julian Ganz, Jr., Los Angeles), which faithfully depict elegant mid-nineteenth century studios. Thus, the old masters and the modern masters of the nineteenth century established the studio as a motif and proved that it could be dealt with realistically or with imagination.

While many artists depicted studio interiors in the 1860s and 1870s, two Europeans produced paintings of the elaborately furnished spaces I have termed aestheticizing studios, and these paintings proved influential. Mihály Munkácsy's grand studio, established in Paris by the 1870s, was described in Chapter One. His

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84. See David B. Cass, *In the Studio: The Making of Art in Nineteenth-Century France* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1981), 9.

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painting, *The Studio* (unlocated), won a medal at the Exposition Universelle of 1878, and in 1883 the dealer Samuel P. Avery announced he had the picture in America.[85] The studio itself was painted by at least one American, Harry Ives Thompson, in 1875,[86] and another, William Dannat, studied with Munkácsy in Paris in 1879,[87] and undoubtedly saw the studio.

The Belgian painter Alfred Stevens, who was active in France, produced at least six variations on the theme of the aestheticizing studio between 1855 and 1890.[88] In the earliest canvases, *The Artist in his Studio* (1855, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD) and *L'atelier* (1869, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels), the painter pauses in his labors to examine his work. In the earlier canvas the model bends over his shoulder, as if serving as his Muse. Two canvases showed Stevens's absorption in mirrors and their reflections. In the first, *La Psyché* (c. 1871, private collection), the model playfully peeps around a mirror on an easel. In the other, *Le Salon du Peintre* (1880, private collection), which shows not the studio but the reception room of the artist, his wife entertains fashionable women amid mirrors and reflections of paintings in the mirrors. And at least four of Stevens's canvases show a woman artist actively engaged in her work: *Interior of a Studio*, (c. 1877, Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburg), *The Visit* (undated, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA), *In the Studio* (1888, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and *Sarah Bernhardt in Her Studio* (c. 1890, collection of Mr. and Mrs. William Hansell Hulsey,

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85. "New Pictures at the Dealers," *The Art Amateur* 8, no. 6 (1883): 122.

86. The Thompson is documented in the Inventory of American Paintings, National Museum of American Art, Washington, DC, s.v.

87. Burke, *American Paintings*, 155.

88. All the paintings mentioned, except the Clark Institute *The Visit*, are cataloged and illustrated in William A. Coles, *Alfred Stevens* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1977). *The Visit* is discussed in Cass, *In the Studio*, 39-40.

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Birmingham, AL). In these four studio paintings, as in all of Stevens's paintings, the sumptuousness of clothing, furnishings and light is lovingly portrayed. Significantly, in these four paintings women play a serious role. Stevens's work was well-known in America, and at least one of these paintings, *Le Salon du Peintre*, was in New York City by 1880, where William Merritt Chase would surely have seen it.[89] Chase eventually owned at least nine paintings by Stevens.[90]

In the early 1880s, New York City was a nexus where many artists produced, exhibited, and published depictions of aestheticizing studios. Most of these artists were connected to William Merritt Chase and the Tenth Street Studio Building. As I have shown in Chapter One, in America the aestheticizing studio became established in New York City in the early 1880s, so studio pictures from this time and place would have been charged with significance. What follows is not a comprehensive discussion of every artwork depicting aestheticizing studios produced in New York City in the period, but it is detailed enough to give a good idea of the ways aestheticizing studios were portrayed, and the audiences that artists cultivated for their depictions.[91]

In 1878 Walter Launt Palmer began to share the Tenth Street studio of Frederic Edwin Church, and the next year he became friendly with Chase when that artist moved into the building.[92] Palmer showed *An Interlude* (unlocated) at the National Academy

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89. Gallati, *William Merritt Chase,* 42-3, discusses the influence of Stevens on Chase, and notes the presence of the painting in William K. Vanderbilt's collection. In addition, the c. 1877 *Interior of a Studio* was owned by a Bostonian at least by 1911. See Coles, *Alfred Stevens,* 59.

90. Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 113.

91. In the following section I will use titles originally assigned to the works, when these can be determined.

92. Mann, *Walter Launt Palmer,* 18.

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of Design in 1880, and offered it for sale for $650.[93] Palmer shows a moment during a portrait painting session when the artist and his subject have taken a rest, and are playing a duet with a cello and a piano.[94] Church's palm fronds and old furniture are here no longer single souvenirs of travel, but have been recast by Palmer as aestheticizing furnishings. In the 1881 exhibition of the Society of American Artists, two studio paintings appeared: William Merritt Chase's *Interior of Studio* (1880, St. Louis Art Museum) [FIGURE 60], then owned by Samuel Dodd, and William Dannat's *Corner of a Studio* (unlocated), presumably a canvas for sale.[95] Chase's painting shows the artist, palette in hand, engrossed in conversation with a woman, who holds a large piece of paper, probably a print. The appearance of the Dannat is unknown, but perhaps it resembles a canvas he painted a year later in Paris, showing a young woman, probably a servant pressed into service as a model, seated amid an array of antique furniture, unframed prints, and bric-a-brac.[96] As mentioned, Dannat had studied with

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93. Although the picture does not appear in Maria Naylor, *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1861-1900* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973), it is listed in the original unillustrated catalog, *National Academy of Design, Fifty-Fifth Annual Exhibition, 1880* (New York: National Academy of Design, 1880), number 328. Mann, *Walter Launt Palmer,* 21, publishes an illustration of the picture, without citation, and says that a wood engraving was made after the painting. Presumably her illustration is of this wood engraving, but efforts to trace this in Kurtz's illustrated *National Academy Notes*, which appear to have begun in 1881, have been unsuccessful (See bibliography under "Kurtz" for references to other editions). Mann's illustration is stylistically similar to those in Kurtz's catalogs.

94. The painting is described in *Brooklyn Times,* 20 March 1880; cited in Mann, *Walter Launt Palmer,* 21.

95. Beinenstock, "Formation and Early Years," transcribes the catalogs. Chase's 1881 submission can be definitely identified with the picture now at the St. Louis Art Museum because the museum traces the provenance back to Samuel Dodd.

96. The 1882 painting is documented in the Inventory of American Paintings (#80042885) which has an image on file. It is signed and dated, measures nineteen and three-quarter inches by thirty three and three-quarter inches, and was owned by Hirschl and Adler Galleries in New York City in 1972. A related study, measuring six and three-quarter inches by nine inches, is in a private collection and was illustrated in

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Munkácsy, and by this date had established his own elegant studio in Paris.[97] Later in 1880, an article on Chase in *The American Art Review* included a full-page illustration of his preliminary work on another studio picture.[98] The sketch showed a large portion of the studio, and a man and two women examining the paintings on the wall.

A student of Chase, Henry G. Thomson, exhibited *Studio Interior* (c. 1882, private collection) at the National Academy of Design in 1882, and offered it for sale for $500.[99] This is probably identical to an intriguing painting now in a private collection [FIGURE 61].[100] Thomson takes up the "painting within the painting" theme, showing an unfinished view of a large studio, set on an easel in the studio itself. Thomson was reportedly a private pupil of Chase at this date, receiving lessons in the studio, and the painting on the easel relates to the sketch for a studio painting by Chase which had been reproduced in the *American Art Review* in 1881.[101] Thompson's

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Beacon Hill Fine Art, *American Painters on the French Scene 1879-1914* (New York: Beacon Hill Fine Art, 1996), 5.

97. Burke, *American Paintings*, 155.

98. Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer, "William Merritt Chase." *The American Art Review* 2, no. 1 (1881), see plate shown between pp. 138-9. This sketch was for the painting now at the Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, known as *Tenth Street Studio.* This painting was in Chase's studio when he died, and he made changes to it over several decades. Its appearance now is quite different from that in 1881.

99. See *National Academy of Design, Fifty-Seventh Annual Exhibition, 1882* (New York: National Academy of Design, 1882). Naylor, *National Academy of Design,* s.v., incorrectly lists Thomson as exhibiting two studio paintings in 1881 and 1882.

100. See *The Rediscovery of a Connecticut Impressionist, Henry G. Thomson (1850-1937)* (Old Lyme, CT: The Cooley Gallery, 1988), 2. The painting is also illustrated in Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*, 112.

101. Although the painting within the painting is easily identified as Chase studio interior now at the Carnegie Museum of Art, Thomson has chosen to portray an unusual view of it.

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painting shows the ambitious work well underway, and it gives a "preview" of his teacher's work.

In 1883, several paintings and graphic works by Chase and one of his pupils, as well as works by Chase's friend Robert Blum, brought aestheticizing studios prominently before the public eye. In 1883 Chase showed *Studio Interior* (c. 1883, Brooklyn Museum of Art) [FIGURE 62], owned by a Mr. T. A. Howell, at the Society of American Artists.[102] The colorful painting shows a woman in an old-fashioned Empire-style gown, complete with bonnet and mitts, who is bending over a large illustrated book. She is surrounded by beautiful objects; her companion on the bench is a brass salver displayed on a bright orange cloth. Two different articles in the February issue of *Century* included depictions of aestheticizing studios by Robert Blum. Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer's story on the renaissance of etching then occurring included among its illustrations an etching of an etcher—Blum's *A Modern Day Etcher*, which shows his friend Chase in his elaborate studio.[103] In an article on artists' models Blum provided an illustration entitled *Do You Want a Model Sir?*, showing a woman timidly entering an aestheticizing studio.[104] And a second studio painting, also titled *Studio Interior* (unlocated), by Henry G. Thomson was shown at the National Academy of

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102. Beinenstock, "Formation and Early Years," Appendix A, s.v. and Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 294, identify this as the Brooklyn Museum of Art's *In the Studio*, and the Museum's files confirm this.

103. Marianna Griswold van Rensselaer, "American Etchers," *The Century* 25 (February 1883): 484; cited in Bruce Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and His Milieu" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1985), 185-6. Copies of the etching are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, and the Prints Division, New York Public Library, New York City.

104. Charlotte Adams, "Artists' Models in New York," *The Century* 25 (February 1883): 573; cited in Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum," 219.

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Design, and was listed for sale at $300.[105] This is probably identical to the painting exhibited in 1983-4.[106] Set in a large studio, certainly Chase's, it shows a woman (or a lay figure) in a doorway, drawing aside and peering around a *portière* to look at the studio furnishings, which include a sideboard stacked with bric-a-brac, a brass brazier, and a dog asleep on a Middle-Eastern rug.

In 1884 Blum and Chase were both active in the first exhibition of the Society of Painters in Pastel, and with their submissions to it they further identified the aestheticizing studio with themselves. Chase's large pastel *In The Studio* (c. 1884, private collection) [FIGURE 63], with its prominent Society of Painters in Pastel stamp, was probably shown in that exhibition.[107] It shows Virginia Gerson seated in a fancy chair on a model's stand, posed against a bright orange textile and array of bric-a-brac. She sits erect and gazes intently out of the picture space at a presumed companion. Blum showed *My Studio* (1883-4, Cincinnati Art Museum) [FIGURE 64], a pastel over four feet wide, which is a relatively faithful depiction of the studio he had established in the Sherwood Building.[108] In the foreground, an unoccupied bentwood chair is drawn up to the easel, inviting the viewer to imagine himself as the artist. Not only were all

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105. See *National Academy of Design, Fifty-Eighth Annual Exhibition, 1883* (New York: National Academy of Design, 1883).

106. The painting is illustrated in *The Artist's Studio in American Painting*, no. 18.

107. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 190, fn. 12, transcribes the list of titles of Chase's pastels which were shown in 1884. *In the Studio* is listed, and this must be the pastel illustrated by Pisano on p. 72, with the same title. Hirschl and Adler Galleries, which sold the pastel in 1989, also identifies it as the one shown in the first exhibition of the Painters in Pastel. Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum," 217, says that at the first exhibition of the Society of Painters in Pastel Chase exhibited *The Model* (Corcoran Gallery, Washington, DC), which shows a nude viewed from the rear, seated on a stack of pillows. This is probably incorrect. None of the titles of Chase's works accords with this pastel.

108. Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum," 215-8.

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the works in the Society of Painters in Pastel exhibition for sale, there is evidence that the exhibition was organized in order to highlight Blum's work and encourage sales of it.[109]

At the National Academy of Design in 1884 Palmer offered *Studio Interior* (c. 1884, private collection) [FIGURE 65] for sale for $200; this is undoubtedly the painting showing his Albany studio.[110] The painting highlights Palmer's painting *Venice* (1882, Wichita Art Museum, Wichita, KS), which had generated debate over its unorthodox pastel coloration.[111] By showing his elegant Albany studio and defiantly "re-exhibiting" his *Venice*, Palmer seems to be affirming his status as an innovative artist in a cultural outpost. Kenyon Cox's *A Corner Window* (unlocated), in the same exhibition, shows an etcher pausing at his work to smoke.[112] He is seated at his plate beneath a shelf full of artistic bric-a-brac.

The next year, 1885, at the National Academy of Design, Frank L. Kirkpatrick, a Philadelphia painter, showed *A Studio Interior* (unlocated) and offered it for sale for $400. The canvas depicts a group of men in eighteenth-century frock coats gathered in a huge marble-columned room. They compare a picture on an easel to the posed model before them. The catalog noted: "A magnificent old palace interior used as a studio. There are many such in Italy and Spain."[113]

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109. Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum," 213-4.

110. Naylor, *National Academy of Design,* s.v. I thank Mark LaSalle of LaSalle Fine Arts in Albany, who has sold the painting several times, for discussing it with me.

111. Mark LaSalle, *American Art (1860-1930): Selections from the Gallery Inventory* (Albany, NY: The Albany Gallery, 1988) n.p., and Mann, *Walter Launt Palmer,* 29-30.

112. The painting is illustrated in Charles M. Kurtz, ed. *National Academy Notes . . . of the Fifty-Ninth Spring Exhibition of the National Academy of Design . . . 1884-Fourth Year* (New York: Cassell, 1884), 114.

113. Charles M. Kurtz, ed. *National Academy Notes . . . Sixtieth Spring Exhibition National Academy of Design . . . 1885-Fifth Year* (New York: Cassell, 1885), 60.

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Aestheticizing studios were seen in other artwork of the late 1870s and early 1880s in New York City, but less is known about their appearance and their early exhibition history. David Maitland Armstrong's *A Corner of My Studio* (unlocated), shown in the Society of American Artists exhibition of 1878, was probably a depiction of something approaching an aestheticizing studio, given the artist's predilection for collecting.[114] Several other extant studio pictures by Chase appear to date from the early 1880s,[115] including *Connoisseur—The Studio Corner* (c. 1882, Canajoharie Library and Art Gallery, Canajoharie, NY), *Inner Studio, Tenth Street* (c. 1880s, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA), and *A Corner of My Studio* (c. 1885, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) [FIGURES 66-8]. Although these have not yet been connected to specific exhibition venues, we can be sure they were presented to the public. Two of these paintings show a visitor to the studio who is looking at art. The Canajoharie painting [FIGURE 66] shows an attractive young women perusing a bulging portfolio of prints; surrounded by art objects, she is herself the object of our admiration. The San Marino painting [FIGURE 67] shows a woman seated on a stool, coat draped over an arm, gazing intently at a framed canvas. The San Francisco painting [FIGURE 68] is essentially an elaborate still-life study, highlighting a *cassone* and an altar-cloth, but through the draped doorway a woman can been seen

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114. Beinenstock, "Formation and Early Years," Appendix A, s.v. Armstrong's grandfather's army chest, a studio furnishing, was discussed in chap. two. Although the appearance of his studio in 1878 is unknown, Armstrong discusses his studio throughout his reminiscence.

115. The dating of Chase's studio paintings has not been established, nor has any comprehensive list been drawn up. The sources from which I drew my own list were: Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building,"; Gallati, *William Merritt Chase*; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*; and the Inventory of American Paintings. It should be noted that one cannot assume that the titles now assigned to Chase studio paintings are original, making identification of extant pictures with early exhibitions especially difficult.

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painting at an easel.[116] And finally, Rosalie Gill's *The New Model* (c. 1884, Baltimore Museum of Art) [FIGURE 69] may have been painted in 1884 when she was a student of Chase and listed the Tenth Street Studio Building as her address, as many of his students did.[117] The painting shows a woman pausing in the *portièred* doorway of a well-furnished and meticulously painted studio. The painting was exhibited in 1888 in Baltimore, and perhaps elsewhere.

With this group of artworks, the younger generation of artists introduced the theme of the aestheticizing studio to the American public and claimed it as their own. Not only did they reveal the sumptuousness of their private working spaces, by exhibiting pictures of them they advertised them. Painters who had been trained in Europe and worked abroad (as did Dannat, who had been trained by Munkácsy) or who admired European art (as Chase admired the works of Stevens) proclaimed their own cosmopolitanism by painting their studios. In many ways these studio pictures were badges of professionalism. By showing themselves or each other at work, as Blum, Cox and Chase did [FIGURE 60], and by showing works in progress, as Palmer and Thomson did [FIGURE 61], the artists celebrated the act of making art. By showing artists and their models, as Blum and Gill did [FIGURE 69], they provided a glimpse into an intriguing aspect of art making. By executing studio pictures in innovative media such as pastel, as Chase and Blum did [FIGURES 63 and 64], and by showing themselves actively working to give new life to old techniques such as etching, as Cox did and as Blum did with his etching of Chase etching, the artists identified themselves with the reinvigoration of the craft of image-making. And when American students

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116. This may well be the painting discussed by van Rensselaer, "William Merritt Chase," 136.

117. The painting is cataloged in Sonia K. Johnston, *American Paintings 1750-1900 from the Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1983), 68-70.

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painted the studios of their American teachers, as Thomson and Gill probably did [FIGURES 61 and 69], or when a young artist such as Palmer painted his own studio [FIGURE 65], the whole practice of creating and maintaining an aestheticizing studio in America was underscored.

More profoundly, these studio paintings proclaimed that the studio was the proper place to look at art, and talk about art. Not only did these artists share the motif of the studio, they shared motifs within the motif. Thomson, Gill and Blum all depicted a woman pausing in a *portièred* doorway [FIGURE 69], a moment fraught with possibilities. Although these artists sometimes depicted women as art objects in their studio paintings [FIGURES 62 and 64], women were more often shown as participants in the conversation, as in the works of Chase, Blum and Palmer [FIGURES 60 and 63]. Women were even depicted as painters themselves [FIGURE 68]. Chase, in particular, showed women as serious art consumers [FIGURES 60 and 67], and an image like *Connoisseur—The Studio Corner* [FIGURE 66] could be read as simultaneously objectifying a woman and celebrating her taste. Paintings like Blum's portrait of his studio, with its inviting empty chair [FIGURE 64], or Thomson's unfinished painting within the painting [FIGURE 61], or Palmer's interrupted portrait sitting, captured the excitement of art in the making. Art atmosphere was abundantly present and lovingly implied in virtually all of these studio images.

Furthermore, the artists who created these pictures made every effort to exhibit and sell them. Studio pictures were exhibited in established venues, like the National Academy of Design, as well as ones that could be considered *avant garde*, like the Society of American Artists and the Society of Painters in Pastel. Artists also published depictions of their studios in magazines, thereby reaching much larger audiences than they could through exhibitions. Artists apparently made arrangements to borrow and to exhibit their studio paintings that were privately owned, an indication that they felt the motif was important. Many of these paintings were not owned at the time they were

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first exhibited, indicating not only that they were for sale, but that artists expected to find a market for them.

Clearly, enough paintings depicting the studio were produced in New York City in early 1880s to establish the motif as a convention, one that built upon a foundation of earlier studio paintings and focussed specifically on the furnishings of studios and the activities that occurred there—in other words, the new studio life. The scope of this dissertation prevents it, but further investigation might reveal other efflorescences of studio paintings at other times and places. Chase and his circle were not the only artists to paint aestheticizing studios in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While it is not possible to trace the location, ownership and exhibition history for the hundreds of recorded and extant late nineteenth-century paintings depicting the aestheticizing studio, I can survey the types of canvases produced, describing some of the most important among them.

A great number of paintings depicting the aestheticizing studio function as simple documents of these spaces. Some are not major artistic efforts in themselves, instead, they are works done in preparation for other works of art, or are simple exercises in painting. For example, John Singer Sargent's *Girl in Studio* (undated, Wilfred P. Cohn collection) is a figure study of two woman posed in his studio.[118] Many, many others are small paintings which appear to have been simple declarative statements that document the studio. Charles G. Dyer's *A Study in Grey* (c. 1880, private collection) [FIGURE 70], which shows the rich furnishings of one corner of the artist's studio, is an example.

Other paintings produced once the convention of the aestheticizing studio had been established in paint and print, while signaling more ambition by their dimensions,

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118. The painting is recorded with the Inventory of American Paintings, reproduction #82610010.

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are nonetheless essentially documents of the studio. Joseph Henry Sharp's *In the Studio* (1897, private collection) [FIGURE 71] shows a seated woman, perhaps a model or perhaps a visitor, gazing at a painting on the easel in a large aestheticizing studio.[119] After the turn of the century, the aestheticizing studio seems to have been so well understood as a convention that it was used as the background for artists' self portraits; by using it the artist simultaneously documented the studio and signified the whole profession of painting. In Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown's self portrait (1914, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia) [FIGURE 72], the artist stands, palette in hand, before an elaborate French Renaissance-style fireplace with life-sized figural uprights.[120] A Middle-Eastern *tabouret* table and stacks of sketches stand nearby. The grandeur of the studio, the artist, and the profession is thus suggested in shorthand.

One set of paintings depicting the aestheticizing studio provides commentary on artists' lives in the era and the economic aspects of artistic production. Louis Moeller's *A Studio Interior*, also known as *The Art Critics* (undated, private collection) [FIGURE 73], depicts two fashionably-dressed young women who have come to call upon a young painter in his aestheticizing studio. He waits as they prepare to pass judgment on the painting on the easel. Henry Alexander's *The Artist in his Studio* (c. 1887-c. 1894, unlocated) likewise depicts the artist's dependence upon the marketplace. In Alexander's canvas the artist is seated at his easel, sadly contemplating a hole in his shoe.[121]

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119. A fact sheet on the painting has been produced by Beacon Hill Fine Art, New York City.

120. See the file for the painting, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. The painting is also reproduced in *The Artist's Studio in American Painting*, no. 25.

121. The painting is illustrated and discussed in Raymond L. Wilson, "Henry Alexander: Chronicler of Commerce," *Archives of American Art Journal* 20, no. 2

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Other pictures are less caustic. George Newell Bowers's *The Newsboy* (1889, Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA) [FIGURE 74] captures the art atmosphere that writers noted in aestheticizing studios. A newsboy hesitates on the threshold of a studio, eyes wide open; he is wary of disturbing the process of artistic creation. In Ignaz Marcel Gaugengigl's *The Painter* (undated, The Dahesh Museum, New York) [FIGURE 75], we look over the shoulder of the artist, dressed in a late eighteenth-century frock coat and breeches, who contemplates his work in progress, which appears to be an allegorical depiction of love, in the style of François Boucher. Like the newsboy in Bower's painting, we have the sense that we are interlopers in the studio, experiencing the power of its art atmosphere.

Some of the paintings depicting aestheticizing studios attempt a serious exploration of art culture. Arthur F. Mathews's *Paris Studio Interior* (c. 1887, Oakland Museum of Art) [FIGURE 76] was probably painted while he was a student in Paris at the Académie Julian.[122] It shows a woman artist, palette in hand, seated with two women friends on a divan. The group is looking at prints spread before them on the bearskin rug; framed paintings, presumably the fruits of the artist's labor, hang on the walls.[123] The painting shows that artistic endeavor is the result not only of solitary labor, but also of human interaction, and that women could be active participants in this life. Stacy Tolman's *The Musicale* (1887, Brooklyn Museum of Art) [FIGURE 77] was painted in Boston and was probably the picture exhibited in 1888 in Chicago under the

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(1980): 10. The painting was sold at Sotheby's, New York City, on 25 May 1988, lot 61a.

122. See *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between the World's Fairs, 1876-1893* (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), 117-9.

123. In fact, the paintings depicted were Mathews's *Imogen and Arviragus*, which he showed in the Paris Salon, and a Dutch interior scene, the product of his travels in Holland with a group of American artists. See *The Quest for Unity,* 118-9.

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title *A Trio*.[124] The painting shows a violinist, a cellist and a pianist, playing in what is clearly a working studio, recognizable by its appealing disarray. The three, two men and a woman, are presumably artists who have put aside work to play Haydn (the score is legible on the music stand). The painting implies that the abundance of artistic camaraderie and creativity fostered by aestheticizing studios found expression in music as well as art.

In 1887 Kenyon Cox gave his friend Augustus Saint-Gaudens a portrait he had painted of him. Two years later the sculptor reciprocated with a bas-relief portrait of Cox. Though the painting was destroyed by fire, it is known from a replica (1908, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) [FIGURE 78], as well as publication of the original.[125] The painting shows Saint-Gaudens in the act of sculpting a bas-relief portrait of William Merritt Chase (a friend of both Cox and Saint-Gaudens), who himself is shown in the act of painting. As Saint-Gaudens reaches out to Chase, and Chase gestures to Saint-Gaudens's own artwork visible on his studio walls, a sense of artistic striving and achievement is realized by the composition. Among the most famous of late nineteenth-century American studio paintings, Cox's picture commemorates friendship and celebrates creativity.

The paintings by Tolman, Mathews and Cox are all testaments to the seriousness with which the artists regarded the life of the studios and artistic endeavor. The paintings by Tolman and Mathews, who apparently had only tenuous connections to the art world of New York City, show that aestheticizing studios were regarded as serious business elsewhere.

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124. John I. Baur, "A Painter of Painters: Stacy Tolman (1860-1893)," *The American Art Journal* (January 1979): 39-40.

125. The painting is fully cataloged in Burke, *American Paintings*, 215-8.

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More than any one, William Merritt Chase made the theme of the aestheticizing studio his own. He returned to the theme over and over, throughout his career, examining it from many different perspectives. The early depictions of the studio, as discussed, familiarized the public with the appearance of his studio and the process of making and appreciating art. While Chase never gave up these themes, he added others in later paintings.

Chase often depicted members of his family at rest and play, and occasionally their activities were set in the studio. In *The Ring Toss* (c. 1896, private collection) [FIGURE 79], three of Chase's daughters throw brightly colored rings onto a stake, while standing amid their father's canvases. In one major canvas, the studio is the site where a small social drama is enacted. Many viewers would have recognized Chase's Shinnecock studio from other canvases, but the setting for *A Friendly Call* (1895, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC) [FIGURE 80] is nonetheless distinguishable as a studio by the unorthodoxy of its furnishings: the long banquette, the very large mirror, the casually hung textiles, and the profusion of framed prints. Compositionally, the painting relates to Alfred Steven's *Le Salon du Peintre*, which also shows fashionable women arrayed against a mirror.[126] In this studio the hostess receives a call from a visitor. Clearly the visitor is making a formal call; she has removed neither her gloves nor her veiled hat, and she retains her parasol. The visitor's posture, her torso bent forward and her fingers splayed against the seat, reveals that she is emphatically making some point to the hostess, who listens with concern. The viewer must ask—is this call really a friendly one? Chase rarely included this much overt narrative in any of his paintings.

Most often Chase depicts the studio as a place where the process of artificing is

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126. Gallati, *William Merritt Chase,* 43, notes this relationship.

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carried out. Perhaps this is portrayed most straightforwardly in his self-portrait of 1915-6 (Art Association of Richmond, Richmond, VA) [FIGURE 81], where the mature artist is shown at his easel, and his elaborate Shinnecock studio is suggested by various pieces of furniture sketched in. So far, the picture on the easel is only a tangle of meaningless lines; a difficult task lies ahead. Less straightforward is his portrait of Dora Wheeler (1883, Cleveland Museum of Art) [FIGURE 82], a former student who was at that moment launching her career as a painter and textile designer. As Karal Ann Marling has noted, Chase surely meant this large uncommissioned portrait to be a bold assertion of his own and his sitter's originality as artists.[127] The unconventional pose, the uncompromising gaze of the sitter, and the unorthodox color scheme all discomfited the critics, who found the sitter to be "gifted with more cleverness than feeling" and the painter to be exhibiting "taste more questionable than pleasing."[128] The portrait was not recognized as a studio picture, though Chase must have intended the yellow tapestry background and other furnishings to stand for Wheeler's studio, and by extension, her and his own role in raising the status of the arts of design.

Between 1888 and 1890, working in oil and pastel, Chase repeatedly took up the theme of the nude.[129] Like *Modern Magdalen* (c. 1888, private collection) [FIGURE

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127. Karal Ann Marling, "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman: Miss Dora Wheeler," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 65 (February 1978): 46-57. The painting was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1883, the Internationale Kunstausstellung of 1883, and the Society of American Artists exhibition of 1884, making it an important early statement by Chase. See Marling, "Portrait of the Artist," 56; Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 61; and Gallati, *William Merritt Chase,* 91, 95.

128. Fr. Pecht, "A German Critic on American Art," *The Art Amateur* 11, no. 3 (1884): 78.

129. Besides *Modern Magdalen*, the group includes: *A Study in Curves* also known as *Reclining Nude*, oil on canvas (c. 1890, collection of Jason Schoen); *Nude*, pastel on canvas (private collection); *Back of a Nude*, pastel on paper (c. 1888, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Horowitz). The works are illustrated in Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 64, 65, 66, 69.

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83], all the works in the series focus on a woman who is luxuriantly juxtaposed with rich fabrics, and in all the works her back is to us or her gaze is averted. The composition of these works links them to traditional depictions of the nude in the studio such as Titian's *The Venus of Urbino* (1538, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) and Goya's *Naked Maja* (1800, Museo del Prado, Madrid). Like the old masters, Chase examines the pure beauty of the female form, and by setting the woman amid pillows and hangings, draws analogies between skin and silk and calls attention to the sensuousness of form and texture. The artifice and the artfulness of the painter's relation to his model in his studio and the viewer's relation to the elegantly contrived scene are all celebrated.

Perhaps the most interesting among Chase's studio paintings are those that explore the theme of the figure in the painted studio interacting with the viewer. Two of these, like the nudes, use the convention of the model posed in a well-furnished corner to imply the presence of the whole studio. The model in *Weary* (c. 1889, private collection) [FIGURE 84] wears a simple black dress and is seated on a magnificent gilded Louis XV chair, which stands before a Japanese screen and upon a brilliantly-colored Middle Eastern rug. The model in *The Blue Kimono* (c. 1888, Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, NY) [FIGURE 85] sits among Oriental furnishings, including a couch, a screen, a rug, a colossal bronze vase, and a blue pillow. The models in both, who may be the same person, look frankly out at the viewer, compelling us to accept them as women and not as objects. Nonetheless, we recognize and enjoy their elegance and beauty amid their surroundings.

In the Studio (1892, collection of Erving and Joyce Wolf, New York) [FIGURE 86] and *Did You Speak to Me?* (c. 1897, Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, OH) [FIGURE 87] are both comparatively late works of Chase's that show family members in the Shinnecock studio. In the first, Mrs. Chase sits in a rattan chair set before a piano, and holds a portfolio of prints, or perhaps a set of sheet music. She looks out at the viewer, as though reflecting during a pause in conversation. The

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painting carries its original title,[130] which implies that the lady's presence in the studio, and conversation about art and music, are everyday occurrences. In *Did You Speak to Me?* a girl of perhaps ten years of age, one of the artist's daughters, is seated on a stool before a stack of paintings, an unfinished canvas in front of her. She pivots on the stool to confront the viewer, who has presumably interrupted her examination of the painting. The painting challenges the viewer to look at the works in the studio with the unprejudiced eyes of a child, yet the largest painting within the painting is not legible. Chase deflects our attention back to the girl; we must ask *her* about the art. The models and family members in all four paintings engage the viewer with their gazes and ask him to enter the studio and participate in the work of aesthetic appreciation.

The artists of the late nineteenth century made their paintings of aestheticizing studios serve many purposes. Sometimes they were simply studies done in preparation for other works, or documents of studio furnishings or models [FIGURES 70 and 71]. Many portraits and self-portraits of artists were set in their studios, providing powerful affirmation of the sitter's identity [FIGURES 72, 81 and 82]. Occasionally, pictures of aestheticizing studios gave artists a way to express the uncomfortable economic realities of their lives [FIGURE 73]. More often, however, artists used pictures of their studios to make statements about the satisfying art atmosphere they had worked hard to create. A few pictures, like Gaugengigl's [FIGURE 75], portray art atmosphere fancifully. Much more often artists deal seriously with studio life and art atmosphere. Mathews, Tolman, and Cox [FIGURES 76, 77 and 78] as well as Chase, in his pictures of nude and clothed models [FIGURES 83-5], made profound statements about the art culture that artists created in the rarefied world of the studio. Chase drew that circle wider, bringing his family and visitors into the studio, making art culture a part of everyday

130. See Gallati, *William Merritt Chase,* 118-9.

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life [FIGURES 79, 80, 86 and 87]. The aestheticizing studio, so much a part of artists' lives, naturally became a dominant motif in their art.

The Aestheticizing Studio in Fiction

Even before the aestheticizing studio was established in America, representations of it had appeared in fiction. With few exceptions, the authors of fiction were not artists and did not work in aestheticizing studios. They had no vested interest in legitimizing aestheticizing studios. Instead, authors developed the motif for what it could contribute to their own art. Like paintings that depicted the aestheticizing studio, novels that used the motif helped form the public's perception of studios. Arguably, novels had a wider audience than paintings, and their collective influence is perhaps easier to surmise than that of paintings, each one of which has its own history of exhibition, publication, and ownership. What follows is a discussion of the novels and stories that were available to the American reader which used the aestheticizing studio as a motif.

Two European novels, both wholly concerned with artists and their lives, were especially influential because they were so popular. The first was Henri Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* (1851), a book which collected a set of essays that had been serialized in a French periodical and staged as a play.[131] It was translated into English at least by 1883,[132] but even before then it was extremely popular. An 1880 English-language book on French literature quoted a French critic writing about the book:

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131. Henri Murger, *La Bohème: Scènes de la vie de Bohème*, trans. Elizabeth Ward Hugus (Paris, Michel Lévy frères, 1851; reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1988). The introduction by Herbert Josephs, as well as Malcolm Easton, *Artists and Writers in Paris, The Bohemian Idea, 1803-1867* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1964), passim, especially pp. 119-36, gives bibliographic and historical details concerning the book.

132. The Union List of Publications lists an 1883 London edition, *The Bohemians of the Latin Quarter (Scènes de la vie de Bohème)*, published by Vizetelly, and then many

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> Criticising it is no use. This volume is on every table. It has already charmed the youth of two generations; the third, which is hardly rising, knows it by heart. 'La vie de Bohème' and 'Les Chansons de Béranger' are the first chapter of the code of life. Do and declaim as you will, the book will remain. It is adopted, and nothing can distract from it the generation that is passing, and still less the men of coming generations.[133]

Giacomo Puccini's opera *La Bohème* debuted in 1896, and a year later Ruggiero Leoncavallo's opera of the same name appeared. Both were loosely based on Murger's book, and they further popularized the story and the term "bohemian."[134]

The book celebrates a group of painters, poets and musicians who live in the cheap garrets of Paris along with their mistresses. Their stories revolve around their efforts to sell their work, consummate their love lives, and avoid their landlords. Their rooms are cold, dirty and bare, they wear unconventional clothing because they cannot afford better, and they alternate between poverty and brief moments of wealth, when all in the group enjoyed a night out in the cafés of Paris. Adding a note of realism, the book was said to have been based on actual people; the central character of Rudolphe was Murger himself, and Marcel was a composite of the critic Champfleury (Jules Fleury) and the painter François Tabar.[135]

By mid-century, then, Murger's book had established a stereotype of *la vie de Bohème*. Bohemians were dedicated to their art and sacrificed all to it. They endured poverty and enjoyed the fellowship of their comrades in arts, and the company of their

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subsequent English editions especially around the turn of the century. The book was published under many variants of the title.

133. Maurice Mauris, *French Men of Letters* (New York: D. Appleton, 1880), 102.

134. By the 1840s in France "bohème" had become synonymous with people who lived free, unconventional lives. The usage arose from the mistaken assumption that all gypsies, who seemed to have a nomadic, carefree existence, came from the eastern European region of Bohemia. The English word "bohemian" became synonymous with the artistic personality by the 1860s.

135. Easton, *Artists and Writers,* 119.

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mistresses. They were bound not to the strictures of bourgeois society, but to their own codes of behaviour. Among those who fell under the spell of Murger's book was the young James McNeill Whistler. In 1855, while working in Washington, DC as a surveyor for the United States Coast Survey, he read Murger and came to Paris as an art student soon thereafter. Many commentators have noted Whistler's affection for the book and one scholar says that he quoted from it all his life.[136] As noted in Chapter One, Whistler's conception of the bohemian aesthete, which he began living in London in the 1860s, soon became an important model for late nineteenth-century American artists. Indeed, Murger's book provided the context for the *vie de Bohème* of aestheticizing studios described in Chapter Three.

The second influential novel, George du Maurier's *Trilby*, was published in 1894 and instantly became a big success.[137] Set in the 1850s among the student ateliers of Paris, the novel tells the story of artists' model Trilby O'Ferrall, who occasionally poses in the nude and has had affairs. Trilby, famous for her perfectly-formed feet, becomes the darling of a trio of British students who share a studio sparsely furnished with a divan, plaster casts from the antique, a piano, and fencing equipment. One of the three, Little Billee, falls in love with Trilby, who returns his love chastely, but she becomes persuaded that her past makes her an unsuitable wife. She runs away, only to fall under the influence of Svengali, a hypnotist, who turns her into a famous singer. The story ends tragically, with dramatic deathbed scenes for both the hero and the heroine. The book soon became a runaway hit in America.[138] Circulating libraries could not keep it on the shelves. A popular theatrical version appeared, as well as a

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136. Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* 51.

137. du Maurier, *Trilby.*

138. See Avis Berman, "George du Maurier's *Trilby* whipped up a World-Wide Storm," *Smithsonian,* December 1993, 110-26, which describes the *Trilby* phenomenon.

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satirical version staged by the Ash Can artists in Philadelphia. The novel even gave its name to commercial products, including a women's hat style and a footpowder.

The significance of *Trilby* for the public perception of studios does not stop with its plot. Before the novel was published du Maurier and Whistler conducted a very public argument. The two had in fact become friends when both were students in the Parisian atelier of Marc-Charles-Gabriel Gleyre in the late 1850s, the very milieu the novel portrays, and the two had even been roommates briefly in London in 1860.[139] By the time the novel was published, however, animosity between the two had festered. du Maurier had become famous as a cartoonist for the British satirical magazine *Punch*, and many of his cartoons published between 1873 and 1882 lampooned disciples of the Aesthetic Movement.[140] One of his stock characters, Jellaby Postelthwaite, looked much like Whistler. du Maurier illustrated his own novel when it first appeared in serial form in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* and his illustrations were used for most editions of the book [FIGURE 88]. The text portrayed one character, Joe Sibley, "the idle apprentice," as vain, witty, cowardly and extremely talented, while the illustrations revealed that he bore a striking resemblance to Whistler. The artist wrote to the British newspaper *Pall Mall Gazette* in protest, *Harper's* published an apology, and when the book appeared both the textual descriptions and the illustrations of the character had been changed.[141]

Well-informed readers of *Trilby* would have known of du Maurier's cartoons and the pre-publication flap, might have known of the former friendship between

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139. Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* 17.

140. Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* 17-25, traces du Maurier's role in satirizing the Aesthetic Movement in general and Whistler in particular. Whistler seems to have been alternately delighted and enraged by this attention.

141. Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 2, 160-2, discusses the incident.

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Whistler and du Maurier, and perhaps even knew of Whistler's admiration for Murger's book, upon which many thought *Trilby* was based. All of this added a hint of scandal to the book, and piqued public interest in it.

The book hinted that Whistler was a poseur, a fake. The heroes in *Trilby* are three well-bred, earnest gentlemen artists who live a chaste bohemian life; the idler Sibley, whose bohemia was too self-indulgent, was satirized. As Sarah Burns and Deanna Bendix have shown, the real Whistler walked a tightrope of his own devising that had connections to du Maurier's and Murger's books.[142] Whistler calibrated his whole life—his living spaces, his social life, the exhibition of his art—to proselytize for his own minimalist version of the aestheticist enterprise. He often mocked those who aspired to his standard yet failed to attain it. And his life was checkered with the vulgar side of *la vie de Bohème*; he had housed his model/mistress in his famous aestheticist homes, he had become bankrupt, and he courted publicity, even airing his arguments in courtrooms.[143] Significantly, the popularity of *Trilby* coincides with the publication of Nordeau's *Degeneration* and subsequent discussions of cultural decay. *Trilby* affirmed the innocent side of *la vie de Bohème* while simultaneously referring to and recoiling from the darker side.

Though Murger's was the first and du Maurier's the most popular, other novels also used the studio as a motif. In some novels, the studio is simply a site that captures the interest of the reader as the plot unfolds. The painter Francis Davis Millet had a dual career as a journalist and a writer of fiction. Most of the stories in his collection of

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142. See Sarah Burns, "The Artist in the Realm of Spectacle," chaps. 7 and 8, in her *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 219-73, which analyzes both the public face of Whistler and his caricature in *Trilby*, and Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* for an anlysis of how Whistler engineered his art and his public face.

143. The presence of Joanna Hiffernan and Maud Franklin, Whistler's mistresses, is noted in Bendix, *Diabolical Designs,* passim, especially pp. 72, 168, and 177-9.

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mystery and suspense tales, *A Capillary Crime* (1892), are set in studios.[144] In one, a Roman studio is haunted; in another, three artists die in succession as a Faustian black poodle befriends each of them; and in the title story, the mystery of an artist's death is solved—dripping water had caused a rifle held by a lay figure to discharge. In another of Millet's stories the studio is simply the setting for a romance, as it is in Georgia Knox's story "A Studio Mouse."[145] In this sort of light, entertaining fiction, the studio is utilized for the borrowed interest it can bring to the genres of mystery and romance.

In other novels the aestheticizing studio functions as a colorful, even titillating plot device; it is, however, tangential to the main motifs of the author. In Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896), a music studio serves as a symbol of the transforming power of art, which the protagonist mistakes as sexual seduction.[146] The artist in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) is an honorable man with an aestheticizing studio.[147] In his studio, and under the influence of another, less honorable character, Dorian Gray learns to appreciate beautiful objects. He grows to covet beauty, which leads him to sell his soul to stay young; thus the beauty found in aestheticizing studios is linked indirectly to corruption. The opening scene of Charles Dudley Warner's *The Golden House* (1895) is set at midnight in a studio much like William Merritt Chase's, where an audience of high society has gathered to be

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144. Francis D. Millet, *A Capillary Crime, and Other Stories* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1892; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971). The stories in this book had all been published earlier in magazines.

145. Knox, "A Studio Mouse."

146. Harold Frederic, *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (New York: Stone and Kimball, 1896).

147. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London, Ward, Lock, 1891; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1985).

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entertained by a dancer much like Carmencita [FIGURE 89].[148] In this novel the protagonist almost loses himself to the social climbing and financial speculation expected by the audience. They have come to the studio not for art, but for titillation; the studio is a symbol of their decadence. James Huneker's *Painted Veils* (1920), written after the publicity surrounding Henry K. Thaw's trial for the murder of Stanford White, equates studios with moral degeneracy. The novel includes an orgy set in a studio. The participants were all "graduated from the Parisian art treadmill; men who took a liberal view of life, men without puritan morals and with charming manners."[149] The host, Stanley, treats his guests to a huge pie, out of which emerges a flock of live birds and a young girl; immediately afterwards the party becomes a "carnal battlefield."[150] The reference to Stanford White and the Pie Girl Dinner was unmistakable. In this novel, the studio is just one more site where the degenerate character of the protagonist and his companions is revealed. In reverse fashion, the hero of J. B. Wiggin's *The Wild Artist in Boston* (1888) lacks an aestheticizing studio, and its absence is symbol of his virtue.[151] Thus, in several novels of the aestheticizing studio era, studios are a device which reveal moral failure, although the studio itself is always a subsidiary theme.

In a couple of novels, the aestheticizing studio and studio life are integral to the plot and the purpose of the novel. F. Hopkinson Smith, an artist who himself kept an

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148. Charles Dudley Warner, *The Golden House* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1969).

149. James Huneker, *Painted Veils* (1920; New York, Liveright, 1932), 147-8.

150. Huneker, *Painted Veils,* 155.

151. J. B. Wiggin, *The Wild Artist in Boston: A Story of Love and Art in the Actual* (Boston: J. B. Wiggin, 1888).

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aestheticizing studio, published *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* in 1902.[152] In this romance between two artists, aestheticizing studios and the art lives lived in them are testaments to the sincerity and talent of Horn and his friends [FIGURE 90]. The only aestheticizing studio in William Dean Howells's *The Coast of Bohemia* (1893) is the one created by Charmion Maybough, a bad artist but a good friend. When Charmion serves popcorn in a shield from a suit of Japanese armor in her studio, the reader understands the action as an amusing example of her misspent energy.[153] That same studio, however, is the site where Charmion forms a strong friendship with the heroine, and it is here that painting lessons are conducted that eventually lead to the marriage between the hero and the heroine, a romance engineered by Charmion. Significantly, neither the hero, who successfully originates a new style of American realism, nor the heroine, a talented but impoverished painter, have aestheticizing studios.

The novel in which aestheticizing studios play perhaps the most profound part is Theodore Dreiser's *The "Genius"* (1915).[154] The novel focuses on Eugene Witla's development from young artist to old publishing executive, and a succession of studios, both real and imagined, are a part of his maturation and degeneration. The studio decorations of the first serious artist Witla knows are a revelation of that artist's talent; Witla's own increasingly well-furnished studios are badges of his success, first in love, later in material wealth and social status; and finally, a longed-for studio cum love-nest

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152. Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn*. The novel was published in 1902, and though set in the 1860s to c. 1870, it uses several fully-developed aestheticizing studios. Smith's studio is documented by illustrations signed "Brigden", in *The Art Amateur* 30, no. 5 (1894): 140-1, and *The Art Amateur* 30, no. 6 (1894): 166-7, and in a photograph in the Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 440, frame 981.

153. Howells, *The Coast of Bohemia*, 207.

154. Theodore Dreiser, *The "Genius,"* (n.p., John Lane, 1915; New York: Meridan New American Library, 1981).

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reveals his abandonment to sensual pleasure. Witla's "genius" is never realized, because he can never commit himself to one woman, to his art, or to business. As a young man he had hoped to put the pagan beauty of "a figure of the Christ, in brass or plaster, hung upon a rough cross of walnut or teak," in his studio, as a blessing upon his art and love.[155] He eventually does so, but by then the large crucifix keeps company with a bust of Nero; it is no longer sacramental, it is sacrilegious.[156]

Significantly, in a handful of novels now well-regarded by scholars, art and artists appear, but the aestheticizing studio does not. Henry James's *Roderick Hudson* (1878), published before the aestheticizing studio era was well underway, centers on an expatriate sculptor whose craft might, in any case, have exempted him from having an aestheticizing studio.[157] As noted in Chapter One, *Characteristics* (1892), by S. Weir Mitchell, the physician famous for defining and diagnosing neurasthenia, focuses on a sculptor whose studio only becomes aesthetic when he gives a tea.[158] In *Esther* (1884), Henry Adams seeks to show the consequences of the irreconcilable spiritual beliefs of a woman artist and her patron, a minister. Though the title character does have an aestheticizing studio, Adams describes it dismissively:

> To please Esther, Mr. Dudley had built for her a studio at the top of his house, which she had fitted up in the style affected by painters, filling it with the regular supply of eastern stuffs, porcelains, and even the weapons which Damascus has the credit of producing; one or two ivory carvings, especially a small Italian crucifix; a lay figure; some Japanese screens, and eastern rugs. Her studio differed little from others, unless that it was cleaner than most; and it contained the usual array of misshapen sketches pinned against the wall, and of

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155. Dreiser, *The "Genius,"* 180.

156. Dreiser, *The "Genius,"* 459.

157. Henry James, *Roderick Hudson* (London: Macmillan, 1878; New York: Penguin Books, 1986).

158. Mitchell, *Characteristics.*

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> spoiled canvases leaning against each other in corners as though they were wall flower beauties pouting at neglect.[159]

Indeed, the plot focuses on Esther's work as a muralist, thus bypassing the studio. Apparently James, Mitchell and Adams either mistrusted aestheticizing studios or found them too distracting or too complex to make them significant elements in their novels.

Stories and novels that used the aestheticizing studio as a motif established a set of stereotypes about studios in the public imagination. Henri Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème*, the earliest of them, popularized the word "bohemian" to describe artists and the lives they led.[160] The stories, as well as the operas based on them, made it clear that artists lived outside conventional society, with consequent drawbacks and rewards. In Murger's stories, the artists may be starving, but they are consummating their love lives. In contrast, the artists in George du Maurier's *Trilby* are highly respectable and not at all promiscuous (though some of their habits are a bit odd) even though they work with nude models. Neither of these novels, which are set in the 1850s, make much of the furnishings of studios, but in both books studio life is a convivial existence. These two books, one French and one British, thus gave their large American audiences simultaneously complimentary and conflicting portrayals of artists.

Other fiction expanded upon these stereotypes. Some novels did portray studios as both exotically furnished and convivial; the resulting art atmosphere made them convenient settings for mystery, crime and romance. For F. Hopkinson Smith the aestheticizing studio is a testament to the creativity of artists and to their fellowship, and for William Dean Howells it could be the site of friendship and romance. But more often, novelists seemed suspicious of aestheticizing studios. Though some novelists,

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159. Henry Adams, *Esther* (New York, Henry Holt, 1884; reprint, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1938), 63.

160. See, for example, "Housekeeping in a Boston Studio," 5, which uses the word and refutes the stereotype.

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such as James, Mitchell, and Adams simply avoided serious use of the aestheticizing studio, for others, the art atmosphere of studios thickened, and became a symbol of moral and sexual degeneracy. Significantly, these novels appeared in 1895 and thereafter. Apart from Dreiser's *The "Genius,"* however, no novels made the sexual implications of studios anything more than a subsidiary theme.

Nonetheless, novels stand apart from paintings and the reality of studio life, where sexual themes were deeply encrypted. Some novels use the aestheticizing studio as a symbol of creativity wasted. When Howells has Charmion Maybough furnish her studio rather than make art, the waste is inconsequential. When Theodore Dreiser, however, has Eugene Witla attain the studio furnishings he aspired to, yet lust after a studio where he can carry out a love affair, aestheticizing studios symbolize the squandering of genius.

Novels that used the aestheticizing studio as a motif reached a wide audience. Many of these novels, among them *Trilby*, *The Golden House*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, and *Capillary Crimes*, were serialized in magazines before they were published as books.[161] When published as books, some of them, such as *Trilby* and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* were best-sellers. Whether published in serial or book form, many of these stories were illustrated [FIGURES 88, 89 and 90]; thus another layer of studio imagery was presented to the public. Undoubtedly more people learned of aestheticizing studios by reading novels than by seeing paintings of them or by visiting

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161. *Trilby* was published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in the beginning of 1894 (see Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 2, 160-2, and Berman, "Trilby," 188), and *The Golden House* was also published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, beginning in July 1894. Wilde published *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (Philadelphia) in July 1890, then added chapters to it for the 1891 book publication. (See Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* vii, xviii.) Millet, in his explanatory notes on his *A Capillary Crime,* 270, notes that they all had been previously published in magazines.

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them. So, a widespread set of conflicting and even conflicted stereotypes concerning aestheticized studios were originated by authors, not by artists.

Conclusions

The public for aestheticizing studios was much larger than the fortunate few who were able to visit them. All those who were reached by periodicals and newspapers, those who saw a painting of a studio either in person or in reproduction, and all those who read of studios in novels constituted the public for studios. Thus, the public perception of aestheticizing studios was formed by a mixture of actual and vicarious experiences. Aesthetic consumers – anyone interested in art and artists – formed the audience for information about, and images of, the aestheticizing studio.

There was an efflorescence of painted depictions of furnished and peopled studios in the late nineteenth century. In their paintings of their aestheticizing studios, artists self-consciously publicized themselves. Since paintings could reach only a limited audience while they were on exhibition, artists did their best to see that reproductions of them appeared in magazines. While a few paintings of aestheticizing studios comment sarcastically on the economics of art, and a great many were produced as utilitarian studies, a good number of them are serious attempts to depict the new art culture. The paintings show artists at work in well-furnished interiors, making art and music. They show artists and their guests looking at art, and talking about it. Women and men, whether artists or aesthetic consumers, are usually shown on equal footing. Art atmosphere, the cumulative result of artfully contrived furnishings and activities, was successfully communicated on canvas by these paintings.

Artists also helped the media communicate information and images of their studios, and made themselves accessible to aesthetic consumers. Artists served as tour guides to their studios. They gave interviews to reporters and provided the media with illustrations of their studios. They located their studios in convenient proximity to

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patrons and the media. Some may have created their aestheticizing studios with an eye towards their media appeal. Without a doubt, artists encouraged publicity on their studios.

But artists could not control all the information available on their studios; the aesthetic consumer created a market for information and images of aestheticizing studios that others supplied. A few of these aestheticizing consumers were themselves the suppliers—the editors, writers and others with connections to the art world. By publicizing aestheticizing studios they gave their insider's perspective on one aspect of the new generation of cosmopolitan art and artists. Editors and publishers also realized that aesthetic consumers wanted to model their own homes on artists' studios, so they provided detailed coverage of the decor of studios, the housekeeping carried on in studios, and the social lives of artists. The more appealing aspects of studio decor and studio life were so popular that many who were only tangentially connected to art production kept "studios." The media often did not distinguish between pseudo-studios and the aestheticizing studios kept by practicing fine artists; indeed, with the rise of amateur artists the distinction might not be easy to make. Artists were not the only ones with claims upon aestheticizing studios.

The portrayal of the aestheticizing studio in fiction, which artists had little control over, was critical in forming the public percepetion of aestheticizing studios. The idea of *la vie de Bohème*, established by Henri Murger's book at mid-century, was embellished, amplified and ultimately domesticated by American writers. In American fiction, artists lived at the boundaries of conventional society, according to their own codes that encouraged conviviality and creativity. American fiction codified and popularized a public perception of *la vie de Bohème*.

Not all fiction and media, however, flattered aestheticizing studios. By the end of the century, aestheticizing studios were increasingly portrayed in novels as sites of moral and spiritual degeneracy. Beginning in 1895, a set of isolated scandals occurred

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that involved important cultural figures Oscar Wilde and Stanford White. In the coming years, more and more sensationalist media coverage of art, artists and their models appeared. This flow of exposés occurred even while complimentary images of aestheticizing studios appeared in the reportorial media and in paintings on exhibition. By the turn of the century, the public was receiving mixed messages about aestheticizing studios.

In late nineteenth-century America, the aestheticizing studio was an icon, one created as much by the popular culture as by artists. The aestheticizing studio was an extraordinary place because of the art atmosphere found there —the creative ferment of artists made manifest. Art atmosphere was communicated through the religious rhetoric used in textual descriptions of the aestheticizing studio. Artists and illustrators conveyed art atmosphere through pictorial devices such as suggestive blurriness and through motifs such as music-making. Art atmosphere was described and defined by the media, treated with a mixture of respect and suspicion in fiction, and celebrated through the visual arts. The public's idea of aestheticizing studios was grounded in their recognition of art atmosphere. Now we can move to an examination of how aestheticizing studios contributed to the formation of artists' public personae.

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Chapter Five: Aestheticizing Studios—Catalysts of Artists

The prior chapters of this dissertation were devoted to recording facts concerning aestheticizing studios and exploring the means by which this information was presented to the public. Now I would like to begin the first of two chapters that will explain the purposes that studios served. As proposed in my Introduction, I believe that aestheticizing studios served both private and public functions. In the next chapter I will explain how the studio helped stimulate the artist's imagination and contributed to the private function of studios—the production of artworks. In this chapter I would like to discuss the role studios played in forming the public perception of artists' personae.

Aestheticizing studios played a crucial role in delivering information about artists to the public. Although the aestheticizing studio was not the only stage upon which the artist met his public, it was the most important one. Short of becoming a friend or patron of an artist, anyone who wanted to get the facts on studios directly from artists had only a few channels open to them. They might visit the studios—but only during the stated visiting hours or during staged receptions, or they might read the memoirs of artists—but these were not published until the end of the aestheticizing studio era. Nonetheless, aestheticizing studios loomed large in the public eye, because they were so often discussed in the reportorial media and so often depicted in the artistic constructs of novels and paintings. The aestheticizing studio was therefore a mediated public stage, and artists could not control all aspects of the mediation. The public image of artists could be drawn only from the performance the public could view on this stage. As we shall see, this performance was not monolithic; rather, the various aspects of the artistic persona were presented or disclosed to the public eye, sometimes

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as single notes, sometimes as chords. I want to first analyze the various aspects of the persona separately, then speak of their integration.

Artists as Diligent Workers

First and foremost, aestheticizing studios were places in which to work. Relatively few people, however, actually saw artists in action. Visitors to the studio might interrupt an artist in his work, and students who received instruction in the studio presumably saw their teacher lay his hand to his own work. But first-hand observations were rare; instead, the public perception of artists was shaped mainly by published and painted material.

The architectural arrangements artists had made in their studios and the tools they used to carry out their work, described in Chapter Two, were much in evidence in published photographs of studios as well as textual descriptions of them. The omnipresent north skylight itself or the light streaming from it, so often seen in photographs, gave notice of artists' industriousness in devising a major architectural feature that they deemed necessary for their work. The observant reader of *Godey's Magazine* in 1895 would have noted the palette lying on a chair and the jar full of brushes in Thomas Shields Clarke's studio [FIGURE 33], and likewise, while reading *Cosmopolitan Magazine* in 1889, the reader would have noted the calipers hanging on the wall below a shelf of plaster casts in John Quincy Adams Ward's studio [FIGURE 19]. In S. Weir Mitchell's novel *Characteristics* (1892), visitors to the studio of sculptor St. Clair come upon him standing amid plaster legs, arms, torsos, medallions, chisels, molding tools, buckets and troughs of damp clay.[1] Both factual and fictional descriptions of the studio depicted the specialized tools artists used, often in great profusion, emphasizing the industriousness of artists.

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1. Mitchell, *Characteristics,* 76.

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Drawings and preparatory works, as well as half-completed paintings and sculptures, offered evidence not only of artists' productivity, but of their working methods. In John Ottis Adams's studio [FIGURE 29] we see canvases framed and unframed, canvases stacked against each other, and canvases tacked on the walls. More tellingly, the half-completed artwork in the studio could be interpreted as a testament of things yet-to-come. Thomson's unfinished painting-within-the-painting [FIGURE 61] reveals the working methods of the artist, and we hear of the "three, tall formless things draped in wet cloth" in St. Clair's studio.[2] Indeed, perhaps the most common motif in photographs and illustrations of painters' studios is the palette [see FIGURES 9, 10, 23, 33 and 42]. It is usually found lying near the easel, as though the painter had just walked away from his work. The incomplete paintings and the easel at the ready offered direct insight into the process of making art.

Many depictions of the aestheticizing studio show artists actually at work, or seeming to be. Robert Blum, as portrayed in *The Cosmopolitan* in 1889 [FIGURE 37], looks as though he has been interrupted in his work. Frank Albert Bicknell's portrait of c. 1910 [FIGURE 43] is, on the other hand, more obviously posed: he put on a painter's smock, stepped into his Turkish corner, palette in hand, then remembered to include an already-framed painting propped against a chair-back on which to apply his strokes. One of Underwood and Underwood's stereographs portrays what these publishers must have deemed a "typical" painter applying brushstrokes to a (framed) painting [FIGURE 54]. Most of the photographs of artists at work [FIGURES 35, 38, 47] resemble that taken of Blum and are marked with straightforward sincerity. Whether produced for publication or private use, these photographs show the artists looking frankly at the camera.

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2. Mitchell, *Characteristics,* 76.

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Some painted portraits of the artist at work are a little more complex. The two self-portraits by mature artists, Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown and William Merritt Chase [FIGURES 72 and 81], both show them at the easel, brush in hand. The scale and the assured brushwork of each give an iconic quality to the portrayals. Kenyon Cox, too, in his portrait of Augustus Saint-Gaudens sculpting the bas-relief portrait of Chase [FIGURE 78], gives his artist a heroic character while at his everyday work. Although they carry an element of self-conscious aggrandizement, these images can truthfully be characterized as straightforward portraiture emphasizing the industry of artists as they go about their manual labor.

The aestheticizing studio contained many signals that artists were diligent workers. The photos and descriptions that the reportorial media published, the portraits that artists painted, the descriptions that novelists wrote, all three, at times, gave congruent depictions of the sincerity and industriousness of artists. Aestheticizing studios were often called, in plain English, "workshops."[3] As one commentator noted: "Art no longer waits for moods of inspiration. The artist today has to work regularly and consistently, like any other man who earns his bread."[4]

In the late nineteenth century, when disillusionment regarding industrialization and its effects became ever-more common, it was necessary to affirm that art was not a manufactured product.[5] It was produced in aestheticizing studios by hand, using

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3. See Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 1 (where she uses the word twice), and 7.

4. "Want Something Painted?" 7.

5. The disillusionment with industrialization and mass-produced products is cited as a cornerstone to the development of reformist art movements, including aestheticism in general and the Arts and Crafts movement. See especially, Lears, *No Place of Grace,* chap. 2, "The Figure of the Artisan: Arts and Crafts Ideology"; Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), especially her introduction; and Burke and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty,* especially Roger Stein's essay, "Artifact as Ideology: The Aesthetic Movement in Its American Cultural Context."

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methods honed by tradition. Artists were craftspeople in an industrial era. In aestheticizing studios were found the tools that artists needed to make their work, as well as work in all stages of completion. Portraits of artists, whether they were documentary photographs, paintings, or fictional depictions, tended to capture the artist hard at work in the moment of creation. All of this verified the image of artists as skilled workers, producing fine, hand-made products.

Artists as Successful Professionals

If studios were seen as places to work, they were also indices to how well artists had been rewarded for that work. Aestheticizing studios signaled the success of the artists. Without offering much analysis, a few secondary sources have noted that aestheticizing studios were acquired with wealth.[6] I would like to examine the ways in which aestheticizing studios functioned as cultural markers not only of financial success, but of professionalism and cosmopolitanism.

Some of the activities that occurred in aestheticizing studios already described in Chapter Three demonstrated the business skills of artists. Many artists derived a significant portion of their income from teaching, and some of this instruction went on in aestheticizing studios, which were thus the sites of small, independent businesses. Artists also made efforts to form and govern their own organizations dedicated to the exhibition and sale of their artworks. Some of these organizations, such as the Society

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6. See Milner, *The Studios of Paris,* 1-3, and part 2 passim. In part 2 (pp. 109-237), he generalizes about the link between studios and wealth, and does not examine the relationship between financial success and a sumptuous studio; he takes the link for granted. Hoh-Slodczyk, *Das Haus des Kustlers,* 34 and 50, speaks of the ten percent of artists who could afford their own homes and how these homes marked their success. Morstad, "Ateliermotivet i norsk billedkunst," 216, discusses how the paintings of their studios produced by Norwegian artists in the late nineteenth century "advertised their chosen profession and independent status in society."

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of American Artists and the Salmagundi Club, came into being and were fostered through meetings held in aestheticizing studios. Both of these activities—teaching in studios and the formation and growth of artists' organizations—received some measure of public attention through reportorial media. Thus, when writers acknowledged that aestheticizing studios met the practical needs of artists to manage their own business affairs, they demonstrated that the studios were facilitators of that success.

As noted in Chapter One, artists were perennially discontent with the character and cost of studio space. Around the turn of the century, some artists took measures to remedy this situation by investigating the construction of studio buildings. These buildings provided accommodations both for themselves and for their families, as well as rental units. Some of these buildings were even constructed and owned cooperatively. The artists Karl Bitter, Childe Hassam, Bessie Potter Vonnoh, and Frank DuMond organized buildings at 44 West Seventy-seventh Street, 130 West Fifty-seventh Street and 131 East Sixty-sixth Street, all in New York City.[7] The Fenway Studio Building in Boston, while not an artists' cooperative, was reportedly built because artists persuaded investors that the scheme had merit; the building soon had a waiting list.[8]

Occasionally, the public got a detailed description of the organization, the financing, and the ultimate construction of an artists' cooperative building. According to a 1903 article in the *Architectural Record*, Henry Ward Ranger led the group that built the fourteen-story building at 25 West Sixty-seventh Street in New York City.[9] Each apartment had a two-story studio space combined with one-story living areas suitable for a family. The common areas of the building were decorated simply but

7. Gray, "Portrait of the Artist's," 110.

8. "Boston's Ideal Art Colony," 11.

9. David, "A Co-operative Studio Building."

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nonetheless included a mural by one of the organizers, Robert Van Vorst Sewell. Other stockholders included Jules Turcas, Louis Paul Dessar, Childe Hassam, Sidney Smith, Edward Naegele, Frank DuMond and Allan Talcott. The building was financed much as modern cooperative buildings in New York are today; the artist/owners were stockholders, paying monthly fees into a fund that was augmented by the fees of renters. Because the building was capitalized by the artists themselves, the article explained, its financing charges were lower than those paid by the speculative builder, and thus it could be built at a lower cost. The article noted that the whole venture was so successful that the artists planned to build another studio building next door.

Thus, while artists organized cooperative studio buildings or encouraged others to do so simply because they wanted to ensure appropriate living and working accommodations, their efforts resulted in successful business ventures. The specific finances behind these ventures were discussed in the public forum of the architectural press and newspapers. More importantly, the buildings themselves stood as testimony to the real-estate acumen of artists.

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the aestheticizing studio was an important venue for the sale of artwork. Some studios may even have been established for the express purpose of attracting the attention of the press and potential patrons. Abram A. Anderson, Frank Shapleigh, and Daniel Chester French, whose studios were described in Chapter Four, may all have had such intentions. Although the mercenary motive behind those particular artists' studios was not publicly criticized at the time, generalized suspicion was expressed that any aestheticizing studio might be duplicitous. A fancy studio might mask the true state of an artist's financial affairs or his artistic deficiencies. It might even dupe buyers into purchasing inferior works. This suspicion engendered satire in fiction, some of it tinged with envy.

Henry Blake Fuller's collection of stories, *Under the Skylights* (1901), included a character named Daffingdon Dill, an overly-refined painter. He furnished his studio

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with a big settee covered with Spanish leather, lit it with Japanese lanterns and brass lamps from Damascus, and served tea and biscuits and pink peppermints; "society found his workroom a veritable *salon de reception.*"[10] "All these things had their effect, and when people said, 'How much?' and Daffingdon with unblinking serenity said, 'So much,' they quailed sometimes, but they never tried to beat him down."[11] By implying that the painter's ability to sell depended not on the quality of his art, but upon the character of his studio, Fuller pokes fun at the whole enterprise of art production.

Twice in his writings F. Hopkinson Smith told the tale of an artist whose aestheticizing studio helped to bring him a great deal of money in only one season. The story first appeared in *A Book of the Tile Club* (1887), a deluxe folio that gathered together stories and illustrations by the club members. In the chapter entitled "Shop Talk," a group of artists listen to a long story about a portraitist whose works were "covered with asphaltum and a faint resemblance."[12] This artist appears in Newport, complaining of fatigue from his last Salon picture and refusing commissions. He does a simple sketch of a pretty young woman at the center of the "sanctified social circle,"[13] not for sale, but as a study for his next picture. He exhibits it in a tea in a hastily-arranged aestheticizing studio, and soon all Newport is clamoring for his paintings. When the teller of the tale dared to praise the ingenuity of this artist, he was castigated for compromising his "perception of what is true and beautiful"[14] and banished to the fireside to make toast. Smith told essentially the same story in his 1902 novel *The*

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10. Fuller, *Under the Skylights*, 152-4.

11. Fuller, *Under the Skylights*, 154-5.

12. [Edward Strahan and F. Hopkinson Smith], *A Book of the Tile Club* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1887), 50. Smith is listed as the author of "Shop Talk."

13. [Strahan and Smith], *Tile Club,* 50.

14. [Strahan and Smith], *Tile Club,* 54.

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Fortunes of Oliver Horn.[15] Again the story-teller is an artist amongst his friends; he is one of the members of the Stone Mugs Club. This time, neither the story-teller nor the painter with the newly-minted aestheticizing studio is condemned; rather, the artists fault the buyers for not knowing the difference between good and bad art.

In each story an aestheticizing studio is crucial to the portraitist's windfall. In the first version, the artist and the aestheticizing studio bear the full brunt of Smith's satire; the story implies that the whole enterprise of aestheticizing studios is somehow fraudulent. By the second version, satire has melted into grudging praise for the portraitist's salesmanship, and the studio is blameless. With these stories Smith, a member of the Tile Club who worked in an aestheticizing studio himself, defended the art and aestheticizing studios of the "new artists" of late nineteenth-century America.[16] When he first told the story, perhaps he hoped that artists might live only on high ideals; by the second version he acknowledged that business savvy was helpful, and that the aestheticizing studio was a legitimate attribute of the successful artist.

Occasionally, the journalistic media explicitly sanctioned the role that aestheticizing studios played in encouraging sales. In an 1884 article entitled "Picture Buying and Selling," the author spoke of the value potential patrons placed on being able to make a studio visit and talk with the artist about his work:

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15. Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn*, 435-40.

16. Francis Hopkinson Smith had a successful career as an engineer. He was also an artist and writer of fiction and travel sketches. By about 1890 he had turned to full-time writing and painting, especially in watercolors. Through his writings, especially the novel *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn*, Smith consciously crafted a flattering portrait of the American artist. Although he stated that artists should not depend upon the sale of their art for their livelihood (see Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v.), his writings nonetheless usually include flattering portrayals of artists and their struggle to balance financial and aesthetic considerations. Smith was a critical figure in establishing the legitimacy of the art and artists of late nineteenth-century America.

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> Although many pictures will always be sold through the mediumship of the dealer, many will be sold from the studios, as a picture bought from the artist becomes of greater interest by reason of the personal association with its author, and our most sensitive artists have never objected to such transactions.[17]

One artist's efforts to make an attractive income from an attractive studio were explicitly condoned in print. The portraitist George Chickering Munzig devised a number of different settings in his studio on the north side of Washington Square in New York City so that he could "discover my sitter's most pleasing characteristic and expression."[18] The studio itself had a Flemish cabinet and tapestry, but he also painted in the rose-toned *salle de conversation* as well as separate recesses, one furnished with Persian rugs, another with blue, white and silver Indian textiles. One writer contrasted Munzig with the fictional artist Brush, who can see "beauty only in a ragged beggar" and says, "He will keep poor. He will eat husks. He will have no fine studios, no bric-a-brac, no luxuries. Brush, I have no patience with you. You are a fool, Brush."[19] So, sales and commissions were facilitated by the experience of being in the studio and its special decor. The artist who did not exploit the opportunities offered by the aestheticizing studio was to be pitied.

Journalists and novelists linked better studios to the greater material rewards that artists had come to expect, and they sanctioned this trend. A 1907 article described the modern Fenway studio building in Boston, profiling many of the artists there, taking pains to show that they are "alert, cosmopolitan men. . . . They are to all appearances prosperous men of the world." Furthermore, the Fenway colony "believes in work. It also believes in progressive and profitable work."[20] Likewise, an article on New York

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17. Sienna, "Picture Buying and Selling," 71.

18. Ishmael, part 6, 328.

19. Ishmael, part 6, 328.

20. "Want Something Painted?" 7.

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City studios in 1903 reported: "Artists as a rule, are making more money than they used. They are getting something for their work, and they demand conveniences."[21] The association of aestheticizing studios with success also became a literary cliché: du Maurier's Little Billee, Dreiser's Eugene Witla, and Fuller's Daffingdon Dill all acquired them. The aestheticizing studio signaled financial success, and the press and novelists communicated the message.

As explained in Chapter One, artists and the reportorial media associated grand studios with the old masters. Naturally, by having an aestheticizing studio, the American artist identified himself with these prestigious antecedents. George Boughton may have been misinformed when he said, "Rembrandt's pictures of studios show one that it was a common thing for the artists of his time to have magnificent places,"[22] but his contention reveals his desire to be identified with Rembrandt and the other artists whose homes and studios he admired; Veronese, Rubens, and Titian appear on the list of a dozen that he cited. In the 1883 article describing his own house in London he asked: "Why should we not have handsome places?"[23] He thus boldly equated himself and the old masters through the vehicle of his aestheticizing studio.

Having an aestheticizing studio also classed an American with the most successful of contemporary European artists. Frederic Leighton's Italianate villa in London, Hans Makart's converted bell foundry in Vienna, Karl von Piloty's home in Munich, and Jean-Léon Gérôme's interconnected townhouses in Paris all had aestheticizing studios by the late 1870s. As described in Chapter One, these were among the earliest and became the best known among the many aestheticizing studios that were established in Europe. As we have seen, the studios of American artists were

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21. "Studios in New York," 7.

22. [Hatton], "Some Glimpses of Artistic London," 844.

23. [Hatton], "Some Glimpses of Artistic London," 844.

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covered frequently in the English-language newspapers and magazines of the late nineteenth century, and this same press also produced accounts of sumptuous European studios, especially those maintained by the most famous artists.[24] The press thus ranked Americans and Europeans together. Occasionally the studios of Americans and Europeans were profiled in the same article or book.[25]

More links between American and European aestheticizing studios were made through the steady flow of images of them that appeared on both sides of the Atlantic. As discussed in Chapter Four, in the early 1880s American artists produced a number of depictions of their aestheticizing studios, in the form of paintings for the general art market and illustrations for magazines. These images, which all appeared before the public, linked the Americans to other successful European artists like Mihály Munkácsy and Alfred Stevens, who had already produced well-known images of their aestheticizing studios. American artists continued to produce canvases and illustrations depicting the aestheticizing studio throughout the late nineteenth century, and the theme remained popular with Europeans artists too. This stream of articles, books and images reproduced in the popular press and placed before the public in exhibitions mingled depictions of American and European aestheticizing studios. In an era when European art was generally considered superior to American art—and commanded higher prices—this mingling ranked American artists on a par with European artists, thus implying that both had achieved the same measure of success and cosmopolitanism.

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24. See, for example, Evans, "Artists and Art Life in Munich," Hind, "Painter's Studios," and "The Home of Gérôme."

25. For example, both [Hatton], "Some Glimpses of Artistic London," and Cosmo Monkhouse, "Some English Artists," discuss George Boughton's studio along with the studios of other prominent British artists, and Mary Haweis, *Beautiful Houses* (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1882), cites the studios of Boughton and William Stanley Haseltine, along with the homes of other artists and wealthy Britains.

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In many ways, then, an aestheticizing studio communicated the idea that the inhabitant was a successful professional. First, aestheticizing studios demonstrated the business acumen of artists. A few cooperative studio buildings were financially-secure ventures, and these had a high public profile. Artists conducted the every-day business of teaching and of managing their professional organizations in aestheticizing studios, and these dealings were occasionally mentioned in the press. But the aestheticizing studio's power to influence the sale of art, power so strong it was satirized, was probably the most pervasive signal of artists' business ability. Second, the aestheticizing studio was a public sign of financial security. A well-furnished studio in a modern, convenient building, like any other respectable home or office, cost money. Logic suggested that the artist who could afford a good aestheticizing studio must be excelling in his work. Finally, the media also acknowledged that the aestheticizing studio was a sign of cosmopolitan professionalism. The Americans, like successful European artists, and even the most successful of the old masters, had elaborate studios. To have an aestheticizing studio was therefore a sign that the artist was a full-fledged member of a distinguished profession. Artists and the public alike measured success by intertwining standards: by work accomplished, by wealth exhibited, and by professional standing attained. The aestheticizing studio demonstrated success through all these measures.

Artists needed to be seen as successful professionals in the late nineteenth century,[26] a time of ever-increasing systemization of industry and ever-greater professional specialization.[27] The aestheticizing studio was a kind of highly-visible

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26. My conception of artists as successful professionals bears similarity to Sarah Burns's idea of the "incorporated" artist. See her *Inventing the Modern Artist,* 30-40. She stresses artists' dress as a component of the "incorporated" artist, but I attribute it to artists' desire to be seen as gentlemen and ladies (see below).

27. These themes are broadly traced in Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), the

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accreditation device; here artists devised their own professional practices and produced their product. Because there were no well-developed marketing systems for their work, artists invented their own. The aestheticizing studio was the marketplace, linking producer and consumer, either in fact or metaphorically through the reportorial media, fiction and paintings. The aestheticizing studio became an efficient signal of the artist's professional success.

Artists as Gentlemen and Ladies

Even while studios were the workplaces of successful professionals, they were also bastions of gentility. Studios disclosed the fact that artists were gentlemen and ladies. Artists exhibited many markers proving their membership in the indefinite but favored group known as "polite society." Some of these markers were connected only marginally with aestheticizing studios and studio life, including artists' lineages, their marriages, and their domestic arrangements. Artists did, however, adopt many of the social conventions of the middle and upper classes in their studios, transferring the practices of the leisured domestic setting to their workplaces. Even though only studio visitors had first-hand experience of these customs, they became public knowledge through the reportorial media, and through paintings and fiction.

Artists received visitors during calling hours in their studios, just as members of polite society received callers in their homes. Various mechanisms detailed in Chapter

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classic text investigating the profound changes wrought by modern industry on the cultural life of America in the late nineteenth century. Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions 1750-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), goes beyond a Marxist analysis of professionalization as an attempt to monopolize services, and discusses the trend towards professionalization in the late nineteenth century as an attempt to give authority and honor to disparate occupations (see especially the preface, and pp. 193-205). Though Haber does not discuss artists and only mentions architects in passing, a comparison of his analysis of the medical profession with the professionalization of artists would be fruitful.

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Three, such as listings in exhibition catalogs and the artists' own calling cards, let the public know the addresses of artists' studios and the hours when they could be found there. These mechanisms were finely tuned. Although artists did publish their cards in specialized magazines, a commentator in 1882 noted: "No artist of any sensibility, desirous of keeping his professional caste, would so much as print his card in the newspapers."[28] (Art dealers, however, could.) By publicizing their studio hours discretely, artists were communicating the fact that they were "at home" in their workplaces. Since the early nineteenth century, gentlemen and ladies of the upper classes had been "at home" at specific hours to receive visitors of equivalent social standing, and in turn, would make calls themselves.[29] By the 1880s, when aestheticizing studios were flourishing, the practice of paying and receiving calls was regulated by a code of etiquette and undertaken by an expanding leisured class, especially its female members.[30] Having the time to make calls and knowing the etiquette that governed them marked one as a member of polite, leisured society. By adopting the custom of the "at home," the artists asserted their affinity with polite society.

The bid artists made to enter such society was apparently uncontested, and in small ways, even seconded. An 1877 etiquette book by Mrs. Duffy stipulated the proper behavior for visitors to a studio; the artist was to be treated like a gentleman, not a tradesman.[31] In New York City, Mary Elizabeth Wilson Sherwood served as one link

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28. "Commerce in Art."

29. Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 144-6.

30. Among the numerous etiquette books of the late nineteenth century, see M[artha] L[ouise] Rayne, *Gems of Deportment and Hints of Etiquette* (Detroit: Tyler and R.D.S. Tyler, 1881), and M[ary] E[lizabeth Wilson] Sherwood, *Manners and Social Usages* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1887), especially chap. 1, "Women as Leaders."

31. Mrs. E. B. Duffey, *The Ladies' and Gentlemen's Complete Etiquette* (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, c. 1877), 108-10.

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between refined society and the art world. As a writer of fiction and books on social life and etiquette, she moved in prominent circles. And she had many familial ties to the art world: she was probably related to the John Sherwood who built the Sherwood Studio Building; she was the aunt of J. Carroll Beckwith, the painter; and she was the mother-in-law of Rosina Emmet, also a painter.[32] It surely became easier for members of polite, leisured society to mingle with artists in their studios once the artists had been well-regarded, as a class or as individuals, by certified arbiters like Duffy and Sherwood.

Though they were workplaces, aestheticizing studios were furnished and functioned more like upper-class homes. The studio visitor received a comfortable chair, could look at interesting objects that had either been created or collected by his host, and was offered refreshment. The aestheticizing studio was thus a domesticated site, where artists could display their good manners. Thomas Shields Clarke expressed this aspect of studio life explicitly. Adjoining his aesthetically-furnished painting studio [FIGURE 33], he kept a reception room [FIGURE 91] which was furnished much like the reception room in a wealthy household. Here "the kettle on the hob suggests the hospitality that is freely dispensed in this brightest of rooms."[33] The American artist perhaps most closely associated with the aestheticizing studio, William Merritt Chase, successfully integrated his home and work. By the 1890s Chase was professionally secure and immersed in his own family life, and many of his studio paintings of this period [FIGURES 79, 80, 86, 87], produced for exhibition and available for purchase, feature his family members; thus the domestic arena and studio life became seamless.

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32. See Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography,* s.v.; Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum," 115; and James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appelton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton, 1900), s.v.

33. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 3, 474.

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As I have demonstrated, the public "visited" aestheticizing studios by reading accounts of them in the illustrated press and in novels, and by seeing them in paintings. If the purpose of the formal call was to establish and maintain desirable social alliances, vicarious studio visitors were also "calling" at studios to form alliances with art, artists and art life. By "visiting" the studios, the public participated in the mechanisms of polite society, and themselves became part of genteel, domesticated art culture.

Artists were also distinguished as gentlemen and ladies by their dress. A survey of the various images of artists—photographs published in illustrated magazines, privately circulated photographs, and paintings—yields a remarkably unified standard of dress. In the typical photograph of the artist at work [FIGURES 35, 37, 38], he or she wears the same sort of clothing that members of the upper classes wore during the day; men wear suits and white shirts with ties and starched collars, while the women wear conventional daytime dresses. On the few occasions that they were photographed at night [FIGURES 49, 50], artists wore formal evening clothes. The artist appeared in his suit even in images meant to stereotype or romanticize him, such as the stereographs published by Underwood and Underwood and by B. W. Kilburn [FIGURES 54 and 55], or the illustration of Frederick Stuart Church published in *The Cosmopolitan* in 1889 [FIGURE 53]. Notably, when an artist appeared in a painter's smock [FIGURE 43], or a velvet jacket [FIGURES 47], or even a beret and an oriental tunic [FIGURE 92], he did so only for photographs meant for private circulation. In their own paintings of their studios [FIGURE 72, 73, 76, 77, 81], artists portrayed themselves and other artists in the basic wardrobe of the upper classes. Occasionally, an artistic *toque* might be added to the gentlemanly suit [FIGURE 60], or the coat might be stripped off [FIGURE 78]. Even while at work, the artist does not present himself, nor does the media present him, as the manual laborer that he, in fact, is.

Novelists and journalists noticed these habits of dress and commented upon the public face they presented. Henry Blake Fuller had shown how the furnishings of

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Daffingdon Dill's aestheticizing studio dampened one patron's temptation to conduct any price negotiation, and the novelist used Dill's dress to similar effect. Visitors to the studio, "who came late in the afternoon found his tall, slender figure enclosed in a coat of precisely the right length, shape, cut. People who came earlier found him in guise more professional but no less elegant." In short, "He himself never permitted the painter to eclipse the gentleman."[34] The real-life example of William Merritt Chase, who was famously well-dressed not only in his studio but everywhere, prompted a journalist to commend his clothes and those of all artists:

> Artists in every age have despised the conventional dress of their period. . . . It is not difficult to pick out the artists in any company. They nearly always insist on some personal touch in costume, their cravats and hats being their points of greatest sensitiveness. Yes; Chase wears the flat-brimmed cylinder hat, the 'student' hat of Paris, and it is uncommonly becoming to him. Also, he wears a Chase cravat, sufficiently voluminous, and all his clothes are made by a tailor who obeys rather than dictates, though the distinctive marks are not at all conspicuous. In bearing he is notable, though never eccentric. He knows what he is worth and impresses it on everyone.[35]

Being gentlemen, artists dressed like gentlemen, but because they were artists, they were allowed the flourish of an unconventional hat or scarf.

The stereotype of artists as those whose deviant lifestyle ostracized them from refined society, codified by Henri Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* (1851), was dismantled over the course of the late nineteenth century by artists and writers working in concert. In 1878, Horace J. Rollin wrote a manual for prospective painters and found it necessary to state that, "It is unpleasant to the refined to see an artist with dirty hands, with garments covered with paint, dandruff, hairs, saliva, ashes, etc. . . . It is possible for even a genius to observe habits of cleanliness."[36] In 1891, as more and more of New

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34. Fuller, *Under the Skylights,* 154.

35. James William Pattison, "William Merritt Chase, N.A.," *The House Beautiful* 25, no. 3 (1909): 52.

36. Rollin, *Studio, Field and Gallery,* 94.

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York's artists established themselves in studios around Central Park, one writer claimed that they left their "artless, simple habits" in the downtown studios of the Washington Square region. He also noted that "the Bohemianism of the 'Latin Quarter' is being outgrown. The conventions of polite society are in greater respect than formerly. . . . The artist of New York is not to be distinguished in appearance and manner from any other gentleman."[37] By 1907, an article on the Fenway studio building regretted that "the idea that still prevails in many quarters of artists is that they are lank, long-haired creatures, with a sparse acquaintance with soap and water, of dreamy, abstracted mien and their minds and interest inseparably wrapped around their art."[38] In fact, the writer insisted, a businessman set down in a group of artists could not guess their profession.

Murger's stereotype was supplanted by another in which the artist was cast as a member of a special subset within the larger set of polite society. This is stated overtly by one among the group of artists gathered together in an aestheticizing studio, the setting for the short stories in *The Wood Fire in #3* (1905) by F. Hopkinson Smith. "Good Bohemians, so called the world over, have an international code of manners, just as all club men of equal class agree upon certain details of dress and etiquette, no matter what their tongue. The brush, the chisel, the trowel, and the test-tube are so many talismans—open sesames to the whole fraternity."[39]

In their aestheticizing studios artists cultivated many signs that they were gentlemen and ladies. As members of the leisure class did in their own homes, artists received visitors and dispensed hospitality in aestheticizing studios. Artists dressed like gentlemen and ladies. In most privately circulated photographs and virtually all

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37. Fairbanks, "The Social Side," 748.

38. "Want Something Painted?" 7.

39. Smith, *The Wood Fire*, 39.

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published photographs and illustrations, artists wear the clothing of the upper classes. In their paintings of their studios, which were vehicles for broadcasting their own self-images, artists always showed themselves as ladies and gentlemen, even while at work. Although some writers satirized the impression artists' dress could make, most writers accepted it. They helped to overthrow the Murgerian stereotype in favor of another: the eccentric flourishes artists added to their basic upper-class wardrobe were to be condoned as an appropriate part of their profession. This is in keeping with Smith's characterization of artists as a special Bohemian fraternity within the larger college of polite, leisured society.

Artists needed to be gentlemen and ladies to function in late nineteenth-century America. As the country became ever-more industrialized and systematized, and the ranks of managers and professionals grew, and as its urban centers expanded with immigrants from abroad and from rural America, the class structure of America became more complex.[40] What it took to be a member of polite society, the leisure class, the metropolitan gentry—in short, part of the upper classes—was ill-defined and contested.[41] Artists entered the fray when the Murgerian stereotype was operative, and

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40. Besides Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America,* and Haber, *The Quest for Authority,* Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991) traces these trends, especially the urbanization of the nation.

41. Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), isolates the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the critical period for the formation of the middle class as a sphere distinct from the artistocracy and laborers. He pays particular attention to the role that manual labor played for contemporary observers seeking to understand the developing class structure (see especially p. 13 and chap. 8). Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), traces the development of a literary class in New York City in the late nineteenth century, and claims that it formed a "metropolitan gentry;" (see chap. 5). Artists, of course, formed an analogous class.

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they worked successfully to reverse it, thus preventing their marginalization. Lacking well-developed systems for the presentation and sale of their work, work that might be considered more manual than mental, artists realized that they would do well to position themselves as belonging to the same class as their patrons, or nearly so. Being gentlemen and ladies, artists could host patrons in their domesticated aestheticizing studios. Indeed, their patrons might themselves have been seeking entry into that ambiguous upper class through the gate of culture. One could pass through that gate by visiting a studio and buying art, or simply by becoming aware of the new art culture through reading about aestheticizing studios in the illustrated magazines and in novels, or by seeing them in paintings. Artists, journalists, and all those who were involved in art culture and who sought entry into it, colluded in accepting artists as gentlemen and ladies.

Artists as Connoisseurs

The furnishings of aestheticizing studios, their most characteristic feature, endowed artists with status as connoisseurs. Chapter Two catalogued the sort of objects artists collected. I delineated many categories: unsophisticated antique furniture; Oriental vases and paper goods; natural objects such as dried flowers; old textiles; metalwork; bric-a-brac such as small ceramics; both original art and copies of artworks; and a set of clichés, such as the stuffed peacock. Often, aestheticizing studios were densely furnished with objects from all these categories, but order was achieved by arranging the furnishings in discernible patterns. Journalists, novelists, and the painters themselves dramatized the cumulative effect of the furnishings in aestheticizing studios in their prose, in their fiction, and in their paintings, endorsing the connoisseurship of artists even while they publicized it.

Writers consistently pointed to the furnishings of aestheticizing studios as evidence of artists' superior taste. A profile of C. Ayer Whipple began by stating that

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his studio [FIGURE 36], in the Sherwood Building in New York City, "at once proclaims the artist to be a man of taste and culture."[42] William Stanley Haseltine's sumptuous living rooms and studio, located on the *piano nobile* of a seventeenth-century palazzo in Rome, were praised by a journalist friend; they contained "all the numberless exquisite objects an artist of taste and means collects about him."[43] Haseltine's rooms and George Boughton's house in London were held up as exemplars of good taste in Mary Haweis's *Beautiful Houses* (1882), which, using artful design and printing, offered prescriptive decorating advice.[44] And, as discussed in Chapter Four, some articles on aestheticizing studios were produced to meet the need for home decorating advice; these cast artists as tastemakers. The taste of artists was so exceptional that they acquired objects fit for museums. When William Merritt Chase sold the bulk of his studio furnishings in 1896, a newspaper writer said that "soon they will go under the hammer, to go all over the country, enriching other studios, private houses, and indeed, it is not improbable, galleries or museums."[45]

With prose and with illustrations, journalists underlined the superior formal properties of the objects that artists collected—their shapes, their colors and their textures—as well as the arrangements that artists had created that exploited these formal properties. Journalists cited this beauty as evidence of the artists' aesthetic sensibilities. Speaking of painters' studios in general, Elizabeth Bisland noted that "it is the pleasant confusion of beautiful things which serve him as still-life models and are at once the

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42. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 1, 302.

43. Anne Hampton Brewster, "Art Beauties in Haseltine's Studio," *Chicago Daily News*, 20 October 1886; quoted in Simpson, Henderson, and Mills, *Expressions of Place,* 202.

44. Haweis, *Beautiful Houses.*

45. "In the World of Art . . . William M. Chase Studio Sale," *New York Times*, 5 January 1896, 21.

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natural expression of his fondness for color and form, and the silent influences which constantly deepen it."[46] Each illustration for John Moran's influential series of articles in the *Art Journal* in 1879/80 [FIGURES 9, 10, 40] was itself a masterfully-composed still life, conveying a variety of colors and textures in the medium of the black and white engraving. As discussed in Chapter Two, journalists echoed the artists' interest in the pure visual sensation of studio objects by using colorful prose of their own in their studio descriptions. For example, Chase's "gay-plummaged parrots . . . look contemptuously on the quiet grays and browns which visitors wear."[47]

The role that F. Hopkinson Smith's prose played in validating the power of aestheticizing studios to influence sales has already been discussed; in his novel *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (1902), he also glorified the artist's powers of aesthetic discernment. At a meeting of the Stone Mugs Club in an aestheticizing studio, Oliver Horn comes so under the spell of the formal qualities of Madame Kovalski that he notices nothing else about her while painting her portrait [FIGURE 90]:

> What stirred him was not the personality of the Countess—not her charm nor beauty but the harmony of the colors playing about her figure: the reflected lights in the blue-black of her hair; the soft tones of the velvet lost in the shadows of the floor, and melting into the walls behind her; the high lights on the bare shoulder and arms divided by the severe band of black; the subdued grays in the fall of lace uniting the flesh tones and the bodice; and, more than all, the ringing note of red sung by the japonica tucked in her hair and which found its only echo in the red of her lips—red as a slashed pomegranate with the white seed-teeth showing through. The other side of her beautiful self—the side that lay hidden under her soft lashes and velvet touch, the side that could blaze and scorch and burn to cinders—that side Oliver had never once seen nor thought of.[48]

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46. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 3.

47. See "Fine Arts. Art and Artists," part 7, 8.

48. Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn*, 448.

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For Smith, artists were sainted; they were pure "eyes," whose artistic abilities could be quickened by sensual inspiration, but not debased by sexual stimulation.

Artists proved their connoisseurship not only by appreciating the formal aesthetic qualities of their studio furnishings, but by displaying erudition about them. A 1904 article in *Brooklyn Life* informs us that Hamilton Easter Field's studio held seventeenth-century Flemish tiles, an early Italian Renaissance terra-cotta Virgin, old Delft candlesticks, and a wrought iron fireback that had belonged to Louis XIV.[49] An 1895 article in *Cosmopolitan* informs us that Thomas Shields Clarke's studio contained a sword made by Andrea Ferrara, "the most celebrated sword-maker of the fifteenth-century," and a suit of armor "of the time of Christopher Columbus," as well as paintings by Salvator Rosa, Paul Veronese, and Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret.[50] Many such precise attributions and details of provenance were given in the reportorial media that documented artists' studios, as discussed in Chapter Two. We may be sure that journalists usually obtained such information from the artist, rather than researching it for themselves. Whether credited to the artist/collector or simply stated as fact, the catalogues of studio furnishings that were so common in the media communicated artists' connoisseurship.

In many ways, then, aestheticizing studios affirmed the role of artists as connoisseurs. The varied and elaborate furnishings that were the hallmark of aestheticizing studios were far more than simply props and models. Descriptions of studios in journals and in fiction, and images of studios that appeared as illustrations in magazines and as paintings in exhibitions—all emphasized the pleasing formal qualities of individual objects and groupings of objects. By gathering these furnishings together and opening their studios to the press, artists publicly affirmed their superior aesthetic

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49. "The Looker-On," 6.

50. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 3, 474.

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sensibilities. Journalists also communicated artists' erudition concerning the origins of the objects in their studio collections. Artists were portrayed as true tastemakers and connoisseurs, whose knowledge presumably informed their art.

Connoisseurship was an important skill to have in the late nineteenth century. First, because artists collected mainly European furniture and decorative art, their connoisseurship was yet another attribute linking them to the rising tide of intercontinental cosmopolitanism. Second, connoisseurship was an important skill to have in a newly-aestheticizing era. Various points of this aesthetic era have been touched upon in prior chapters: the development of the antiques and art market, artists' roles as lenders to and organizers of the fine and decorative art sections within the great national and international loan exhibitions, the increasing number of art students, the art magazines and fiction with art themes, and especially, the rise of the aesthetic consumer. This was also the era when most of America's great museums were founded, and with this came greater public access to objects of historic and aesthetic value, and claims for a concomitant rise in public taste.[51] By other methods too, methods as varied as cheaper wood engravings and the rise of women's art handicrafts, art became more than the domain of the upper classes.[52] Artists claimed a stake in all this activity not

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51. See Nathaniel Burt, *Palaces for the People: A Social History of the American Art Museum* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), for a history of museums. See Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising and the Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence," in Ian M.G. Quimby, ed., *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York: W. W. Norton and The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1978), 140-74, and Daniel Fox, *Engines of Culture: Philanthropy and Art Museums* (New Brunswick, USA, and London: Transaction Publishers, 1995), especially the chapter "Impulses and Justification," for the claims museums made concerning the elevation of popular taste.

52. Charles L. Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste* (London: Longmans, Green, 1878; reprint, New York: Dover, 1969), 196-7, mentions wood engravings as "perhaps the most desirable examples of modern art which can be possessed at a trifling cost." Yount, "'Give the People What They Want,'" 220-47, discusses the production of women's art handiwork in the aesthetic era. See also McClaugherty, "Household Art," for an overview of prescriptive interior design literature of the period which advocated decorating with art and bric-a-brac; William S. Ayers, "Pictures in the American Home,

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only by making art, but also by collecting art of all sorts and displaying it at the very site of their own creativity. By doing so, by encouraging descriptions of the objects that they had collected, by painting pictures of their studios, and by allowing themselves to be portrayed as tastemakers, artists proved that they were all-around connoisseurs, Renaissance men and women connected to the larger world of art. Public leadership in connoisseurship was expected of artists in the aesthetic era, and artists metaphorically donned that mantle when they decorated their studios.

Artists as Alchemists

Even while affirming their roles as dilligent workers, as successful professionals, as members of polite society, and as connoisseurs, aestheticizing studios also revealed artists as alchemists. Artists exercised their creativity in aestheticizing studios; it was here that mundane materials were transformed into art—an alchemical process. Many aspects of studio life and studio decor were clues to the hidden well-springs of imagination that artists harbored. Artists sometimes chose to emphasize their fecundity in their own accounts of their lives and in the works of art that they produced. More often, however, the public image of artists as alchemists was formed by the

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1880-1930," in Jessica H. Foy and Karal Ann Marling, eds., *The Arts and the American Home* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 149-64, for a discussion of prescriptive literature concerning framed art on the wall; and William Seale, *The Tasteful Interlude: American Interiors Through the Camera's Eye, 1860-1917*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1981), for a set of photographs documenting the new density of household furnishings, achieved, in part, with fine and decorative arts. Saul E. Zalesch, "What the Four Million Bought: Cheap Oil Paintings of the 1880s" *American Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (1996): 77-109, provides a fascinating look at another way in which art became more widely distributed in the late nineteenth century. Cheap oil paintings constituted at least an indirect threat to the painters profiled in this dissertation. Aestheticizing studios were, of course, another mark which differentiated painters of high-quality pictures from those that produced "mere daubs."

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reportorial media and by novelists, who, in their own writing, revealed the clues that they had found to artists' creativity.

Reporters gave charming descriptions of the unorthodox housekeeping arrangements that they discovered in aestheticizing studios, thus making these practical matters sound romantic. When attending a studio reception at the Grundmann Building in 1898, the writer "knew that there was some occult reason for the Delhi drapery across the corner, and further investigation revealed the fact that it concealed, not the oracle, but the kitchen." The same writer noted the delightful informality of studio dinner parties: "No one is disturbed when bouillon is served up in comfit jars, or Welsh rabbit in a beer mug."[53] The writer's tone not only congratulated artists on their perseverance in the face of privation, but on their improvisational skills, their ad-hoc creativity.

Journalists excused the dirt, disorder and underlying air of impermanence in aestheticizing studios, finding them part of the natural order of artistic life. John Moran's "Burntumber," who exemplifies all artists, has "a comfortable little room, which feminine eyes would doubtless frown on as in need of a 'cleaning,' although it is by no means untidy."[54] After all, as Elizabeth Bisland summarized, "unkemptness is the tradition of the painter's *atelier*." Moreover, she describes the peripatetic nature of artists with the following words:

> [They] never take root; they are likely at any given moment, after a good sale, to fold their tents—which are deposited in some storage warehouse—and steal away for a long sunny winter in an Egyptian *dahabeah*, to be heard of doing a little amateur guitar playing on a moonlit Venetian canal, or sketching muleteers in Spain.

When they return to their studios, "to the old artistic litter is added a new collection of picturesque odds and ends," and a new picture is produced.[55] Bisland's account

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53. "Grundmann Studios," 14.

54. Moran, "Artist-Life in New York," part 1, 58.

55. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 3-4.

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assumes that even though artists owned large quantities of studio furnishings and displayed them in elaborate arrangements, their ensembles could be easily dismantled and reassembled elsewhere. Studio furnishings, in all their elaborated but artistic disarray, were thus testaments to the gypsy habits of artists. Artists were kin to the true bohemians—the gypsies—those nomads who were thought to have originated in Bohemia.

As these accounts of the housekeeping in studios indicate, the public learned details of artists' private lives only in glimpses, by coming across an occasional remark in a magazine article or a novel, or by seeing the stray photograph or painting. Detailed accounts of artists' lives were not available until a number of memoirs and biographies were published after the turn of the century; until then only these fragmented views were available. Such glimpses, however, were provocative. When athletics in studios were mentioned, as the boxing matches of the Salmagundi Club were in an 1880 magazine,[56] and as the fencing matches organized by the artists of the Fenway Building were in a 1907 newspaper,[57] journalists showed that artists could turn mere physical exercise into creative gestures. In her article, Bisland also described Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Pompeiian supper; the guests wore togas and reclined on couches. The event produced "unexpected qualities of dignity and beauty brought out by filleted hair and classic draperies," a remark which compliments the artists' imaginativeness while preserving their dignity.[58]

Artists' private lives were also revealed by small but telling incidents portrayed in paintings and novels. As mentioned in Chapter Four, a few paintings such as Stacy

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56. Bishop, "Young Artists' Life," 367, and "Want Something Painted?" 7.

57. "Want Something Painted?" 7.

58. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 7.

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Tolman's *The Musicale* [FIGURE 77] and Walter Launt Palmer's *An Interlude* (1880; unlocated), showed artists playing music in their studios. When such paintings were exhibited or published, as these two were, they became public documents demonstrating that the font of artists' creativity ran so deeply that it found expression in music as well as the visual arts. When the two heroines eat popcorn in a studio in William Dean Howells's *Coast of Bohemia* (1895), or the artists have a banquet and a fencing duel in the studio in F. Hopkinson Smith's *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (1902), the reader of these novels understood that aestheticizing studios fomented the artists' irrepressible *joie de vivre*. To the public—outsiders looking in through the window offered by journalists' accounts, novels and paintings—the entertainments staged in aestheticizing studios, whether real or fictional, were evidence of the iconoclastic creative spirits.

The occasional studio painting on view in an exhibition or reproduced in a magazine, many scattered references to studio life in media accounts and novels—cumulatively these provided glimpses of *la vie de Bohème*. As we have seen, Murger established the stereotype of *la vie de Bohème* at mid-century, but American artists lived their own version of it.[59] In their aestheticizing studios artists enjoyed a convivial existence, sparked with spontaneous outbursts of originality. While their housekeeping was unconventional their housewares were sure to be in exquisite taste. Nonetheless, the American bohemians stayed within certain boundaries; they adopted the business

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59. See Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 247, where the bohemian life is characterized as a period of "youthful dreams, picturesque poverty, good fellowship, high spirits and high ideals." Burns believes that cosmopolitan American artists were expected to outgrow their bohemianism, a point I would argue. See Aline Gorren, "American Society and the Artist," *Scribner's Magazine* 26 (November 1899): 630, for a reference to the artist as having "anti-social characteristics that make association with him so often trying an experience to better-balanced individuals" (p. 631). This was acceptable precisely because artists are granted "that same intensity through which they are vouchsafed a vision of verities that duller mortals, stumbling after them, never see save in fugitive flashes." While the artists surely hoped to overcome poverty, few wanted to abandon all aspects of bohemianism, nor did their public expect them to.

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savvy of the magnate, the etiquette and dress of ladies and gentlemen, and the erudition of connoisseurs. The American *vie de Bohème* came to be its own code that the artists lived by and outsiders recognized and respected. The artists and the media played upon the public perception of *la vie de Bohème* as the professional and private lives of artists became more and more intertwined. By providing only small episodes, but ones that conformed to expectations, artists and media gave the public flattering accounts of the life lived in aestheticizing studios. The alchemical nature of the American bohemian was revealed.

By examining the phenomenon of Carmencita, the Spanish dancer who became a sensation in New York City in the early 1890s, we can see how a private entertainment in an aestheticizing studio mutated into a public symbol of late nineteenth-century American artistic identity. In Chapter Three I discussed the facts concerning Carmencita's studio performances and mentioned that two important paintings based upon them, *La Carmencita*, by John Singer Sargent (1890, Musée d'Orsay, Paris), and William Merritt Chase's *Carmencita* (1891, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) had resulted. Carmencita's story, however, unfolded in a larger cultural context.

Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen* was first performed in Paris in 1875, then it was staged in New York City in 1878.[60] The opera centers on a tempestuous young Spanish gypsy, who works as a *cigarrera* in a tobacco factory but also is a smuggler. She is murdered onstage by a jilted lover. Carmen is simultaneously dangerous and alluring; she is given to knife-fighting, passionate love affairs, and living outside the conventions of society. Her seductive dancing is one of the highlights of the opera, revealing her

60. Ellen Bleiler, foreword to *Carmen,* by Georges Bizet (New York: Dover, 1970), 45-9.

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character.[61] When the opera opened in Paris, critics found Carmen an unfit heroine; in particular, they reviled her unbridled sexuality.[62] The opera quickly became a success elsewhere, however, with performances in Vienna, Brussels, and London between 1875 and 1878. Minnie Hauk, who had already starred in some of the European productions, premiered in the opera in New York City in 1878.[63] A rival production soon opened in Philadelphia, and Hauk toured the United States in the following years.

Meanwhile, while studying art in Spain in the 1870s and 1880s, many American painters had become aficionados of the various types of native dancing, and they produced and exhibited paintings based upon the real-life dancers and *cigarreras* they saw, and upon the story of *Carmen*.[64] In this period prominent European artists were also producing paintings of Spanish dancers and some of these, including examples by Raimundo Madrazo and Jules Worms, were purchased by Americans. In the international vogue for images of Spanish dancers, one of the best-known was by the American John Singer Sargent; his *El Jaleo* (1882, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) was exhibited in London and New York and sold to a Boston collector in 1882.[65]

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61. Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), especially chap. 3, "Images of Race, Class and Gender in Nineteenth-Century French Culture," for a good discussion of the cultural implications of Carmen and her dancing.

62. McClary, *Georges Bizet,* 111-4.

63. Bleiler, *Carmen,* 47-51.

64. See M. Elizabeth Boone, "Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1890" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1996), chap. 5, which illuminates the connections between Bizet's *Carmen*, real-life Spanish dancers and tobacco factory workers, and American painters in the 1880s. Boone does not discuss the cultural implications of Carmencita's performances in New York City in the 1890s.

65. Boone, "Vistas de España," 173-4.

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Thus, when Carmencita's fiery Andalusian dancing in theaters in New York City attracted crowds in the spring of 1890, artists had already proved themselves in the vanguard of the taste for this exotic art form. As noted in Chapter Three, Carmencita danced in several studios but her performance in April 1890 in Chase's studio, the epicenter of American aestheticizing studio life, attracted the most attention, including accounts in the press.[66] While all the studio performances were fashionably unconventional entertainments for the artist hosts and their guests, the dancing in Chase's studio also served business and artistic purposes. Sargent engineered the event in order to sell his own portrait of Carmencita to Isabella Stewart Gardner (who did not buy the painting); and Chase was inspired to execute his own portrait of the Spanish dancer.[67] These portraits metaphorically reiterate Carmencita's dancing, with bravura brushwork and fiery colors. Though neither of them is set in an aestheticizing studio and neither carries explicit sexual overtones, many viewers would have added these subtexts because the dancer's performances in studios were public knowledge and because her dancing would inevitably have evoked Bizet's uninhibited Carmen.

Those who witnessed Carmencita's performances in aesthetic studios expressed differing opinions about the experience. Writer John Jay Chapman saw her in J. Carroll Beckwith's studio, and called it "the most wonderful dancing I shall ever see. . . . It was a study to see the people. My taste for such things is rather uncultivated, but most of them had been to Spain and got a notion. Enough to cry out Spanish exclamations of approval. Besides, they thought it was very much the thing to admire, and they were all

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66. Cooper, "Artists in Their Studios," part 1, 296-7. Burns, "Price of Beauty," in Miller, ed., *American Iconology,* 231, and *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 254-5, also quotes two other contemporary descriptions of Carmencita.

67. Burke, *American Paintings*, 88.

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artists, to whom grace of line, etc., appeals, and they really were wild."[68] A writer for the New York magazine *Town Topics*, however, was offended by Carmencita, noting that some ladies had walked out of a private performance. "On stage, the torsal shivers and upheavals indulged in by Carmencita might be allowed to pass for art, but in the privacy of a richly furnished room, with innocent eyes to view her, nothing but the fatal earthiness of the woman's performance could make any impression."[69] It is unclear whether the comments refer to Carmencita's dancing in aestheticizing studios or private homes, but the author clearly censured any performance off the stage. Carmencita reappeared in Charles Dudley Warner's *The Golden House* (1895), and her performance there in an aestheticizing studio is on the edge of propriety. Warner used her as a symbol of the upper class's abandonment to sensual pleasures, and artists are implicated in the moral decay.

The story of Carmencita is a case study, illustrating how a private event staged by artists for social, artistic and business reasons, was made public with the complicity of artists. Though the event and the paintings, on the face of it, sprang from pure aesthetic motives, artists cannot have been innocent of the sexual overtones Carmencita and her dancing carried, and even, perhaps, of the inclination viewers would have to characterize the painters too as outlaws from society. That Carmencita's performance was on the edge of propriety is attested by the conflicting versions of it, whether actual or fictional. Thus, the "Carmencita episode"—a set of dances held in aestheticizing studios and paintings evoking those performances—became symbols of artists' aesthetic and sensual expertise and affirmed the public persona of artists as passionate, creative creatures.

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68. John Jay Chapman to Helen Dunham, 28 Febuary 1890; quoted in Davis, "Our United Happy Family," 8.

69. Quoted in Trevor J. Fairbrother, "Notes on John Singer Sargent in New York, 1888-1890," *Archives of American Art Journal* 22, no. 4 (1982): 31.

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As the example of Carmentcita shows, artists could not control all portrayals of themselves or their studios. As discussed in Chapter Four, a certain perception of overall cultural decay along with a set of scandals and titillating reportage, all occurring around 1895 and afterwards, began to link aestheticizing studios at least tangentially with moral degeneracy. It is certain that after the turn of the century, a number of American novelists situated sex in studios, and drew detailed portraits of artists' sexual impulses. As a young man, Eugene Witla, the (anti)hero of Theodore Dreiser's *The "Genius"* (1915), summarizes the aspirations of his generation of art students: "To assume the character and habiliments of the artistic temperament as they were then supposed to be; to have a refined, semi-languorous, semi-indifferent manner; to live in a studio, to have a certain freedom in morals and temperament not accorded to the ordinary person."[70] He eventually does fulfill all his ambitions, and their fulfillment is his downfall. In James Huneker's *Painted Veils* (1920), which takes moral decadence as its subject, the two sets of people that stage orgies are artists and religious fanatics.[71] Edith Wharton is more subtle in *The Custom of the Country* (1913). Her Claude Walsingham Popple is a society portraitist with an aestheticizing studio, a shallow artist who never actually seduces the book's equally shallow heroine, because, as he explains, his passion was "held in check by a sentiment of exalted chivalry, and by the sense that a nature of such emotional intensity as his must always be 'ridden on the curb.'"[72] By satirizing him Wharton makes him a hypocrite; she all but states that true artists act upon their passion. To a turn-of-the-century reader, the American novels only seemed to be reiterating the sexual proclivities exhibited by the characters in Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* (1851). The American authors portrayed sexual passion as an

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70. Dreiser, *The "Genius,"* 49.

71. Huneker, *Painted Veils,* 39-50 and 147-56.

72. E. Wharton, *The Custom of the Country*, 110.

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ingrained characteristic of artists, and in their books the sexual act happened in aestheticizing studios.

Thus, a set of isolated scandals, a group of novels, and increasingly, an overall perception of cultural decay, seem to have created the suspicion that American aestheticizing studios might secretly be sites where the usual moral strictures did not apply. As I have explained in prior chapters, the factual record does not support such an insinuation. There is little evidence to suggest that more than a few used their studios for sexual liaisons. Sexual innuendo was largely absent from the reportorial media before 1895, and thereafter appeared only in overtly sensational journalism. Paintings of aestheticizing studios or the studios associated with them are overtly chaste; any sexual references are veiled and encoded, as demonstrated by the paintings of Carmencita by Sargent and Chase.

On the other hand, I have demonstrated that much about artists' private lives was only revealed to the public by glimpses. A canny cultural observer might believe that the scandals finally provided a clear look at lives long cloaked in duplicitous discretion. By the turn of the century, ever-more titillating portrayals of artists' private lives were being presented in the media and in novels – this quickening tempo of revelations must have been self-perpetuating. Doubtless, few took the sensationalized bait and really believed that artists lived lives of unbridled sexuality in their studios. We can conclude, however, that the implication that artists lived outside the normal boundaries of moral convention was firmly planted in the public imagination by the innuendo of scandal and story. The implication alone subtly affirmed the public persona of artists as passionate creatures.

To round out the persona of artists as creative souls, they were portrayed, sometimes quite explicitly, as magicians. An 1874 article in a British magazine described a typical aestheticizing studio as "a laboratory in which ideas are melted down and boiled up, and turned out on canvas by magic, the paint-pot and brushes

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being the wizard's apparatus." Lay figures held a strange fascination; they struck some observers as automatons that operated under magical spells cast by their artist master. Thus, lay figures like the one seen in Figure 32 were described as that "unreality twixt diabolus and mere mechanism."[73] John Ferguson Weir's *His Favorite Model* (1880s; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT) underlined the idea. The painting depicts the artist in his aestheticizing studio pulling his lay model to adjust it; the two figures almost embrace each other in a surreal dance. The newsboy in George Newell Bowers's painting [FIGURE 74] has clearly trespassed upon a magical space. Many of the aged objects in aestheticizing studios suggested fanciful anecdotes, as described in Chapter Two. Ben Ali Haggin's clock "warned lovers and hastened executions in Italy centuries ago," and "the Puritan forefathers . . . quaffed mighty measures of sack or ale" from John Henry Dolph's tobie jugs.[74] These objects literally spoke to the journalists. In telling these magical tales in their articles, the journalists implied they were only transcribing what the "mind's ear" of the artist had heard, an ear that was receptive to such tales by virtue of its superior imaginative faculties. The artist was a magician because he dealt with the supernatural. He could make lifeless figures dance, he could hear voiceless objects, but most important, his creative powers enabled him to make something appear from nothing, to make art from ordinary paint and canvas, clay and stone.

Art atmosphere, the termed coined by journalists to describe the distinctive ambiance of aestheticizing studios, was the definitive proof of artists' imaginative capacities. Art atmosphere may have been invisible, may have been no more than a pervasive tone, yet, as discussed in Chapter Four, writers felt that it was a fact of

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73. "A Gossip About Studios," 174.

74. "A Studio that is a Series of Medieval Pictures," 160, and Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," part 3, 2.

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aestheticizing studios. Art atmosphere was the newsworthy quality of aestheticizing studios, making them more worthy of description in print than other workplaces. Because art atmosphere was nothing less than the embodiment of the creative potency of aestheticizing studios, it was discussed using religious rhetoric. Artists were the magicians who had created these artistic crucibles, and art atmosphere was proof-positive of the imaginative powers of artists. As I argued in Chapter Four, artists themselves portrayed art atmosphere in their paintings of aestheticizing studios. Paintings showing the heroic act of creation [FIGURES 78 and 81], paintings showing artists and their callers engaged in the aesthetic experience of looking at art and talking about it [FIGURES 60, 62, 66, 67, 76], and paintings showing the artists' fertile interchange with his models [FIGURES 64, 69, 82, 84-7]; these were the artists' own public statements of the art atmosphere that they had created in their studios. Art atmosphere was a fact publicized in print and paint, a nearly-tangible symbol of artists' creativity.

Aestheticizing studios offered abundant proof that artists' powers to perform alchemy stemmed from their imaginative, creative, passionate characters. The few glimpses the public got of the private lives of artists seemed to be clues to a richly stimulating unconventional existence, most of which remained decorously concealed. Lax housekeeping and the underlying air of impermanence found in studios were merely habits that artists cultivated to perpetuate their own creativity. Artists' recreation in aestheticizing studios was charged with the exoticism of the setting. The example of Carmencita shows that private entertainments could become quasi-public affirmations of artists' aesthetic and sensual sensibilities, as journalists, novelists, and the artists themselves restaged the event in articles, novels and paintings. After the turn of the century, American novelists collectively portrayed artists as hypersexual, as scandals involving Stanford White and Oscar Wilde played out in the press. Though few sexual scandals were directly linked to aestheticizing studios or to American artists,

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this collective portrait of artists created by novelists and reporters must have affirmed a characterization of all artists as passionate individuals. While there were many other hints of artists' magical powers, art atmosphere was singled out and exhaustively defined and described in paint and print precisely because it seemed to be the natural outflowing of the creative spirit. Artists and journalists united in portraying aestheticizing studios as the lairs of alchemists.

The image of the artist as an alchemist who possessed deep wellsprings of creativity coincided with both time-honored portrayals of the artist and this era's singular requirements. The myth of the artist as a divinely-inspired magician is very old and widespread, perpetuated by the biographies of artists written by Greek and Roman authors of the classical era, by Renaissance writers, and even by Oriental authors.[75] Whether or not the artists and journalists of the late nineteenth century were aware of this tradition, many of them affirmed it through their characterizations of artists as magicians. The interest in the myth of artists as beings invested with supernatural powers also coincided with the era's tendency toward subjective, introspective art.[76] Of

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75. See Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist*, trans. Alaistair Lang, revised by Lottie M. Newman (Vienna, Krystall, 1934; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), especially chap. 3.

76. A subjective, introspective viewpoint—as opposed to an extroverted stance which attempts realistic transcription of the outward character of the world in general and nature in particular—characterizes much of the art of the late nineteenth century. Specific manifestations of this trend could be as varied as the portraits of James McNeill Whistler, the interior scenes of Thomas Wilmer Dewing, the landscapes of the Tonalists, and the visionary oils of Albert Ryder. For general remarks concerning this trend see Doreen Bolger Burke's essay "Painters and Sculptors in a Decorative Age" in Burke and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty,* 295-339; Gerdts, Sweet, and Preato, *Tonalism: An American Experience*; Betsky's essay "Inside the Past," in Axelrod, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America*; and Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, chap. 4, "Painting as a Rest Cure." For mention of late nineteenth-century critical opinion of mid-nineteenth-century landscape painting as too dedicated to the transcription of nature, see Kevin Avery's essay "A Historiography of the Hudson River School," in *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 3-20.

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course, only an artist who relied upon his or her own creative vision, rather than pyrotechnical mimetic skills, could hope to create such art.[77] The aestheticizing studio, where the artist could maintain an introspective stance in an atmosphere that he had shaped, was a plausible home for an artist/alchemist.

Conclusions

The public persona of late nineteenth-century American artists who kept aestheticizing studios was a composite of diverse facets—artists could be perceived to be diligent workers, successful professionals, gentlemen and ladies, connoisseurs, and alchemists. Such diversity might have resulted in a schizophrenic, fragmented impression of the persona of artists. After all, not only were these many different aspects of personality broadcast, but many sorts of media carried the message. Aestheticizing studios were portrayed in words and in images, by those purporting to report, and by those purporting to make art. Each article, illustration, painting or novel tended to emphasize only one facet, or only a few of them. Thus, different parts of artistic persona were expressed by different authors and image-makers in different formats and different times. In the prior pages of this chapter I isolated the various facets, fracturing the gem of artistic persona. Yet, within the culture as whole, various factors worked to make the implications that aestheticizing studios held for artistic persona coalesce into a unified whole.

In single instances in which the aestheticizing studio was portrayed, often in single sentences and in single images, writers and artists showed two or more of the facets of artistic persona co-existing harmoniously. By organizing a sale of his paintings in the "old-fashioned lavender-scented loveliness of the ancient Holley

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77. See Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, chap.4. Burns's discussion of the "unincorporated" artist has rough parallels to my discussion of artists as alchemists.

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manse," Elmer MacRae simultaneously exercised his business skills and exhibited his sensitivity to the poetic atmosphere of his home.[78] He was both businessman and connoisseur. In Kenyon Cox's portrait of Augustus Saint-Gaudens at work [FIGURE 78] the sculptor is a manual worker, yet he appears heroic, even divinely-inspired. He is a diligent worker and an alchemist. Some traits of aestheticizing studios connect various aspects of artistic persona seamlessly. John Quincy Adams Ward wore an embroidered a velvet *toque* with a tassel while at the messy business of sculpting. It survives, and it resembles the one the artist wears in William Merritt Chase's *Interior of Studio* [FIGURE 60].[79] This *toque* is neither the derby of a manual laborer nor the top hat of a gentleman, although it evokes both; it is an artist's hat, signaling the creative, alchemical brain within.

Furthermore, even though a single trait might be given different interpretations by each of those producing different portrayals of aestheticizing studios, an observer who knew both would tend to integrate them. The same lay figure that received no special mention by one commentator because it was the mundane tool of a diligent worker artist, was charged with a magical aura to another writer who saw artists as alchemists. Artists represented themselves as connoisseurs of visual spectacle by hosting Carmencita in their studios and by painting pictures of her, but in the prevailing cultural climate their fascination revealed their sensual nature. The well-informed cultural observer would have seen both sides of the story.

Even though at any given time one facet of the artistic persona was more perceptible than another, over time, all eventually came into play. Studio buildings were built by logical business people who operated them as cooperatives, yet in these

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78. Quoted in Larkin, *On Home Ground,* 32.

79. The cap is with the John Quincy Adams Ward Files at the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York City.

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studios they gave delightfully inventive parties. Studios housed successful professionals who performed alchemy. Studios were like domestic settings; they were decorated like homes, they were used as residences, and in them some of the same conventions observed in upper-class households, especially the custom of "at home," were maintained. These were the homes of gentlemen and ladies. And yet, other conventions of the home were flouted; studios were dusty and unorganized, and unconventional entertainments were held there. These were the dens of alchemists. Yet still, in these same places business was conducted; here artists performed their daily work, taught their craft, and most importantly, met clients and sold art. These were the offices of successful professionals. In studios, artists worked with their hands, yet their work was intellectual and managerial, yet here they mingled with gentlemen and ladies. Over time, studios were all things to all people.

Not surprisingly, ambiguities revealed themselves as the diverse aspects of persona interwove within the space of the aestheticizing studio. These ambiguities were a source of unease to many contemporary commentators. In Chapter Three I described Elizabeth Nourse's visit to Chase's studio in 1882. Seeking knowledge of art and art culture as a prospective art student, she went to Chase's studio and was unnerved to find it full of inexplicable, exotic goods. When looking for the diligent worker she found the connoisseur and the alchemist. In Chapter Three I described the portrayal of the banker in Daffingdon Dill's studio in Henry Blake Fuller's novel *Under the Skylights* (1901). The banker was angry because the artist would not discuss business during a reception, and he was uncomfortable because he could not see or walk in that artistic precinct. The banker was confronted by the gentleman and the alchemist when he thought he had made an appointment with the successful professional. In Louis Moeller's painting *A Studio Interior* [FIGURE 73], a male artist waits to hear an opinion of his work from a hesitant female visitor. The viewer sympathizes with the artist; why should this successful professional, whose alchemy should place him above mere monetary

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considerations, have to observe the conventional politenesses so important to ladies and gentlemen?

The complexities and ambiguities inherent in the melding of the diverse aspects of artistic persona within the aestheticizing studio could have been seen as their Achilles heel, the fatal flaw that led to their demise. Sarah Burns has taken this view, focusing especially on the uneasy intersection of commerce and art production in the aestheticizing studio.[80] But, as I have shown, aestheticizing studios were more than veiled showrooms designed to cultivate desire for a high-priced commodity. They seemed to verify many of the era's unarticulated yet deep-seated preconceptions about art and artists. It is little wonder, then, that few artists rejected aestheticizing studios outright and contemporary criticism of them was rare.

The aestheticizing studio was a durable signifier of what it meant to be an artist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Aestheticizing studios served an entire generation of artists who promulgated a new and diverse aesthetic in a rapidly changing world. I have drawn the portrait of a typical aestheticizing studio; richly furnished, it was the setting for a certain set of predictable activities. The various facets of artistic persona that the studio projected were seen not as a set of irresolvable contradictions, but as a compound of symbiotic complements. For the aestheticizing studio to survive, indeed flourish, it was not necessary that all of its meanings be kept in even balance in any one studio. Rather, the studio operated as a coherent signifier that overcame the restricted viewpoint of individual observers to assemble useful generalities about artists and broadcast them across space and time. Those eager to be a part of late nineteenth-century cultural life took what meanings they found sympathetic and put them to their own uses, and they found the diversity of artistic personae

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80. Burns's essays, "Price of Beauty," in Miller, ed., *American Iconology,* and "The Artist in the Age of Surfaces: The Culture of Display and the Taint of Trade," chap. 2 in her *Inventing the Modern Artist*, both make the same point.

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reflected in studios intriguing. In aestheticizing studios, the contradictions of art life in the late nineteenth century were resolved into a unified, synchronic symbol of the artistic persona.

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Chapter Six: Aestheticizing Studios—Catalysts of Art

This dissertation proposes that aestheticizing studios served both public and private functions in late nineteenth-century American culture. In the last chapter, I explained how aestheticizing studios could help to create a useful multi-faceted public persona for artists who maintained them. Now I would like to examine the private function of aestheticizing studios. I believe that aestheticizing studios helped artists to create art, and that they did so not only by meeting artists' practical needs, but by stimulating artists' imaginations.

It is a simple matter to prove that aestheticizing studios met the practical needs of artists. As detailed in Chapter Two, aestheticizing studios generally conformed to a set of architectural specifications: they had ample room for the production and storage of artwork, the tools and supplies needed to make artwork, and large north-facing windows that admitted much natural light. The aestheticizing studios of the late-nineteenth century also met the need artists felt for an art community. As detailed in prior chapters, aestheticizing studios were grouped in certain districts of cities, which facilitated the custom of artists paying social visits and offering professional criticism. All these practical needs of artists were met by aestheticizing studios.

It is more difficult to prove that aestheticizing studios helped to stimulate artists' imaginations. Explicit testimony to that effect, however, *was* articulated in the late-nineteenth century, when writers spoke of art atmosphere. As I noted in Chapter Four, many writers believed that studios and artists exerted influence upon each other.

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Elizabeth Bisland spoke of the "reactive potency which has its appreciable effect"[1] upon the artist, and Clarence Cook noted that "the artist who is really an artist . . . fits up his rooms instinctively in a way that at once feeds his artistic sense."[2] The writer "Ishmael" in 1891 put it simply: "The man sets his seal on his environment. The Environment reacts upon the man. The art and something of the artist are reflected in his studio."[3] These writers did not examine exactly how art atmosphere stimulated imagination; they simply stated that it did.

This chapter is based on a straightforward premise. If aestheticizing studios stimulated the imaginations of their inhabitants, we ought to be able to trace some influence of the place within the work of art itself. To test this premise, I would like to examine, in some detail, works of art and the studios in which they were produced. I will compare three pairs of artworks and studios that differ greatly from each other. My fourth example is a studio that is itself a work of art. I will show how the artists arranged the aesthetic factors of their environments and how these same aesthetic factors are reflected in the work of art.

William Merritt Chase, his Studio at Shinnecock, and *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez As An Infanta*

References to William Merritt Chase have recurred throughout this dissertation. I have discussed Chase's studios, his studio life, and the paintings that depict his various studios. This is only fitting; Chase was certainly the single most influential figure in the story of American aestheticizing studios. While the importance of Chase's studio in the

1. Bisland, "The Studios of New York," 3.

2. Cook, "Artistic or Stylish?" 52.

3. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 6, 328.

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Tenth Street Studio Building has been acknowledged in writings on the artist and the era, most scholars tend to discount the value of studios for Chase after he dismantled the Tenth Street workplace in 1896.[4] In fact, Chase devoted considerable attention to the several studios he established in New York City and elsewhere after 1896, especially his studio in Shinnecock, New York, which he used until his death. I would like to summarize the significance that studios held for Chase. Then, I would like to look particularly at the Shinnecock studio and a painting intimately related to it. Chase's portrait of his daughter Helen as an *infanta* has more than a literal relationship to the studio in which it was created.

When Chase returned to America in 1879, took up a teaching post and opened an aestheticizing studio, he signaled the arrival of cosmopolitan art trends on American shores. He brought not only a new style of painting to this country but also a new style of professional life. Chase filled his studio with objects that appealed to him. To admire the decor was to admire Chase's taste—and there were many opportunities for admiration. Chase frequently opened his studio for regular Saturday open houses, meetings of artists' organizations, private lessons, diverse performances, and other social events. Images of this studio, more than any other, were presented to American audiences in print and on canvas. For nearly twenty years, Chase, strategically situated in the Tenth Street Studio Building, was at the center of the American art world.

This very public era came to an end in 1896, with the closing of the Tenth Street studio. A more private era began for Chase then, but his activities still revolved around studios. In fact, after 1896, Chase maintained many more, not fewer, studios. By 1910,

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4. Cikovsky, in his article "Tenth Street Studio," on Chase seems to have originated this viewpoint, and reinforced it in D. Scott Atkinson and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock 1891-1902*, (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 42. The idea is echoed in Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," and Gallati, *William Merritt Chase*.

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Chase maintained four New York City studios that were designated for the instruction of male and female students, and for the painting of his own still lives and portraits. Chase also kept a studio in Philadelphia (1907-13), where he taught at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and retained a studio at his villa in Florence, Italy after 1907. In addition, Chase opened a studio in Monterey, California, when he taught there in the summer of 1914. Yet if any one studio could be called Chase's primary private workplace, it would be the Shinnecock studio, which he established in 1892 at his summer home on Long Island. In short, whenever Chase spent much time in a place, taught a sizable class, or became focused on a genre of painting, he established a studio to meet his needs.

Against the framework provided by these studios, we can examine another important influence in Chase's life: old master paintings. Chase spoke often of the examples set by the great painters who had preceded him. He first appreciated the excellence of the old masters in Munich in the 1870s, when, as part of his training, he was required to copy paintings in the Alte Pinakothek.[5] He was the instigator of regular dinners at which photographs of works by the old masters as well as modern paintings would be passed around and discussed.[6] Throughout his long career as a teacher, Chase consistently turned his students' attention to the old masters. In his earliest days as a teacher in the 1880s at the Art Students League in New York City, he used his own copies after the old masters to demonstrate painting technique. He also brought Americans to various capitals in Europe to look at old masters and copy them during the summer classes that he organized after 1902.[7] The old masters were usually the foci of

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5. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 27.

6. Roof, *Life and Art*, 43.

7. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 95 and 135-8.

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Chase's travel,[8] and, in Chase's opinion, they were the best features of most modern metropolises.[9] And, of course, the old masters were present in Chase's studio; he hung both his own copies as well as original old-master canvases that he had collected.[10]

Of all the old masters he admired (Hals, Rubens, and Titian among them), the work of Diego Rodriquez de Silva y Velázquez was the most important for Chase. Chase recorded his thoughts on many of the qualities he admired in Velázquez. He noted that Velázquez had traveled in order to study great art as he had.[11] Chase was gratified to know that, like himself, Velázquez did not specialize in any one genre of painting. Indeed, he took common subjects and made great art of them. [12] Chase felt that Velázquez, was "of all the old masters the most modern."[13] By this, Chase meant

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8. For example, in 1882 he traveled to Spain and Holland to see the old masters (Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 59), and in 1884 he went to Spain to study Velázquez (Pisano, *William Merritt Chase,* 77).

9. Chase, "Talk on the Old Masters," frame 497.

10. See Pisano *William Merritt Chase,* 42; "The Collection of William M. Chase," *New York Times*, 3 January 1896, 4, and *Catalogue of the Completed Pictures, Studies, and Sketches Left by the Late W M Chase, NA., The Artistic Studio Effects and His Important Collection of Paintings by Native and Foreign Artists of the Old and Modern Schools to be Sold at Unrestricted Public Sale. . . .* (New York: American Art Association, 1914 (sic)). Lot 250 was attributed to the school of Rembrandt, and lot 350 was attributed to Van Dyke.

11. William Merritt Chase and Walter Pach, "The Import of Art," *The Outlook* 95 (25 June 1910): 442.

12. "Talk on Art by William M. Chase," *The Art Interchange* 39, no. 6 (1897): 127. Chase said Velázquez's "white-headed horse which hangs in the Madrid Gallery was fine enough for him to have rested his reputation upon."

13. William M. Chase, "Velasquez," *The Quartier Latin* 1, no. 1 (1896): 4-5. It is interesting to note that Chase was not alone in publishing this idea. R. A. M. Stevenson, a writer who had studied painting with Carolus-Duran in Paris, published *The Art of Velasquez* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1895), in which he maintained that Velázquez was a not only a naturalist, but that his technique made him a proto-

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that Velázquez "with all his acquirement from the masters who had gone before him—felt the need of choosing new forms and arrangements, new schemes of color and methods of painting, to fit the time and place he was called on to depict."[14] Chase so admired Velázquez that he wistfully articulated disappointment that the Spanish American War had not given the United States the opportunity to pirate canvases by the master.[15] Chase surely admired Velázquez so profoundly because he identified with the Spaniard. Velázquez and Chase both took the time to learn from the brilliant artists of the past, they both refused to commit themselves to any special genres, and they both developed the technical versatility required to make art of the everyday life they saw around them.

Chase's fascination with Velázquez can be detected as a force behind some significant actions the American artist took in the late 1890s. At the end of 1895, Chase announced plans to give up teaching in America during the winter months.[16] Instead, he intended to take pupils to European locations to study the old masters, which would leave time for him to concentrate on his own work when he was in America.[17] In

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impressionist. Stevenson compared the Spaniard to such modern painters as Whistler, Manet, Sargent, Henner, Regnault and Carolus-Duran (see p. 14).

14. Chase and Pach, "The Import of Art," 442.

15. Chase, "Talk on the Old Masters," frame 502.

16. See Bryant, *William Merritt Chase*, 172, and "The Collection of William M. Chase," 4.

17. It should be noted that Chase appears to have been indecisive about his teaching plans. In association with the Tenth Street studio sale, some newspapers reported that the artist intended to give up teaching altogether ("Chase's Long Island Studio," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 19 January 1896, 8, and "Chase Studio Auction Sale," *New York Times*, 11 January 1896, 14). He had indeed divested himself of some teaching responsibilities in 1895 (Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 170). It was also reported that he intended to become an expatriate (Montague Marks, "My Note-Book," *The Art Amateur* 34, no. 3 (1896): 56).

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January of 1896, Chase put the entire contents of the Tenth Street studio up for sale. It was reported that Chase felt the collections of the studio were "too large and extensive for private ownership," while his biographer attributed the sale to financial problems.[18] The sale netted Chase less than he had hoped, and his own paintings sold for dispiritingly low prices.[19] Undeterred, Chase left for Spain a few days later. He spent the early months of 1896 in Madrid, where he taught students and made a copy of *Las Meninas* (1656, Museo del Prado, Madrid). To Chase's wife is attributed the story of two Spanish gentlemen who, upon seeing Chase at work in the Prado, were heard to remark: "Velázquez lives again."[20]

Back in America in April and filled with enthusiasm for Velázquez, Chase announced that, next winter, he intended to have his students spend half of each day copying works by that master.[21] Chase intended to end one era in his personal history by closing the Tenth Street studio and limiting his teaching. The example of Velázquez and increased time for his own work would figure more prominently in his new plan.

Yet Chase was never able to abandon teaching, and his commitment to art instruction led to the decision to become the head of a summer art school based at Shinnecock, Long Island.[22] The project was instigated by Mrs. William S. Hoyt, an

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18. "Chase's Famous Studio," *Leslie's Weekly* 82, (16 January 1896): 41; quoted in Atkinson and Cikovsky, *William Merritt Chase,* 41. It should be noted that Chase had purchased his Stuyvesant Square house in 1895 (Roof, *Life and Art*, 166), which undoubtedly strained his finances.

19. Marks, "My Note-Book," 56, reported gross receipts of $21,000, with the highest price paid for a work by Chase as $610. See also Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 170-2.

20. Roof, *Life and Art*, 168-9.

21. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 135.

22. See Pisano, *The Students*; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 121-35; and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 149-61, for information on the Shinnecock School.

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amateur artist who was interested in European *plein air* painting. She envisioned a school near her summer residence at Southampton, which was becoming a fashionable resort. She recruited two other summer residents of the town, Mrs. Henry Kirke Porter and Samuel Parrish, who was an art collector and eventual founder of the Parrish Art Museum. These three provided land and financial backing for the school, which was formally founded on February 9, 1891 as the Shinnecock Hills Summer School of Art.[23] Chase taught there each summer from 1891 to 1902.

The school provided the opportunity for serious outdoor art study. A picturesque physical plant soon sprang up consisting of the "art village," a large rustic communal studio surrounded by small cottages for students, and the "art club," a kind of dormitory and social center run by Mrs. Hoyt. Other students boarded at Mrs. Porter's house or at nearby farms. The instruction offered was a combination of solo work, critiques of solo work by Chase, painting demonstrations by him, and formal classes taught by Chase and other instructors. In addition, once a week Chase opened his private studio to his students. The school quickly attracted pupils, many of them women, and a fair number of students, both male and female, later attained fame.[24] The schedule allowed Chase time for his own work.

Shinnecock undoubtedly held many attractions for Chase: the income he earned from teaching, the opportunity for outdoor work, and the provision of a summer home for his family. As the school was being organized, Chase bought a large shingled colonial-style house, which had been built by Stanford White for Charles L. Atterbury in

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23. See Pisano, *The Students*, 5; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 121; and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 152.

24. Chase's Shinnecock pupils included those who painted in styles similar to his own, like Reynolds and Gifford Beal, as well as those who were to develop their own distinctive art, like Rockwell Kent, Howard Chandler Christy, Joseph Stella and Charles Sheeler (Pisano, *The Students*, 9, and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 158).

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1888.[25] With some remodeling, including the addition of a north window to convert one room into a studio, the house was ready for occupancy in the summer of 1892. The Chase family, which by 1902 grew to include eight surviving children, spent the summer months there even after closure of the Shinnecock Hills Summer School of Art.[26]

The Shinnecock school generated an active social life for pupils, patrons and instructors. Plays, concerts, dances and charades were held regularly.[27] Chase and his family participated by performing *tableaux vivantes* of famous paintings. Among the most memorable was one in which Helen Velasquez Chase, then four years old, posed as an *infanta* as painted by Velázquez.[28] The incident is recorded both in Chase's first biography and in *Witch Winnie at Shinnecock* (1894), a novel that was based upon observations at Shinnecock by the art writer Elizabeth Champney.[29] Photographs (attributed to Mrs. Alice Gerson Chase) record Helen in at least two different antique

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25. The earliest literature on the Shinnecock Art School reported that this house had been built specifically for Chase, but this is untrue (Pisano, *The Students*, 5, and Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 123). Indeed, whether or not the house was remodeled by White for Chase remains unclear; see Atkinson and Cikovsky, *William Merritt Chase,* 45-7, and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase*, 151. Both of the latter sources report that Chase purchased the house in 1891, and renovations to it were completed in time for the family to move in for the 1892 summer session.

26. Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 160 and 242.

27. See Pisano, *The Students*, 6; and Bryant, *William Merritt Chase,* 159.

28 . It should be noted that in the nineteenth century there were many spellings of the Spanish painter's name in use. Chase used the spelling "Velasquez" for his daughter's name, while modern historians generally agree upon "Velázquez." When referring to Helen or Chase's painting of her, I will use the spelling Chase used.

29. See Elizabeth W. Champney, *Witch Winnie at Shinnecock* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1894), v-vi, and Roof, *Life and Art*, 185.

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Spanish dresses.[30] The *tableau* so impressed Mrs. Henry Kirke Porter, one of the school's founders, that she commissioned Chase to paint a picture of the scene.[31] It is this painting we shall examine, after we look at Chase's studio.

Chase's studio at Shinnecock resembled the workplace he had used for over fifteen years in the Tenth Street Studio Building, although it was different in tone. The Shinnecock studio, which was established in 1892, was much smaller and more private than the Tenth Street studio, as is amply documented in photographs [FIGURES 93 and 94][32] and in many paintings [FIGURES 80, 86, and 87]. While the Tenth Street studio overwhelmed visitors with the quantity and variety of objects to be seen, Shinnecock was less densely and less diversely furnished. Instead, Chase placed emphasis on a few visual themes. Textiles—including fishnets, a tapestry, and bands of velvet—covered a large portion of the wall surface and an oversized banquette. Textiles also were draped over paintings and offered a display of contrasting shapes, colors and textures. Indirect, refracted light was another visual motif: light bounced off many reflective surfaces, such as the large mirror that hung above the banquette.

At Shinnecock, as Nicolai Cikovsky has pointed out, Velázquez was "the ruling artistic presence."[33] A set of photographs documenting the Velázquezes in the Prado

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30. Ronald G. Pisano and Alicia Grant Longwell, *Photographs from the William Merritt Chase Archives at the Parrish Museum* (Southampton, NY: The Parrish Art Museum, 1992). Two photographs (figs. 123 and 124) show Helen in an aristocratic seventeenth-century style dress, while the latter includes Chase himself "placing" Helen behind a large frame. Dorothy, an older daughter of Chase, also appears in dress of similar style in photographs (see figs. 56, 77, and 78), as does an unidentified adult (fig. 91).

31. Roof, *Life and Art*, 185.

32. The Shinnecock studio also appears in Pisano and Longwell, *Photographs,* figs. 50, 60, 84, 85, 141, and 285, and in Atkinson and Cikovsky, *William Merritt Chase,* figs. 7-11, 13, and 22.

33. Atkinson and Cikovsky, *William Merritt Chase*, 52.

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was among Chase's studio effects and might have been kept at Shinnecock or in one of his New York City studios.[34] A fine Spanish desk is visible in photographs of the Shinnecock studio [FIGURE 93]. Other Spanish objects, including pottery and a bull fighter's regalia, probably composed part of the furnishings there.[35] On the walls in the Shinnecock studio, Chase hung a detail of the *infanta* in *Las Meninas* and a detail of a soldier from *The Surrender of Breda* (1635, Museo del Prado, Madrid), a figure thought at that time to have been Velázquez's self-portrait.[36]

Now we can turn to an examination of Chase's portrait of his daughter as an *infanta* [FIGURE 95]. It can be securely documented that this painting was executed in Shinnecock and that it is the one commissioned by Mrs. Porter. The painting bears an inscription: "My little daughter, Helen Velasquez, posing as An Infanta, painted by me at Shinnecock Hills, 1899. / William M Chase."[37] There is a surviving photo of Chase painting the canvas in the Shinnecock studio, as well as a photo showing the finished painting in the studio.[38] A provenance connecting the painting to Mrs. Henry Kirke Porter also is recorded.[39] The painting has been given various titles.[40] Drawing upon

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34. *Catalogue of the Completed Pictures*, lot 596.

35. *Catalogue of the Completed Pictures*, lots 663 and 563-4. This catalog probably records studio furnishings drawn from Shinnecock as well as from Chase's studios in New York City and Philadelphia. The catalog records many Spanish objects in Chase's possession: see lots 402-3, 420, 424, 426, 429 434, 567, 665, 669, 689, 694.

36. Atkinson and Cikovsky, *William Merritt Chase*, 52-3. See also fig. 85 in Pisano and Longwell, *Photographs*. The detail from Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda* is visible above Mrs. Chase's head.

37. Brooklyn Museum, *The Triumph of Realism: An Exhibition of European and American Realist Paintings 1850-1910* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1967), entry 63.

38. Pisano and Longwell, *Photographs,* figs. 125 and 126.

39. The painting was owned by the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, until 1966 and is illustrated in Brooklyn Museum, *The Triumph of Realism*, 76. The Archives of the Carnegie Museum of Art (the current name of the institution) records

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Chase's inscription, I will call it *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as An Infanta.*

Upon first glance, the painting appears to be nothing more than a literal transcription of what Chase saw on the night Helen posed as an *infanta* in a *tableau vivante*. While the painting does indeed record that event, it is something more. It is the outcome of Chase's efforts to achieve Velázquez-ean visual effects by manipulating his studio and the world at Shinnecock. At Shinnecock, Chase hoped to become a modern Velázquez, and *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as an Infanta* was the realization ofhis hope.

By 1899, when *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as an Infanta* was painted, Chase had immersed himself in Velázquez. Throughout his teaching career, he had drawn his student's attention to Velázquez, he had visited Spain to study Velázquez, and he had collected Spanish objects that were coeval with Velázquez. He had recently made a copy of Velázquez's most famous painting. In the late 1890s, Chase attempted to lighten his teaching and administrative duties to give himself more time to paint. At Shinnecock, Chase orchestrated Velázquez-ean visual stimuli, including sumptuous fabrics and reflected light. He had placed reminders of Velázquez, like fetishes, in his studio. And he initiated a *tableau* of a Velázquez painting.

All these acts are consonant with Chase's life-long talents and needs as a painter. The painter Kenyon Cox, Chase's friend, wrote an acute analysis of Chase's gifts:

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that the painting was a gift from Annie-May Hegeman, and that it came from the collection of Mrs. Henry Kirke Porter. Carnegie records that the painting was sold through Hirschl and Adler Galleries and is currently privately owned.

40. Brooklyn Museum, *The Triumph of Realism*, 76, calls it *An Infanta (Souvenir of Velazquez)*; Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 127, calls it *An Infanta, A Souvenir of Velazquez*; and Atkinson and Cikovsky, *William Merritt Chase*, 52, calls it *My Little Daughter Helen as an Infanta.*

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> His is not so much the art of the brain that thinks or of the imagination that conceives as of the eye that sees and the hand that records. He cares little for abstract form, less for composition, and hardly at all for thought or story; but the iridescence of a fish's back or the creamy softness of a woman's shoulder, the tender blue of a morning sky or the vivid crimson of a silken scarf . . . these thing he seizes upon and delights in, and renders with wonderful deftness and precision. He is, as it were, a wonderful human camera—a seeing machine.[41]

In short, Chase's talent depended upon his aestheticizing eye. In order for him to produce art, he had to receive and digest visual stimuli. He had to *see* a Velázquez in order to paint a Velázquez. But Chase did not want to simply copy Velázquez, he wanted to be as "modern" as Velázquez had been. When describing Velázquez, Chase said: "Modern conditions and trends of thought demand modern art for their expression."[42] In the studio at Shinnecock, Chase assembled all the elements he needed to "see" a Velázquez through modern lenses.

In *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as an Infanta,* Chase adopts and updates Velázquez's technical strategies and makes his own modern portrait of his daughter. In the picture, Chase adopts a pose that is pure Velázquez: the torso is rigid and the arms are held stiffly to display costume and handkerchief. The dress Helen wears is probably not one Chase owned; at least it is not recorded in the numerous photographs of his daughters wearing Spanish dresses.[43] Rather, the dress seems to be one Chase invented from bits and pieces of dresses that Velázquez portrayed.[44] Chase

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41. Kenyon Cox, "William M. Chase, Painter," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 78 (March 1889): 549.

42. Chase and Pach, "The Import of Art," 442.

43. Chase's daughters appear in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century-style dresses in Pisano and Longwell, *Photographs,* figs. 55, 56, 57, 70, 77, 78, 89, 117, 118, 123, and 124. The dress Helen wears in fig 124, in which she is posing as an *infanta* behind a frame, is perhaps the closest match to the painted dress. Of course, Chase may have owned more dresses than are recorded in photographs.

44. José López-Rey, *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of His Oeuvre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963) records canvases now attributed to Velázquez as well as ones that were so attributed in the nineteenth century. Among the many *infanta* portraits

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uses one of Velázquez's signature optical effects—the streak of white paint that captures the flash of reflected light. Yet he rephrases Velázquez's famous brushwork; Chase's stroke is broader, more sketchy, more impressionistic and, thus, more modern. While deriving Helen's pose from Velázquez's *infantas*, Chase adopts the very modern device of setting a cropped figure within a shallow picture plane that lacks any reference points.

Chase also modernizes Velázquez's basic aesthetic statement. Whereas Velázquez's portraits of the *Infanta* can be seen as ironic statements about the ambiguity of great power and prestige invested in children, Chase gives us a painting about the unalloyed pleasure of visual spectacle. Velázquez's portraits of *infantas* were imperial portraits—public documents produced so that other nobles, especially prospective suitors, could examine face and dress to learn of the girl's features, wealth, and bearing.[45] Velázquez's *infantas* are ciphers. Their expressions reveal nothing of their thoughts or personality and they are troubling to post-seventeenth-century eyes. Chase's Helen too, wears a blank expression and averts her gaze, but this presents no conundrum.

Chase does not give us an official portrait and intends no narrative. He gives us a picture of pretty girl in a make-believe dress that sparkles in tones of ivory and orange.

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attributed to Velázquez that Chase could have seen, *The Infanta Margarita* (1660s?; Museo del Prado, López-Rey, *Velázquez,* entry 409) is probably the most important because we can be certain Chase studied it. The portrait is now usually attributed to a pupil of Velázquez. In this work, the *infanta* wears a pink and silver off-the-shoulder dress with a cockade. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase*, 126, also makes this comparison. Other pertinent images are a variant of this picture (also not now attributed to Velázquez c. 1664-6; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, López-Rey, *Velázquez,* entry 410); a separate portrait of the *Infanta Margarita* (c. 1656; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, López-Rey, *Velázquez,* entry 402); and the infanta in *Las Meninas* (1656; Museo del Prado, Lopez-Rey, *Velázquez,* entry 229).

45. Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 217-29.

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Velázquez's foregrounding amounted to a threatening confrontation with the spectator; Chase's foregrounding presents his subject as an offering. Our eye circulates over face and dress, reveling in the spectacle, as the viewers of the *tableau vivante* must have enjoyed Helen's performance. We enjoy the pleasure of the painted surface—the colors, textures, and flashes of light—so akin to the visual effects Chase orchestrated in his studio with fabrics and mirrors. *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as an Infanta* is nothing more or less than a modern-day Velázquez, one Chase staged, witnessed, and recorded with his aestheticizing eye in his Shinnecock studio.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, his Studio in Cornish, and the *Sherman Monument*

I would now like to turn from a painting created for a specific patron to a sculpture created for the public. Augustus Saint-Gaudens's *Sherman Monument* and the artist's summer home and studio in Cornish, New Hampshire, where it was partially created, exhibit similar aesthetics. Both studio and sculpture show Saint-Gaudens's characteristic blending of a naturalism that eschews stylization and an idealism born of the Greco-Roman classicizing tradition. I will first examine the ensemble that the artist created in Cornish, which partially survives and is operated as a museum by the National Park Service. I will then examine the sculpture itself, which, newly regilded, stands in New York City.[46] Finally, I will examine the ties between studio and sculpture.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens was thirty-seven years old in 1885 when he came to Cornish, New Hampshire to look at a dilapidated eighteenth-century inn owned by his

46. For background on the recent restoration of the statue and the controversy surrounding it, see Caroline Goldsmith, "Restoration of the Sherman Memorial: The Continuing Controversy," *Sculpture Review* 43 (Winter 1995): 17-21.

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friend, Charles Beaman, who was a lawyer in New York City.[47] Saint-Gaudens was already at work on important public sculpture commissions and was married with a five-year-old child. He thought little of country living, describing himself as a "boy of the streets and sidewalks."[48] But Augusta Saint-Gaudens, the artist's wife, reportedly saw the merits of the place, which Beaman had called Blowmeup, a play on Beaman's own neighboring estate centered on Blowmedown Brook.[49] Eager to develop properties that he owned in the area, Beaman rented the inn at a favorable rate to the Saint-Gaudens family. In February of 1891, Saint-Gaudens purchased the inn and twenty-two acres. He renamed the property "Aspet," after his father's native town in the foothills of the French Pyrenees.[50] There the family spent most long summers (of four to five months duration) between 1885 and 1900, and they lived at Aspet year-round from 1900 until the artist's death in 1907.[51]

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47. The two best sources on the Cornish colony are *A Circle of Friends: Art Colonies of Cornish and Dublin* (Durham, NH: University Art Galleries, 1985), and Virginia Reed Colby and James B. Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past: Images of Cornish, New Hampshire and the Cornish Colony* (Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1996). See also Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996), 135-49, for a good analysis of the colony. Pyne believes that the artists of Cornish "seized upon aestheticism as a framework through which they articulated their group identity as an elect that stood at the pinnacle of the evolutionary trajectory of history" (p. 9). Saint-Gaudens's arrival in Cornish is documented in *A Circle of Friends*, 32-4, and Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 352-3.

48. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 1, 311.

49. See Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 353, and *A Circle of Friends*, 33.

50. See *A Circle of Friends*, 38-9, and Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay*, 3-8.

51. This is confirmed in a letter to the author from Gregory Schwarz, Chief of Interpretation, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH, 13 November 1997.

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Saint-Gaudens and Beaman both encouraged their friends to summer in the area, and an artists' colony quickly grew up in Cornish.[52] Thomas Wilmer Dewing and his wife Maria Oakey, close friends of the Saint-Gaudenses, rented a house in the summer of 1886 and purchased land the next year.[53] The painter George de Forest Brush and his wife Laura lived in a teepee on Saint-Gaudens's property in the summer of 1887, and they returned to the area in the summers in the following years.[54] During the summers of 1888 and 1889, Aspet itself was rented, and both tenants were soon to buy property in the area. The first family of renters—the painters Henry and Laura Walker—began building their own house by 1890.[55] This was among the first commissions for Charles Platt, who was to become a leading architect and landscape designer. Platt, then active as a painter and etcher, first summered in Cornish in 1889 and began building his own house there in 1890.[56] Aspet's second set of renters were the family of Dr. Arthur Nichols, a homeopathic physician whose wife was the sister of Augusta Saint-Gaudens.[57] Their daughter Rose, who was to become a professional landscape gardener, was the motivating force behind the purchase and remodeling of the old farmhouse. This was the nucleus of the Cornish colony, which was established by the summer of 1891.

More distinguished members were added to the colony in the coming years. The sculptor Herbert Adams and his wife Adeline, who was a poet and art writer, spent

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52. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 146.

53. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 176.

54. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 150-1.

55. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 418-9.

56. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 324-7.

57. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 291-5.

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several summers in Cornish between 1889 and 1896. The Adamses had Charles Platt design a house for them in 1903.[58] Stephen Parrish, a leader of the American painter-etcher movement of the late-nineteenth century, began renting in 1890 and hired noted architect Wilson Eyre to build a house in 1893.[59] Parrish's son Maxfield, the illustrator, began building his own house in 1898.[60] Kenyon Cox, painter and art critic, and his wife Louise, best known for her portraits of children, rented in 1896 and purchased land a year later.[61]

Other artists were an intermittent presence in the colony. For example, John White Alexander spent the summer of 1890 there,[62] while Daniel Chester French and his wife Mary rented during the summers of 1891 and 1893, before building their own estate in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.[63] Professional writers and musicians also came to compose a segment of the colony. Although non-artists began adopting the place for summer houses and socializing with members of the community, most of the colonists were artists whose days were filled with serious work. In many families, both husband and wife made art.

The Saint-Gaudenses began to improve the property in Cornish as soon as they rented it, and made substantial changes after they purchased it in 1891. Flower and vegetable gardens were established in outdoor "rooms" composed of white pine

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58. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 121-2 and 290.

59. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 315-23.

60. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 303.

61. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 162-8.

62. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past*, 126.

63. See *A Circle of Friends*, 39; and Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 473.

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hedges.[64] Architect George Fletcher Babb designed two flanking porches for the stark Federal brick structure [FIGURE 96]. The porch roofs were supported by Doric columns and lintels ornamented with ram's heads [FIGURE 97]. Saint-Gaudens himself conceived of further anchoring the structure to the landscape by surrounding the house with turf terraces whose edges were marked by a fence with a Grecian geometric design. The fence was ornamented by busts representing signs of the zodiac, and other classical statuary appeared in the flower garden.[65]

Eventually the house, its porches, and the terrace fences were painted white, and the artist wished the roof could have red tiles.[66] The painter Edward Emerson Simmons thought the house looked like "an austere upright New England farmer with a new set of false teeth," but another observer disagreed, saying the house resembled "some austere and recalcitrant New England old maid struggling in the arms of a Greek faun."[67] Thus, a set of formal, classicizing design elements were overlaid upon the vernacular.

During the summer of 1885, Saint-Gaudens converted an old hay barn into a studio. The artist immediately added a skylight to the northward-facing plane of the gambrel roof.[68] By the summer of 1888, Saint-Gaudens had installed a fountain beside the studio [FIGURE 98]. The fountain was ornamented with a copy of an archaic Greek

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64. See Marion Pressley and Cynthia Zaitzevsky, "Cultural Landscape Report for Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site" (Unpublished report for the Boston Office of the National Park Service, 1993), 20-7, and Frances Duncan, "The Gardens of Cornish," *Century Magazine,* n.s., 50 (May 1906): 3-19.

65. Pressley and Zaitzevsky, "Cultural Landscape Report," 10 and 20-7.

66. *A Circle of Friends*, 48.

67. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 1, 316-7.

68. David H. Arbrogast, "Historic Structure Report—The Little Studio, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire" (unpublished report for the Boston Office of the National Park Service, 1977), 9.

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statue of Pan and a Roman-style bench, and it was surrounded by white birch saplings.[69] In 1889, after a trip to Italy, Saint-Gaudens added a pergola to the long, southward-facing side of the barn [FIGURE 99].[70] The pergola was composed of rough-hewn timbers and bark-covered branches. Beaman noted in his daybook that "the Saint-Gaudens are changing Blowmeup Barn Studio into an Italian piazza."[71] It was in this structure that Saint-Gaudens worked until 1904, and it was here that the Sherman Monument was in part conceived and executed.[72]

The house, the studio, and the gardens compose Aspet, and the whole ensemble was developed in relation to its view of Mount Ascutney, which is some five miles westward in Vermont. This relationship is apparent today. The house, set upon a small rise, overlooks a long field bordered by evergreens, with the mountain in the distance

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69. See Pressley and Zaitzevsky, "Cultural Landscape Report," figs. 12 and 13, for 1902 photographs of the pool. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 419, document the date by which the Pan fountain was established. John Dryfhout (Curator/Superintendent, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH), in a letter to the author, dated 23 January 1997, notes that the statue is a copy of an archaic-period Pan in the National Museum of Athens. In addition, K.K., "An Out-door Masque in New England," *The Nation* 80, no. 2087 (29 June 1905): 520, mentions the statue as a "reproduction of an archaic Greek statue".

70. See Pressley and Zaitzevsky, "Cultural Landscape Report," fig. 10, for an 1892 view.

71. Charles Beaman, daybook entitled "Blowmedown Record," entry for 18 October 1889, Special Collections, Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, NH; quoted in *A Circle of Friends*, 38.

72. By the summer of 1903, the barn studio, as it was known, was in danger of collapse, so Saint-Gaudens commissioned George Fletcher Babb to replace it. In the winter of 1903-4, the "Little Studio" was built on the site of the barn studio; it copied the earlier orientation to Ascutney. This is the studio which is extant at Aspet; it is sometimes called the Pergola Studio. It is interesting to note that Saint-Gaudens added a set of plaster casts from the frieze of the Parthenon to the exterior of the Little Studio, under the pergola. These casts were produced by Caproni and Brothers of Boston (Dryfhout letter to author). The barn studio was the only studio at Aspet until the construction of another, much larger studio in 1900-1, which is discussed below.

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[FIGURE 100]. A similar view is visible from the pergola of the studio and from the Pan Fountain [FIGURE 98]. Porch, pergola and fountain—all incorporate classicizing details that provide counterpoint to the view of the distant mountain. Mary French commented upon the siting of Aspet and its west porch: "This porch, where they ate their meals much of the time, looked towards Ascutney, as do most of the houses in Cornish, just as in Sicily they look toward Aetna, and in Japan towards Fuji-yama. It is a cult. When you go to visit their terraces, to eat upon their porches, you find yourself facing the sacred mountain."[73]

As Mary French's description implies, most of the colonists prized their view of Mount Ascutney and developed their properties to exploit it. And, like the Saint-Gaudenses, many artists cultivated and invented classicizing elements that could be incorporated into the natural landscape of Cornish.[74] Mary French praised the home the Adamses designed for themselves before they commissioned one from Charles Platt, with the following words:

> . . . those little touches which no one but an artist would have thought of perpetrating—a house and a barn about sixty feet apart, the narrow ends close to the road—a commonplace sight enough anywhere in New England—but with a high fence connecting the two and painted white, a parallelogram of green inside, a hedge and a blind wall opposite the fence, a few columns, a stone floor against the house, and an amphora or a colored relief against the white walls of the barn or of the fence—one might have been in Italy. . .[75]

Benches modeled after the massive high-backed stone ones found in the exedrae of ancient public buildings were a common feature, though in Cornish they were

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73. [M]. French, *Memories of a Sculptor's Wife*, 184.

74. See Duncan, "The Gardens of Cornish," which documents, in prose and photographs, the terraces and gardens of Cornish.

75. [M]. French, *Memories of a Sculptor's Wife,* 182.

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constructed out of solid wood, or even lattice.[76] Rows of pines or hemlocks could evoke the rows of cedars and poplars found in Italy and Greece.[77]

By the late 1890s, Charles Platt's influence as an architect and garden designer in the classicizing tradition began to be apparent in the colony. Platt visited Italy in 1892 to study and measure formal gardens, and he published an illustrated monograph on the topic in 1894. He eventually developed ten properties in the Cornish area, including a villa for Annie Lazarus, the poet.[78] For himself, Platt built a colonial-revival clapboard house that faced extensive terrace gardens designed in the style of their Italian predecessors. He used species seen in Italian gardens as well as native species. Platt called his home "a little Italian in feeling, but with nothing exotic in the impression it makes."[79] Uncharacteristically, Ascutney was not visible from Platt's garden; to see the mountain one had to go below the grove of pines that hid it. Herbert Croly, Cornish resident and editor of *The Architectural Record*, praised Platt's linking of garden and house, noting that Americans building houses in the country, like the Italians of the Renaissance, "carry with them their civilization, their artificial and artistic demands; . . . they do not feel any incompatibility, when in the country, between the formal treatment of the immediate surroundings of the house and the informal beauties of the natural

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76. This feature was noted by John Dryfhout in his essay, "The Cornish Colony," in *A Circle of Friends*, 47. An exedra bench is visible in photographs of the Dewing's garden. See Hobbs and others, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing,* fig. 67.

77. Dryfhout, "The Cornish Colony," in *A Circle of Friends*, 44-6, states that many artists used pine or hemlock hedges to define the boundaries of their Cornish gardens and to provide a backdrop for flowers. He notes that the gardens gave the painters foregrounds for their compositions.

78. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 245-7 and 327-8.

79. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 328.

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landscape."[80] Platt's graceful introduction of formal, classical elements into the informal, natural New England landscape was a leitmotif for the colony.

Descriptions of Cornish in the press often noted its special qualities. A 1907 newspaper article said the place had "the atmosphere . . . of culture and hard work" which had been formed by "an aristocracy of brains." Altogether, Cornish had an "atmosphere of modern antiquity."[81] Winston Churchill, a popular novelist and a Cornish resident after 1899, wrote about the colony in 1916:

> This pastoral, silent land is Cornish, a land of singing brooks and steep meadows lucent in the evening sun.. . . . Who has lingered on one of these crests without striving to fix within him and hold forever the memory of that blue of infinite depth beyond the green shoulder of a nearby hill, the blue of Ascutney, in classic outline against the saffron glow of the west? A mysterious land, this, like that of the background of the old Italian masters; and yet with a character all of its own.[82]

Thus, news of the "classic," "pastoral" character of Cornish, the "modern antiquity" of the place, was recognized and publicized.

As John Dryfhout has pointed out, many of the Cornish painters used the female figure as a vehicle for the expression of idealized beauty,[83] a conception of the ideal shaped by the classical tradition. Kenyon Cox's murals, many of which were executed in Cornish, often use female allegorical figures organized into friezes to convey a message of civic virtue. Cox was perhaps best known for such murals, which included

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80. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 330.

81. Attributed to an unnamed author in the *New York Daily Tribune*, 11 August 1907; quoted in *A Circle of Friends*, 39-40.

82. Winston Churchill, "New Hampshire," *American Magazine* 71 (September 1916): 37; quoted in *A Circle of Friends*, 55.

83. *A Circle of Friends*, 42-3.

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works for the Library of Congress in Washington DC and the Appellate Court House in New York City.

In the 1890s, George de Forest Brush began painting the "modern Madonna" pictures for which he is best known. Many of these works are idealized portraits of his wife and children, who often are posed in compositions taken directly from Italian Renaissance painting. Classicizing elements also are evident in the work of the prolific and popular sculptor Herbert Adams. Adams's best-known commissions include two statues in public gardens: *William Cullen Bryant* in Bryant Park, New York City, and *William Ellery Channing*, in the Boston Public garden.[84] The classicizing strain in his work includes compositions derived from Early Italian Renaissance models. Typical are two idealized female portrait busts: *Primavera* (1890-903, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC) and *La Jeunesse* (1894; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which recall the portrait busts of the Florentine sculptors of the mid-fifteenth century.[85]

Many of Thomas Wilmer Dewing's landscapes were painted in Cornish, and some of these ethereal vistas are populated by attenuated women arranged as friezes. Scholars have detected classicizing strains in these works.[86] Other painters and sculptors were at work on classicizing themes in Cornish.[87]

Thus, classicizing currents were strong in Cornish, both in the constructed environment and within the works of art made there. References to the entire Greco-Roman visual vocabulary—Italian Renaissance painting and gardens and Greek and

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84. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 75-6 and 123-5.

85. Adams's relationship to Italian Renaissance sculpture is documented in *A Circle of Friends* 75-6.

86. Hobbs and others, *Thomas Wilmer Dewing*, 127-47. The catalog entry for *Classical Figures*, 138-41, unravels Dewing's complex relation to Cornish and classical sources.

87. The work of painters Lucia Fairchild and Henry Brown Fuller could be cited. See *A Circle of Friends*, 203-10.

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Roman architecture and sculpture—all mingled in Cornish. Yet these classical references were not stridently archeological, and they usually were used in concert with vernacular elements. It is as if the general aim of the art and architecture in Cornish was to evoke, not replicate, the classical ideal within the here-and-now of the verdant New England hills.

The spirit of the Cornish colony was brilliantly expressed in a tribute to Augustus and Augusta Saint-Gaudens in 1905. To celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the arrival of the Saint-Gaudenses in Cornish, the colony decided to stage an outdoor theatrical fete.[88] Entitled *A Masque of "Ours," The Gods and the Golden Bowl*, the work enlisted the varied talents of the sixty-five members of the Cornish colony (including adults and children). Based loosely upon the theatrical form popular in Renaissance Europe, *A Masque of "Ours"* was prefaced by a prologue written by dramatist and poet Percy MacKaye, who proceeded to popularize the pageant as a civic art form.[89] The masque itself was written by editor and playwright Louis Evan Shipman and was staged by the professional actor John Blair.[90] Arthur Whiting, a professional musician, composed and arranged the music, which was performed by members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The content of *A Masque* was kept secret from the artist and his wife until the performance began.

When the curtains—fifteen-foot tall gray draperies hung from the pines by gilded masks designed by Maxfield Parrish[91]—opened on 22 June 1905, they revealed stone benches and columns set before an altar framed by Ionic columns [FIGURE 101].

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88. The fullest account of *A Masque of "Ours"* appears in *A Circle of Friends*, 52-4. The program is reproduced on p. 110. See also K.K., "An Out-door Masque."

89. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 259-66.

90. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 390-2 and 460-1.

91. Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 305.

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Iris stepped forward to deliver the prologue, which made reference to Saint-Gaudens's best-known works, and she announced the "playful badinage and mock-Olympic mummery" to ensue.[92] She left the stage, then Jupiter entered and summoned Mercury to gather all the Gods. Each arrived with a retinue, each God and group appropriately robed in its own color scheme. Pan was costumed to resemble the archaic Greek statue at the fountain near Saint-Gaudens's studio. When the entire group of Gods was assembled, the deepest colors were arranged in the center of the stage, with white and gold-robed figures on the perimeter.[93] Jupiter announced that he wished to retire from his post as head of the Gods, and a rivalry for the position immediately sprang up between Pluto and Neptune. Each of the Gods and Goddesses picked their favorite, and general chaos reigned. Jupiter turned to Minerva, as Goddess of wisdom, for resolution. She went to the altar at the back of the stage in order to invoke Fame. Fame looked into her golden bowl and announced that she found the name of Augustus Saint-Gaudens inscribed there.

The performance over, the actors were announced, then Minerva presented Saint-Gaudens with the bowl (a copy of an antique Italian bowl). He and Augusta were escorted into a golden chariot, which was drawn in procession across the meadow to his studio, where actors and guests assembled for supper and dancing. In his reminiscences about the evening, Saint-Gaudens described how moved he was by this tribute, and said, ". . . It was a spectacle and a recall of Greece of which I have dreamed, but never thought actually to see in Nature."[94]

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92. Percy MacKaye, handbill entitled "A Prologue to a Masque at Aspet," 1905; copy at Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

93. Cox made this observation; see K.K., An Out-door Masque," 519-20.

94. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 352.

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A Masque took place after the *Sherman Monument* was completed and thus cannot have influenced its design; however, it bears discussion, because the event and the sculptor's response to it so clearly demonstrate the prevailing culture of inventive classicizing that dominated Cornish. Today at Aspet, at the site where *A Masque* was performed, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and his family lie buried. Their graves are marked by a marble altarpiece, modeled after the one originally made of plaster, papier-mâché, and wood for *A Masque*. After the death of Augustus in 1907, Augusta Saint-Gaudens asked William Kendall of the architectural firm of McKim, Meade and White to convert the altar design of Henry Herring and Charles Platt into a permanent memorial.[95] The altarpiece was completed by 1914, and is today called "the temple."

Now we are ready to turn to an examination of one of Saint-Gaudens's greatest works, the equestrian *Sherman Monument* [FIGURES 102 and 103]. The large statue consists of an over-life-size portrait figure of General William Tecumseh Sherman seated on his horse. He is lead forward by the allegorical figure of Victory; she wears a toga and a laurel crown and carries a palm frond. Sherman's horse strides over rocky ground, trampling a pine bough under his hooves. Although this work, begun in 1886 and completed in 1903, was only partially executed at Aspet, it was conceived and developed during the years that Augustus Saint-Gaudens was intimately involved with the place. I will demonstrate that the conception and resolution of the *Sherman Monument* were inextricably linked to the aesthetic realities of Cornish.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens first began laying plans for sculpting General Sherman in 1886, one year after settling in Cornish. The artist related that ever since the Civil War he had regarded Sherman as "the typical American soldier."[96] When the retired

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95. Dryfhout letter to author. See also Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 276-7 and 312.

96. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 1, 378.

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General and former Secretary of War moved to New York City in 1886,[97] Stanford White, the architect, and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, apparently both worked discreetly to arrange a meeting between Sherman and Saint-Gaudens.[98] Even though the General was "pestered with damned sculptors,"[99] Saint-Gaudens was given eighteen sittings over a period of months, probably in late 1887 and early 1888.[100] A portrait bust resulted, which was shown at the annual spring exhibition of the National Academy of Design in 1888.[101] Writing the year the *Sherman Monument* was completed, Lorado Taft wrote of the bust: "It is an astonishing work; an unexpected meeting with it is like suddenly coming face to face with a real man of powerful and impressive personality."[102] Within Saint-Gauden's *oeuvre*, the bust was especially life-like and expressive of the General's vitality.

The death of General Sherman in New York City in February of 1891 sparked public interest in a permanent memorial in his honor. A local newspaper, the *Recorde*r, raised $8,600.50, which it gave to the New York City Chamber of Commerce towards the effort.[103] In April of 1891, the Chamber of Commerce appointed its own executive

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97. Lois Goldreich Marcus, "Studies in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture: Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907)" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1979), 367.

98. See Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 368, and Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 178.

99. Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932), 646; quoted in Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 178.

100. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 368.

101. Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 168.

102. Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture* (New York: Arno Press, reprint of 1903 edition and 1924 edition with supplementary (1923) chapter, 1964), 304; quoted in Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 369.

103. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 370.

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committee to oversee the erection of a statue, and by the next month, a preliminary contract had been drawn up with Saint-Gaudens. The contract specified two prices, one for an equestrian statue "without the figure of Victory," and another for an equestrian statue with a Victory figure, indicating that the composition of the statue was still inchoate in Saint-Gaudens's mind.[104]

We do not know how Saint-Gaudens secured the commission, but a few deductions can be made. Undoubtedly Saint-Gaudens's bust of Sherman, by now publicly exhibited at New York City's National Academy of Design and the Philadelphia Art Club, had made an impression with the executive committee.[105] Perhaps Whitelaw Reid and Stanford White had connections to the *Recorder* and to the Chamber of Commerce, which they exploited to influence the commission. The process by which Saint-Gaudens derived a composition that won him the commission is equally unclear; few sketches or other documents survive to reveal the design process.

When, a little over a year later, on March 21, 1892, Saint-Gaudens signed a formal contract for the *Sherman Monument*, his conception of the statue was apparently fully realized. The contract specified that Saint-Gaudens would be paid $45,000 for an "Equestrian Statue of the best statuary bronze of General William T. Sherman, and in connection therewith a figure of Victory of similar bronze, such figures to be of heroic size."[106] The contract further specified that the statue would be carried out along the lines of the model the artist had submitted to the committee, confirming that Saint-Gaudens had succeeded in uniting the equestrian figure and the free-standing Victory in one composition. By March of 1892, the essential elements of the statue were in place:

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104. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 370.

105. Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 168.

106. From the contract in the Saint-Gaudens collection, Dartmouth College Library; quoted in Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 371.

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an equestrian Sherman modeled after the very vital, realistic bust, along with an allegorical figure of Victory, which, by its nature, must be idealized.

This combination of the real and ideal is the essence of the *Sherman Monument*. It is important to note that the statue was conceived during or after Saint-Gaudens's plans for Aspet were reaching fruition. Between 1885 and 1891, the Pan fountain was installed, the pergola was added to the studio, and the garden was being developed; the alterations to the house were to be done in 1893-4.[107] In addition, other Cornishers were in the process of developing their properties in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Thus, the melding of the classical ideal into the actual New England landscape was occurring in Cornish during the same years that Saint-Gaudens conceptualized the Sherman.

Further work on the *Sherman Monument* went on in Saint-Gaudens's New York City studios in the coming years. Overburdened with work on other sculpture, Saint-Gaudens hired Alexander Phimister Proctor to help him create Sherman's horse. The two sculptors decided to use a well-known jumper named Ontario as their model. Proctor worked in a studio on West Fifty-first Street and completed the model between the fall of 1894 and August 1, 1895. Saint-Gaudens started work on the figure of Sherman by January of 1897. For the model, he used a Milanese peasant whose body type matched that of General Sherman. Saint-Gaudens initially executed a nude version of the rider, then a clothed one.[108] The figure of Victory was also underway by January of 1897. Saint-Gaudens used Hattie Anderson as his model, whom he described as "a South Carolinian girl with a figure like a goddess."[109] By the beginning of 1897, the

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107. Pressley and Zaitzevsky, "Cultural Landscape Report," chap. 1.

108. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 372-4.

109. Noted in a letter to Rose Nichols, 26 January 1897, published in "Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," *McClure's Magazine* 31 (October 1908), 606; The model is named in Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 386. Note also that Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 305, says that the model for the head of Victory was Elizabeth Cameron, wife of United States Senator Donald Cameron, niece of General Sherman,

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basic poses and body types of Sherman and the Victory had been executed in model scale.

The dichotomy between real and ideal was further refined in the years between March of 1892—when Saint-Gaudens signed the final contract for the *Sherman Monument*—and the beginning of 1897. The head for the figure of General Sherman was taken from Saint-Gaudens's especially life-like bust, while the body was modeled after that of the Milanese peasant chosen to match Sherman's body type. Sherman's mount, too, was modeled after a real-life horse, albeit one chosen for the perfection of his form. Victory, on the other hand, had a "figure like a Goddess;" she was an idealization of reality. The sparse documentation that exists regarding Saint-Gaudens's involvement with the statue in these years indicates that work went on mainly in New York City, though it is not inconceivable that Saint-Gaudens worked on the *Sherman* in Cornish during the summers.

On October 26, 1897 Augustus Saint-Gaudens and his family set sail for what was to be a nearly three-year sojourn in Paris.[110] Though he worked on many sculptures while there, the *Sherman Monument* was the major project of his atelier. While in Paris, Saint-Gaudens further refined the sculpture: he put drapery on the nude figure of Victory, reworked the cloak of Sherman many times, and had both figures cast and enlarged.[111] Saint-Gaudens came to Paris with a nearly-completed model for the *Sherman Monument*; by the time he left, he had produced three copies of the full-sized

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and friend of Henry Adams and his circle in Washington, DC. Patricia O'Toole, *The Five of Hearts: An Intimate Portrait of Henry Adams and His Friends, 1880-1918* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990), 91, however, makes no mention of this, though she does discuss other connections Saint-Gaudens had to the Adams circle, including the sculpting of the memorial to Clover Adams.

110. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 374.

111. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 374-7 and 382-8.

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plaster cast for the entire sculpture.[112] Saint-Gaudens's work in Paris on the *Sherman Monument* was mainly a laborious process of realizing, reworking, and refining details of costume and pose.

It seems clear that Saint-Gaudens went to Paris not for inspiration or for better working conditions, but for the opportunity to exhibit his work (including versions of the *Sherman Monument*) alongside the works of European masters.[113] By May 1, 1898, just six months after his arrival, Saint-Gaudens exhibited fifteen works in that year's Salon, including the Sherman bust.[114] This was, of course, a move calculated to garner attention, and in the coming months, favorable assessments of Saint-Gaudens's oeuvre appeared in the French press. The *maquette* for the *Sherman Monument* apparently was not formally exhibited, but was shown to at least one reporter, who praised it in print.[115] In the Salon of 1899, Saint-Gaudens exhibited a full-scale plaster of the equestrian Sherman beside the model for the whole group.[116] Both Saint-Gaudens and *Le Monde Illustré* were pleased with the sculpture.[117] And when the Exposition Universelle of

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112. By April and May of 1898, Saint-Gaudens solicited a scheduled payment from the New York City Chamber of Commerce, reporting that the model for Sherman was done and that a site for the finished memorial should be secured. (Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 375-6). Homer Saint-Gaudens records three copies of the cast by July of 1900 (Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 289).

113. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 374, Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 122.

114. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 378-9.

115. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 379.

116. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 384-5.

117. See Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 316, and Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 384-5.

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1900 opened in Paris on April 14, the full-scale plaster cast of the entire *Sherman Monument* was exhibited prominently.[118]

During his Paris sojourn, Saint-Gaudens accomplished much: he had shown in the Salons and the Exposition Universelle, received much favorable press, sold a cast of his *Amor Caritas* to France's national museum, the Luxembourg, and was being considered for membership in the Societé des Beaux-Arts and formal appellation (officer) in the Legion of Honor.[119] He had earned the recognition he sought.

In the midst of the Exposition Universelle, Saint-Gaudens learned that the "neuralgia" that had been bothering him for several years was an advanced case of cancer.[120] He left Paris on July 17, 1900, bound for Boston and surgery.[121] He took one cast of the entire *Sherman Monument* with him, leaving one on exhibition, and a third with a foundry.[122] He underwent one operation in Boston in July, and he withstood another procedure several months later.[123] The surgery was considered successful and appeared to have given the artist new optimism and energy. He returned to Cornish in the fall of 1900 to convalesce.

By all measures, the sculpture was nearing completion—the design for the *Sherman Monument* had been officially accepted, the full-scale plaster had been exhibited in a world's fair, and the sculpture was being cast in bronze in a Paris

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118. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 387-8.

119. See Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 376 and 385-6, and Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 234.

120. See Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 374, and Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 310.

121. Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 311-2.

122. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 289.

123. Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 312.

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foundry.[124] Yet, Saint-Gaudens did not consider it finished; the statue was finally perfected in Cornish. In the late autumn and winter of 1900-1, Saint-Gaudens assembled some fifteen young sculptors to serve as his assistants.[125] One of these recruits, James Earl Fraser, designed a large, unadorned and unfurnished studio especially to house the Sherman and the workers that the sculpture would require. This building, known simply as the Large Studio, was completed by early 1901.[126]

Saint-Gaudens's team at Aspet included: Fraser, who had been his principle assistant in Paris; Henry Hering, who, with Fraser, became the other principle assistant for the completion of the statue; Frances Grimes, a former assistant to Herbert Adams; Saint-Gaudens's brother Louis and Louis's new wife Annetta, both sculptors themselves; and Barry Faulkner and Witter Bynner, both friends of Saint-Gaudens's son Homer, who were to become muralist and poet respectively.[127] While Saint-Gaudens had always employed assistants, his own precarious health demanded that he use an especially large number for this project. The studio assistants constituted a sub-artist colony at Cornish. They not only provided technical skills, they participated in Saint-

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124. The New York City Chamber of Commerce officially accepted the statue in June of 1899. See Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 385.

125. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 390.

126. Pressley and Zaitzevsky, "Cultural Landscape Report," 19, cite Fraser's unpublished autobiography, from which the date can be deduced. The Large Studio was the one that burned to the ground on 4 October 1904 (Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 331-3). It was replaced the following year by a structure known as the Studio of the Caryatids, named after the figures at its main doorway; otherwise it was a relatively unadorned structure. The Studio of the Caryatids burned on 6 June 1944. Today the Gallery at Aspet stands near the site of these two lost studios.

127. The assistants are listed in various texts, e.g., Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 312-3, and Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 253-4. For further information on the assistants, see Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 200-2 (Fraser); 479-80 (Hering); 220-1 (Grimes); 372-8 (Louis and Annetta St. Gaudens. Note that Louis St. Gaudens preferred this spelling of the name.); 194-7 (Faulkner); and 152-4 (Bynner).

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Gaudens's newly-instituted program of outdoor winter recreation, which included tobogganing, ice hockey, and sleighing.[128] Faulkner and Bynner played the piano and sang in the studio.[129] Citing another great sculptor who produced monumental works with a team of assistants, Fraser noted that the atmosphere at Cornish in that period was "quite like Donatello at Padua."[130] And Saint-Gaudens himself wrote vibrant letters describing his enjoyment of winter sports, the company of younger people, and the season of "cheerfulness and lightness of spirit." He knew though, that "without my work, assistants and congenial neighbors I could not have borne a winter in the cold county. To me, after all, Nature no matter how superb, when it lacks the human element lacks the vital thing."[131]

It was in this atmosphere of new-found vitality amid nature and young, talented people that Saint-Gaudens made a number of changes to the *Sherman Monument.* These included alterations to the wings and head of the Victory figure, to the tail, battle regalia, and mane of the horse, and to the cloak of Sherman. In addition, a pine branch was substituted for oak leaves under the feet of the horse to symbolize Sherman's famous march through Georgia.[132] Saint-Gaudens described these changes as increasing the "nervous snap" of the horse's stride, and the "Germanic" character of the hair of Victory.[133] The head of Victory was probably the portion of the statue that was

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128. See Colby and Atkinson, *Footprints of the Past,* 354-6, and Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 312.

129. Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 313.

130. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 390.

131. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 228.

132. Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 254.

133. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 290.

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reworked most extensively that winter. Saint-Gaudens had sculpted an entirely new head for the female figure, but its beautiful features incorporated "too much 'personality'"; he was forced to return to the earlier, more generalized features of the first version.[134] By April of 1901, Gaetan Ardisson, the modeller entrusted with the enlargement of Saint-Gaudens's models into plaster casts, was sent to Paris to supervise the incorporation of these changes into the already-cast bronze.[135]

Cornish played one more part in the completion of the statue. By September 3, 1902, the completed bronze was received at Aspet and set up in the fields behind the studio.[136] Here Saint-Gaudens supervised its gilding, experimented with different patinations, and observed it in the changing atmospheric conditions of autumn and winter.[137] This was the final step in the completion of the statue. As Homer Saint-Gaudens noted, "He felt too deep an interest in this new combination of the real and the ideal to let the monument escape him."[138]

A site for the sculpture was finally chosen after some four years of negotiations involving the families of Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, the New York City Chamber of Commerce, the Municipal Art Commission, and the New York City Parks Commission.[139] The monument was destined for a small plaza at the southeast corner of Central Park, at the intersection of 59th Street and Fifth Avenue.

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134. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 291.

135. Dryfhout, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 254.

136. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 395.

137. See Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 395, and Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 324.

138. Saint-Gaudens, ed., *Reminiscences,* vol. 2, 293.

139. See Bogart, *Public Sculpture*, 85-6, and Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 377, 380, 385, 388-9, and 393-8.

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Collaborating by exchanging sketches and suggestions by mail, Saint-Gaudens and Charles Follen McKim, White's partner in his architectural firm, designed the massive pedestal of red granite.[140] The gilded statue was transferred to New York City in December of 1902, and it was stored for the winter.[141] On May 30, 1903—Memorial Day—the *Sherman Monument* was dedicated after a parade and speeches by Secretary of War Elihu Root, and the Mayor of New York, Seth Low.[142]

As soon as it was unveiled, the *Sherman Monument* attracted almost universal praise, most recognizing Saint-Gaudens's successful melding of portraiture and symbolism. In a letter to Saint-Gaudens, President Theodore Roosevelt, a friend of the artist, wrote:

> To take grim, homely old Sherman, the type and the ideal of a democratic general, and put him with an allegorical figure such as you did, could result in but one of two ways—a ludicrous failure or striking the very highest note of our sculptor's art. Thrice over for the good fortune of our countrymen, it was given you to strike this highest note.[143]

A critic writing shortly after the completion of the *Sherman Monument* also called attention to the successful integration of an allegorical figure and portraiture with the following words:

> [The sculpture] has unity of composition, the horse, the rider and the figure of Victory being consummately well adjusted one to the other, and all three to a single effect of dramatic grandeur. . . . So unerring has the sculptor been in the

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140. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 395 and 397-8.

141. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 395-6.

142. "Gen. Sherman's Statue Unveiled," *New York Times*, 31 May 1903, 3.

143. Theodore Roosevelt to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 3 August 1903, Baker Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH; quoted in Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 327.

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> fusion of elasticity with restraint that while his work is at every point alive, it has the calm dignity which alone befits a monumental work of art.[144]

Writing some years after the completion of the monument, Lorado Taft summarized it: "[Saint-Gaudens] has successfully united a very precise rendering of an individual with a poetic abstraction."[145]

The *Sherman Monument*, one of New York City's most prominent pieces of public sculpture, fuses an idealism drawn from western art's classicizing tradition in sculpture, to the era's preoccupation with naturalism. It is in the figure of the Victory that Saint-Gaudens's commitment to idealism is most apparent. She is a perfected woman, with "a figure like a goddess." She is an allegory of the cherished Union cause; she wears the American eagle upon her breast to symbolize the unity of the States, she wears the laurel wreath of victory and carries a palm to honor the rider behind her. While not precisely based on the Greek statue *Winged Victory of Samothrace*, (c. 190 BC, Musée du Louvre, Paris) her posture and gown recall the famous figure which went on exhibit in the Louvre in Paris in 1866.[146] Although there are few precedents for Saint-Gaudens's combination of a symbolic female with an equestrian figure, the *Sherman Monument* recalls other famous Roman and Renaissance statues. At least two contemporary commentators likened the Sherman to Andrea del Verrocchio's *Equestrian Monument of Bartolomeo Colleoni* (c.1481-96, Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice) and Donatello's *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata* (1443-53, Piazza del Santo, Padua), saying Saint-Gaudens was a fit successor to these Renaissance

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144. A.S., "Appreciation of St. Gaudens's Sherman," *Brush and Pencil* 12, no. 4 (1903): 265.

145. Lorado Taft, *Modern Tendencies in Sculpture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), 113; quoted in Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 326.

146. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 407, notes the resemblance and the date the *Winged Victory of Samothrace* went on view in the Louvre.

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artists.[147] And by gilding his statue, Saint-Gaudens recalled the Roman *Marcus Aurelius* (161-80 AD, Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome) as Lois Marcus has noted.[148]

Yet, Saint-Gaudens's commitment to accurate portraiture and the rendering of the everyday appearance of objects is never slighted. This commitment is most apparent in the figure of the General. Sherman looks very real; his features were drawn from Saint-Gaudens's own life-like bust and from a model chosen to replicate the body type of the General. Roosevelt's "grim, homely old Sherman" is presented with no flattery. Furthermore, every muscle of Sherman's horse is accurately portrayed as the General reigns him in, and every detail of saddle, bridle and stirrup is accurately rendered.

Throughout the process of sculpting the *Sherman Monument* and in the finished work itself, Saint-Gaudens maintained a balance between real and ideal. The models for the horse and the figure of Victory were drawn from life, but the artist took care to choose especially perfect specimens. When the features of the face of Victory became too individualized, she was made more idealized. Yet, every detail was realistically rendered, from the folds of her toga and sandal straps to the palm frond that she carries. A strong wind buffets the toga of Victory and the cloak of Sherman alike. The wind's action upon both sets of clothing is very lifelike, and it unites and animates both figures. As Homer Saint-Gaudens commented when the finished work was gilded and set out in the Cornish hills: the sculptor "felt too deep an interest in this new combination of the real and the ideal" to easily send the sculpture along to its commissioners.

In many ways the aesthetics of Aspet and the Cornish colony resemble the aesthetics of the *Sherman Monument*. Saint-Gaudens freely drew the design elements of Aspet from classical vocabulary: the garden was ornamented with zodiac signs, the

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147. See A.S., "Appreciation of St. Gaudens's Sherman," 262; and Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay,* 326-7, which notes Royal Cortissoz's comments.

148. Marcus, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 403.

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house was adorned with Doric columns, and the studio was embellished with a vine-draped pergola. All this evokes the pastoral ideal. Yet house and studio were part of a real landscape Saint-Gaudens grew to revel in, even in the cold of winter. The Pan fountain, where an archaic Greek statue stood amid a grove of birch trees, typifies the blending of the classical, idealized references set amid nature.

Many others in Cornish colony sought to integrate classical elements and the New Hampshire landscape. Rows of columnar trees, exedrae, and Renaissance-inspired houses and gardens were leitmotifs of the colony with its "atmosphere of modern antiquity." Most of the classicizing structures and gardens were oriented towards Ascutney, and as Mary French noted, by this means a classicizing cult paid homage to a natural element. *A Masque of "Ours"* most obviously demonstrated the culture of inventive classicism dominating life in the colony. More seriously, many artists in Cornish engaged in a search to realize both the classical ideal and naturalism in their art. For their portraiture, Herbert Adams and George de Forest Brush used compositions derived from Renaissance sculpture and painting. Kenyon Cox and Thomas Wilmer Dewing each used their own type of idealized women in a frieze format. The idea of blending idealism and realism was in the air at Cornish.

Pinpointing direct, causal links between Sherman and Aspet is more difficult than finding such links between the paintings and studios examined in this chapter; instead, only general correspondences have been discussed. This is true partially because so many facts concerning this sculpture remain unknown, and partially because of the nature of monumental sculpture-making. The precise date and place the *Sherman* was first conceived is still ill-documented, and the process by which Saint-Gaudens moved from his first ideas of the piece to the formal model for the sculpture remains vague. Certainly, the process by which Saint-Gaudens's ideas were finally realized in bronze was collaborative. His ideas were shaped by people as well as by place. Also true, Saint-Gaudens worked on the Sherman in New York City and Paris, as well as at

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Cornish. And Saint-Gaudens's ability to meld idealism and realism can be seen in sculpture created both before and after his studio at Cornish was established; it cannot be credited solely to the influence of Aspet.

Even while admitting the truth of all these qualifiers, we can be certain that the aesthetics of Aspet and the Cornish colony were a part of Saint-Gaudens's frame of mind during the years the *Sherman Monument* reached fruition. The melding of a classicizing ideal with naturalism surfaced in both the place and the sculpture; both were the work of one man. So, even in a major piece of public sculpture, so little dependent upon a private place and a particular patron for its development, we can discern interaction between studio and the finished work of art.

Francis Davis Millet, his Studio at Broadway, and *A Difficult Duet*

Now I would like to turn to a discussion of a much smaller work of art meant for a private patron. Francis Davis Millet painted *A Difficult Duet* [FIGURE 104] in 1886 in his studio within a fourteenth-century priory in the English village of Broadway. The small canvas shows a couple in eighteenth-century costume in a paneled room. The man, holding a violin, examines his sheet music intently, while the woman, at a harpsichord, plays on. As we shall see, the painting not only bears an obvious relationship to the studio in which it was painted, it draws less obviously upon the larger ambience in which it was created. *A Difficult Duet* is more than a transcriptive genre painting; its subtle narrative carries overtones of loss and longing. By assembling artifacts, structures, and people at Broadway, Millet fashioned an atmosphere of centuries gone by. *A Difficult Duet* succeeds because it incorporates this atmosphere.

Aestheticizing studios were important to Francis Millet (known as Frank Millet) from his earliest days as an artist. His studio in Paris, discussed in Chapter One, was among the earliest aestheticizing studios established in Europe by an American. It was

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open by 1878 and was distinctly Orientalist. One reporter noted that, upon entering Millet's studio, "you find you have left Paris for Stamboul."[149]

Millet established a studio on his father's property in East Bridgewater, Massachusetts, upon returning from Europe in August of 1879.[150] While it contained some of the Middle-Eastern objects from his Parisian studio, one half of the studio was emphatically American: it was furnished as "an old-fashioned kitchen of 1780," with paneling taken from Colonial houses of the area, period furniture and kitchen utensils, and corn, dried apples, and vegetables hung from the beams.[151] Sometime in 1880, Millet and his wife Elizabeth (Lily) bought a house in New York City on Clinton Place.[152] The old house, which remained the couple's American home, underwent extensive renovations to accentuate its age and was furnished with antiques.[153] Millet's studio on the top floor had a large skylight cut into the roof, and it incorporated paneling and mullioned windows that were said to have been brought from an Elizabethan-era

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149. "Millet's Parisian Quarters," newspaper clipping, c. 1880, Millet Scrapbook 2 (unpaginated), American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York.

150. See H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Career of Francis Davis Millet," *Archives of American Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (1977): 5; Marc Simpson, "Windows on the Past: Edwin Austin Abbey and Francis Davis Millet in England," *American Art Journal* 22, no. 3 (1990): 71; and photographs of the studio in the Francis Davis Millet Files, American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York.

151. "Millet's Studio," newspaper clipping, c. 1880, Millet Scrapbook 2 (unpaginated). Note, however, that Hilda Millet Booth and John Parsons Millet, in their unpublished biography of the artist, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," F. D. Millet Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1100, frame 688, state that this East Bridgewater studio was modeled after the Flemish kitchens Millet saw during his years of study and that he used paneling from local houses to achieve the effect.

152. See Fairbanks, "The Social Side," 750, and Weinberg, "Francis Davis Millet," 5-6.

153. Francis Davis Millet, the painter's grandson, in his unpublished biography of his grandfather, "Frank Millet—A Sketch," F. D. Millet Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 848, frame 23, notes that Millet used the house every winter .

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house in England. The room "fairly breathes of another century," noted one commentator.[154]

The defining characteristic of these early studios—indeed, of everything that Millet undertook—was a scrupulous attention to detail. His fiction, characterized by intricate plots, has already been cited in this dissertation. Millet's journalism incorporated masses of factual detail, and his work as an administrator for arts organizations and international expositions was characterized by his "ability to plan and to carry out what he planned."[155] Most of his paintings, easel and mural alike, treat historical subjects. Each setting, object and costume depicted is portrayed with meticulous realism.

Indeed, when it has been noticed at all, Frank Millet's painting has often been criticized for the excessive degree of fidelity it retains to its sources. Millet's painting is most frequently mentioned in connection with the work of his more famous friends John Singer Sargent and Edwin Austin Abbey. Receiving short shrift in this context, he is described as "a marvelous draftsman, with a delicate touch and an overriding need for accuracy."[156] In the first published survey of Millet's career, H. Barbara Weinberg noted the "interest in history and costume . . . that would condition most of his mature art."[157] Even his contemporaries, such as the painter Dennis Miller Bunker, could dismiss his efforts: "Millet had two or three of those furniture pictures of his in his studio. . . . I'm

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154. "How an Artist Lives," newspaper clipping, c. 1882, Millet Scrapbook 2 (unpaginated).

155. Sylvester Baxter, "Francis Davis Millet, An Appreciation of the Man," *Art and Progress* 3, no. 9 (1912): 636.

156. Stanley Olson, Warren Adelson and Richard Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway: The Impressionist Years* (New York and London: Universe/Coe Kerr Gallery and John Murray, 1986), 16.

157. Weinberg, "Francis Davis Millet," 4.

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so tired of those furniture pictures—they're so easy to paint—and they impose on people so awfully."[158] Bunker was objecting to the demand so many of Millet's pictures made—that the viewer supply a narrative for the scene depicted.

But a few writers, both past and present, have praised this very quality, finding Millet's unspecified narrative evocative. Weinberg noted that "anecdotal or moralizing concerns are generally suggestive rather than explicit in Millet's costume pictures."[159] In an article on the English pictures of Millet and Abbey, Marc Simpson admired Millet's *The Window Seat* (1883, Richard A. Manoogian Collection, Grosse Pointe, MI), whose subject is nothing more specific than a pretty girl sitting on a window seat while sewing. He notes that the painting "sparks nostalgia without providing specific narration. . . . This is not so much an illustration of a text . . . as it is an evocation of an emotion."[160] In short, modern writers note that Millet's paintings leave viewers free to admire Millet's transcriptive abilities and tonal harmonies, while supplying their own story.

Millet's contemporaries not only seemed happy to supply narratives for Millet's paintings, they often did so by quoting verse. When Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer included *A Cosy Corner* (1884, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) in her 1886 *Book of the Figure Painters*, she used a verse by the British poet Thomas Hood celebrating the power of poetry to transport the reader's "fancy" back to a mourned-for summertime. As Simpson notes, both Millet's painting and Hood's poem depict a girl reading and evoke "a mood of nostalgia and gentle regret."[161] An anonymous reviewer

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158. Dennis M. Bunker to Eleanor Hardy, 14 March 1890, Dennis Miller Bunker Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 2773, frames 306-7; quoted in Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 80.

159. Weinberg, "Francis Davis Millet," 9.

160. Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 71.

161. Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 72.

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of *The Piping Times of Peace* (c. 1888, unlocated) compared Millet to the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Pieter de Hooch and found in the painting an ineffable unity of tone, "as if all that the artist had seen was, for him, appareled in celestial light,- 'The beauty and the glory of a dream.'"[162] So many contemporaries felt compelled to quote poetry when viewing Millet's paintings, that novelist William Dean Howells's comments after seeing *How the Gossip Grew* (c. 1890, unlocated) are not surprising. "I almost feel that I could have written that picture myself; and I hope the painter in you won't be hurt by my sense of the poet in you."[163] These commentators saw Millet's meticulous detail not as a drawback, but as the vehicle that transported their imaginations.

In the story of Frank Millet's association with the village of Broadway, several patterns can be detected and traced in all phases of Millet's life. First, Millet was never satisfied to remain for long in any one place. He clearly enjoyed his varied duties as a journalist, genre painter, and administrator because all demanded travel. Second, Millet valued a collegial creative environment. His many collaborative endeavors, including his position as Director of Decorations for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and as a charter member and secretary of the American Academy of Rome, entailed working and socializing with the cultural elite of two continents.[164] Third, all his life, Millet sought to recreate history by physically reconstructing each detail of it. His early studios no less than his genre scenes demonstrate his quest to make history tangible. All of these patterns intertwined in Millet's life at Broadway—in his leasing

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162. "Spectator," label placed on untitled newspaper clipping c. 1888, in Millet Scrapbook 2 (unpaginated).

163. William Dean Howells to Francis D. Millet, 14 March 1890, F. D. Millet Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 2773, frame 914 ; quoted in Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 82.

164. Weinberg, "Francis Davis Millet," 11-2 and 15.

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and acquisition of multiple properties in the village, in the friendships he cultivated there, and in the structures he reconstructed and refurbished.

By the early 1880s, Millet's restlessness took concrete form in a desire to live and paint in England. In 1882, after a holiday there, he wrote, "I feel as I always do that there is no place like England. I know I do much better work here."[165] Millet had previously made many trips to that country, and in 1883 he came for the first time to Stratford-on-Avon and the surrounding villages: "Shakespeare country," as it was known.[166] He traveled with his good friend Edwin Austin Abbey, an expatriate American already well-known as an illustrator and watercolorist.[167] Like Millet, Abbey treated historical subjects, especially English ones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and he conducted extensive research into each detail of the costume and setting he depicted. Millet and Abbey met a group of English and American artists at the White Lion Inn in Bidford on Avon in the summer of 1883.[168] For Millet, the trip was enjoyable and productive; from it came *The Window Seat*. By the next year, he was actively searching for a home in England, in hopes that he could spend each summer there.[169]

Millet had a partner and many allies in his search. Abbey accompanied him on the 1884 trip, and their discovery of Broadway eventually became so significant that at

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165. Millet to Charles Deschamps, September 1882, F. D. Millet Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC; quoted in Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 71.

166. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 689.

167. Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 71.

168. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 689.

169. See Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 71, and Weinberg, "Francis Davis Millet," 8.

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least two versions of the story sprang up.[170] One says that Laurence Hutton, collector, writer, and editor, praised the place to Frank and Lily Millet.[171] The other version credits the English artist Alfred Parsons with suggesting it to Millet.[172] Parsons, Abbey's collaborator on illustrations to the seventeenth-century poet Robert Herrick, was also a landscapist specializing in depictions of gardens. Parsons had recently visited Broadway with William Black, a novelist and journalist. The two had themselves found Broadway when they mentioned Abbey and Millet's search to the famous designer William Morris, who used an eighteenth-century tower in the area as a working retreat. Thus, Broadway came with a recommendation from a high authority on the romance of the past.

Broadway met Millet's and Abbey's requirements for historic atmosphere. A village in Worcestershire, it lies in the valley of Evesham among the Cotswold hills. Much of its architecture dates from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the village flourished because it lay along the main route between London and Worcester. In the nineteenth century, the train tracks bypassed the village, insulating it from progress. An 1872 guidebook called Broadway "a deserted village," quoting a poem by that name by Oliver Goldsmith, a poem which Abbey was later to illustrate.[173] Abbey's biographer described Broadway: "Other villages have been built; but Broadway seems to have grown. The gray stone houses have sprung from the soil, not less than the fruit

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170. Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 71.

171. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 15-6.

172.. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 10, gives the fullest version of the story. Millet, "Frank Millet—A Sketch," frame 23, says Parsons suggested the place. See T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcestershire, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet," *Country Life* 29, no. 732 (1911): 54, for mention of William Morris's role.

173. See Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 73, and fn. 64 and 65.

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trees. . . . These comely houses, like a border of herbaceous masonry, line either side of the road." And, "There is a charm about Broadway which is not to be explained by words."[174] At Broadway, the two artists found an atmosphere evocative of the past, its charm so elusive that it could hardly be articulated. As we shall see, a sense of ineffable wistfulness pervades many of the descriptions of Broadway.

Millet and Abbey colonized the village during the summer of 1885. Frank and Lily Millet and their two children Kate and Laurence, together with the bachelor "Ned" Abbey, leased Farnham House, a stone cottage on the wide green in the center of the village.[175] They brought Millet's sister Lucia with them. Other friends soon followed, staying in the village's sixteenth-century inn, the Lygon Arms, or other lodgings, but spending most of their time at Farnham House.

The visitors were an illustrious group.[176] The painters Parsons and Sargent came, as did Henry James, the novelist, who in those years contributed often to the American illustrated magazines. The Englishman Frederick Barnard, best known as the illustrator of a household edition of Charles Dickens's novels, came with his wife and children. The Englishman Edmund Gosse, poet and literary historian, came with his wife Nellie and her sisters, who were all painters.[177] One of them was Laura, wife of Lawrence Alma-Tadema, the Dutch-born painter whose enormously popular scenes of

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174. E.V. Lucas, *Edwin Austin Abbey Royal Academician, the Record of His Life and Work* (London and New York: Methuen and Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 147-8.

175. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 16-7.

176. The group at Broadway in the summer of 1885 is documented by Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 15-9.

177. See Evan Charteris, *The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse* (New York: Harper and Brothers 1931), 66-9 and 81-91, for biographical details on Gosse, and Ann Thwaite, *Edmund Gosse: A Literary Landscape, 1849-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), for information about Gosse, his wife, and her sisters.

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ancient Greece and Rome were greatly admired by Millet.[178] The Alma-Tademas came to Broadway with their daughters, one of whom, Anna, was beginning her own career as a painter. Work went on in the mornings, the figure painters and illustrators using models from London,[179] and various entertainments went on the evenings. The summer proved productive and congenial.

In March of 1886, the Millets and Abbey took a seven-year lease on Russell House, a bigger house on the green.[180] Lily Millet took charge of the large garden, with an old summer house and a tower that looked over the main road and the landscape.[181] Evidence indicates that Millet also worked that summer of 1886 in a fourteenth-century priory nearby.[182] Abbot's Grange [FIGURES 105 and 106], as it was known, was built as an administrative center for the outlying agricultural lands of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary in Pershore, twelve miles away.[183] The building had acquired some

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178. See Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 71, and fn. 46.

179. Lucas, *Edwin Austin Abbey,* 150.

180. See Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 19, and Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 74 and 77.

181. T., "Abbot's Grange," 57-60.

182. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 19, says that the priory was leased in December of 1885. This appears to be correct, although other sources differ. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 713, says the building was leased in December of 1886, while Weinberg, "Francis Davis Millet," 8, says 1886, and Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 78, says 1885. The confusion probably arises because the tenancy was complex. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 32, explain that the building was leased first, but then was purchased by Millet in 1890 when the owner left a clause in his will allowing the sale. The building also had several names. In 1886, when it was in ruinous condition, it was sometimes simply called a barn, but when its original purpose was recognized, it was known as the priory or Abbot's Grange.

183. See J. R. H. "The Grange at Broadway," *The Quest* (Birmingham, England) 1 (November 1894): 6-15; John Robinson, "The Church and Abbot's Grange, Broadway," *The Journal of the British Archeaological Association* 32 (1876): 435-39; and Colin

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additions and endured many alterations, including the division of its great hall into two stories and many rooms. By the nineteenth-century, the building had been used as a workhouse, a small-pox hospital, and a jail.[184] That summer, Lily and Frank Millet must have begun conceiving the projects that were to occupy them in the coming years. Lily was to restore and enlarge the garden [FIGURE 107], planting traditional English flowers and fruit trees.[185] Frank Millet was to restore the priory to a standard that won the approval of the exacting Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.[186] He eventually adopted the great hall as his studio, using it for some of his best-known easel paintings. During the summer of 1886, the couple envisioned the future through a lens of the past.

In the summer of 1886, a congenial group gathered in the village, and Russell House was its nucleus. Frank and Lily Millet, Ned Abbey, and Lucia Millet acted as the hosts. Most of those who had gathered in 1885 returned the next summer, including Sargent, James, Parsons, the Barnards, the Gosses, the Alma-Tademas, and Emily Williams, Nellie Gosse's sister.[187] In addition, the American painter Edwin Howland Blashfield and his wife Evangeline, a historian and journalist, spent most of the summer

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Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 193, for information on Abbot's Grange.

184. J. R. H., "The Grange at Broadway," 8 and 11.

185. T., "Abbot's Grange," 60-1.

186. Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 78-0.

187. Olsen, Adelson and Ormond, 19-22, documents the people in Broadway in the summer of 1886.

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at Broadway.[188] At one point, Lucia Millet counted twenty-two adults and fourteen children in residence at Broadway.[189]

Many of the artists who gathered at Broadway in the summer of 1886 were actively engaged with the enterprise of recreating or rephrasing the past. Lawrence Alma-Tadema's fame and considerable fortune was based upon his ability to convincingly portray the everyday lives of upper-class Greek and Roman citizens. Laura Alma-Tadema was a portraitist and historical genre painter, specializing in Dutch scenes. As noted in Chapter One, in the summer of 1886 Lawrence was in the midst of rebuilding his own house in London, with a Dutch Renaissance studio for Laura and a grand domed studio for himself that recalled Roman or Early Christian precedents.[190] Although Edwin Blashfield was later to become well-known as a painter of allegorical murals, at this date he painted primarily historical genre and costume pictures. He was soon to collaborate with his wife on a series of articles for *Scribners Magazine* on art and history.[191]

Furthermore, many in the Broadway group in that summer of 1886 were exploring British civilization from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. On this topic, Edmund Gosse was the preeminent figure of the group.[192] In 1886, Gosse was among Britain's most respected scholars of English literature. His books and lectures,

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188. For information on Blashfield, see Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889,* 114-5.

189. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 20.

190. Walkley, *Artists' Houses*, 128-32.

191. See Grace Whitworth, "The Work and Workshop of Edwin Howland Blashfield," *Fine Arts Journal* 23 (November 1910): 284-90, and Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889*, 114-5.

192. Biographical information on Gosse comes from Thwaite, *Edmund Gosse,* passim. Gosse is now best known as the author of *Father and Son* (1907), an autobiographical account of a child turning away from his Calvinist roots to a life of art.

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including a biography of the poet Thomas Gray and a volume entitled *From Shakespeare to Pope: an Enquiry into the Causes and Phenomena of the Rise of Classical Poetry in England* (1885), were well-known on both sides of the Atlantic.[193] He had also published his own poetry, which owed as much to his friendships with the English Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters as traditional English pastoral poetry. As noted, two in the group, Parsons and Barnard, had illustrated the work of English writers. While neither Henry James nor John Singer Sargent made much use of the past, they both explored modern English customs and mannerisms with exquisite insight. With their genre scenes of English life, Millet and Abbey were both deeply involved in depicting the everyday life of England of the previous few centuries to find chords that would resonate with modern audiences.

Shortly after this summer, Henry James was to praise Broadway, calling it the "perfection of the old English rural tradition" and therefore, perfectly adoptable for purposes of art. The place was "a museum of accessories and specimens," all of them eminently "convertible" into art; "Everything is a subject or an effect, a 'bit' or a good thing."[194] And painting and writing did go on, until tea time, in a converted barn, in other outbuildings, and outdoors. For some, the pace was leisurely. Abbey described the summer as one in which all were "pretending to work and sometimes working,"[195] and James noted: "It is delicious to be at Broadway and not to have to draw."[196] Gosse

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193. In the autumn of 1886, Gosse's *From Shakespeare to Pope* was attacked as inaccurate, and the book soon provoked a debate concerning English scholarly standards.

194. Henry James, "Our Artists in Europe," 50-2.

195. Lucas, *Edwin Austin Abbey,* 159.

196. James, "Our Artists in Europe," 52.

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too recalled, "Not much work was done, for we were all in towering spirits and everything was food for laughter."[197]

Nonetheless, for others, work most definitely proceeded. All the painters tried to paint the red poppies Lily Millet had planted, but deemed the efforts to be failures.[198] Sargent continued work on a large canvas that he had begun the previous summer and that showed children lighting Japanese lanterns amid a tangle of flowers. Using Frederick Barnard's children as models and a bed of flowers which Lucia Millet had helped to cultivate, he worked only at dusk each day, capturing a precise lighting effect.[199] The painting, *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose* (1886, Tate Gallery, London) was the result, a masterpiece of Impressionist painting that also makes reference to his hostess Lily Millet, to an old song of the same title that the Broadway group revived, and probably, to the flower symbolism of the era.[200] That summer Millet also was industrious; he produced at least four salable canvases.[201]

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197. Edmund Gosse, quoted in Henry James, *The Letters of Henry James*, Percy Lubbock, ed. (London, Macmillan, 1920), 88.

198. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 69.

199. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 21 and 65-9.

200. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 66, note the relationship between the painting's title and a song by Josep Mazzinghi. For a discussion of the role of floral symbolism in and nineteenth-century culture, see Karen Zukowski, "Thoughts on the Relationship of Nineteenth-Century Floral Dictionaries and American Floral Still Life Painting" (M.A. diss., Hunter College, City University of New York, 1986). The floral dictionaries assigned symbolic meaning to specific flowers, and the blossoms in Sargent's painting could be interpreted as follows: the white lily meant purity or majesty; the pink rose meant young love; and the white carnation meant pure love. While Sargent surely did not freight his painting with a dogmatic secret code, the allusions to feminine innocence and grace that lilies, roses, and carnations collectively symbolized must have been legible to much of the painting's audience, although contemporary reviews of the painting apparently did not discuss the symbolism of the flowers (see Simpson and others, *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent* (New Haven and Williamstown: Yale University Press and Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1997), 155-6). Although an essay by Richard Ormond,

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After work, the group entertained itself. A game of tennis was held on the lawn of Russell House each afternoon. James and others took walks, giving opportunities for long conversations.[202] After dinner, all gathered in the converted barn, Abbey's studio, for dancing, music and games. *Tableaux vivantes* were performed, and Evangeline Blashfield read palms. Lily Millet, Abbey, and Sargent all played keyboards.[203] Lily Millet sang Schumann and Grieg, and Sargent sang everything from Wagner to all the roles in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado*.[204] Lucia Millet records that one August evening, everyone dressed up for Abbey, who was about to start a new picture: "What with short waisted dresses hair dressed exceedingly high and the men all in queer coats some red it was quite a transformation scene."[205]

Indeed, much of the work and the play at Broadway was transformational, a quest to find and create antiquarian atmosphere within the modern era. Frank Millet repeated with embellishments Lucia Millet's story of seeing a ghost of a Puritan gentleman when she first visited the Lygon Arms.[206] In the early part of the summer of

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"Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose," in Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 73, notes that the painting "plays on the poetry and sentiment attached to [the flowers] with deliberate effect", he does not elucidate the meanings of the painting further. I believe that current scholarship on Sargent's painting has not fully explored the symbolism within the painting and its cultural significance.

201. Francis Millet Rogers, "Frank D. Millet, American of Americans," handwritten manuscript in the F. D. Millet Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1096, frame 186.

202. James, *The Letters of Henry James*, 89.

203. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 21-2

204. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 21; Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 22.

205. Lucia Millet to family, 3 August 1886, material not yet cataloged, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC; quoted in Simpson, "Windows on the Past," 77.

206. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 11.

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1886, Abbey, Millet, James, and Parsons looked for Medieval architecture while exploring the Cotswold plateau. The artists added a huge fireplace to the barn studio, then negotiated with dealers in antiquities for a chimneypiece.[207] Much later, Gosse recollected that Broadway in the late summer of 1886 was the kind of experience always longed-for but seldom achieved, with "five bright weeks of perfect weather, in boisterous intimacy."[208] James's talk of his weeks at Broadway convinced his friends the Burne-Joneses that the Millets had "reconstructed the Golden Age."[209] The summer over, James said he "dropped back into London with a terrible thud."[210] Like all good things, the summer had drawn to a close.

The date and production site of *A Difficult Duet* can be firmly documented, and the painting's significance for Millet can be inferred. One of the several unpublished biographies of Millet records *A Difficult Duet* as among the painter's productions in Broadway in the summer of 1886.[211] The painting is also signed and dated. The painting was exhibited in 1887 in New York City in the American Art Association's Third Prize Fund Exhibition, where it was probably for sale.[212] The painting was purchased by a Mrs. C. M. Raymond, and it was loaned to the Universal Exposition of

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207. Lucas, *Edwin Austin Abbey,* 159.

208. James, *The Letters of Henry James,* 88.

209. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 696.

210. Booth and Millet, "Frank Millet, A Versatile American," frame 696.

211. Rogers, "Frank D. Millet," frame 186.

212. The painting is illustrated in the *Illustrated Catalogue of the Third Prize Fund Exhibition* (New York: American Art Association, 1887), entry 128.

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1889 in Paris and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[213] This exhibition history indicates that Millet himself valued the painting.[214]

The painting has literal relations to the space in which it was created. The setting of *A Difficult Duet* seems to be a transcription of the Elizabethan-era room in Abbot's Grange [FIGURE 108]. Millet first had access to this building that summer. Although Millet later sought to recapture the Grange's Medieval features, in 1886, these were scarcely discernible.[215] The Elizabethan-era room was probably in the sixteenth-century addition to the building, and it may well have been more habitable than other spaces in the building. As confirmation, Edmund Gosse recalled Broadway during that summer of 1886, with its "medieval ruin, a small ecclesiastical edifice, which was very roughly repaired so as to make a kind of refuge for us."[216]

The costumes in *A Difficult Duet* could have come from Abbey's or Millet's stock. Abbey had brought one or more harpsichords to Broadway that summer, and he could have provided the harp that appears in the background of Millet's picture.[217] All

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213. Blaugrund and others, *Paris 1889*, 187-8.

214. Surprisingly, the painting seems not to have attracted the attention of any reviewers. The Millet Scrapbooks 1 and 2, at the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York, contain numerous reviews of Millet's paintings, which are carefully excerpted from newspapers and journals, and are labeled. I could not find any reviews of *A Difficult Duet* in these books. Scrapbook 3 was unavailable at this writing.

215. J. R. H., "The Grange at Broadway," 11, notes that at that date (1894), the great hall still retained its divisions.

216. James, *The Letters of Henry James,* 88.

217. Olson, Adelson and Ormond, *Sargent at Broadway,* 22, records harpsichords in the barn studio in 1886. A girl playing a harp is the focus of Abbey's watercolor, *An Old Song* (1885, Yale University Art Collection, New Haven, CT). The harp that Abbey depicted looks very much like the one in Millet's painting.

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the elements were in place; Millet could easily have posed this scene of two eighteenth-century musicians in an old-fashioned room.

More importantly, Broadway in the late summer of 1886 was a place and time shaped by Frank Millet. His restlessness found an outlet in his adoption of the village and acquisition of its Medieval hub, the Grange. This very sociable painter gathered illustrious visitors together for the summer. Then Frank and Lily Millet proceeded to tangibly reconstruct the past by restoring buildings and gardens. The group performed activities that brought the past alive; they dressed up, they sought out Medieval architecture, they collected antiques. More significantly, Millet gathered those who had undertaken an artistic enterprise like his own. Conversation among the Broadway group often must have included speculation about the actual experience of living in past civilizations, especially England of the last few centuries. In their work, many of these artists and writers used highly elaborate and convincing detail as a vehicle for articulating their ideas about the lives of people of past centuries. They made vanished eras accessible and attractive to their modern audiences. Among the Broadway group were painters, poets, and musicians. Collectively, they must have understood the ability of poetry and painting to communicate shades of meaning using few elements and likewise, that music and painting could emphasize their abstract aesthetic elements. In this way, the arts could transcend time. In particular, among the Broadway group, there seems to have been an appreciation of irony and the power of nostalgia, and a consequent acceptance of the limitations of art.

It was in this carefully-cultivated climate that *A Difficult Duet* was painted, and it pictorialized the glory and the futility of Millet's quest to recreate the nuances of vanished cultures. To view the painting is to revel in its many exquisitely-painted details: the sweep of the blue gown, the light falling on the bag on the windowsill, the glow of the firelight on the andiron. This contemplation is itself part of the abstract, timeless experience that aestheticist painters sought; the act of appreciating the painted

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surface. Millet's use of music is another device that transports the viewer into the world he has depicted. The viewer hears music in his head, extending his contemplation of the painting into another medium and over time. But such contemplation also transports the viewer into the past; by looking so intently and imagining the music, the viewer enters the past and experiences the same sensations as those who were actually in the room.

Yet, Millet inserts many points of disjunction into the painting. He chooses to portray a moment in which the duetists are not playing together—one pauses, troubled over the notes, while the other plays on without concern. And, of course, the duetists play music that we can only imagine in a room that we cannot physically enter. Ultimately, the past is inaccessible. The painting's disjunctions give it an ironic, winsome tone. We have gone far into the past only to find that the journey is too difficult, the past cannot be revived. The painting recapitulates not only a particular setting, but also the experience of Broadway. Within *A Difficult Duet* are echoes of the Broadway group making art and music together, as well as the knowledge that those exquisite harmonies cannot be sustained. In the painting, as in life, even as the music is being created, it falters. The duet is too difficult; the group must disband. *A Difficult Duet* is the aesthetic experience of nearly-attained bliss, Shakespeare's "sweet sorrow" of a past almost, but not quite, accessible in the present.

Frederic Edwin Church and the Studio at Olana

Rather than analyzing another studio and a work of art that came from it, I would like to turn to a studio that is itself of paramount significance. This is Frederic Edwin Church's studio at Olana, the focus of a wing that the artist added onto his Persian-style villa overlooking the Hudson River. At the age of sixty-two, barely able to paint due to crippling arthritis and largely ignored by the fashionable art world, Church undertook this major building project. The studio wing at Olana was the most important creative act of Church's last years; it is perhaps his greatest late work of art. The studio at Olana

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survives largely as Church designed it, open to the public as a museum operated by the State of New York. Because it is so fully documented, because so many of its original furnishings remain, and because its larger setting remains relatively intact, the studio at Olana can lay claim to being the best extant example of an aestheticizing studio in the world.[218]

Frederic Edwin Church was a full generation older than most of the artists who established aestheticizing studios. While William Merritt Chase, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Francis Davis Millet were still children, Church was arguably the most famous living American artist. His name became established in the mid-nineteenth century with the success of three paintings: *Niagara* (1857, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC), *The Heart of the Andes* and *The Icebergs* (1861, Dallas Museum of Art). All three are large-scale panoramic landscapes that celebrate different aspects of new-world scenery. Church's canvases were larger in scale, portrayed especially exotic locales, and were more aggressively marketed than those produced by most of his contemporaries among the Hudson River School.[219] Those traits led Barbara Novack to term Church's canvases as representative of the "operatic" strain of nineteenth-century

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218. I know of only a few other extant well-preserved and publicly-accessible aestheticizing studios. For example: Chesterwood, Daniel Chester French's studio in Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Frederic Remington's studio, reconstructed in the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, in Cody, Wyoming; the Alice Pike Barney House in Washington, DC, and Anders Zorn's studio house in Mora, Sweden. While many other late nineteenth-century studios and artist's houses survive, such as Frederick Leighton's house in London and Gustave Moreau's house in Paris, these do not replicate the late nineteenth-century appearance of the spaces.

219. See Gerald Carr's essay, "Frederic Edwin Church as a Public Figure," in Franklin Kelly and Gerald L. Carr, *The Early Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church, 1845-1854* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1987), 1-51. For an analysis of Albert Bierstadt's career, often cited as parallel to Church's, see Linda Ferber's essay, "Albert Bierstadt: The History of a Reputation," in Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*, 21-68.

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American landscape painting.[220] David Huntington, Church's first monographist, explained the painter's aims by citing Church's Adamic view of nature; his paintings proclaimed evidence of Divine Providence in the New World.[221] It was a vision influenced by both religion and science, informed by the questing Protestantism in which the artist was raised, and the natural philosophy of Alexander von Humbolt, whose views regarding the unity of terrestrial and celestial phenomena the artist embraced.[222] Scholars continue to find Panofskian iconological systems in his canvases.[223]

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220. Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), chap. 2, "Grand Opera and the Still Small Voice," 18-33.

221. David Carew Huntington, "Frederic Edwin Church, 1826-1900: Painter of the Adamic New World Myth" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1960).

222. For Church's religious background and his adult faith, see David C. Huntington, "Church and Luminism: Light for America's Elect," in John Wilmerding and others, *American Light: The Luminist Movement 1850-1875* (Princeton: Princeton University Press and National Gallery of Art, 1989), 155-90, and John Davis, *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), chap. 8. For Church's interest in Humbolt, see Kevin J. Avery, *Church's Great Picture, The Heart of the Andes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 12-31.

223. Huntington, in his dissertation, "Frederic Edwin Church," opened iconological studies of Church. In his 1966 monograph on the artist, *The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church: Vision of an American Era* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), x, he noted that Church created "the essential style and imagery, in a word, iconology, for the America of Manifest Destiny." Iconological studies of Church continue with, among others, Katherine Emma Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839-1879* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989); Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics 1825-1875* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Franklin Kelly, *Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

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In the production of his art, Church, like the other Hudson River School artists, used his studio differently than did the generation of cosmopolitan artists who came later. While the style of Church's paintings, a realism constructed out of minute detail, led some viewers to assume his landscapes were transcriptions of real places, in fact, his major paintings were idealistic scenes created in Church's imagination. They were "compositions," to use mid-nineteenth century terminology, rather than topographical records.[224] Typically, Church went into nature and sketched in graphite, oils, and other convenient media. He undertook more ambitious field trips than many artists, journeying to South America, to the Arctic, and to the American wilderness.[225] He then incorporated the raw material of his sketches—the vistas, atmospheric effects, the flora and fauna he had witnessed—into compositions of his own devising; his "compositions" could be termed epitomizations of real landscapes constructed to carry his iconology.

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224. Franklin Kelly, "A Passion for Landscape: the Paintings of Frederic Edwin Church," in Franklin Kelly, Stephen Jay Gould, and James Anthony Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 34-5, discusses Thomas Cole's method of constructing compositions as a formative influence on Church. Miller, *The Empire of the Eye,* 190-200, analyzes the contemporary critical debate on the roles of composition and transcription in American mid-nineteenth-century painting and Church's use of "composite compositions" to imbue landscapes with nationalist associations. By calling works "compositions," Church clearly distinguished them from transcriptions. See, for example, a graphite sketch that was to become the kernel for *The Heart of the Andes*, which is inscribed: "Composition with Effect Observed / June 5th 57- / Guaranda," catalogued in Gerald L. Carr, *Frederic Edwin Church: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site,* 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), vol. 1, 237-9.

225. Two exhibitions have documented Church's oil and pencil drawings done in nature: Theodore Stebbins, Jr., *Close Observations: Selected Oil Sketches by Frederic E. Church* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), and Elaine Evans Dee, *Frederic E. Church: Under Changing Skies,* (Philadelphia: Arthur Ross Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania, 1992). See also David Huntington's untitled essay in Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, xxxi-xxxviii, for a discussion of the annotations that Church made on his sketches.

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Church might draw the initial inspiration for his compositions anywhere, but he did so especially in nature while sketching; for him the studio was a place of combination, distillation, and refinement. This is in direct contrast to the cosmopolitan artists of the late-nineteenth century, for whom the studio itself was the primary site of inspiration.

Instead, the studio was important for Church as a place of business. After his training with Thomas Cole, Church opened a studio in 1846 in his parents' house in Hartford, Connecticut, but within a few months, he moved to New York City to be amidst art and other artists.[226] He established a studio in the American Art Union Building, where he remained until 1858.[227] The building was the headquarters for the American Art Union, a membership organization that sought to promote the creation, exhibition, and collection of art in the United States. The American Art Union purchased many of Church's early pictures and issued engravings after them, thus becoming "a great factor in Church's early success."[228] We may be sure that the artist's proximity to the offices of the American Art Union strengthened the relationship. Church continued to use his studio to facilitate his career.

When the Tenth Street Studio Building opened in 1858, Church was among the inaugural tenants.[229] In the thirty years that Church was a tenant there, the building housed some of America's most prominent artists and writers. Church formed close associations with many of them, including journalist and photographer William J.

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226. This is noted in Charles Dudley Warner, "An Unfinished Biography of the Artist," in Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 190.

227. See "Studios of American Artists," 1, for an 1856 account of Church's studio in the American Art Union Building. Carr, "Church as a Public Figure," in Kelly and Carr, *The Early Landscapes,* 10, mentions Church's studio in the Art Union building and his relationship with that organization

228. Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 190.

229. Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 121.

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Stillman, architect Richard Morris Hunt, and the painters Jervis McEntee and Worthington Whittredge.[230] For much of his tenancy, Church shared his studio space or sublet it. He had such arrangements with, in succession, Martin Johnson Heade, Walter Launt Palmer, and Horace Wolcott Robbins.[231] As the years passed, Church stayed away from New York City for increasing amounts of time; nonetheless, he found it important to maintain a studio there, giving it up only in 1888.

Church used his studio in the Tenth Street Building to entertain friends and patrons and to sell his art. All evidence indicates that Church's studio regularly was open for the receptions and open houses staged by the tenants of the Tenth Street Studio Building. He was a kingpin in these affairs. An amusing note preserved at Olana urgently requests Church's help with acquiring tickets to an upcoming artists' reception.[232] After his death, Church was credited with originating the custom of

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230. Church owned at least 50 of Stillman's photographs; these are preserved at Olana. Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné,* vol. 1, 310, notes that Church hired Hunt to design a cottage and probably studied in the architect's office in preparation for his trip abroad in 1867. McEntee was one of Church's few pupils. The two artists and their wives became friends. Jervis McEntee and his wife were frequent visitors to Olana, and McEntee accompanied Church to Mexico in 1889. Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné,* passim, chronicles the friendship; see also *McEntee and Company* (New York: Beacon Hill Fine Art, 1997). Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné,* vol.1, 466, further notes that Whittredge and Church were acquainted since at least the 1850s, and Whittredge accompanied Church to Mexico in 1892.

231. Church shared his studio with Heade (1866-78) and with Palmer (1878-82); see Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 26 April 1878, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY; Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*, 26; and Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building," 151-4, and appendix A. A checkbook stub entry in the Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, for a check for $80 to John Taylor Johnston dated 6 May 1883 has the notation: "80-self 70-Robbins / 150-studio rent." Thus, it appears Church shared his studio with Robbins in the 1880s.

232. See J. Horn to Frederic Edwin Church, 19 December 1862, Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY. Other documents mention Church in connection with artists' receptions. After discussing the

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opening the studio at stated hours, a custom that had, by the turn of the century, become universal.[233] In the 1860s, Church hosted meetings of the exclusive Traveler's Club in his studio, a group of New Yorkers who had "traveled extensively and are likewise men of education and talent."[234] Church also used the space for more informal events, such as the impromptu lunch the artist hosted in 1882 for a friend he had met unexpectedly (noted in Chapter Three). The New York City studio was also a base of business operations. Both Heade and Palmer acted as Church's agents, forwarding mail and packages and attending to the framing and shipping of paintings when he was out of New York.[235] Church sometimes "previewed" pictures in his studio by allowing visitors to see studies for future works or half-completed works. Art critics occasionally mentioned these works, phrasing their discussions as studio narratives, thus giving Church's public an intimate look at a future work.[236]

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custom of regular Saturday open houses in Tenth Street in the 1860s, Candace Wheeler, in *Yesterdays in a Busy Life,* 96, recounted a story involving Church, implying that he was present and that his studio was open. See also Carr, "Church as a Public Figure," in Kelly and Carr, *The Early Landscapes,* for an analysis of Church's public face; n. 20 cites newspaper articles of the early 1860s that complained when Church's studio was *not* open during public receptions, a clear indication that Church's press and public expected the artist to be accessible at these times.

233. See M[ary] E[lizabeth Wilson] Sherwood, "Frederic E. Church, Studio Gatherings Thirty Years Ago—New York's Former Bohemia," copy of an unspecified newspaper clipping, (c. April 1900) in the Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, and an undated manuscript of reminiscences by Hortense Ferguson Childs, (c. 1910s) in the Richard Wunder Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

234. Frederic Edwin Church to James T. Fields, 16 December 1864, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Boston.

235. Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*, 26.

236. Harvey, in *The Painted Sketch,* 67-75, cites several instances of Church previewing pictures in a discussion of the use of the sketch as a marketing tool. Advance notice of *The Icebergs* appeared in at least two articles written as studio narratives: "Personal," 3, *The World* (New York), 7 December 1860, 3; and "The Lounger. Church's New

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The Tenth Street Studio Building played a pivotal role in one of Church's most successful business ventures.[237] In 1859, Church exhibited his *The Heart of the Andes* in the building's central exhibition space, placing the huge painting in an elaborate walnut frame, swathing it with draperies, surrounding it with palms, and lighting it at night by gas. Two booklets were available to explain the painting to the crowds that the painting drew. Church took the painting to England and on a tour of the United States, and he sold steel engravings of it. Though Church had already staged a similar "great picture" exhibition for *Niagara* and was to do so again for *The Icebergs*, the New York showing of *The Heart of the Andes* was his most successful single-picture exhibition, and it was exhibited in the Tenth Street Studio Building—the literal center of New York's art world.[238]

The appearance of Church's studio in the Tenth Street Building is among the most well-documented of the era. A stereograph of the studio was issued by S. Beer sometime around 1866 [FIGURE 109], a date when photographs of interiors were still unusual. The painting visible in the photograph, *Rainy Season in the Tropics* (1866, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) survives, as do most of the visible furnishings, including three works by Erastus Dow Palmer, an Elizabethan-Revival chair covered in a panther skin, and an iridescent butterfly preserved in a frame.[239] The large palm fronds

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Picture," *Harper's Weekly*, 20 April 1861, 242-3. Another studio narrative, Manhattan, "A Ramble Among the Studios of New York," *Daily Courant* (Hartford, CT), 22 March 1865, 2, mentions a new twilight scene set in New England.

237. For a full account of the exhibition of *The Heart of the Andes* as a cultural phenomenon see Avery, *Church's Great Picture,* 33-44.

238. Church's "great pictures" are discussed in Gerald L. Carr, *Frederic Edwin Church: "The Icebergs"* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 1980), 21-33.

239. Karen Zukowski, "The Furnishings Plan for Olana State Historic Site: A History of the Interiors, Thoughts on their Significance, and Recommendations for their Restoration," report for Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, forthcoming. The chapter on the studio documents two of the Palmer sculptures seen in the stereograph,

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seen in the photograph were mentioned by every writer who described the space, and they became something of a signature marking the studio. Various newspaper accounts reveal other furnishings of the room, including a chair constructed of wood from Hartford's famous Charter Oak, a version of Thomas Cole's *Prometheus Bound*, and a stuffed buffalo head.[240] The variety and quality of the furnishings in Church's studio almost qualify it as an early instance of an aestheticizing studio. Yet each item of furnishing is explicitly related to Church's own paintings or to his friendships; nothing was chosen simply for its aesthetic content or for the associations it evoked. Furthermore, after Church's death, Mary Elizabeth Wilson Sherwood recalled that his studio of the 1860s seemed "too handsome and splendid and rich for the true artistic conception."[241]

Church's studio at Tenth Street carried intimations not only of the aestheticizing studios used by the next generation of American artists, but also of Olana, the estate the artist built near Hudson, New York, 130 miles north of New York City. In 1867, Church and his family set off for a twenty-month trip to Europe and the Middle East—a fact-finding mission that was to inform every project the artist took up afterwards, especially his estate. Much of Church's artistic energy for the remainder of his life was

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Spring (OL.1981.894) and *Supplication* (also known as *Faith*) (OL.1978.1); the chapter on the Dining Room/Picture Gallery documents the chair (OL.1979.23); and the chapter on the Court Hall documents the framed butterfly (OL.1981.687) and the third Palmer sculpture, a bas-relief called *Innocence* (OL.1981.726).

240. See "The Bostonian in New York," *New York Daily Tribune*, 12 May 1861, 3; [untitled article], *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), 7 April 1860, 6; and "Personal," 3. The Charter Oak chair is at Olana today (OL.1981.747). It is unclear whether Church showed the large version of Cole's *Prometheus Bound* (now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), or a study for it. Church may not have owned the Cole. Church often assisted the Cole family by exhibiting his teacher's works in his studio, where they could attract the attention of the press and potential patrons.

241. Sherwood, "Studio Gatherings."

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invested in Olana—in improving the grounds, building the house, and decorating and furnishing it. Olana is arguably the artist's most complex product, no less a work of art because Church performed as a landscaper, architect, and collector rather than as a painter. Church's work at Olana culminated in the studio wing, which was built at end of his life. While Olana is too complex an artwork to be fully explicated here, the chronology of its development and a summary of Church's aesthetic accomplishments are relevant for an understanding of the studio wing.[242]

In 1860, Church married and purchased a 126-acre farm, and the couple made the place their main residence.[243] Frederic and Isabel Church soon engaged Richard Morris Hunt to built a modest cottage overlooking the Taconic and Berkshire hills.[244] Until the last decade of his life, Church supervised the operations of his farm, where cattle were raised and various crops were grown, such as hay, oats, fruit trees, and a special strain of tall Mexican corn.[245] The farm kept one or two families employed, provided the family with fresh produce, and sometimes turned a profit.

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242. The iconology of Olana has been most fully discussed by Huntington, *The Landscapes*, chap. 8. More recently, Roger Stein has given a brief but cogent appraisal of Church's home in his essay "Artifact as Ideology: the Aesthetic Movement in its American Context," in Burke and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty,* 24-5. The development and fruition of Olana are documented in James Ryan's essay "Frederic Church's Olana: Architecture and Landscape as Art," in Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 126-56.

243. Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 128. Unless otherwise noted, the facts concerning the development of Olana are cited in Ryan's essay.

244. The building, known as Cozy Cottage, is attributed to Hunt on the basis of a check to Hunt for $125, dated April 1, 1861, in the David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, "for architectural services rendered to date." A sketch of the building survives at Olana (OL.1980.1608); this has been identified by Sherry Birk, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Octagon Museum in Washington, DC, as probably a pre-construction sketch from Hunt's office (see letter in accession file OL.1980.1608).

245. The history of the landscape at Olana is documented in Robert M. Toole, "Historic Landscape Report for Olana State Historic Site," report for Olana State Historic Site,

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But Church was even more of a landscape designer than a gentleman farmer. Immediately after he purchased the land, Church began planting trees on the steep hillside, and in the coming years he added parcels of land to make more convenient and elegant entrances to the property.[246] He excavated a marsh, turning it into lake. In 1867, he purchased eighteen acres of adjoining land to secure his building site at the top of a hill. Until the last decade of his life, Church continued to make improvements to the property, adding more than seven miles of carriage roads to his estate, which came to total some 240 acres.[247] The artist selectively planted and removed trees in order to reveal views of his own land, including the new lake that mirrors a wide point on the Hudson River far below, and a vista of the distant hills and mountains [FIGURE 110].

"I can make more and better landscapes this way than by tampering with canvas and paint in the studio," Church wrote in 1884 as the estate reached its maturity.[248] Indeed, to drive on the carriage roads, as Church did often with his family and guests, was to travel through a Church landscape. The foreground of this landscape—the estate itself—is a controlled system of wooded areas, open parkland with specimen trees and wildflowers, and fields reserved for grazing animals and farm crops. In the background of this landscape are cultivated hills, the Hudson River with its commercial traffic and

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Hudson, NY, 1996. For details on the farm, see section 2, "Property History During Church's Lifetime," 33-76 and 105-15.

246. In addition to Toole, Church's achievements on the landscape are detailed in Ryan, "Frederic Church's Olana," in Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* especially 147-9.

247. Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 148; see figs. 76-9 in Toole, "Historic Landscape Report," for an enumeration of the original acreage of Church's estate.

248. Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 18 October 1884, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

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pleasure boats, and beyond, the Catskill Mountains. This is a settled, pastoral landscape.[249]

Work on the main residence at the newly-acquired property at the top of the hill began in 1869, immediately after Church and his family returned from abroad, and construction and decoration occupied Church until at least 1876.[250] The house is an Italianate villa with ornamentation derived from various Middle-Eastern sources, a collaborative venture between the painter and the architect Calvert Vaux [FIGURE 111]. Vaux, Jervis McEntee's brother-in-law and author of a popular architectural pattern book for country homes, *Villas and Cottages* (1857), produced floorplans for the house and seems to have served as a consultant and engineer.[251] Hundreds of surviving sketches by Church show that the artist himself was responsible for the myriad forms of ornament executed in the house.[252] Among Church's more ingenious architectural embellishments are amber windows with cut-paper patterns in imitation of Islamic carved window screens and elaborate interior and exterior stenciling in rich colors and

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249. Many aspects of Olana's landscape, especially its relationship to the surrounding region, remain intact. Some landscape features, such as plantings, are currently in need of restoration. See Toole, "Historic Landscape Report," for a full analysis.

250. The chronology of construction is discussed in Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 135-44, and will be detailed in a Historic Structure Report on the main residence at Olana to be completed by John G. Waite and Associates of Albany, New York.

251. The nature of Vaux's and Church's collaboration is still under investigation. See William B. Alex, *Calvert Vaux: Architect and Planner* (New York: Ink Inc., 1994), 68-9, and Kelly, Gould, and Ryan, *Frederic Edwin Church,* 135-9; and Francis R. Kowsky, *Country, Park and City: the Architecture and Life of Calvert Vaux* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 206-15.

252. Approximately 400 architectural sketches are housed in the Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, and documentation exists at Olana for another 100 lost sketches. Only a few of these sketches are catalogued in Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné.*

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metallic pigments in patterns derived from Middle-Eastern tilework. The first floor contains public rooms arranged around the periphery of a central living hall, which was originally designed with an open ceiling so that it would receive daylight through a series of skylights.[253] The house thus was modeled after Middle-Eastern domestic architecture, which often incorporates an open central courtyard; a reporter termed Olana, "Persian adopted to the Occident."[254] The public rooms are oriented towards magnificent southwest views of the Hudson and Catskills, framed by windows with arched openings [FIGURE 112].

Frederic and Isabel filled the house with furnishings that were meant to please the eye and stimulate the mind [FIGURES 113-5].[255] American Aesthetic Movement furniture is mixed with family heirlooms and exotic imported pieces. Middle-Eastern carpets of all sizes cover the floors. Many of the draperies (now too tattered to hang) integrate foreign ethnic textiles and fabric of Western manufacture. The walls display not only paintings by Church and his friends, but also old master paintings, works on paper, mirrors, and many sorts of decorative objects. Most flat surfaces hold dense arrangements of diverse objects such as Oriental and Middle-Eastern ceramics, Middle-Eastern metalware, and Mexican Colonial and folk art. Thousands of pieces of two-dimensional artwork—prints, photographs, and sketches by Church and others—were stored in drawers but were accessible to family and friends. Other intellectual

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253. The framing for the opening was observed in September of 1997 by Jack Waite and Associates during investigations conducted for their forthcoming Historic Structure Report.

254. Frank Bonnelle, "In Summertime on Olana," *The Boston Herald*, 7 September 1890. The term was probably coined by Church himself. Church, in a letter to Amelia Edwards of 2 September 1876, Sommerville College Library, Oxford, England, said his house was "Persian in style adapted to the climate and requirements of modern life."

255. The original furnishings of Olana are documented and cataloged in Zukowski, "Furnishings Plan."

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stimulation was provided by a 2,000-volume library and two pianos. The couple raised four children and hosted illustrious guests in the thirty years they made the structure their home.[256]

Each of the public rooms at Olana incorporates a meaning consonant with its function. As is true for Church's earlier paintings, the "compositions" that are Olana's interiors have an iconography.[257] The dining room [FIGURE 114], hung with tiers of old master paintings and lit only by celerestory north-facing windows, also served as the family's art gallery. With the paintings, a massive fireplace, and a print chest in convenient proximity to the large dining table, the room was imbued with the medievalizing, Old World air of a connoisseur's den. Everything was "toned down to four hundred years back," as Church termed it.[258] Numerous objects and motifs are gathered together in a central living hall, known as the court hall [FIGURE 113]. Amid the many objects in the room, all lit by the glow from a large amber window, images of Buddhas and virginal women and girls stand out, suggesting the unfathomable mystery of the continuity and renewal of human culture through the spiritual and the feminine.

In the sitting room [FIGURE 115] hangs artwork that held special meaning for the family and the artist who headed it: the sketch for *Niagara*—the painting that established Church's career—Isabel's wedding portrait, and a Roman picture by

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256. Among the guests at Olana were Samuel Clemmens and his wife Olivia; the writer Charles Dudley Warner and his wife Susan, a professional musician; Amelia Edwards, an Egyptologist; the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and his family; and many artists and their families, including Sanford Gifford, Jervis McEntee, and Erastus Dow Palmer. For further details, see Maria C. Lizzi, "The Guests of Frederic and Isabel Church," report for Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, 1996.

257. The iconography of Olana's interiors is summarized in the conclusions section of each chapter of Zukowski, "Furnishings Plan."

258. Frederic Edwin Church to William Osborn, 4 November 1868, typescript copy of lost original, Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

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Church's teacher, Thomas Cole. Portraits of Alexander von Humbolt and Claude Lorrain hung as pendants to honor the scientist and artist Church admired above all others.[259]

The most significant painting in the room, however, is Church's *El Kashne, Petra* (1874). The goal of Church's trip abroad was his ten-day camel journey into the Syrian desert to the abandoned city of Petra, thought to be perhaps the vestige of the biblical kingdom of Edom. Church's painting depicts a structure cut directly into the striated pink rock cliff. Although named "treasure house" by the local Arabs, the building's original purpose was unknown. Church thought it gleamed as if self-illuminated; gazing upon it was revelatory.[260] The painting hangs above the pink marble mantle Church designed for it, opposite a river view. The painting, hanging in the room most central to family life, functions as a metaphor for Olana itself. The couple named their home after another treasure house, a fortress in ancient Persia that overlooked a river valley, a place described by the second-century geographer Strabo.[261] Church's Olana, like the one in ancient Persia, was designed to safeguard a family and the culture they treasured.

In contrast to the residence and the landscape at Olana, Church's first studios there were artless. When the couple first moved to the property in 1860, Church painted

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259. The portrait of Claude Lorrain still hangs in the sitting room. (Research has revealed that it does not, in fact, portray Lorrain although Church believed that it did). The portrait of Humbolt is now in a private collection.

260. Frederic Edwin Church to William Osborn, 11 April 1868, typescript copy of a lost original, Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

261. For most of the twentieth century, the derivation of the name "Olana" was lost. It was recovered by Gerald Carr in "What's in a Name: The Genesis of Frederic Church's Olana," lecture in typescript, 1988, Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY. It is mentioned in Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, 395.

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in a room in their cottage, but within a few years, the artist built a separate studio. He constructed a simple rectangular frame building with a large north window on the highest point of land he then owned.[262] This studio was furnished more sparsely than his New York City studio, and Church called it his "workshop."[263] It was little more than a convenient workroom for a landscape painter. Here he often worked for most of the day, bragging to Heade, "While you are amusing yourself waiting on the door receiving your own and sending off my visitors I am flourishing the bristles uninterruptedly."[264] Church apparently did the bulk of his work in this studio, then transferred paintings to the Tenth Street studio for final adjustment, noting, "I am always anxious to see my pictures in another studio and another light before completing them."[265] Church used the studio on the hillside and the Tenth Street studio simultaneously until 1888, when he closed the latter and tore down the former.[266] In that year, he began construction of the studio wing to the main residence at Olana.

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262. Charles L. Fisher, "Archeological Discovery of Frederic Church's First Studio at Olana State Historic Site, Columbia County, New York," report for New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Waterford, NY, 1994.

263. Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 19 August 1872, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

264. Frederic Edwin Church to Martin Johnson Heade, 28 December 1866, Martin Johnson Heade Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

265. Frederic Edwin Church to Aaron Goodman, 2 September 1887, Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

266. Jervis McEntee, diary entry for 18 July 1888, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll D-180, recorded that Church was building a new studio and had torn down the old one. On 10 January 1889, Church was billed for the packing and crating of items in the Tenth Street Studio Building (which had taken place over several days in December, 1888) and shipping of same to Hudson, New York; see bill from George Siegel, dated 10 January 1889, Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

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Church chose to build a new studio for himself in spite of circumstances that negated his need for one. Although there was rarely a time when Church did not have some requests for his pictures, demand for his works had slackened greatly by the 1870s.[267] Taste turned away from the Hudson River School of painters and towards the works of European painters and cosmopolitan painting styles. Church was no longer at the forefront of the American art world; he inhabited a backwater.

Furthermore, the artist increasingly found himself physically incapable of painting. Church began to complain of a painful right wrist as early as 1869, and within a decade, this occasional lameness had become chronic arthritis.[268] The disease often left him tired and made it impossible to hold a brush. The Hudson River Valley winters aggravated his condition, so Church began to travel in search of a more congenial climate. Beginning in 1881, the artist spent most winters in the dry, mountainous regions of central Mexico without his wife, who needed humidity for her health.[269] All this sometimes left Church depressed, although his spirits usually were renewed by the Mexican climate and Mexican culture, where the influence of the Spanish Renaissance and the still-older Pre-Columbian native traditions were the background to everyday life.

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267. Church, in a letter to Erastus Dow Palmer, of 28 December 1890, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY, noted that he was "under a good deal of pressure from friends to take their orders," but that he felt too infirm to take commissions, preferring only to work on paintings to give to his family.

268. The precise causes of Church's complaints were never fully diagnosed in the nineteenth century. Current theory holds that he suffered from rheumatoid arthritis, which may have been caused and/or exacerbated by the lead in his pigments. See Philip L. Cohen, "The Arthritis of Frederic E. Church," *Journal of Rheumatology* 24, 1997, 1453-4.

269. The dates and places Frederic and Isabel traveled are noted in the index to each person in Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*.

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Church was well aware of the irony in his choosing to build a studio late in life. As the wing got underway, he wrote to a friend: "I can fancy the thought passing your mind—'Building a studio at his age and with his infirmities!' Well—we will call it a Mausoleum."[270] In 1888 he was, in Jervis McEntee's words, "very much disabled," yet he had "no end of energy and ambition,"[271] which surmounted his misgivings.

Though he had had virtually no formal architectural or engineering training, Church decided to design the studio wing himself. Shortly after construction began, Church wrote to a friend: "I am indeed busy night and day with my plans and as I am architect and make the drawings you can probably believe that I have little spare time."[272] Some of the drawings for the wing do survive, but these are not formal measured floorplans, elevations, and details.[273] Because Church lacked the skill to produce such drawings, he preferred to be on hand, directing each bit of construction as it occurred. "It takes a deal of time and no little study to keep so many men at work advantageously—as I have no regularly drawn plans I have to explain every little detail. It is not a little difficult to keep the work going economically when none of the men really know what is coming next."[274] Not able to paint, the artist could design and direct. "It is very interesting work anyhow and our verandah makes a capital stage for

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270. Frederic Edwin Church to Charles Dudley Warner, 23 July 1888, Estate of Sally Church Papers, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

271. McEntee, diary entry for 18 July 1888, roll D-180 .

272. Frederic Edwin Church to Charles De Wolf Brownell, 7 June 1888, typescript copy, in the Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

273. See Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, catalog number 656v, which illustrates one of the few sketches that can, with some certainty, be connected with the studio wing.

274. Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 11 September 1888, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, New York.

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overlooking the work as it progresses."[275] Supervising construction became the painter's occupation.

Work began in the spring of 1888, when Church announced he was planning a new studio and building supplies began being delivered to Olana.[276] Construction progressed steadily over the summer, and the bulk of the wing was ready for roofing by autumn. In January of 1889, the furnishings of Church's Tenth Street studio were transported to Olana, and Church left for his accustomed trip to Mexico in February. Work on the wing appears to have progressed fitfully in the remainder of 1889, due to Church's ill health, but various details, including the tiling of basement floors and the installation of fireplaces, were completed. Church oversaw the furnishing of the new wing in 1890, so that by September 7, when an article on Olana was published, the reporter described the "spacious studio added to the mansion this year."[277]

Even as Church finished the studio wing and expressed satisfaction with the results, he referred to its purposelessness with black humor. "I may play painter in my Studio—which has a most admirable light, indeed it is so perfect that it lacks only one thing—a Painter."[278] Nonetheless, Church stayed at Olana during the winter of 1890-1 and inaugurated the new studio. First he retouched several works: a recently purchased old master, and an early canvas of his own, bought anonymously at auction.[279] Then he

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275. Frederic Edwin Church to Charles Dudley Warner, 23 July 1888.

276. The chronology of the construction of the studio wing is documented in Thomas O'Sullivan, "The Studio Wing of Olana" (M.A. diss., State University of New York at Oneonta, NY, 1980), chap. 2.

277. Bonnelle, "In Summertime on Olana."

278. Frederic Edwin Church to Charles Dudley Warner, 4 December 1890, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

279. A letter of 21 December 1890 from Church to McEntee mentions the early work he purchased and retouched; this painting is still at Olana and is known as *Catskill*

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proceeded to original works. "Filled with enthusiasm I attacked my first canvas and an Iceberg scene is the result, the best I think I ever painted and the truest—the next a scene in Maine Mt. Katahdin that is nearly done—I have worked on a very large canvas—Mexican scenery."[280] Indeed, he was never again to attempt canvases as ambitious as those of the winter of 1890-1. Though sketches and small works of art of the later 1890s demonstrate that Church was still a painter with ideas,[281] an examination of the studio wing shows he achieved more in the medium of design.

The studio wing [FIGURES 116 and 117] is a westward extension of the main residence at Olana, consisting of a suite of basement guest rooms, storage space, and the studio itself, which is entered through a spacious corridor. Two porches are accessible from the studio: a wide piazza facing southwest and a semicircular porch facing west. Above the studio in a tower is a small room known as the observatory; it has a half-cylinder vault and glazing on all four exposures.

As Thomas O'Sullivan has observed, Church appears to have drawn from a number of sources when designing the studio wing. First, the overall form of the wing and its siting resembles that of a billiard pavilion by French architect M. Gaspard Andre as it was published in *Scribner's Magazine* in October of 1887.[282] Second, the studio's north-facing window and a small bathroom are both constructed as wooden bays hung

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Mountains from the Home of the Artist; see Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, 370-4. The old master is mentioned by Bonnelle, "In Summertime on Olana."

280. Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 1 April 1891, Erastus Dow Palmer Papers, McKinney Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, NY.

281. See, for example, two oil sketches from the end of Church's life, *Church of Guadalupe, Cuernavaca, Mexico, in Late Afternoon*, 1898, and *Church of San Francisco, Cuernavaca, Mexico*, 1898, illustrated in Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, catalog numbers 699 and 700.

282. O'Sullivan, "The Studio Wing of Olana," 34, notes this precedent.

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upon the stone superstructure of the main wing. In form and decoration, they bear some similarities to the photographs of bay windows and balconies of Indian houses published by Lockwood de Forest in his *Indian Domestic Architecture* (1887).[283] de Forest, a former student of Church's and still a good friend of the family, was by that date supervising the fabrication and importation of carved Indian woodwork.[284] Third, Mexican influences and outright incorporation of Mexican elements can be detected. The observatory functions like the Mexican *azoteas*—outdoor rooms atop flat roofs, while the three corners of the studio tower resemble *alemenas*—battlement-like fabrications that are found on Mexican and Spanish churches and are derived ultimately from Arabic sources.[285] One portion of the exterior wall of the studio wing, the portion that the piazza abuts, was faced in tiles that Church imported from Mexico.[286]

The studio wing also draws upon more generalized architectural sources, including those already evident in the main structure. The south-facing piazza was composed of portions of a piazza that had been attached to the west facade of the house before the studio wing was built. This was the "verandah" from which Church watched

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283. O'Sullivan, "The Studio Wing of Olana," plate 32, illustrates a photograph from de Forest's book, while citing generalized eastern influences on Church.

284. Roberta Ann Mayor, "Lockwood de Forest and the American Aesthetic Movement: Understanding his Ideas and Work in the Context of Olana" (M.A. diss., University of Delaware, 1995).

285. O'Sullivan, "The Studio Wing of Olana," 35-7, notes these borrowings from Mexican architecture. At least by the 1890s, Church was familiar with *azoteas* and *alemenas* because he sketched them. See Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, catalog numbers 613, 634, 635, 638, and 639, which all date from before construction began on the studio wing, and which all appear to have been executed from *azoteas*, and catalog number 641, dated 1884-5, which shows *alemenas*. A photograph album at Olana (OL.1992.2), probably dating from 1895, records an *azotea* that Church presumably used.

286. Fragments of the unused tile remain at Olana; these are stamped "Mexico."

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construction. When the wing was added, the piazza's orientation and shape were altered, and Church incorporated the columns from the old piazza into the new one. The slender form of these columns, with their capitals formed of tiers of turned wood, relates to Islamic columns. Church was conversant with Islamic architecture through numerous photographs and books he owned.[287] The cylindrical vault on the studio tower bears some resemblance to a semi-circular, pediment-like element found on colonial Mexican architecture and the vernacular architecture of the southwest. And with its highlighted fan shapes, the vault even resembles the paddlewheelers that plied the Hudson River below. The studio wing draws from many currents then prevalent in American domestic architecture, with its mixture of stone, brick, and wood, with its polychrome carried out in paint, stone and tile, with its picturesque massing, and with its eclectic stylistic sources.

Although the wing draws upon many sources, ultimately it is an idiosyncratic piece of architecture, distinct from the main structure; it is a product of Church's imagination. Visually, the wing is far lighter in its massing than the rest of the house. It has many areas of glazing and voids, and the entire structure is perched on the cliff.[288] The wing seems to have been designed from the inside out. Church probably decided

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287. O'Sullivan, "The Studio Wing of Olana," 34, and plate 31, cites a relationship between the piazza columns and columns in an unnamed photograph of a building in Isfahan. Yet it should be noted that Church owned so many images of Islamic architecture, that this is only one source that could be cited. There are still extant at Olana hundreds of photographs of Middle-Eastern architecture, and some of these were probably purchased before the main portion of the house was constructed. Church also owned the following lavishly illustrated folio books, which are still at Olana: Jules Bourgoin, *Les artes Arabes* (Paris: A. Morel, 1868-1873); Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse* (Paris: A. Morel, 1868); and E. Collinot et de Baumont, *Ornaments de la Perse,* vol. 1, part 1, *Encyclopedia des arts de l'orient* (Paris: Canson, 1883).

288. The piazza originally rested on slender brick piers; the voids between them were filled with brick (reportedly during the tenancy of Louis and Sally Church 1901-64), because the piazza was structurally unstable.

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the purposes he wanted rooms to serve—studio, guest suite, and corridor connector—then assembled the rooms accordingly.[289] The exterior elevations express, in O'Sullivan's term, a "picturesque functionalism," in which the purpose of rooms is loosely indicated by exterior form.[290] Yet there are few vantage points from which the wing can be viewed as a whole; the wing was meant to be experienced primarily from the inside.

Expansive views are an integral part of the experience of the studio wing. The corridor, with its four large windows looking onto the piazza and the southwest view down the Hudson River, can function much like a breezeway (with the windows open) or like a conservatory (with the windows closed). The observatory has glazing on all four sides; on a clear day from this height, one can see the Hudson River Valley as far south as West Point and as far north as Albany. Church paid particular attention to the view from the studio itself. The westward-facing window of the studio is framed by an ogee arch of amber glass decorated with flowers and foliage [FIGURE 118]. This window lies at the end of an axis begun at the front door of the house. The window frames a living landscape composed of the Hudson River far below and the Catskill Mountains receding into the distance. From all of these windows, one views a landscape continuously altered by the daily change of light, by fluctuations in meteorological conditions, and by the progression of the seasons.

The room has all the functional requirements of a late nineteenth-century artist's studio: ample space and light, a north-facing window, and storage space [FIGURES 119-23]. Like other aestheticizing studios, the room also contains much comfortable

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289. As the studio was being built, Church, in a letter to Charles Dudley Warner, 23 July 1888, David C. Huntington Archives, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, noted also that it would serve as guest rooms, indicating that this was an intended function of the wing.

290. O'Sullivan, "The Studio Wing of Olana," 38-40.

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furniture, including a heavily upholstered couch, an easy chair, a lounge, and other upholstered side chairs.[291] Other furnishings serve specific purposes. A light-weight Shaker rocking chair, for example, can be pulled out onto either porch, and a print chest can hold drawings, prints, and photographs.

Not unlike other nineteenth-century artists, Church grouped a diverse array of art in his studio. Still in the room are two sculptures by his good friend Erastus Dow Palmer, and a small landscape depicting Mexico. The Mexican landscape probably was painted by Jervis McEntee or Worthington Whittredge, both of whom accompanied Church to that country.[292] Two of Church's own early works hang in the studio: a New England landscape known as *Mt. Ira*, and *Christian on the Borders of the "Valley of the Shadow of Death,"* a scene taken from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. The studio now contains only one work that was painted there by Church: *Forest Interior*.[293] The other paintings in the room are all by European old masters: a late seventeenth-century Italian portrait depicting an unknown woman; a Roman Baroque altarpiece with an elaborate frame; a seventeenth-century Roman painting of the penitent Mary Magdalene; a scene of ruins in the moonlight now attributed to François Nomé, a seventeenth-century painter active in Italy; and a nineteenth-century Russian icon.[294] Church was probably

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291. The original furnishings, which, for the most part, remain in the room today, are cataloged in the chapter on the studio in Zukowski, "Furnishings Plan."

292. The two sculptures by Palmer, which, as noted above, were both in the Tenth Street studio in the 1860s, are *Spring* and *Supplication* (sometimes titled *Faith*). The painting is known as *Mountains in the Distance, Mexico* (OL.1981.28); see note 230, which documents the trips McEntee and Whittredge took with Church to Mexico.

293. Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, catalog number 158.

294. The old master collection at Olana has been the subject of recent research. See Karen Zukowski, "Old World Arts in the New: The Dining Room At Olana" (lecture delivered to the Victorian Society in America, 2 November 1996, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, CT; copy in the Research Collection at Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY). Also see the accession files at Olana for the works mentioned (OL.1980.1952; OL.1982.191; OL.1981.54; OL.1980.1958; OL.1981.844).

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most proud of his life-size portrait of a novitiate, a 1782 work by the Mexican colonial painter Andrés López.[295] Church found this painting in a shop in Mexico City and restored it himself.[296]

Church's personal taste is especially apparent in the decorative objects displayed in the studio. There are distinctive examples of Mexican folk art, including an arrangement of *sombreros* and baskets. In addition, there are two large earthenware jugs with tile inlays, one of which spells out "Olana" [see FIGURE 124]. The artist assembled a collection of what he believed to be authentic Pre-Columbian objects [FIGURE 125]: ceramic vessels and figurines, a carved stone *metate*, and a painted hide jug.[297] The room also contains many Middle-Eastern objects, including the throw seen on the lounge, a hanging textile depicting a bird in a niche, the large rug on the floor, and, probably, various pieces of metalware and ceramics.[298] One object was fashioned in Middle-Eastern style by a Western craftsman: a pierced wooden screen installed in the top half of the studio's large north window [FIGURE 119]. This was probably made by a local carpenter following a design supplied by Church, perhaps taken from one of

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295. Clara Bargellini, "Frederic Edwin Church, Sor Pudenciana Y Andrés López," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas* 62 (1991): 123-38.

296. Edward Garczynski, "A Forgotten Artist. Mexico Had a School of Portraiture," *Two Republics* (Mexico City), 16 March 1895, 1.

297. Bethany Astrachan, "The Pre-Columbian Collection of Frederic Edwin Church" (paper written for Prof. Paul Goldstein, Columbia University, 29 June 1995; copy in the Research Collection at Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY), has shown that Church bought both authentic Pre-Columbian objects and others that were either intended as forgeries or were simply the products of Mexican craftsmen creating objects with vestiges of Pre-Columbian design elements.

298. Although photographs do not document either the hanging textile or specific items of Middle-Eastern ceramics or metalware in the studio in Church's lifetime, I conclude that they were there. See the chapter on the studio in Zukowski, "Furnishings Plan."

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his books of Islamic ornament. Finally, a large fragment from a column of the Parthenon ornaments the floor.[299]

Church seems to have delighted in combining objects that were, upon first impact, visually and culturally disparate, but upon further consideration had similarities. The fireplace [FIGURE 124] is a marriage of Persian tiles and Indian wood carving, both made by nineteenth-century craftsmen who sought to revive native craft traditions. The tiles were made by Ali Mohammed Isfahani, a ceramist active in Tehran and Isfanhan in the 1870s and 1880s, who derived his glazes and decorative motifs from Safavid prototypes.[300] The fireplace surround was carved by native workers in the shop established in Ahmadabad, India by Lockwood de Forest, who sought to revive the skills of the Jain sect.[301] Church displayed his collection of Pre-Columbian artifacts, along with other curiosities, in a Lockwood de Forest curio cabinet [FIGURE 125], heightening the antiquarian overtones of the displayed objects.

The studio wing is a natural outgrowth of the concerns preoccupying Church in his mature years. Church's paintings of 1870s and 1880s are fundamentally different in subject matter and tone, if not style, from his earlier work. As John Davis has explained, Church's late paintings are a response to the ramifications of post-Darwinian science and philosophy on his own religious beliefs.[302] In his paintings of ruins, of

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299. Although this object is not documented in the late 1890s photographs of the studio, it probably was in Church's New York City studio in the 1860s, as the *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), 3 December 1869, 2, mentions it. It presumably came to Olana with the rest of the Tenth Street studio contents in 1889.

300. The tiles are signed and dated in Farsi. For further information on the artist, see Jennifer M. Scarce, "Ali Mohammed Isfahani, Tilemaker of Tehran," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 22, no. 3, (1976): 278-88.

301. Mayor, "Lockwood de Forest," 65-6.

302. Davis, *The Landscape of Belief*, chap. 8.

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Middle-Eastern cities, and especially of biblical sites, Church presented evidence of the continuity of human culture and of Christ's historical presence on earth. If the paintings from the first half of Church's career depicted a Humboltian vision of Divine Providence in nature, the paintings from the second half attempted to show that the remains of human culture could also yield proof of God's connection with mankind. Church did not always find that proof, Davis posits, for some of his late canvases are marred by a reliance upon unimaginative and formulaic compositions, and they are permeated by an elegiac, even defeated tone.

Olana is also an expression of Church's mature religious faith, but a more positive expression. The estate was largely a product of the years following Church's trip to Europe and the Middle East, where he went to see the world's oldest cultures and the only extant biblical remains. Olana, the artist's most sustained aesthetic effort, reflects Church's thirty-year task of grappling with the experience of this encounter. The interiors in the main portion of the residence at Olana, as I have explained, embody Church's fascination with the products of human culture—the physical evidence that reveals the longevity and spirituality of the human race. His landscape at Olana reveals his Claudian vision of the settled, pastoral landscape. The studio wing, the artist's last great work of art, recapitulates and reformulates the searches he made for the Divine in nature and in human culture, and includes a metaphor for his own life as an artist.

The view from the studio wing [FIGURE 118] is akin to Church's early landscapes. From those windows, Church saw a landscape that continually manifested God's power in ever-changing plays of light, weather, and the seasons. From the west studio window, Church saw little of the Claudian, agricultural Hudson River Valley. Instead, he saw an expansive, bird's-eye view of the river and its banks, the mountains, and the landscape beyond, a view that is compositionally a twin to the "magisterial

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gaze" Church expressed in his earlier work.[303] This view, encompassing as it does the entire nation in a westward-facing gaze, reveals Church's belief in the Doctrine of Manifest Destiny more directly than any of his canvases. God's Divine Plan can be detected in the American people's claim to the continent.

There is some evidence that the studio wing expresses Church's interest in exploring the origins and use of ancient architectural forms. Although Church did not often speak of art or aesthetics, his thoughts on the origin of one primeval architectural form, the dome, are recorded. Sylvester Baxter, Church's traveling companion in Mexico in 1896, wrote a multi-volume treatise, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in Mexico* (1901), as well as various articles in the English-language press of Mexico. In a discussion of the Church of the Nuestra Señora del Carmen in Celaya, Baxter cited Church's admiration for its tiled dome. Church, Baxter reported, noted a remarkable similarity between tiled domes of Mexican and Persian buildings, and he theorized that all domes may have derived from the dome-shaped adobe huts found in the Near East.[304] Although Church never built the dome that he apparently intended for Olana,[305] he did

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303. Albert Boime, *The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny in American Painting c.1830-1865* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 57-64, 73-5, discusses Church's early panoramic paintings as expressive of the imperialistic urges of the era.

304. Sylvester Baxter, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in Mexico* (Boston: J. B. Millet, 1901), vol. 1, 11; quoted in Carr, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, 489-90. Church was not alone in looking for an original source for a well-developed form. By the late nineteenth-century the search for ur-forms—those wellsprings from which all later forms derive—was advancing in the fields of linguistics, the history of myth (with the research of Max Müller), and architectural history (with the research of Gottfried Semper).

305. The first published illustration of Olana, which appeared in M. Lamb, *The Homes of America*, 176, showed a dome above the recessed second-floor window of Church's bedroom. The illustration was used again in Bonnelle "In Summertime on Olana," of 1890; Church undoubtedly provided it to the author.

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incorporate references to ancient architectural forms in the studio wing: the north bay window resembles the fenestration on Indian domestic wooden architecture, the turned wooden capitals of the piazza columns resemble Persian carved stone column capitals, and the polychrome brick studio tower battlements resemble Mexican stone and stucco *alemenas*, which are themselves of Arabic origin. All these forms were adapted by Church so that they could be built by Yankee craftsmen and installed in the new world.

The art and decorative art that Church chose to display in the studio most directly express the artist's fascination with artifacts that testify to the tenacity of the human race, a tenacity that cannot be erased by time. Church's old master paintings stand for the whole history of European art, which culminated in its oil painting. Tellingly, there is evidence that when Church refurbished the portrait of the Mexican novitiate, he over-cleaned the background while carefully preserving all the details of the nun's habit and her minutely detailed headdress, thus enhancing its aged appearance while not diminishing its religious symbolism. The Pre-Columbian artifacts prove that human ingenuity is universal. Even remnants of classical eras, like the piece of the Parthenon and Nomé's painting of ruins, testify to the glories of by-gone civilizations. Church believed all these objects to be documentably old.

Other objects in the studio, although not chronologically old, were produced using old techniques or in reverence for old objects. The Ali Mohammed Isfahani tiles and Lockwood de Forest woodwork consciously revived old craft techniques and forms. The Mexican jugs, the sombreros and baskets, and the Middle-Eastern rugs and throws all were made by craftspeople who preserved age-old forms, patterns, and techniques. In the Olana library, there is a copy of Cunningham Geikie's *Hours with the Bible: or, The Scriptures in the Light of Modern Discovery and Knowledge* (1888), one of many volumes the artist owned that attempted to fuse science and religion. The copy at Olana has this passage underlined: "Nothing can be more certain than that the truths proclaimed, on sufficient evidence, in nature, are as much a revelation, in their sphere,

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of the ways of God, as the higher disclosures of the Bible."[306] For Church, the products of human hands were no less evidence of Divine revelation than the forms found in nature.

Some of the objects in the studio make direct reference to Church's career as a painter and allude to it as a religious pilgrimage. The fragment from the Parthenon references not only Greek culture and Church's admiration for it, but his own painting of the Parthenon, which inaugurated his series of paintings of ruins. The views from the windows of the studio, as I have explained, reformulate the ideas Church had earlier conveyed in static landscape painting, and they express them in three dimensions and over time.

Finally, Church engineered a particularly telling comparison by hanging David Vinkboons's *Tobias and the Angel* (1619) and his own *Christian on the Borders of the "Valley of the Shadow of Death,"* on either side of the door to the corridor [see FIGURE 120]. Both of these paintings depict small figures in a large landscape, young men engaged in spiritual journeys. In the apocryphal biblical tale of Tobias and the Angel, Tobias must make a perilous journey to reclaim money owed to his father. Vinkboons portrays the moment when the angel Raphael appears to help guide the youth. Church's own painting is taken from the moment in *Pilgrim's Progress* when Christian, Bunyan's everyman, hesitates before entering the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Both paintings show youths in the act of undertaking life-threatening spiritual journeys. Both youths are saved by their unshakable faith and righteous actions. These are provocative paintings to display in a studio, the site of Church's own life journey as a painter.[307] Indeed, by juxtaposing his own painting with that of Vinkboons, an old

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306. Davis, *The Landscape of Belief,* 175-6, notes the significance of this underlined passage.

307. Avery, *Church's Great Picture,* 31 and 33, makes the point that pilgrimage is also a theme in *The Heart of the Andes.*

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master who specialized in landscapes with figures as Church did, Church claims a place along a venerable continuum.

Superficially, the studio at Olana resembles other aestheticizing studios, but at its core the room expresses entirely different aims. Church's Oriental carpets, his lounge draped with throws, his pierced wood screen in the window, his old masters—similar objects could be found in other aestheticizing studios. Like other late nineteenth-century artists, Church displayed souvenirs of his travels, gifts from friends, and expressions of his taste. Visually, the studio at Olana differs little from other aestheticizing studios. Thus, in furnishing his studio, Church proved himself capable of keeping abreast of artistic trends; however, the studio at Olana is very different from mainstream aestheticizing studios. By juxtaposing an expansive view with the interior, by making references to ancient architectural forms, by the meanings suggested by his furnishings, Church never abandoned empiricism. In the studio, he expressed age-old architectural form in modern materials, brought actual or seemingly old objects together, and set chairs before a living landscape picture window. The room was a place where age was made tangible, and architectural form and the landscape could be physically experienced over time. In contrast to the cosmopolitan, late-nineteenth century artists who evoked history and foreign cultures in their aestheticizing studios and then transmitted these poetic suggestions into their artwork, Church created a place where the material evidence of the timelessness of human culture and the Divine presence could be witnessed, even touched. His studio, unlike his late canvases, shows that Church did not abandon his hopes of being an artist who could reveal spiritual truths to a skeptical world.

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Conclusions

This chapter has treated four American artists whose works and studios all differed greatly from each other. William Merritt Chase stocked his Shinnecock studio with Spanish furnishings and reproductions of Velázquez's paintings, and he manipulated reflected light for a Velázquez-ean effect. He cast his own child, named after Velázquez, in a *tableau vivant* of a painting by Velázquez. He was then able to *see* a Velázquez in his own era, and painted *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as an Infanta* for a patron who had witnessed and admired the spectacle. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, in contrast, created an atmosphere of inventive classicism in the rural New England countryside by constructing buildings and gardens and encouraging a colony of artists to do the same. The *Sherman Monument*, a public, collaborative sculpture, incorporates the dual emphasis upon idealism and naturalism that Saint-Gaudens cultivated at Aspet in Cornish.

Frank Millet similarly manipulated both his built and social environments; however, he centered them on his own nostalgic, antiquarian conception of English history. At Broadway, Millet briefly made Elizabethan culture come alive, then he captured that fleeting moment, including its sense of transitoriness, in *A Difficult Duet*. And finally, Frederic Church proved himself cognizant of the cosmopolitan mainstream art culture of the late nineteenth century by building the studio wing at Olana. Yet in Olana's studio, the experience of the studio is not projected into a separate work of art; the studio itself is the work of art. In the studio, Church and his family and guests could touch artifacts that traced their lineage to the origins of human culture, and they could see how the genius embodied in those artifacts could be germinated and nurtured in the providential New World.

The four works of art discussed in this chapter were created for different audiences: one painting was commissioned and the other painted for the market, the sculpture was made for the people of New York City and the nation, and Church's

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studio was a private work of art. Each work of art was created in a distinct environment. Chase painted his portrait in a studio he established late in life that was somewhat insulated from the larger art colony in which it stood. Saint-Gaudens conceived and developed his sculpture in a highly collaborative process carried out in Cornish, New York City, and Paris. Millet's genre scene was as much a transcription of the antiquarian-minded community in which it was conceived as the Elizabethan paneled room in which it was painted. Church, unable to paint, worked as a designer with himself as the client.

Although each studio was different in appearance and function, and although each work of art belongs to a different genre, all of these studios and artworks share a bond. Each studio had its own distinct aesthetic, an aesthetic that is present in the final work of art created there. A tie between studio and artwork is unmistakable, holding true across four distinct sets of circumstances and aesthetics.

Did aestheticizing studios stimulate artists' imaginations or did artists manipulate their creative environments and their artworks independently? Did studios influence the works of art made in them, or did artists merely fashion both? The comments of "Ishmael" from 1891 on art atmosphere bear repeating: "The man sets his seal on his environment. The Environment reacts upon the man. The art and something of the artist are reflected in his studio."[308] In other words, influence between the studio and the art created in it was not unidirectional; the artist left his imprint upon the studio and upon the art, and the two interacted in a fertile interchange.

When considering the larger cultural climate that studios and artists inhabited in late nineteenth-century America, it is not surprising to see that artists and their audiences believed in the power of environment. The artists of the late nineteenth-century were the first generation to have grown up under the influence of what scholars

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308. Ishmael, "Through the New York Studios," part 6, 328.

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have come to call the cult of domesticity.[309] As America industrialized over the course of the nineteenth century, the business and domestic spheres became increasingly separate. Men populated the business world, and the home was the domain of women and their children. The home became a retreat from the business world, a haven where children were protected, a sacred place cultivated and maintained by women. By mid-century, Americans believed that the home was the proper site for inculcation of moral values. Some of the power that fathers, ministers and schoolmasters had formerly held as instillers of moral rectitude was now appropriated by women in their roles as wives and mothers.[310]

While industrialization and professionalization made the business world more complex, the domestic sphere also became more specialized, a site of compartmentalized consumption. Each room in the middle-class home was differentiated by function, and each room was furnished according to its function. The arrangement of rooms dedicated to the practical functioning of household or the human body (the kitchen, the laundry, the bathroom), were governed by the nascent sciences of domestic economy and sanitation. The rooms dedicated to the cultivation of mind and spirit (parlor and nursery), were furnished to encourage upright moral and intellectual character. Children raised in a well-furnished home, filled with objects that taught the virtues of responsibility, patriotism, honesty and the like, would absorb those values.[311] In her own home in the artist's colony of Onteora, the designer Candace Wheeler

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309. For the use of the term, see Clifford Clark, *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 29 and chap. 1 passim, and Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, Introduction passim.

310. Ann Douglas traces this in *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Avon Books, 1977), especially chap. 3.

311. Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, discusses this phenomenon. She quotes Clarence Cook, (p. 7) who, in 1879, argued that the family living room was "an important agent in the education of life."

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painted this motto in the frieze of the living room: "Who creates a home / creates a potent spirit / which in turn doth / fashion him that fashioned."[312] Not surprisingly, the artists of the late nineteenth century, who grew up under the influence of the cult of domesticity, had internalized the belief that interiors were anything but inert.

When the artists of the late nineteenth century had the opportunity to shape their own environments—their studios—they did not seek furnishings invested with the powers of moral suasion; they chose furnishings rich in aesthetic suasion. Seeking to become productive and successful, late nineteenth-century artists shaped their studios with professional, secular goals in mind. They hoped, even expected, that their studios, properly furnished, would prove influential. They assumed themselves to be open to the suggestive, associative powers of objects, people and activities. They expected that their milieu would stimulate their imaginations. Such stimulation would naturally foster creativity. Furthermore, they believed that by arranging distinct environments, inspiration could be coaxed along specialized pathways. Chase arranged a Velázquez-ean environment, while Millet arranged an Elizabethan one; their artworks reflected their studios. Whereas their mothers assumed that their homes would shape moral character, the artists of late nineteenth-century believed their studios would shape their aesthetic character. The aestheticizing studios of the late nineteenth-century, in all their myriad diversification within the type, reflected the common belief in the power of the interior to shape the individual and his or her actions.

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312. The author saw the inscription in Wheeler's cottage "Pennyroyal" at Onteora in 1989.

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Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the phenomenon of American aestheticizing studios of the late nineteenth century. Paralleling a European phenomenon, American painters and sculptors maintained lavishly-furnished studios and lived active social and professional lives in them. American aestheticizing studios were clustered in certain districts of major and minor cities in the United States and abroad. Aestheticizing studios were well-known to many Americans. Some had visited an aestheticizing studio, but many more saw paintings of them or read about them in magazines or in novels. Aestheticizing studios were ubiquitous in American cultural life.

Aestheticizing studios were essential to artists as they fashioned complex public personae. The clutter of their own artworks in aestheticizing studios revealed artists to be diligent workers and successful professionals. Artists also proved that they were gentlemen (or ladies) and connoisseurs, by maintaining courtly manners in studios filled with fascinating artifacts. Above all, artists were alchemists who turned the dross of paint, canvas, clay, and plaster into the gold of artworks.

Aestheticizing studios were also essential to artists as they made their art. Artists consciously furnished their studios with resonant objects, and they staged stimulating recreational activities there. This dissertation has examined Chase's Velázquezean studio at Shinnecock, Augustus Saint-Gaudens's classicizing and naturalistic studio in Cornish, Francis Davis Millet's Elizabethan art colony in Broadway, and Frederic Church's primordial and empirical ur-studio at Olana. In all four instances, the studios and the art are linked. The artists drew inspiration from the

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art atmosphere they created in their studios and studio homes, and their art reflects their inspiration.

Now I would like to examine the ways in which aestheticizing studios embodied a response to larger cultural issues prevailing in late nineteenth-century America. Why were densely-layered interiors so appealing to artists and their publics? Why did the media and novelists cooperate in disseminating the idea of aestheticizing studios and their artist inhabitants? How, if at all, were American aestheticizing studios and American artists different from their European counterparts? To answer these questions, I would like to look beyond the studios and the artists to the climate in which they functioned.

The flourishing of aestheticizing studios and the flourishing of American commerce were concurrent phenomena. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, American business took the modern form that it has retained throughout the twentieth century.[1] American businesses learned to create a product, to recognize a market, and to systematically pursue both by using a specially-trained workforce. Specialization and professionalization—of workforces, of manufacturing processes, and of distribution networks—were the keys to the unprecedented productivity of American commerce.[2] Through their studios, artists found a public way of denoting their adaptations to these times. Aestheticizing studios were artistic expressions that reflected the commercial specialization and professionalization of the late nineteenth century.

Aestheticizing studios amply demonstrated that artists kept pace with the productivity of commerce. Visitors to the studio could see artists applying pencil to

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1. See Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America.*

2. Alan I. Marcus and Howard P. Segal, *Technology in America: A Brief History* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, 1989), part 2, "Systematizing America: the 1870s to the 1920s," 135-256.

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drawing paper, brush to canvas, or molding tool to clay. Sitters could watch their portraits take shape over many sessions. The inventory of partially- and fully-completed works that most artists kept in their studios proved their productivity. People who did not physically visit the studio nonetheless witnessed artists' productivity. Studio images, whether produced by the artists themselves or by the journalists and novelists who wrote about the studios and produced engravings and photographs of them, typically described the artist at work and portrayed a profusion of works-in-progress as well as completed ones. The entire production process and the finished product were put on display in the studio.

Aestheticizing studios were specialized workplaces that were outfitted and personalized to reflect the artist-proprietor. Aestheticizing studios contained the paints, brushes, and canvases that painters needed, and the clay, plaster and modeling tools that sculptors needed. Further specialization was denoted by other studio furnishings: still-life painters stockpiled their subjects, and genre painters collected the costumes, props, and other objects they depicted. Most artists kept some form of aesthetic prototypes in their studio, whether it was their own preparatory sketches, or works by other artists whom they admired. A few artists even kept separate studios for different forms of their work; for example, Chase had separate studios for portraiture and fish painting. The specialization of studios reinforced the notion that studios were specialized sites for the production of fine art or even particular classes of fine art.

Together, the decor of aestheticizing studios and the lives artists led in them metaphorically reflected the increasing specialization of the structure of industry. Aestheticizing studios were densely furnished. They were filled not only with practical tools, but also with objects characteristic of the art made there and reflective of the personality of the inhabitant. Artists organized entertainment and recreation that reflected their art. All this seemed only natural to a business world intent upon specialization and professionalization. Within the walls of the aestheticizing studio,

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each artist performed all of the processes that manufacturers did: a product was designed, made, and sold there. The entire production process reflected the character of the artist and his art. The aestheticizing studio was a highly visible and nuanced shop sign that distinguished the profession of the artist and advertised the sophistication of his product.

Even as America became more professional and systematic, she recoiled against these trends. In the late nineteenth century there were numerous manifestations of discontent at the consequences of industrial capitalism in American economic, political, and social life.[3] The corrosive effects of the modern system were brought forcefully before the eyes of the public by muckrakers and reformers, from Upton Sinclair to Jacob Riis. The Haymarket Riots of 1886 and the Pullman strikes of 1894 were among the most troubling signs of prevailing labor unrest. Anti-trust legislation was enacted and labor unions were formed to act as concrete checks on laissez-faire capitalism. Social critics advocated disparate remedies to counteract the pressures of modern life, from settlement houses and social welfare agencies for the poor, to passive and active therapies for the chronic neurasthenia afflicting the upper classes. Aestheticizing studios reflected a second trend in the late nineteenth century—the cultural manifestations of anti-modernism.[4]

Aestheticizing studios demonstrated one strain of anti-modernism by being bound to the aestheticism of the late nineteenth century. Americans expressed their distaste for the products of industry and systems of mass marketing by owning and

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3. The contours of anti-modernism can be traced in the opening essays and extracts, "The Price of Progress: Capitalism and its Discontents," in Leon Fink, ed., *Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1993), 1-29.

4. The study of the cultural manifestations of anti-modernism in late nineteenth-century America was defined by Lears, in *No Place of Grace*. This still stands as the seminal work on the topic.

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admiring objects that could not be produced by modern methods (or at least appeared that way). The foundation of this late nineteenth-century aestheticism was laid by the design reformers of the mid-century, who warned that the processes of industrial manufacturing would degrade the modern worker and the products they made.[5] Critics and designers such as John Ruskin and William Morris advocated the introduction of retrogressive procedures in the modern era, and they condoned objects that revived the look of older objects. Their insistence on sturdy materials and forthright form was adopted by the designers of the Aesthetic Movement, who devoted themselves to making sumptuous objects.[6] Designers such as the Herter Brothers and Louis Comfort Tiffany operated under the canon of beauty for beauty's sake, stressing the color, line, texture, and other formal qualities of the objects they made. Using whatever means proved economical, modern industrial manufacturers emulated the anachronistic methods of mid-century design reformers and the sumptuousness of late-century Aesthetic Movement designers.

Aestheticizing studios had a fundamental connection to the anti-modernist aestheticism of the late nineteenth century because the maker of fine art was one of the few surviving craftsmen in the industrial age. The painters and sculptors of aestheticizing studios marched in step with their brethren design-reformers and craftsmen. They too created hand-made objects rooted in a craft tradition, they too sought the excellence of formal qualities in their art. By conducting classes in their studios, artists operated apprentice systems. The aestheticizing studio was a medievalizing workroom, an achievement consonant with aestheticist principles.

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5. See John Heskett, *Industrial Design* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), chap. 1, and Boris, *Art and Labor*, especially chaps. 1-2.

6. A scan of the objects illustrated in Burke and others, *In Pursuit of Beauty* reveals the emphasis upon sumptuousness and fine craftsmanship in all Aesthetic Movement objects.

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Furthermore, artists baldly proclaimed their connections to anti-modernism by using historic furnishings in their studios and staging old-fashioned activities there.[7] Overwhelmingly, the furnishings of aestheticizing studios were hand-made and dated from the pre-industrial era. Artists related facts concerning where and when the objects in their studios were made, who made them, how they were used, and even their provenance. The contemplative, time-inefficient character of artists' connoisseurship repudiated the quickening pace of modern life. Artists simultaneously developed skills in antiquarian pursuits, such as fencing (which engaged the club in the Fenway Studio building), to the Japanese tea ceremony (which engaged Cecilia Beaux). Artists cultivated a habitable past.

But most of all, the art atmosphere of aestheticizing studios engendered a sense of removal from the modern world. The artifacts and pastimes of history—old objects and antiquarian pursuits—were the most important ingredients in art atmosphere, but other factors affected the compound. Aestheticizing studios contained artifacts that were geographically, culturally, and historically remote from the modern world. Artists lived unconventional lives that furthered the production of art, and to that end, they hosted costume parties, practiced poor housekeeping, and engaged all visitors in conversations about art. When under the influence of art atmosphere, the mind was inspired to flights of fancy. These took the form of musings on objects and the telling of anecdotes—daydreams connected to the experience of the studio. Aestheticizing studios prompted associative reveries from journalists, visitors to studios, and from the artists themselves. Such chains of associations had the power to transport artist and visitor alike far from the quotidian world, back in time, or into their imaginations. As

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7. See Lowenthal, *Foreign Country*, xvi-xvii and chap. 3. Lowenthal distinguishes the historicism of the nineteenth century, noting that commentators believed that their era was the first to recognize the past as distinct from its own time, and to self-consciously manipulate the past for its own ends through accurate historical analysis.

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Francis Davis Millet's sister put it, when describing an impromptu costume ball she had attended in her brother's studio, the event was "quite transformational." Musing upon an evocative studio was poetic, wistful, always "transformational." Art atmosphere, with its attendant associationism, was profoundly anti-rational, anti-logical, anti-systematic—in short, anti-modern.

Artists turned the anti-modernist impulse of their era into an adaptive strategy. They found value in old objects and outmoded behaviors. They preserved a traditional craft and taught it to a new generation. The anti-modernism of aestheticizing studios demonstrated that artists could isolate themselves from the ill-effects of the modern world.

Aestheticizing studios connect with a third major cultural trend, a phenomenon that has been termed the "interiorization" of late nineteenth-century culture.[8] A societal mind-shift, from extroversion to introversion, can be detected in many aspects of late nineteenth-century American culture. The closing of the American frontier checked continental expansion; America focused her growth on her cities.[9] With greater numbers of Americans working in industry and commerce and fewer working in agriculture, more people spent more time indoors. The new technologies of central heating, lighting, and plumbing made this shift feasible.[10] The growth of higher education through institutions and through self-improvement organizations (such as

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8. Betsky's essay, "Inside the Past," in Axelrod, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America,* discusses the concept of the interiorization of late nineteenth-century cultural life, with reference to the colonial revival.

9. See Blake McKelvey, *The Urbanization of America 1860—1915* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1963), which charts not only the demographic growth of cities in the last half of the nineteenth century, but also describes the consolidation of their political, social, and cultural institutions.

10. Maureen Ogle, *All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing 1840-1890* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

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Chautauqua groups) reflected America's desire to cultivate mind more than muscle.[11] Americans showed a tendency to live literally and figuratively in the interior and in the mind.

Like the rest of their countrymen, artists moved indoors; their domain became the aestheticizing studio. Hudson River School artists drew their inspiration from nature; many worked out-of-doors as much as possible, and some even received their formative instruction in nature. By contrast, the artists of the late nineteenth century received their training in indoor academies. When these artists became teachers, they returned to these same academies and devised other indoor institutions for instruction and exhibition. Furthermore, their professional and personal lives were conducted in aestheticizing studios. Artists dispensed hospitality to friends and received callers. They also earned a living in studios by teaching and selling their work. Aestheticizing studios blurred the distinction between commercial and domestic spaces. It became natural for an indoor-focused culture to feel comfortable in aestheticizing studios.

As many commentators have noted, in the late nineteenth century, Americans also metaphorically moved indoors, developing an introspective stance in the search for a modern self. T. J. Jackson Lears charts a movement over the course of the nineteenth century from the "Protestant ethos of salvation through denial" to a "therapeutic ethos stressing self-realization in this world, an ethos characterized by an almost obsessive concern with physical and psychic health defined in sweeping terms."[12] He believes that a deep-seated anxiety about modern conditions—technological change,

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11. Schlereth, in *Victorian America*, 246-57, charts the growth of secondary and adult education in late nineteenth-century America.

12. T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture," in Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 4.

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urbanization, secularization, and the development of a market economy—fed the developing "therapeutic ethos."

Americans learned to differentiate mental health from moral rectitude, and they became aware of their own psyches.[13] There were various manifestations of the new interior awareness. Many Americans developed an interest in Far-Eastern mystic religions and in meditation.[14] Painters and novelists forged new portrayals of the interior, especially the domestic interior.[15] Landscapists produced canvases with restricted views, and portraitists produced likenesses that captured psychological insights.[16] It is not surprising that artists as well as their patrons and the general public

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13. Joel Pfister's essay, "On Conceptualizing the Cultural History of Emotional and Psychological Life in America," in Joel Pfister and Nancy Schnog, eds., *Inventing the Psychological: Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 17-59, describes the development of psychological awareness in the late nineteenth century.

14. Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life*, 72-87, and 168-77, discusses the interest in Buddhism expressed by John LaFarge, Henry Adams, Ernest Fenollosa, and Lafcadio Hearn, among others.

15. Betsky, "Inside the Past," in Axelrod, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America,* is the best summary of this development, though it focuses solely on art with a colonial or New England theme. See also Teresa A. Carbone, *At Home with Art: Paintings in American Interiors, 1780-1920* (Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art, 1995), which documents a shift from early nineteenth-century canvases depicting interiors that served as stages for narrative, to late nineteenth-century canvases that depicted interiors that served as portraits of their owners. Marilyn R. Chandler, *Dwelling in the Text: Houses in American Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), traces the depiction of interiors in the writing of Kate Chopin, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Henry James and Edith Wharton, along with earlier and later authors. See also Sarah Luria, "The Architecture of Manners: Henry James, Edith Wharton, and the Mount," *American Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (1997): 298-327, which describes how interiors affected the work and lives of these two authors.

16. For landscape painting, see Weber and Gerdts, *In Nature's Ways*; for portraiture, see David Lubin's essay, "Modern Psychological Selfhood in the Art of Thomas Eakins," in Pfister and Schnog, eds., *Inventing the Psychological,* 142, which details how Eakins's late portraiture provided his sitters with "the means not only of 'seeing' their elusive

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would expect to find such art made in highly-fashioned interiors. The "transformational" art atmosphere of aestheticizing studios communicated artists' creative introspection.

Aestheticizing studios played a role in shaping the concept scholars have identified as the cult of personality—one aspect of interiorization.[17] By the turn of the century, a paradigm shift had occurred. As noted in Chapter Six, the cult of domesticity had stressed the role that home could play in the formation of a collectively-endorsed moral character, especially in children. Proper domestic furnishings were one agent of this acculturation. As the cult of personality developed, the distinctiveness of the individual became more important, a shift that was aligned with the developing therapeutic ethos.[18] Personality could be expressed through actions and possessions, especially the possessions contained in personalized domestic space. By the late nineteenth century, domestic interiors came to represent the self.[19] Aestheticizing

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interiority—exteriorized through facial expression and bodily posture—but also of considering such interiority to be a mark of moral distinction."

17. Warren I. Sussman defined the cult of personality in "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," in Higham and Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History*, 212-27.

18. Karen Halttunen outlines this development in "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration and the Culture of Personality," in Simon J. Bronner, ed., *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton, for The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1989), 157-89.

19. This concept is expressed through many different lenses in modern scholarship. See Halttunen, "From Parlor to Living Room"; Jean-Christophe Agnew, "A House of Fiction: Domestic Interiors and the Commodity Aesthetic," in Bronner, ed., *Consuming Visions,* 133-55, which describes the depiction of possessions in domestic interiors in painting and fiction; Kevin Stayton, "A Novel Approach to Nineteenth-Century Interiors and Tastemakers," in Carbone, *At Home with Art,* 48-59, which describes how this concept was expressed in late nineteenth-century American literature; and McClaugherty, "Household Art," which surveys prescriptive literature describing how to create artistic houses.

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studios, each consciously shaped by the owner's discriminating taste, stood as landmarks along this developing frontier. The aestheticizing studio, which conveniently straddled the domestic and professional realms, was read by the culture at large as a personality profile of the owner. By assessing the studio, one assessed the artist and the artwork. Aestheticizing studios helped legitimize the notion that an interior could mirror a person.

Aestheticizing studios were linked to a fourth cultural trend, the evolving position of women in late nineteenth-century America.[20] Some women (especially young unmarried women) worked outside the home, helping to populate a new middle class of teachers, sales clerks, and office workers.[21] More women went to college and pursued other forms of higher education.[22] Nonetheless, the trend that had begun with industrialization continued, and men and women lived much of their lives in separate spheres. This acknowledged women's essentially "domestic" nature, a nature not suited to the modern world of technological and commercial tumult.[23] Women were responsible for all domestic affairs; determining her own and her family's involvement with art was part of a woman's role. Within these parameters, women nonetheless took on new roles, often in the context of a phenomenon scholars have labeled domestic

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20. As evidence of the complex, shifting nature of women's roles in the late nineteenth century, Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), describes a series of differing stereotypes by which American women were portrayed.

21. Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History, 1865 to the Present* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986), 54-6.

22. Riley, *Inventing the American Woman,* 47-8.

23. See Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: The Free Press and Collier Macmillan, 1988), especially chaps. 3 and 4, which describe the "democratic family" of the early Victorian era, and the "companionate family" of the early twentieth century. The late nineteenth century was a period of flux for women and the family.

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feminism.[24] Women chose to carry out reform by establishing their own organizations that acted as agents of change, especially in such innately "feminine" fields as child labor, temperance, and better housing for the poor. Some of these organizations were specifically devoted to bringing art to a wider public.[25] Reform work, carried out through women's clubs, could be done without compromising a woman's role as wife and mother. Similarly, a woman could make and collect art without endangering her domestic role. In her roles as a creator of art, consumer of art, and proselytizer for art, the new American women made connections with aestheticizing studios.

Women had access to aestheticizing studios through their roles as art students. As noted in this dissertation, there was an increase in the late nineteenth century in the number of women receiving art instruction. Not many of these women intended to be professional artists; most wanted to enrich their lives. Many of these amateur artists, as well as women who aspired to careers as professional artists, were private pupils in aestheticizing studios. Many other women who took regular classes in conventional art schools might have been occasional visitors to receptions held by their teachers in their aestheticizing studios.

There is some documentation of women encountering aestheticizing studios through their roles as direct patrons of fine art, or as the motivating forces behind

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24. Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism 1870—1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 3 (1979): 512-29, first noted the influence of women's organizations in the realms of social and political reform; she observed that late nineteenth-century women's organizations were simultaneously progressive and conservative. The phenomenon she identified has been termed "domestic feminism." See Karen J. Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890—1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

25. See Blair, *The Torchbearers,* chap. 4, which specifically describes the visual arts, and McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, which argues that women ceded control of the arts organizations they had founded when the organizations became sufficiently prestigious and public.

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purchases made by others. Exactly how much art was bought by women? The answer to this question is a topic beyond scope of this dissertation. Yet surviving sources, which are necessarily anecdotal and unquantifiable, indicate that female visitors to aestheticizing studios outnumbered male visitors. Women came to receptions that artists hosted, and they paid private calls upon artists. As discussed, the purpose of a visit to an aestheticizing studio might remain ambiguous. A woman might visit an aestheticizing studio for any number of reasons: perhaps she intended to become a pupil of the artist; perhaps she was chaperoning a friend; perhaps she was making a social call; or perhaps she wanted a closer look at an artist's work. Although many reasons may originally have brought women to aestheticizing studios, some women surely bought art there.

It was as indirect consumers of aestheticizing studios, however, that women were especially powerful. Although it will never be possible to measure or quantify the degree to which the images of aestheticizing studios were directed specifically at women, it is clear that women were the intended audience for many of them. Images of the aestheticizing studio permeated late nineteenth-century popular media, fine art, and fiction. As delineated in Chapter Four, the aestheticizing studio was described in sources that purported to document them or to portray them artistically. Aestheticizing studios were described through words and images in newspapers and illustrated magazines, through paintings that were themselves illustrated in magazines, and through novels and stories published in magazines. Information on aestheticizing studios and images of them were multivalent, holding some appeal for both sexes, but perhaps meaning more to women than to men. Indeed, the demand for information on aestheticizing studios generated a class of articles on artist's housekeeping habits, stereographs that depicted imaginary stereotypical artists' studios, and novels that romanticized artists' lives and studios.

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When women assimilated images of aestheticizing studios disseminated by fine art, fiction, or the journalistic media, they gathered information they could use in their roles as prime consumers in the new leisure class of the late nineteenth-century economy. Thus, the evolving position of women in the late nineteenth century links aestheticizing studios with a fifth cultural trend: the burgeoning consumer culture. Many scholars have charted the rise of an American consumer culture in the late nineteenth century.[26] Naturally, much of the encouragment to consume was directed at the home. As keepers of the domestic sphere, women were responsible, through their decorating decisions, for giving moral and intellectual sustenance to husbands and children (even as the cult of domesticity declined) and for expressing their own personalities (especially as the cult of personality rose).[27] Cultural media, including those that covered the plastic arts, were sources of nourishment for the family and for women themselves. It was in their roles as consumers of cultural information and as creators of homes that women found aestheticizing studios important.

Women turned to artists and their aestheticizing studios to learn about art.[28] In aestheticizing studios were artifacts from all eras and an artist/collector who explained

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26. The seminal texts on this issue are Fox and Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption*; Bronner, ed., *Consuming Visions*; and William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Random House, 1993).

27. Veblen, *Leisure Class,* first singled out women's roles in the new culture of consumption in 1899. Modern scholars have only recently begun to unravel the gender roles in late nineteenth-century consumption. See especially Saisselin, *Bricabracomania*, chaps. 3 and 4, and T. J. Jackson Lear's essay "Beyond Veblen—Rethinking Consumer Culture in America," in Bronner, ed., *Consuming Visions,* 73-9. Yount, "'Give the People What They Want,'" is the best summary of the gendered consumption of goods that were specifically termed "aesthetic."

28. Yount, "'Give the People What They Want,'" 235-7, chap. 4 and passim, and Betsky, "Inside the Past," in Axelrod, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America,* 258-60, specifically make this point.

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them all; thus, by visiting studios, a woman could learn not only about the art made there, but also about the complete history of all the arts. Following the lead of her guide and mentor—the artist—a woman could become a connoisseur. She could learn to appreciate the technical processes used to fabricate art objects. She could learn to appreciate the object's past function, its prior patrons, and its enduring formal beauty. Aestheticizing studios could demonstrate many traits a woman might want to cultivate: respect for human cultural heritage; knowledge of historic cultures and their virtues; and appreciation of the formal qualities of beauty. Aestheticizing studios provided readily-accessible intellectual capital on which women could draw in their own efforts to make interiors that reflected their personalities and their inner creative lives.

Aestheticizing studios were part of a sixth cultural strain, namely America's increasing cosmopolitanism in the late nineteenth century. In the middle decades of the century, America was distinctly nationalistic in her political, economic, and cultural life. At mid-century, Americans fought the Civil War and ensured possession of the continent's physical resources by settling the western states. Correspondingly, the country's art was landscape painting, which depicted the splendors of the new world. She broke out of such parochialism in the final decades of nineteenth century. America fought a war with Spain to gain colonies in the Philippines and the Caribbean, she developed overseas markets, and she sent her artists to study in Europe.[29] America demonstrated her commercial, territorial, and cultural cosmopolitanism in the late

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29. See Milton Plesur, *America's Outward Thrust: Approaches to Foreign Affairs, 1865—1890* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860—1898* (Ithaca, NY: American Historical Association and Cornell University Press, 1971); and Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris.*

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nineteenth-century world's fairs, themselves the ultimate statement of late nineteenth-century internationalism.[30]

Aestheticizing studios were distinctly international in flavor. The social climate of aestheticizing studios, formed by conversation, music, and looking at art, was comparable to the salons of Europe. From the art on the walls to the rugs on the floors, the furnishings of studios were likely to have come from abroad, from Europe, the Middle East, and the Orient; artifacts from all over the globe were represented, with an emphasis on those from Europe. American aestheticizing studios were part of an international trend that saw its fullest flowering in America and Europe, with artists from both continents keeping studios at home and abroad. In short, American aestheticizing studios were a highly-evolved manifestation of late ninteenth-century cosmopolitanism.

Through their work, the artists of late nineteenth- century America provided clues that they were aware of all these cultural trends. Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown's *Self Portrait* [FIGURE 72] shows her to be a confident artist who met the demands of her specialized profession. Walter Launt Palmer's studio [FIGURE 65], filled with European artifacts, highlighted his own painting of Venice. He advertised the cosmopolitanism that he put on display in Albany. Henry Thomson's portrait of an unfinished painting of the studio [FIGURE 61] is a self-reflective meditation on the interiorization of artists' lives. Art atmosphere, the manifestation of interiorization and the artist's self-consciously cultivated anti-modernism, appears in George Newell Bowers's *The Newsboy* [FIGURE 74] and Ignaz Marcel Gaugengigl's *The Painter* [FIGURE 75].

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30. See Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

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Artists demonstrated a variety of reactions when they portrayed the new, late nineteenth-century woman in their studios. Louis Moeller's canvas *A Studio Interior* [FIGURE 73] shows that he is deeply suspicious of women and, perhaps, their purchasing power. Other artists welcomed women to the studio. Stacy Tolman shows a women at the piano, a partner in the creative process of making music [FIGURE 77], while Arthur Mathews shows a female artist engaged in serious reflection on her art with her female visitors [FIGURE 76]. William Merritt Chase's canvases show that he had an especially congenial relationship with women in the studio; he shows them as students [FIGURE 68], as potential patrons [FIGURE 67], and as conversationalists [FIGURE 60]. Even while at play, his daughters were welcome in his workplace [FIGURE 79]. Henry Alexander's probable self-portrait shows him in a sparsely-furnished aestheticizing studio wryly regarding a hole in his show; this was surely a caustic comment on his own power in the burgeoning consumer culture. And Kenyon Cox's portrait of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (at work on his bas-relief of William Merritt Chase) [FIGURE 78] manages to convey the professionalism of all three artists, the interior-focus of an artist at work, and the anti-modern timelessness of the aestheticizing studio.

Each generation of artists must solve the same problem—how to make art relevant to itself and its era. Aestheticizing studios were a component of one generation's solution to this eternal problem. American artists in the late nineteenth century were required to retain an integrated nationalism within a burgeoning consumer culture that operated outside of its own territorial boundaries. They had to adapt to a society in which individual members were refashioning outmoded family and class structures in favor of greater personal expression. In short, American artists of the late nineteenth century had to learn how to make art for a cosmopolitan democracy.[31]

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31. See the essay by Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *In the Past Lane: Historical Perspectives on American Culture* (New

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Artists needed to demonstrate that their art was relevant in a modern world and that it was made by up-to-date professionals. But, they also needed to differentiate their art from the products of manufacturing. Aestheticizing studios, where the interior life was cultivated, paralleled the increasing introspection of art and the nation. Even so, the public was invited into aestheticizing studios, either in person or by the proxy of the media, proving that artists were responsive to a society that was democratic and egalitarian. Yet, American artists communicated their exclusivity by identifying themselves with everything cosmopolitan, sophisticated, and European. Aestheticizing studios were appealing to women, as they exerted subtle but strong power over the purse strings of cultural consumerism in the late nineteenth century. Women's interest in studios was directed towards the worthwhile goals of cultivation of the self and the home. Artists found that the role of alchemist proved to be an especially useful device, exempting them from charges of anti-democratic elitism and making genius plausible. In short, American aestheticizing studios of the late nineteenth century proved to be a viable mechanism for artist's personal and professional needs, a solution for that time and place. Only such a complex environment could be responsive to the diverse, contradictory pressures that artists experienced in the late nineteenth century. Aestheticizing studios enabled artists to create themselves and their art.

York: Oxford University Press, 1997). This essay contrasts the viewpoints of historians, who now tend to discount the idea that America is exceptional or distinctive in the world, and sociologists, who find America's situation distinctive. Kammen tends to side with the latter, but believes that when any historical phenomenon is compared with other phenomena contemporary to it, both commonalities and differences are to be found.

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4

CREATING ART AND ARTISTS:
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ARTISTS' STUDIOS

by

KAREN ZUKOWSKI

Volume II

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.

1999

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Illustrations

The illustrations for this dissertation are drawn from diverse sources, including private and public archives, nineteenth-century magazines and newspapers, and museums, galleries and private collections of art. In addition, some extant spaces are shown. In this list, the following conventions for the captioning of these images are used. I distinguish between ephemeral images published in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and extant archival photographs, manuscript materials and works of art. For the former, I provide full bibliographic citations. For the latter I provide the current location, or in the case of works recently on the art market, the last dealer known to have handled the work. Titles in italics are those used by the creator or the original publisher, and titles not in italics are those I have assigned. If known, I supply the name of the photographer, illustrator or artist. For photographs that are documentary in character I supply the date of the image and the location depicted, if known. For extant formal works of art I supply date, media and dimensions, and for extant places I supply the date that they were photographed.

FIGURE 1. Main room of William Merritt Chase's studio, New York City, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 293.

FIGURE 2. Jacob Herrewijn, *The Rubens House,* 1684, engraving, 11 ¾" x 13 ½". Rubens House, Antwerp, Holland.

FIGURE 3. Engraving by P. A. Rajon after a painting by Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Rembrandt in his Studio.* As published in *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879), opp. p. 168.

FIGURE 4. Studio in Malkasten, home of Albert Bierstadt, Irvington, NY. Stereograph published by Charles Bierstadt, c. 1875. Joyce Randall Edwards, Dobbs Ferry, NY.

FIGURE 5. Studio of Karl von Piloty, Munich, probably by 1882. As published in F. G. Dumas, *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie d'art, Ludovic Baschet, [1882-8]), 186.

FIGURE 6. Jean-Léon Gérôme in his studio, Paris, probably by 1887. As published in Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la decoration depuis le XIIIe siecle jusqu'a nos jours,* vol. 1 (Paris: Maison Quantin, [1887-1890]), pl. 12.

FIGURE 7. Studio of Alexandre Cabanel, Paris, c. 1884-8. Bob Habolt and Co., New York and Paris.

FIGURE 8. Studio of James Rogers Rich, Boston, 1878. Boston Athenaeum, Boston.

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FIGURE 9. G[eorge] Gibson, illustration of the studio of William Merritt Chase. As published in John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879): 344.

FIGURE 10. G[eorge] Gibson, illustration of the studio of R. Swain Gifford. As published in John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York), 6 (1880): 3.

FIGURE 11. Studio of Thomas Wilmer Dewing, probably New York City, c. 1890's. Dewing Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll D22, frame 123.

FIGURE 12. Reconstruction of Frederic Remington's New Rochelle, NY, studio, at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, WY, c. 1981.

FIGURE 13. Studio of John Rettig, c. 1920s, Cincinnati. John M. and Kathleen Rettig, Lebanon, OH.

FIGURE 14. Harry Fenn, illustration of the studio house of Harry Fenn. As published in R. Riordan, "Artists' Homes, Mr. Harry Fenn's, at Montclair, New Jersey," *Magazine of Art* (London) 9 (1886): 45.

FIGURE 15. Elizabeth Bonsall, illustration of the studio of Howard Roberts. As published in Anne H. Wharton, "Some Philadelphia Studios," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 8 (May 1886): 38.

FIGURE 16. Studio of Ben Ali Haggin, New York City, c. 1916. As published in "A Studio that is a Series of Medieval Pictures," *The Craftsman* 30 (1916): 161.

FIGURE 17. Studio of J. William Fosdick, c. 1914. As published in Ada Rainey, "The Decorations of a Gothic Studio," *Arts and Decoration* 4 (July 1914): 341.

FIGURE 18. Carle John Blenner in his studio, probably New York City, c. 1910-20. Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 439, frame 217.

FIGURE 19. Studio of John Quincy Adams Ward, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 5.

FIGURE 20. Susan Macdowell Eakins (attrib.), photograph of Thomas Eakins in his studio, Philadelphia, 1891-2. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

FIGURE 21. Katherine McClellan, photograph of the artist's studio, Northampton, MA. Smith College Archives, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

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FIGURE 22. Studio of George Oakley Totten, Jr. and Laussat Richter Rogers, Washington, DC., 1898. Boothhurst Collection of the Rogers family documents, the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, DE.

FIGURE 23. Studio of Milton J. Burns, New York City, c. 1880s. Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., Mystic, CT.

FIGURE 24. Studio of Georges Jules Victor Clairin, Paris, c. 1884. Bob Habolt and Co., New York and Paris.

FIGURE 25. Gerald Glenn, photograph of the studio of Thomas Anschutz, probably Philadelphia, 1913. Anschutz Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1874, frame 13.

FIGURE 26. Arshile Gorky in his studio, New York City, 1934-5. National Archives, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 27. Studio of John Singer Sargent, London, after 1920. Richard Ormond, London; photograph courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London.

FIGURE 28. Edsden, studio house for E. Loyal Field, in the artists' colony Pakatakan, Arkville, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1989.

FIGURE 29. Studio of John Ottis Adams, unknown location, 1891. John Ottis Adams Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 880, frame 61.

FIGURE 30. Studio of R. D. Sawyer, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 9.

FIGURE 31. Roswell Shurtleff, illustration of the artist's studio, probably Keene Valley, NY, c. 1885. As published in Lizzie W. Champney, "The Summer Haunts of American Artists," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 30 (May-October 1885): 859.

FIGURE 32. Studio of Leon Moran, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 19.

FIGURE 33. Main studio of Thomas Shields Clarke, New York City, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 472.

FIGURE 34. Studio of Percy Moran, New York City, c. 1895. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 18.

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FIGURE 35. Francis Coates Jones in his studio, probably New York City, c. 1895. Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 439, frame 1251.

FIGURE 36. Studio of C. Ayer Whipple, New York City, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 303.

FIGURE 37. Studio of Robert Blum, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 13.

FIGURE 38. Charles Truscott, photograph of Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown in her studio at Littlebrook, Newburgh, NY, 1894. Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

FIGURE 39. Ethel Burnham, photograph of the studio of Cecilia Beaux, Philadelphia, early 1890s. Collection of Tara Tappert, Roanoke, VA.

FIGURE 40. G[eorge] Gibson, illustration of the studio of Samuel Colman. As published in John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879): 355.

FIGURE 41. George Gibson, illustration of the artist's studio. As published in "An Attractive Studio–Rooms of George Gibson," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 7 (November 1885): 51.

FIGURE 42. Studio of Irving R. Wiles, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 17.

FIGURE 43. Leo D. Weil, photograph of Frank Albert Bicknell in his studio, probably New York City, c. 1910. Vertical portrait files, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

FIGURE 44. an artists' reception in the Tenth Street Studio Building, New York. As published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 29 January 1869.

FIGURE 45. Invitation to a rececception at the Holbein Studios, New York, 1892. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Barton, New York.

FIGURE 46. Cecilia Beaux and Emma Leavitt in their Philadelphia studio, 1890-1. Photograph courtesy of Tara Tappert, Roanoke, VA.

FIGURE 47. William Cushing Loring in his studio, Paris, c. 1900. William Cushing Loring papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 3589, frame 750.

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FIGURE 48. A group of artists relaxing in an arbor at the studio of William Sartain, Ridgefield, NJ. Scrapbooks of William Sartain, vol. 5, Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

FIGURE 49. A dinner party in a studio, perhaps in the studio of J. Carroll Beckwith in the Sherwood Studio Building, c. late 1880s or early 1890s. Portrait file for J. Carroll Beckwith, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

FIGURE 50. A dance in the studio of Bessie Potter Vonnoh, probably New York City, c. 1900. William Clarke Rice papers, Photographs of Artists, Collection 2, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1817, frame 1282.

FIGURE 51. Carmencita dancing, probably in the studio of J. Carroll Beckwith, probably January or February, 1890. Portrait file for J. Carroll Beckwith, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

FIGURE 52. A group of artists dressed as a military band, posed in the Sherwood Studio Building, New York City, 1889. Artists pictured include, left to right: William Allen; Thomas Sullivant; Samuel Isham; Robert Reid; Harry Watrous; Robert van Boskerck; Carlton Chapman; Willard Metcalf; Herbert Denman. Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 141, frame 17.

FIGURE 53. D. B. Conklin, illustration of the studio of Frederick Stuart Church. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May, 1889): 16.

FIGURE 54. An artist in his studio. Stereograph published by Underwood and Underwood, 1907. "Artists at Work" stereograph file, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 55. *Motherhood.* Stereograph published by B. W. Kilburn, Littleton, NH, 1897. "Artists at Work" stereograph file, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 56. R. Y. Young, *The Artist.* Stereograph published by American Stereoscopic Company, New York, NY, 1900. "Artists at Work" stereograph file, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 57. Studio of Abram A. Anderson, New York City, c. 1905. Clipping from the scrapbook "Artists at Work," Collection of the Art Division, The Research Library of the New York Public Library, New York.

FIGURE 58. Studio of Frank Shapleigh, Crawford House, NH, c. 1890. New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH.

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FIGURE 59. Baldwin Coolidge, photograph of the studio of Mrs. M. Sherman Raymond, Boston, 1901. Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

FIGURE 60. William Meritt Chase, *Interior of Studio,* (also known as *The Tenth Street Studio*), 1880, oil on canvas, 36" x 48". The St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis.

FIGURE 61. Henry G. Thomson, *Studio Interior* (also known as *Chase's Tenth Street Studio*), c. 1882, oil on canvas, 38" x 48". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Cooley Gallery, Old Lyme, CT.

FIGURE 62. William Merritt Chase, *Studio Interior* (now known as *In the Studio*), c. 1883, oil on canvas, 28 1/8" x 40 1/16". The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

FIGURE 63. William Merritt Chase, *In the Studio,* c. 1884, pastel on paper laid down on linen, 39" x 22 1/2". Private collection.

FIGURE 64. Robert Blum, *My Studio* (now known as *Studio of Robert F. Blum*), 1883-4, pastel on paper, 28" x 53 3/4". Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati.

FIGURE 65. Walter L. Palmer, *Studio Interior,* 1884, oil on canvas, 18" x 24". Private collection; photograph courtesy of The Albany Gallery, Albany, NY.

FIGURE 66. William Merritt Chase, *Connoisseur–The Studio Corner,* c. 1882?, oil on canvas, 20" x 22". Canajoharie Library and Art Gallery, Canajoharie, NY.

FIGURE 67. William Merritt Chase, *The Inner Studio, Tenth Street,* c. 1880s, oil on canvas, 32 3/8" x 44 1/4". Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA.

FIGURE 68. William Merritt Chase, *A Corner of My Studio,* c. 1885, oil on canvas, 24 3/8" x 36 1/4". The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco.

FIGURE 69. Rosalie Gill, *The New Model,* c. 1884, oil on canvas, 24" x 36". The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore.

FIGURE 70. Charles G. Dyer, *A Study in Grey,* c. 1880, oil on canvas, 20" x 12". Private collection; photograph courtesy of The Albany Gallery, Albany, NY.

FIGURE 71. Joseph Henry Sharp, *In the Studio,* 1897, oil on canvas, 32 3/4" x 22 1/4". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Beacon Hilll Fine Art, New York.

FIGURE 72. Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown, *Self-Portrait,* 1914, oil on canvas, 56 1/2" x 42 1/2". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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FIGURE 73. Louis C. Moeller, *A Studio Interior* (also called *The Art Critics),* undated, oil on canvas, 12" x 10". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Schwartz Gallery, Philadelphia, and Jodan Volpe Gallery, New York.

FIGURE 74. George Newell Bowers, *The Newsboy,* 1889, oil on canvas, 18" x 14 ¼". Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA.

FIGURE 75. Ignaz Marcel Gaugengigl, *The Painter,* undated, oil on panel, 8 1/4" x 5 5/8". The Dahesh Museum, New York.

FIGURE 76. Arthur F. Mathews, *Paris Studio Interior,* c. 1887, oil on canvasboard, 20" x 24". The Oakland Museum, Oakland, CA.

FIGURE 77. Stacy Tolman, *The Musicale,* 1887, oil on canvas, 36 1/8" x 46". The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

FIGURE 78. Kenyon Cox, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens,* 1908, oil on canvas, 33 1/2" x 47 1/8". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

FIGURE 79. William Merritt Chase, *The Ring Toss,* c. 1896, oil on canvas, 40 3/8" x 35 1/8". Private collection.

FIGURE 80. William Merritt Chase, *A Friendly Call,* 1895, oil on canvas, 30 1/4" x 48 1/4". National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 81. William Merritt Chase, *Self-Portrait,* 1915-16, oil on canvas, 52 1/2" x 63 1/2". Art Association of Richmond, Richmond, VA.

FIGURE 82. William Merritt Chase, *Portait of Miss Dora Wheeler,* 1883, oil on canvas, 62 1/2" x 65 1/4". The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

FIGURE 83. William Merritt Chase, *Modern Magdalen,* c. 1888, oil on canvas, 19" x 15 1/4". Private collection.

FIGURE 84. William Merritt Chase, *Weary,* c. 1889, oil on panel, 9 7/16" x 12 3/8". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Berry-Hill Galleries, New York.

FIGURE 85. William Merritt Chase, *The Blue Kimono,* c. 1888, oil on canvas, 57" x 44 1/2". The Parish Art Museum, Southampton, NY.

FIGURE 86. William Merritt Chase, *In the Studio,* 1892, oil on canvas, 29" x 23". Collection of Erving and Joyce Wolf, New York.

FIGURE 87. William Merritt Chase, *Did You Speak to Me?,* c. 1897, oil on canvas, 35" x 40". The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, OH.

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FIGURE 88. George Du Maurier, *The Soft Eyes*. As published in George Du Maurier, *Trilby*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), 98.

FIGURE 89. William T. Smedley, *The Spanish Dancer Performing*. As published in Charles Dudley Warner, *The Golden House* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895), opp. p. 4.

FIGURE 90. Walter Appleton Clark, *For Two Hours Oliver Stood Before his Canvas.* As published in F. Hopkinson Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), opp. p. 446.

FIGURE 91. Reception room adjoining the studio of Thomas Shields Clarke, New York, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 471.

FIGURE 92. Elihu Vedder in his studio, probably Rome, c. 1880s. Vedder Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 671, frame 12.

FIGURE 93. William Merritt Chase in his studio at Shinnecock, New York, c. 1893. William Merritt Chase Archives, The Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, NY.

FIGURE 94. William Merritt Chase's studio at Shinnecock, New York, c. 1895. William Merritt Chase Archives, The Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, NY.

FIGURE 95. William Merritt Chase, *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as An Infanta,* 1899, oil on canvas, 30 1/4" x 24 1/8". Private collection.

FIGURE 96. Aspet, the home and studio of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Cornish, NH. Photograph by Jeffrey Nintzel, courtesy Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

FIGURE 97. Detail of the west porch at Aspet, the home of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Cornish, NH. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1988

FIGURE 98. The Pan Fountain at Aspet (adjacent to the 1904 Pergola Studio), Cornish, NH. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1988.

FIGURE 99. The Barn Studio at Aspet, Cornish, NH, before 1903. Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, Dartmouth, NH.

FIGURE 100. Aspet, Cornish, NH, showing its view of Mount Ascutney. Photograph courtesy of Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

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FIGURE 101. The cast of *A Masque of "Ours," The Gods and the Golden Bowl*, performed June 22, 1905. Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

FIGURE 102. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Sherman Monument,* dedicated May 30, 1903, bronze with granite pedestal. Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, New York. Photographed by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 103. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Sherman Monument,* dedicated May 30, 1903, bronze with granite pedestal. Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, New York. Photographed by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 104. Francis Davis Millet, *A Difficult Duet*, by 1886, oil on canvas, 24 1/4" x 36 1/4". Private collection.

FIGURE 105. E. H. New, *The Grange, Broadway, from the West.* As published in J. R. H., "The Grange at Broadway," *The Quest*, (Birmingham, England), 1 (November 1894): 10.

FIGURE 106. Hudson and Kearns, Ltd., E*ast Elevation of the Abbot's Grange.* As published in T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcester, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet, *Country Life,* 29, (14 January 1911): 54.

FIGURE 107. Hudson and Kearns Ltd., *The Flowery Way from Abbot's Grange to Russell House.* As published in T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcester, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet, *Country Life,* 29 (14 January 1911): 57.

FIGURE 108. Hudson and Kearns, Ltd., *The Elizabethan Parlor.* As published in T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcester, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet, *Country Life,* 29 (14 January 1911): 56.

FIGURE 109. Frederic Edwin Church's studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building, stereograph by S. Beer, New York, c. 1865. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 110. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the view across the lake towards the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 111. John Eberle, photograph of the east facade of the main residence at Olana, 1906, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 112. View from the bell tower of the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997

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FIGURE 113. The court hall, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 114. The dining room / picture gallery, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 115. The sitting room, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 116. South elevation of the studio wing on the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 117. North elevation of the studio wing on the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 118. West view from the studio window in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 119. The studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 120. The studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

FIGURE 121. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 122. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 123. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

FIGURE 124. The fireplace in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 125. The curio cabinet in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

FIGURE 126. The north alcove in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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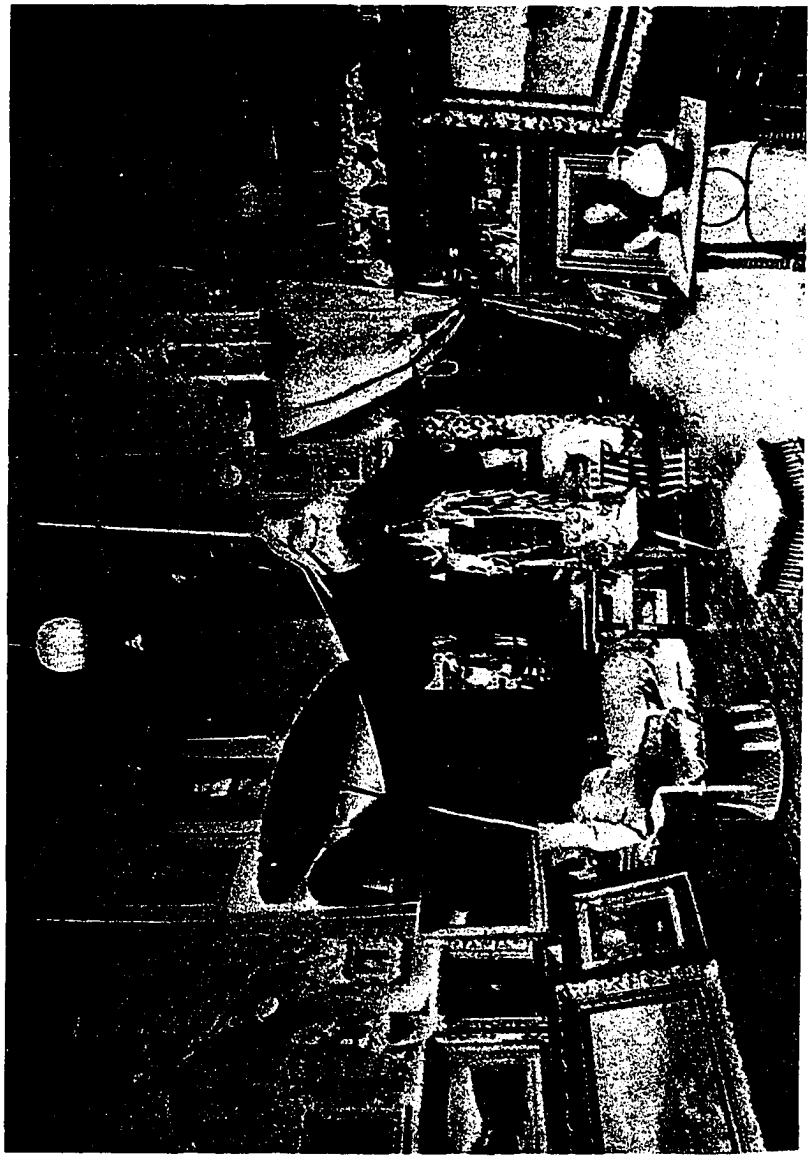

FIGURE 1. Main room of William Merritt Chase's studio, New York City, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 293.

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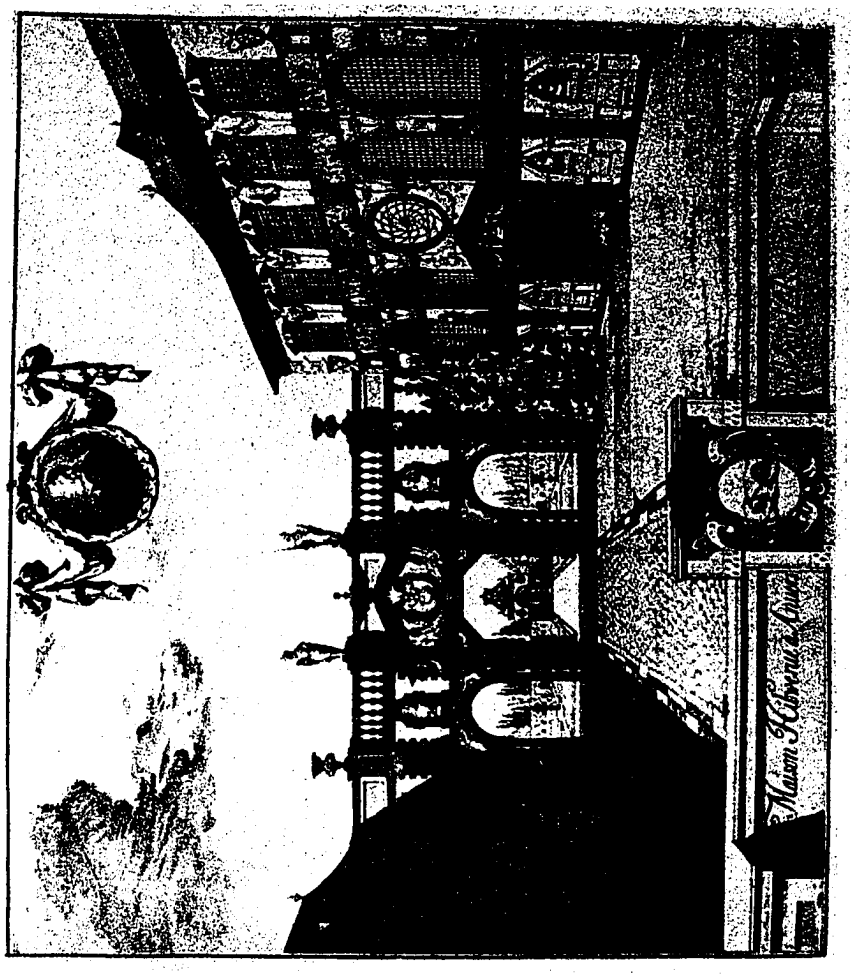

FIGURE 2. Jacob Herrewijn, *The Rubens House,* 1684, engraving, 11 ¾" x 13 ½". Rubens House, Antwerp, Holland.

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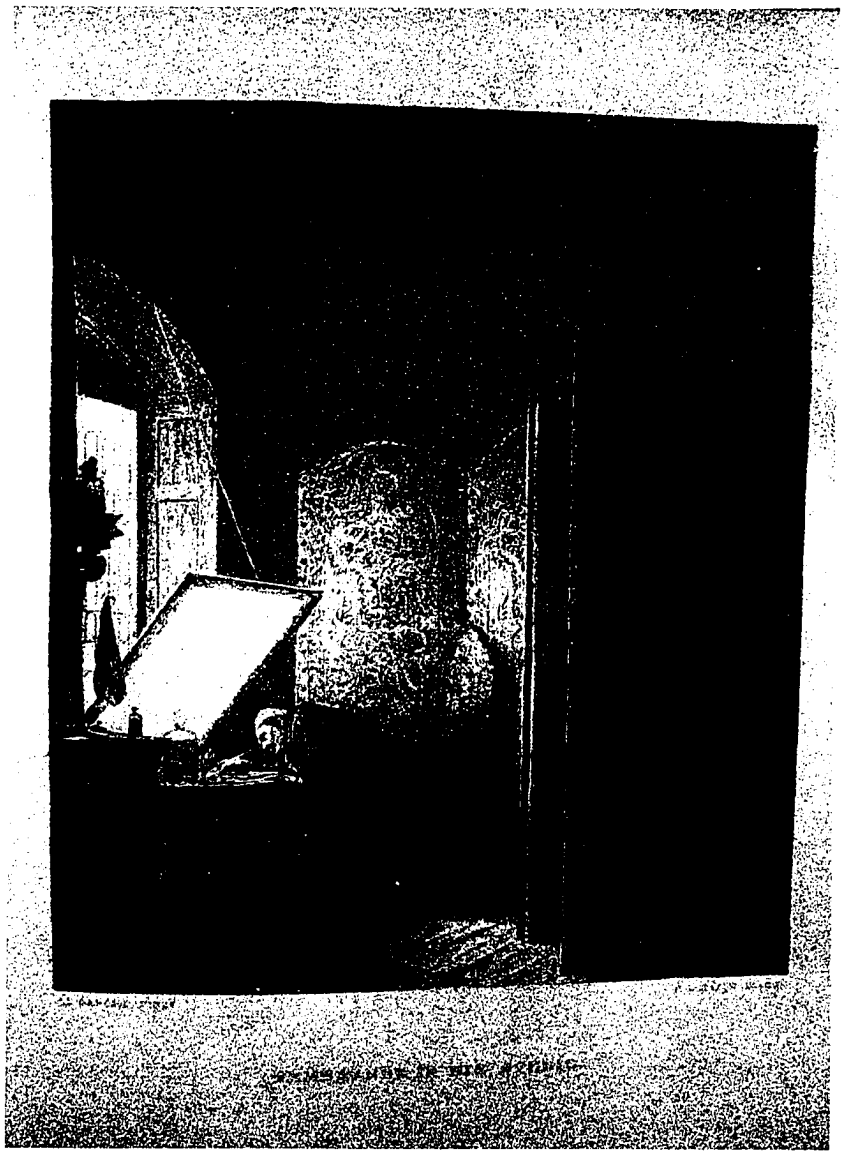

FIGURE 3. Engraving by P. A. Rajon after a painting by Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Rembrandt in his Studio*. As published in *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879), opp. p. 168.

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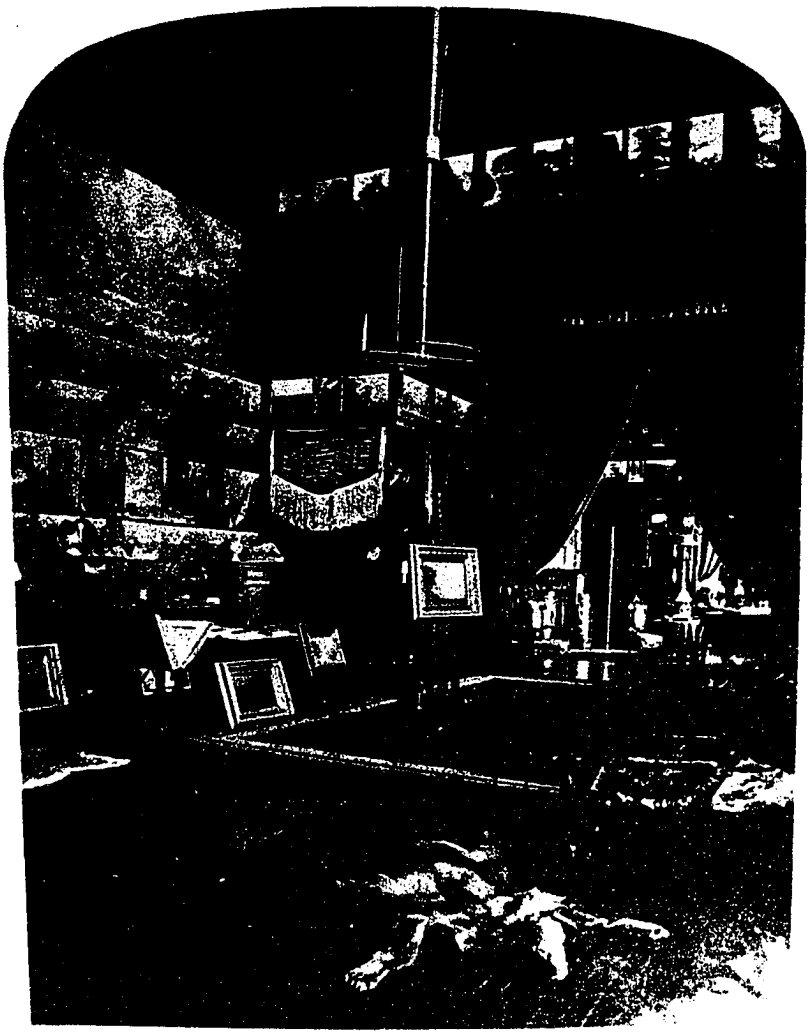

FIGURE 4. Studio in Malkasten, home of Albert Bierstadt, Irvington, NY. Stereograph published by Charles Bierstadt, c. 1875. Joyce Randall Edwards, Dobbs Ferry, NY.

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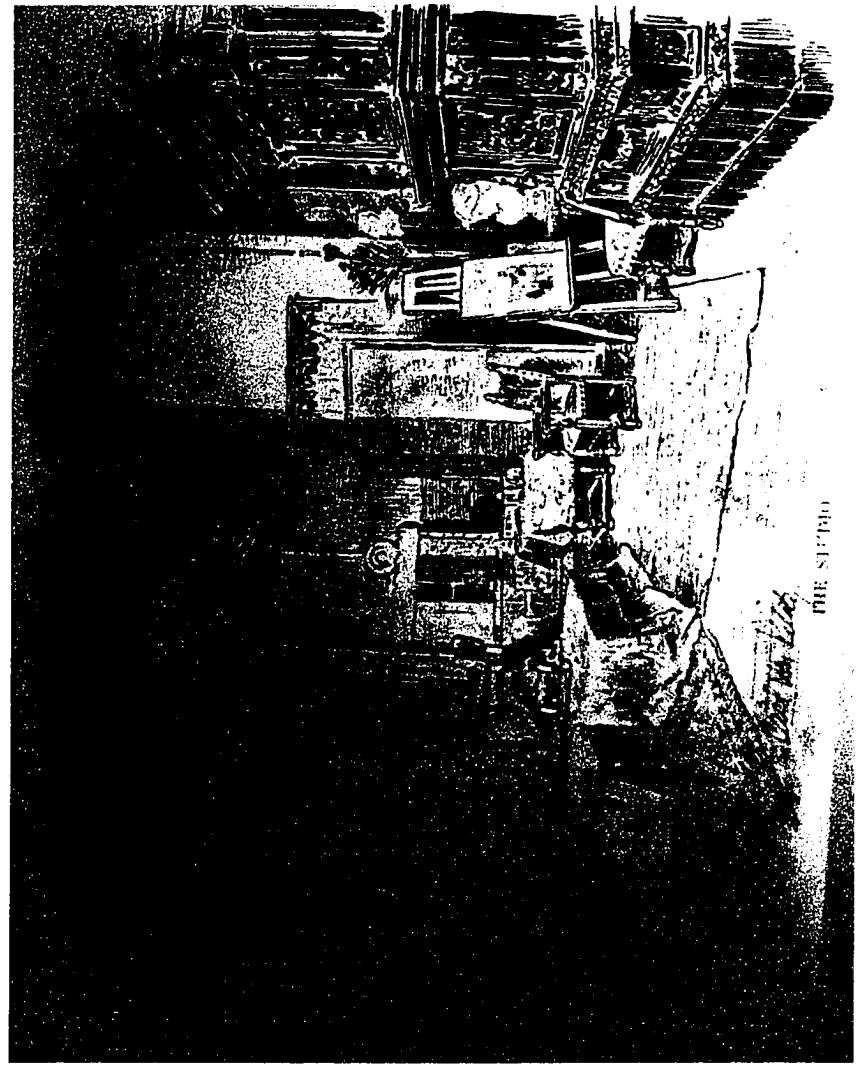

FIGURE 5. Studio of Karl von Piloty, Munich, probably by 1882. As published in F. G. Dumas, *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists,* vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie d'art, Ludovic Baschet, [1882-8]), 186.

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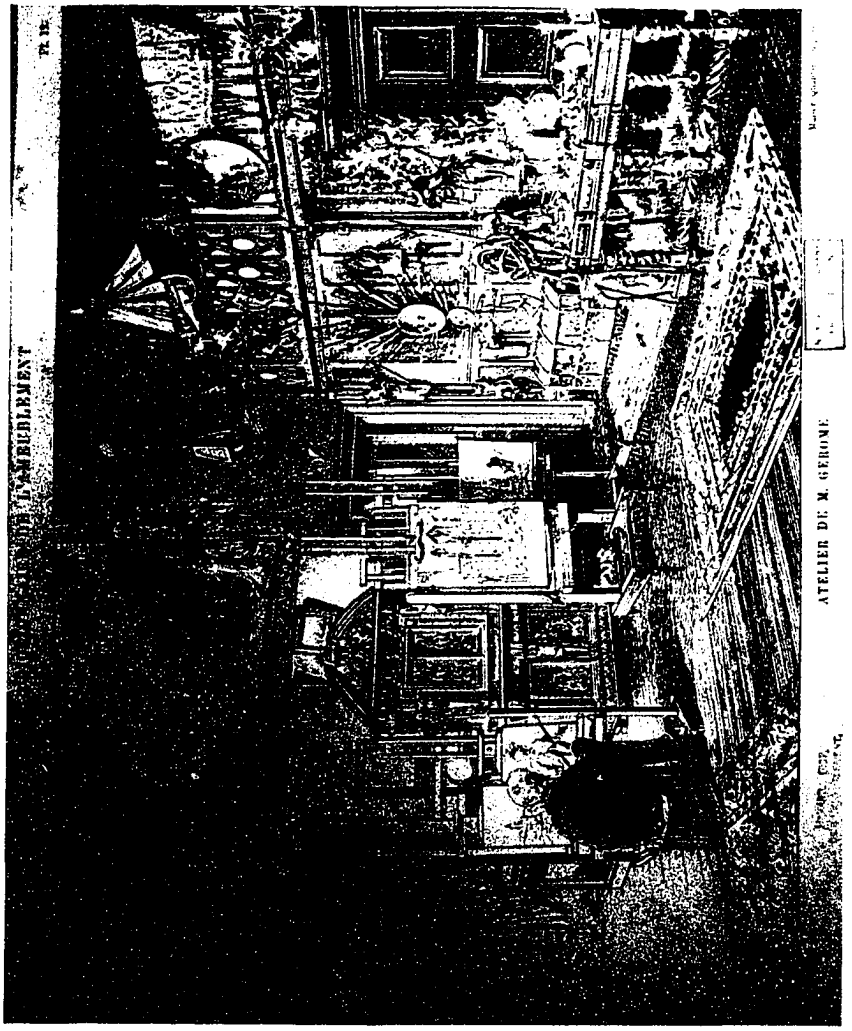

FIGURE 6. Jean-Léon Gérôme in his studio, Paris, probably by 1887. As published in Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la decoration depuis le XIIIe siecle jusqu'a nos jours,* vol. 1 (Paris: Maison Quantin, [1887-1890]), pl. 12.

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FIGURE 7. Studio of Alexandre Cabanel, Paris, c. 1884-8. Bob Habolt and Co., New York and Paris.

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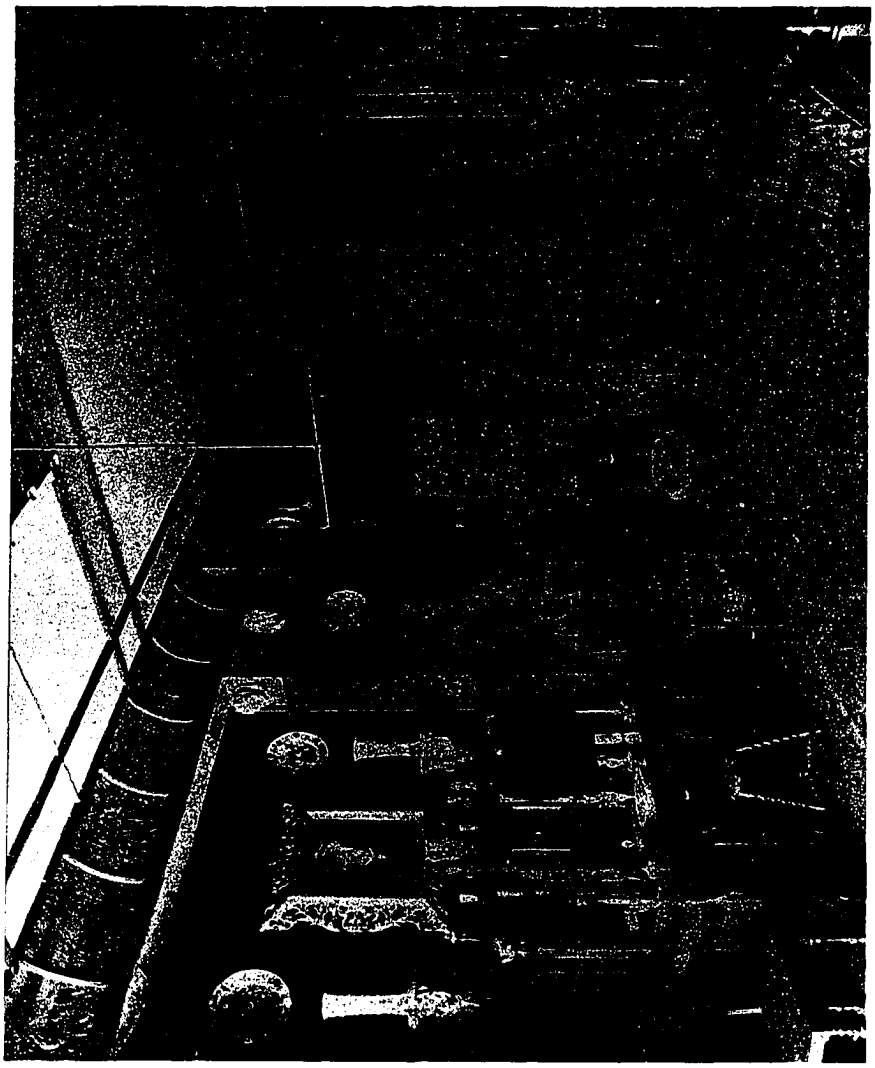

FIGURE 8. Studio of James Rogers Rich, Boston, 1878. Boston Athenaeum, Boston.

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FIGURE 9. G[eorge] Gibson, illustration of the studio of William Merritt Chase. As published in John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879): 344.

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FIGURE 10. G[eorge] Gibson, illustration of the studio of R. Swain Gifford. As published in John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York), 6 (1880): 3.

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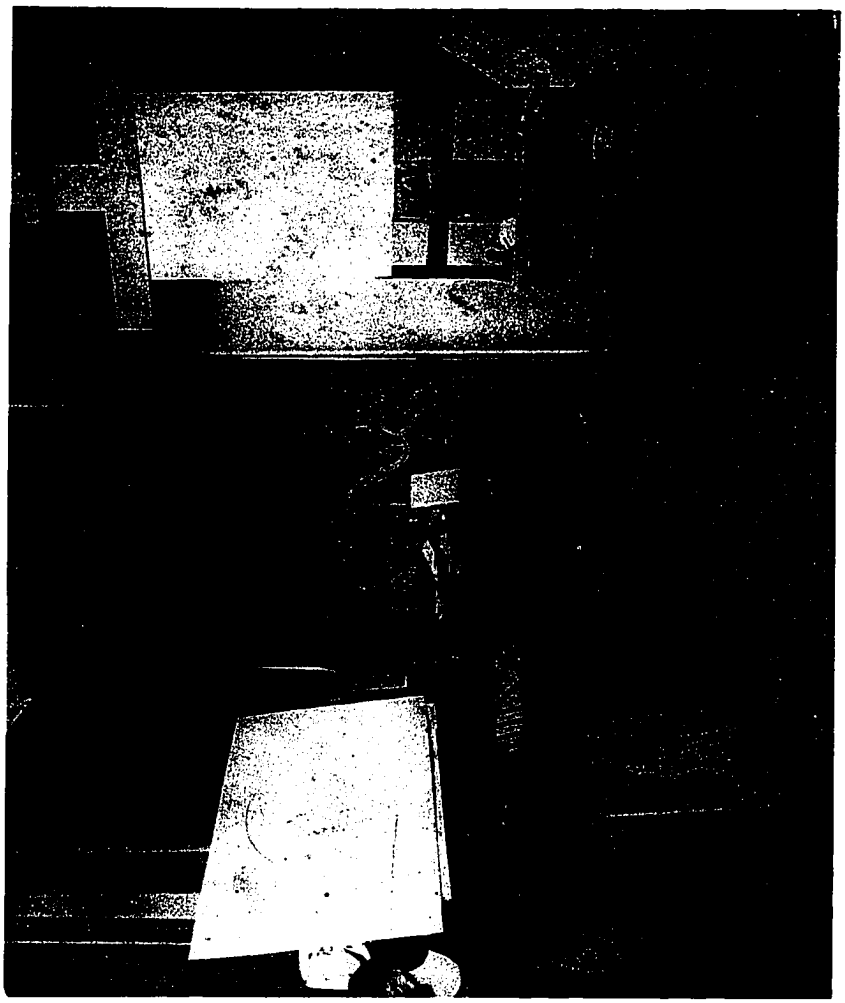

FIGURE 11. Studio of Thomas Wilmer Dewing, probably New York City, c. 1890's. Dewing Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll D22, frame 123.

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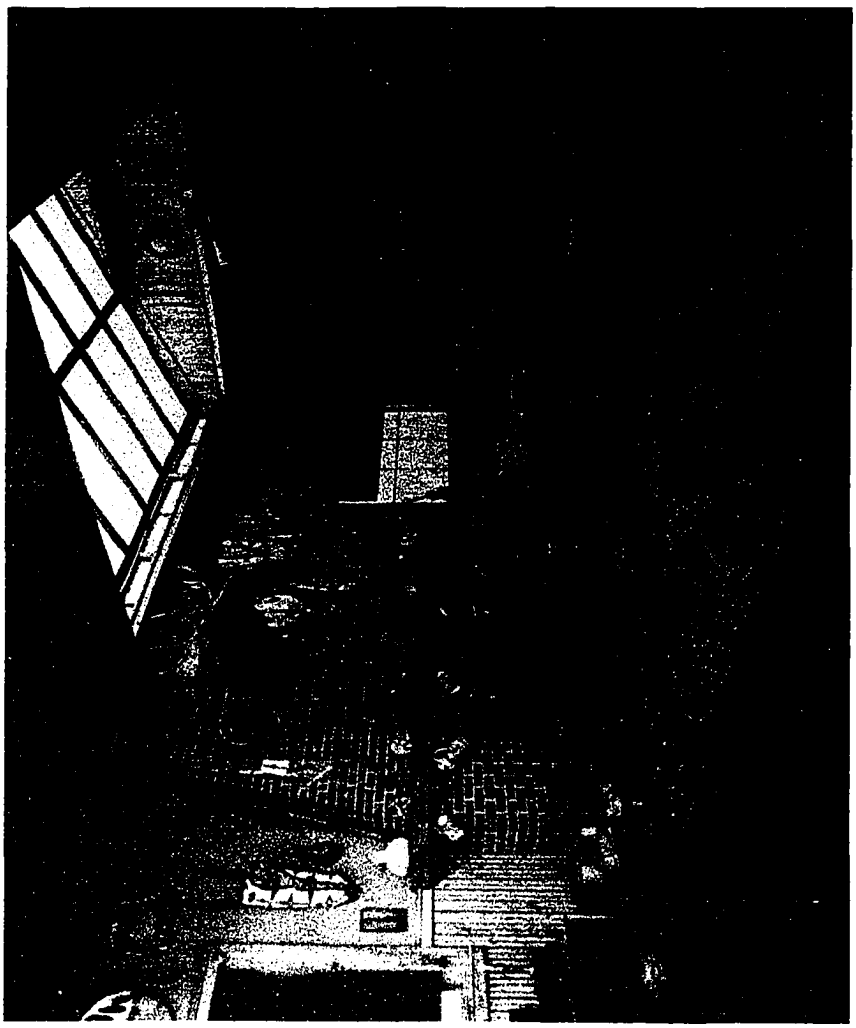

FIGURE 12. Reconstruction of Frederic Remington's New Rochelle, NY, studio, at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, WY, c. 1981.

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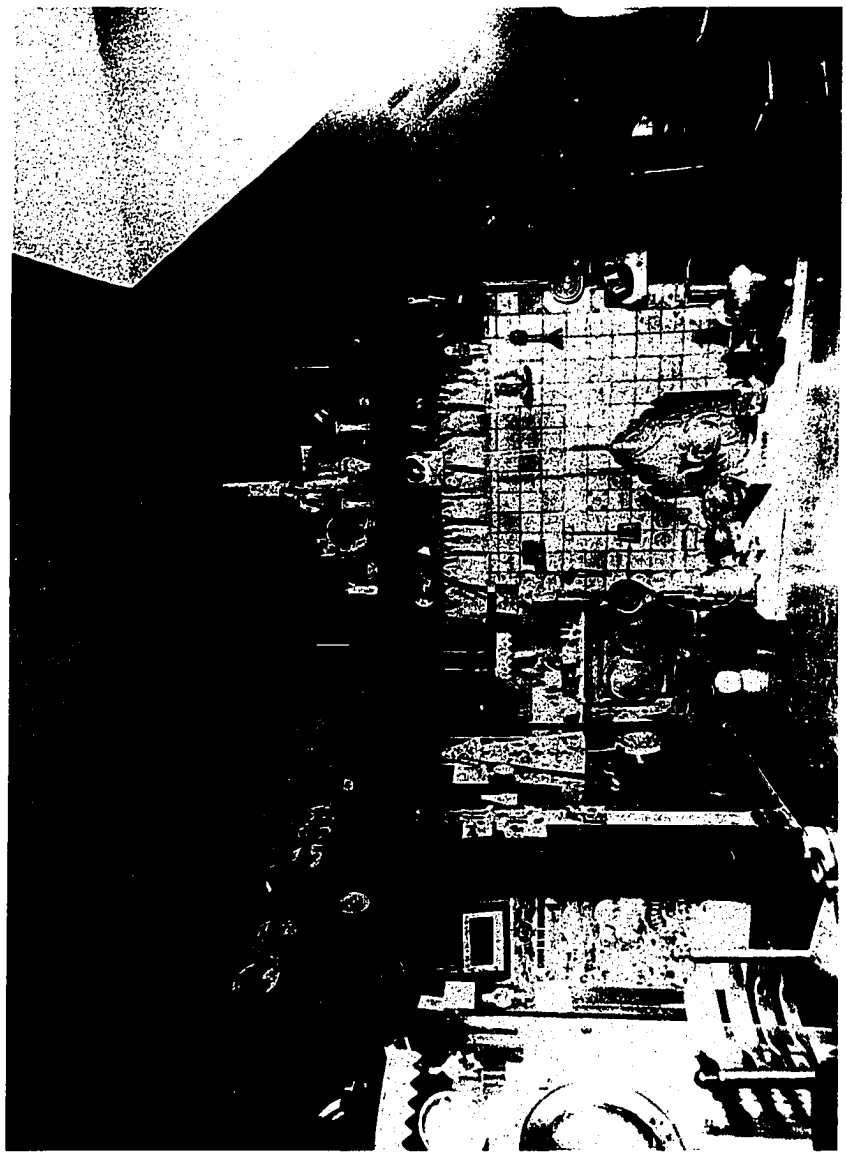

FIGURE 13. Studio of John Rettig, c. 1920s, Cincinnati. John M. and Kathleen Rettig, Lebanon, OH.

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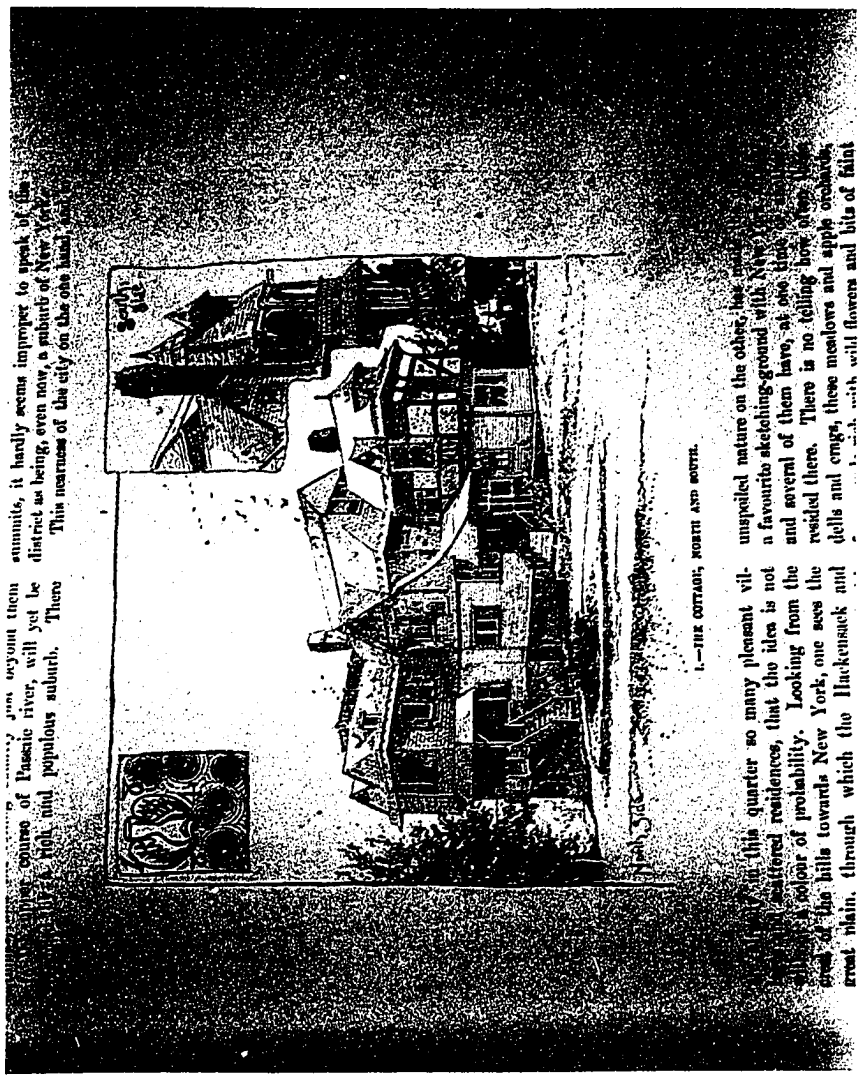

FIGURE 14. Harry Fenn, illustration of the studio house of Harry Fenn. As published in R. Riordan, "Artists' Homes, Mr. Harry Fenn's, at Montclair, New Jersey," *Magazine of Art* (London) 9 (1886): 45.

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FIGURE 15. Elizabeth Bonsall, illustration of the studio of Howard Roberts. As published in Anne H. Wharton, "Some Philadelphia Studios," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 8 (May 1886): 38.

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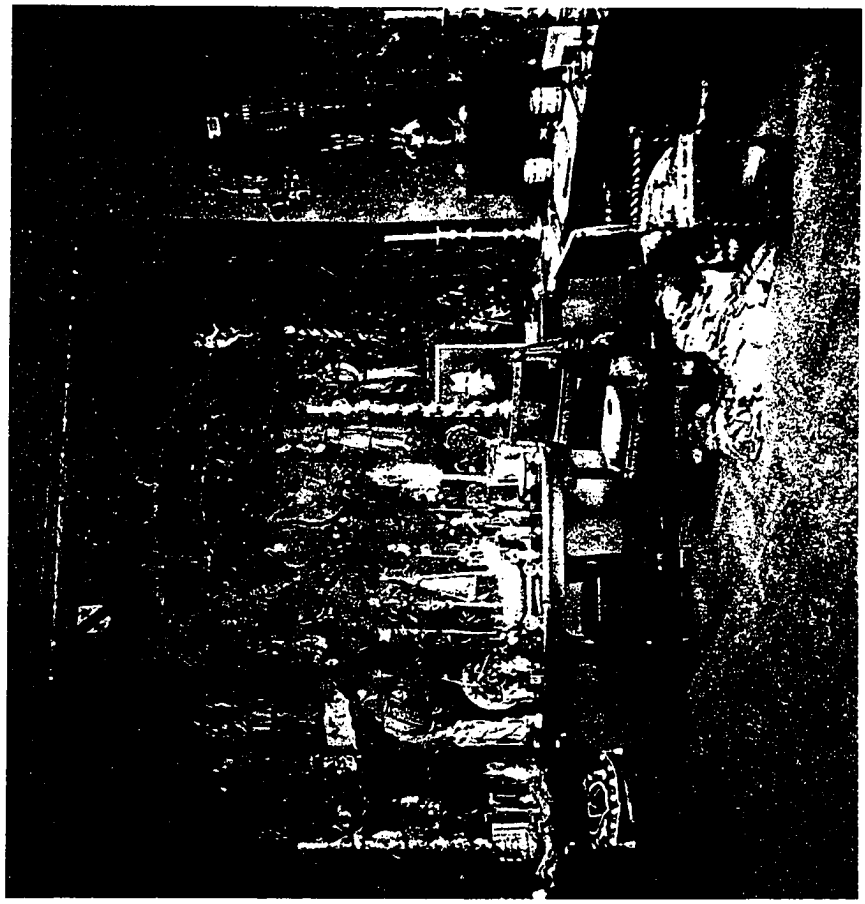

FIGURE 16. Studio of Ben Ali Haggin, New York City, c. 1916. As published in "A Studio that is a Series of Medieval Pictures," *The Craftsman* 30 (1916): 161.

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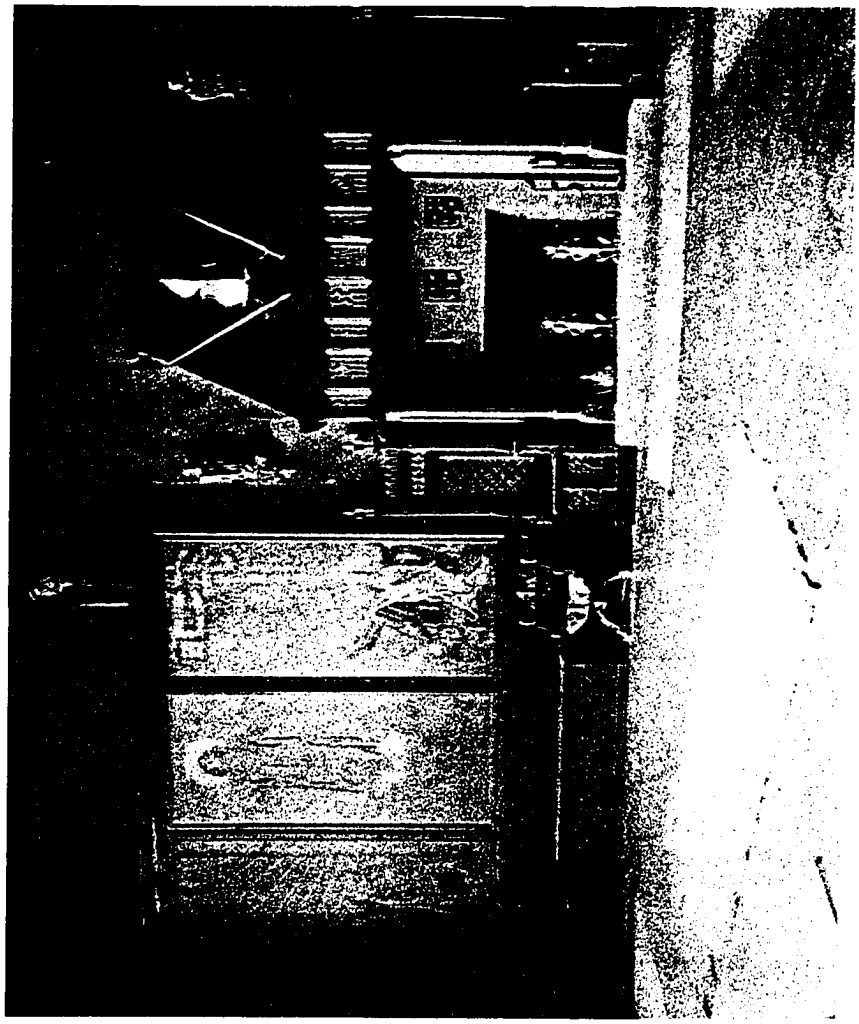

FIGURE 17. Studio of J. William Fosdick, c. 1914. As published in Ada Rainey, "The Decorations of a Gothic Studio," *Arts and Decoration* 4 (July 1914): 341.

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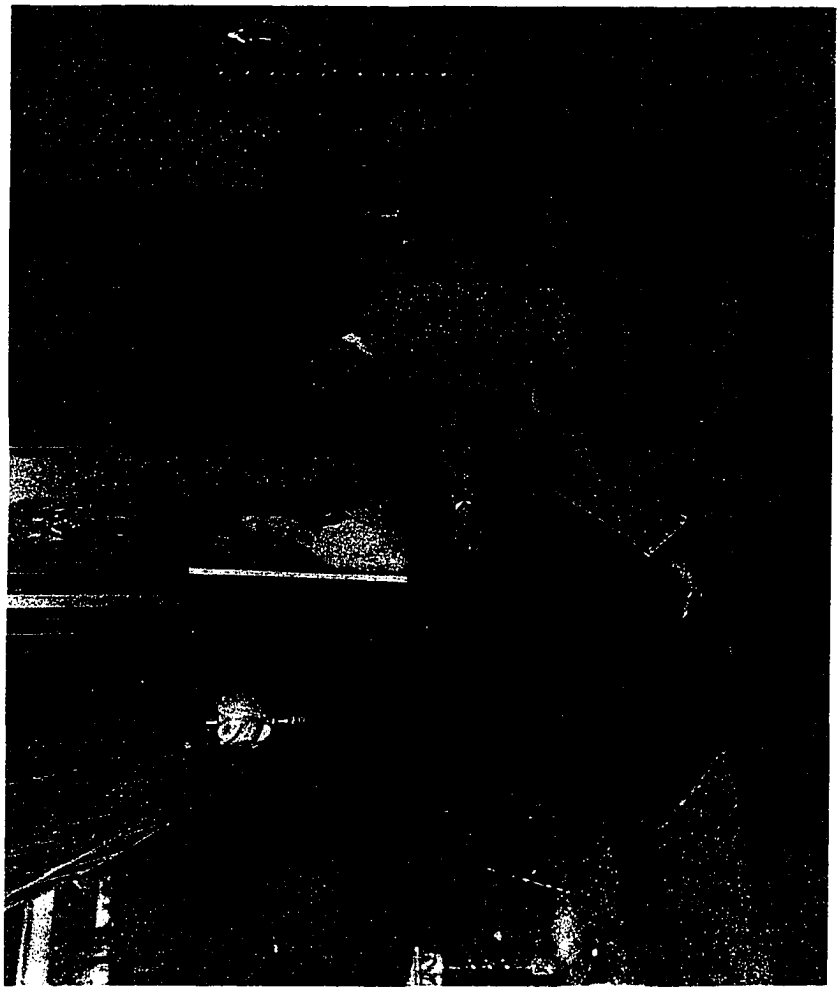

FIGURE 18. Carle John Blenner in his studio, probably New York City, c. 1910-20. Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 439, frame 217.

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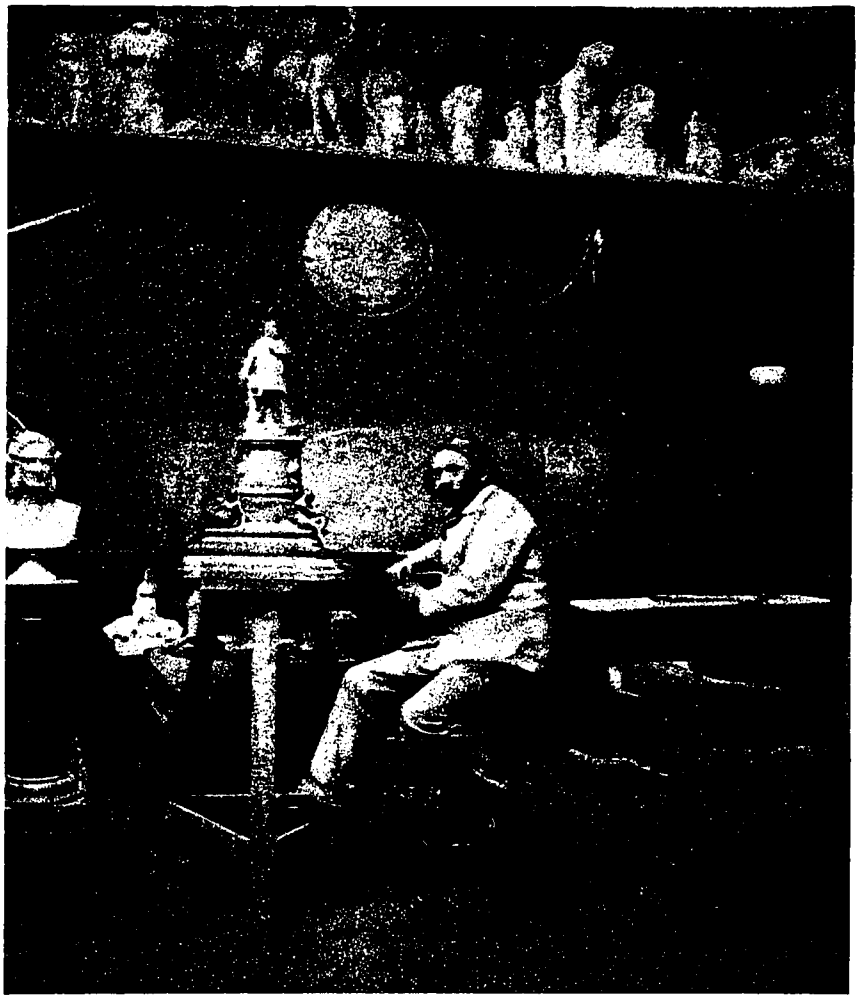

FIGURE 19. Studio of John Quincy Adams Ward, New York City, c. 1889.
As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 5.

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FIGURE 20. Susan Macdowell Eakins (attrib.), photograph of Thomas Eakins in his studio, Philadelphia, 1891-2. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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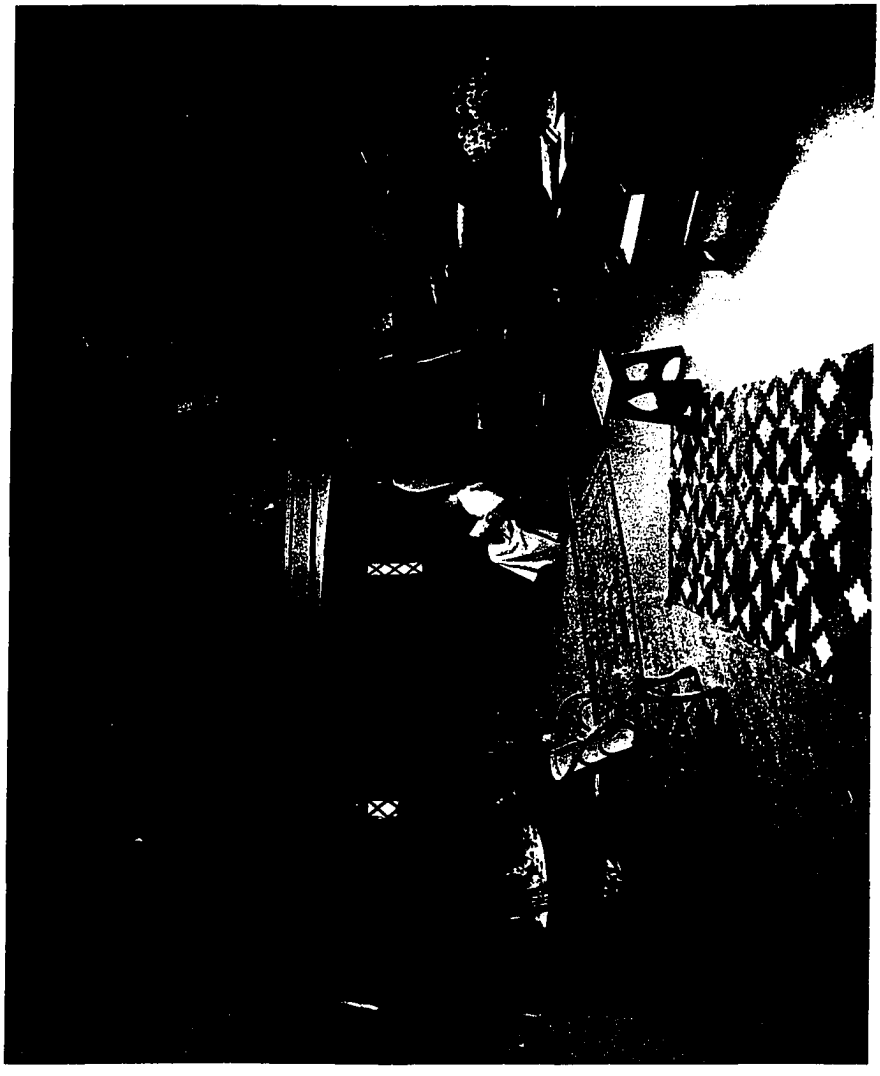

FIGURE 21. Katherine McClellan, photograph of the artist's studio, Northampton, MA. Smith College Archives, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

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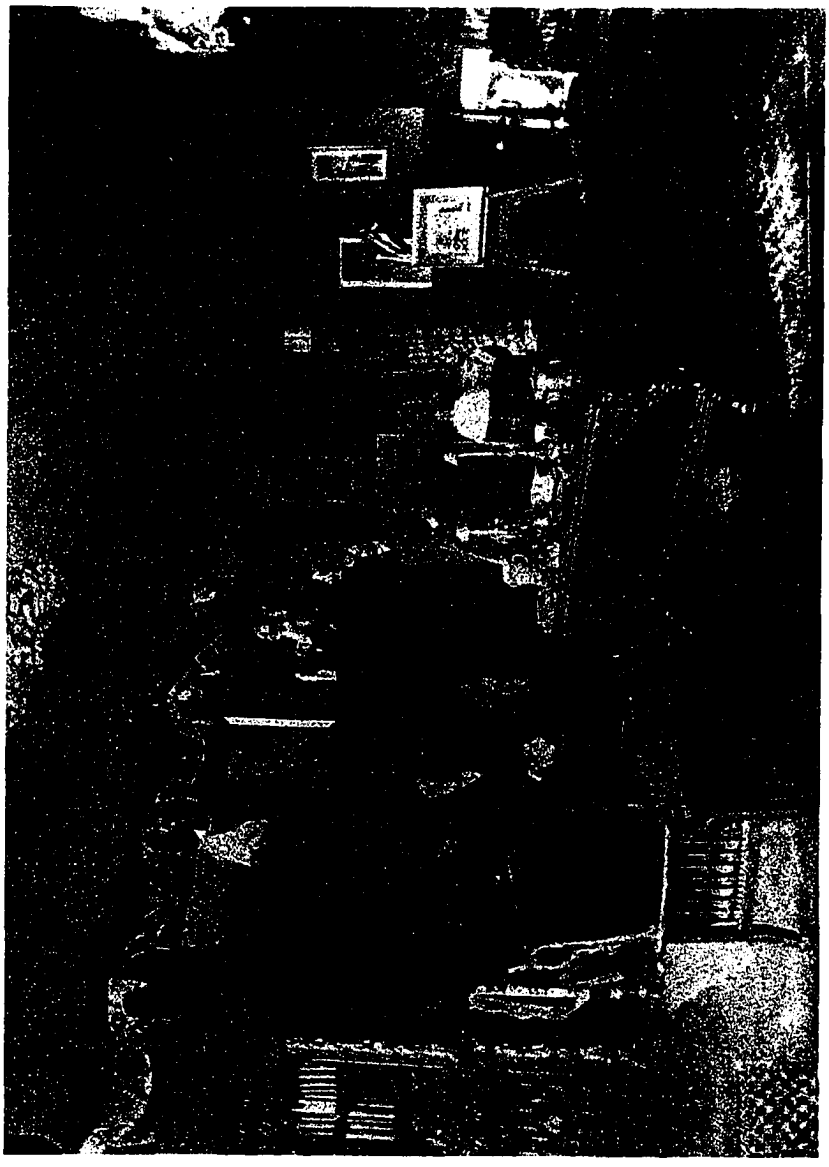

FIGURE 22. Studio of George Oakley Totten, Jr. and Laussat Richter Rogers, Washington, DC., 1898. Boothhurst Collection of the Rogers family documents, the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, DE.

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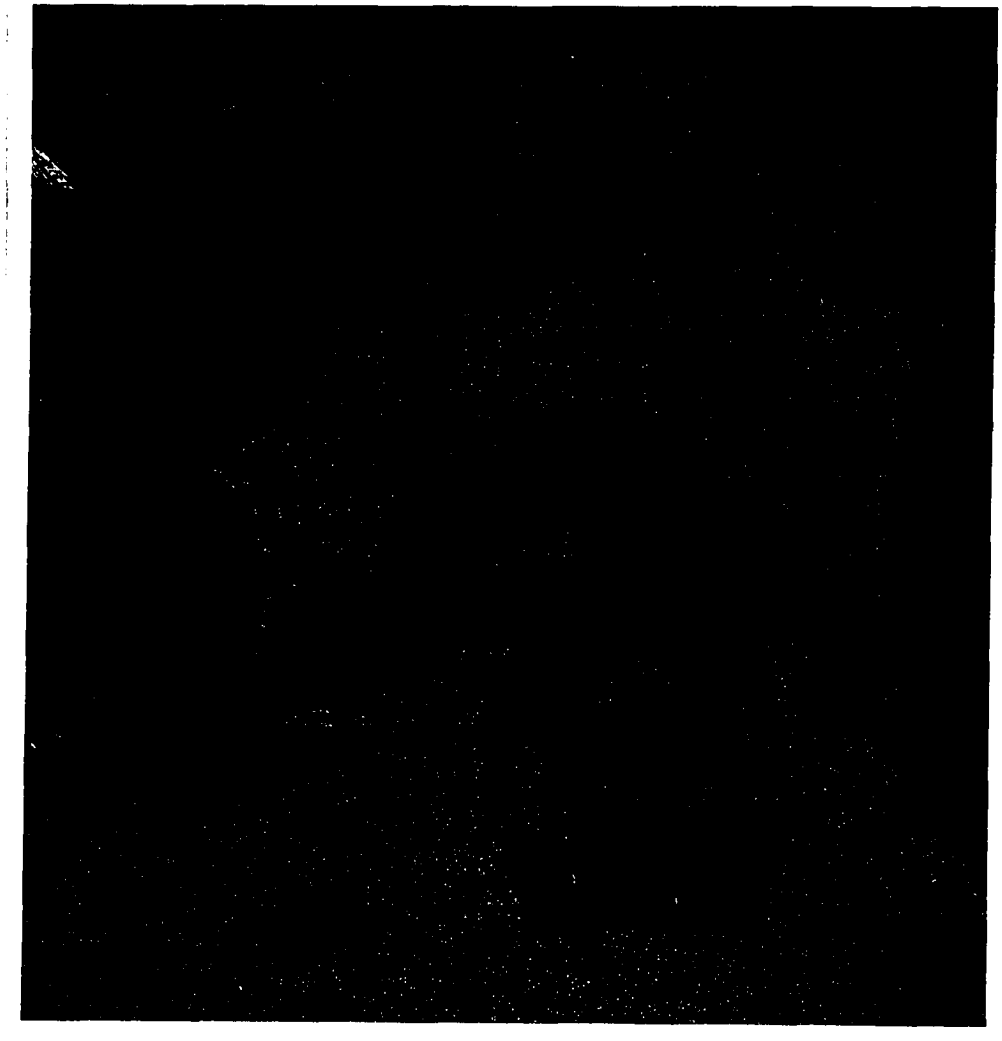

FIGURE 23. Studio of Milton J. Burns, New York City, c. 1880s. Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., Mystic, CT.

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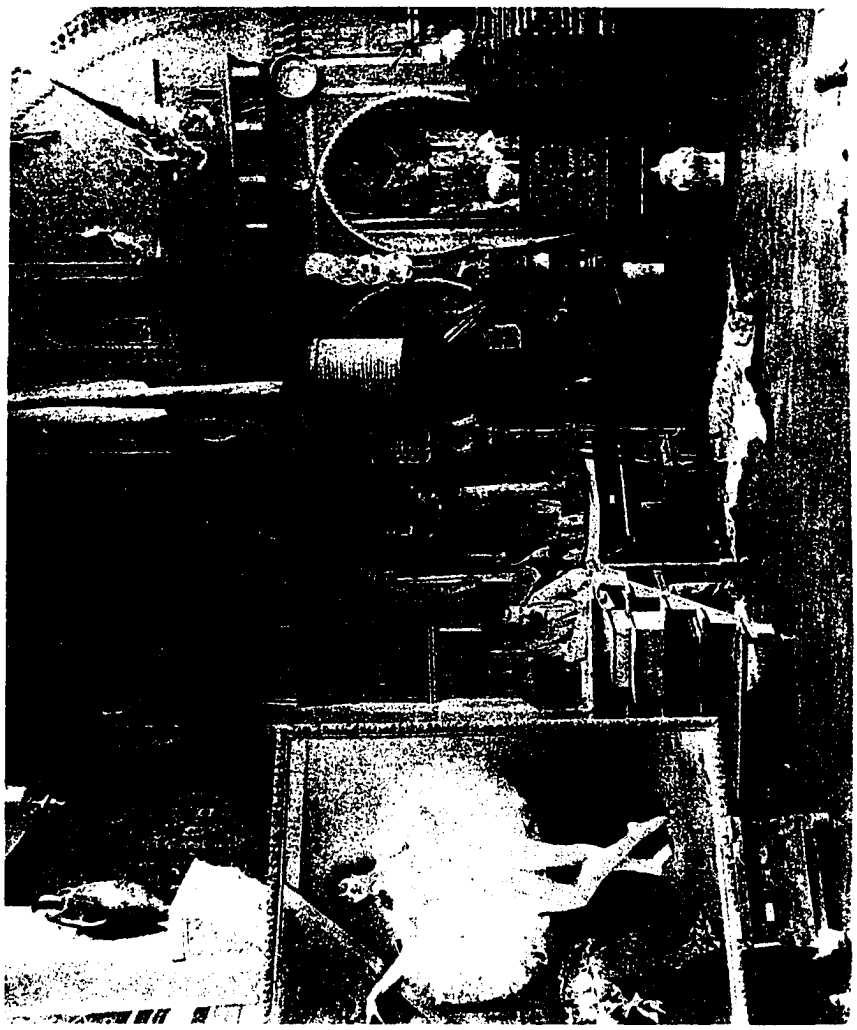

FIGURE 24. Studio of Georges Jules Victor Clairin, Paris, c. 1884. Bob Habolt and Co., New York and Paris.

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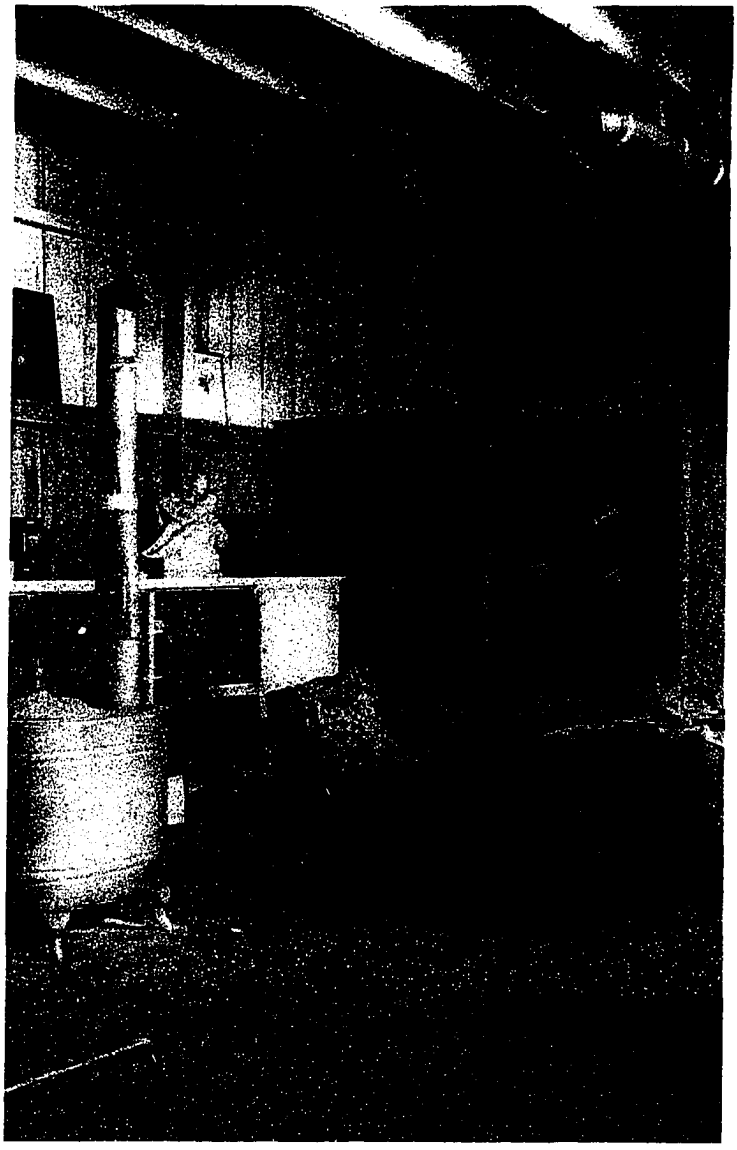

FIGURE 25. Gerald Glenn, photograph of the studio of Thomas Anschutz, probably Philadelphia, 1913. Anschutz Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1874, frame 13.

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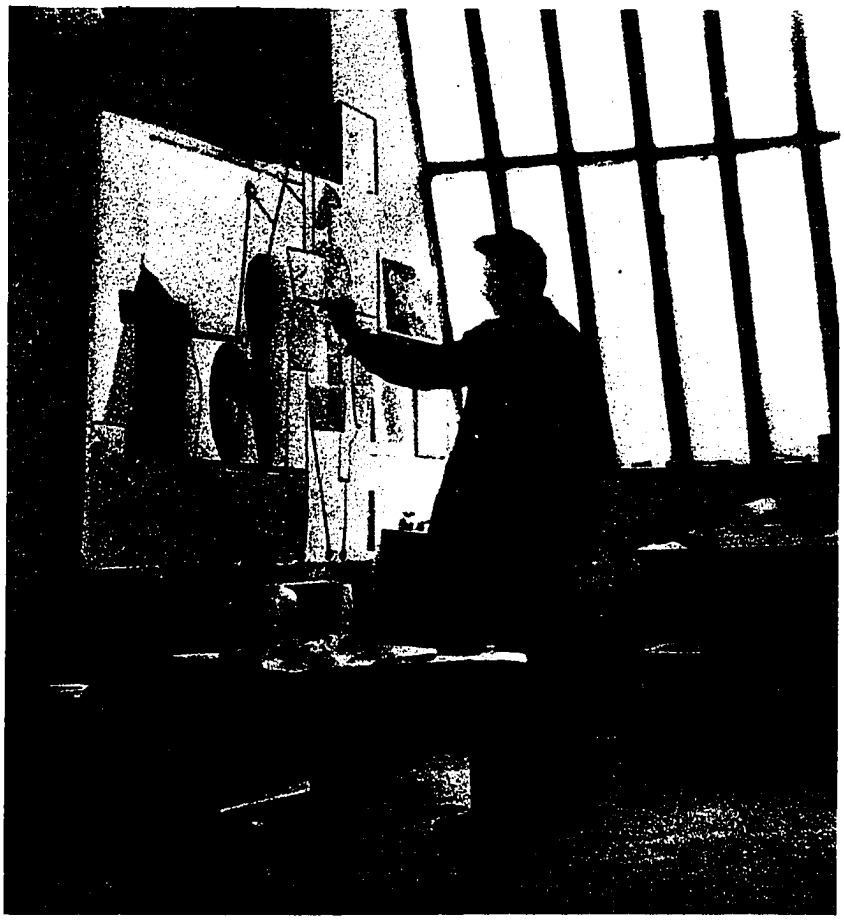

FIGURE 26. Arshile Gorky in his studio, New York City, 1934-5. National Archives, Washington, DC.

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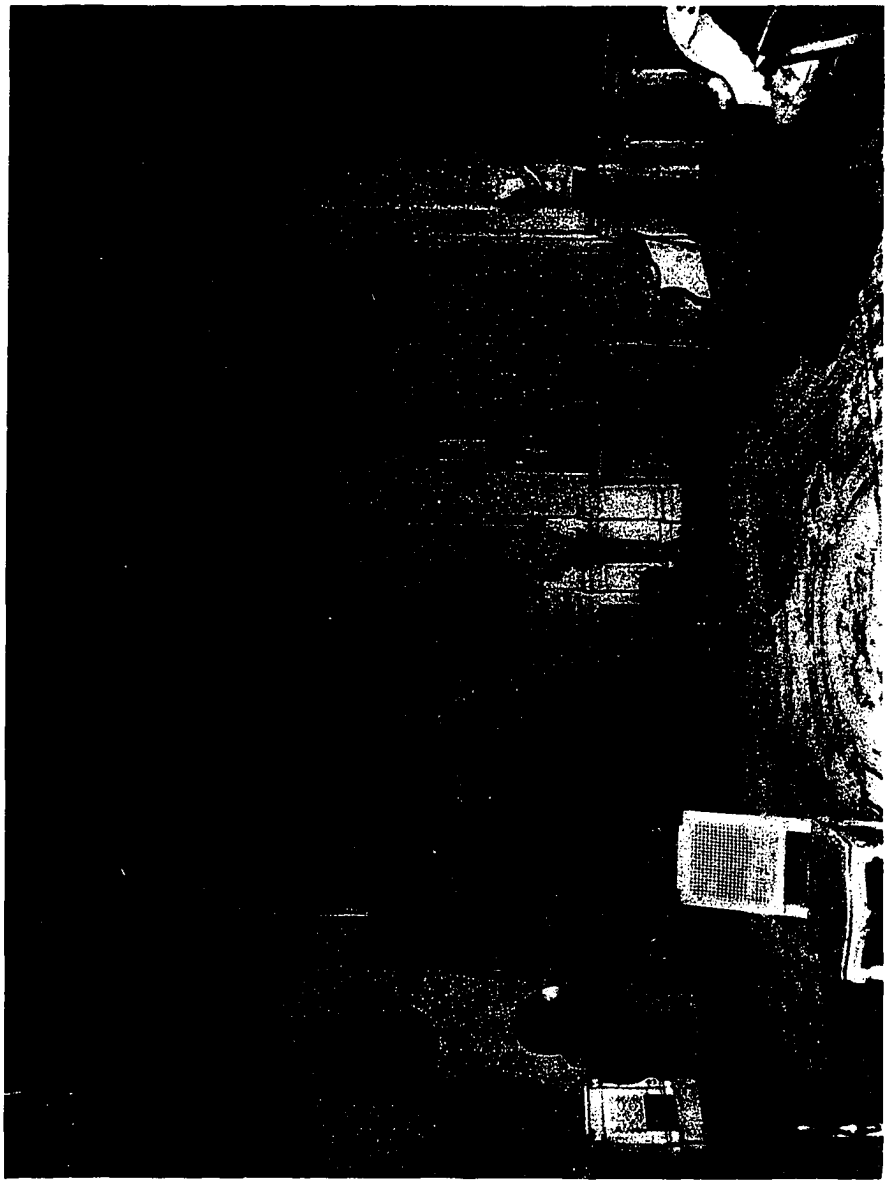

FIGURE 27. Studio of John Singer Sargent, London, after 1920. Richard Ormond, London; photograph courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London.

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FIGURE 28. Edsden, studio house for E. Loyal Field, in the artists' colony Pakatakan, Arkville, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1989.

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FIGURE 29. Studio of John Ottis Adams, unknown location, 1891. John Ottis Adams Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 880, frame 61.

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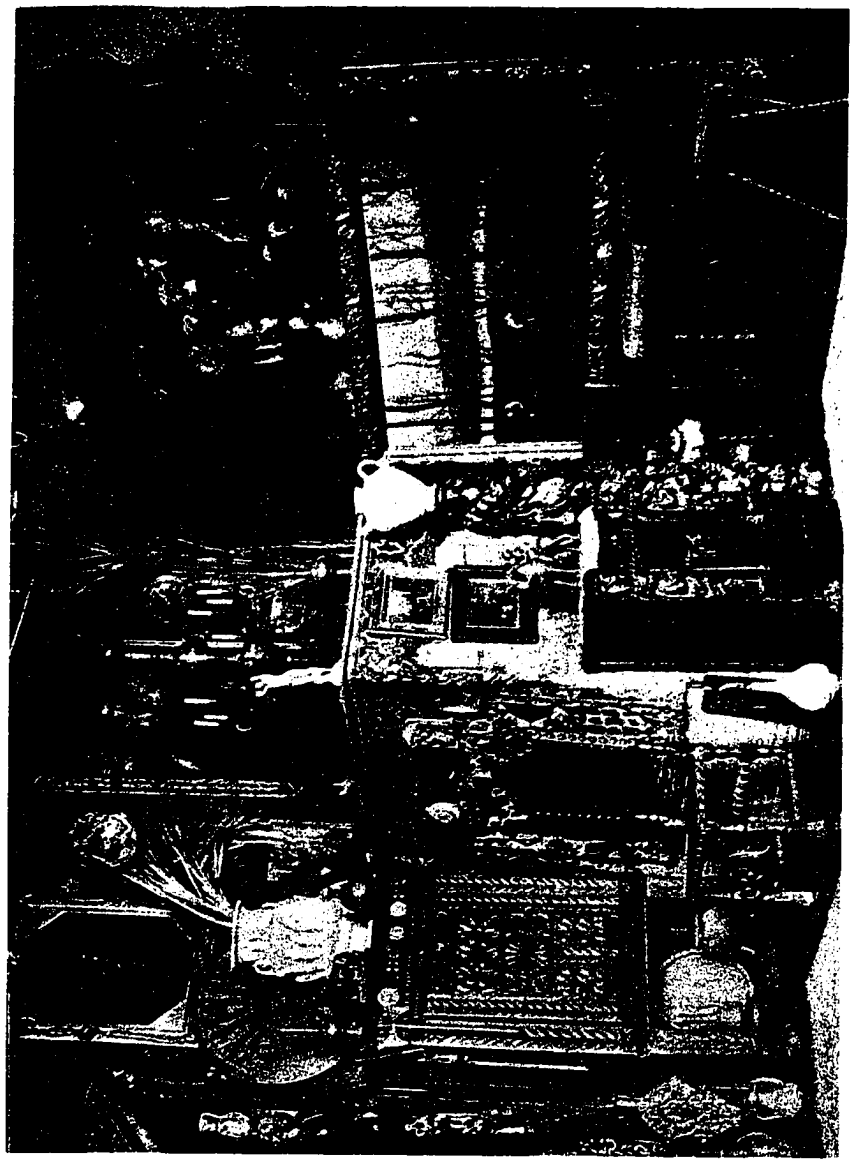

FIGURE 30. Studio of R. D. Sawyer, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 9.

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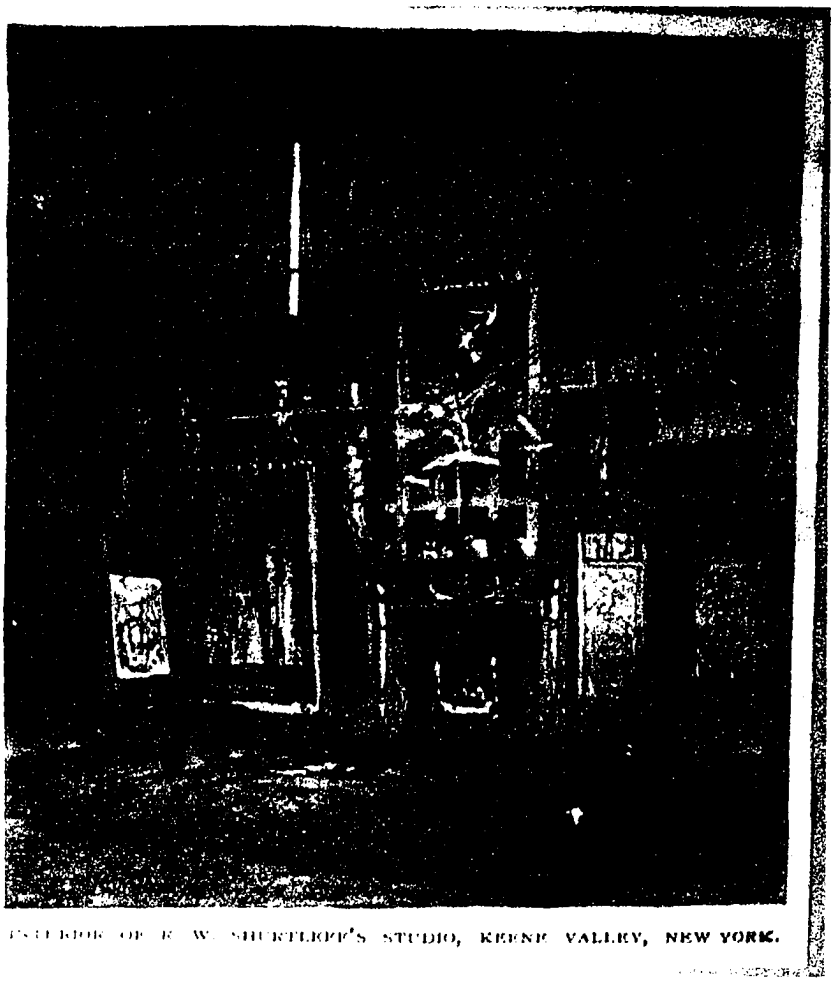

INTERIOR OF R. W. SHURTLEFF'S STUDIO, KEENE VALLEY, NEW YORK.

FIGURE 31. Roswell Shurtleff, illustration of the artist's studio, probably Keene Valley, NY, c. 1885. As published in Lizzie W. Champney, "The Summer Haunts of American Artists," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 30 (May-October 1885): 859.

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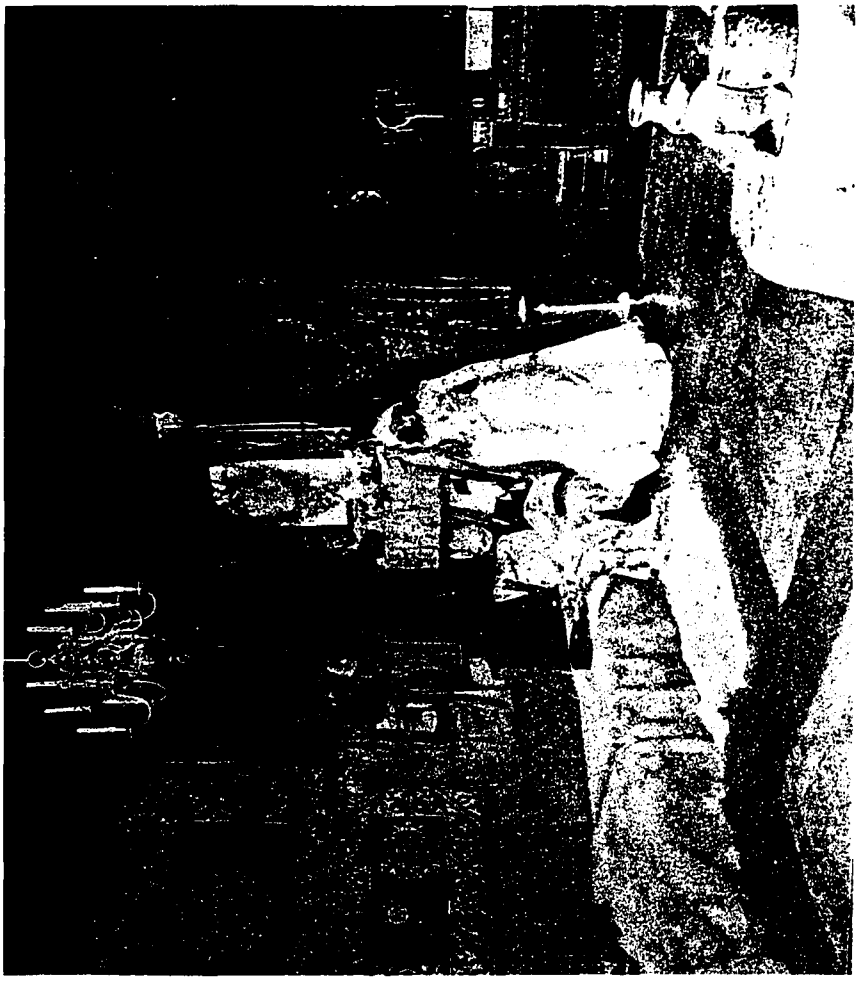

FIGURE 32. Studio of Leon Moran, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 19.

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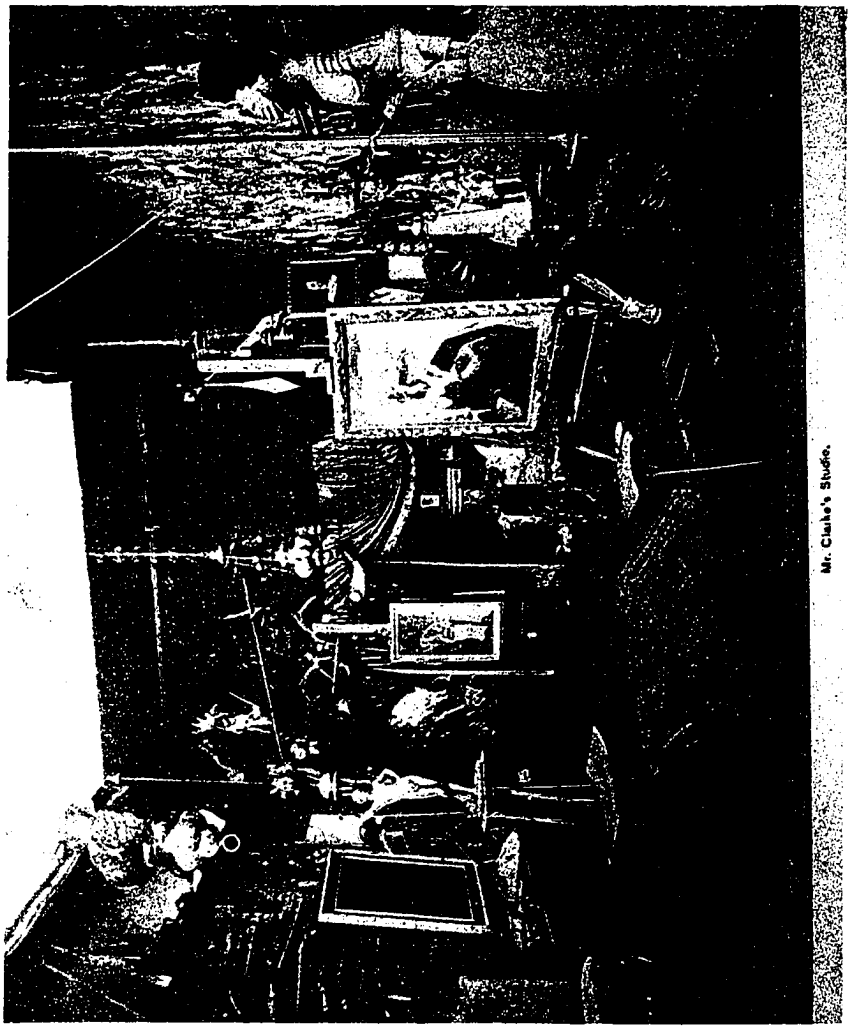

FIGURE 33. Main studio of Thomas Shields Clarke, New York City, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 472.

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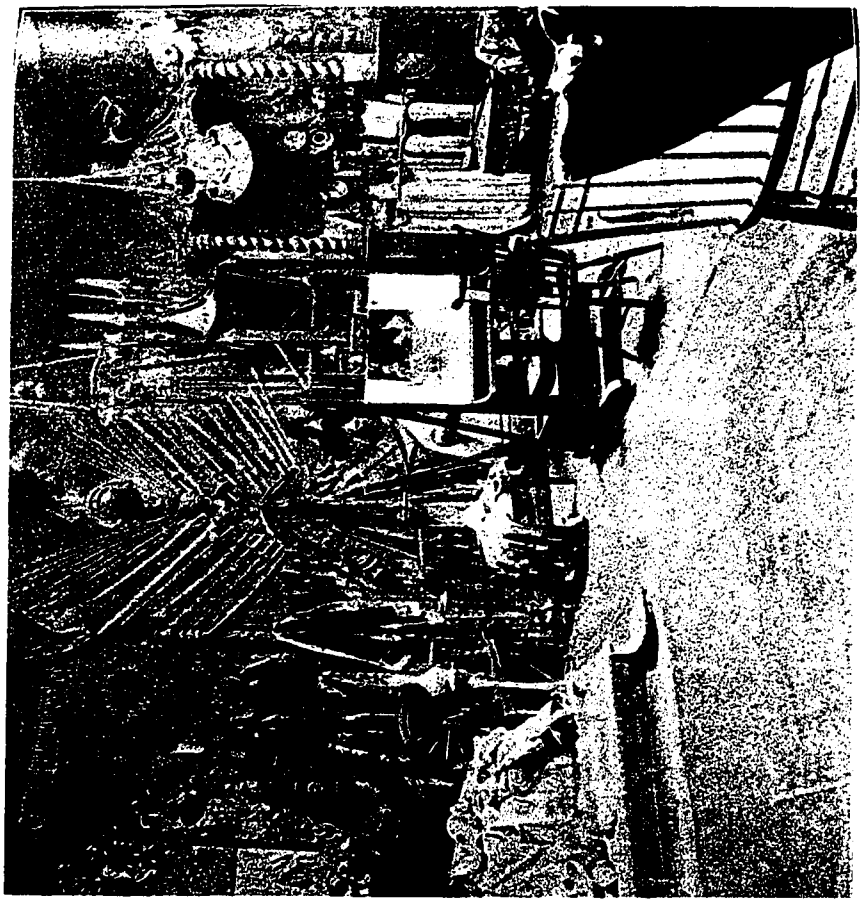

FIGURE 34. Studio of Percy Moran, New York City, c. 1895. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 18.

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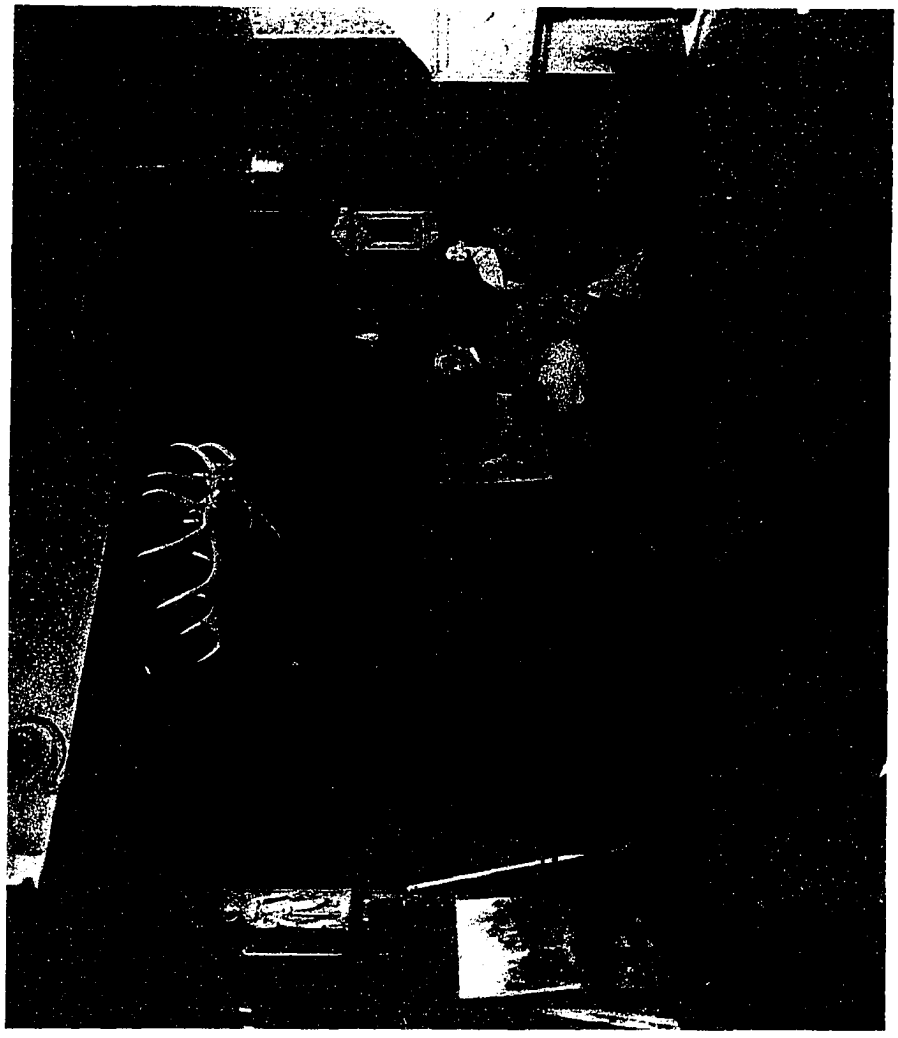

FIGURE 35. Francis Coates Jones in his studio, probably New York City, c. 1895. Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 439, frame 1251.

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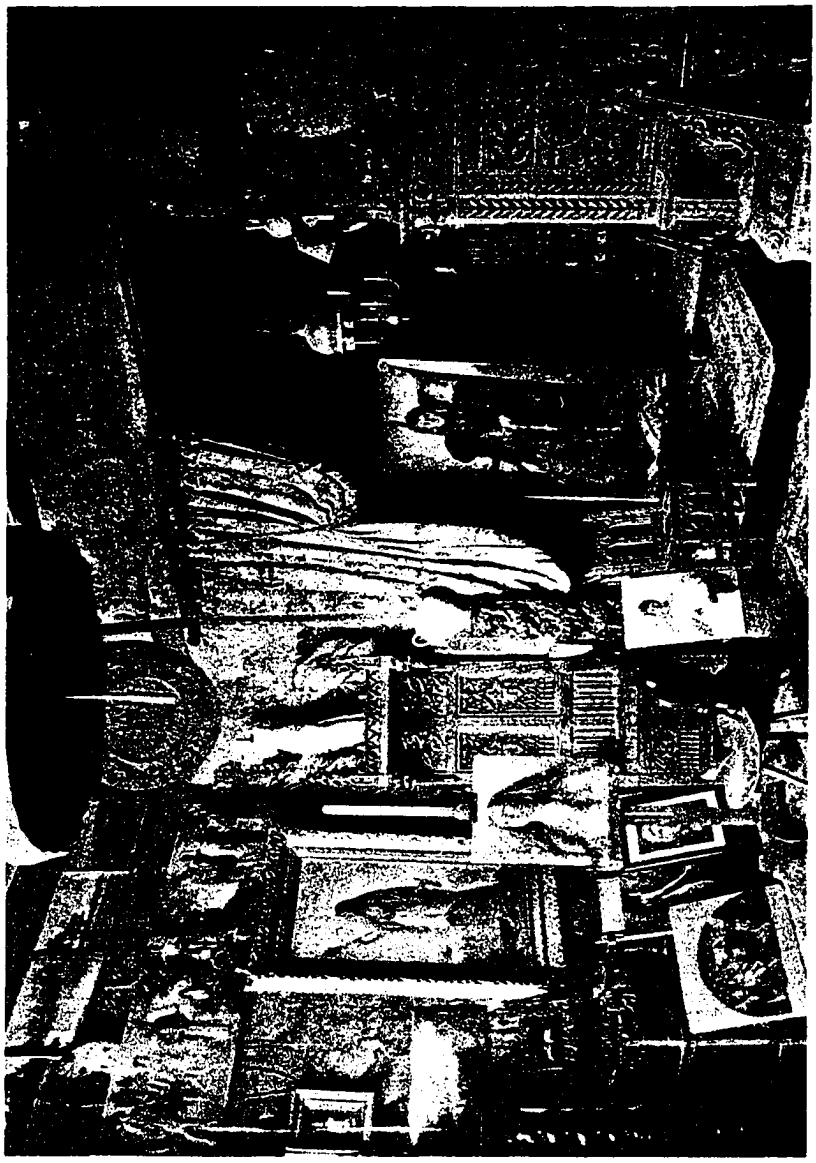

FIGURE 36. Studio of C. Ayer Whipple, New York City, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 303.

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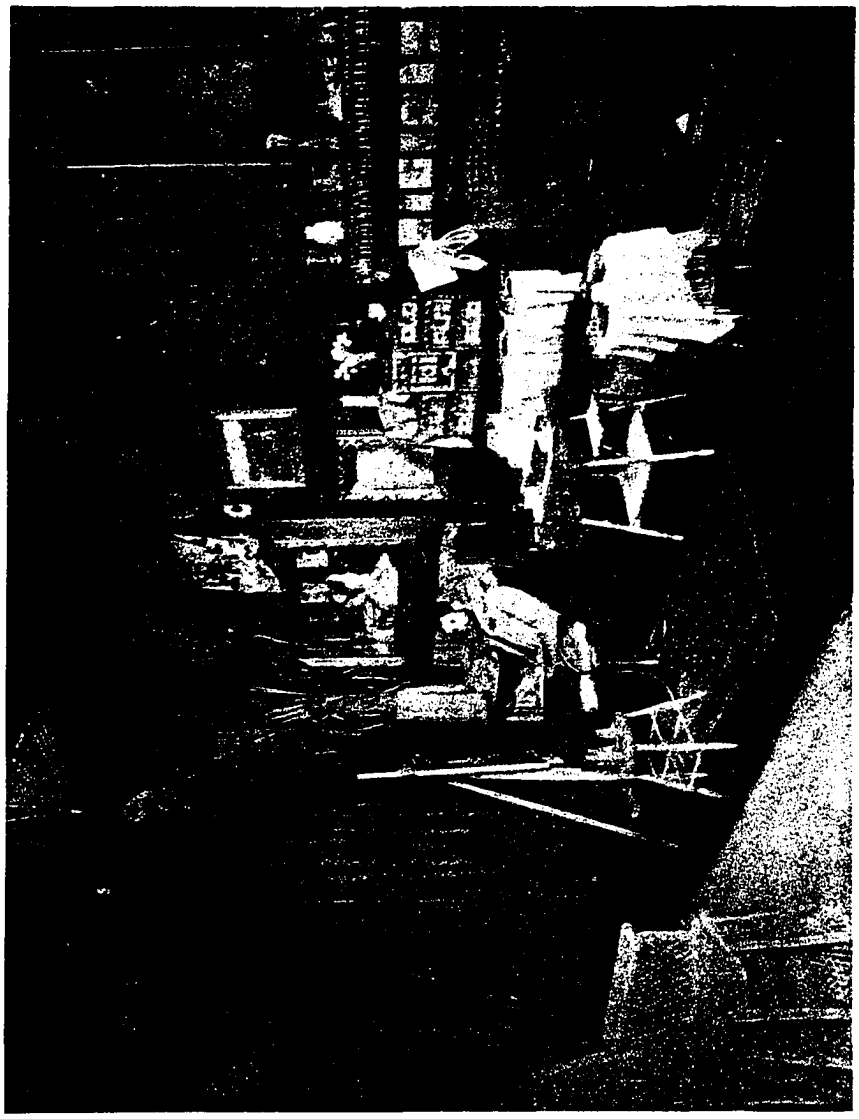

FIGURE 37. Studio of Robert Blum, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 13.

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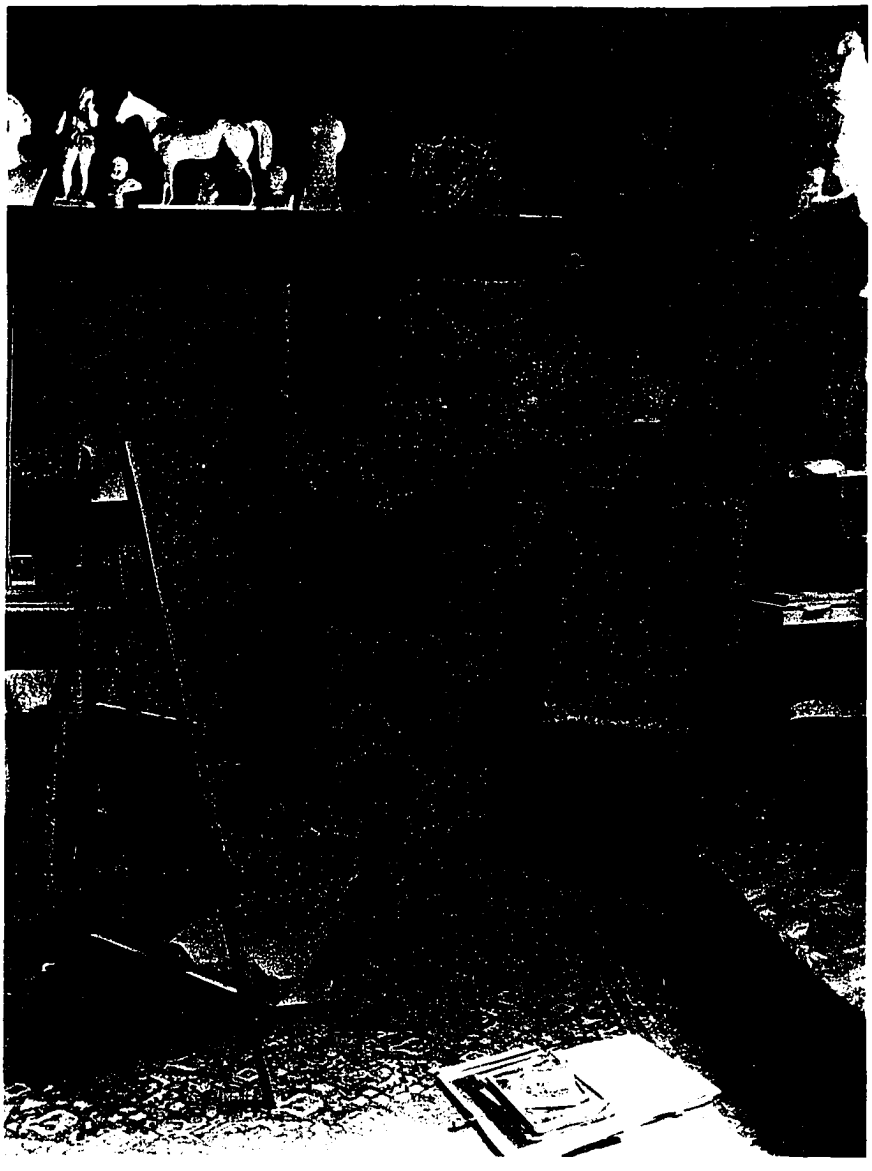

FIGURE 38. Charles Truscott, photograph of Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown in her studio at Littlebrook, Newburgh, NY, 1894. Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

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FIGURE 39. Ethel Burnham, photograph of the studio of Cecilia Beaux, Philadelphia, early 1890s. Collection of Tara Tappert, Roanoke, VA.

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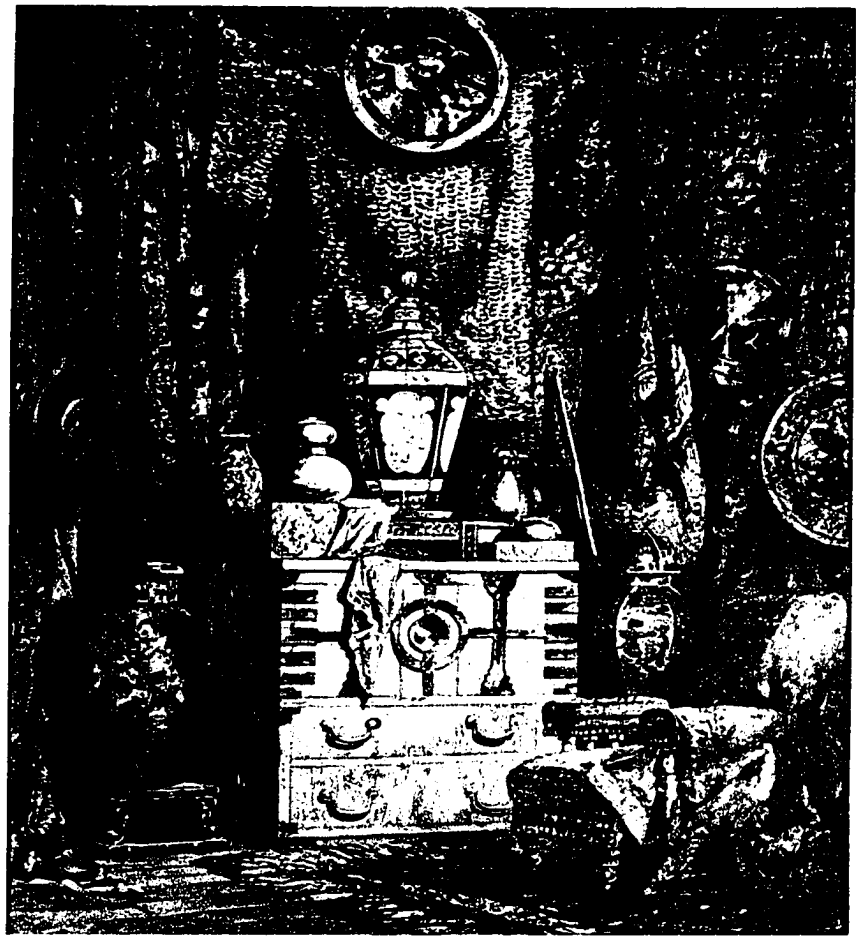

FIGURE 40. G[eorge] Gibson, illustration of the studio of Samuel Colman. As published in John Moran, "Studio-Life in New York," *Art Journal* (New York) 5 (1879): 355.

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FIGURE 41. George Gibson, illustration of the artist's studio. As published in "An Attractive Studio–Rooms of George Gibson," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 7 (November 1885): 51.

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FIGURE 42. Studio of Irving R. Wiles, New York City, c. 1889. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May 1889): 17.

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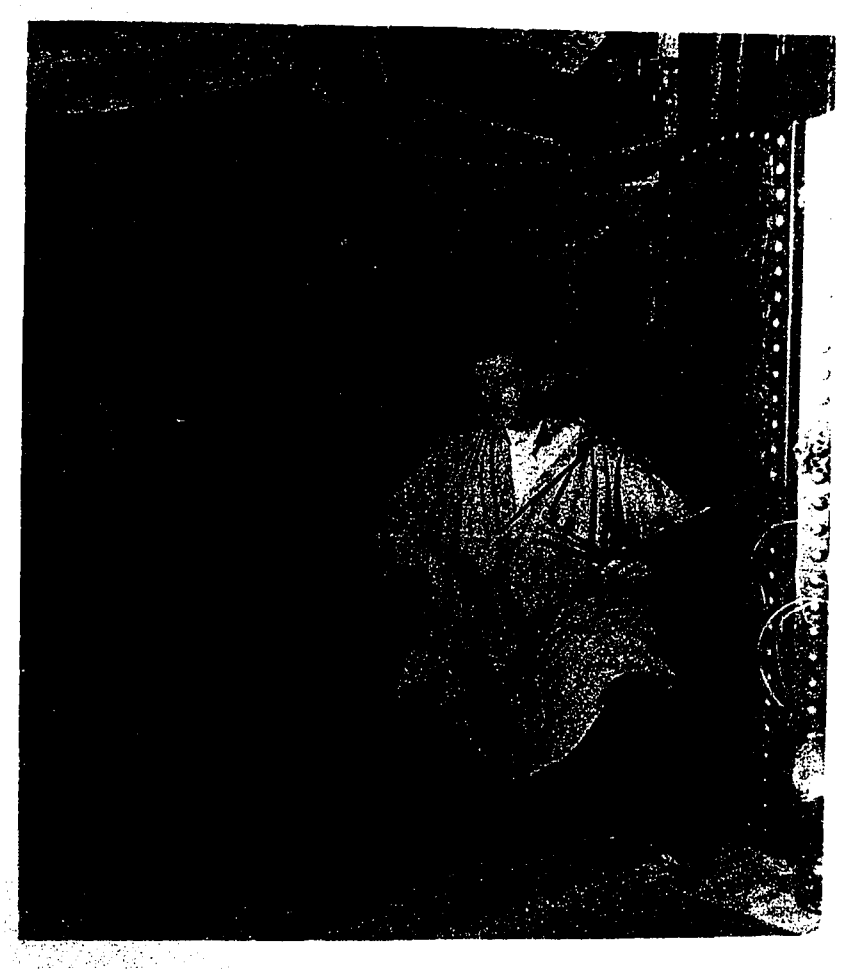

FIGURE 43. Leo D. Weil, photograph of Frank Albert Bicknell in his studio, probably New York City, c. 1910. Vertical portrait files, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

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FIGURE 44. an artists' reception in the Tenth Street Studio Building, New York. As published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 29 January 1869.

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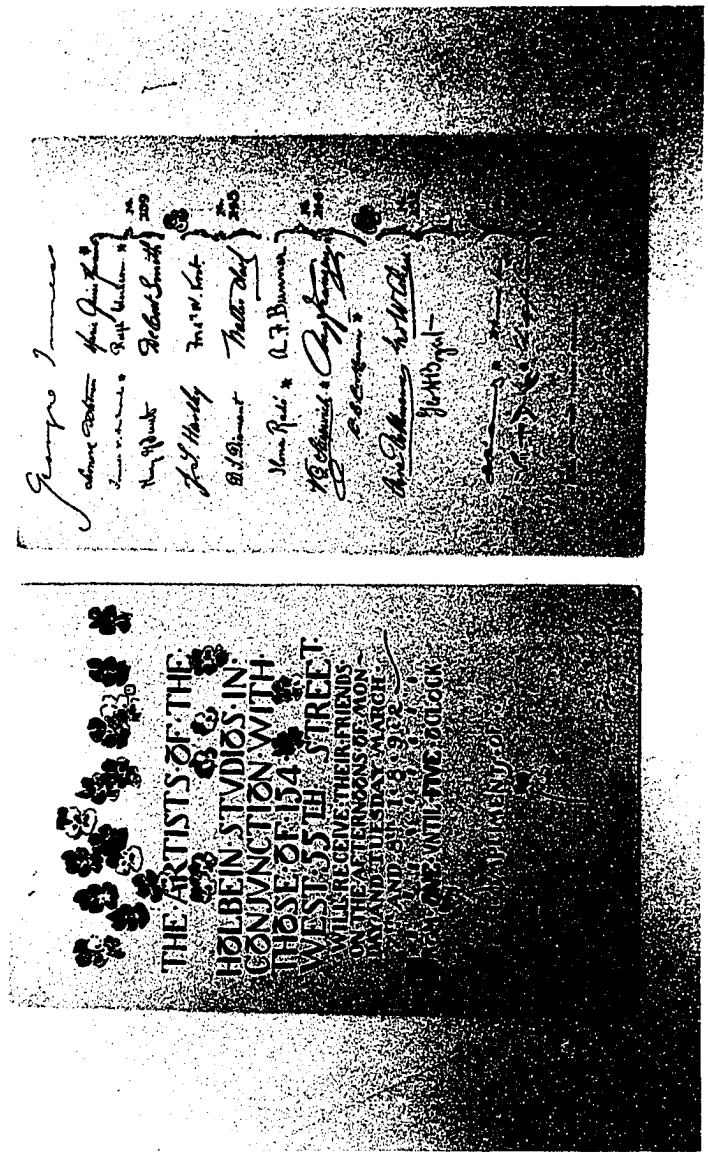

FIGURE 45. Invitation to a rececception at the Holbein Studios, New York, 1892. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Barton, New York.

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FIGURE 46. Cecilia Beaux and Emma Leavitt in their Philadelphia studio, 1890-1. Photograph courtesy of Tara Tappert, Roanoke, VA.

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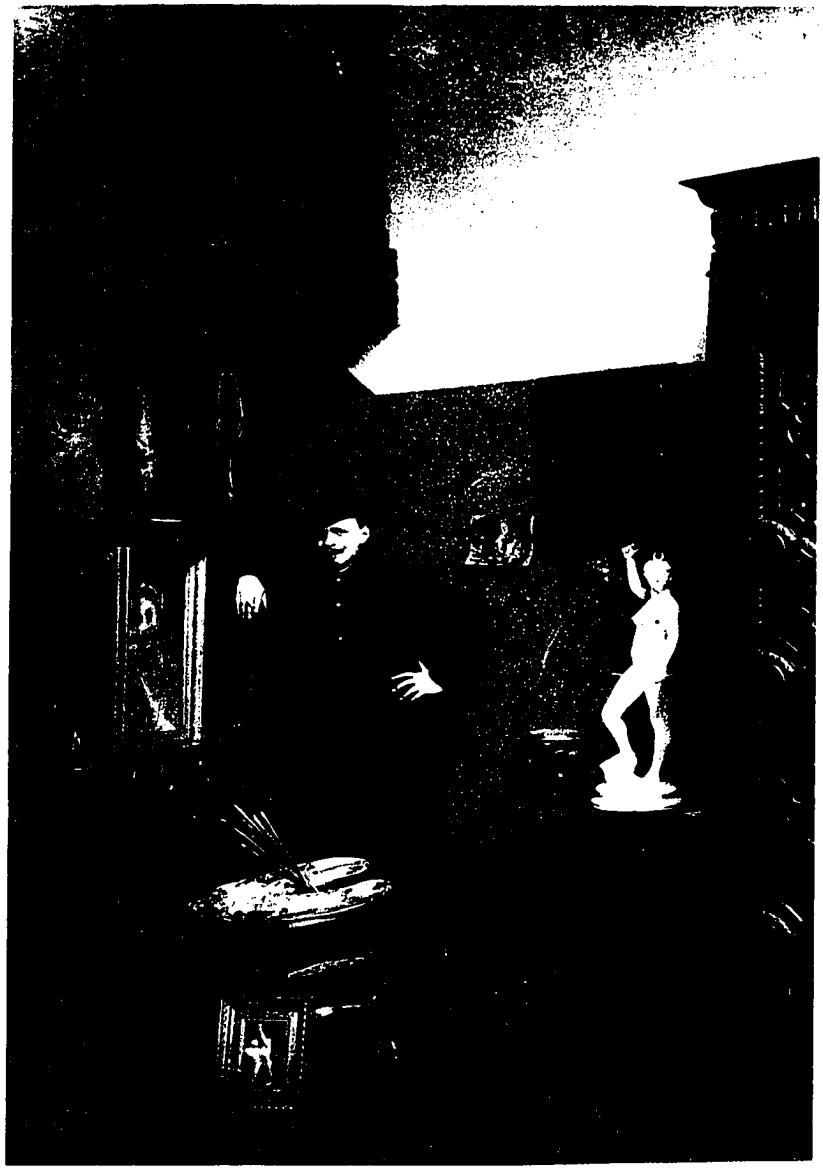

FIGURE 47. William Cushing Loring in his studio, Paris, c. 1900. William Cushing Loring papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 3589, frame 750.

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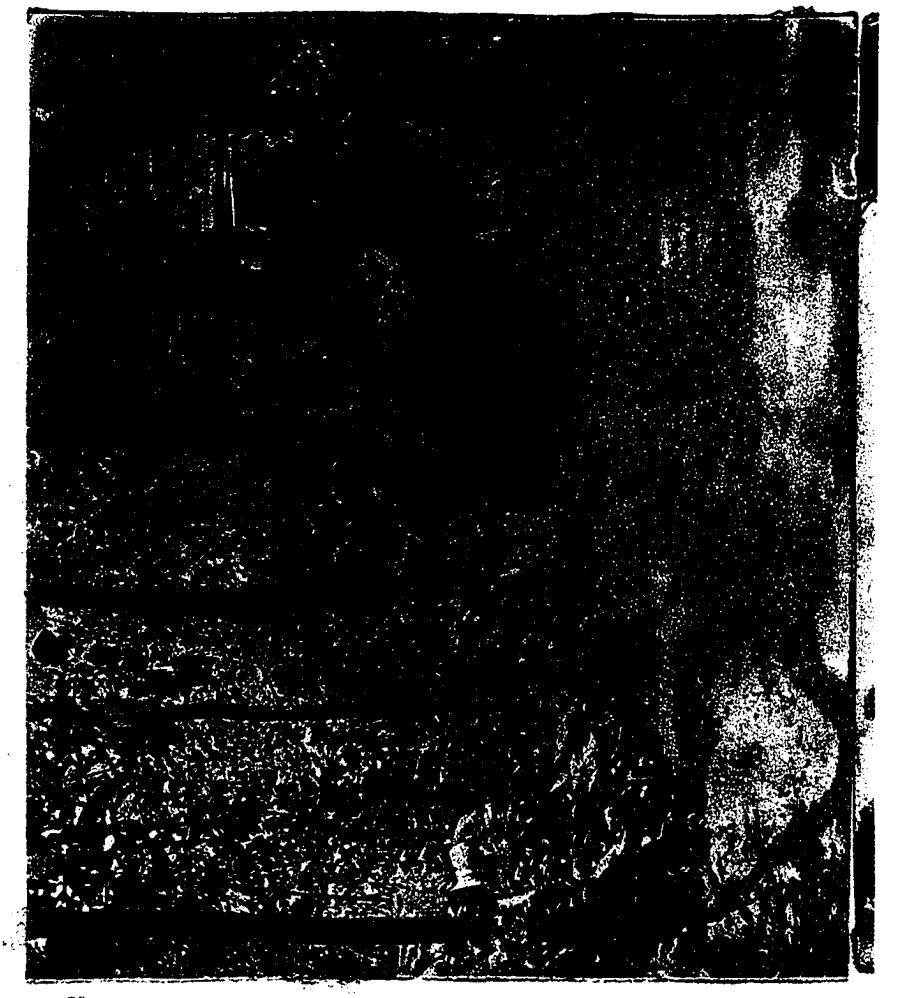

FIGURE 48. A group of artists relaxing in an arbor at the studio of William Sartain, Ridgefield, NJ. Scrapbooks of William Sartain, vol. 5, Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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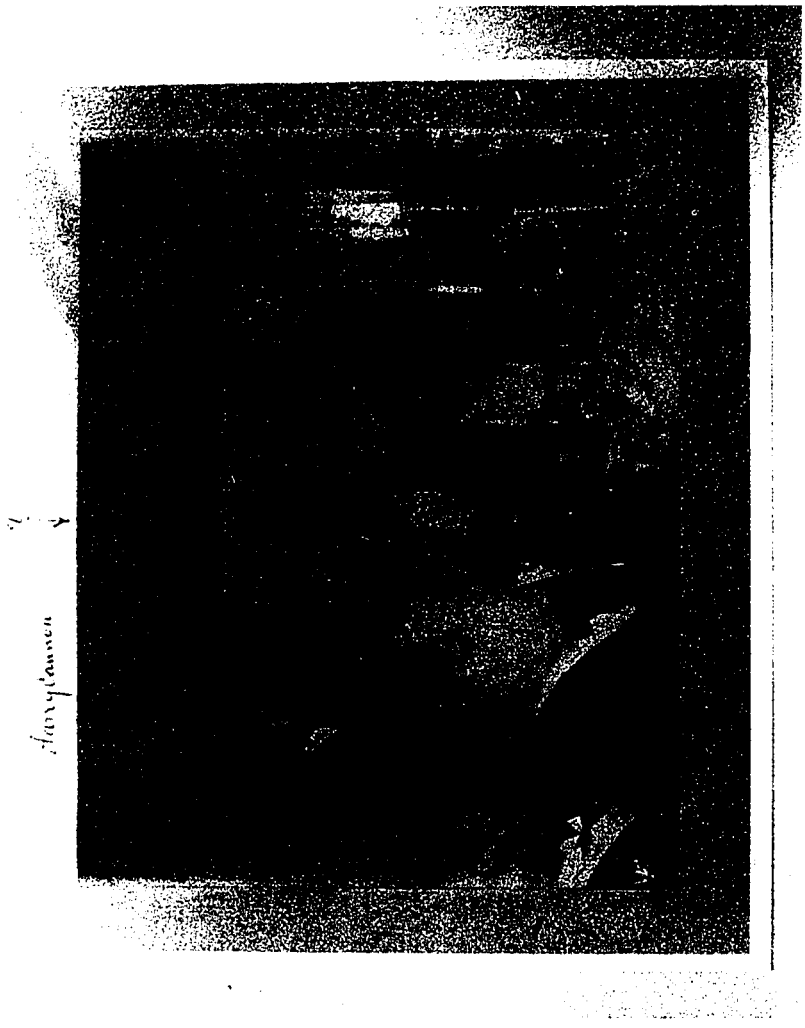

FIGURE 49. A dinner party in a studio, perhaps in the studio of J. Carroll Beckwith in the Sherwood Studio Building, c. late 1880s or early 1890s. Portrait file for J. Carroll Beckwith, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

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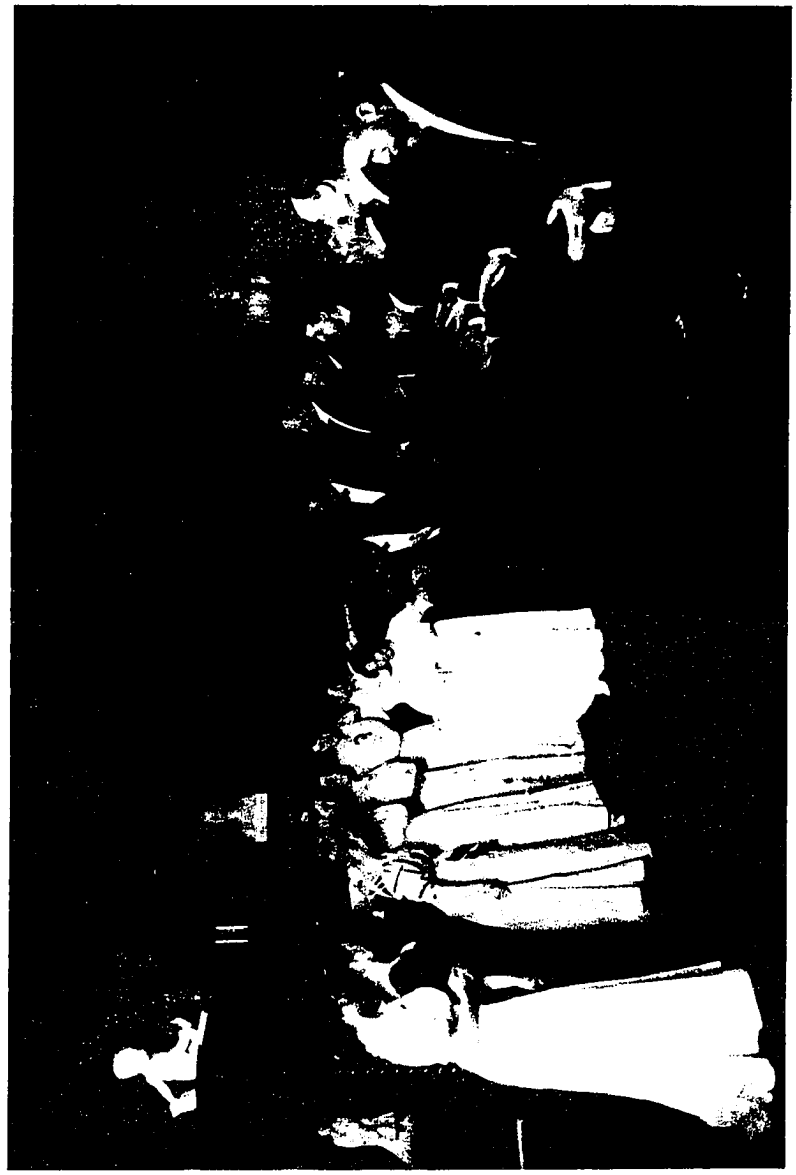

FIGURE 50. A dance in the studio of Bessie Potter Vonnoh, probably New York City, c. 1900. William Clarke Rice papers, Photographs of Artists, Collection 2, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 1817, frame 1282.

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FIGURE 51. Carmencita dancing, probably in the studio of J. Carroll Beckwith, probably January or February, 1890. Portrait file for J. Carroll Beckwith, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

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FIGURE 52. A group of artists dressed as a military band, posed in the Sherwood Studio Building, New York City, 1889. Artists pictured include, left to right: William Allen; Thomas Sullivant; Samuel Isham; Robert Reid; Harry Watrous; Robert van Boskerck; Carlton Chapman; Willard Metcalf; Herbert Denman. Photographs of Artists, Collection 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 141, frame 17.

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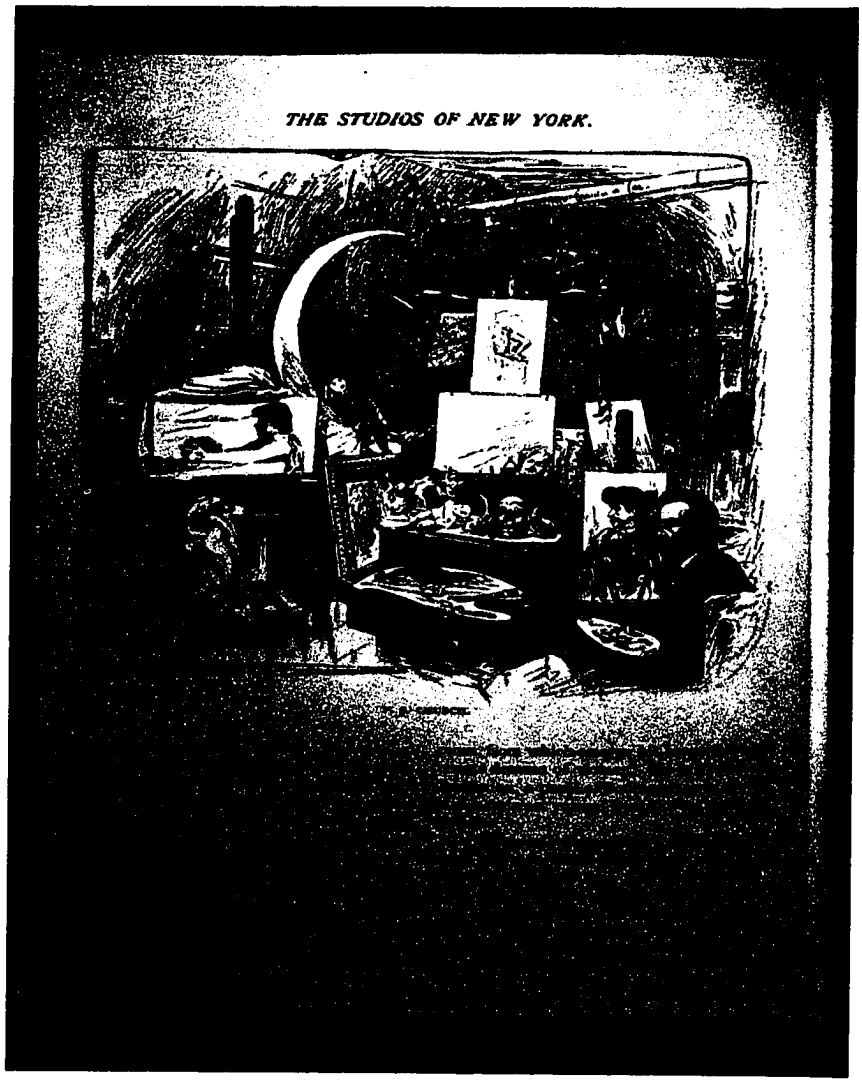

FIGURE 53. D. B. Conklin, illustration of the studio of Frederick Stuart Church. As published in Elizabeth Bisland, "The Studios of New York," *The Cosmopolitan* 7 (May, 1889): 16.

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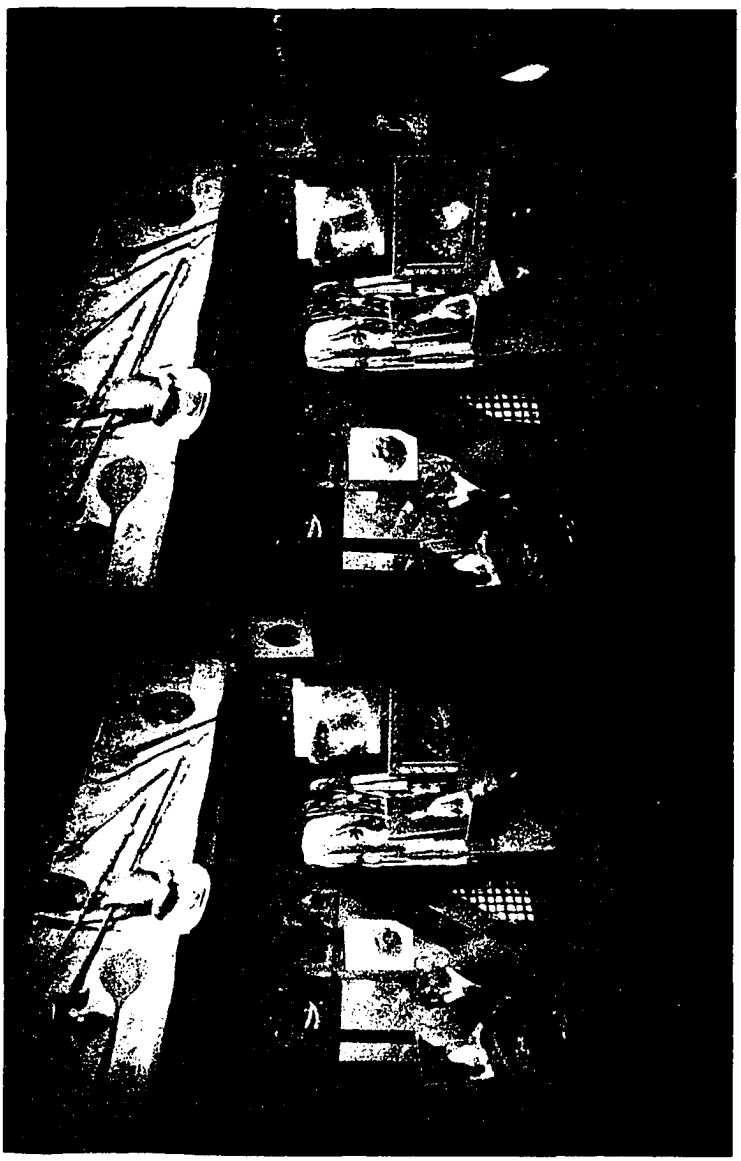

FIGURE 54. An artist in his studio. Stereograph published by Underwood and Underwood, 1907. "Artists at Work" stereograph file, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

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FIGURE 55. *Motherhood.* Stereograph published by B. W. Kilburn, Littleton, NH, 1897. "Artists at Work" stereograph file, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

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FIGURE 56. R. Y. Young, *The Artist.* Stereograph published by American Stereoscopic Company, New York, NY, 1900. "Artists at Work" stereograph file, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

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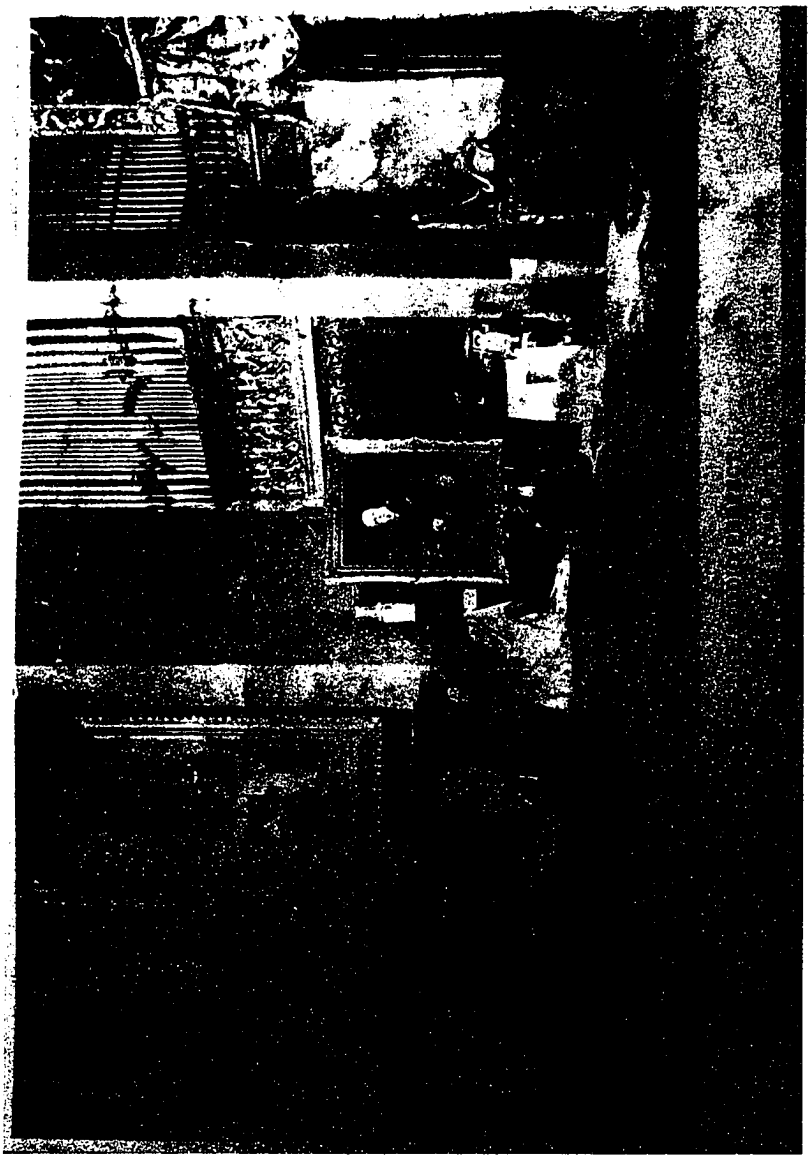

FIGURE 57. Studio of Abram A. Anderson, New York City, c. 1905. Clipping from the scrapbook "Artists at Work," Collection of the Art Division, The Research Library of the New York Public Library, New York.

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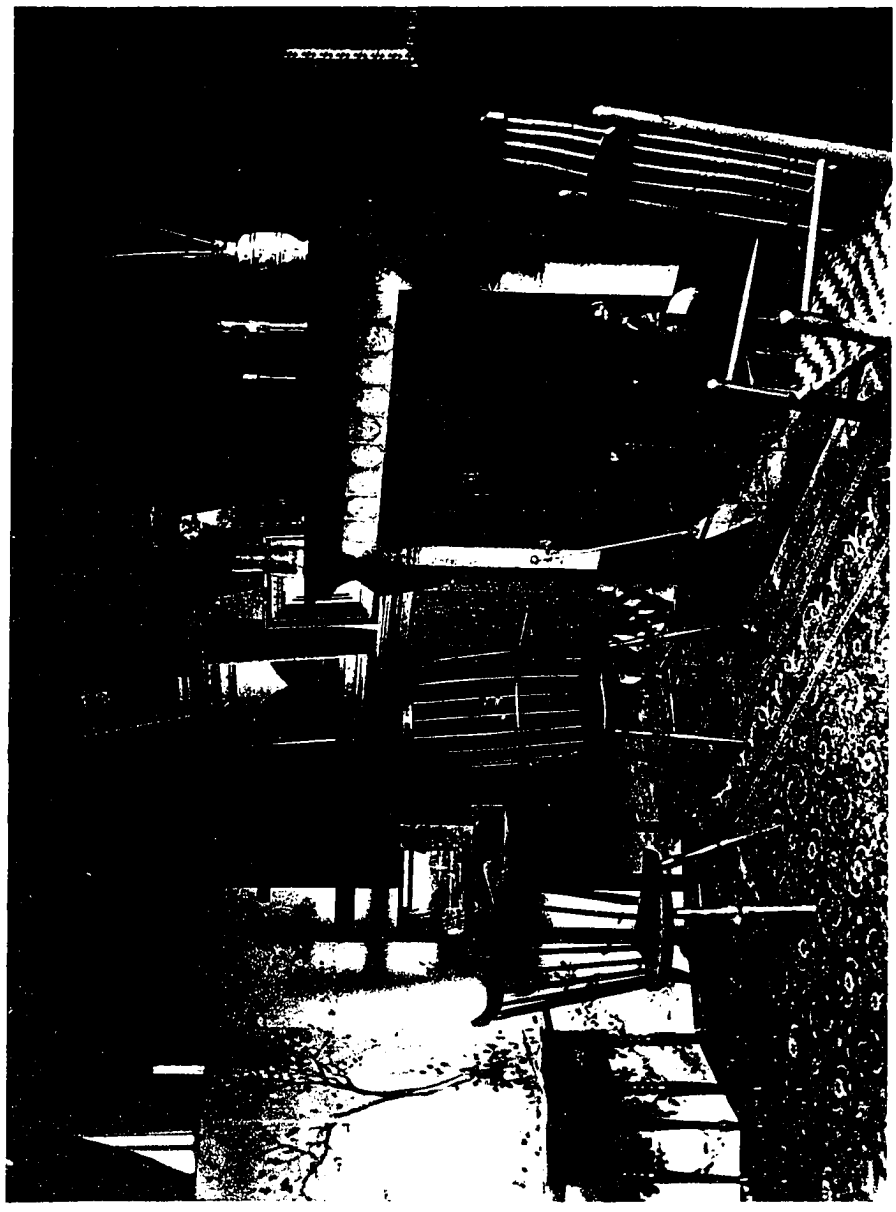

FIGURE 58. Studio of Frank Shapleigh, Crawford House, NH, c. 1890. New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH.

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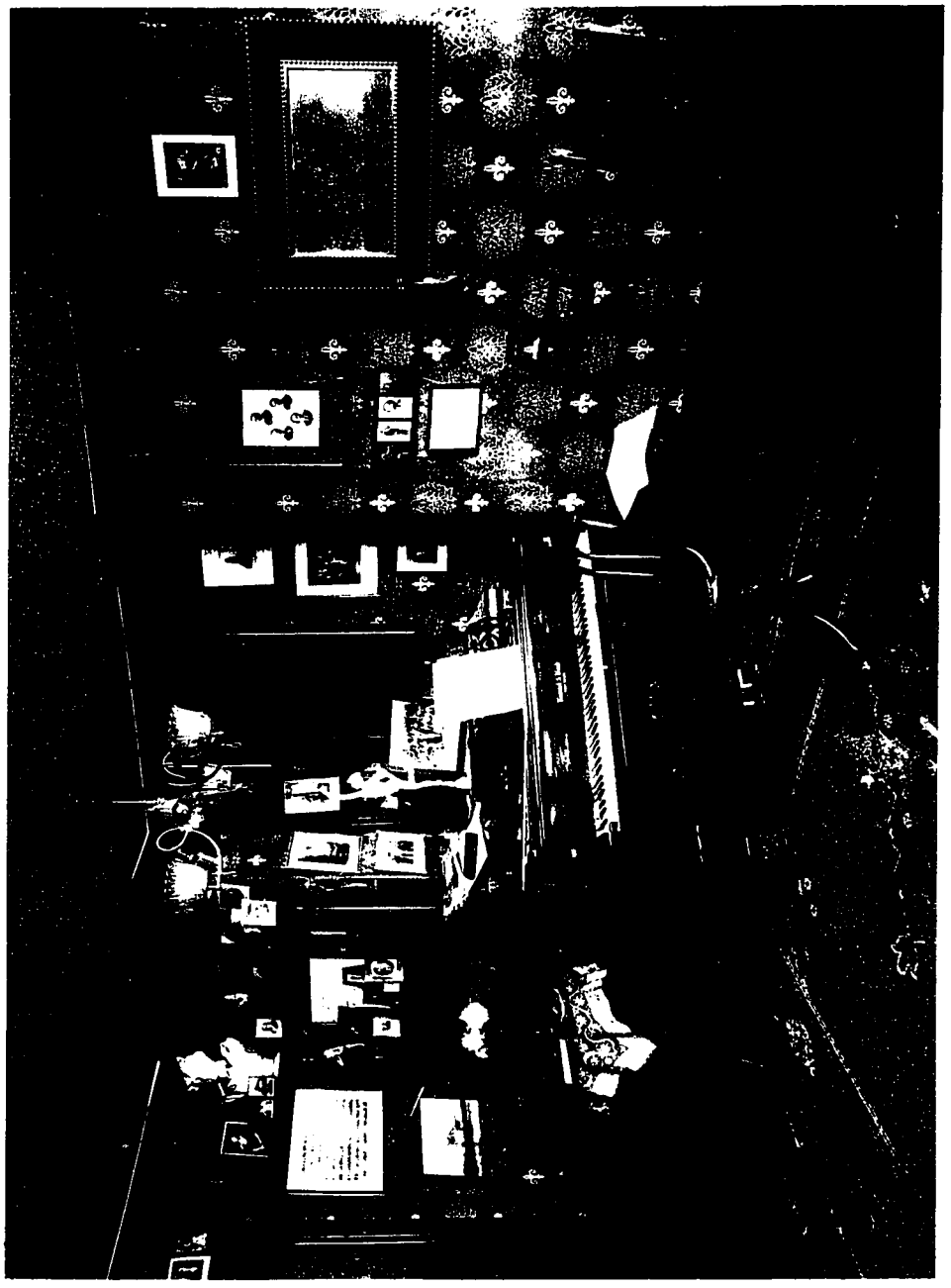

FIGURE 59. Baldwin Coolidge, photograph of the studio of Mrs. M. Sherman Raymond, Boston, 1901. Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

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FIGURE 60. William Meritt Chase, *Interior of Studio,* (also known as *The Tenth Street Studio*), 1880, oil on canvas, 36" x 48". The St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis.

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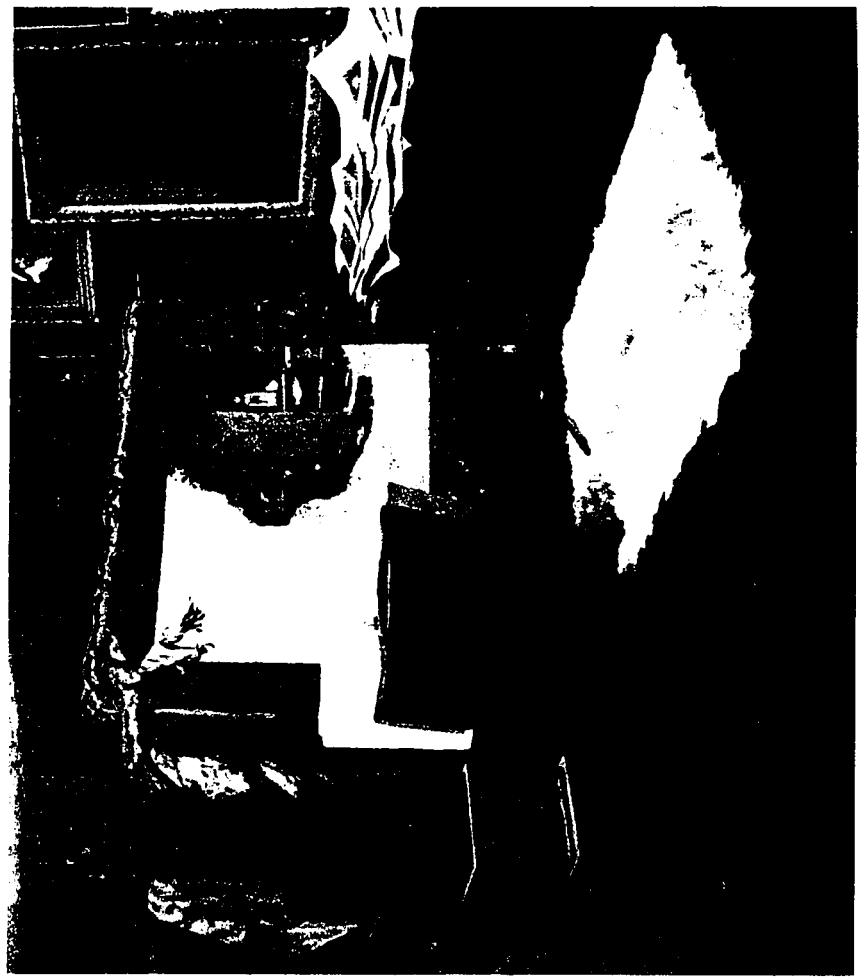

FIGURE 61. Henry G. Thomson, *Studio Interior* (also known as *Chase's Tenth Street Studio*), c. 1882, oil on canvas, 38" x 48". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Cooley Gallery, Old Lyme, CT.

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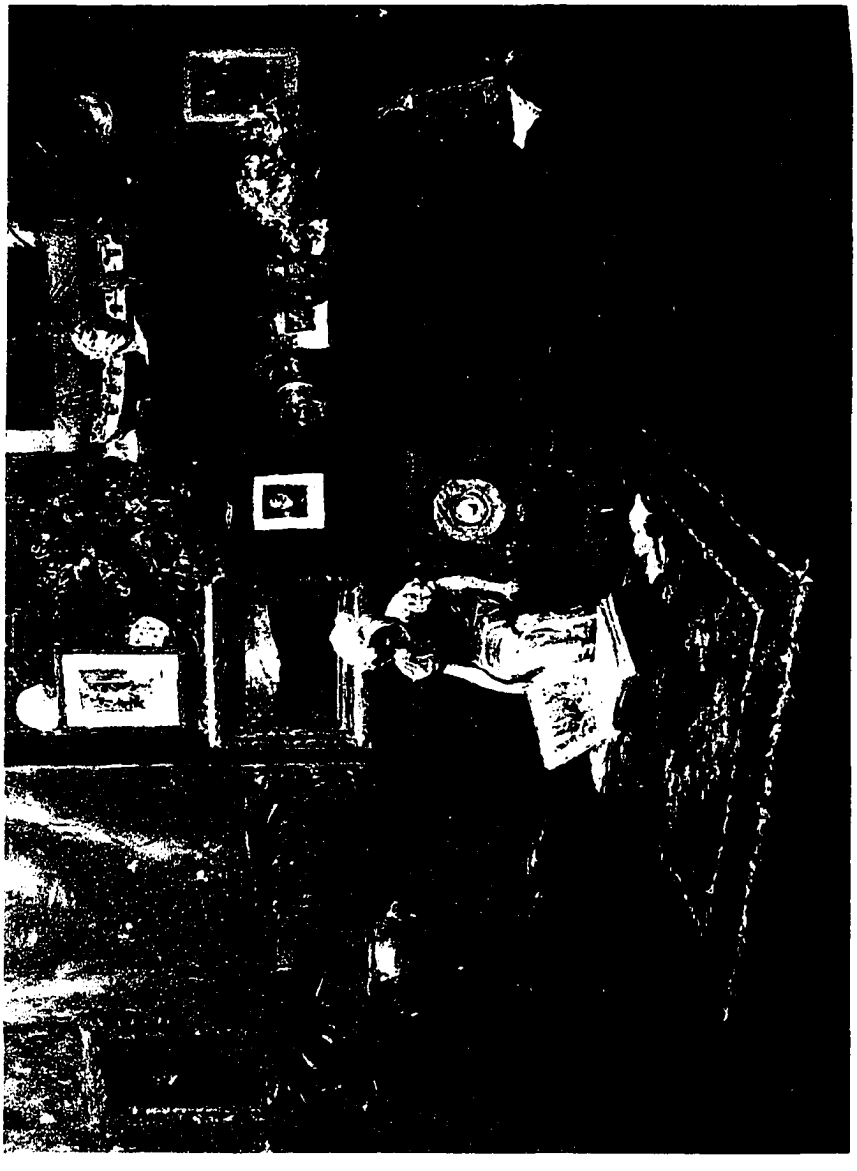

FIGURE 62. William Merritt Chase, *Studio Interior* (now known as *In the Studio*), c. 1883, oil on canvas, 28 1/8" x 40 1/16". The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

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FIGURE 63. William Merritt Chase, *In the Studio,* c. 1884, pastel on paper laid down on linen, 39" x 22 1/2". Private collection.

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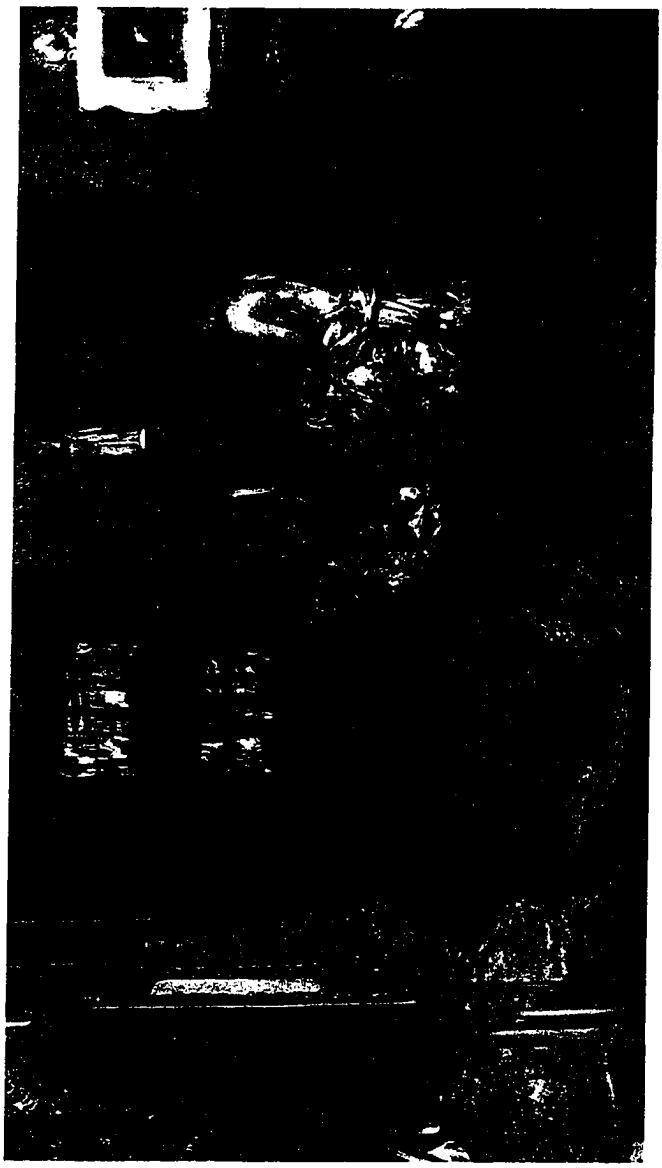

FIGURE 64. Robert Blum, *My Studio* (now known as *Studio of Robert F. Blum*), 1883-4, pastel on paper, 28" x 53 3/4". Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati.

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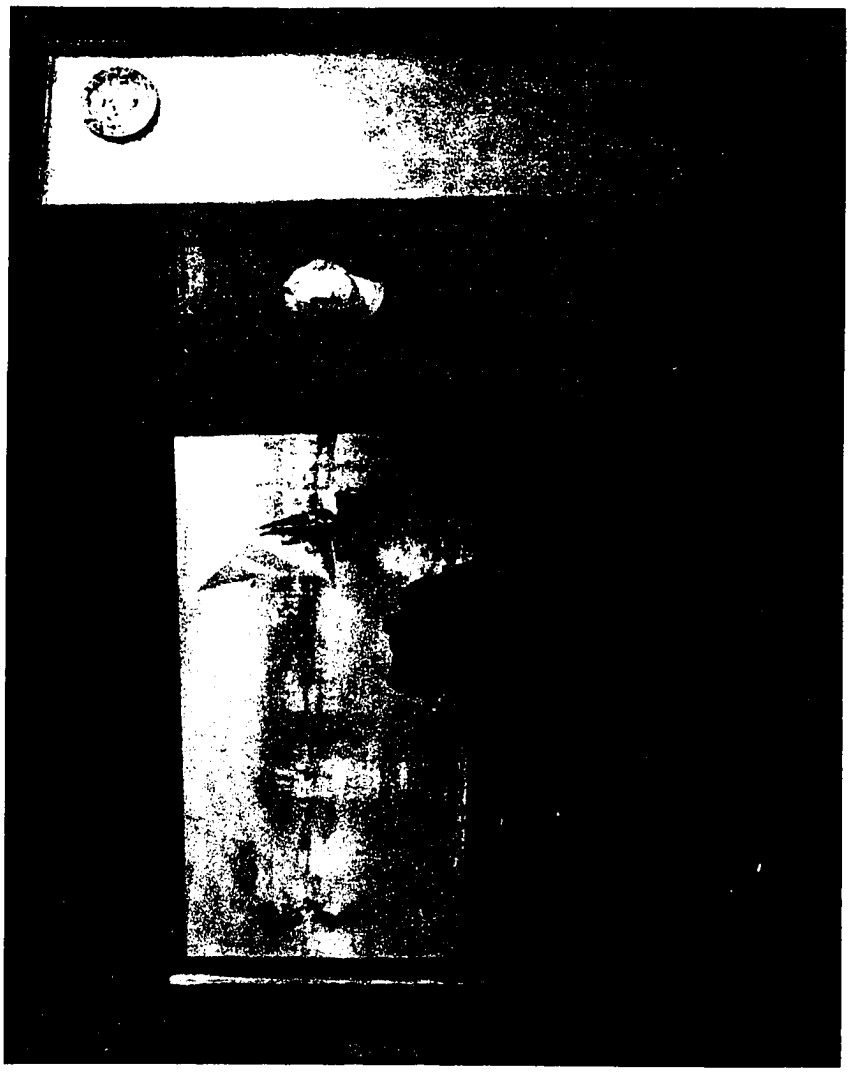

FIGURE 65. Walter L. Palmer, *Studio Interior,* 1884, oil on canvas, 18" x 24". Private collection; photograph courtesy of The Albany Gallery, Albany, NY.

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FIGURE 66. William Merritt Chase, *Connoisseur–The Studio Corner,* c. 1882?, oil on canvas, 20" x 22". Canajoharie Library and Art Gallery, Canajoharie, NY.

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FIGURE 67. William Merritt Chase, *The Inner Studio, Tenth Street,* c. 1880s, oil on canvas, 32 3/8" x 44 1/4". Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA.

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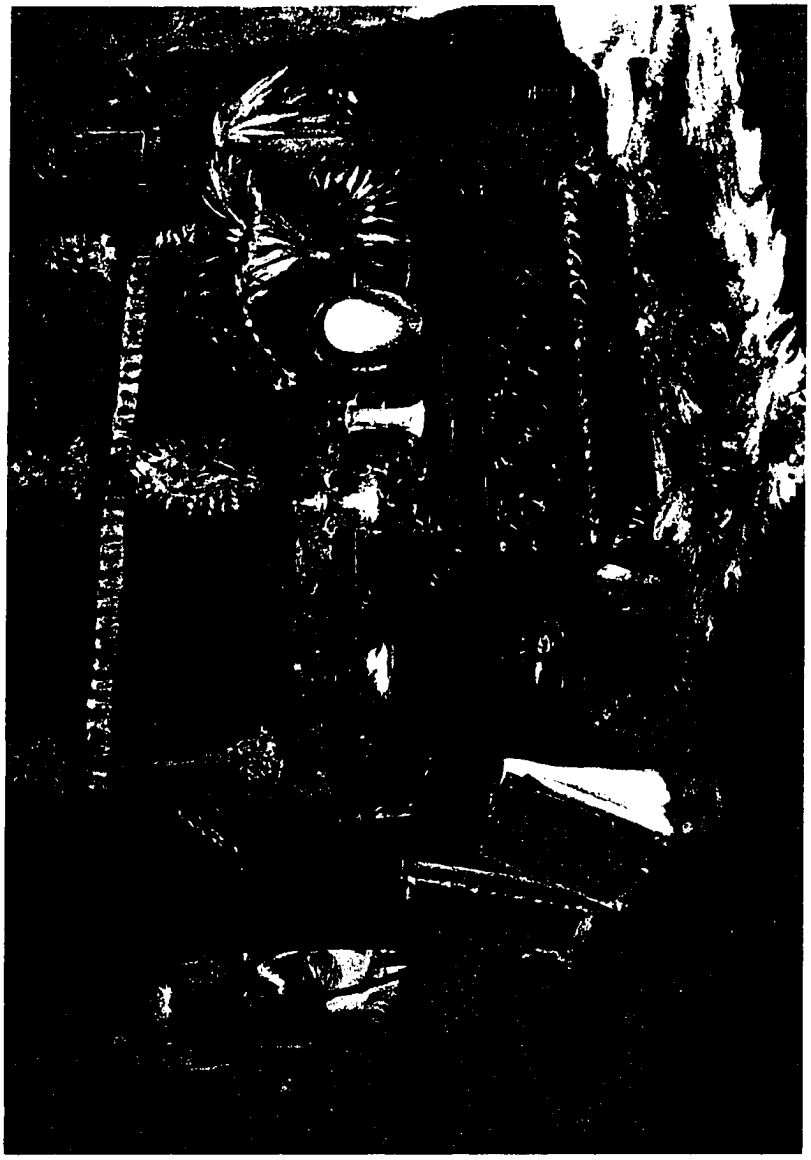

FIGURE 68. William Merritt Chase, *A Corner of My Studio,* c. 1885, oil on canvas, 24 3/8" x 36 1/4". The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco.

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FIGURE 69. Rosalie Gill, *The New Model,* c. 1884, oil on canvas, 24" x 36". The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore.

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FIGURE 70. Charles G. Dyer, *A Study in Grey,* c. 1880, oil on canvas, 20" x 12". Private collection; photograph courtesy of The Albany Gallery, Albany, NY.

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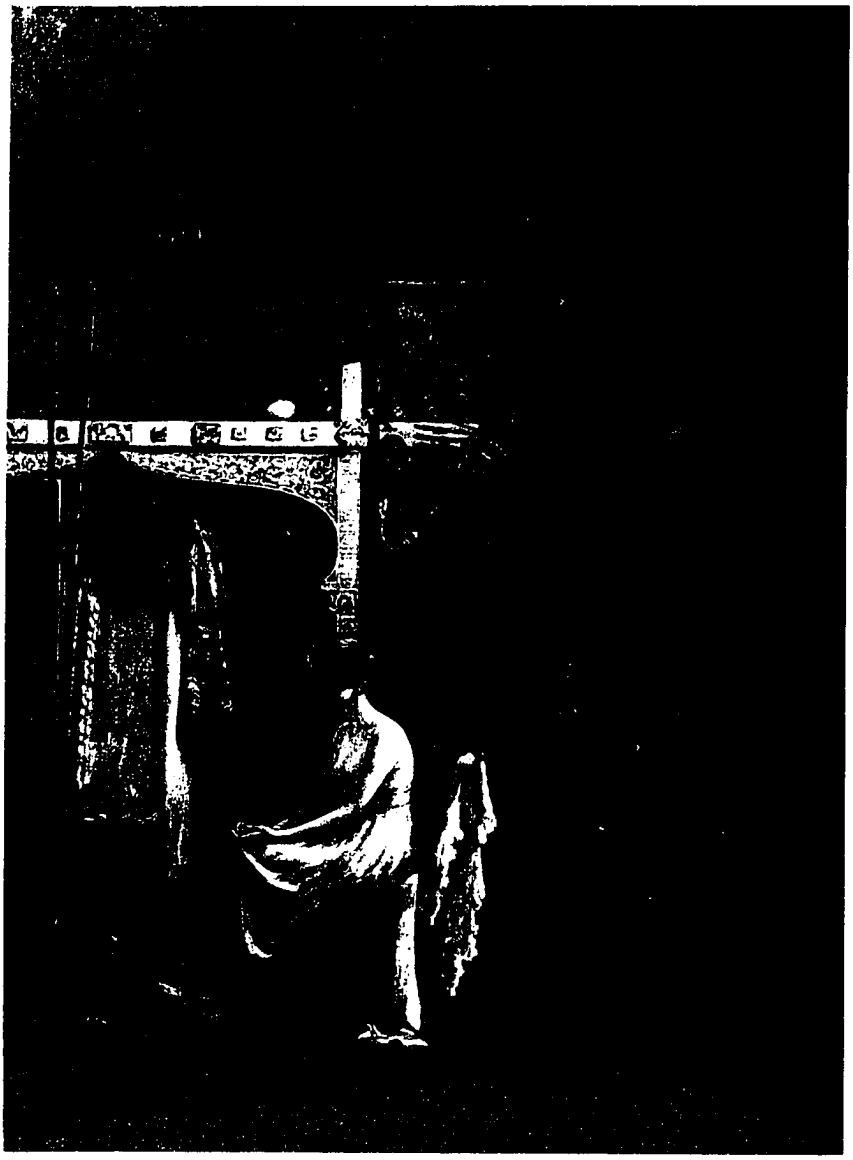

FIGURE 71. Joseph Henry Sharp, *In the Studio,* 1897, oil on canvas, 32 3/4" x 22 1/4". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Beacon Hilll Fine Art, New York.

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FIGURE 72. Margaret Leslie Bush-Brown, *Self-Portrait,* 1914, oil on canvas, 56 1/2" x 42 1/2". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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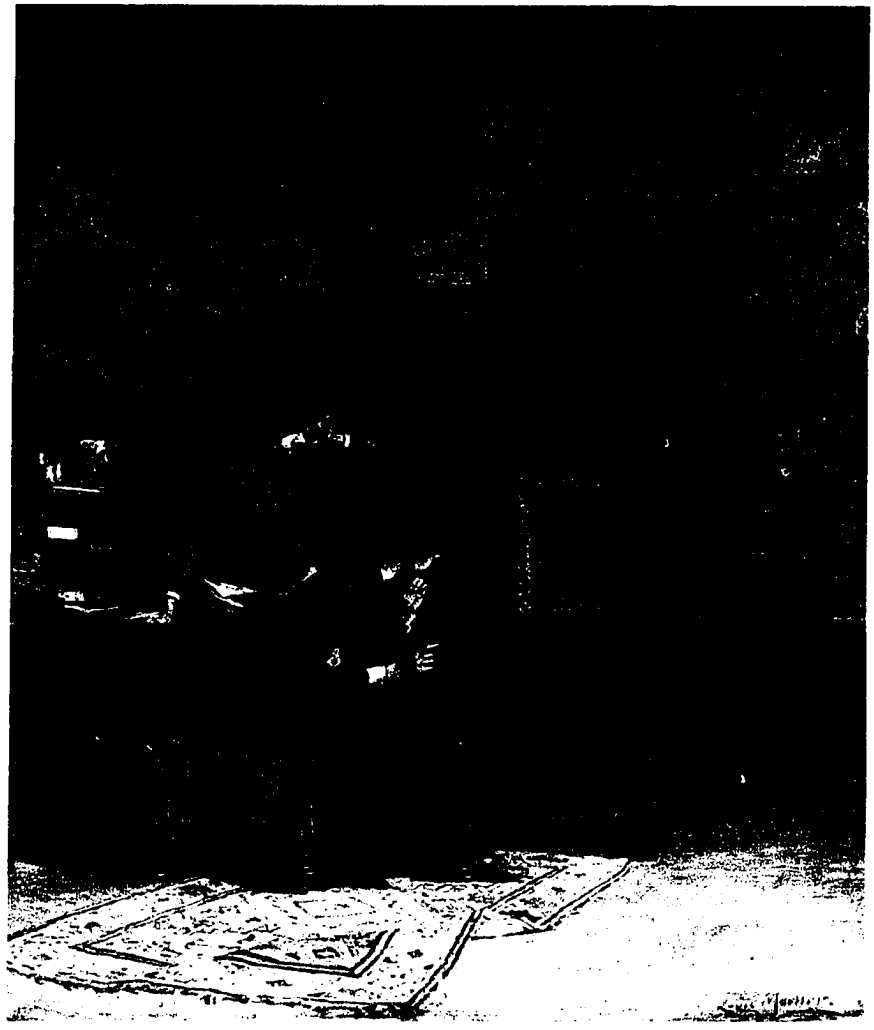

FIGURE 73. Louis C. Moeller, *A Studio Interior* (also called *The Art Critics),* undated, oil on canvas, 12" x 10". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Schwartz Gallery, Philadelphia, and Jodan Volpe Gallery, New York.

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FIGURE 74. George Newell Bowers, *The Newsboy*, 1889, oil on canvas, 18" x 14 ¼". Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA.

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FIGURE 75. Ignaz Marcel Gaugengigl, *The Painter*, undated, oil on panel, 8 1/4" x 5 5/8". The Dahesh Museum, New York.

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FIGURE 76. Arthur F. Mathews, *Paris Studio Interior,* c. 1887, oil on canvasboard, 20" x 24". The Oakland Museum, Oakland, CA.

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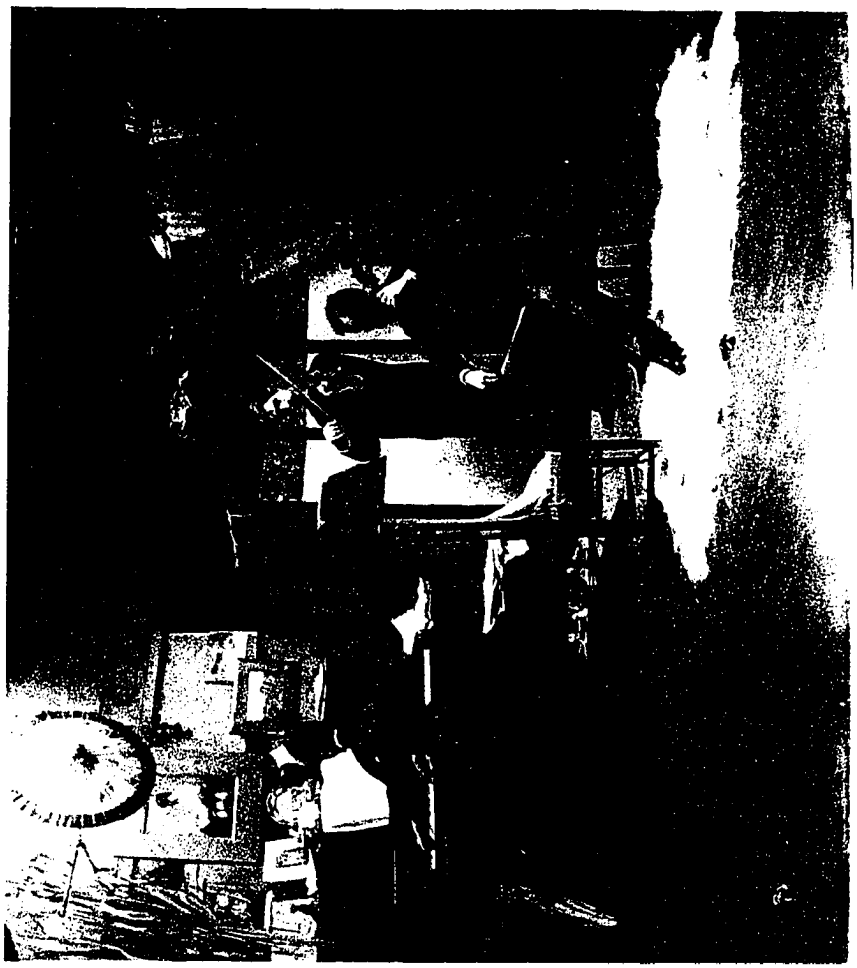

FIGURE 77. Stacy Tolman, *The Musicale,* 1887, oil on canvas, 36 1/8" x 46". The Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

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FIGURE 78. Kenyon Cox, *Augustus Saint-Gaudens,* 1908, oil on canvas, 33 1/2" x 47 1/8". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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FIGURE 79. William Merritt Chase, *The Ring Toss,* c. 1896, oil on canvas, 40 3/8" x 35 1/8". Private collection.

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FIGURE 80. William Merritt Chase, *A Friendly Call,* 1895, oil on canvas, 30 1/4" x 48 1/4". National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

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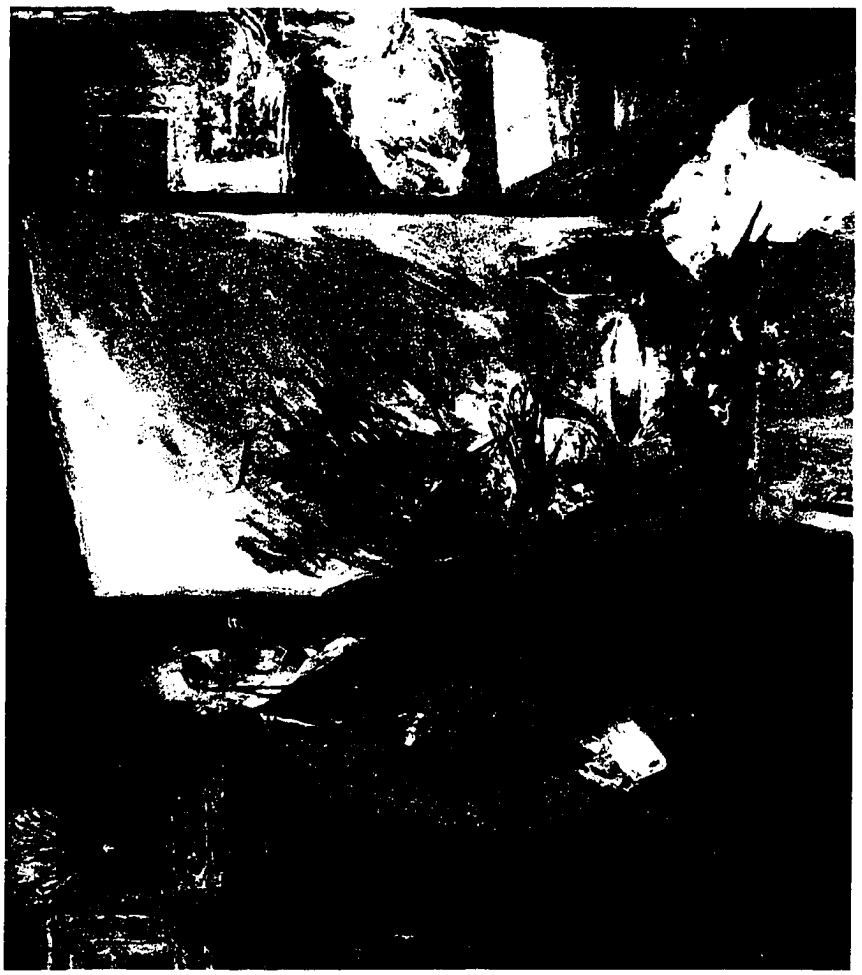

FIGURE 81. William Merritt Chase, *Self-Portrait,* 1915-16, oil on canvas, 52 1/2" x 63 1/2". Art Association of Richmond, Richmond, VA.

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FIGURE 82. William Merritt Chase, *Portait of Miss Dora Wheeler,* 1883, oil on canvas, 62 1/2" x 65 1/4". The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

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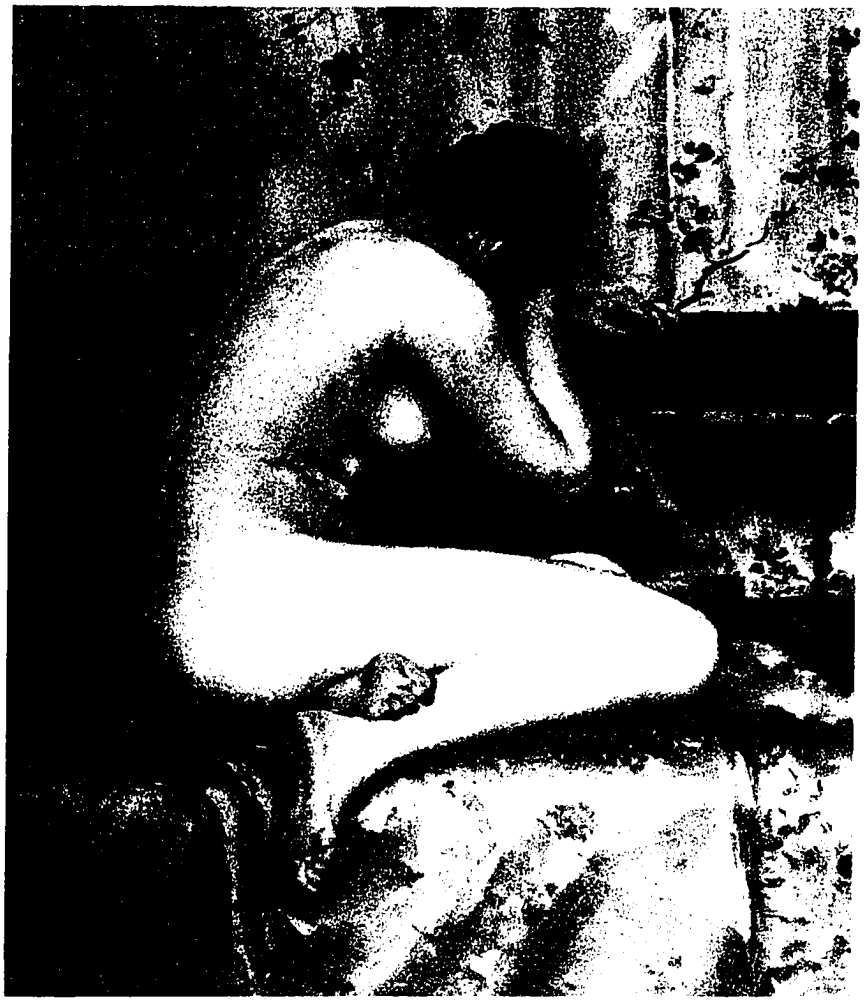

FIGURE 83. William Merritt Chase, *Modern Magdalen,* c. 1888, oil on canvas, 19" x 15 1/4". Private collection.

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FIGURE 84. William Merritt Chase, *Weary,* c. 1889, oil on panel, 9 7/16" x 12 3/8". Private collection; photograph courtesy of Berry-Hill Galleries, New York.

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FIGURE 85. William Merritt Chase, *The Blue Kimono,* c. 1888, oil on canvas, 57" x 44 1/2". The Parish Art Museum, Southampton, NY.

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FIGURE 86. William Merritt Chase, *In the Studio,* 1892, oil on canvas, 29" x 23". Collection of Erving and Joyce Wolf, New York.

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FIGURE 87. William Merritt Chase, *Did You Speak to Me?,* c. 1897, oil on canvas, 35" x 40". The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, OH.

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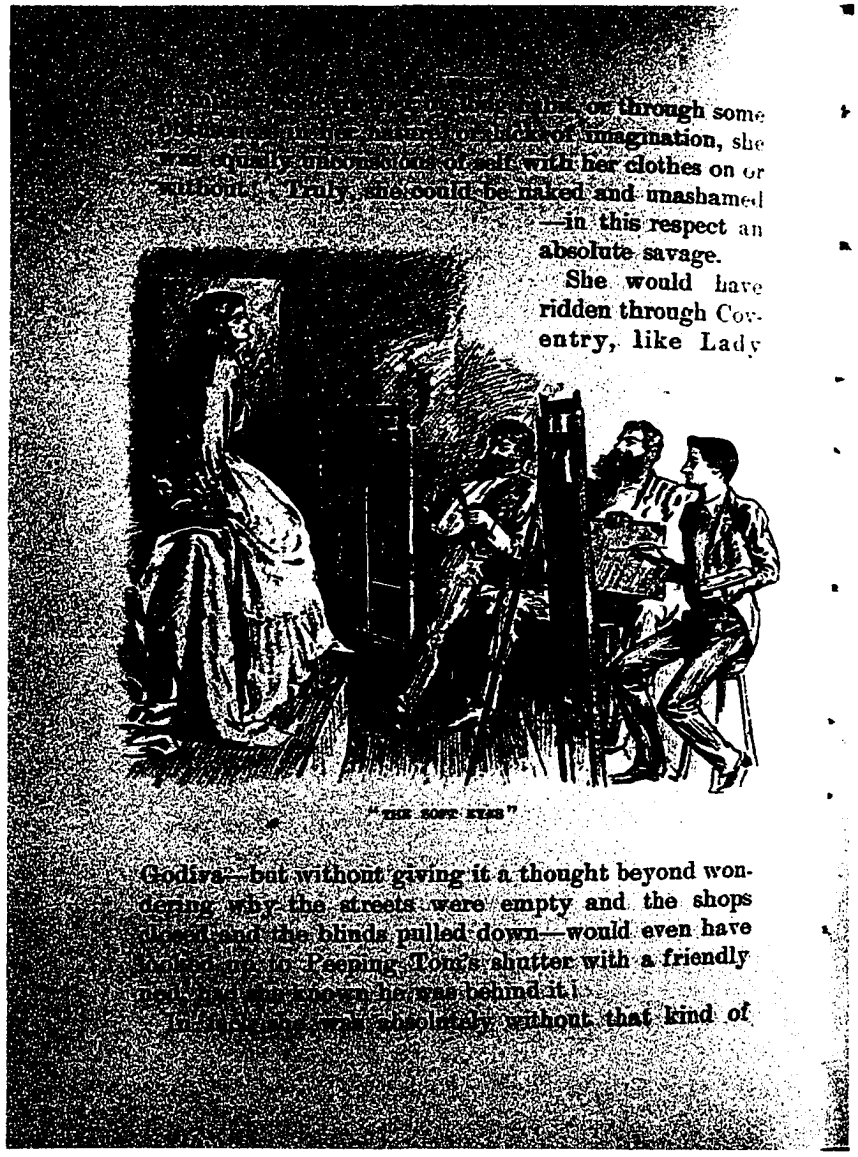

FIGURE 88. George Du Maurier, *The Soft Eyes*. As published in George Du Maurier, *Trilby*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), 98.

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FIGURE 89. William T. Smedley, *The Spanish Dancer Performing*. As published in Charles Dudley Warner, *The Golden House* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895), opp. p. 4.

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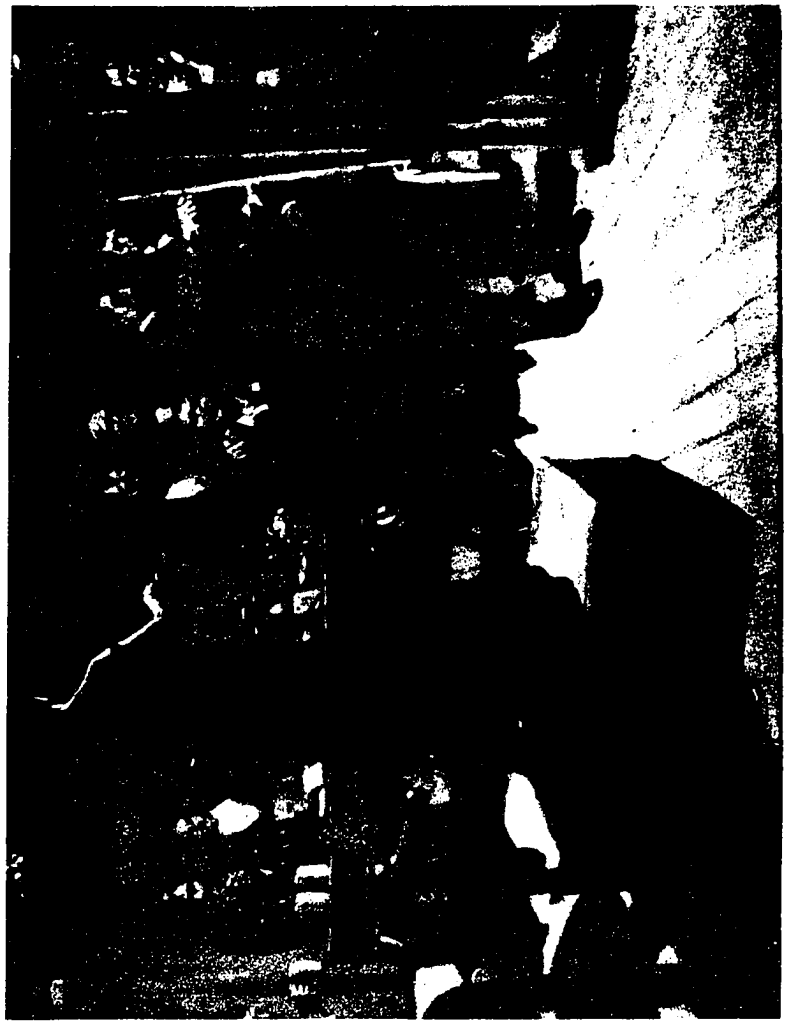

FOR TWO HOURS OLIVER STOOD BEFORE HIS CANVAS.

FIGURE 90. Walter Appleton Clark, *For Two Hours Oliver Stood Before his Canvas.* As published in F. Hopkinson Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), opp. p. 446.

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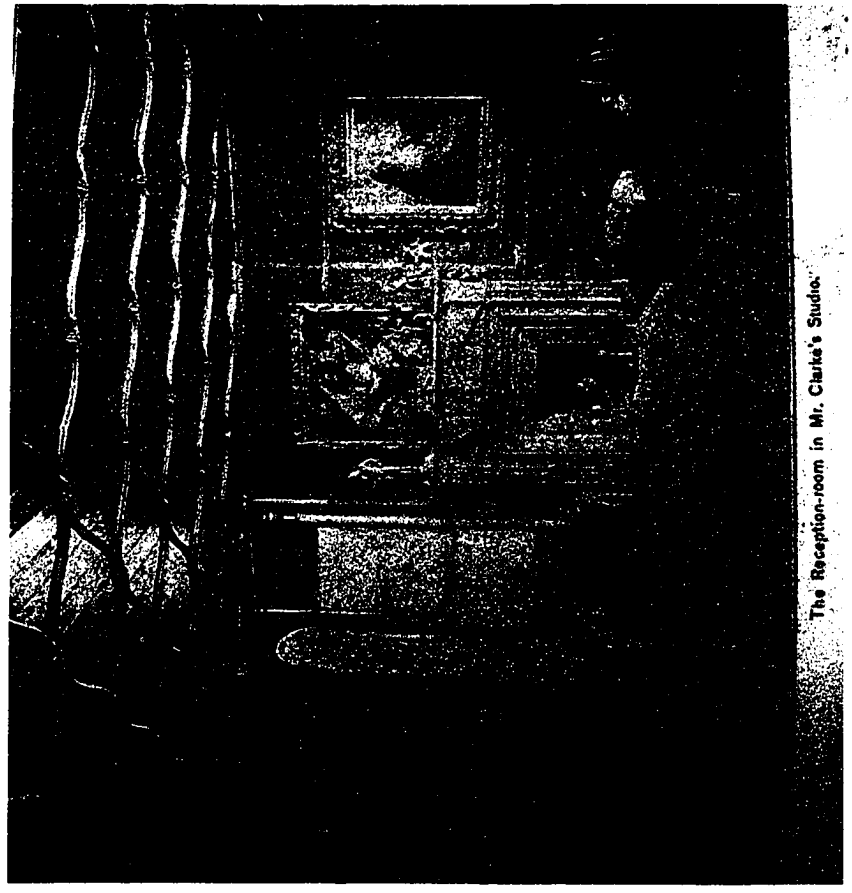

FIGURE 91. Reception room adjoining the studio of Thomas Shields Clarke, New York, c. 1895. As published in W. A. Cooper, "Artists in their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (1895): 471.

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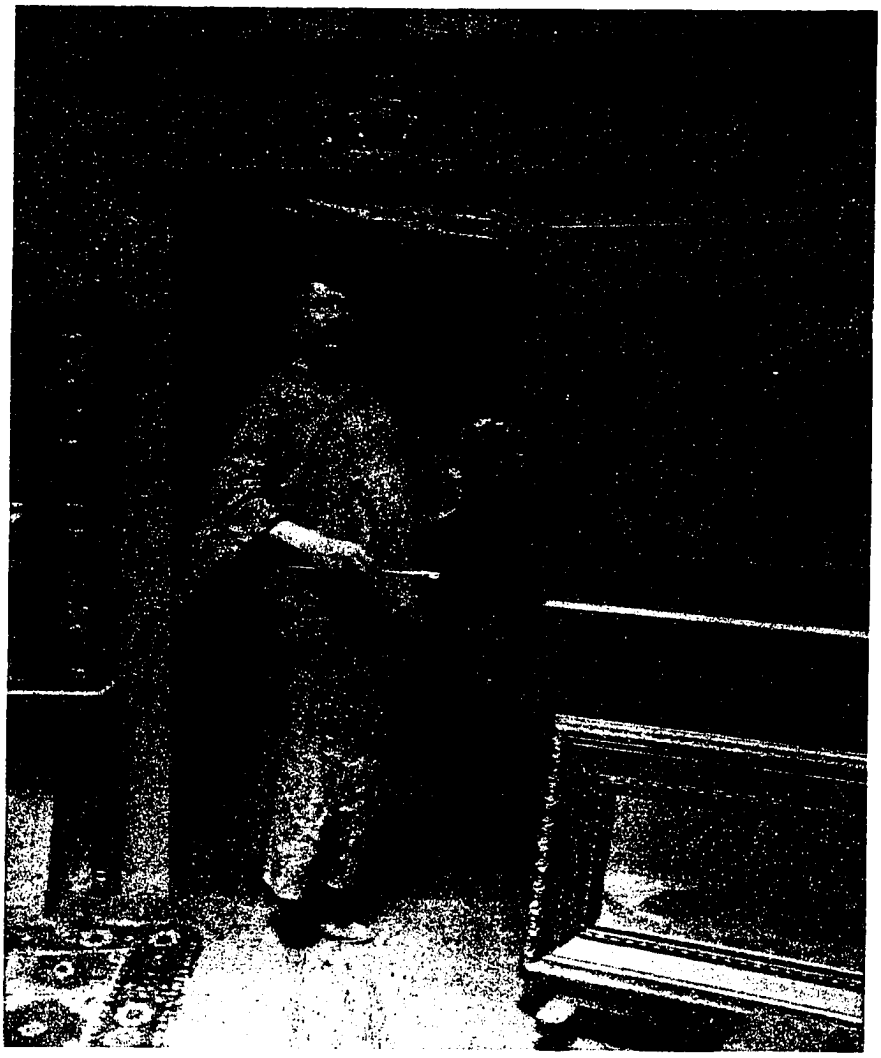

FIGURE 92. Elihu Vedder in his studio, probably Rome, c. 1880s. Vedder Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, roll 671, frame 12.

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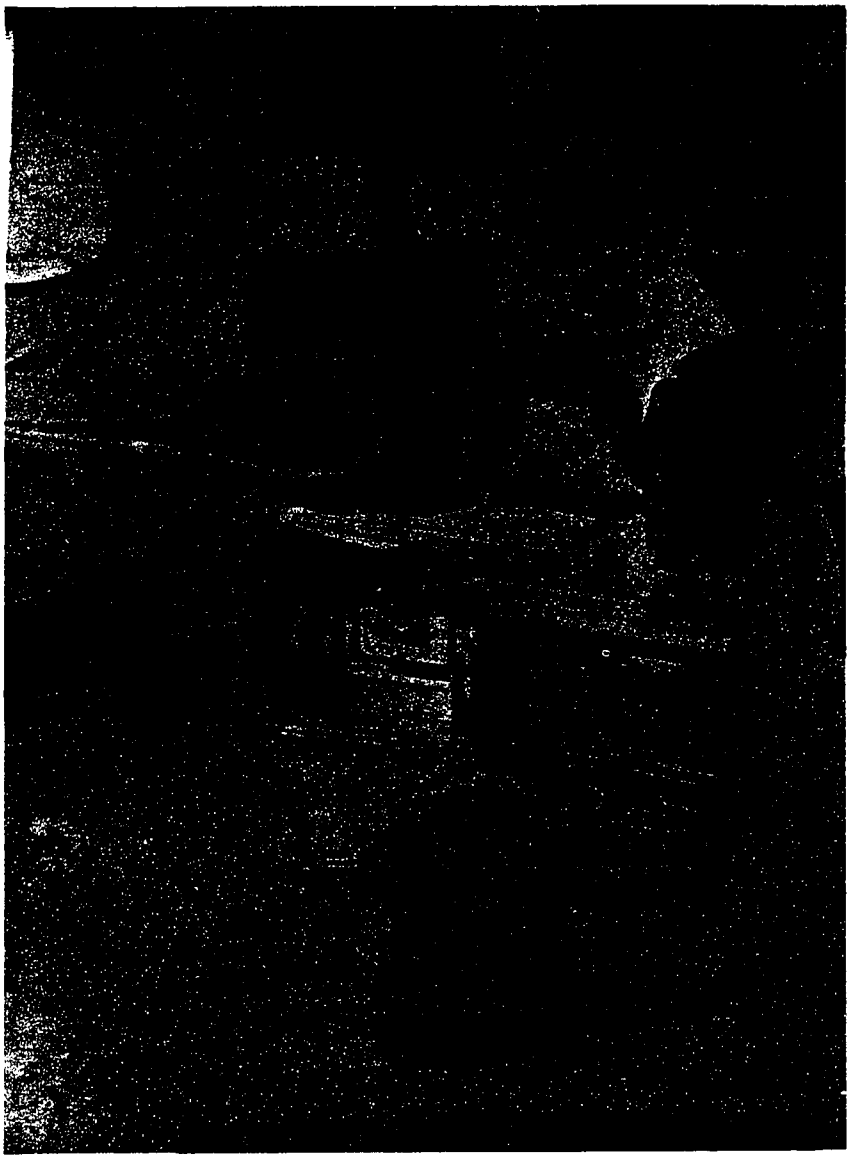

FIGURE 93. William Merritt Chase in his studio at Shinnecock, New York, c. 1893. William Merritt Chase Archives, The Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, NY.

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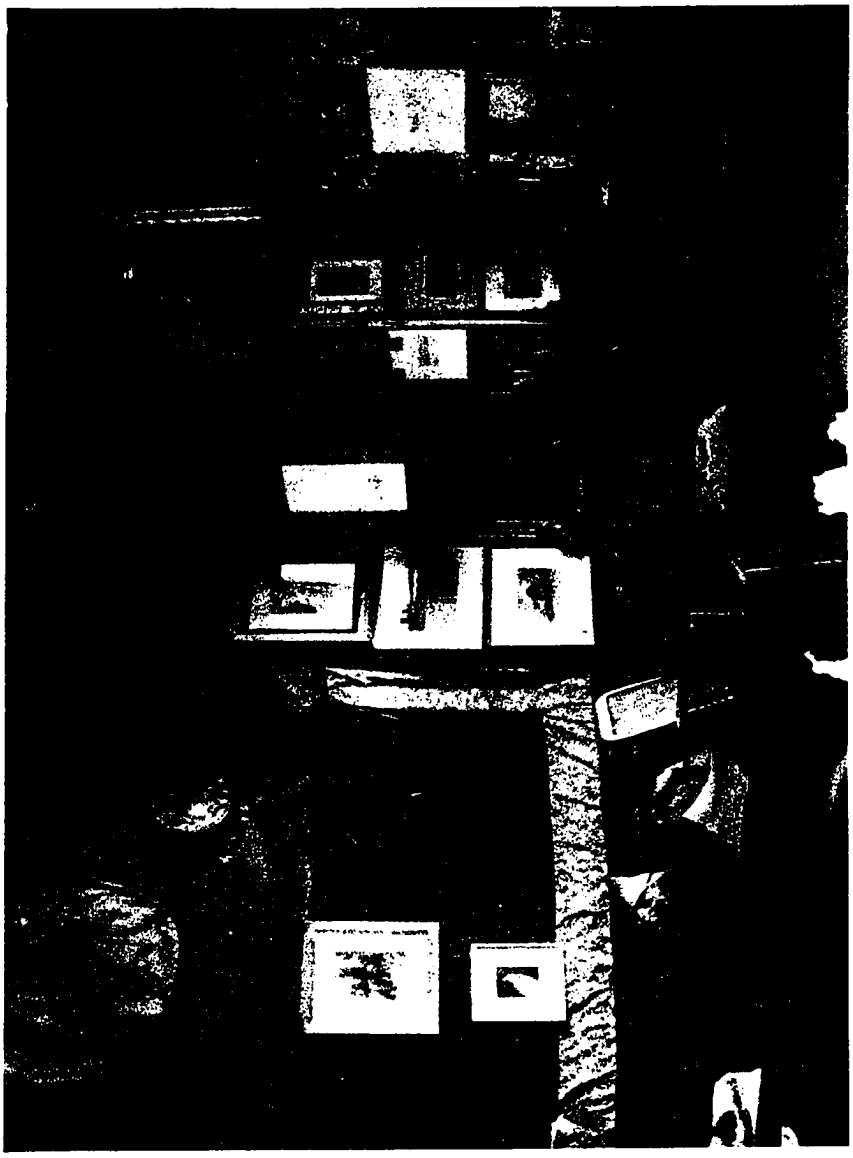

FIGURE 94. William Merritt Chase's studio at Shinnecock, New York, c. 1895. William Merritt Chase Archives, The Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, NY.

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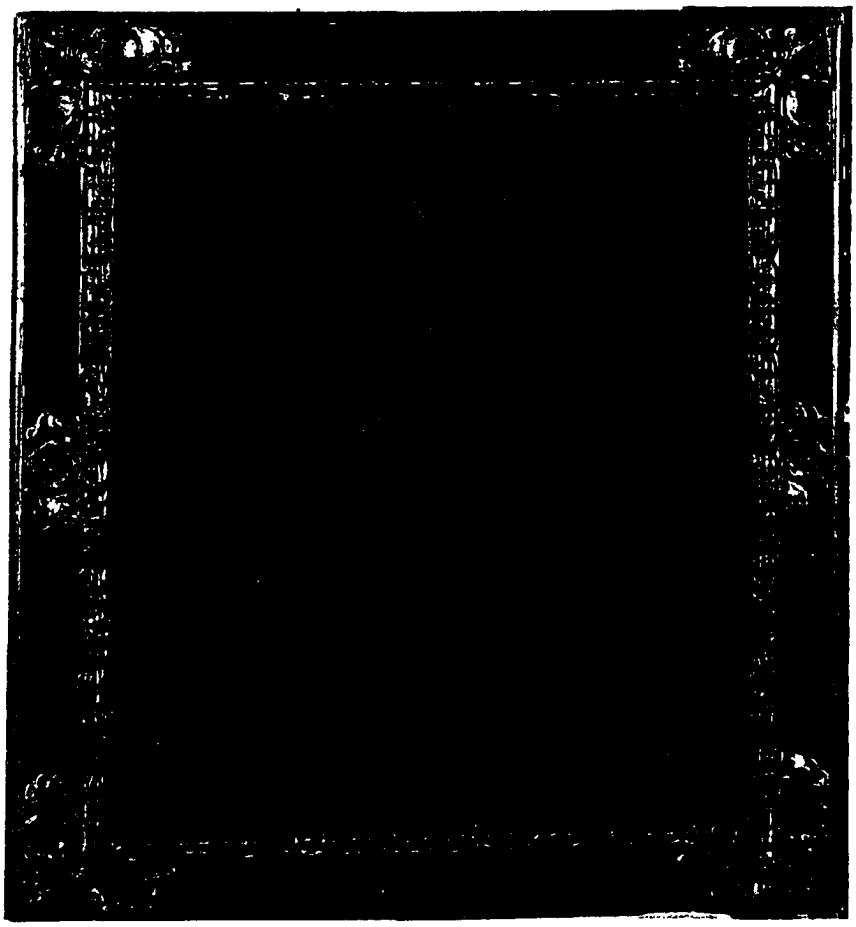

FIGURE 95. William Merritt Chase, *My Little Daughter Helen Velasquez Posing as An Infanta,* 1899, oil on canvas, 30 1/4" x 24 1/8". Private collection.

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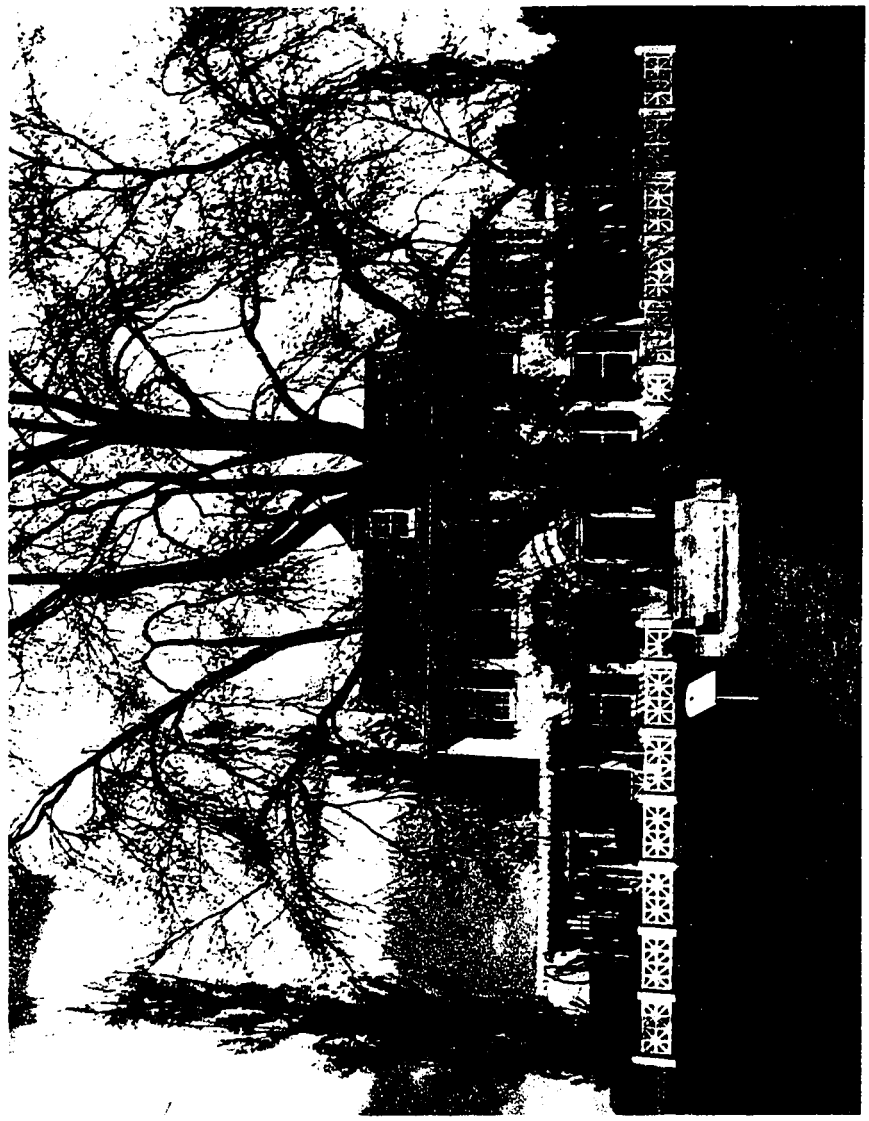

FIGURE 96. Aspet, the home and studio of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Cornish, NH. Photograph by Jeffrey Nintzel, courtesy Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

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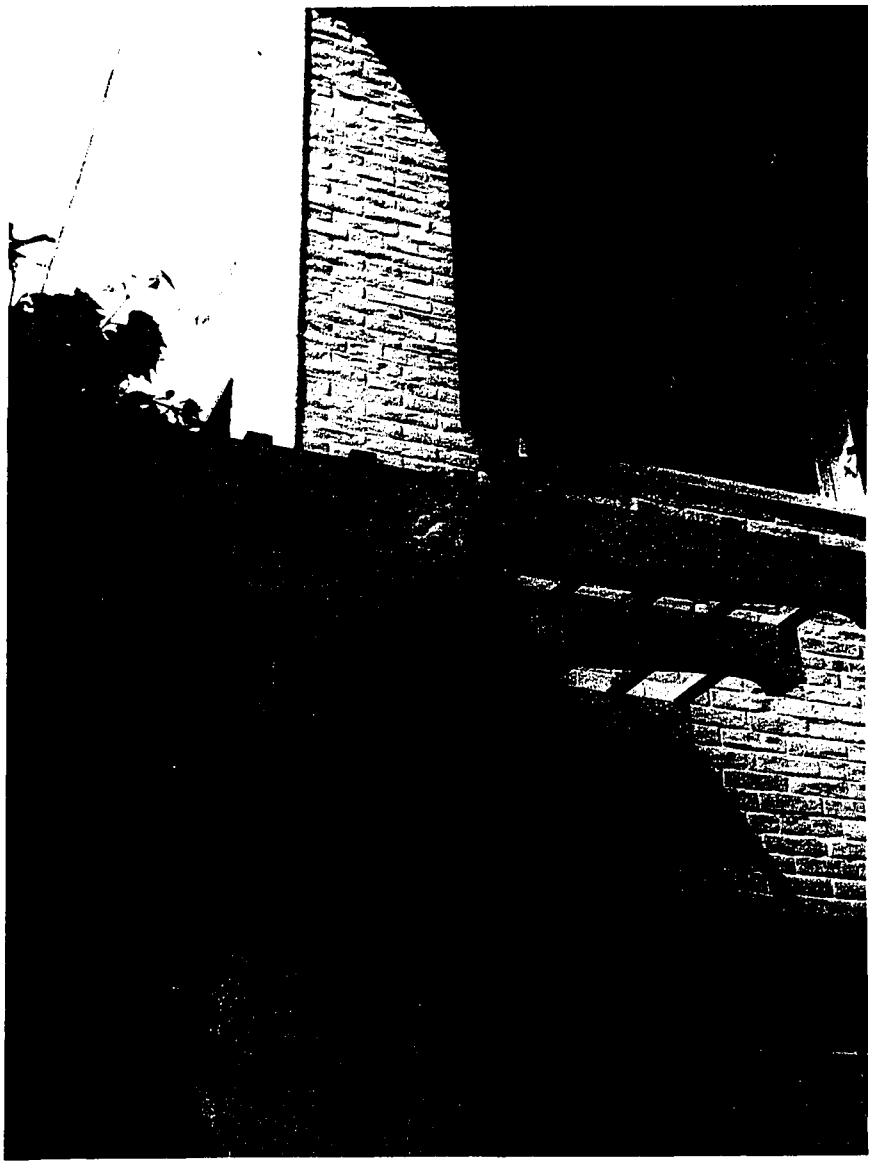

FIGURE 97. Detail of the west porch at Aspet, the home of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Cornish, NH. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1988

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FIGURE 98. The Pan Fountain at Aspet (adjacent to the 1904 Pergola Studio), Cornish, NH. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1988.

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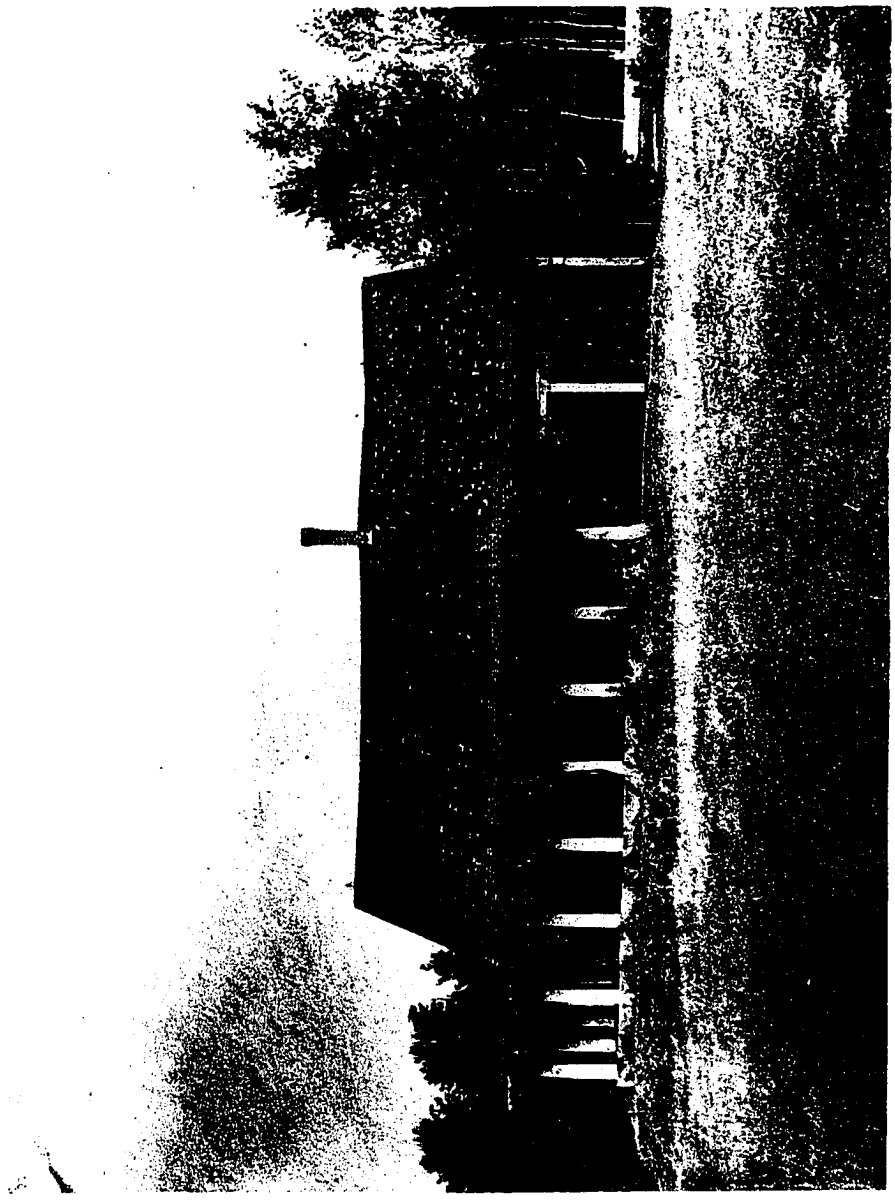

FIGURE 99. The Barn Studio at Aspet, Cornish, NH, before 1903. Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, Dartmouth, NH.

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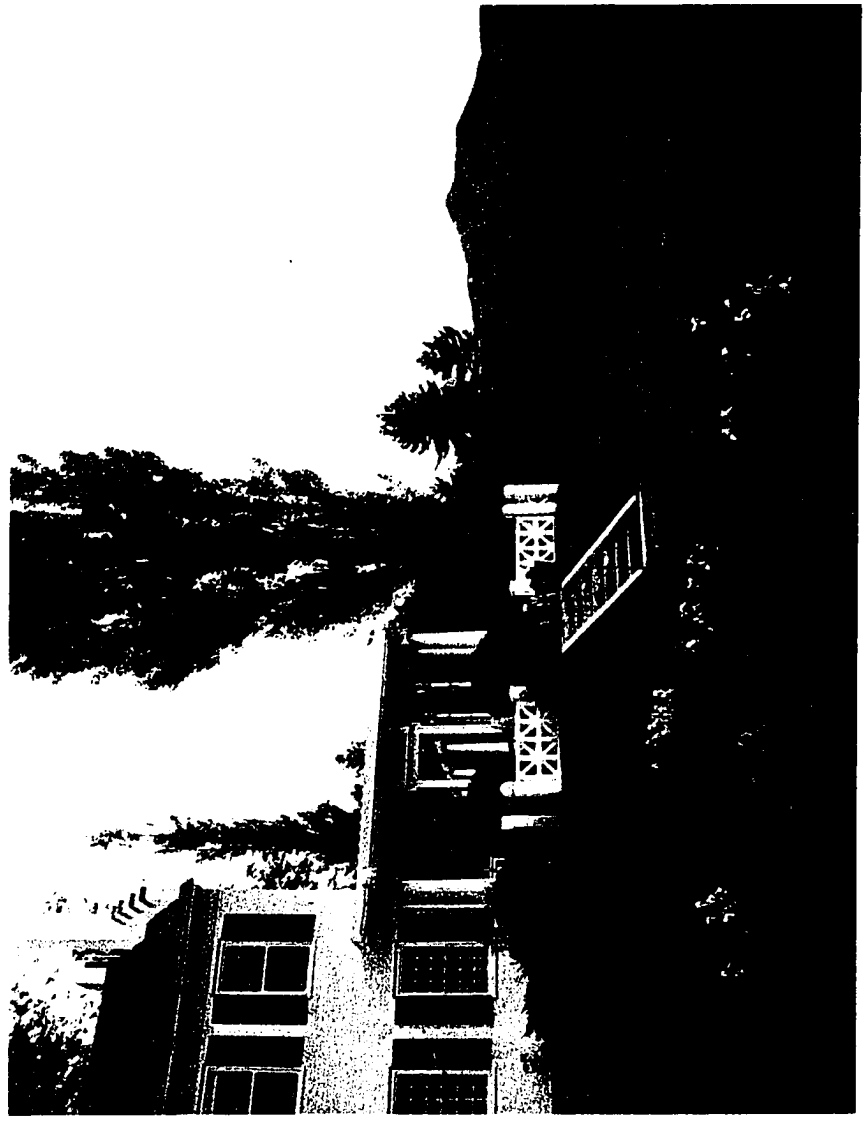

FIGURE 100. Aspet, Cornish, NH, showing its view of Mount Ascutney. Photograph courtesy of Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

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FIGURE 101. The cast of *A Masque of "Ours," The Gods and the Golden Bowl*, performed June 22, 1905. Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, NH.

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FIGURE 102. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Sherman Monument,* dedicated May 30, 1903, bronze with granite pedestal. Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, New York. Photographed by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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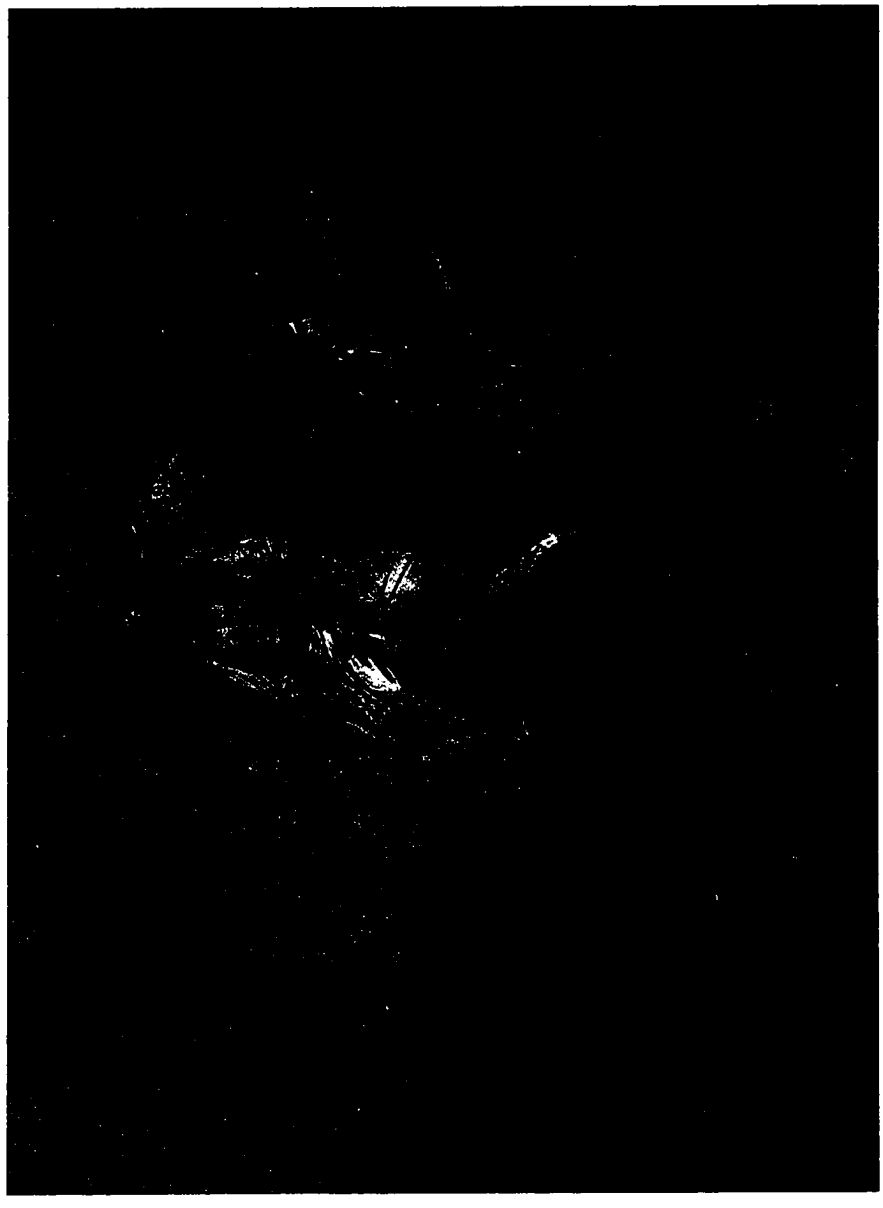

FIGURE 103. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Sherman Monument,* dedicated May 30, 1903, bronze with granite pedestal. Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, New York. Photographed by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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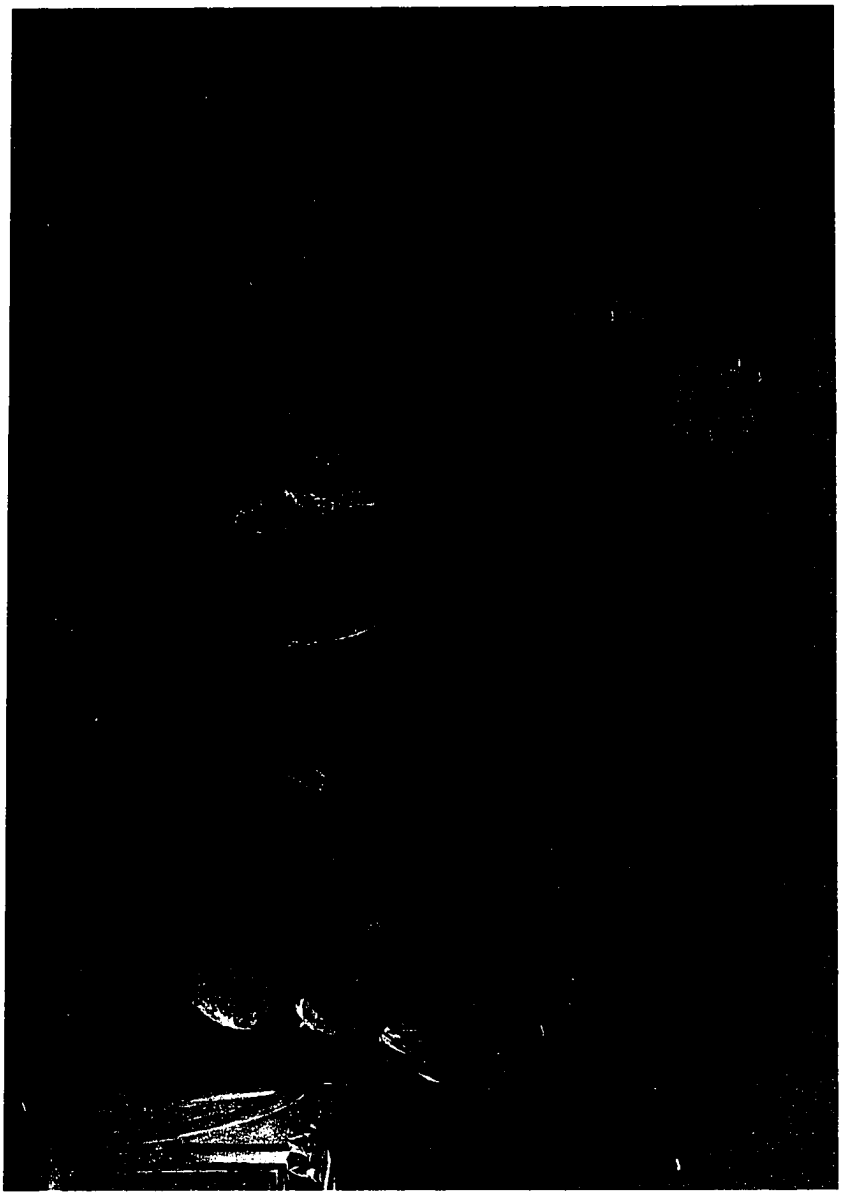

FIGURE 104. Francis Davis Millet, *A Difficult Duet*, by 1886, oil on canvas, 24 1/4" x 36 1/4". Private collection.

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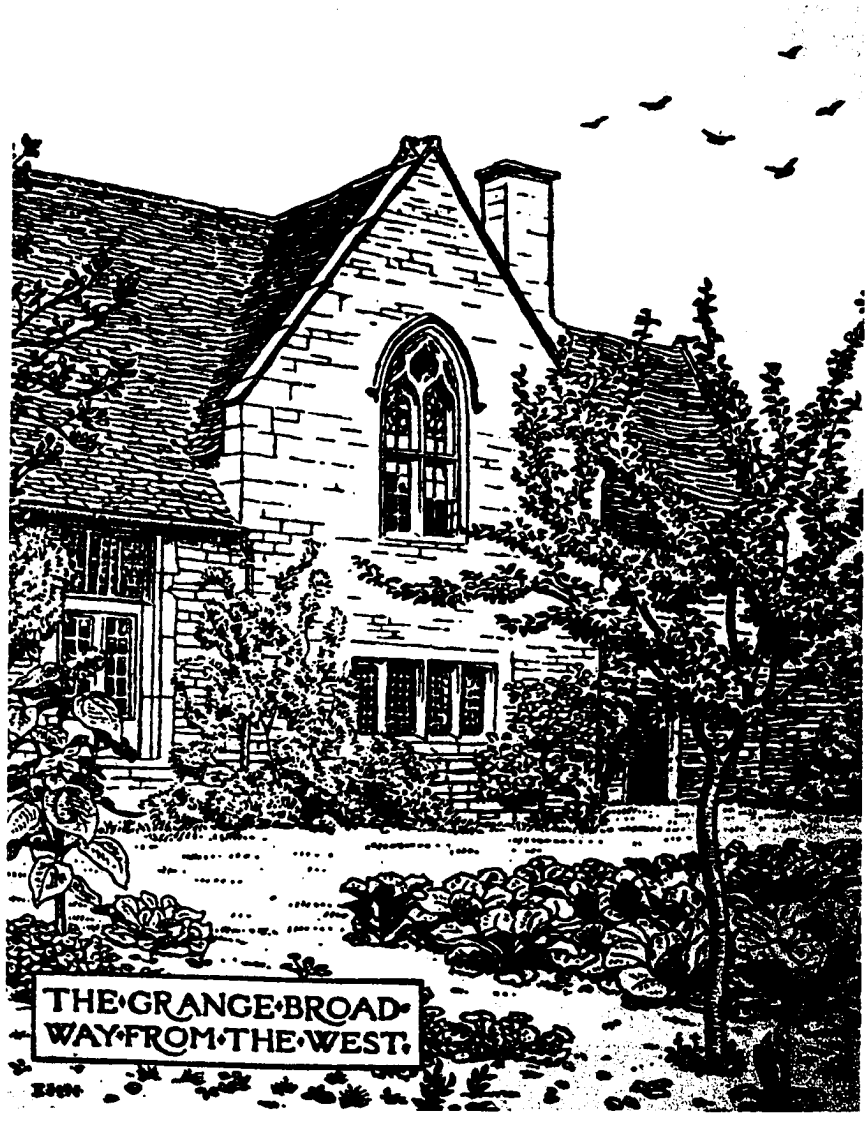

FIGURE 105. E. H. New, *The Grange, Broadway, from the West.* As published in J. R. H., "The Grange at Broadway," *The Quest*, (Birmingham, England), 1 (November 1894): 10.

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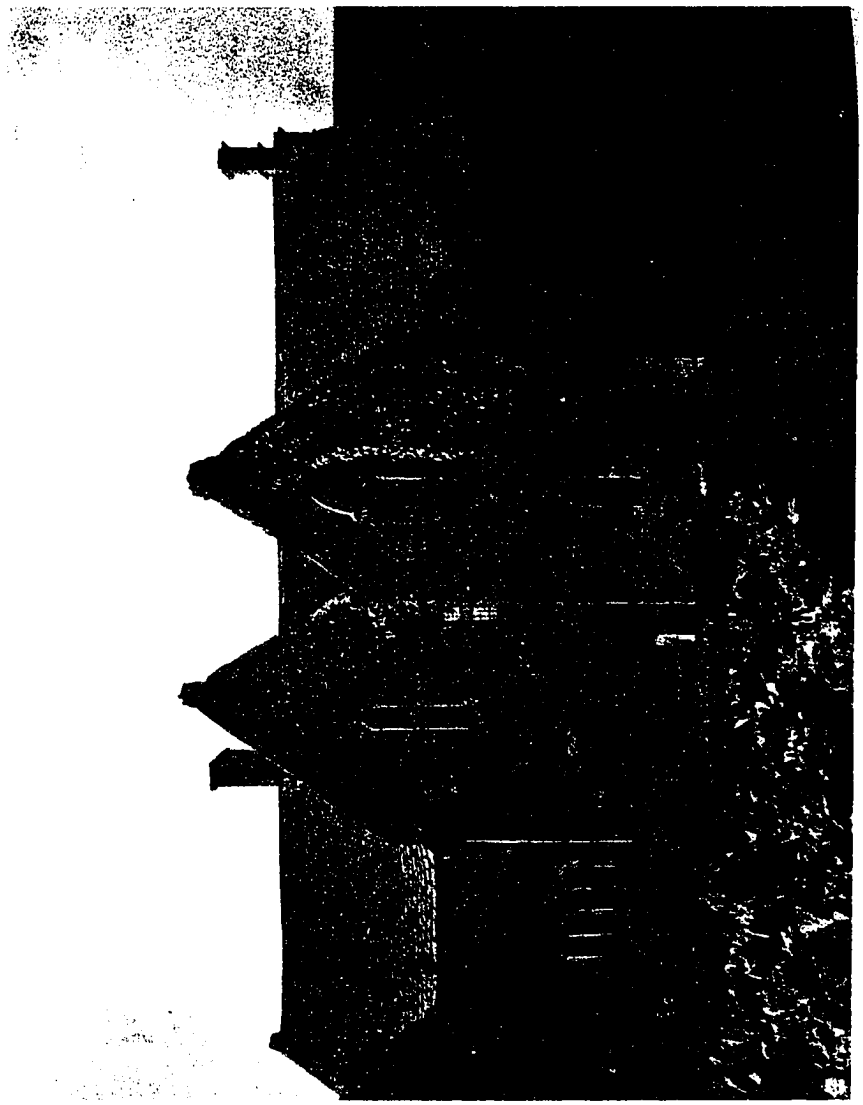

FIGURE 106. Hudson and Kearns, Ltd., *East Elevation of the Abbot's Grange.* As published in T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcester, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet, *Country Life,* 29, (14 January 1911): 54.

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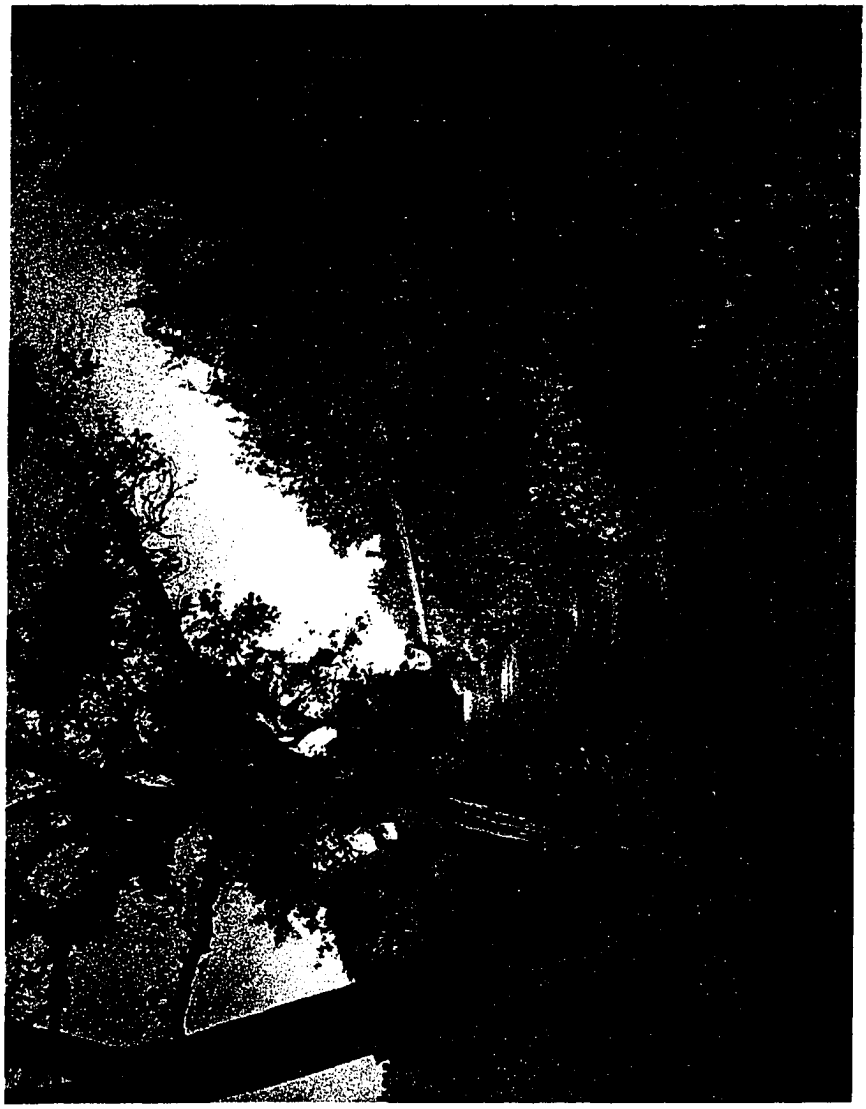

FIGURE 107. Hudson and Kearns Ltd., *The Flowery Way from Abbot's Grange to Russell House.* As published in T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcester, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet, *Country Life,* 29 (14 January 1911): 57.

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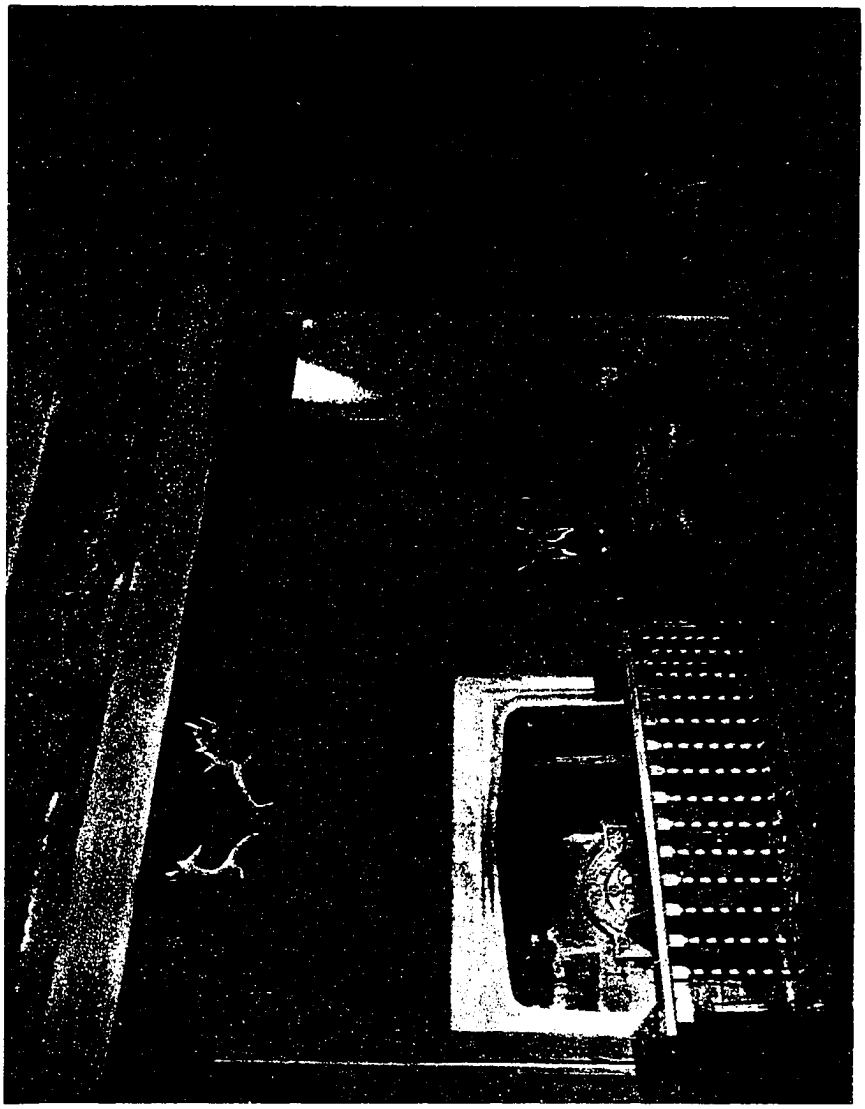

FIGURE 108. Hudson and Kearns, Ltd., *The Elizabethan Parlor.* As published in T., "The Abbot's Grange, and Russell House, Broadway, Worcester, the Residence of Mr. F. D. Millet, *Country Life,* 29 (14 January 1911): 56.

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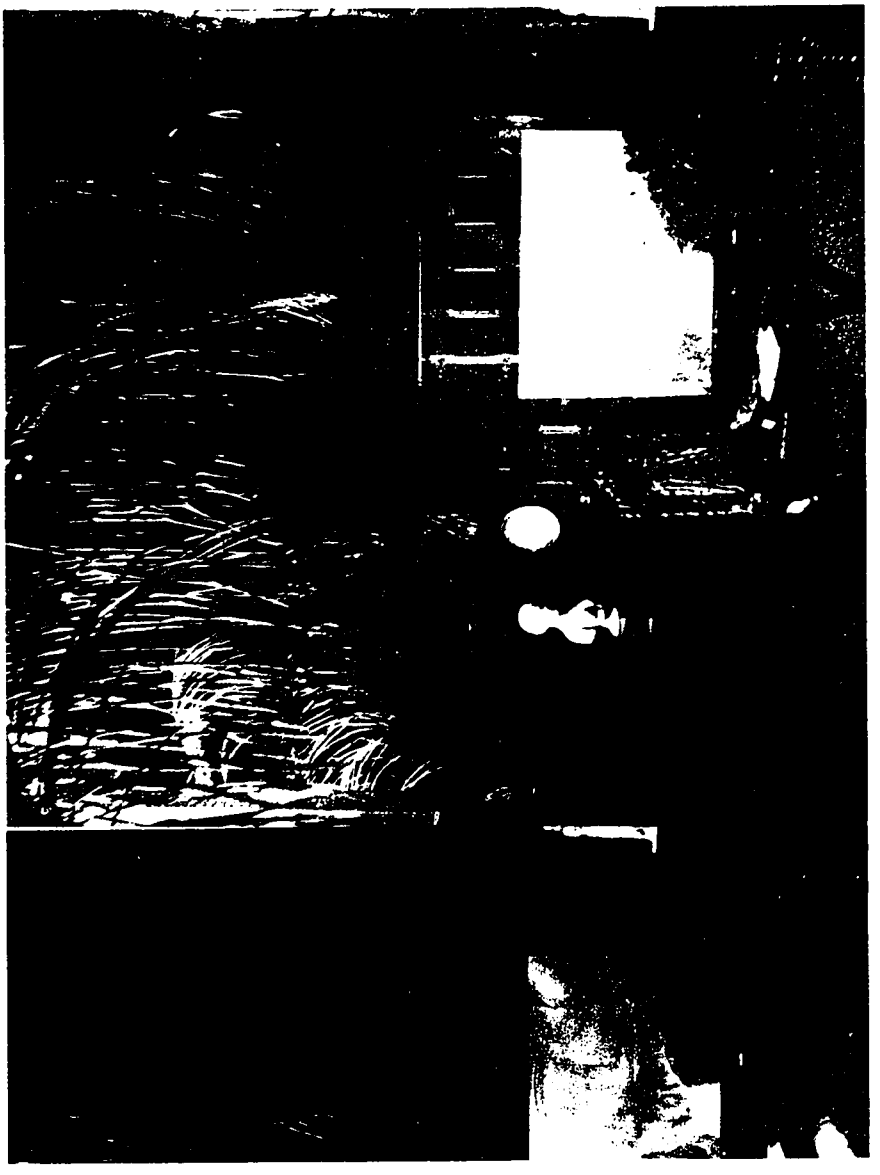

FIGURE 109. Frederic Edwin Church's studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building, stereograph by S. Beer, New York, c. 1865. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

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FIGURE 110. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the view across the lake towards the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

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FIGURE 111. John Eberle, photograph of the east facade of the main residence at Olana, 1906, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

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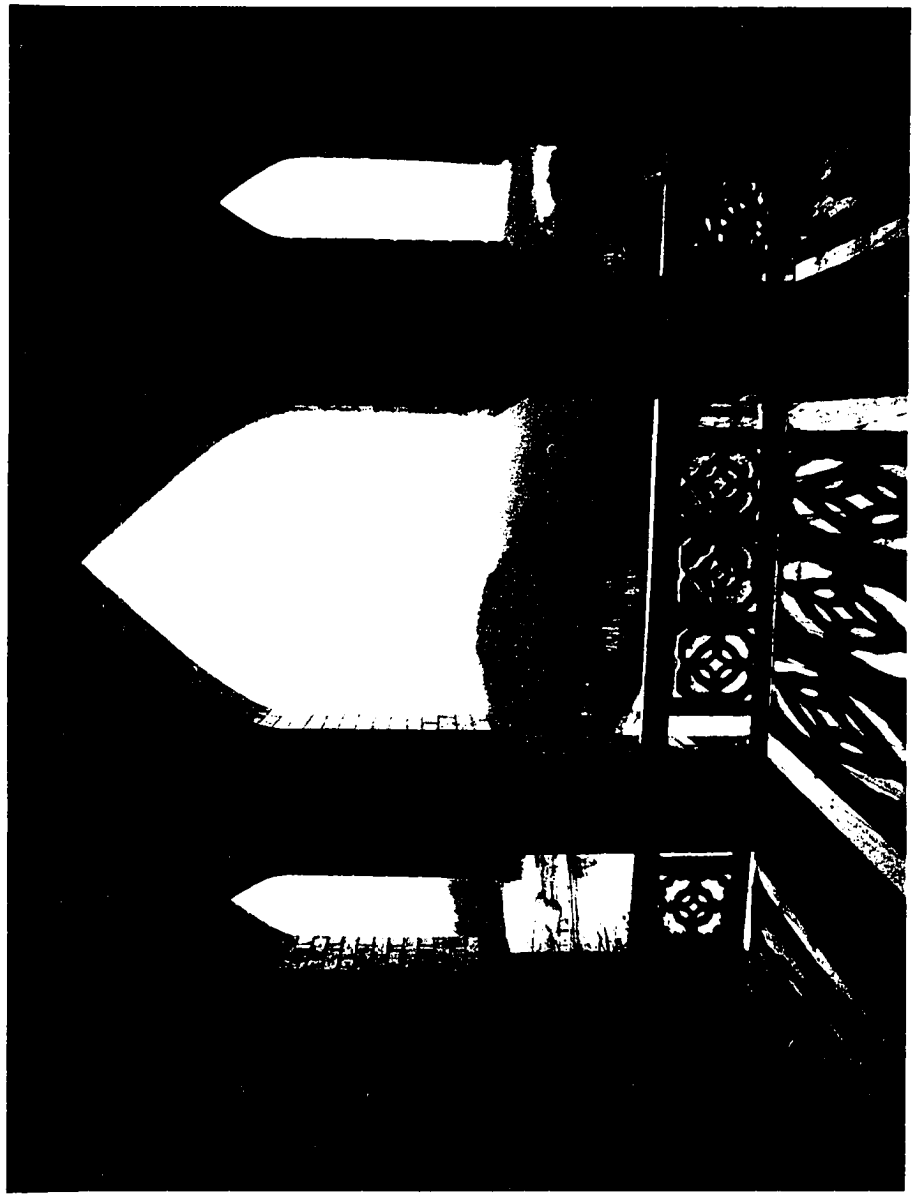

FIGURE 112. View from the bell tower of the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997

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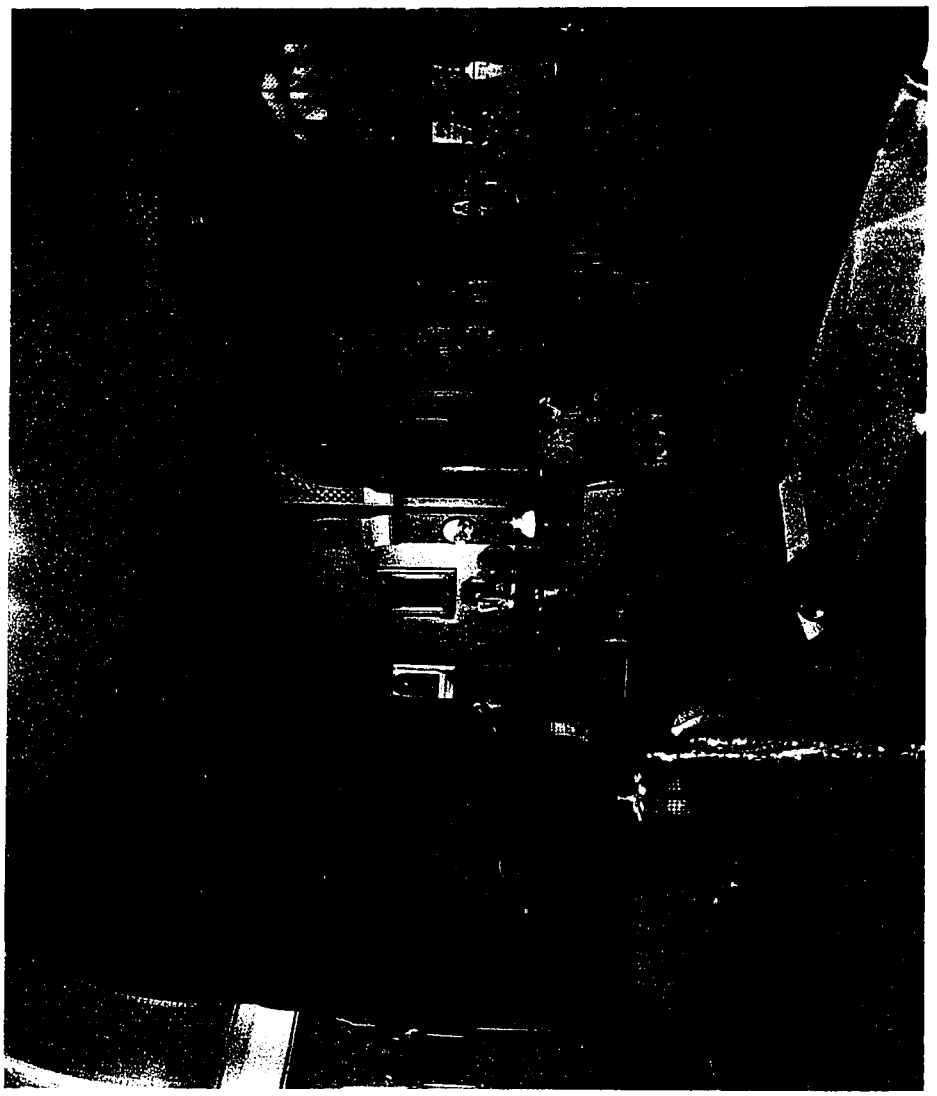

FIGURE 113. The court hall, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

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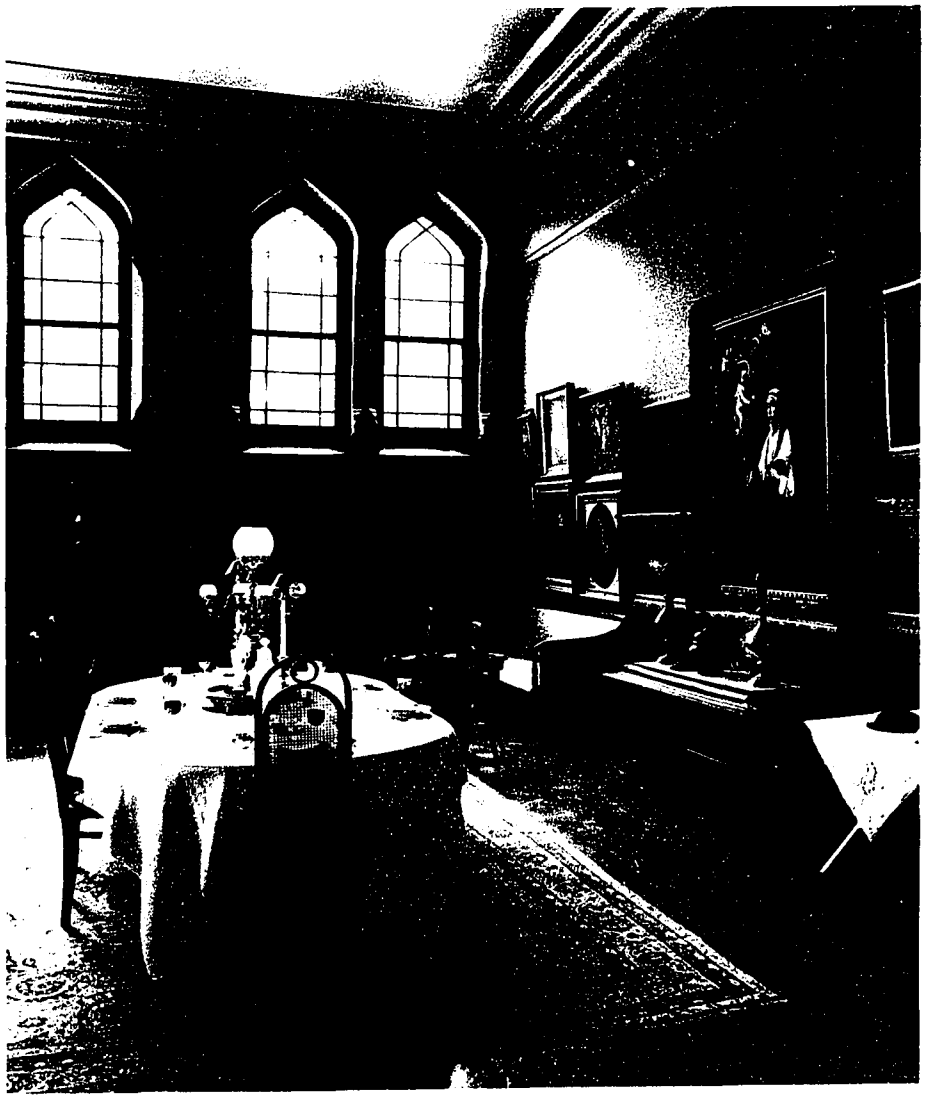

FIGURE 114. The dining room / picture gallery, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

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FIGURE 115. The sitting room, main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

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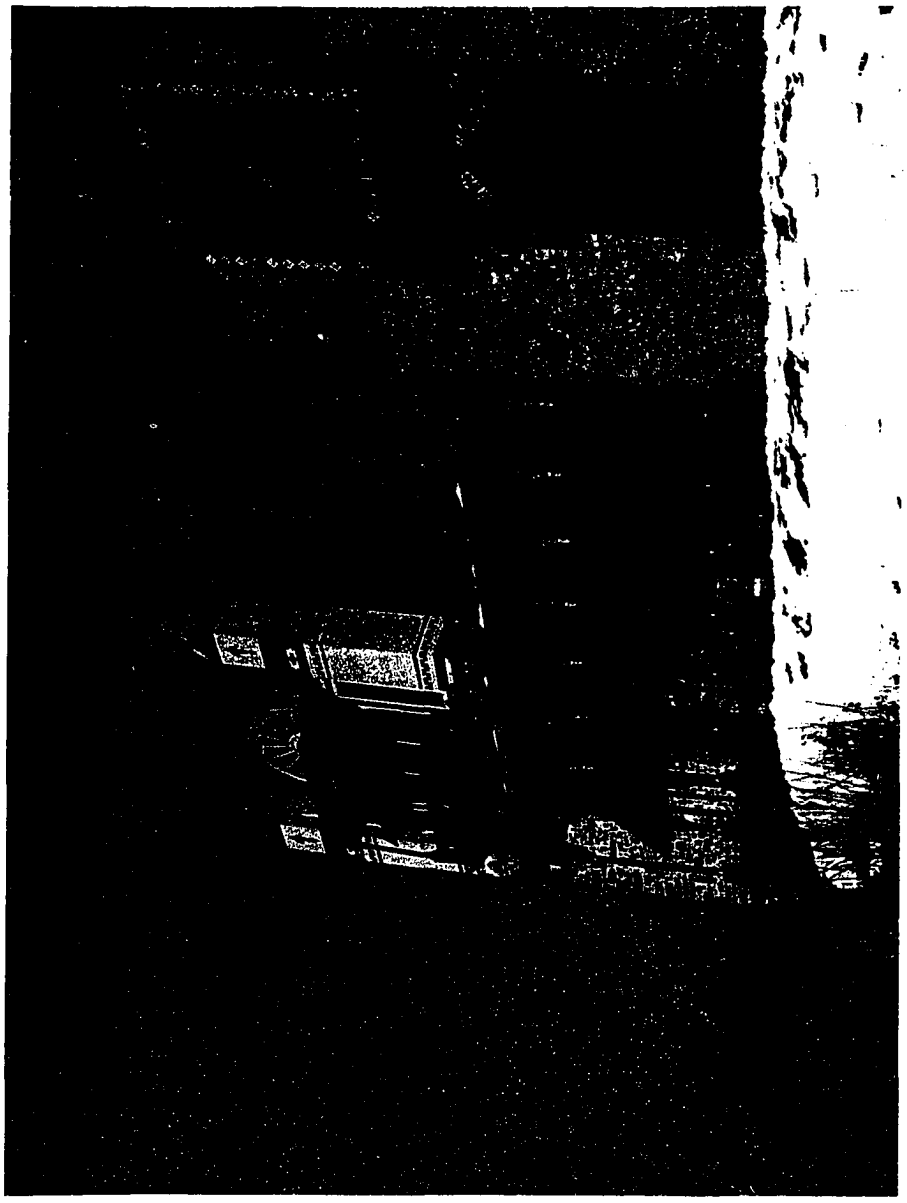

FIGURE 116. South elevation of the studio wing on the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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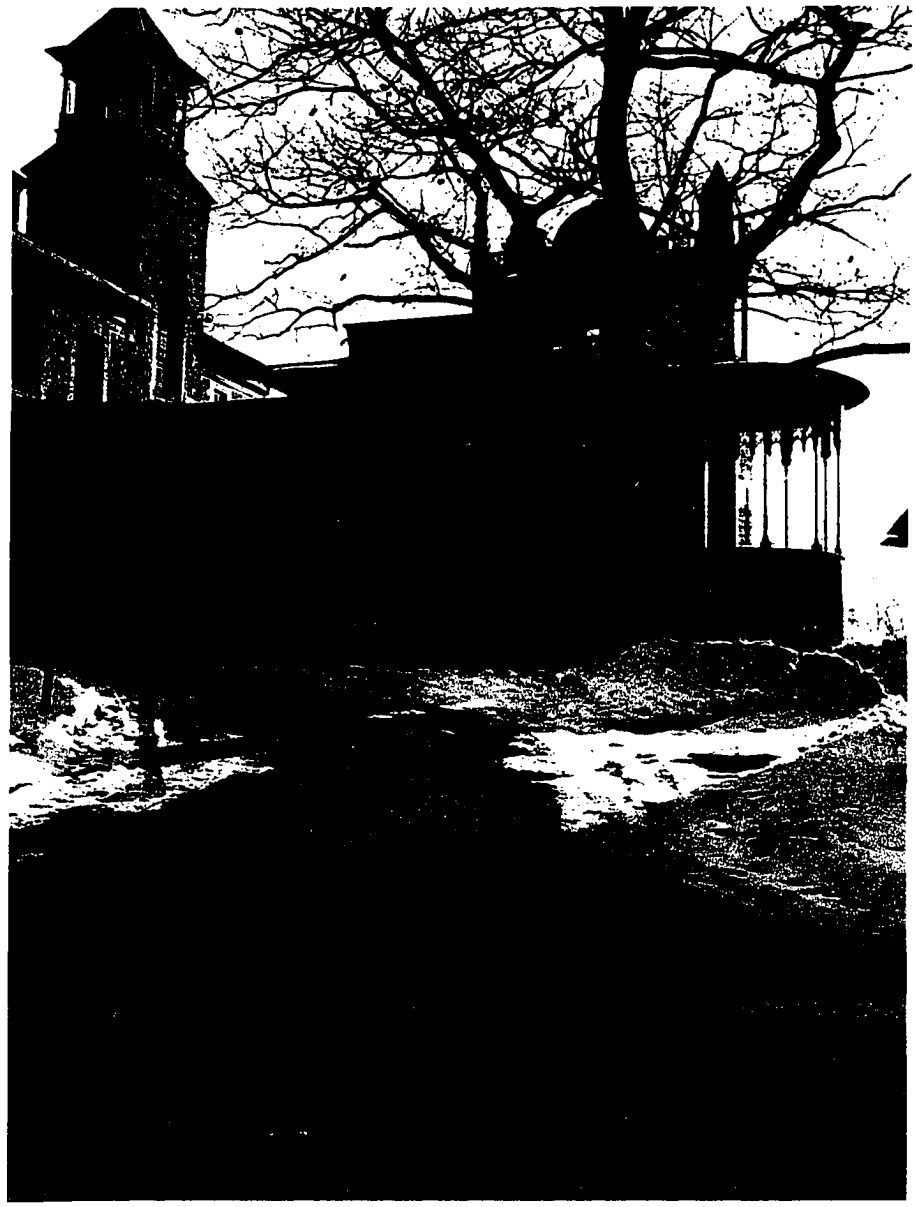

FIGURE 117. North elevation of the studio wing on the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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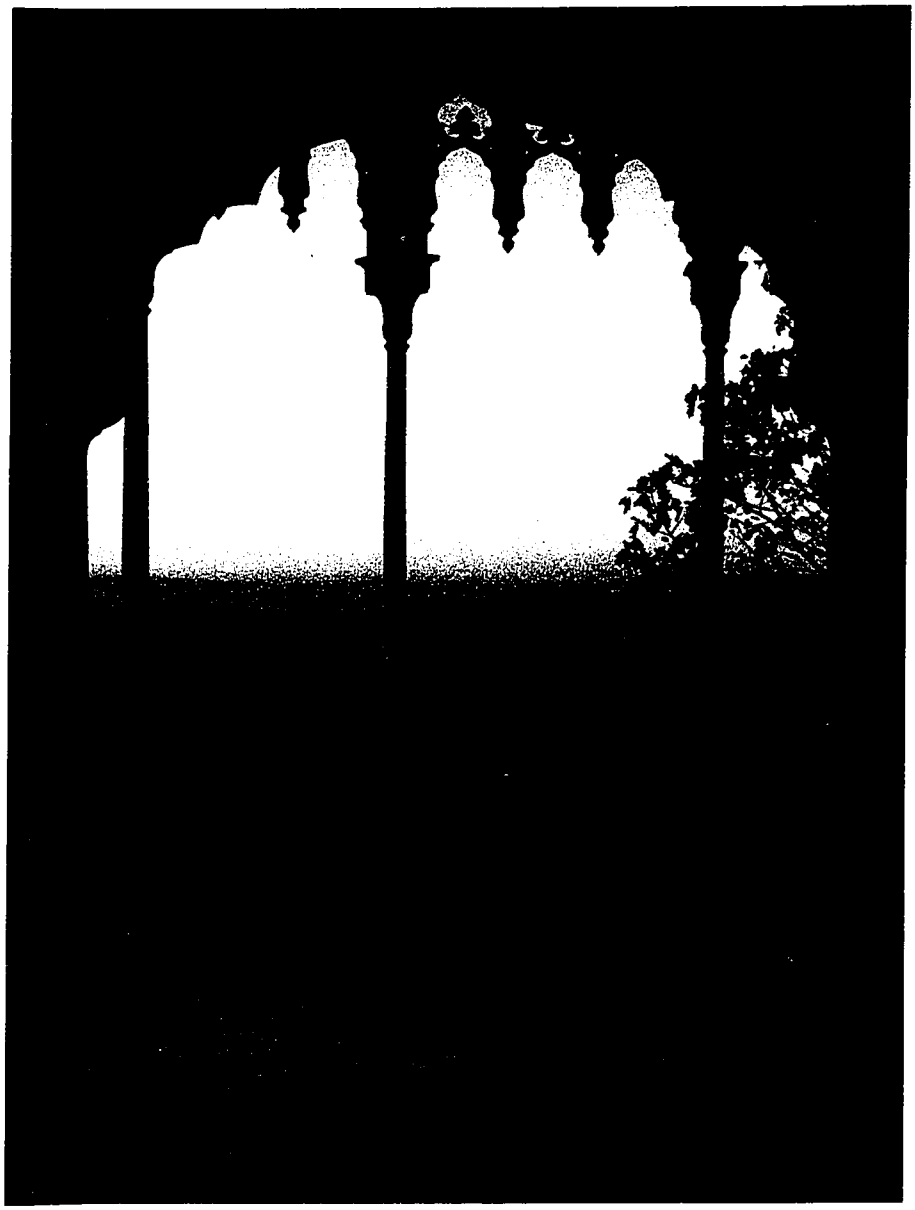

FIGURE 118. West view from the studio window in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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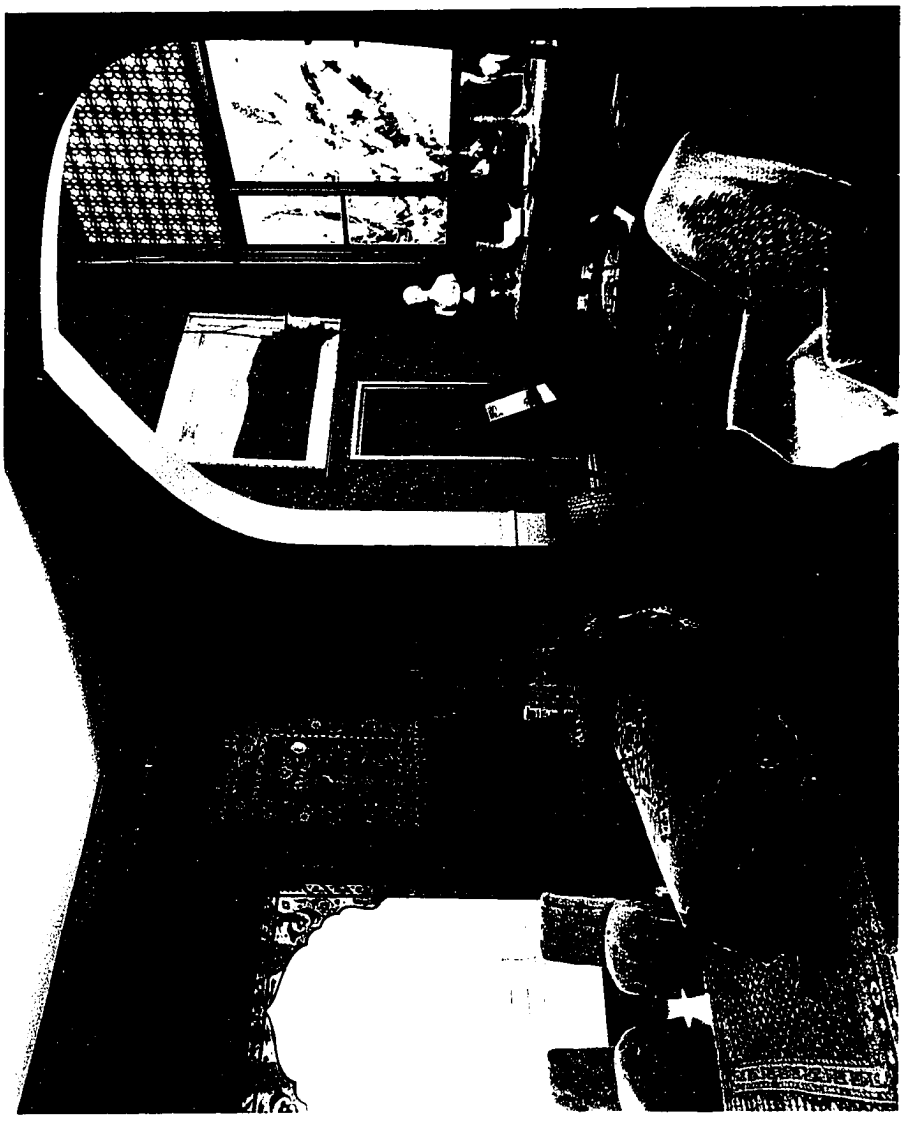

FIGURE 119. The studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

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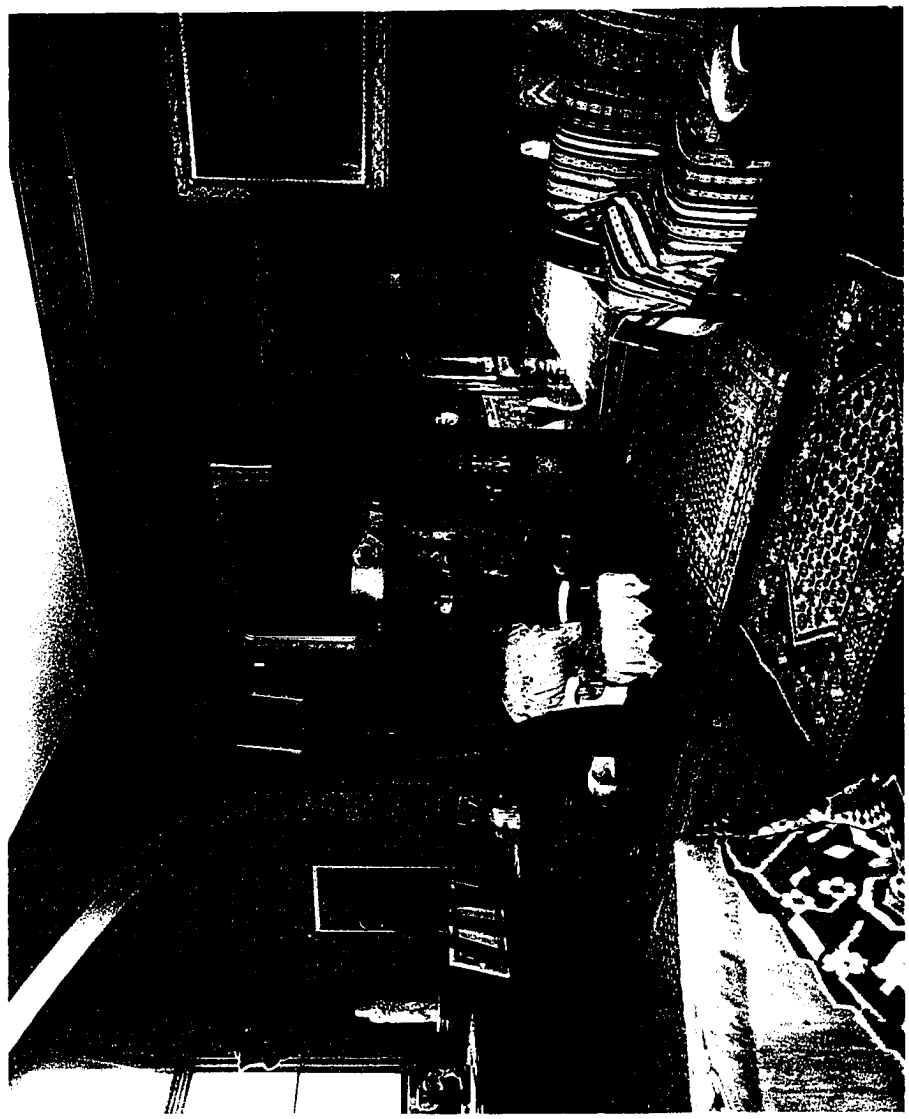

FIGURE 120. The studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Kurt Dolnier, 1996.

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FIGURE 121. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

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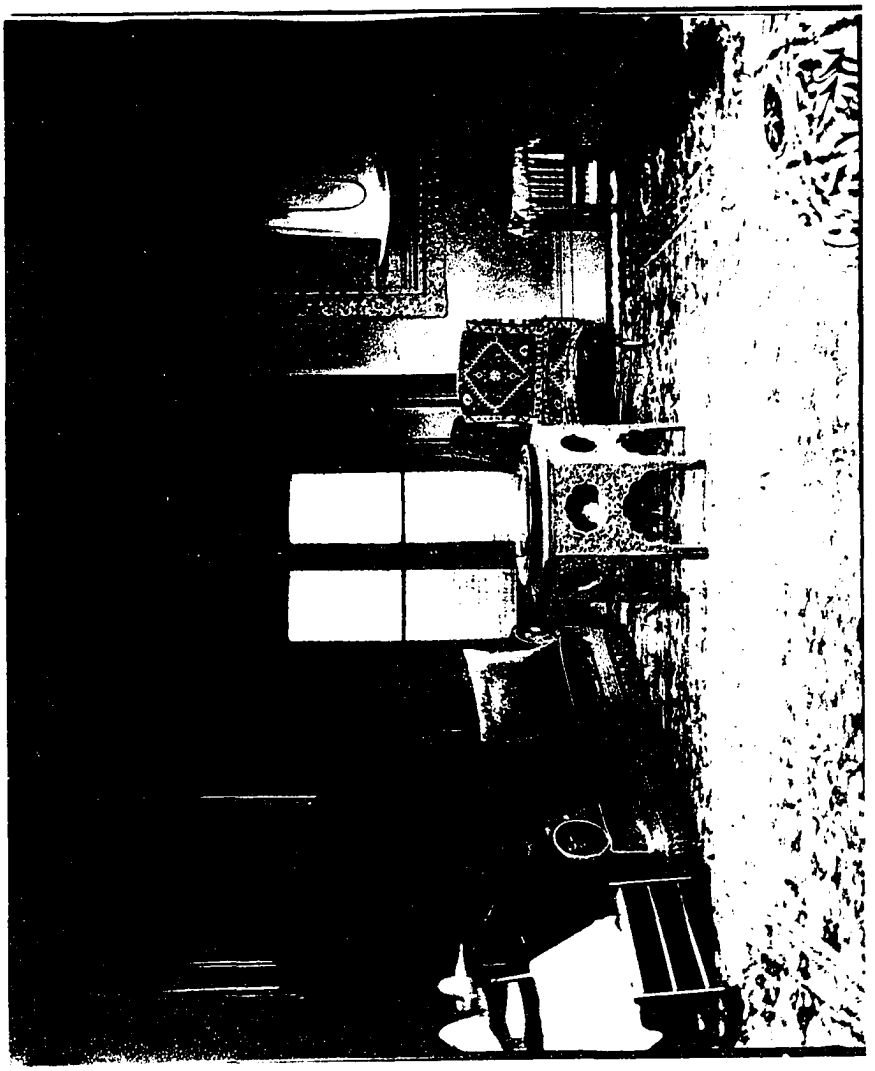

FIGURE 122. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

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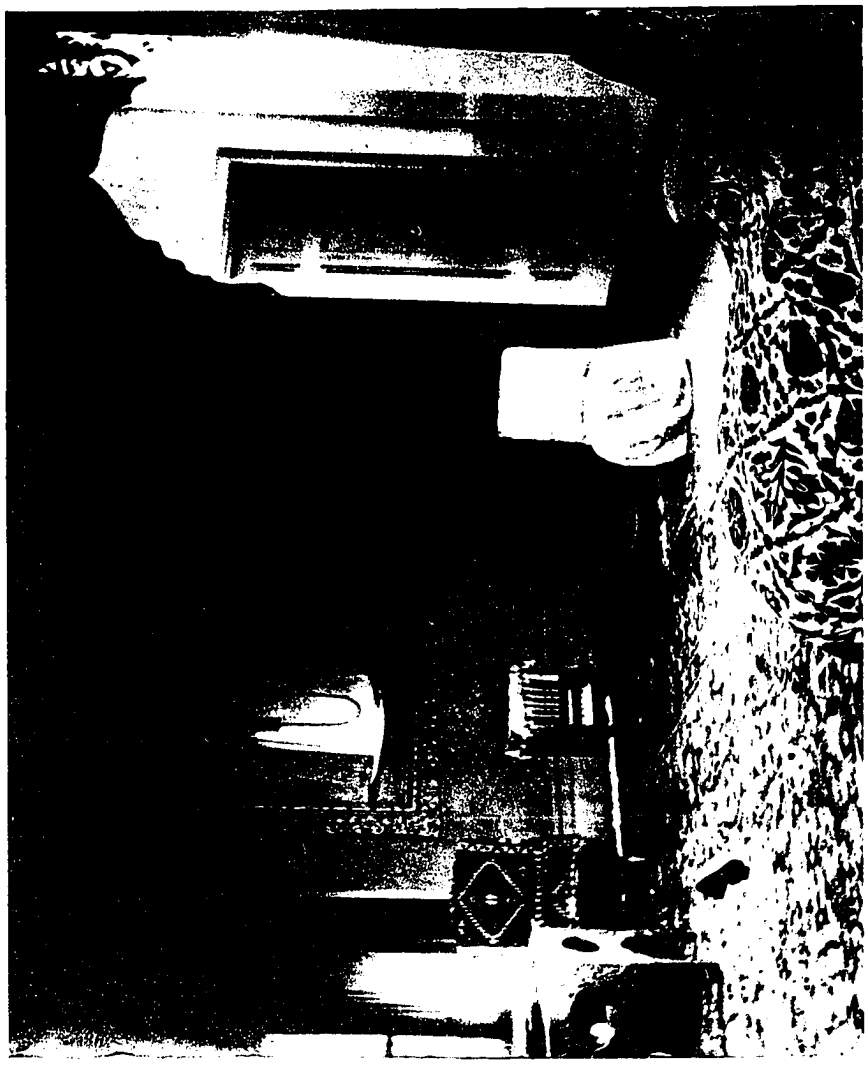

FIGURE 123. Louis Church (attrib.), photograph of the studio in the main residence at Olana, c. 1895-1905, Hudson, NY. Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Hudson, NY.

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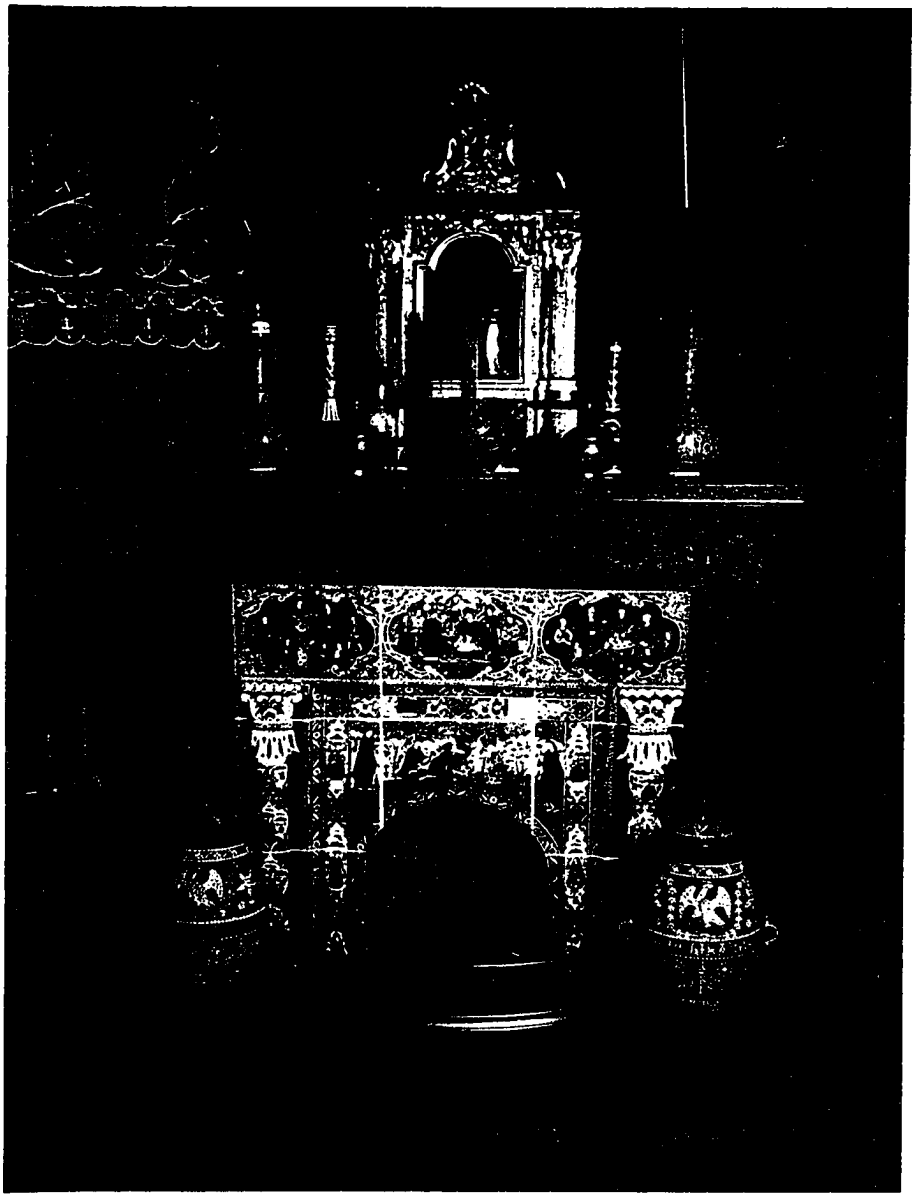

FIGURE 124. The fireplace in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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FIGURE 125. The curio cabinet in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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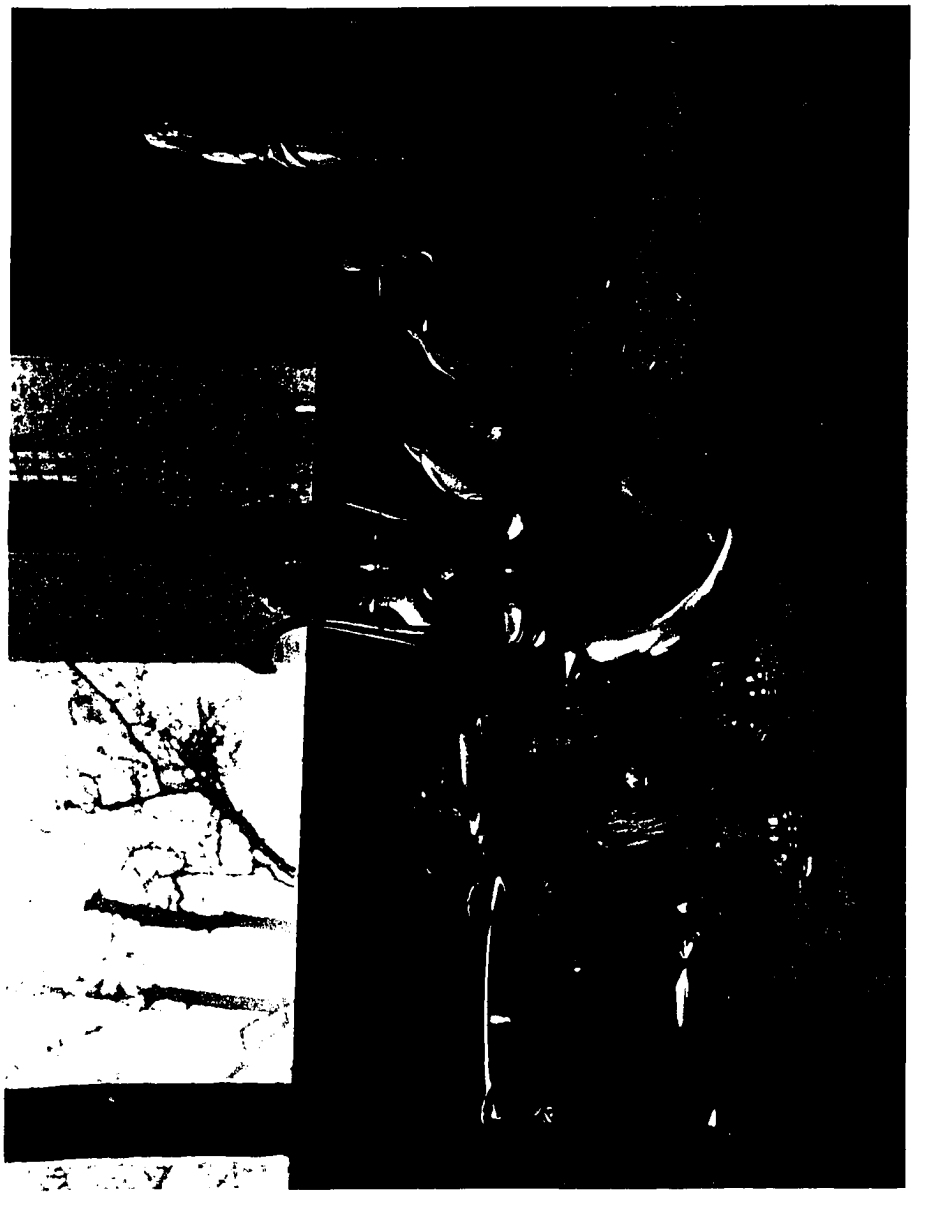

FIGURE 126. The north alcove in the studio in the main residence at Olana, Hudson, NY. Photograph by Karen Zukowski, 1997.

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