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***Japonisme* in Britain - A Source of Inspiration:  
J. McN. Whistler, Mortimer Menpes, George Henry,  
E.A. Hornel and nineteenth century Japan.**

**Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of History of Art, University of Glasgow.**

**By  
Ayako Ono**

**vol. 1.**

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## Abstract

Japan held a profound fascination for Western artists in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The influence of Japanese art is a phenomenon that is now called *Japonisme*, and it spread widely throughout Western art. It is quite hard to make a clear definition of *Japonisme* because of the breadth of the phenomenon, but it could be generally agreed that it is an attempt to understand and adapt the essential qualities of Japanese art.

This thesis explores Japanese influences on British Art and will focus on four artists working in Britain: the American James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), the Australian Mortimer Menpes (1855-1938), and two artists from the group known as the Glasgow Boys, George Henry (1858-1934) and Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933). Whistler was one of the earliest figures who incorporated Japanese elements in his art but never visited Japan; Menpes visited the country and learned Japanese artistic methods from a Japanese artist; Henry and Hornel visited Japan and responded to Japanese photography mass-produced for foreign market.

The purpose of this thesis is to consider how Western artists understood and accepted Japanese art as a source of inspiration. To emphasise and support my view that Japanese art was one of the sources of inspiration for the creation of European art, I will also discuss western influences on Japanese art in the second half of the nineteenth century since this movement, supported by the Japanese government, is a good comparison with *Japonisme*.

The historical background of *Japonisme* will be discussed in chapter

one with a variety of examples taken from decorative art, paintings and cartoons. These examples have been chosen from the works of artists who were associated with the Aesthetic Movement and interested in the improvement of Design, since in the early stages *Japonisme* in Britain was developed by leading figures of these movements. The breadth of the phenomenon is too wide to be included in any one thesis so theatre, music, architecture, sculpture or photography are not included.

I will examine the essence of *Japonisme* by making comparisons between Whistler, Menpes, and Henry and Hornel. For the sake of consistency in these comparisons, I am going to concentrate on pictorial art. However, Menpes' studio-house with its Japanese decoration is also going to be discussed since despite his wish to recreate an authentic Japanese interior, he did not understand the fundamental basis of Japanese architecture, so that the result was superficial. The artists have been chosen and discussed as follows.

James McNeill Whistler, one of the earliest and most important figures of *Japonisme*, is going to be discussed in chapter two as an example of an artist who had never been to Japan but found profound inspiration in it. He did not simply imitate Japanese art but found hints and suggestions in it. His own style, as established in his series of *Nocturnes*, with their musical titles, shows how he was inspired visually by Japanese art.

Mortimer Menpes, regarded as one of Whistler's followers, is going to be discussed in chapter three as an example of an artist who visited Japan and received lessons directly from a Japanese artist. He went to Japan in 1887 and in 1896, and he met Kawanabe Kyôsei on his first visit to

Japan. He learned Japanese artistic methods and developed his own style by finding a common strand between Western and Japanese art.

George Henry and Edward Atkinson Hornel are going to be discussed in chapter four as examples of artists who went to Japan and used photographs mass-produced for souvenirs and exports in Japan. These photographs, of a type now called *Yokohama Shashin*, were produced in the late nineteenth century for export or for the buoyant market in Japan for souvenirs for foreign visitors. Henry and Hornel acquired them while they were in Japan (1893-94) to aid their artistic creation.

As one of the means of examining *Japonisme*, in chapter five I am going to discuss the Western influence on Japanese art, which started in the middle of the nineteenth century. At the time when Europe started to find an inspiration in Japanese art, European civilisation surged into Japan. The opening of Japan was a process of major political, economic and social change that took place rapidly after the arrival of Commodore Perry. As a result, various influences on Japanese life-style, clothing, buildings, education system and form of government spread into Japan from the west. Adopting Western science, industrial technology, economic and social systems was essential for Japan to avoid the colonisation that the other Asian countries had experienced.

Learning Western art was included as a part of the modernisation of Japan, and eventually, it caused the establishment of *Yōga*, which was a new form of art. To examine the essence of *Japonisme*, it is useful to discuss Western influences on Japanese art, and the

process of the establishment of *Yōga*, which eventually was Japanised by the beginning of the twentieth-century.

In conclusion, I am going to summarise these chapters and compare these artists to show that Japanese art and objects were sources of inspiration, no matter if the artists had been to Japan or no matter if they had a conscious knowledge of *Japonisme*.

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- 171.Kuroda Seiki, *Ochiba* (Autumn Leaves), 1891. Oil on canvas, 80.8×

- 63.8 cm. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.
- 172.G. Henry, *Landscape*, c.1888. Oil on canvas, 61.0×51.0 cm. Angus Maclean.
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- 183.Okada Saburousuke, *Ayame no Koromo* (Iris Robe), 1927. Oil on paper, 80.6×53.6 cm. Fukutomi Taro Collection.

## Introduction

Japanese art had a great impact on Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century and was an important stimulus to many artists such as Edouard Manet (1832-1883), Claude Monet (1840-1926), James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Mary Cassatt (1845-1926), and Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890). Vincent van Gogh wrote, 'You will be able to get an idea of the revolution in painting when you think, for instance, of the brightly coloured Japanese pictures that one sees everywhere, landscapes and figures. Theo and I have hundreds of Japanese prints in our possession.'<sup>1</sup> It was not only painters but also designers and architects such as Edward William Godwin (1833-1886), Christopher Dresser (1834-1904), Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) who were inspired by Japanese art and culture in the creation of their works. These painters, designers and architects introduced Japanese objects and details from Japanese pictorial art into their work. They assimilated elements of Japanese art and from these they formed their own style, rather than an imitation of Japanese art. It was an immense source of inspiration for the creation and formation of their art. This is now widely recognised as a phenomenon or movement called *Japonisme*.

The term *Japonisme* was first used by the French critic and collector Philippe Burty in his article in the journal *La Renaissance litteraire et artistique* published in May 1872. He defined the use of this term as 'the study of the art and genius of Japan' in the English version of the article published in 1875.<sup>2</sup> The original French term

*Japonisme* is used in this thesis rather than the later English word 'Japanism' which was first used in Burty's article on Félix Buhot in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in February 1888.<sup>3</sup> *Japonisme* is considered a phenomenon whose influence spread widely throughout Western pictorial art, sculpture, craft, fashion,<sup>4</sup> design, architecture, photographs, theatre, and music in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> It is quite hard to make a clear definition of *Japonisme* because of the breadth of the phenomenon, but it could be generally agreed that it is an attempt to understand and adapt the essential qualities of Japanese art.

There is a term *Japonaiserie* which means an interest in Japanese motifs or objects because of their exotic or fantastic qualities. This term was first used by the Goncourt brothers as is seen in a letter from Jules de Goncourt to Philippe Burty in 1885: 'Japonaiserie for ever'. In recent years, *Japonisme* has tended to be used as a term which includes *Japonaiserie*, and much comprehensive research has been done on the subject.<sup>6</sup>

In this thesis, the term *Japonisme* will be used to describe the incorporation of principles of Japanese pictorial art and design in Western art. The term *Japonaiserie* is used for the Western interest in the exotic, decorative and fanciful qualities of Japanese art just as the word *Chinoiserie* describe these qualities in Chinese art.

Although some Japanese objects such as lacquer ware or porcelain were exported from the middle of the seventeenth century to Europe, they were an extension of the fashion trend called *Chinoiserie* which was a manifestation of a rather fanciful European conception and curiosity about the exotic East. The genuine contact between the

West and Japan started after the arrival in Japan of the American Commodore Perry in 1853, which brought about the end of Japan's period of isolation. From this date on, Japanese objects were exported and brought to Western countries by travellers and merchants. European Shops began to sell Japanese goods. One of the most famous was that of Mme. Desoye, opened around 1862 in Paris, while Arthur Liberty (1834-1917) opened his East India House in 1875 in London. The series of International Exhibitions, which started in 1851 in London and were held in the main European and American cities, were important for showing Japanese art and culture. The 1862 International Exhibition was the first one in which Japan had an independent section.

Although Japanese objects were available to see from 1853 onwards, the period of *Japonisme* is defined as between approximately 1860 and 1910-20 in this thesis, since it was by 1860 that Japanese influence appeared in the works of artists. By 1920, Western artists had picked out what they needed for the creation of their art, and the freshness of Japanese art had already been assimilated into European culture in various ways; instead, they began to look at other exotic cultures: the cultures of Africa, Polynesia and so on.

Diplomats, traders, travellers and artists who visited Japan brought back to Europe a broad knowledge of Japanese life and culture. After their return home they published books or articles to describe Japanese customs, the social system, culture and art and to introduce a different view of the world from that of Europe. Two of the earliest are *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Performed in the Year 1852, 1853 and 1854 under the command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States*

*Navy, by order of the Government of the United States* by Francis L. Hawks and illustrated by the German artist Wilhelm Heine, which was published in Washington D.C. in 1856<sup>7</sup> and *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, 1858, 1859*<sup>8</sup> by Lawrence Oliphant, who went to Japan with the Earl of Elgin. One of the best known books was probably the *Capital of the Tycoon* by the first British Consul General in Japan, Sir Rutherford Alcock, whose collection of Japanese objects was exhibited at the International Exhibition in London in 1862.

In the 1870s, an American art critic, James Jackson Jarves, published a book on Japanese art: *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan*.<sup>9</sup> Also Alcock developed his interest in Japanese art and published *Art and Art Industries in Japan* in 1876.<sup>10</sup> In the 1880s, *Japan, its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures* by Christopher Dresser, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* by Edward S. Morse, and *Pictorial Arts of Japan* by William Anderson show their more informed and specialised knowledge of Japanese architecture, art, and art industries.<sup>11</sup>

Numbers of articles on Japanese art were published in art magazines, such as *The Studio, Magazine of Art* or *Art Journal* with illustrations. These articles would have been one of the sources of visual stimulation for Western artists.<sup>12</sup> For instance Alcock published a series of articles on Japanese art in *The Art Journal* in the 1870s and Marcus B. Huish's 'Notes on Japan and its Art Wares' were published serially in *The Art Journal* in the 1888.<sup>13</sup>

These books, art magazines, International Expositions or objects brought by art dealers illuminated a little known country for artists

who did not go to Japan. Furthermore, they were sources of stimulation for some artists who had both a desire and opportunity to go to Japan.

Geneviève Lacambre divided the influence of Japanese art on French Art into four stages:

- ① l'introduction de motifs japonais dans le répertoire de l'eclectisme, qui s'ajoutent sans les remplacer aux motifs décoratifs de tous les temps et de tous les pays.
- ② l'imitation préférentielle des motifs exotiques et naturalistes japonais, ces derniers étant le plus rapidement assimilés.
- ③ l'imitation des techniques raffinées du Japon.
- ④ l'analyse des principes et méthodes que l'on peut déceler dans l'art japonais et leur application.<sup>14</sup>

Although Lacambre limits her definition to a phenomenon which can be seen in France, Mabuchi says that this could be applied to the phenomenon in Europe generally.<sup>15</sup>

These four stages: discovery, adoption, assimilation, and creation, are the processes which describe the acceptance of one culture by a different culture; bearing Lacambre's definition in mind, I would like to examine some works by certain artists who went to Japan and others who did not go to Japan, and compare their response to Japanese art and culture.



## Endnotes for Introduction

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5. See Mabuchi Akiko, *Japonisumu Gensou no Nihon [Japonisme Représentations et Imaginaires des Européens]*, Tokyo: Brücke, 1997, p.11.
6. For further discussion of the definition of these terms, see Watanabe, 1991, pp.14-15. See also Mabuchi, 1997, p.10. The term *Japonaiseire* is attributed to Baudelaire in 1861 in Maire Conte-Helme, *The Japanese and Europe: economic and cultural encounters*, London 1996, p.21. However, it does not give the source of this statement.
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12. For example, Frank Dillon, 'Studies by Japanese Artists', *Studio*, vol.3, 1895, pp.35-41; Louis Fagan, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal*, new series, 1886, pp.377-380; W.E. Henley, 'Some Japanese Painters', *Magazine of Art*, vol.9, 1886, pp.63-66.
13. Sir Rutherford Alcock, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal*, vol.14, 1875, pp.101-105, pp.201-206, pp.333-335; vol.15, 1876, pp.41-44, pp.113-116; vol.16, 1877, pp.41-44, pp.97-99, pp.161-163; vol.17, 1878, pp.1-3, pp.81-84, pp.137-140. See also Marcus B. Huish, 'Notes on Japan and its Art Ware', *Art Journal*, new series, 1888, pp.5-9, pp.40-44, pp.70-74, pp.153-156, pp.176-180, pp.208-212, pp.239-244, pp.267-270, pp.298-304, pp.329-335, pp.373-378.
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## Chapter One: *Japonisme*

### Introduction- *Japonisme* and its Background

Although a large number of Japanese objects such as ceramic and lacquer ware were available during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Europe, it was after the middle of the nineteenth century that the general public started to have opportunities to see and acquire them. Japanese objects could be seen in Britain by the early 1850s. The 'Japanese Antiquities' of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles had originally been exhibited in London in 1825<sup>1</sup> and some of them were donated to the British Museum in 1859 by his nephew.<sup>2</sup>

In 1852, in the report submitted to the President of the Board of Trade, Henry Cole and Richard Redgrave recommended that the 'educated designer for ceramic manufactures should have an adequate knowledge of what Japan, Meissen, Sèvres and even Chelsea have done.'<sup>3</sup> In the same year Cole and his associates bought four pieces of Japanese lacquer ware from the London art dealer William Hewitt, of Hewitts & Co. in Fenchurch Street, for the South Kensington Museum: three trays and a portable writing-desk decorated in coloured shell inlay.<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Aslin says that, in 1852, two thirds of its collection in the Class V, 'Furniture and Upholstery', of the Department of Practical Art of South Kensington Museum were either japanned or *papier mâché* and nearly all were directly ascribed to Japan or China.<sup>5</sup> According to Rupert Faulkner and Anna Jackson, 'many of the Museum's early acquisitions of Japanese straw-work, basketry, and lacquerwork were chosen for an exhibition of works of decorative art circulated to provincial schools of art in

1855.’<sup>6</sup>

Japanese objects were shown at the Exhibition of Industrial Art of 1853 in Dublin and illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*<sup>7</sup> (Fig.1). Paper lanterns, swords, a blind, a model of a temple and some musical instruments - *shamisen* (three-strained Japanese banjo), *tsuzumi* (hand drum) and *biwa* (lute) - are seen in the illustration.

In 1854 a 'Japanese Exhibition' was held at the Gallery of the Royal Society of Painters in Watercolours, 5, Pall Mall East<sup>8</sup> and this was also illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*<sup>9</sup> (Fig.2). Many of these objects were purchased by the Science and Art Department of South Kensington Museum.<sup>10</sup> Some bronze vases are displayed on the table in the centre of the section. They are now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>11</sup> One big cabinet, two medium size cabinets and one small cabinet can be seen. There are two screens: the motif of the one on the right hand side is a landscape, and that of the other is women. In the latter screen, there are two women who look like *geisha*. The one on the right wears *kimono* loosely and the other is carrying a broom.

According to *The Times*, the exhibits were the property of a Dutch merchant who had limited trading rights with Japan at Dejima, Nagasaki, and this exhibition was a 'small but exceedingly interesting collection'.<sup>12</sup> It was said that Japanese objects were 'more or less adapted to the use of European life' and 'Hitherto the extraordinary decorative ability of the Eastern nations, and their almost instinctive appreciation of the true principles of forms and colour, have been turned to very little account for the purposes of our western civilisation.'<sup>13</sup> It is quite likely that these objects were made for Dutch people who lived in Dejima, or they were undertaken by

Japanese craftsmen responding to the demand of Dutch traders.

A series of International Exhibitions, which started in 1851 in London and were held in the main European and American cities, played an important part in the spread of Japanese objects. For the Western countries, it was a confirmation of the triumph of their culture, science and civilisation. At the same time, it was an opportunity to explore the unknown world. The 1862 International Exhibition in London was the first major International Exhibition in which Japan had an independent section. At this point in Western eyes, Japan started to have a separate cultural identity from the general category of the 'orient'. The majority of the objects in the Japanese section had been collected by Sir Rutherford Alcock while he was in Japan.<sup>14</sup> As Christopher Dresser (1834-1904) said in 1878 in a lecture at the meeting of the Society of Arts:

It was in the year 1862 that I first formed an acquaintance with Japanese art, your Excellency, my chairman [Sir Rutherford Alcock], having in that year brought together a number of objects from this strange country, such as were then altogether new to us. ... I need not tell your Excellency that you have the honour of having first made Japanese productions known to the English public.<sup>15</sup>

Alcock chaired Dresser's lecture, but it was not just lip-service on Dresser's part to emphasise Alcock as the first person who collected Japanese objects. Over six hundred objects were displayed and these had a significant impact on the British audience.

The exhibits included textiles, fans, ceramics, lacquer ware, ivory carvings, works in straw enamel-ware, and various metal objects of bronze, iron, silver, and gold.<sup>16</sup> The collection was classified as follows in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* :

Specimens of Lacquer-Ware - Lacquering on wood; lacquer and inlaid woods mixed; lacquer on other materials, shells, ivory, tortoise-shell, &c.

Specimens of Straw-Basket Work, and lacquer, and lacquer combined in articles of use and ornament; basket and rattan work.

Specimens of China and Porcelain of every variety, enamelled, lacquered, and plain; also of pottery, and quaint forms of earthenware.

Specimens of Metallurgy Products.- Bronze, simple and inlaid with other metals; medallions and intaglios in pure and mixed metals; brooches, medals, buttons, &c.; cutlery and workmen's tools; arms and armour.

Manufactures of paper.- raw materials; paper for rooms, for writings, for handkerchiefs, for waterproof coats, &c.; imitation leather.

Textile Fabrics. - Silk crapes, silks, tapestry; printed cottons; fabrics from the bark of a creeper.

Works of Art. - Carvings in ivory, wood, paintings, illustrated works, lithochrome prints, &c.

Educational Works and Appliances. - Books of science, scientific models and instruments (chiefly copied from the Dutch), Japanese shells, toys, &c.

There will also be a miscellaneous collection of specimens of lacquer-ware, lacquering on wood, inlaid wood and lacquer mixed.

Lacquer on the Materials as ivory, shells and tortoise-shell, &c; and inlaid woods.<sup>17</sup>

According to the *International Exhibition, 1862. Catalogue of Industry and Art, Sent from Japan*, items of 'Works of art, carvings in ivory, wood, paintings, illustrated works, lithochrome prints, &c' were as follows (the numbers on the left are from this catalogue):

557. Mussel-shell carved in wood.

558. Fruit carving in bamboo wood. Twenty-five specimens of the best ivory carvings, showing great mastery of the chisel and power of expression.

559. Eight books - specimens of maps, illustrated works, &c.

559 A. Twenty-four volumes of ditto.

560. Japanese play bills.

- 560A. Leaves from a Japanese scholar's writing exercise.
561. Two boxes of lithochrome printing, on a peculiar fabric of crape paper.
562. Book of fire-brigades in Yedo, with the crests and insignia, detail of city wards, Sc.
563. Specimens of figures by a native artist.
564. Map of Edo.
565. Itinerary of the Tokaido, or grand route to all the Imperial towns.
566. Map of Japan in 66 Provinces (2vols.)
567. Specimens of Japanese lithochrome.
568. Printing of old date; representing a pilgrimage to Fujiyama, the new foreign settlement at Yokohama,
- 569, 570. Two maps of Fujiyama - the volcanic mountain, with the various stations in the ascent.
571. Further specimens of lithochrome printing, consisting of a great variety of illustrations (200) of the manners, costumes, and architecture of the Japanese.
572. Specimens of the story books - popular literature, written in the Hirakana character for women and children and the less educated classes, as easier to read than the Giosho, or other styles of writing.
- 572A. Specimen of Japanese official writing - a letter from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs announcing the despatch of a diplomatic mission to England.<sup>18</sup>

Items such as maps or a letter are included in the category of 'works of art'. It is rather disappointing that *ukiyo-e*, which were an influence on some artists were not included. Phylis Floyd presumes that nos. 565, 566 and 568 are by Hiroshige or Hokusai, because illustrations of Hiroshige and Hokusai's prints were reproduced in two books, *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, 1858, 1859* by Laurence Oliphant and *Japanese Fragments* by Sherard Osborn (London, 1861).<sup>19</sup> However, there is no logical connection between these books and the exhibits. It is most uncertain that these are *ukiyo-e* prints.

Looking through the list of over six hundred items, most of them are objects from Japanese daily life such as '163. Japanese travelling

pillow, imitation leather, with Japanese lock' or '237. Specimens of men's and women's clogs, used habitually in the streets in bad weather'<sup>20</sup> rather than works of art. This suggests that the source of inspiration available for artists at this time was mainly these ordinary daily objects rather than works of art.

An illustration of the Japan section, which adjoined that of Siam, can be seen in the *Illustrated London News* (Fig.3). In this illustration, small objects which should be seen close up are not visible, but they might have been displayed in a small case on the left and a glass case in front. The Lanterns could be '533. Specimens of Japanese lanthorns, made of bamboo and paper, and compressible. The name of the owner, or his arms and crest, are always printed on these.'<sup>21</sup> Straw raincoats are hanging; gourd-shaped pots, big painted plates, straw baskets, bronze vases and candle stands are identifiable. These are placed vertically: the shelves look crowded with too many objects and the method of display is not suitable for close observation. The article in the *Illustrated London News* concluded, 'On the whole, we cannot examine this curious and interesting collection without bringing away the most favourable ideas of Japanese skill and industry as applied to useful and ornamental manufactures.'<sup>22</sup>

Japanese objects sent to this Exhibition were not selected by the Japanese but by the British, as samples or specimens to show qualities typical of Japanese design rather than as works of art to be appreciated for their own sake. The selection of objects reflects British taste, and at the same time, this was also important for the formation of *Japonisme* in Britain.

For example, it is known that over 200 exhibits were lacquered



objects, as is seen in the catalogue *A - Specimens of Lacquer Ware, Lacquering on Wood, Inlaid Wood and Lacquer on other materials, as Ivory, Shells, Tortoiseshell, &c.* Although *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* had been published by John Stalker & G. Parker in 1688 in London, lacquer was not native to European culture, and this was one of the reasons that it was valued. The term 'japanned' means lacquered, and lacquer-ware was available in European countries before the nineteenth century. However, these ideas were mainly acquired by aristocrats and rich collectors who had a taste for the Orient. After the middle of the nineteenth century the general public became increasingly aware of it. The shiny smooth surface of black lacquer was one of the inspirations for the ebonised Anglo-Japanese furniture of the English designer Edward William Godwin (1833-1886).

Japanese visitors to the 1862 exhibition were not impressed. The Tokugawa Shogun's first mission arrived in London on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1862, just before the opening of the 1862 Exhibition.<sup>23</sup> These Japanese emissaries thought that the exhibited objects were 'hopeless',<sup>24</sup> and they were disappointed by the modest scale of the Japanese section.<sup>25</sup>

However, like Christopher Dresser, who made about 80 sketches of exhibits,<sup>26</sup> many of the early *japonistes* (people who were interested in Japanese art and culture) were impressed by those objects.<sup>27</sup> Influenced by Alcock's collection, Christopher Dresser started to collect Japanese objects. Indeed, Dresser acquired several objects from the exhibits of Sir Rutherford Alcock's collection:

I became the possessor of a fair selection of the objects which formed your interesting collection; and to the treasures which I

thus became possessed of I have almost constantly been adding, till now my house is now rather a museum than a comfortable abode for civilised beings, at least, so says my wife.<sup>28</sup>

Dresser stressed, however, that the collecting of Japanese art was not just a personal reaction:

The desire to possess Japanese objects arose as soon as the International Exhibition of 1862 was open, and it was not long after this time that our merchants began to concern themselves with the introduction of these strange manufactures as articles of commerce, ...<sup>29</sup>

Farmer and Rogers of Regent street bought some of these Japanese exhibits and sold them at their Oriental Warehouse.<sup>30</sup>

The early collectors in the 1860s such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), E.W. Godwin and William Burges, probably acquired Japanese objects from Farmer and Rogers' Oriental Warehouse or at the public auctions that disposed of objects which had been sent for display at the International Exhibition in London in 1862 but arrived too late.<sup>31</sup>

According to Faulkner and Jackson, there is no record that the Victoria and Albert Museum bought Japanese objects from the exhibits of the 1862 International Exhibition, suggesting that the majority of them were acquired by private collectors.

Japanese objects were imported and sold by individual dealers, some of whom opened curio shops. Londos & Co. formed by Christopher Dresser in conjunction with Charles Reynolds and Co. in 1873, became one of the major distributors of Japanese objects in the next decade;<sup>32</sup> Dresser established a partnership with Charles Holme

in 1879. Holme was a founder of *The Studio* and wrote many articles on Japanese art.<sup>33</sup> They set up the company 'Dresser and Holme' to import Japanese and Oriental wares and they established a branch in Kobe in Japan and imported Japanese and other Oriental objects.<sup>34</sup>

In their London showroom '*Shiba* and *Hizen* porcelain, *Makudzu* ceramics, ivory work, lacquer objects, silver and bronze work, iron kettles, lattice panels, screens were displayed along with samples of Dresser's own Linthorpe Art Pottery, which contrasted nicely with their Japanese counterparts'.<sup>35</sup> '*Makudzu* ceramics' possibly means ceramics made by Miyagawa Kozan or Makuzu Kozan (1842-1916) who was a representative of *Meiji's* export ware.<sup>36</sup> This indicates that Dresser had some contemporary Japanese objects. In 1880, Dresser founded the 'Art Furnishers' Alliance' to sell some imported items from Japan but mainly to promote his own works.

Arthur Lasenby Liberty, who had opened his 'East India House' in London in 1875, invested in Dresser's short-lived shop. This Dresser's shop was opened in partnership with George H. Chubb, Edward Cope, John Harrison and Sir Edward Lee. Dresser & Holme were shareholders and suppliers of Japanese goods to this company.<sup>37</sup> This was, according to Halén, 'one of the first interior decorating firms in the modern sense and covered virtually all fields of design, from ordinary household goods to textiles and wallpapers.'<sup>38</sup>

In France, one of the most famous shops was that of Mme Desoye, opened in 1863 in the Rue de Rivoli in Paris. It is known that some British collectors bought Japanese objects in Paris, as D.G. Rossetti wrote to his mother on November 12, 1864:

all the costumes were being snapped up by a French artist, Tissot, who it seems, is doing three Japanese pictures, which the mistress of the shop described to me as the three wonders of the world, evidently in her opinion quite throwing Whistler into the shade. She told me, with a great deal of laughing about Whistler's consternation at my collection of china.<sup>39</sup>

This letter tells us that artists were competitive in collecting Japanese objects to create their new subject-paintings, and also that these shops were one of the places where information was provided on the collection of Japanese art. This also indicates that British artists who were interested in Japanese art had some contact and exchanged information with French artists or collectors.

This is proved furthermore by the fact that the V&A's acquisition records show that some Japanese objects were bought through French dealers. The V&A acquired two objects, from 'contemporary metalwork vases imitating basketry', from Madame Desoye in 1864.<sup>40</sup> The V&A also purchased Japanese objects from Siegfried Bing (1838-1905), known as Samuel Bing, in Paris. 'The elongated double ground vase' bought from Bing is said to have been the inspiration of one of Christopher Dresser's works.<sup>41</sup> The V&A's most expensive purchase from Bing was 'the large incense burner' by Suzuki Chokichi (1848-1919) originally exhibited at the 1878 Paris Exposition.<sup>42</sup> This is evidence that the British were keen to purchase Japanese objects not only through British dealers but also through French dealers, in pursuit of good quality.

At the time of the 1878 International Exhibition in Paris, the semi-official trading company Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha, a company founded in 1874 and financed by the Japanese government, opened up a shop in Paris to sell Japanese artefacts. Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha was

originally set up to promote foreign trade for the development of industry and *bijutsu kougei* (*Meiji* period export art), and supplied Japanese goods for industry and commerce. The Japanese art dealer Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906) was an important backstage personage who was employed as a translator, and went on to make a career as an art dealer. He became independent in 1884 and established the 'Wakai-Hayashi Company' with Wakai Kenzaburo. In the same year, he went to London, Germany, Holland and Belgium as an expert in Japanese art, and identified and classified Japanese art in each of these places.<sup>43</sup> It is said that from 1890 to 1901, he exported 156,487 *ukiyo-e* (pictures of the floating world, which are often associated with woodblock prints) to France.<sup>44</sup> He sold not only *ukiyo-e* but also various Japanese objects including *kimono* (the outer garment of Japanese dress). He actively introduced Japanese art to France and contributed to Japanese studies in France. Because of his knowledge of Japanese art, he advised and sold works to scholars and collectors such as Louis Gonse, Edmond de Goncourt and Emile Guimet. The Alexandra Palace Company founded by Christopher Dresser, and Londos & Company, advised by him, had a wide range of trade with Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha.<sup>45</sup>

Hayashi had extensive contacts in Britain and was instrumental in distributing Japanese objects. Hayashi put his seal on the prints he sold, and in The Burrell Collection in Glasgow, there is a print by Hokusai on which Hayashi's seal is pressed (Fig.4).<sup>46</sup> It is also known that Hayashi came to London and helped to organise the 'Japanese Exhibition' of Ernest Hart's collection, which was held in the Library of the Society of Arts in 1886, 'to display the characteristic periods' of Japanese art.<sup>47</sup>

Hayashi was also helpful in promoting Western artists in Japan. In a letter to introduce Mortimer Menpes to Shinagawa Yajiro of the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo,<sup>48</sup> Hayashi wrote that Menpes is 'a friend of a well-known British painter, Whistler' (Fig.5). The letter was dated 'Meiji 20' (1887), January 14, in Paris. This letter proves not only that Menpes had contact with a Japanese dealer, but also shows that the name of Whistler was well known in Japan. It is also possible that there was direct contact between Whistler and the Japanese art dealer who was an important backstage personage of the 'Taste for Japan' in the nineteenth century in Paris.

### ***Japonisme in Britain***

*Japonisme* in Britain had not been closely studied until Watanabe Toshio published his comprehensive study *High Victorian Japonisme* in 1991. This important study focused on an analysis of cultural theory rather than on a close examination of individual artists or particular works.<sup>49</sup> The catalogue of the exhibition 'Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930', which was held in 1991 in London and Tokyo in 1992, analyses the actual objects more fully.<sup>50</sup> As Watanabe Toshio points out, British Victorian and Edwardian art was not 'the mainstream' of modern art, and the study of *Japonisme* only gained ground during the 1960s and 1970s because it provided an insight into the 'mainstream' Impressionists and Post-Impressionists such as Manet, Degas and van Gogh, who were inspired and influenced by it.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the time when 'Le Réalisme' and naturalism in European painting reached its peak and painters started to react critically against conventions and thus to create new

possibilities for their art. These French painters found Japanese art, especially *ukiyo-e*, novel, and it became an important element in changing Western precepts of art. The unusual and dramatic compositions of *ukiyo-e* were entirely different from those in the Western tradition, and deeply impressed artists in the West. They looked to Japanese art to provide clues to the solution of problems inherent in their own art, and they adapted the special type of beauty they found in Japanese art to their own purposes. The French critic Ernest Chesneau wrote in 1868, 'L'art japonais, a toutes les aspirations, toutes les elevations, toutes les supériorités du grand art' and analysed Japanese art : '1. l'absence de symetrie, 2. le style, 3. Le couleur'.

Chesneau classified 'style':

1. la merveilleuse harmonie que les artistes savent établir entre la forme et la destination de l'objet
2. entre la forme constitutive et le décor superficiel de l'objet
3. entre la forme et la matière de l'objet.

And he wrote about 'couleur':

C'est qu'en effect, plus que nous, ils possèdent et appliquent les principes infaillibles qui permettent de transformer en oeuvre d'art decoratif les éléments fournis par la nature.<sup>51</sup>

What Chesneau points out above is the freshness and originality of composition and the decorative harmony of colour, which are related to the Japanese method of representation. This interest in novelty of composition and colour was an important element in changing French nineteenth-century pictorial art.

*Japonisme* in Britain developed a little differently from in France. *Ukiyo-e* prints deeply influenced painting and the visual arts in

France; on the other hand, *Japonisme* in Britain was dominated by Whistler and the Aesthetic Movement - designers such as E.W. Godwin or Christopher Dresser. The taste for Japan was related to 'good taste' in the context of the Aesthetic Movement, and enjoyed by 'several levels of society from the Prince of Wales to the middle classes'<sup>52</sup> in Britain. As Robin Spencer says: 'If you were rich and "enlightened" or on the fringe of certain artistic circles, you might live in a Norman Shaw house, commission William Morris to design original furniture, and own paintings by Whistler; but if this was not within reach, a fabric from Liberty's, a Japanese screen and an armful of peacock feathers would do just as well and were more easily obtained.'<sup>53</sup> It appears to be partly a historical coincidence that the middle class became keen on 'aesthetic' household accessories when Japanese objects became available for sale at reasonable rates.

*Punch's* cartoonists were all aware of the 'taste for Japan' by the late 1860s, as is seen in 'Reading without Tears' (Fig.6) by George DuMaurier.<sup>54</sup> In this cartoon, a little boy and a girl are sitting on a sofa, reading a book. Five Japanese fans are on the wall for decoration. In the 1870s when the Aesthetic Movement was in full swing, in 'Intellectual Epicures',<sup>55</sup> Japanese objects were used for the aesthetic setting of the epicures' room, and by contrast, in the room of a poor old woman a Japanese fan is thrown into the fire (Fig.7).

By 1888 *Japonisme* was so well established that *Punch* suggested it had penetrated to every corner of life. *Japonisme* in the Royal Academy was satirically described in *Punch* in a cartoon called 'The Japanese School at the Royal Academy', in 1888 (Fig.8), which quotes a phrase from the *Times* of January 25: 'Japanese Art .... is the only living Art in the world .... In comparatively few years Japan will become the acknowledged centre and leader of the Fine Arts.'<sup>56</sup> A



series of cartoons, 'Our Japanneries', by Lika Joko (Harry Furniss) was carried in *Punch* from May 26, 1888 to November 10, 1888.<sup>57</sup> Lika Joko pretended to be 'the celebrated Japanese Artist ... who is now on a visit to this country'<sup>58</sup> and produced 21 cartoons of various topics. *Sumo* wrestlers appear in 'Our Japanneries. No. 10. A Row in the House During "Times v. Crimes" Debate in Committee'<sup>59</sup> (Fig.9), which shows that the traditional Japanese combative sport was already sufficiently known to be expressed in cartoons. 'Our Japanneries. No. 12. Fishing Rod'Rick Dhu About This Time in Scotland'<sup>60</sup> (Fig.10) shows a mixture of Scots and Japanese men fishing in a Scots-Japanese landscape. Although the caption specifies 'in Scotland', the setting looks more like Japan.

As Artistic patronage shifted from the aristocracy to the middle class, this provided artists with a new subject, the middle class aesthetic interior. Aesthetic settings were often used as the background for female portraiture. Japanese objects, especially screens and fans, appear for decorative effect in these portraits. An early example of this could be the *Lady in Chinese Dress with Japanese Fan* of 1865 (Fig.11) by Simeon Solomon which shows the influence of Whistler. Whistler himself had used Chinese porcelain, oriental screens and fans to indicate the culture of sitters in such portraits as *La Princesse du pays de la porcelain* (YMSM 50, 1863-64). Solomon's model is said to be his sister Rebecca Solomon in a Chinese dress, the colours of which, blue and red, are repeated in the Oriental porcelain on the mantelpiece. The lily placed beside her is a flower favoured by the Pre-Raphaelites and aesthetes.

In the 1870s many women were painted in such aesthetic settings. For instance, in *A Quiet Half Hour* (1876)<sup>61</sup> by Lionel Charles Henley, a girl is reading a book against a Japanese screen where fans seem

stuck on the top and the bottom. John Atkinson Grimshaw (1836-93) depicted his own house in his *The Chorale* (1878).<sup>62</sup> This painting is evidence of the painter's taste for Japan and he used Japanese objects to create an aesthetic setting.

By the 1880s, as is apparent in a portrait of *Mary Constance Wyndham, Lady Elcho (later Countess of Wemyss)* of 1886 (Fig.12) by Edward John Poynter (1836-1919), the Aesthetic setting is well established. The model is in yellow dress, a colour favoured by aesthetes, and is surrounded by blue-and-white porcelain, a Japanese screen and Japanese books, daffodils, and a goldfish bowl. A similar setting, with a screen, daffodils and goldfish bowl was used by the Scottish painter, James Cadenhead (1858-1927), in his mother's portrait, *Lady with Japanese Screen and Gold Fish (Portrait of the Artist's Mother)* of 1886 (Fig.13). The black dress forms a beautiful contrast with a Japanese golden screen. Again the composition is possibly the result of Whistler's influence.<sup>63</sup> The theme of the screen, which is in the *yamato-e* (Japanese style painting) style, is possibly from the *Genji Monogatori (Story of Genji)*, a scene of Japanese court music accompanying traditional Japanese dances. Another typical example of the middle class aesthetic interior is seen in *Sunflower and Hollyhocks* of 1889 (Fig.14) by Kate Hayllar. It is decorated with a Chinese vase, a Japanese screen and the sunflower, which is the symbol of the Aesthetic Movement.

By incorporating Oriental artefacts, artists implied that the sitters lived with these Oriental objects and perhaps used them in their daily life. This suggested that they were of the cultured, wealthy, and leisured classes: they appreciated the culture of both East and West: and they created a harmonious home incorporating both eastern and

western artefacts. However, tracing the spread of *Japonisme* - through traveller, collector, artist, designer to patron and public, is complex and often confusing.

### **Mass-Production & Design Improvement**

The Japanese influence on European decorative art is very important. In the West, since the Renaissance, works of art had been regarded as an autonomous world. The Japanese did not have the concept of having a special room in which to display works of art as Western collectors did. In the West, decorative art was a so-called 'minor art' while paintings or sculptures were regarded as 'high art'. In Japan, as many visitors stressed, works of art and decorative arts were not separated from life but belonged to daily life. Stimulation from Japan was one of the elements behind the spread of *Art Nouveau* and the Arts and Crafts Movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in the West. *Japonisme* could be understood as a comprehensive cultural phenomenon, which assisted Western Art to develop in a new direction.

Elizabeth Aslin, one of the earliest figures to point out Japanese influence on decorative art in Britain, says that the taste for Japan was in full swing in the 1870s, and 'Japanism and the Aesthetic Movement were virtually synonymous.' She points out that between the 1860s to the 1890s, the Japanese influence on decorative art developed from the individual interest of a few designers to become the preoccupation of an entire movement, *Art Nouveau*.<sup>64</sup>

In the 1830s and 1840s, the design of industrial art in Britain was very poor and its reform was a major concern of politicians,

industrialists, educationalists and designers.<sup>65</sup> One of the earliest books which illustrated Japanese art in Britain is *Rudiments of Curvilinear Design* (1838-1840) by George Philips,<sup>66</sup> and as Watanabe Toshio pointed out, it is important not only because the author tried to evaluate Japanese art but also because he introduced it as a source of material for Western artists.<sup>67</sup>

William Morris (who found nothing on the market to satisfy him and designed his own furniture, embroideries and wall paper,<sup>68</sup> establishing Morris, Marshall & Faulkner Company in 1861) was one of the early influential reformers, whose efforts were effective in leading to the growth of the Aesthetic Movement. It is also noteworthy that Henry Cole, the first head of the South Kensington Museum, another influential reformer, was in the artistic circle which had a taste for Japan.

By the 1880s this permeated all classes of society and, as Aslin says,

good taste is no longer an expensive luxury to indulge in - the commonest articles of domestic use are now fashioned in accordance with its laws and the poorest may have in their homes at the cost of a few pence cups and saucers and jugs and teapots, more artistic in form and design than were to be found twenty years ago in any homes but those of the cultured rich.<sup>69</sup>

### **Christopher Dresser**

The Glasgow-born designer, Christopher Dresser, who went to Japan as a representative for the South Kensington Museum in 1876, wrote in his book *Japan, its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures* published in 1882:

I firmly believed that the introduction of the works of Japanese handicraftsmen into England has done as much to improve our national taste as even our schools of art and public museums [have done]...for these Japanese objects have got into our homes, and among them we live.<sup>70</sup>

The fact that Dresser personally admired and collected Japanese art and objects should be taken into account when considering the objectivity of his historical analysis. However, it is true that Dresser was an important figure who disseminated Japanese aesthetics and adapted it to British industrial design. He studied at the Government School of Design from 1847 to 1854 and there he learned the idea of design reforms from William Dyce, Henry Cole and Owen Jones.<sup>71</sup> As a botanist he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Jena in 1860.<sup>72</sup> By the early 1860s he was established as an industrial designer. He started to design for Wedgwood, Minton, Coalbrookdale, Elkington & Co., and Hukin & Heath of Birmingham, who exhibited at the 1862 International Exhibition.<sup>73</sup> He brought the Japanese village from the Exhibition in Vienna to Alexandra Palace Park in 1873 and founded the Alexandra Palace Company in the same year. He also became an adviser to Londos & Company 1873. Both the Alexandra Palace Company and Londos & Company traded with *Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha*.<sup>74</sup>

Dresser was a prolific designer, lecturer and writer. He used his knowledge of Japanese objects in his designs, and the simplicity of his design is partly Japanese in origin. Dresser considered that the works of the art-industry needed to combine utility and beauty of design, and in his paper 'Eastern Art, and its influence on European Manufactures and Taste',<sup>75</sup> he says:

the ornamentalist should stand between the pure artist on the one side and the utilitarian on the other, and should join them together. ... He should be able to perceive the utmost delicacies and refinements of artistic forms, yet he should value that which is useful for the very sake of its usefulness.<sup>76</sup>

He explained how Eastern objects are well balanced between design and utility, giving an example of a Japanese kettle which was exhibited at the Vienna Exhibition in 1873. Dresser said:

I shall now subject one or two Eastern objects to this double test, in order that we notice the manner in which they meet required wants; and first I shall take a Japanese kettle. The kettles which I have here are from the Vienna Exhibition, and formed part of that very interesting collection of objects sent by the Tycoon's Government to Austria during the past year, an exhibit which must be regarded as of the highest interest to Europeans generally, and to those in particular who have the sagacity to perceive what is beautiful and what is new, and to apply the knowledge gained to the advancement of our own industries.

To take one kettle, first, we notice that its 'body' consists of a flattened spheroid, and thus resembles in shape a common cheese, with its edges rounded. This body is formed of thin, rough bronze, one-half of which is covered with little rounded eminencies which thickly and regularly cover its surface. The handle of the kettle is of smooth bronze, and so is the lid, but the lid is inlaid with silver in a manner that gives to it much beauty. In many respects we have here a typical kettle - a kettle typical in its utility and typical in its beauty - for notice.<sup>77</sup>

However, Shirley Bury says that the simplicity of Christopher Dresser's design should not be attributed entirely to his liking for things Japanese; 'Many of his shapes arose out his dual concern with the techniques of mass-production and with the function of the articles he designed.'<sup>78</sup> Dresser was positive about machinery mass production and this was 'in contrast to the pessimism expressed by William Morris and John Ruskin', and he developed the discoveries

of his own time; ‘... by stressing the importance of design and modernism rather than antiquarian craftsmanship, Dresser emerged as a greater design-innovator than any of the other artists in the Arts and Crafts Movement.’<sup>79</sup> He stressed the importance of design and modernity rather than handmade-craftsmanship.

Dresser’s main concern was the form of the object used in everyday life and he attached great importance to function and simple form for mass-production. Simple geometric and clean-cut shape is characteristic of Dresser’s metalwork by inspired by the simplicity of Japanese design. Japanese artefacts were important to give him some idea of the essence of daily objects and to establish his theory for industrial art.

On the other hand, the colourful motifs of his ceramics reflect his interest in botany, and the sources of these patterns were not only Japanese but also Chinese, Egyptian, Greek and Islamic. Silver tea and coffee sets with Japanese crest decorations (Fig.15) show most clearly Dresser’s Japanese taste. The bodies are spheres in shape with geometrical handles and sharp stands. On the smooth surface of the bodies, motifs of Japanese crests are incised. These are *Maru ni Mitsuaoi* (Fig.16), *Andou Fuji* (Fig.17) and *Chuwa ni Tachiaoi* (Fig.18). Many motifs of Japanese *mon*, family crests, are taken from nature and designed into patterns. For example, in a catalogue of family crests, 2486 motifs out of 5116 are taken from plants, and it is understandable that as a botanist and designer, Dresser was inspired by Japanese ideas to make plants into abstract designs.<sup>80</sup>

## **Arthur Lazenby Liberty**

There is another important figure who started a business based on importing and selling Oriental objects, and who took advantage of mass-production. This was Arthur Lasenby Liberty. His business started from importing Oriental goods and as it developed contributed to improving Victorian taste.

Liberty was a manager of the Oriental Department for Farmer and Rogers for 12 years, and opened his own shop at 218 Regent Street in May 1875. Many of his early customers such as William Morris, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, the Rossetti brothers, Burne-Jones, Whistler, Norman Shaw and E.W. Godwin were associated with the arts.<sup>81</sup> This new shop, East India House, opened with three members of staff: a former colleague from Farmer & Rogers, a sixteen year-old girl and a Japanese boy whose name was Hara Kitsui. Liberty started his business importing Japanese goods such as porcelain, fans, screens, wallpapers, swords, mats, lacquerware, paper lanterns, bronze and wall masks,<sup>82</sup> and was so successful with the increasing demand for Oriental artefacts, he needed to extend his store within 18 months, and in 1883 opened a new shop at 120 Regent Street.

Liberty understood the demands of the middle classes who wanted to purchase something to improve their daily lives at a low cost. So he started to produce Liberty's original items, which were commissioned from designers but under the policy of anonymity, he 'made a point of never revealing the names of its designers, only as Liberty's'.<sup>83</sup> Without adding the expense of individual designer status and by introducing mass-production using machines, Liberty kept costs low and met the demands. In this way Japanese objects and Japan-inspired-objects became widespread in Victorian domestic



decoration and contributed to the Aesthetic Movement.

In 1889, Liberty visited Japan with his wife, Sir Alfred East and Charles Holme. During his visit, he gave a paper in Tokyo on the art production of Japan.<sup>84</sup> On his return from Japan, he gave a lecture on Japanese industrial art and manufactures at the Society of Arts.<sup>85</sup> Liberty was interested in the manufactured and industrial art products of Japan, and was positive about the art products made in Japan but intended to satisfy European demands. However, he thought that the Japanese should 'not allow European influences in return to overturn the art of Japan'<sup>86</sup> and the Japanese 'should comply with European demands by all means, but let the outcome be still Japanese in character and thought.'<sup>87</sup>

### **Japanese, Medieval and Greek Art: Burges and Godwin**

As has been pointed out by Watanabe Toshio, one of the characteristics of *Japonisme* in Britain in the 1850s is that some devotees were medievalists. One such devotee was William Burges, whose Japanese collection dates from the 1850s.<sup>88</sup> In his review of the International Exhibition in London in 1862, he said that 'truly the Japanese Court is the real medieval court of the Exhibition.'<sup>89</sup> According to E. Aslin, Burges' interest in the combination of French 13<sup>th</sup> century architecture and 19<sup>th</sup> century Japanese objects could be explained by saying that 'it was not primarily the form of Gothic architecture which appealed to Burges but a romanticised view of the combinations which produced it, and so it was with Japanese art.'<sup>90</sup>

In Burges's scrap book from around 1855, samples of papers<sup>91</sup> and some *ukiyo-e*<sup>92</sup> are pasted. His collection is rather interesting: there

is no sheet of the *ukiyo-e* beauties of Utamaro or landscapes by Hiroshige or Hokusai. Instead the figures of Europeans, or illustrations of popular tales: *Saru Kani Gassen* (A Battle Between a Monkey and Crabs)<sup>93</sup> or *Nezumi no Yomeiri* (Wedding of Mouse)<sup>94</sup> are included.

There is another figure who was interested in the Gothic style but who was also fascinated by Japanese art in the 1860s. This was Edward William Godwin, a close friend of William Burges, who was an architect, designer and critic. After Godwin studied medieval art in the 1850s, under the influence of Ruskin, whose *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice* were published in 1849 and 1853 respectively, he began to collect and study Japanese art.<sup>95</sup> This led to the creation of his ebonised 'Anglo-Japanese' furniture. His cabinet in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Fig.19), which dates from about 1867, for instance, is well known as an example of Victorian *Japonisme*. In 1862, Godwin had moved to 21 Portland Square in Bristol with his first wife. According to Dudley Harbron, there were a few Japanese prints on the wall of plain colours,<sup>96</sup> however, Harborn gives no sources for this statement, and the precise date of Godwin's encounter with Japanese art is unknown. This house was very simple, which suggested his poverty at that time, but Dudley Harbron says that this was possibly due to Godwin's 'interest in the art of Japan'.<sup>97</sup> Godwin went to London in July 1862 as a delegate to the national meeting of the Architectural Alliance<sup>98</sup> and while in London, he must have seen the Japanese Court at the International Exhibition with many Japanese artefacts. Over 190 examples of lacquerware, which could be the inspiration of his later pieces of ebonised Anglo-Japanese furniture, were displayed there.<sup>99</sup>

Godwin moved to London in October 1865 where he had more opportunities to see Japanese art. He was a man of taste who designed interior, furniture and costume and he wanted to have his taste reflected in his own surroundings. He decorated his house in his own style, and he told his students to study everything that they could find but to absorb the information, and use it to create their own personal style.<sup>100</sup> He said about his house later :

When I came to the furniture I found that hardly anything could be bought ready made that was at all suitable to the requirements of the case. I therefore set to work and designed a lot of furniture, and with a desire for economy, directed it to be made of deal, and to be ebonised. There were no mouldings, no ornamental metal work, no carving. Such effect as I wanted I endeavoured to gain, as in economical building, by the mere grouping of solid and void and by a more or less broken outline. The scanting or substance of the framing and other parts of the furniture was reduced to as low a denomination as was compatible with soundness of construction.<sup>101</sup>

As an aesthete, he chose what his family wore and their environment. During their life together, between 1868 and 1874, Ellen Terry wore "blue and white cottons", and her daughter was dressed "in a *kimono*, in which she looked as Japanese as everything which surrounded her".<sup>102</sup> Their children were 'allowed no rubbishy picture-books, but from the first Japanese prints and fans lined their nursery walls, and Walter Crane was classic'.<sup>103</sup> Japanese costumes and objects were chosen by Godwin because they were in what he considered to be good taste and they harmonised with the rest of the decor. His attitude as a designer was expressed in comprehensive and consistent interiors.

Not only his furniture but also his wallpaper and textiles show Japanese elements. His way of selecting Japanese elements was

quite flexible; he applied certain characteristics of Japanese architecture to his furniture design. His inspiration for his wallpaper and textile design was not only Japanese crest books but also *ukiyo-e*. These were among his most important sources. A table with folding shelves (ca.1872)(Fig.20) with interconnected shelves at different heights reminds us of *chigaidana* (a group of shelves interconnected at different heights),<sup>104</sup> of *tsuke shoin* (a shallow alcove with a wide ledge used as a desk, and sliding *shoji* windows)<sup>105</sup> (Fig. 21). These reached the most fully developed form in Japanese house interiors of the Momoyama era (c.1573-c.1615), although these shelves can be also seen in Japanese cabinets. Godwin used a Japanese bell-shaped window normally covered with paper and often seen as a window of *tuke shoin* for his *Four Seasons Cabinet*. (Fig.22) Susan Soros describes this as having 'explicit Georgian characteristics': 'With its satinwood veneer, thin elegant proportions, splayed feet, reeded mouldings, and open shelves' but the Japanese inspiration is also evident.<sup>106</sup> A mixture of eastern and western sources is common in Godwin's work.

Various patterns of *kimono* in *ukiyo-e* must have been Godwin's inspiration for some of his designs for wallpaper and textiles. For instance, the geometric design of the 'Peacock' (Fig.23) is similar to a pattern of *obi* in *Minami Juni-ko* (Twelve Months in the South) by Kiyonaga (Fig.24) which is now in the British Museum.<sup>107</sup> This is one of several prints presented by Miss Birnie Philip in memory of her sister Mrs. Beatrix McNeill Whistler. This *ukiyo-e* possibly became Whistler's possession through his marriage to Beatrix, who was the widow of Godwin. *Ukiyo-e* provided rich visual information on Japanese traditional designs, architecture and interiors. Godwin's use of a combination of curved and geometric patterns is not unusual

in Japanese design. It was also employed by later artists including Gustav Klimt at the turn of the century.<sup>108</sup>

A mixture of medieval and Japanese culture can be seen in Godwin's 'Butterfly' Brocade (Fig.25) which is known as the 'Anglo-Japanese' style, or in his designs for ceiling wall papers for William Watt (Fig.26) which Joanna Banham calls 'Japanese style patterns',<sup>109</sup> where patterned or repeating roundels with flowery design inside circles can be seen in 'mediaeval' mosaic arrangements (Fig.27).

Japanese art was not the only source of inspiration for Godwin. He was also inspired by Greek art. It is known, for instance, that he designed Anglo-Greek furniture such as a 'buffet, mantelpiece, hanging cabinet, a so called lady's companion, and even Anglo-Greek office furniture', floor clothes, wallpapers, and ceramics to have a coherent effect for one interior.<sup>110</sup> He designed 'Anglo-Greek' furniture as well as 'Anglo-Japanese' furniture, and his mixture of Japanese and Greek designs could be found in his idea of the White House for Whistler,<sup>111</sup> or the design of the 'House Beautiful',<sup>112</sup> a residence for Constance and Oscar Wilde. Wilde 'planned to convert its interior into something extraordinary and quite unlike the interior of any other Victorian mansion'.<sup>113</sup>

Japanese materials were used when Godwin designed Oscar Wilde's House in Chelsea, at 16 (now 33) Tite Street in 1884. Adrian Hope recalled the dining room, writing, 'the white paint (as indeed all the paint used about the house) was of a high polish like Japanese lacquerwork'.<sup>114</sup> Godwin designed Greek-style dining room chairs, 'upholstered in white plush with blue and yellow accents',<sup>115</sup> in white round the walls of the dining room.<sup>116</sup> Wilde provided Japanese

leather paper for the ceiling of the front drawing room. And Godwin designed the 'exquisite' Japanese couch.<sup>117</sup> In his sketch-book, dated 1884 to 1885, which contains designs and details for Wilde's house, Godwin drew a Japanese woman in *kimono* standing by the door.(Fig.28 )<sup>118</sup>

The main characteristics of his Anglo-Japanese' furniture is its simplicity. One of the characteristics of British design at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was its simplified shape. As Stephan Tschudi Madsen pointed out, Art Nouveau in Britain could be characterised by its linear simplicity. He said 'As early as the 1880s the English approach was linear, and this proved to be the characteristic feature of the style both in Scotland and in England.'<sup>119</sup>

The simplicity of Godwin's 'Anglo-Japanese' furniture, its economy and white-walled room foreshadows the furniture and simple white interiors of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) in Glasgow. Mackintosh also designed every single item of his flat, 120 Main Street, Glasgow, where the white walls and the linear design of the furniture create an effect of lightness.<sup>120</sup> Mackintosh's inspiration from Japanese art, especially *ukiyo-e*, or Japanese interior space can be seen in his designs for interior spaces. This is seen in the interior of the Hill House or in the Willow Tea Rooms,<sup>121</sup> for instance, where he made a row of pillars which look as if they were a two dimensional flat wall. He divided the three dimensional space by these illusion-like two dimensional pillars. Also in the design of his high back chair, he introduces the idea that the room is divided by furniture just as the Japanese do using *byobu* (screen), to divide a room for privacy. Eating, sitting, and sleeping took place in the same room.

## Women and Costume

In 1884, Liberty's opened a dress department and E. W. Godwin was employed as a designer and consultant. Liberty began to import uncoloured fabrics, and arranged to have them dyed in England by Thomas Wardle, a silk printer and dyer from Leek. These were called 'Art Colour' and carried the reputation of Liberty across the world.<sup>122</sup> Liberty's did not make any actual clothes before 1884 but Arthur Liberty approved the campaign of the Rational Dress Society, which was against restrictive clothes and encouraged the abandonment of the corset, and was awarded a silver medal at the Rational Dress Exhibition at Kensington Town Hall in 1883.<sup>123</sup>

In a handbook written by Godwin for the organisers of the National Health Society Exhibition of 1884, he pointed out that 'some modification of Greek costume was perfectly applicable to the British climate if it was worn over a sub-stratum of pure wool...'<sup>124</sup> Victor Arwas says that Godwin 'based the new clothes on ancient Greek models, loose and suspended from the shoulders, their effect based on 'the exquisite play of light and line that one gets from rich and rippling folds.'<sup>125</sup> Moreover in his private life, his wife Ellen Terry and daughter wore *kimono* (Fig.29)(Fig.30) or dresses of a Grecian character.<sup>126</sup>

As Arthur Liberty said at an interview with the *Daily Chronicle*, artists were fascinated by the fabrics of the East. He said:

famous artists got the idea that I took a real interest in what we sold and my knowledge and appreciation of art were extended by prolonged visits to their studios, where I was always made welcome. The soft, delicate coloured fabrics of the East particularly attracted these artists because they could get

nothing of European make that would drape properly [*on their artist's models*] and which was of sufficiently well-balanced colouring to satisfy the eye. Albert Moore found them so helpful that he gave me a beautiful drawing of a group of classical figures holding up some of these draperies.<sup>127</sup>

In the 1860s *Japonisme* coincided with a classical revival, which began as a reaction against the dominance of Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites. This Victorian classical revival was interwoven with the aesthetic movement. As Julian Treuherz says, painters such as Frederic Leighton, Burne-Jones, Whistler and Albert Moore painted 'decoratively arranged pictures of female models as vehicles to convey beauty for its own sake'.<sup>128</sup>

Albert Joseph Moore (1841-1893) developed an aesthetic classical style, which combines a decorative type of painting depicting figures with or without classical draperies. He used classical elements such as Greek robes or Oriental vases for aesthetic effect. His combination of Greek and Japanese elements was written about by Richard Muther in 1896:

He was influenced, indeed, by the sculptures of the Parthenon, but the Japanese have also penetrated his spirit. From the Greeks he learnt the combination of noble lines, the charm of dignity and quietude, while the Japanese gave him the feeling for harmonies of colour, for soft, delicate blended tones. By a capricious union of both these elements he formed his refined and exquisite style. The world which he has called into being is made up of white marble pillars; in its gardens are cool fountains and marble pavements; but it is also full of white birds, soft colours, and rosy blossoms from Kioto.<sup>129</sup>

Unlike the other classicists, such as Leighton or Laurence Alma-Tadema, he was not concerned with classical myth nor historical and archaeological accuracy. Swinburne described Moore's *Azaleas* (Fig.31), 'The melody of colour, the symphony of form, is complete:



one more beautiful thing is achieved, one more delight is born into the world, and its meaning is beauty, and its reason for being is to be.'<sup>130</sup> Moore succeeded in uniting Victorian classicism and aestheticism in a harmonious style.<sup>131</sup>

Moore was, from 1865, a close friend of Whistler, and familiar with his Japanese collection. Japanese influence on Moore can be seen in the intrusion of blossoms into the composition and the cutting off of forms at the edge of the picture<sup>132</sup> and also by his signature, a circular patterned motif which William Eden Nesfield called 'pies'. These circular motifs may have been designed by the painter. These Japanese-inspired decorative qualities appear in many of his paintings, such as *Azaleas*. Moore also sometimes used Japanese objects, especially fans, in the aesthetic settings of his romantic subjects of 'sleeping beauties' such as *Beads* (Fig. 32), which was painted in 1875.

A mixture of Japanese, Roman and Greek costume, as seen in the work of Whistler and Moore, can also be found in the writings of the traveller Cyprian A. G. Bridge who went to Japan and in 1875 described Seto Uchi, the Inland Sea, as the Mediterranean of Japan. He found similarities between Japanese, Greek, and Roman costume:

One feels that here, if nowhere else, the classical antiquarian may realise much of a Roman or an ancient fashion. ... The flowing robes of the comfortable classes in the streets of towns closely resemble the toga of the Romans, but not more closely than does the short tunic of the woman the *chitôn* of the Greeks.<sup>133</sup>

Both Moore's costumes and his signature on its 'pie' disc shared both eastern and western influences. Nesfield, a friend of Whistler

and Moore, was one of the architects whose work was influenced by Japanese design and decorations. Nesfield was an important figure in the architectural side of the aesthetic movement who worked mainly in the Queen Anne style. In some of his buildings he incorporates a frieze of stylised sunflowers or discs, which Nesfield himself called 'pies'.<sup>134</sup> Watanabe Toshio points out that the origin of this 'pie' is medieval as well as Japanese. He says that designs of disc motifs for the extension to Combe Abbey in Warwickshire for the Earl of Craven (dated 1862-1865), now in the Victorian & Albert Museum, were 'mostly medieval in character containing trefoils and cinquefoils, etc., rather than Japanese motifs'.<sup>135</sup> However, Nesfield's 'pie' was also derived from the Japanese *mon*. His drawing for the great hall, Clovelly Hall, dated 1865 - 1870, clearly shows the influence of a Japanese family crest.<sup>136</sup>

This type of disc design had also been used for a book-cover by D. G. Rossetti for Swinburne's *Atlanta in Calydon* in 1865. As pointed out by Sato and Watanabe, the discs contain motifs with Greek associations, but two of them also overlapped on the left hand side in a Japanese manner.(Fig. 33)<sup>137</sup>

To understand this unknown art and culture of Japan, connoisseurs such as John Leighton or Sir Rutherford Alcock tried to understand it by making a comparison with Greek art whose perfection is a precept of European art.<sup>138</sup>

Alcock wrote that religion, climate, political tyranny and liberty had influence over the arts; and that the 'Japanese have had all these in perfection' as 'The long decade of Art in Greece, where once it made its home, and achieved its great triumphs, can hardly be satisfactorily accounted for by any changes either political or

religious; while climate has of course continued to impart the same inspiring influences to all who dwelt in the land.’<sup>139</sup>

John Leighton said, ‘The arts of Japan may be said, in an eminent degree, to depend upon the picturesque, though rarely to reach the pictorial, that is to say, they never produce a picture, because the principle element of pictorial art is wanting; light and shade ...’<sup>140</sup> However, this very element - the flatness of Japanese pictorial art and the lack of *chiaroscuro* - gave European painters fresh insight into pictorial art in the nineteenth century.

Alcock said that the Japanese were not ignorant of ways to give flat surfaces the deceptive appearance of objects in relief, although they did not employ light and shade to make a picture.<sup>141</sup> He said that the Japanese had a concept of pictorial art which was different from a European’s, and insisted that the absence of *chiaroscuro* should not be a criterion of judgement.<sup>142</sup> He suggested that this difference was due to ‘their adherence to what they observe in Nature’.<sup>143</sup> Taking as an example the studies of a variety of birds, he said, ‘...minutely and carefully they [Japanese artists] observe them in all their attitudes and characteristic motions’ and he did not think ‘the best painters of animals in Europe could dash off, with so few touches of pencil or brush, anything more artistic or true to nature’.<sup>144</sup>

## Conclusion

As is seen above, Japanese art was taken by artists as a source of inspiration within the context of the mainstream of Victorian Medievalism, Classicism and the Aesthetic Movement. It was not the main source of visual stimulation as in France, and in Britain it was

mainly an inspiration for the reformation of design and improvement of daily life.

The adoration for Japan might be seen as part of the 'High Victorian Dream', in J. Mordaunt Crook's words,<sup>145</sup> or as Christopher Wood says:

The Victorian vision of antiquity was a deeply romantic one; they looked back wistfully to the past as to a golden age, far simpler, nobler and more inspiring than their own. Their art was an expression of a desire to escape from the ugliness, materialism and industrialism of their own age.<sup>146</sup>

Even Mortimer Menpes, who actually went to Japan, found its art comparable with that of the Greeks. He said:

Art in Japan is living as art in Greece was living. It forms part and parcel of the very life of the people; every Japanese is an artist at heart in the sense that he loves and can understand the beautiful. If one of us could be as fortunate to-day as the man in the story, who came in his voyages upon an island where an Hellenic race preserved all the traditions and all the genius of their Attic ancestors, he would understand what living art really signifies. What would be true of that imaginary Greek island is absolutely true of the Japan of to-day. <sup>147</sup>

The Victorians tried to understand an unknown country, Japan, by comparing it with their own past. Few had the opportunity to experience Japan directly. When the opportunity arose, there were some painters who went to Japan to see this unknown country and its culture, and there were some who preferred not to actually see it. To understand *Japonisme* and its essence, I shall explore the different ways in which Victorian painters responded and adapted to Japanese art and examine what they sought for their art.

## Endnotes for Chapter One

1. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.95, 1825, p.259. Also see Widar Halén, *Christopher Dresser*, Oxford, 1990, p.33.
2. Halén, 1990, p.33 see also n.2 of chapter 2: British Museum, Index to Minutes, vol.V, November 12,1859.
3. Quoted in Rupert Faulkner and Anna Jackson, 'The Meiji Period in South Kensington. The Representation of Japan in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1852-1912', *Meiji no Takara: Treasures of Imperial Japan*, Oliver Impty and Malcolm Fairley (eds), London, 1995, vol.1, p.158.
4. *ibid.*, p.154. See also Halén, 1990, pp.117 and 201 (n. 3 and N.6 of chapter 3): *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher's Journal*, 1880, I, p.1.: Victoria & Albert Museum Registry, nos. 33-34, 48-49, 50-51 and 689/1852.
5. Elizabeth Aslin, 'E.W. Godwin and the Japanese Taste', *Apollo*, vol.76, December 1962, pp.779-81. See also Shirley Bury, 'The Silver Design of Dr. Christopher Dresser', *Apollo*, vol.76, December 1962, p.767 and n. 5: *Department of Practical Art. Catalogue of the Articles of Ornamental Art, in the Museum of the Department*, London, 1852.
6. Faulkner and Jackson, 1995, p.158.
7. *The Illustrated London News*, June 4, 1853. See Touda Masahiro, *Zushou no nakano Chugoku to Nihon, Vikutoria-cho no Oriento Genso* (China and Japan in Illustrations. Illusions of the Orient in the Victorian Period), Tokyo, 1998, p.60.
8. Aslin in *Apollo*, vol.76, 1962, p. 781; Watanabe Toshio, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Bern, 1991, p.152.
9. 'The Japanese Exhibition, in Pall-Mall East', *The Illustrated London News*, February 4, 1854, pp.97-98. See Kanai Madoka (ed. & translated), *Egakareta Bakumatsu-Meiji* (The Late-Tokugawa and Meiji Japan engraved and described in *The Illustrated London News*, 1853-1902), Tokyo, 1973, pp.4-5. See also Faulkner and Jackson, 1995, p.156 and Watanabe, 1991, pp.152-153.

10. Elizabeth Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement Prelude to Art Nouveau*, New York, 1969, pp.79-80. See also Halén, 1990, p.34 and n. 7 of chapter 2: Department of Science and Art, *Minute Books*, April 20, 1854 & Public Record Office (ED.28.2/no.105).
11. I would like to thank Anna Jackson from the V&A, Far Eastern Department for the source of this information. She kindly showed me a photograph of a bronze vase which is on the centre of the table. See Faulkner and Jackson, 1995, p.156. See also Watanabe, 1991, pp.81-82.
12. 'Japanese Exhibition', *The Times*, Thursday, January 26, 1854, p.10.
13. *ibid.*, p.10.
14. The other contributors were Mrs. Crawford: A Japanese table, C. Copland: A Cabinet, Mr. Neave: Lacquered boxes, Remi Schmidt & Co.: Raw silks and cocoons, Inlaid cabinet work and lacquer ware, Books, arms, bronzes, porcelain, &c., Dr. A. Barton: Old and choice lacquer and bronzes, Swords & c. from Japan, Messrs. Baring: Two polished spheres of rock crystal. Also F. Howard Vyse, Her Majesty's Consul at Yokohama in Japan, sent about 10 items, and Dr. F.G. Myburgh's collection of surgical instruments made principally after European models were exhibited. See Miyauchi Satoshi, 'Dainikai Rondon kokusaihakurankai to Nippon no shuppinbutu ni tsuite' (The Second International Exhibition in London and the Japanese Exhibits), *Kyushu geijutu koukadaigaku kenkyuronshu* (Journal of Kyushu Institute of Design), no.4, May 1979, pp.78-81.
15. Christopher Dresser, 'The Art Manufactures of Japan, from Personal Observation', given at Eighth Ordinary Meeting, January 30, 1878. Printed in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.26, February 1, 1878, pp.169-177. Quoted in p.169.
16. cf. *ibid.*, p.169; Rutherford Alcock, *International Exhibition 1862. Catalogue of Works of Industry and Arts, Sent from Japan*, London, 1862; Miyauchi in *Kyushu geijutu koukadaigaku kenkyuronshu* (Journal of Kyushu Institute of Design), no.4, May 1979; 'The Japan Court in the International Exhibition, *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1862, pp.318-320. See also Watanabe, 1991, p.90.

17. 'Weekly Progress of the International Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. 10, February 7, 1862, pp.167-168. See also, *Manufactures of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition, 1862*, Selected and described by J.B. Waring, vol.3, London, 1863: plate 248; Chinese enamel, and Japanese Lacquer-work, plate 267; Bronze from Japan and China, plate 282; Earthenware from Japan and China, plate 288, Japanese lacquer-work.
18. Miyauchi in *Kyushu geijutu koukadaigaku kenkyuronshu* (Journal of Kyushu Institution of Design), no.4, May 1979, pp.73-74.
19. Phylis A. Floyd, 'Japonisme in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions', PhD thesis, The University of Michigan, 1983, p.110. Floyd says: There is evidence to suggest that these last items represented series by Hiroshige I or II and Hokusai. Laurence Oliphant, a member of the British deligation sent to Japan, reproduced facsimiles of Hiroshige's *Rokuju-Yoshu-Meisho-zue* (Famous Places: the Sixty Odd Provinces, 1853-56) in his account of the mission, as did Captin Sherard Osborn, in *Japanese Fragments*, London, 1861. Osborn's text also included illustrations from Hokusai's *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* and Hiroshige's *Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido* (1833-34).
20. Miyauchi in *Kyushu geijutu koukadaigaku kenkyuronshu* (Journal of Kyushu Institution of Design), no.4, May 1979, p.60 & p.237.
21. *ibid.*, p.72.
22. *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1862, p.319. See n.16 above.
23. See Watanabe, 1991, p.92.
24. Kanda Takao, 'Nihon-shumi no tansho to koreni taisuru nihon no hannou (Origin of "Taste for Japan" and Japanese reaction)', *Hikaku Bunka Kenkyu* (Comparative Studies of Culture), 3, Tokyo University, 1962, p.75.
25. See Watanabe, 1991, p.92.
26. Dresser in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.26, February 1, 1878, p.169. In this paper, he said, 'You, Sir Rutherford, first gave me a love for Japanese art. You first showed me what works Japan could produce. In 1862 you kindly permitted me to make sketches of whatever you

- possessed, and I made about 80 drawings, such as they were, in the Exhibition from the various articles which you brought over, ...'
27. Bury in *Apollo*, vol.76, December 1962, p.766.
  28. See Dresser in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.26, February 1, 1878, p.169.
  29. *ibid.*, p.170.
  30. Alison Adburgham, *Liberty's. A Biography of a Shop*, London, 1975, p.13 and Watanabe, 1991, p.94.
  31. Aslin, 1969, p.82.
  32. See Faulkner and Jackson, 1995, p. 182 and Halén, 1990, p.38.
  33. For instance: 'Artistic Gardens in Japan', vol.1, 1893, pp.129-135; 'Japanese Tobacco Boxes', vol.22, 1901, pp.87-94; 'Japanese Flower Painting', vol.31, 1904, pp.191-208; 'The Cha-no-yu Pottery of Japan', vol.46, 1909, pp.29-42; 'Western Influence upon Art in Japan', vol.46, 1909, pp.280-284.
  34. Sato Tomoko & Watanabe Toshio (eds), *Japan & Britain. An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, Tokyo: Setagaya Art Museum, 1992, p.123.
  35. Halén, 1990, p.46
  36. The *Meiji* government promoted the export of contemporary art to keep the development of industry and increase productivity. The government made plans for the export of contemporary art and crafts objects. These objects made for export are now called *Meiji no kougei*, decorative art made for export in the *Meiji* era.
  37. Halén, 1990, p.46. Also see Victor Arwas, 'The Triumph of The Liberty Style', *The Liberty Style*, exh.cat., Tokyo Metropolitan Teien Art Museum, 1999, p.194.
  38. Halén, 1990, p.18.
  39. Quoted in Watanabe, 1991, p.95. Also see William Michael Rossetti (ed.), *D.G. Rossetti: His Family Letters*, London, vol.2, 1895, p.180.
  40. V&A inv. nos. 628-1864 and 629-1864. See Faulkner and Jackson, 1995, p.176.
  41. *ibid.*, p.176.



42. V&A inv. no. 188-1883. This was exhibited at the Paris Universal Exhibition 1878 by Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha. Bing wrote a letter on recommending this bronze to the V&A; February 1, 1883, to Philip Cunliffe-Owen:

I sent you yesterday the photographs of a large bronze which you saw the Paris Exhibition of 1878.

I acquired this object at the time, and I entertain a boundless admiration for it. In fact I consider this bronze, in conjunction with Mitford's eagle now in your possession, to be the finest piece of bronze which an artist's hand has ever produced. In consequence of changes which I am obliged to make, I am now prepared to dispose of it. I have therefore thought of you, and my regret would be diminished if this marvellous piece of work could find a place in your museum, where it would provoke a considerable sensation.

Letter in V&A Registry, Nominal File, *Bing, Mons, S.* Quoted in Faulkner and Jackson, *ibid.*, p.180.

43. See Kigi Yasuko, *Hayashi Tadamasaa to sono jidai* (Hayashi Tadamasaa and His Era), Tokyo, 1993, p.304 and *Furansu Kaiga to Ukiyo-e Tozaibunka no kakehashi Hayashi Dadamasaa no Me* (French Painting and *Ukiyo-e*, The Eye of Hayashi Tadamasaa, a Bridge Between Eastern and Western Cultures), exh.cat., Takaoka City Art Museum, 1996-97, p.167.
44. Segi Shinichi, 'Ukiyo-e no Youroppa eno Denpa (Spread of *Ukiyo-e* in Europe)', *Ukiyo-e to Inshouha no Gakatachi Ten* (*Ukiyo-e* Prints and Impressionist Painters. Meeting of the East and the West), exh.cat., Tokyo, Committee for the Year 2001, 1979, p.188.
45. Halén, 1990, p.17.
46. The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums. inv.no. 37/14.
47. 'Japanese Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.34, April 30, 1886, p.645. Hart lectured on 'Japanese Art Work'. See *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.34, 1886, pp.1204-15, 1231-42; 1254-75.
48. Kigi, 1993, p.118. I would like to thank Mrs. Kigi Yasuko for providing the information.
49. Watanabe Toshio, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Bern, 1991. See n.8.

- 50.Sato & Watanabe, *Japan and Britain An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930* was held in association with Barbican Art Gallery in 1991 and the Setagaya Art Museum in 1992. See n.34.
- 51.Earrest Chesneau, 'L'Art Japonais, conférence faite a l'Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'industrie'. First published in *Le Constitutionnel*, January 14, 22 and February 11, 1868. Quoted in Robin Spencer, 'Whistler and Japan: Work in Progress', *Japonisme in Art. An International Symposium*, The Society for the Study of Japonisme (ed.), Tokyo, 1980, p.70, see also p.80, n.65.
- 52.Robin Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement: Theory and Practice*, London, 1972, p.7.
53. *ibid.*, p.7.
- 54.*Punch*, February 27, 1869, vol.56, p.80. See Touda, 1998, p.113, plate 67.
- 55.*Punch*, February 5, vol.70, 1876, p.33. See Touda 1998, p.113, plate 68.
- 56.*Punch*, February 4, vol.94, 1888, p.50. See Touda, 1998, p.122, plate 77.
- 57.Details of this series are as follows: Our Japonneries No.1, May 26, vol.94, 1888; Our Japonneries No.2, June 2, vol.94, 1888; Our Japonneries No.3 - The Commons Cricket Match, June 16, vol.94, 1888; Our Japonneries No.4 - Scarlet Letter Day at Cambridge, June 23, vol.94, 1888; Our Japonneries No.5 - The House of Lords, July 7, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.6, July 14, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.7 - A Parliamentary Wimbledon, July 21, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.8 - At the Sweating System Commission, July 28, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.9 - At the 'Times v. Crimes' Debate in the Commons, August 4, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.10 - A Row in the House During 'Times v. Crimes' Debate in Committee, August 11, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.11 - Shooting Grouse on the Moors, August 18, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.12 - Fishing Rod'Rick Dhu About this time in Scotland, August 25, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.13 Lika Joko goes Yottin, September 1, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.14 - Lika Joko at the Seaside, September 8, vol.95, 1888, Our Japonneries No.15 - Crossing the Channel, September 15, vol.95, 1888;

Our Japonneries No.16 - First Meeting of the Parnell Commission, September 22, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.17 Lika Joko's Pic-Nic, September 29, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.18 - On the Stump - October 13, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.19 The grand Old Stumper and his Offshoots, October 27, vol.95, 1888; Our Japonneries No.20, November 3, vol.95, 1888, Our Japonneries No.21 - Court up for Lunch, November 10, vol.95, 1888.

58. *Punch*, May 26, vol.94, 1888, p.241.

59. *Punch*, August 11, vol.95, 1888, p.63. See n.57 above.

60. *Punch*, August 25, vol.95, 1888, p.95. See n.57 above

61. Reproduced in Charlotte Gere, *The House Beautiful. Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Setting*, London, 2000, p.9.

62. *ibid.*, p.119.

63. Although widows in black dress were not unusual at this period, the subject and composition, with the painter's mother in black dress in profile, reminds us of Whistler's portrait, *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* (YMSM 101, 1871). This portrait may well have been known in Scotland because of the popularity of the Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle, and the portrait *Arrangement in Grey and Black No.2: Thomas Carlyle* (YMSM 102, 1872-73).

64. Aslin, 1969, p.79.

65. *ibid.*, p.15 and Sato & Watanabe, Tokyo, 1991, p.27.

66. London, 1838-40.

67. Watanabe, 1991, p.149.

68. Aslin, 1969, p.129.

69. Quoted in *ibid.*, p.15.

70. Quoted in Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, London, 1996, p.34.

71. Sato and Watanabe, Tokyo, 1992, p.123-124 and Halén, 1990, p.10.

72. See Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, vol.9., London, 1996, p.295 and Sato and Watanabe, 1992, p.123. Halén says that Dresser awarded the doctorate in 1859. See Halén, 1990, p.12.

73. See Halén, 1990, p.12. Christopher Dresser published *The Art of Decorative Design and Development of Ornamental Art in the International Exhibition in 1862*.
74. Halén, 1990, p.17.
75. Christopher Dresser, *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.22, February 6, 1874, pp.211-219.
76. *ibid.*, p.211.
77. *ibid.*, p.212.
78. Bury in *Apollo*, vol.76, December 1962, p.767.
79. Halén, 1990, p.9.
80. Honda, Souichirou (ed.), *Kamon Daizen (The Complete Family Marks)*, Tokyo, 1997, p.1.
81. Aslin, 1969, p.81.
82. Arwas, 1999, p.194. After carrying swords was prohibited in Japan in 1876, metal workers who were skilled in making swords and its fittings started to produce teapots or kettles, or kitchen cutlery for European market.
83. *ibid.*, p.197.
84. Arthur Lasenby Liberty, 'Japanese Art Productions', Saturday, June 1, 1889, a paper given at *Bijutu Kyokai (Art Association)*, Sakuragaoka, Ueno, Tokyo, printed in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.38, 1889, pp.694-697.
85. Arthur Lasenby Liberty, 'The Industrial Arts and Manufactures of Japan', Thursday, May 20, 1890, printed in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 1890, vol.39, pp.673-684.
86. Liberty in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.38, 1889, pp.696.
87. *ibid.*, pp.696-697.
88. An album on which a Japanese print is stuck is dated 18 October 1858. V&A, inv.no. 96E5. See Geneviève Lacambre, 'Sources du Japonisme au XIX Siècle', *Japonisme*, Tokyo & Paris, 1988, p.19.
89. William Burges, 'The International Exhibition', *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1862, p.11. See Watanabe, 1991, p.166.

90. Aslin, 1969, p.81 also Aslin, 1962 in *Apollo*, vol.76, p.781.
91. V&A PD, 8827-98, 99, 100, 101.
92. V&A PD, from 8827-101 to 8827-120.
93. By Kunisato. Published by Idzumi-ya Ichibei (Kanseido). Date unknown.  
37.3×25 cm. Divided into sixty four vertical rectangles. Date unknown.  
V&A PD, 8827-112.
94. By Kunisato. Published by Idzumi-ya Ichibei (Kanseido). Date unknown.  
37.3×25 cm. Divided into sixty four vertical rectangles. Date unknown.  
V&A PD, 8827-114.
95. Aslin in *Apollo*, vol.76, 1962, p.782.
96. Dudley Harbron, *The Conscious Stone*, London, 1949, p.33.
97. *ibid.*, p.33.
98. *ibid.*, pp.34-35.
99. For further discussion on Japanese influence on Godwin, see Nancy B. Wilkinson, 'E.W. Godwin and *Japonisme* in England', in *E.W. Godwin*, Susan Weber Soros (ed.), exh.cat., New York, 1999, pp.71-91 and Nancy B. Wilkinson, 'Edward William Godwin and *Japonisme* in England', PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987.
100. Aslin in *Apollo*, vol.76, 1962, p.782.
101. Edward William Godwin, 'My Chambers, and what I did to them. Chapter I. A.D. 1867', *The Architect*, 1 July 1876, pp.4-5. Quoted in Watanabe, 1991, p.189.
102. Harbron, 1949, p.82.
103. Ellen Terry, *The Story of My Life*, second edition, London, [1922], p.80.
104. Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art*, New York, 1993, p.204.
105. *ibid.*, p.204.
106. See Susan Weber Soros, 'The Furniture of E.W. Godwin', in *E.W. Godwin*, Susan Weber Soros (ed.), exh.cat., New York, 1999, p.241.
107. Since the colour of this *Ukiyo-e* is faded, it is impossible to reproduce the pattern clearly.
108. Mabuchi, 1997, pp.194-199.
109. Joanna Banham, 'E.W. Godwin and Wallpaper Design', in *E.W. Godwin*,

- Susan Weber Soros (ed.), exh.cat., New York, 1999, p.290.
- 110.V&A AAD, 4/12-1980. See Soros, 'The Furniture of E.W. Godwin' in *E. W. Godwin*, 1999, p.249 and p.260, n. 112.
- 111.Susan Weber Soros, 'E.W. Godwin and Interior Design', in *E.W. Godwin*, Susan Weber Soros (ed.), exh.cat., New York, 1999, p.207-209. For further discussion on Godwin's Anglo-Japanese furniture see Susan Weber Soros, *The Secular Furniture of E.W. Godwin*, New Haven & London, 1999, pp.38-43.
112. *ibid.*, p.216.
- 113.H. Montgomery Hyde, 'Oscar Wilde and his Architect', *The Architectural Review*, vol.109, no.649, January 1951, p.175.
- 114.Quoted in Soros, 'The Furniture of E.W. Godwin' in *E.W. Godwin*, 1999, p.217, and n.192 on p.328. See also Gere and Whiteway, *Nineteenth-Century Design*, 1993, p.328.
- 115.See Soros, 1999, p.217.
- 116.Hyde in *The Architectural Review*, vol.109, no.649, January 1951, p.175-76.
117. *ibid.*, 175-76.
- 118.V&A, PD, E.264-1963.
- 119.Stephan Tschudi Madsen, *Art Nouveau*, London, 1967, p.172.
- 120.See Juliet Kinchin, 'E.W. Godwin and Modernism', in *E.W. Godwin*, Susan Weber Soros (ed.), exh.cat., New York, 1999, pp.97-99 and Soros, 'E.W. Godwin and Interior Design' in *E.W. Godwin*, 1999, p.217.
- 121.Illustrated in Wendy Kaplan (ed.), *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, exh.cat., Glasgow, 1996, p.276.
- 122.Arwas, 1999, p.195.
- 123.Adburgham, 1975, p.33. See also *ibid.*, pp.195-96.
- 124.Adburgham, *ibid.*, p.33.
- 125.Arwas, 1999, p.196.
- 126.Harbron, 1949, p.75.
- 127.Adburgham, 1975, p.14.
- 128.Julian Treuherz, *Victorian Painting*, London, 1993, p.133.

129. Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, vol.2., London, 1896, p.128. Quoted in Christopher Wood, *Olympian Dreamers. Victorian Classical Painters 1860-1914*, London: Constable, 1983, p.156.
130. Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Essays and Studies by Algernon Charles Swinburne*, London, 1875, pp.360-361. Quoted in Wood, 1983, p.161.
131. Wood., *ibid.*, p.161.
132. Watanabe, 1991, pp.243-44.
133. Cyprian A.G. Bridge, 'The Mediterranean of Japan', *Fortnightly Review*, vol.18, 1875, p.209. See Tanita Hiroyuki, 'Kodai Girisha to Nihon - Eikoku no Japanisumu no Ichikyokumen (Classical Greece and Japan - An Aspect of *Japanism* in Britain' [sic])', *Sansai*, 11, no.494, 1988, p.43.
134. Aslin, 1969, p.47. For further discussion, see also Watanabe, 1991, pp.178-124.
135. Watanabe, 1991, p.179.
136. *ibid.*, p.180.
137. Sato and Watanabe, Tokyo, 1991, p.123; Watanabe, 1991, p.204; Robert Schmutzler, *Art Nouveau-Jugendstil*, 1962, p.85; Virginia Surtees (ed.), *Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Painter and Poet*, exh.cat., Royal Academy of Arts, p.58 and Tanita Hiroyuki, 'D.G. Rossetti to Viktoriachou no bukku dezain (D.G. Rossetti and Victorian Book Design)', *Gareria tsushin*, no.22, April 1985.
138. John Leighton discussed the Japanese objects in the 1862 International Exhibition, making a comparison not only with Greek art but also Chinese, Egyptian and Indian. See John Leighton, 'On Japanese Art', read at the Royal Institution, printed in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.11, July 24, 1863, pp.596-599.
139. Rutherford Alcock, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal*, vol.14, 1875, p.201.
140. Leighton in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol.11, July 24, 1863, p.597.
141. Rutherford Alcock, 'Japanese Art', *Art Journal*, vol.17, 1878, p.137.
142. Alcock in *Art Journal*, vol.14, 1875, p.105.
143. Alcock in *Art Journal*, vol.17, 1878, p.137.
144. Alcock in *Art Journal*, vol.14, 1875, p.335.

- 145.Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream*, London, 1981, p.52. Quoted in Watanabe, 1991, p.168.
- 146.Wood, 1983, p.17.
- 147.Mortimer Menpes, 'A Personal View of Japanese Art. A Lesson From Khiosi', *Magazine of Art*, April 1888, p.199.



## Chapter Two: J. McN. Whistler's *Japonisme*

### Introduction

Numerous studies have been carried out on James McNeill Whistler, his life and art; and the Japanese influence on his art has been frequently mentioned in the context of his artistic development. He was profoundly inspired by Japanese art, and it is necessary to have some knowledge of Japanese art in order to understand Whistler's *Japonisme*.

Partly as a result of the Ruskin Trial, Whistler was declared bankrupt in 1879, and lost most of his possessions, including almost all his Oriental collection. *"The White House", Tite Street, Chelsea, A Catalogue of the Remaining Household Furniture* (Baker & Sons),<sup>1</sup> and a *Catalogue of the Decorative Porcelain, Cabinet, Paintings, and Other Works of Art of J.A. McN. Whistler* (Sotheby),<sup>2</sup> are useful sources of information about his collection. Unfortunately, because of the lack of illustration and detailed description, it is not possible to know from these sale catalogues exactly which Japanese objects Whistler possessed.

Whistler had arrived in Paris in 1855, and soon found himself in the circle of Gustave Courbet. European painting had reached the peak of Realism with Courbet's work and it was groping for a new direction of development. Whistler, while speaking of his rejection of Courbet's realism and his admiration for Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres in a letter to Henri-Jean-Théodore Fantin-Latour in the autumn of 1867,<sup>3</sup> was also moving towards a new simplicity inspired

by Japanese art. Robin Spencer points out:

In terms of nineteenth-century pictorial practice in France and England this is generally seen as a radical departure from tradition, on the part of Whistler, Manet and the Impressionists, foreshadowing the synthetism of Gauguin and the Nabis, and an important influence on the formal developments of 20<sup>th</sup> century painting in the West.<sup>4</sup>

In his *10 O'Clock Lecture* which was delivered in the Prince's Hall in London in 1885, Whistler made his attitude as an aesthete clear and he preached the independence of art from nature and the superiority of art to nature. This is the last phrase of his lecture:

the story of the beautiful is already complete - hewn in the marbles of the Parthenon - and broidered, with the birds, upon the fan of Hokusai - at the foot of Fusiyama.<sup>5</sup>

It is significant that he concluded his lecture with the name of a Japanese artist, Hokusai, and a reference to Mt. Fuji. David J. Bromfield suggests that Whistler always took Japanese art for his standard of aesthetic and technical perfection.<sup>6</sup> It is true that Whistler derived inspiration from Japanese art in terms of composition, space and harmony of colour in order to accomplish his own style, but he did not mention Japanese aesthetics nor is there any sense in this lecture that he had a real philosophical understanding of Japanese art. He concluded his *10 O'Clock Lecture* by placing the Greek marbles of the Parthenon and Japanese *ukiyo-e* artists, such as Hokusai, together. It could be argued that this is a typical High Victorian attitude, embodying a desire to assimilate the past using a mixture of Greek and Japanese art.

Whistler always searched for originality and his own style, and he accepted and then combined many different ideas in order to

accomplish his aim. Unlike Van Gogh, he did not make any deliberate copies of *ukiyo-e* and it is often difficult to pinpoint the direct source of the Japanese art which influenced Whistler's works.

Van Gogh copied *ukiyo-e* prints by Hiroshige and Eisen. *Japonaiserie: tree in bloom*,<sup>7</sup> for instance, was copied from Hiroshige's *Kameido Umeyashiki* (Plum Estate, Kameido) in 'One Hundred Famous Views of Edo'. Van Gogh's painting shows his fascination with the flat colour and composition and the graphic qualities of the print. He ignored the subtle gradation of colour which prevails in the overall surface of the print and the careful shading of the gnarled trunk which tells of the great age of this most famous tree in Edo, *Garyubai* (Sleeping Dragon Plum).<sup>8</sup>

Whistler did not simply copy or imitate Japanese art but found hints and suggestions in Japanese prints for methods of expression, and incorporated these into his own expressive work. Japanese art was one of the elements in his work, and what should be emphasised is that it was selected and interpreted in Whistler's own way and its influence appears throughout his career in various ways. The influence of Japanese art on Whistler's work becomes less obvious, but greater in depth, as his work matured.

In this chapter, Japanese influences on Whistler's art will be discussed and in particular how the painter used Japanese art as a source of inspiration to establish his own style.

## Compositions

One of the characteristics of Whistler's *Japonisme* is his interest in

pictorial surface. Whistler developed an interest in the geometric composition of 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch interiors as well as that of the Japanese, and he experimented with the decorative quality of the picture surface by flattening the composition. In this section, Whistler's experiments with pictorial surface from the early 1860s to 1870s, and the combination of 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch interiors and *ukiyo-e* will be discussed. It should be noted here that he was also experimenting with the picture surface of riverscapes and so produced his most evocative riverscapes, a series of *Nocturnes*.

While Whistler was in Paris, he came to know artists such as Félix Bracquemond and Edouard Manet who were interested in Japanese art. He became the close friend of Fantin-Latour and James Tissot who shared his interests. Auguste Delâtre, who published Whistler's 'French Set' of etchings in 1858, owned *Hokusai Manga* by the late 1850s.<sup>9</sup> Bracquemond started to show *Hokusai Manga* to his friends around 1858.<sup>10</sup> Whistler's contact with these early Japonists may have led him to experiment with the pictorial surface.

The Pennells, Whistler's biographers explain:

Whistler was in Paris in 1856, when Bracquemond 'discovered' Japan in a little volume of Hokusai, used for packing china, and rescued by Delâtre, the printer. ... After that, Braquemond had the book always by him; and when in 1862 Madame Desoye, who, with her husband had lived in Japan, opened a shop under the arcades of the Rue Rivoli, the enthusiasm spread to Manet, Fantin, Tissot, Jacquemart and Solon, Baudelaire and the De Goncourts.<sup>11</sup>

It is not known if or when Whistler saw this particular book, but it is known that he had contact with Delâtre at least by 1858 and could possibly have seen it at that time.

According to the Pennells, ‘...the fashion in Paris began before Rossetti owned his first blue pot or his first colour print. Whistler brought the knowledge and love of the art to London’ and ‘Mr. W.M. Rossetti is certain that his brother was inspired by Whistler, who brought not only blue and white porcelains, but sketch-books, colour prints, lacquers, *kakemonos*, embroideries, screens.’<sup>12</sup> The Pennells knew Whistler from 1880 onwards and, as his friends, their views on Whistler are subjective. In this quotation, it could possibly be said that they try to make Whistler a leader of the fashion for Japan, and their date of 1856 is debatable. However, they were in direct contact with Whistler and Fantin-Latour and so their version of what happened was based on direct contact with those involved.

The late 1850s and early 1860s was a complex period for Whistler who was still learning his trade while moving between English and French artistic circles. At the same time, he started to be concerned about pictorial space. Katherine A. Lochnan says Whistler’s interest in Japanese art was first expressed in his works by the use of new compositional devices rather than by the exotic effect of objects such as fans, porcelain, and *kimono*. She suggested that Whistler used Japanese compositional devices in his Thames etchings in 1859.<sup>13</sup> For instance, Lochnan says that Whistler flattened the picture surface and raised the horizon line to create a sense of recession in *The Pool* (K.43, 1859)(Fig.34), and this organisation of spatial and compositional elements is often seen in Japanese prints.<sup>14</sup> In the Thames etchings of the late summer of 1859, ‘he continues to explore new ways of constructing the picture surface ... Like other realists, he looked outside the western artistic tradition to Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints...’<sup>15</sup>

It is true that Whistler was aware of pictorial space and he experimented with it in his etchings. Through the French avant-garde circle, it is possible that he had already encountered Japanese art in the late 1850s. However, there is little evidence of Whistler's knowledge of Japanese art before the early 1860s. As Linda Merrill points out, the 'evidence of his contact with Japanese art during his student days in Paris is chiefly circumstantial.'<sup>16</sup> It is quite hard to determine whether there is any Japanese influence on his works in the late 1850s, although it is clear that Whistler experimented with pictorial space both in etchings and oils from the late 1850s. However, it can not be concluded that Whistler used Japanese pictorial space as the basis for his experimentation.

One of the earliest examples to apparently show Japanese influence in composition is *The Punt* (K.85)(Fig.35) of 1861. This asymmetrical composition, with the end of the punt coming into the centre of the composition, is common in *ukiyo-e* as in, for example, Suzuki Harunobu's (1725-1770) *Hasuike Funa asobi* (Women in a boat, picking lotus flowers)(c.1765)(Fig. 36) or *Shubi no matsu* (The Pine tree of Shubi) from Ehon Edo miyage (Picture book of souvenirs from Edo). Truncating objects such as rowing-boats, ship's hulls and sprays of blossom by cutting them off at the edge of the picture is often seen in *ukiyo-e*. Japanese artists did not hesitate to reduce the human body in order to obtain a dramatic effect of composition, as is seen in Hiroshige's *Haneda no watashi* from *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo)(1856-58)(Fig.37). This kind of asymmetrical composition and unnatural exaggerations were not in accord with the conventional manner in European paintings but are frequently found in Japanese art. This is one case where the influence of *ukiyo-e* can be identified with comparative ease.<sup>16a</sup>

As is seen in examples such as Manet's *En Bateau* (1874)(Fig.38) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York or Monet's *En barque* (1887)(Fig. 39) in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, cutting off a rowing-boat at the edge of the composition had become popular as a compositional device by the 1870s in the West; and, it should be noted that Whistler's *The Punt* (Fig. 35) is the earliest example of his use of this composition.

Watanabe Toshio pointed out that in the etching, *The Storm* (K.81) which dates, like *The Punt* from 1861, the horizontal slanting rain may be seen as homage to Rembrandt, but the compositional device is also seen in *ukiyo-e*.<sup>17</sup>

Whistler, developed a new method of pictorial construction, a combination of Japanese and Dutch spatial geometry, and his interest in geometrical composition and shallow picture space developed through the 1860s and early 1870s. It could be argued that this interest was maintained in the portraits of his mother and Thomas Carlyle in the early 1870s.<sup>18</sup>

Lochnan points out that in his early etchings in the 'French Set'(1858), such as *The Kitchen* (K.24, 1858)(Fig.40), Whistler constructs the picture surface in the manner of the seventeenth-century Dutch artist, Pieter de Hooch(b.1629). A narrow window set in a sequence of receding rectangular shapes is a central point of this etching. Light shining in through the window and a woman silhouetted against the light has a dramatic effect. The composition, geometrical shape, the use of chiaroscuro, and the placing of a figure are all similar to that of de Hooch, and Lochnan surmises that

Whistler perhaps was thinking of *The Courtyard of a House in Delft* (1658)(Fig.41) or of *Arrière-cour d'une maison* <sup>19</sup> which he could have seen in the Louvre.<sup>20</sup>

Whistler experimented with compositions using a series of rectangular shapes in a number of paintings: *At the Piano* (YMSM 24, 1858-59)(Fig.42); *Symphony in White No.2: Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, 1864)(Fig.43); *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68)(Fig.44); *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (YMSM 129, 1872-4)(Fig.45); *Pink and Grey: Three Figures* (YMSM 89, c.1868)(Fig.46); and *The White Symphony: Three Girls* (YMSM 87, c.1868)(Fig. 47); *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* (YMSM 101, 1871)(Fig.48); and *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (YMSM 137, 1872-73)(Fig.49).

For instance, the portrait of Carlyle is constructed using a series of rectangles within rectangles (the picture on the wall, lines of the dado). The traditional Japanese house, both exterior and interior, is constructed in a series of rectangular shapes, as is seen in the plan of a tea house (Fig.50). *Shoji* (sliding doors), determine the exterior of this Japanese house. *Shoji* consist of a timber lattice within a frame, and paper is glued over the lattice. The Japanese interior also consists of a series of rectangular shapes, of *shoji*, *fusuma* (sliding door-panels), and *tatami* (woven straw mats), as is seen, for instance, in the interior of Katsura Rikyu (Fig.51). *Ukiyo-e* artists took advantage of these characteristics of the Japanese house, using lines and rectangular shapes which suggest pictorial depth, as is seen in *Komei bijinmitate Chushingura junimai tsuzuki* (Chushingura drama parodied by famous beauties: a set of Twelve prints )(act 11)



by Utamaro.(Fig.52)<sup>21</sup> In Torii Kiyonaga's *Three women look into a snow covered garden* (Fig.53), he divided the composition diagonally into interior and exterior using the post of a house and *shoji*.

In Whistler's first major oil painting, *At the Piano* (YMSM 24, 1858-59)(Fig.42), a middle-class domestic interior scene, almost everything is parallel to the picture plane, horizontal and vertical lines are emphasised, and the picture space is shallow. These long straight lines give the composition stability. In this painting, according to Richard Dorment, 'the use of a limited range of colours, low tone, and a severe composition reflects the continuing influence of Frans Hals and his contemporaries'<sup>22</sup> and 'the intimate subject and the compositional grid formed by the horizontal dado and the verticals of the picture frames reflect his close association with Fantin-Latour (*Two Sisters*, 1859), while the severe use of profile and the shallow pictorial space may owe something to the religious genre subjects of Alphonse Legros, his other colleague in the Société des Trois.'<sup>23</sup> The subject, music, is common in 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch paintings, and it is not surprising that *At the Piano* was appreciated by Thoré-Burger, the virtual discoverer of Vermeer.<sup>24</sup>

John Sandberg denies Whistler's contact with Japanese art in 1859 because of the lack of documentary evidence and *At the Piano* is seen by him in the context of a purely Western artistic tradition.<sup>25</sup> However, Sandberg also points out Whistler's awareness of space: the flattened space and the insistent use of verticals and horizontals betray Whistler's early tendency towards compositional severity.<sup>26</sup> Sandberg's view is reasonable, and is backed up by the 'Thames Set' of 1859 which shows Whistler's interest in spatial composition, which could to a large extent be developed without any direct influence from Japanese art.

*Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room* (YMSM 34, 1860)(Fig.54), painted in the music room at 62 Sloane Street, home of Francis Seymour Haden, Whistler's brother-in-law, is his second musical theme. Whistler set up a complicated composition in a narrow space. Annie, Whistler's niece, is sitting in the background beside the curtain and Isabella Boott in a black riding costume stands in the middle ground. In 1903 Charles Caffin pointed out the resemblance of the flat and strongly-silhouetted figure of Miss Boott to a 'Utamaro figure'.<sup>27</sup> However, Watanabe says that the arched back, 'the position and the silhouette effect of the hand, the sweeping line and the elegance of figure' is more like *Itsuhana* from the series *Seirou geisha sen* (Selected Geishas from the Green House) by Eishi.<sup>28</sup> *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room* was originally called 'The Morning Call' and Whistler's first plan may have been to depict the contrast between Annie in white and Miss Boott in black as he did in *At the Piano*. His half-sister, Deborah Haden, reflected in the mirror, was added later.<sup>29</sup> Reflections of Deborah Haden and the white curtain, which might have been painted over a pattern in the mirror, create a vague picture space, and although the reflections suggests the depth of the room, they disrupt the balance between the three figures and create spatial ambiguity.

*Symphony in White No.2: Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, 1864)(Fig.43) is another example in which Whistler experimented with pictorial space by using a mirror. He creates a narrow pictorial space as he did in *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*. Joanna Hiffernan is gazing into the mirror over the fireplace. The composition consists of a series of squares: fireplace, mirror, and paintings reflected in the mirror, with a vertical on the mirror

creating two squares. However, in the *Little White Girl*, the reflections in the mirror are parallel to the picture surface and the composition is simplified, when compared to *The Music Room*.

The idea of viewing the river over the handrail, seen in *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68)(Fig.44) was already experimented with in his early oil painting *Wapping* (YMSM 35, 1860-64)(Fig.55) and the etching *Rotherhithe* (K.66, 1860)(Fig.56) which was called 'Wapping' and later published as one of the 'Thames Set' (K.66, 1860).<sup>30</sup> In Whistler's early design for *Wapping*, the composition was related to *Rotherhithe*, a diagonal railing on which Joanna Hiffernan leans and a pillar behind Alphonse Legros create a pronounced asymmetrical composition in the foreground. Behind the figures, Whistler depicts the busy London docks. The ships in the middle ground are placed parallel to the diagonal railing. The jumble of lines, masts and rigging create complicated spatial relationships.

*Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* shows a more oriental taste and its similarity in composition to Kiyonaga's print from the series of *Minami Juni-ko* (Twelve Months in the South) (c.1874) has already been pointed out (Fig.24).<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Watanabe says that in *Sumidagawa Oogiya no Zashiki* (Oogiya at the Sumida river) by Eishi (Fig.57),<sup>32</sup> 'The relationship between the blind and the pillar is closely paralleled, and the seated figure with the *shamisen* player is very like the corresponding figure in the pen drawing of *The Balcony* in the New York public library.'<sup>33</sup>

Although it is quite hard to trace the specific print by which Whistler was inspired, this kind of balcony over the water is a very

popular theme in *ukiyo-e* prints, but less so in Western paintings. It was used for example in Hokusai's series of *Fugaku Sanjyu Rokkei* (Thirty Six Views of Mt. Fuji): *Toukaido Yoshida* and *Gohyaku Rakanji Sazaedou*.<sup>34</sup> Whistler showed his liking for such compositions in a later work, *Annabel Lee* (M.1077, 1885/7).<sup>35</sup>

In *Variation in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68)(Fig.44), in spite of its open vista setting, Whistler flattened the composition and created a less realistic effect which is quite different from that in *Wapping*. The rectangular shape of the railing<sup>36</sup> is repeated by *sudare* (blinds) and a column on the right creates another rectangular shape. A broad expanse of solid colour, a characteristic of Japanese pictorial art, occupies the foreground. W.M. Rossetti expressed his hesitation about Whistler's use of solid colour in his diary, 31 March 1867, 'I think the unmitigated tint of the flooring should be gradated but he does not seem to see it.'<sup>37</sup> In February 1864, Anna McNeill Whistler, Whistler's mother, wrote that he was working on 'a group in Oriental costume on a balcony, a tea equipage of the old china'.<sup>38</sup> This is the first reference to Whistler including objects from his own collection in a painting. Whistler painted some women wearing *kimono*, one of whom is playing *shamisen* (a three-stringed Japanese banjo), and another is reclining, holding *uchiwa* (a round fan), and Japanese objects, *sakazuki* (a sake cup) and *choushi* (a sake bottle) on a black, probably lacquered, tray. Women wearing *kimono* loosely, and some objects related to *sake* or Japanese alcohol, present an image of decadence to a Japanese viewer. Spray blossoms were added to the original composition later emphasising the oriental composition.<sup>39</sup>

Contemporary critics did not find the image decadent. A review in

the *Art Journal* criticised this painting as being ‘singular and eccentric. The picture might have been painted in Japan. It affects to be Japanese in colour, composition, and handling.’<sup>40</sup> However, the inclusion of chimneys at Battersea and the river Thames in the background make it clear that the painter was not simply trying to create Japan in this painting. Alastair Grieve says that Whistler ‘was not attempting a mock *Japaneiserie*, but showing that the juxtaposition of cultures from different ends of the Earth was a feature of modern life and that the artist was at liberty to take what he liked from where he liked.’<sup>41</sup> Using the horizontal and vertical lines of a railing in the middle ground, he divided the oriental world from the Battersea chimneys and the Thames. The subtle treatment of the riverscene looks forward to his *Nocturnes*; and here, by combining Japanese elements, such as the flattening of the pictorial surface, and the evocative Thames river, he may have tried to express the blending of the West and Japan.

*Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* (YMSM 101, 1871)(Fig.48) and *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (YMSM 137, 1872-73)(Fig.49) show Whistler's development of the flattening of composition. One glance is sufficient to reveal the similarities between these two paintings: a figure in black seated in left profile, in a shallow space that seems almost two-dimensional, with limited low-key colour, an even-toned background, and a tightly constructed geometrical composition.<sup>42</sup> These characteristics could be related to Whistler's first major oil painting, *At the Piano* (YMSM 24, 1858-59)(Fig.42), but in these portraits of the painter's mother and of Thomas Carlyle, he simplified the composition and created a shallow space in front of a wall which was decorated with carefully toned, framed prints.

In these two portraits the controlled design of the rectangular shapes, such as pictures on the wall and the dado, are well balanced and these elements give the paintings stability and tranquillity. The picture surface is dominated by a large area of low-toned colour, the composition and the lines are all simplified, and details are omitted. One of the characteristics of *ukiyo-e* is the graceful line of *ukiyo-e* beauties, which stand out in the firmly constructed linear composition. Whistler also experimented with this effect in his portraits, for the simplified graceful lines of the figures appear in tightly constructed geometrical compositions.<sup>43</sup>

The drape seen on the left of *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* is possibly *kimono*. As Walter Greaves told the Pennells, '...from the Mother and Carlyle one knows that Japanese hangings and his prints were on the walls;...'<sup>44</sup> The painter used the *kimono* spread out flat and hung as a curtain. Whistler placed his butterfly signature, a monogram of his initials 'JW' arranged 'somewhat after the Japanese fashion'<sup>45</sup> on the *kimono*. Judging from the pattern of the black *kimono*, it was similar to the one in *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (YMSM 50, 1864)(Fig.58). Because the portrait of his mother is an *Arrangement in Grey and Black*, Whistler selected a monochrome design, lacking the red touches of the Princesse's *kimono*. There is also an element of realism in this portrait. It was instantly recognised as a portrait of Whistler's mother and Leyland's daughter said: 'Isn't it the very way Mrs. Whistler sits with her hands folded on her handkerchief! Oh it is exactly like her!'<sup>46</sup>

Whistler said, '...one does like to make one's mummy just as nice as

possible', and he also said of his picture of his mother, 'To me it is interesting as a picture of my mother; but what can or ought the public care about the identity of the portrait?'<sup>47</sup>

This painting shares certain qualities with early photographs: the shallow space, the monochromatic black, white and grey and the cutting-off of curtain and picture frames. Lochnan noted, 'the Japanese method of flattening and compartmentalising space is not at all incompatible with the geometric divisions found in the Dutch interior, or with the shallow picture space of early photography'<sup>48</sup> and adds that 'the speed with which he synthesised related ideas from a wide variety of sources ranging from the seventeenth century Dutch interior to contemporary photography and Japanese prints is dazzling.'<sup>49</sup> Thus Whistler, whose collection included photographs of Dutch art, tried to combine his interest in photography with Japanese and Dutch compositions. The synthesis of the ideas and methods which Whistler learned from Western and Japanese art made it possible for him to place upon a canvas a beautiful arrangement, a pattern of colour and of line.<sup>50</sup>

### **Japanese Objects and 'Subjectless' Painting**

Whistler is known as one of the earliest and most important figures who introduced Japanese art to contemporary British artists.<sup>51</sup> As W. M. Rossetti says:

It was Mr. Whistler who first called my brother's attention to Japanese art; he possessed two or three woodcut books, some colour prints and a screen or two. To him I take it this new revelation in art had been made in Paris, in the Impressionist circle. I have heard say and perhaps with accuracy that Manet

was the 'head and front of Japonerie'.<sup>52</sup>

From a letter by Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble written in 1864, it is known that her son had a sizeable collection of Oriental objects:

This artistic abode of my son is ornamented by a very rare collection of Japanese and Chinese. He considers the paintings upon them the finest specimens of art, and his companions (artists), who resort here for an evenings relaxation occasionally, get enthusiastic as they handle and examine the curious figures portrayed. Some of the pieces are more than two centuries old. He has also a Japanese book of paintings, unique in their estimation.<sup>53</sup>

Although the precise date of Whistler's first encounter with Japanese art and objects is not known, Merrill says that Whistler's 'acquisitive impulse may have quickened with his move to Lindsey Row in 1863 and the need for household decoration.'<sup>54</sup> It is possible that Whistler came to be familiar with Japanese art or objects and started to acquire them in the early 1860s since there were several shops selling Japanese objects in Paris such as *La Porte Chinoise* on the rue Vivienne, *Au Céleste Empire* on rue Saint Marc, and E. Desoye opened his shop on the rue de Rivoli around 1862. Desoye's shop appears in the *Annuaire Didot-Bottin*, 'a directory of commercial addresses'<sup>55</sup> in 1863, which suggests that he opened his shop by 1862 in time to be included for the 1863 version. Since 1871, after E. Desoye's death, this shop was placed under Mme Desoye.<sup>56</sup> Whistler's first mention of one of these shops, *La Porte Chinoise*, is in a letter to Fantin-Latour in 1864.<sup>57</sup> However, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is no concrete evidence of what Whistler bought at any particular shop. Catalogues of Baker & Sons and Sotheby for the 1879 and 1880 sales of Whistler's possessions, following his bankruptcy, are the only means by which some of his collection can be known with certainty.



In this section, Whistler's Japanese possessions before bankruptcy will be examined through some of his paintings as well as through the sale catalogues of 1879 and 1880, to see how Whistler included Oriental bric-a-brac in the context of his investigation of pictorial harmony.

It is likely that some things were sold by Whistler or given by him to his friends before his bankruptcy. For instance, the Pennells wrote that around 1863 Whistler's house was full of Japanese dolls,<sup>58</sup> but there is no record of them in the sale catalogues. The lack of illustrations in the sale catalogue adds to the difficulties in identifying objects, making it impossible to know exactly what Whistler owned.

Descriptions of many items are not sufficiently clear to allow a correct identification of them as Japanese, or Japanese-inspired or Chinese for instance, '3 lacquered japan trays'<sup>59</sup> or 'A 23in lac japan tray'<sup>60</sup> are all obviously lacquered objects. However, it is not clear if 'japan' means 'japanned' i.e. lacquered, or if they are lacquered objects made in Japan. Similarly, some objects could be items of European make which show a taste for the Orient, such as lot 'No.12: A 3ft 6 japanned chest of 3 long and 2 shot drawers with porcelain knob handles' and lot 'No.38: An excellent japanned shower bath and a set of cretonne curtains', might come into this category.<sup>61</sup>

However, several objects are identified as Japanese objects. In Sotheby's catalogue are listed:

62. Large brown Japanese earthenware Jar.

64. A Japanese Musical Instrument.

66. Handsome Japanese Screen of 5 folds, with panels of silk, painted with flowers, glazed, and gilt wood frame.
67. Pair of dwarf Screens, painted with landscapes and figures, on gold grounds.
68. Large Japanese Panel, with stone flowers, inlaid brass handle at top.
69. Pair of Japanese bronze Candlesticks, pierced stem, and a Stork, with enamelled wings.
70. Large Roll of paper, painted with Japanese landscape and figures.
71. Pair of Japanese Pictures of raised figures, formed of silk brocade, in gilt frames, "Summer and Winter,' in extra. Glass frames.
72. Paintings of a Japanese harbour, with fleet of ships, soldiers, &c. highly coloured.
74. Eighteen Japanese Picture Books.
76. Japanese China Cabinet, fitted with ebony drawers, and lac panels, painted with figures, on a stand. Height 3ft.9in. 2ft.4in.<sup>62</sup>

In Baker & Sons' catalogue we find:

4. A Japanese carved wood arm chair with cane seat.
5. Two similar chairs.
7. ...a Japanese carved wood bird cage with painted panels and a small grindstone.
37. A 6ft Japanese bronzed towel airer with brass mounts.
53. Japanese hand screens.<sup>63</sup>

In all, out of over two hundred and thirty items sold, only sixteen were identified as possibly Japanese objects, although there are many japanned items which might have been made in Japan. Given these problems in identification, therefore, the most reliable evidence of Whistler's Oriental collection is provided in his paintings; this is the subject of the following discussion.

Japanese and Chinese objects started appearing in his paintings in 1864, notably in *La Princesse du pays de la porcelain* (YMSM 50, 1863-64)(Fig.58), *Caprice in Purple and Gold : The Golden Screen*

(YMSM 60, 1864)(Fig.59) and *Purple and Rose : The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks* (YMSM 47, 1864)(Fig.60).

The Pennells wrote:

It was in the studio at No.7 Lindsey Low - no huge, gorgeous, tapestry-hung, bric-a-brac crowned hall, but a little second storey, or English first floor, back room - that the Japanese pictures were painted. The method was a development of his earlier work. The difference was in the subjects. He did not conceal his 'machinery.' *La Princesse du pays de la porcelain*, *Caprice in Purple and Gold : The Golden Screen*, and *Purple and Rose : The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks* were endeavours to render a beauty he had discovered which was unknown in Western life.<sup>64</sup>

These paintings are typical Victorian genre subjects with Oriental accessories and show his Oriental taste most clearly. They are in the same category as Monet's *La Japonaise* (1876)(Fig.61) which is often taken as an example of *Japonaiserie* paintings, but Whistler's pictures were painted more than 10 years before Monet's painting.

Whistler described *Purple and Rose : The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks* as 'a Chinese woman painting a pot'.<sup>65</sup> However, a number of Japanese accessories appear in this painting. The model is Jo Hiffernan and her hair is decorated with *kanzashi* (a hair ornament), which, is perhaps, the same one she wears in *Caprice in Purple and Gold : The Golden Screen*. She wears a Chinese robe over *kimono* with a tie-dyed sash, which is the same one worn in *Caprice in Purple and Gold : The Golden Screen*, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelain*, and *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (Fig. 44). A lacquered red bowl with a cover on the right seems to be the same one seen in *Symphony in White No.2: The Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, 1864)(Fig.43). A fan decorated with a white heron, and a

black tray are displayed on the cabinet. There is also a black tray, which may be one of the trays in the Baker & Sons sale catalogue listed as lot 'No53 3 lacquered japan trays'.<sup>66</sup> Most of the blue-and-white porcelain in this painting may be Chinese, and it is possible that Whistler bought it in Holland in May 1863 as mentioned in a letter to John O'Leary.<sup>67</sup>

It has been suggested that the subject of *The Lange Lijzen*, a woman hand-painting on china, shows Whistler's awareness of the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. established in 1861, which specialised in hand-crafted decorative arts.<sup>68</sup> Merrill who discusses Whistler's intention in this painting, proposes an allegorical interpretation, suggesting that 'the vase represents the creative product and the brush is the artist's attribute'.<sup>69</sup> However, the mixture of Japanese and Chinese objects is more likely to be an expression of Whistler's admiration for Eastern objects rather than symbolism.

In *La Princesse du pays de la porcelain*, Christine Spartali, the daughter of the Greek Consul, wears a salmon pink *kimono* over a black one and holds a fan. Whistler called *kimono* a 'Japanese dressing gown' in a letter to Alexander Reid written many years later.<sup>70</sup> This expresses the painter's idea of *kimono* as a garment to wear in a very relaxed occasion in a house. The screen behind the model is the same one shown in a photograph of a room in Lindsey Row (Fig.62) and possibly the one in the sale catalogue as lot 'No.66 Handsome Japanese Screen of 5 folds, with panels of silk, painted with flowers, glazed, and gilt wood frame'.<sup>71</sup> A cloth hung over this screen could be *kimono*. Watanabe says that this 'pictorial device', 'the fabric hanging on a screen' is taken from *ukiyo-e*.<sup>72</sup> And the

figure of *La Princesse*, 'The type of slim and elongated full figure with a graceful curve' is most typical of *bijinga* of the *Kansei* period (1789-1801) produced by Utamaro, Kiyonaga, Eishi and Toyokuni.<sup>73</sup>

Not only Japanese, but also Chinese objects were included in the painting: the blue-and-white rug *La Princesse* is standing on could be the Chinese rug which Whistler borrowed from Rossetti,<sup>74</sup> for it is recorded that Whistler asked Rossetti, 'Will you lend me one of your Chinese blue and white rugs - The same one you once before lent me - I just want it for my picture - I think it used to be on one of the stands in the China room'.<sup>75</sup> Merrill points out that Whistler was aware of the French taste for *chinoiserie* and this painting was intended for exhibition at the 1865 Salon.<sup>76</sup>

The title *La Princesse du pays de la porcelain* could be interpreted as suggesting China rather than Japan but Whistler emphasised the Japanese elements, describing it as '*japonaise*' in a letter to Fantin-Latour.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, in an oil sketch for *La Princesse* (YMSM 49, 1863-64), there are branches of flowers, which are typical Japanese compositional devices, so it is clear that it was not only China which was in the artist's mind. The setting, with the model wearing *kimono* standing on a Chinese rug against a Japanese screen shows Whistler's generalised romantic feeling for the art and culture of far countries to which he had never been.

In *Caprice in Purple and Gold : The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60, 1864)(Fig.59), the model, Jo, wears a black *kimono* with a maple leaf pattern, and thrown over her left shoulder is a white one. Although the artist is unknown, the subject of the golden screen is generally agreed to be *Genji Monogatari* (the Story of *Genji*). This might be the

one listed in the sale catalogue as lot 'No.67 Pair of dwarf Screens, painted with landscapes and figures, on gold grounds'.<sup>78</sup> In it small figures appear in an interior painted in the manner of *fukinuki yatai*, seen through a blown-off roof or ceiling. *Fukinuki yatai* was developed as a method of depicting an indoor activity in an outdoor setting and provides a bird's-eye view perspective. This had become an important design element in *emakimono* (hand scrolls) in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>79</sup> However, Whistler's screen was probably much more recent work.

Furthermore, the fact that Whistler owned the golden screen explains his understanding of Japanese colour, as stated in his letter to Fantin-Latour:

but the composition of the colours which for me is true colour - and this is how it seems to me first of all that, with the canvas as given, the colours should be so to speak embroidered on it - in other words the same colour reappearing continually here and there like the same thread in an embroidery and so on with the others - more or less according to their importance - the whole forming in this way an harmonious pattern - Look how the Japanese understand this! - They never search for contrast, but on the contrary for repetition - <sup>80</sup>

The golden cloud, covering a large part of the scene, emphasises the flatness of the composition, and the motifs stand out clearly on the gold. In other words, the gold could be regarded as the warp which is a substantial colour, and the figures were interwoven as weft.

It is generally agreed that the prints scattered in the lower right hand corner are Hiroshige's *Sixty odd Famous Places of Japan* which had been owned by Whistler.<sup>81</sup> A folding chair on the right could be the one on which the model was sitting in *Purple and Rose : The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks* (YMSM 47, 1864)(Fig.60). It could be

either Chinese or Japanese. Although the Baker & Sons' catalogue lists a Japanese chair as lot: 'No4 A Japanese carved wood arm chair with cane-seat' there is no other record that Whistler ever owned a Japanese folding chair.<sup>82</sup> A small box in the foreground is possibly a black lacquered box.

In summary, it could be argued that in each of these three Oriental paintings, Whistler tried to create a different effect. As the picture frame emphasised the different effects created, it seems likely that Whistler regarded the frame as a part of his work.

In *The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*, Whistler's taste for Chinese blue and white porcelain can be seen. Although Japanese objects are also depicted this is not especially important since most of the shops sold Chinese and Japanese objects together, and Whistler merely wanted an Oriental appearance. Motifs on the frame of this painting consist of the six marks or Chinese characters which are often seen on porcelain of the *Kangxi* era (1662-1722), and these are decoratively carved.

This is a good comparison with the *Golden Screen* (Fig. 59), on the frame of which Whistler designed motifs inspired by the Japanese family mark *mon*. In this painting, unlike *The Lange Lijzen*, Whistler emphasised Japanese rather than Chinese life, for the model wearing *kimono* is sitting on the floor as women in *ukiyo-e* often do, and as mentioned, the golden screen is clearly a Japanese one and *ukiyo-e* prints are scattered on the floor.

*La Princesse* could be placed between these two pieces, and perhaps has the most exotic effect for here Whistler expressed his taste for the Orient rather than for a specific Oriental country. A Greek

woman in *kimono* is standing on a Chinese blue and white rug against an unidentifiable screen. In her hand and on the wall, there are Japanese fans. On the frame of this painting, eight circular marks are carved. Four of those may have been derived from the Japanese family crest *Mitsuwari Shuro* (*Shuro* is a kind of palm.)(Fig.63).<sup>83</sup> These are also quite similar to those in D.G. Rossetti's book design for *Atalanta in Calydon. A Tragedy* by A.C. Swinburne.(Fig.33)<sup>84</sup>

In *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68)(Fig.44), a woman is standing looking over the river. She probably wears the same black *kimono* and red sash found in *La Princesse* (Fig. 58), and the salmon pink *kimono* of the reclining woman is also the same *kimono* seen in *La Princesse*. The figure of a woman in a white *kimono* is the same as in *Caprice in Purple and Gold : The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60)(Fig. 59), while the musical instrument, *shamisen* (a three-stringed Japanese banjo), found in both these pictures is likely to be as recorded in Sotheby's sale catalogue as lot 'No.64 a Japanese Musical Instrument.' *Sakazuki* (a sake cup) and *chôshi* (a sake bottle) appear on a black rectangular tray, which is possibly the same one shown in *Purple and Rose : The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*, and may also be the one seen in a cabinet in the photograph of Lindsey Row (Fig.62). As mentioned above, Whistler intended to create a synthesised unity of the West and Japan both in the subject and in the composition.

Whistler's interest in depicting pictures with Oriental subjects lessened from the 1870s onwards, with only two late works, *The Japanese Dress* (M. 1227, 1888-90)(Fig.64) or *Design for a Mosaic* (M. 1226, 1888-91)(Fig. 65) being specifically Japanese in subject.



However, these are said to be related to a much earlier commission for a mosaic in the South Kensington Museum in 1872 and may therefore have been started in the 1870s.<sup>85</sup> This late return to the subject of a woman in *kimono* could have been prompted by meeting the Japanese art dealer Hayashi Tadamasa in Paris, which is recorded by Raphaël Collin(1850-1916) in his obituary of Hayashi: Whistler joined one of the monthly dinner parties, *dîner japonais*, started by Siegfried (Samuel) Bing. Hayashi regularly attended these dinner parties and explained a lot about Japanese art to the enthusiastic members.<sup>86</sup> Whistler may well have met Hayashi there. In 1887, Hayashi introduced Mortimer Menpes to Shinagawa Yajirou as Whistler's friend, as mentioned in chapter one (Fig.5).

In the 1860s, Whistler's artistic career reveals his ability to utilise and unite contrasting styles while developing his own style. Elements of Realism, Pre-Raphaelitism, Classicism, and Symbolism blended within ten years and created a 'selective vision'.<sup>87</sup> Millais and Rossetti, the most important figures of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, influenced Whistler's formative development and, in the case of Rossetti, shared his interest in collecting Oriental art.

Whistler's use of Japanese objects was gradually transformed in his attempt to produce subjectless paintings. He started to rely on such accessories in order to avoid conventional symbolic objects, such as wilting lilies or dropped flowers.

Whistler said in his *10 O'clock Lecture*, 'As music is the poetry of sound, so painting is the poetry of sight, and the subject-matter has nothing to do with harmony of sound or colour.'<sup>88</sup> Whistler's attempt to combine aspects of music and painting was exemplified by the titles given to his paintings from 1865 onwards.

Whistler's White Symphonies, *Symphony in White No.1: The White Girl* (YMSM 38, 1862)(Fig.66), *Symphony in White No.2: The Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, 1864)(Fig.43), and *Symphony in White, No.3* (YMSM 61, 1865-67)(Fig.67) show his gradual distancing from realism and his move towards subjectless painting.

*Symphony in White No.1: The White Girl* has 'the most avant-garde elements in English painting, Jo grasps a white lily, the ultimate Pre-Raphaelite accessory.'<sup>89</sup> This painting can be seen in the context of the painter's close association with the members of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. The Pre-Raphaelite's early realism was gradually transformed into symbolism in the 1850s. In 1857 Whistler visited the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition where Millais' *Autumn Leaves* (1855) was displayed. Millais described this painting as 'full of beauty without subject',<sup>90</sup> a phrase which could also apply to much of Rossetti's work. Whistler is known to have admired Millais' paintings at the Royal Academy in 1859, especially *Vale of Rest* which Timothy Hilton, amongst others, described as being one of 'the first paintings of European Symbolism'.<sup>91</sup> The ambiguity of the subject matter and the intense gaze of the figure gave *The White Girl* a mood that had much in common with Millais' paintings of the late 1850s.

In his second White Girl, *Symphony in White No.2: The Little White Girl*, Oriental objects replaced some symbols and instead of conventional symbolic objects, Oriental accessories appeared. However, the symbolic element has not been wiped out; the wedding ring on Jo's left hand expresses personal implications and Victorian morality. The proportion of white is less than in *Symphony in White*

*No.1: The White Girl* (YMSM 38)(Fig. 66), but the red of the lacquered bowl, the blue of the porcelain, the Japanese fan, and the spray of azalea emphasise by contrast the white in the dress. Swinburne composed a poem 'Before the Mirror' inspired by this painting and Whistler had it printed on gold paper and fixed to the frame.<sup>92</sup>

The third *Symphony in White* adds a classicism similar to that of Albert Moore to girls in white and Japanese accessories. In this third painting, Joanna Hiffernan and Milly Jones are placed as part of a harmonious colour arrangement with a Japanese fan and azaleas. The personal quality of the symbolism seen in his second *Symphony in White* is here wiped out. In this painting, Jo holds a Japanese fan with a seascape motif which reminds us of *ukiyo-e* in *The Golden Screen* (Fig.59). When Whistler met Albert Moore in 1865, they shared a new source of inspiration; the harmonious grace of classical antiquity. 'Moore's gorgeously coloured, subjectless studies of classically draped women proved to Whistler that painting could aspire to the abstract condition of music.'<sup>93</sup> The composition of this third 'Symphony in White' is similar to that of Moore's *The Marble Seat*.<sup>94</sup>

The French critic Paul Mantz called Whistler's first White Girl 'symphonie du blanc' in 1863,<sup>95</sup> but the first painting exhibited with a musical title was *Symphony in White, No.3* (YMSM 61)(Fig.67). This painting was called *The Two Little White Girls* before its exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1867. The critic of the *Sunday Times* commented on *Symphony in White, No.3*, 'If you are to translate his works...into any sister art, let it be into that of song and let the songs be without words.'<sup>96</sup> By the late 1860s, the idea of artistic synthesis

had gained currency. The ideas of Gautier and Baudelaire and many others influenced Whistler's art. The Pennells wrote, 'His disdain for nature, his contempt for anecdote in art... his translation of the subjects of a painting into musical terms and much else...can be traced to Baudelaire.'<sup>97</sup> According to Denys Sutton, the musical title was designed to proclaim that he 'would have no truck whatever with the typical Victorian concept of didactic subject painting.'<sup>98</sup> The *Symphonies in White* painted in the 1860s show the process of Whistler's transformation into an aesthete.

The posture of *La princesse du pays de la porcelain* (YMSM 50)(Fig.58) could be said to derive from a *ukiyo-e* beauty, as slim full-length women, with gracefully curved figures, are typical of *bijin-ga* by Utamaro, Kiyonaga, and Eishi. However, this pose also looks like a repetition of that of *The White Girl* (Fig.66). *La princesse du pays de la porcelain* highlights Whistler's taste for the Orient. *La princesse* wore a *kimono* instead of a white dress, and a screen replaced *The White Girls* curtain. *Symphony in White No.2: The Little White Girl* (Fig.43) is a synthesis of both *The White Girl* and *La princesse*, with Japanese elements combined with female wistfulness. In *Symphony in White No.3* (Fig.67), an element of classicism was added to that of Japan. Between the late 1850s and 1867, Whistler had experimented with elements of Realism, Pre-Raphaelitism, Classicism, and a taste for Japan to find an expression of femininity.

Costumes in Oriental paintings show us Whistler's idea of *kimono*, draped in 'graceful' curves. The fact that the models are Western women makes it clear that what Whistler expressed in these paintings was an exotic atmosphere, and not in any sense an

accurate record of Japanese objects or ordinary people. He did not have any precise knowledge of how to arrange Japanese *kimono*. For instance, in *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68)(Fig.44), models are simply wearing *kimono* over *kimono* and Whistler seemed never used *obi*, a broad sash, to tie *kimono*.

The Pennells said that 'it was not the real Japan he wanted to paint, but his idea of it, just as Rembrandt had painted his idea of the Holy Land'.<sup>99</sup> Whistler placed Oriental objects in settings which emphasised their aesthetic value.

By the middle of the 1860s, aesthetic classicism was being developed. Whistler started to pursue the beauty of art for its own sake and developed a more decorative type of painting blending classicism and Japanese art, in which he depicted figures in classical draperies with some Japanese accessories. These paintings were without subject or narratives. He tried to blend the elegant simplicity of *ukiyo-e* beauties with graceful classical elements, as seen in the work of Albert Moore, and created 'Graeco-Japanese figures'<sup>100</sup> as seen in the 'Six Projects' a frieze of figures commissioned by Frederick R. Leyland.<sup>101</sup> The similarities in composition and subject of the 'Six Projects' (YMSM 82-87, 1867-70) and Japanese prints have already been pointed out by Spencer and Watanabe.<sup>102</sup> In the 'Six Projects' Whistler tried to paint a classical frieze blending Greek tanagra figures with Japanese objects 'in the manner of Edward Burne-Jones, but in a palette ultimately derived from Delacroix.'<sup>103</sup> In the 'Six Projects' his synthetic approach can be seen in his selection of motif, composition, colour, and technique. Although these six oil sketches were given the title of the 'Six projects' by the Pennells,<sup>104</sup> they consist of experiments in pictorial space, and are

connected with other projects including *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68) and *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red* (YMSM 91, 1869)(Fig.68). The balcony setting or wooden pier in *Symphony in White and Red* (YMSM 85, c.1868)(Fig.69), for example, is similar to *Variation in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, although the figures in the former wear classical draperies rather than *kimono*.

In *The White Symphony: Three Girls* (YMSM 87)(Fig.47), Whistler placed a white fence with horizontal and vertical lines like a wall behind the figures. But in this painting, unlike *Variation in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, the fence is painted and occupies almost three-quarters of the background, with nothing indicated beyond it. The white fence make the picture space shallow, and figures in white against the white fence successfully create an ambiguous picture space. The composition, with figures against a flat background, like a wall, in *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red* (YMSM 91)(Fig.68) is similar to the *Three Girls* (YMSM 87)(Fig.47), although in the former it is clear that the painter's intention was to have a wall decorated with Japanese fans as a background. In *Symphony in Blue and Pink* (YMSM 86)(Fig.70) and *Variation in Blue and Green* (YMSM 84)(Fig.71), the background is quite unclear; however, it seems that Whistler may have tried to combine the foreground with almost two dimensional riverscapes, as seen in a Nocturne such as *Nocturne: The Solent* (YMSM 71, 1866)(Fig.72).

Depicting 'Graeco-Japanese figures' in the 'Six Projects' without subject or narrative, Whistler arranged composition, space and harmony of colour to attain Gautier's 'art for art's sake'. In later years, he expressed his theory in *The Red Rag*, 'Art should be

independent of all clap-trap- should stand alone, and appeal to the artistic sense of eye or ear without confounding this with emotions entirely foreign to it, as devotion, love, patriotism, and the like. All these have no kind of concern with it and that is why I insist on calling my works “arrangements” and “harmonies”.”<sup>105</sup>

The fact that the ‘Six Projects’ was never finished indicates that Whistler was not able to achieve his ambition, ‘to marry the drawing of Ingres with the colour of Delacroix, and to replace literary sources with musical ones’. Dorment claims this was ‘because he had been too ambitious.’<sup>106</sup> As for the composition, although the artist was not entirely successful in his experiment to unite elements of seventeenth century Dutch and Japanese interiors, his attempt to synthesise several styles is clearly seen in his unfinished ‘Six Projects’.

## Nocturnes

Whistler’s subjectless paintings were given musical titles such as ‘Symphony’, ‘Harmony’, or ‘Nocturne’. The most abstract pictorial qualities can be found in his series of Nocturnes. These paintings, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Chelsea* (YMSM 103, 1871)(Fig.73), for instance, were originally called ‘Moonlights’ by the artist. It was Leyland who suggested the title ‘Nocturne’. Whistler thanked him for his suggestion in a letter: ‘I say, I can’t thank you too much for the name of “Nocturne” as a title for my moonlights. You have no idea what an irritation it proves to the critics and consequent pleasure to me; besides, it is really charming, and does so poetically say all I want to say and no more than I wish!’<sup>107</sup>

When he was asked the meaning of the word 'nocturne' as applying to his picture in the Whistler v. Ruskin trial in 1878, Whistler replied:

By using the word 'nocturne' I wished to indicate an artistic interest alone, divesting the picture of any outside anecdotal interest which might have been otherwise attached to it. A nocturne is an arrangement of line, form, and colour first. The picture is throughout a problem that I attempt to solve. I make use of any means, any incident or object in nature, that will bring about this symmetrical result.<sup>108</sup>

The characteristics of the Nocturnes produced in the 1870s are, a visual impression of the river using low tones of colours, and a unified surface. In his early riverscapes, such as *The Thames in Ice* (YMSM 36)(Fig.74) painted in 1860, Whistler used heavy impasto. However he did not maintain this style for long; a unified impression of the scene and an emphasis on tone and brushwork appears in the middle of the 1860s in his sea and riverscapes. In *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* (YMSM 64)(Fig.75) produced in 1865, for example, this pigment is used to create a smooth surface with a thin pigment which complements the refined colour arrangement.

Sutton says that, 'space' and 'the horizon' preoccupied both Whistler and Courbet while they were at Trouville from August to September 1865.<sup>109</sup> The composition of *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* of 1865 is almost two-dimensional and only the distance between the figure and the yacht indicates the depth of pictorial space and horizon of the sea. Whistler uses comparatively thin liquid paint, compared to Courbet's thick brushwork and bold impasto. Another seascape which was produced around this period, *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* (YMSM 72, c.1866)(Fig.76) also shows this,



combined with simplification of the sea, unspecific locations and little drawing. This painting is one of Whistler's Valparaiso pictures, produced while he was in South America in 1866. Branches of foliage and a rectangular-shaped signature were added later, just before it was exhibited in London in 1872. These accessories show his interest in bringing together seascapes and elements taken from Japanese art, but this was criticised by *The Times*, which found 'the presence of the monogram and leafed twig in the foreground in Japanese fashion intrusive as well as imitative'.<sup>110</sup> Indeed, Whistler may have added these elements (branches and the monogram signature in the foreground) to have a Japanese effect. However, because they are placed directly across the foreground, the seascape appears to be behind them, giving an illusion of space.

Two of the most well known works in his series of Nocturnes are *Nocturne in Blue and Gold : Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, 1872-75)(Fig.77) and *Nocturne in Black and Gold : The Falling Rocket* (YMSM 170, 1875)(Fig.78). A screen, *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 139)(Fig.79), originally designed for Leyland,<sup>111</sup> is closely related to *Nocturne in Blue and Gold : Old Battersea Bridge*, and is even more Japanese in feeling, since Whistler added a large full moon similar to that in Hiroshige's *Kyobashi take gashi* (Bamboo Bank, Kyo-bridge)(Fig.80) from *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo).<sup>112</sup> Nakayama Isao presumes that the reverse of the screen is by the Japanese painter, Osawa Nampo (b.1854).<sup>113</sup> Little is known about this painter, but she is regarded as a *nan-ga* (literati painting) style painter. Nakayama also presumes that Whistler combined two scroll paintings and made a screen, on the basis of the unconventional signature and stamp of Nanpo Jyoshi. Looking at the screen, two

panels are tied by leather bands which is unusual for a Japanese screen. As Nakayama pointed out, it may have been Whistler's own idea to fix Japanese paintings to the other side of his painting, and also to make a frame for this screen.

Whistler's series of Nocturnes are not as ostensibly Oriental as the 'Oriental Paintings', but we are still aware of the compositional resemblance to Oriental art and their source in Japanese *ukiyo-e*; in this case, Hiroshige's series of the *Meisho Edo Hyakkei*, which included several depictions of a bridge, some with a moon. Resemblances between *Ryogoku Hanabi* (Fireworks, Ryogoku) (Fig.81) and *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (Fig.78); *Kyobashi Takegashi* (Fig. 80) and *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* (Fig.79) have been pointed out already by many writers including Theodore Child and the Pennells.<sup>114</sup> In *Nocturne in Blue and Gold : Old Battersea Bridge* and the *Blue and Silver Screen with Old Battersea Bridge*, the main motif is close up, revealing clear compositional resemblance to a *ukiyo-e* print by Hiroshige. It is topographically accurate, representing a well-known London landscape, the Albert bridge on the River Thames 'in the process of construction, with its scaffolding and timber piers'.<sup>115</sup> The idea of representing a famous place reminds us of a series of *meishozu-e* or paintings of famous places, for instance, *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (1856-57) by Hiroshige.<sup>116</sup>

The bridge, a dominant motif in Whistler's work of the late 1870s, occurs not only in his paintings, but also in sketches<sup>117</sup> and prints. In *Old Putney Bridge* (K.178, 1879)(Fig.82), *Old Battersea Bridge* (K.177, 1879)(Fig.83), and *The Tall Bridge* (W.9, 1878)(Fig. 84),<sup>118</sup> the focus is on a single, wooden pier, rising majestically out of the water

and seen at low tide. In *The Tall Bridge*, water and sky are executed with delicate tonalities, but the structure of the bridge and the interstices of the wooden pier are still clear. On the other hand, in *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge*, like Hiroshige's *Kyobashi Takegashi* (Fig.80), the bridge looks as if it is a part of the background colour arrangement. In Whistler's painting, the curve of the bridge is drawn in one stroke and it appears dimly like a silhouette against the fireworks. Whistler's Nocturnes seem to have much in common with the quality of Japanese *ukiyo-e* by Hiroshige.

Low key colour arrangements appear not only in the Nocturnes but also in some other sea scapes such as *Sea and Rain* (YMSM 65, 1865)(Fig.85), *Symphony in Grey and Green : The Ocean* (YMSM 72, 1866)(Fig.76), and some paintings of Trouville and Valparaiso. The flatness, tonal subtlety, and the water-colour-like brushwork place these paintings in the same category as Nocturnes. Whistler painted these pictures with long strokes of a brush which run the whole width of the picture plane. These horizontal brushstrokes parallel to the picture plane and a restricted colour scheme of similar tones suggest the depth of the space within the picture. It can be argued that using this method, Whistler tries to emphasise the characteristics of a two-dimensional picture plane as did Japanese painters.

In these pictures, Whistler was completely absorbed by his interest in half tones and used low pitched tones and colours. The resemblance between Whistler's use of colour, especially blue, and that of Hiroshige was pointed out by the Pennells.<sup>119</sup> In addition, the influence of Whistler's teacher, Gleyre, should be noted. In the early days of his career in Paris he may have learned to arrange the colours on the palette in the order in which he wished to use them

when starting work on a picture and Gleyre taught him that ivory black was the base of tone. Whistler himself affirmed that black was 'the universal harmoniser'.<sup>120</sup>

The Pennells wrote of Whistler's method, as described by Whistler himself; 'The colours were arranged upon a palette...' and 'Large quantities of different tones of the prevailing colour in the picture to be painted were mixed, and so much of the medium was used that he called it "sauce"'.<sup>121</sup> In the 1860s, Whistler developed this method and began to paint with the thinnest of oil paint, almost as liquid as water colour. The canvas frequently 'had to be thrown flat on the floor to keep the whole thing from running off. He washed the liquid colour on, lightening and darkening the tones as he worked.'<sup>122</sup>

*Nocturne in Blue and Silver* (YMSM 113, 1871-72)(Fig.86), *Nocturne : Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach* (YMSM 119, 1870-75)(Fig.87), *Nocturne : Grey and Gold - Westminster Bridge* (YMSM 145, 1871-72)(Fig.88), do not have a distinct Japanese source of composition. Those Nocturnes in which he aimed at a narrow range of colour and whose main characteristic is subtlety and delicacy have a strong resemblance to monochrome, *sumi-e* (ink paintings), of which the main attraction is visual purity over the whole picture surface, consisting only of the black of the ink and the white of the material. It is known that at this time Whistler 'never attempted to hide his brush-work'.<sup>123</sup>

Whistler's idea, to use the point of a brush to express figures or objects with delicate execution and almost semi-transparent paint reminds us of *hatsuboku* (splashed ink) technique,<sup>124</sup> a brush work technique intended to indicate form by areas of density of ink (Fig.89). In *Souvenir of Nocturne in Blue and Gold/ From Westminster bridge*

(M 569, c.1874)(Fig.90),<sup>125</sup> the distinctive characteristics of figures and objects are expressed with the point of the brush in this way. He also used this technique in watercolour to express a crowd of people on the beach or market in the 1880s, as is seen in *Variations in violet and grey - Market Place, Dieppe* (M. 1024, c.1885) or *Green and pearl - La plage, Dieppe* (M. 1025, c.1885). There are no detailed descriptions of figures but innumerable dots and dashes and small distinctive brush works create the impression of a crowd of people.

Alcock wrote of ink painting, ‘...Japanese artists make perfect copies of nature with two or three lines and single brush strokes.’<sup>126</sup> Simplified picture surfaces with limited but expressive lines and the unusual use of blank and suggestive space is characteristic of *sumi-e*. As has already been pointed out, Whistler tried to achieve a watercolour effect by using oil pigment.<sup>127</sup> Greaves said, ‘the medium was sometimes so wet that it could be floated around on the canvas as it lay on the floor, or dripped as it was left to dry outside’.<sup>128</sup> Using thinned ‘sauce’ enabled him to work quickly and to have paint so thin it was like ‘breath on the surface of a pane of glass.’<sup>129</sup>

It is not known whether Whistler owned any ink paintings or not. The Sotheby’s sale catalogue of 12 February 1880, includes lot ‘No.70 Large Roll of paper, painted with Japanese landscape and figures’ which has a slight possibility of being an ink painting.<sup>130</sup> Although Jacques Dufwa suggested that Whistler had ink paintings which could be seen in the photograph of his room in Lindsey Row taken between 1867-78,<sup>131</sup> but these actually look like *kacho-ga* (bird and flower paintings), by the *Nan-ga* (literati painting) school.<sup>132</sup>

What Whistler aimed at in the Nocturnes is not a ‘correct portrayal’<sup>133</sup> but ‘an artistic impression’.<sup>134</sup> In later years, Whistler

wrote:

As the light fades and as the shadows deepen all petty and exacting details vanish, everything trivial disappears, and I see things as they are in great strong masses; the buttons are lost, but the sitter remains, the garment is lost, but the sitter remains; the sitter is lost, but the shadow remains. And that night cannot efface from the painter's imagination.<sup>135</sup>

In his *Nocturnes* Whistler tried to express his visual impression of the night scene. He used Lecoq de Boisbaudran's memory drawing which he had learned from Henri Fantin-Latour and Alphonse Legros: 'A painter should be trained to draw from memory in order to facilitate his quest for originality.'<sup>136</sup> Whistler said in his *Ten O'Clock Lecture*, 'Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures...', '... the artist is born to pick and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful'.<sup>137</sup> He synthesised elements from nature and brought them into unified form in his paintings. Whistler used his memory and imagination to create a unified beauty from elements of nature.

Whistler's method of executing a visual impression of nature has something in common with that of the Japanese. Yashiro Yukio points out that Japanese artists try to evoke a subjective impression of nature and resolve it into a decorative pattern rather than to depict reality direct from nature.<sup>138</sup> For example, in *Kakitsubata Byobu* (Iris Screen) (Fig.91), Ogata Kôrin designed flowers from nature into decorative patterns; deep-blue iris and green leaves dominate the composition against a golden background. It is not a detailed execution of flowers, but rather a decorative design using the motif. However, this decorative pattern is clear enough to express the characteristics of the iris.<sup>139</sup> In Utamaro's *ukiyo-e* beauties, he expressed the essence of female beauty with minimal lines, and

simplified the human body and facial expression(Fig.92). Hokusai's *Sanka kaku-u* (Sudden storm below the summit)(Fig.93) never appeared in nature as it does in his work, but his art expresses the symbolic quality of this sacred mountain.<sup>140</sup>

To express an atmospheric nocturnal scene, Whistler used the watercolour-like quality of lithotint in his *Nocturne: The River at Battersea* (W.5, 1878)(Fig.94). The modulated tonal colour of *Nocturne: The River at Battersea* reminds us of the black billowing clouds in *Fūjin Raijin* (Wind-God and Thunder-God)(Fig.95)<sup>141</sup> by Tawaraya Sôtatsu. Sôtatsu used his new method, *tarashikomi*, in depicting the stormy clouds. He applied *sumi* or aqueous pigment thickly on to the picture surface, silk or paper, and dropped on spots of water or different coloured pigment while it was still wet and made them blend; this enabled him to achieve random and irregular effects. It is not known if Whistler was aware of works by Sôtatsu, or had any opportunities of seeing works painted in a method similar to Sôtatsu's at this date, since his work was little known before the mid 1880s. A caricature in the journal *Quiz* published in 1897 (Fig.96) looks quite similar to Sôtatsu's *Wind-God and Thunder-God*, indicating that Sôtatsu's screen was well known in Europe by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>142</sup>

However, there is a fundamental difference between Whistler's and the Japanese methods although both are using fluid pigment. In Whistler's Nocturnes, the compositions have precise harmonious tones rather than random and irregular effects of pigment. Whistler used his palette to pre-mix colours so that he could have a perfect harmonious composition of hues.<sup>143</sup> For instance, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Cremorne Lights* (YMSM 115, 1872)(Fig.97) shows very

thinly painted tonal harmonies in a narrow range of cool colour. Lights, almost silhouette-like dark wharf buildings, bamboo-like leaves and the butterfly monogram signature (both Japanese inspired motifs) make a perfectly balanced but simple composition.

The influence of Japanese art on Whistler's poetic and atmospheric Nocturnes is often pointed out, because of the apparent flatness of effect and watercolour-like brush work, but what he aimed at in these paintings was 'an artistic impression that had been carried away [from the scene]...'.<sup>144</sup> That is to say, he tried to convey a unified surface depending on the interplay of tonalities and general unity. The Nocturnes show the influence of Japanese art, but the Western sense of beauty, the idea that a painting should be unified, lies behind their creation.

Whistler's main interest was a pictorial effect and, inspired by Japanese art, he synthesised his ideas in accordance with a Western aesthetic sense and succeeded in accomplishing his aim by creating his most original works, the Nocturnes.

## Conclusion

The opening up of Japan to the rest of the world was a process of major political, economic, and social change that took place after 1853. It was given great impetus by the pressure from outside the country and the internal power struggle which had been growing more intense due to political, economic, and social constructions within the feudal political system. Pressure from outside Japan, and a foreign threat that was posed initially by the American Commodore Perry, whose armed warship first arrived in Japan in 1853, resulted



in the opening of Japan to the outside world. This in turn led to the outflow of Japanese objects to European countries. It was, then, the opening up of Japan which was the principal factor in the development of the phenomenon of *Japonisme*.

Whistler transcribed a diary, entitled 'Commodore Perry's Arrival in Japan', originally written by a Japanese person and translated into English, possibly by an American acquaintance.<sup>145</sup> Given his nationality, he must have been interested in the historical fact that it was America whose armed warship caused the opening up of Japan, closed to the outside world for more than 250 years. However, unlike his follower, Mortimer Menpes, Whistler did not show an interest in visiting Japan.

Whistler's interest in Japanese art was expressed by the use of certain objects for their aesthetic value and exotic appeal, and this is clearly seen in his Oriental paintings. In succeeding years, the influence of Japanese art in his works became less obvious but greater in depth. Whistler's interest in decorative and exotic effects was gradually applied to his more original 'Nocturnes', the essence of which lies in the tasteful manipulation of tonalities.

Works of art are part of a culture and always reflect the nature, climate, and customs of that place. As seen in the title of the magazine *Le Japon Artistique* published by S. Bing, Japan was seen as an artistic country in Western eyes. Works of art belonged to, or were part of, daily life in Japan and Western people considered Japanese life artistic. By contrast, the idea of 'art for art's sake' separated works of art from everyday life and as we know Whistler was an aesthete who insisted that art should exist for its own sake. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between his theory of

the nature and role of works of art and that of the Japanese. According to the Pennells, Whistler said that for him, the influence of Japanese art meant the continuation of a tradition, not a revolution in Western art, for art is unchangeable.<sup>146</sup> However, without denying his debt to Japanese art as an artistic inspiration, his own originality was based on the Western aesthetic.

## Endnotes for Chapter Two

1. Baker & Sons, *"The White House", Tite Street, Chelsea, A Catalogue of the Remaining Household Furniture*, Thursday, September 18, 1879.
2. Sotheby, *Catalogue of the Decorative Porcelain, Cabinet, Paintings, and Other Works of Art of J. McN. Whistler*, February 12, 1880.
3. Quoted in Richard Dorment, 'James McNeill Whistler 1834-1903', *James MacNeill Whistler*, Richard Dorment & Margaret F. MacDonald (ed.), exh.cat., Tate Gallery, London, 1994, p.17 and n.14 on p.293: letter from Whistler to Fantin-Latour, n.d. [September, 1867] (LC PC).
4. Robin Spencer, 'Whistler and Japan: Work in Progress', *Japonisme in Art. An International Symposium*, Society for the Study of Japonisme (ed.), Tokyo, 1980, p.58 and see p.76, n.8: H.R. Rookmasker, *Synthetist Art of Gauguin and His Circle*, Amsterdam, 1959, pp.50-51.
5. James McNeill Whistler, *Ten O'clock Lecture*, delivered in London, February 20, 1885. Reprinted in James McNeill Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, London, 1890, pp.134-159.
6. David J. Bromfield, 'The Art of Japan in Later 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, Problems of Art Criticism and Theory', PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1977, p.716.
7. Vincent Van Gogh, 1886-88. Oil on canvas, 55 × 46 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
8. Amy G. Poster & Henry D. Smith II, *Hiroshige. One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, New York, 1986, plate.30.
9. Denys Sutton, *Nocturne: The Art of James McNeill Whistler*, 1963, p.45. See also Watanabe Toshio, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Bern, 1991, p. 213.
10. See Watanabe, *ibid.*, p.214.
11. Elizabeth R. & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James MacNeill Whistler*, London, 1911, p.84.
12. *ibid.*, p.84.
13. Katherine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler*, New

- Haven, 1984, p.87 and pp. 94-95.
14. *ibid.*, p.94.
  15. *ibid.*, p. 87.
  16. Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room. A Cultural Biography*, New Heaven and London, 1998, p.59.
  - 16a. See Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography*, London, 1968, pp.196-198. Also see n. 119 in chapter 3.
  17. See Watanabe, 1991, p.232 and Sato Tomoko & Watanabe Toshio (eds.), *Japan & Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, Tokyo, 1991, p.79.
  18. *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, YMSM 101, 1871. Oil on canvas, 144.3×162.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle*, YMSM 137, 1872-3. Oil on canvas, 171.1×143.5 cm. Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery.
  19. Oil on canvas, 60×47 cm, Musée du Louvre. Illustrated in Lochnan, 1984, p.42.
  20. *ibid.*, p.42.
  21. This unique series of prints was in the possession of Edmond de Goncourt (1822-96). Goncourt bought this set from Hayashi Tadamasa in Paris in 1885. See Craig Hartley, *Prints of the Floating World. Japanese Woodcuts from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, London, 1997, p.70.
  22. Dorment, 1994, p.18.
  23. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.72.
  24. Denys Sutton, 'Whistler: The artist as Dandy', *James McNeill Whistler*, exh.cat., Tokyo, 1987, p.23.
  25. John Sandberg, "'Japonisme' and Whistler", *Burlington Magazine*, vol.106, 1964, p.503.
  26. *ibid.*, p.503.
  27. Charles Caffin, *American Masters of Painting*, London, 1903, pp.44-45. Also see Watanabe, 1991, p.231 and Watanabe Toshio, 'Eishi Prints in Whistler's Studio? Eighteenth-century Japanese prints in the West

- before 1870', *Burlington Magazine*, vol.128, 1986, p.875.
28. Watanabe in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.128, 1986, pp.875-76. *Itsumama* (c.1794-95, Colour woodcut. *Oban* size) by Eishi, it is illustrated on p.875.
  29. YMSM 34.
  30. *ibid.*, 35.
  31. See Dorment, 1994, p.16; Basil Gray, letter to the editor, *Burlington Magazine*, vol.107, 1965, p.324; YMSM 56. Illustrated in Dorment, 1994, p.16. This *ukiyo-e* is in the Birnie Philip collection in the British Museum (BM 1949 4-9 066). It is likely that this used to be owned by E.W. Godwin and his wife and came into Whistler's possession after his marriage to Godwin's widow, Beatrice. Although there is a possibility that Whistler owned this *ukiyo-e* and gave or sold it to Godwin, there is no evidence of this. It is almost impossible to prove the direct influence of this print on *The Balcony* (YMSM 56, 1867-68).
  32. Eishi, *Ogiya no zashiki*, c.1790-92. Triptych. Colour woodcut. *Oban* size. Illustrated in Watanabe in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.128, 1986, p.877.
  33. *ibid.*, 1986, p.877. M.319-320.
  34. Illustrated in Kouno Motoaki, *Hokusai to Katsushika-ha* (Hokusai & Katsushika School), *Nihon no Bijyutu* (Japanese Art) 12, no.367, Tokyo,1996, pp.71 & 73.
  35. 1885-87, chalk pastel. 32.3×18.0 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC. M.1077.
  36. The Pennells wrote, 'we have heard of a Chinese bamboo rack he used for these railings, though some remember it as studio property made from his design.' See E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.86.
  37. Quoted in YMSM 56.
  38. Letter from Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10 February 1864. GUL AM 1962 W/35. Reprinted in Nigel Thorp (ed.), *Whistler on Art. Selected Letters and Writings 1849-1903 of James McNeill Whistler*, 'Whistler's Japanese and Chinese work', Manchester, 1994, pp.24-29. Also quoted in YMSM 56.

39. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.89.
40. *Art Journal*, vol.9, 1870, p.168. Quoted in YMSM 56.
41. Alastair Grieve, 'Whistler and The Pre-Raphaelites', *Art Quarterly*, vol.34, 1971, p.225.
42. The portrait of Carlyle was painted slightly later than that of Whistler's mother and is the only one in which Whistler used the same composition. He told the Pennells that Carlyle admired the simplicity of his mother's portrait when he visited Whistler's house and said that he would like to be painted. See E.R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.170. See also Margaret F. MacDonald, 'Whistler: The Painting of the "Mother"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.85, 1975, p.82.
43. MacDonald argues that he moved away from the art of tanagra, classically draped figures, and came close to the severity of a Roman funeral monument. cf. MacDonald in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.185, 1975, p.81.
44. E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.98.
45. *ibid.*, p.88.
46. See Merrill, 1998, pp.126-127.
47. James McNeill Whistler, *The Red Rag*, *The World*, 22 May, 1878. Reprinted in James McNeill Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, London, 1890, p.127.
48. Lochnan, 1984, p.87. Whistler himself owned sepia-toned photographs of works of art, which are now in the University of Glasgow. He also had his own work photographed and sold sepia photographs of his portrait of his mother. It is not certain that he made use of photography of contemporary scenes in developing his work.
49. *ibid.*, p.95.
50. E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.163.
51. See *ibid.*, p.84.
52. William Michael Rossetti, *Memories*, London, 1899, p.276. Quoted in Bromfield, 1977, p.140.
53. Letter from Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10 February 1864. See n.38.

54. Merrill, 1998, p.59.
55. Phylis Anne Floyd, 'Japonisme in context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions', PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1983, p.39.
56. Mabuchi Akiko, *Japonisumu. Gensou no Nihon* (Japonisme. Représentations et Imaginaries des Européens), Tokyo, 1997, p.276; Fukai Akiko, *Japonisme in Fashion* (Japonisme in Fashion), Tokyo, 1994, p.46; *Le Japonisme*, exh.cat., Tokyo, 1988, pp.54-55. Also for further discussion on the shop owned by Desoye see Watanabe, 1991, p.83; Floyd, 1983, pp.39-41; Geneviève Lacambre, 'Les Milieux Japonisants a Paris, 1860-1880', *Japonisme in Art*, Tokyo, 1980, pp.45-46.
57. Letter from Whistler (7 Lindsey Row, Old Battersea bridge, Chelsea, London) to Fantin-Latour. Library of Congress, MSS Division, Pennell-Whistler Collection, PWC 1/33/19. I am grateful Dr. Margaret F. MacDonald for this information.
58. E.R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.79.
59. Baker & Sons, 1879, lot.no.53.
60. *ibid.*, lot.no.65.
61. *ibid.*, lot.no.12 and 38.
62. Sotheby, 1880.
63. Baker & Sons, 1879.
64. E .R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p. 86.
65. Letter from Whistler to Fantin-Latour, 3 February 1864, Library of Congress. Quoted in YMSM 47.
66. See Baker & Sons, 1879, lot no.53.
67. Letter in Dublin Castle, Dublin, Ireland. See Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.87 and Merrill, 1998, p.54.
68. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.87.
69. Merrill, 1998, p.54.
70. Letter from Whistler to A. Reid, 26 June 1892. GUL LB 4/47. Quoted in YMSM 50.
71. See Sotheby, 1880.

72. Watanabe in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.128, 1986, p.876.
73. *ibid.*, pp.877-878. Although Basil Gray points out the resemblance to Utamaro's *geisha*, *Tori no koku* (The hour of the cock) from the series of *Seiro junitoki* (The twelve hours of the green houses) in his letter to the editor of the *Burlington Magazine*, Watanabe points out that the long loose hair of *La Princess* is much closer to *Sotoorihime* (Princess Sotoori) by Eishi in 1797. See also Gray in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.107, 1965, p.324.
74. Margaret F. MacDonald, 'Whistler and Oriental Art', a paper given at study day of Scottish Society for Art History, The Burrell Collection, 21 November 1999. I am very grateful to Dr. MacDonald letting me have a copy of her paper which will be published in a forthcoming Journal of the SSAH.
75. Letter to D.G. Rossetti, nd, Library of Congress. Quoted in MacDonald, *ibid.*
76. See Merrill, 1998, p.72. Also see YMSM 50.
77. Letter from Whistler to Fantin-Latour, March 1865, Library of Congress. See YMSM 50.
78. See Sotheby, 1880.
79. See Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art*, New York, 1993, p.127.
80. Letter from Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour. 30<sup>th</sup> September, [18]68. Translation reprinted in Thorp, 1994, pp.33 & 35.
81. See Merrill, 1998, p.59. Also see Spencer, 1980, pp.61-62 and note 31 on pp.77-78. As Spencer says, although a sale catalogue (May 7, 1879. Library of Congress, E.R. and J. Pennell Collection) lists Japanese items, neither detailed description nor illustrations are provided which helps identification of these prints by Hiroshige. Therefore there is not concrete evidence whether Whistler actually owned these prints by Hiroshige.
82. See Baker & Sons, 1879, lot.no.4.
83. For further discussion of this frame, see David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art*, New York and London, 1984, p.158. Also see Ikegami Chûji, 'British Design à la japonaise of



Picture-Frame - D.G. Rossetti and J.M. Whistler -, Department of Art History, Faculty of Letters, Kôbe University (org.), *East and West in Asian Art History - Oppositions and Exchange* -, Tenth International Symposium of the Society for International Exchange of Art Historical Studies, Kôbe 1992, pp.1-5, 10-11, 96-97. I am grateful to Suzuki Sadahiro for sending a copy of this article.

84. Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909), *Atalanta in Calydon. A Tragedy*, published in London, 1865, 22.3×17.5 cm, Bodleian Library, Oxford. See Watanabe, 1991, p.204.
85. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, pp.258-60.
86. *Furansu Kaiga to Ukiyo-e. Touzai Bunka no Kakehashi. Hayashi Tadamsa no Me* (French Painting and Ukiyo-e. The Eye of Tadamas Hayashi, a Bridge Between the Eastern and Western Cultures), exh, cat., Takaoka City Museum of Art, 1996,p.156. Also see Appendix C.
87. Sutton, 1963, p.53.
88. Whistler, 1890, p.127.
89. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.76. See also Grieve in *Art Quarterly*, vol.34, 1971, p.219.
90. Grieve, *ibid.*, p.219.
91. Timothy Hilton, *The Pre-Raphaelites*, London, 1970, p.83.
92. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, pp.78-79.
93. Dorment, 1994, p.17.
94. 1865. Location unknown, repr. Alfred L. Baldry, *Albert Moore: His Life and Work*, London, 1894, opp. p.28.
95. Paul Mantz, 'Salon de 1863', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.15, 1863, pp.60-61. See YMSM 17 and Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p77.
96. *Sunday Times*, June 23, 1967, p.7. See Catherine Goebel, 'Arrangement in Black and White: The Making of a Whistler Legend', PhD thesis, Northwestern University, 1988, p.231.
97. E.R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p. 46.
98. Denys Sutton, *James McNeill Whistler. Paintings • Etchings Pastels & Watercolours*, London, 1966, p.16.

99. E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.86.
100. Watanabe, 1991, p.242.
101. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.92.
102. See Spencer, 1980, pp.66-69 and Watanabe, in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.128, 1986, pp.878-79.
103. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.23.
104. *ibid.*, p.92.
105. Quoted in Sutton, 1966, p.58.
106. Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, p.94.
107. Undated letter of early 1870; E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.116 and 'A Correspondence', *Art Journal*, London, 1892, p.252.
108. Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, Washington, 1992, p.144.
109. Letter from Courbet to Whistler from Vaud 14 February 1877, University of Glasgow. Quoted in Sutton, 1963, p.49.
110. *Times*, 11 November 1872. Quoted in YMSM 72.
111. YMSM 139.
112. Published in 1858.
113. See Nakayama Isao, 'Whistler's "Screen"', *Tokai Jyoshi Daigaku Kiyou* (Bulletin of Tokai Women's College), 1982, no.2, pp.1-9.
114. See Merrill, 1992, pp.36-37 and p.328, n.15 on; Lochnan, 1984, p.179 and p.298, n.23; Theodore Child, 'American Artist at the Paris Exhibition', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol.79, 1889, p.496. Also Pennell says, 'Whistler never copied Japanese technique. But Japanese composition impressed him - the arrangement, the pattern, and at times detail. The high or low horizon, the line of a bridge over a river, the spray of foliage in the foreground, the golden curve of a falling rocket, the placing of a figure on the shore, the signature in the oblong panel, show how much he learned.' E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.112. Here 'the golden curve of a falling rocket' may possibly mean Hiroshige's *Ryogoku Hanabi* (1858).
115. Spencer, 1980, p.70.
116. See Charlotte van Rappard-Boonn Willem van Gulik and Keiko van Bremen-Ito, *Catalogue of the Van Gogh Museum's Collection of*

- Japanese prints*, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, 1991.
117. e.g. M. 701 and Dorment & MacDonald, 1994, cat.no. 55.
118. Nesta R. Spink, Harriet K. Streaiss, and Martha Teseschi with the associatance of Britt Salvesen, *The Lithographs of James MacNeill Whistler. A Catalogue Raisonné*, The Art Institute of Chicago in association with the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial Distributed by Hudson Hills Press, New York, 1999, cat. no.12.
119. E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.112.
120. *ibid.*, pp.34-35. For recent research on Whistler's use of pigment, see Joyce H. Townsend, 'Whistler's oil painting materials', *Burlington Magazine*, vol.136, 1994, pp.690-695 and Stephen Hackney, 'Colour and tone in Whistler's "Nocturnes" and "Harmonies" 1871-72', *Burlington Magazine*, vol.136, 1994, pp.695-699.
121. E. R. & J. Pennell, 1911, pp.114-115.
122. *ibid.*, p.115.
123. T.R. Way & G.R. Dennis, *The Art of James McNeill Whistler*, London, 1903, p.18.
124. Yashiro Yukio, *2000 Years of Japanese Art*, Peter C. Swann (ed.), London, 1958,p.180.
125. I would like to thank Dr. Margaret F. MacDonald for drawing my attention to this painting.
126. Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of Tycoon*, London, 1863, chapter 35. Quoted in *Nihon no Bi. Japonaiserie no rutsu* (Japanese sense of Beauty: Source and Inspiration for *Japonaiserie*), exh.cat., Tokyo, 1985, p.99.
127. Dorment, 1994, p.24.
128. E.R. & J. Pennell, 1911, p.115.
129. Quoted in Dorment, 1994, p.25.
130. See Sotheby, 1880, lot.no. 70.
131. The Drawing room at Whistler's house at Lindsey Row, London, 1867-78. Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Prints and Photographs Division, Pennell Whistler Collection. repr. Merrill, 1998, p.148.

132. Jacque Dufwa, *Winds from the East. A Study in the Art of Manet, Degas, Monet and Whistler 1858-86*, exh.cat., Stockholm and Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1981, p.176.
133. Merrill, 1998, p.151.
134. *ibid.*, p.146.
135. Sutton, 1966, p.41.
136. Lecoq de Boisbaudran, *Education de la mémoire pittoresque*, 1862.  
Quoted in Sutton, 1963, p.22.
137. Quoted in *ibid.*, p.53.
138. See Yashiro Yukio, *Sekai ni okeru Nihon bijutu no ichi* (Position of Japanese Art in the World), Tokyo, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, 1998, pp.138-144 & pp.151-162.
139. *ibid.*, pp.140-143.
140. *ibid.*, pp.154-155.
141. Early 17<sup>th</sup> century, pair of folding screens, colour on gold paper, 154.5 × 169.8 cm each, Kennin-ji, Kyoto.
142. *Quiz*, Glasgow, January 7, 1897, New Series vol.1, p.13.
143. E.R. & J. Pennell, 1911, pp.34-35. Also see Hackney in *Burlington Magazine*, vol.136, 1994, p.696.
144. Merrill, 1992, p.146.
145. GUL, Whistler W749. I am grateful Dr. Margaret MacDonald for the source of this information.
146. E.R. & J. Pennell, *The Whistler Journal*, Philadelphia, 1921, p.31.

## Chapter Three: Mortimer Menpes' visit to Japan; The Influence of J. McN. Whistler and Kawanabe Kyôsei

### Introduction

Nowadays, Mortimer Menpes is usually regarded as one of Whistler's followers in spite of his own personal success. When he met Whistler around 1880-81 'in a little room at the Fine Art Society',<sup>1</sup> Menpes was already established, exhibiting at the Royal Academy<sup>2</sup> and Grosvenor Gallery and 'experts showed no unwillingness to recognise the promise of his work'.<sup>3</sup> 'At the age of 25 he was already acclaimed by the press as a promising and remarkably talented young etcher'<sup>4</sup> and According to Alfred L. Baldry, 'it was hardly surprising that Mr. Menpes should have learned much from his association with Mr. Whistler.'<sup>5</sup> Menpes records of his meeting with Whistler 'the moment I saw him I realised I had come to into contact with the Master.'<sup>6</sup>

Menpes went to Japan in 1887<sup>7</sup> 'for the sole purpose of studying all the lessons possible from it and from the Japanese artists',<sup>8</sup> and in 1896 'with a view to decorating my newly-built London house ... being convinced that it was possible to handle the labour there at a cheaper rate and with finer results than in Europe.'<sup>9</sup> For the second visit, he took his family.<sup>10</sup> Letters and essays by Menpes<sup>11</sup> describe his experience of Japan and express his view of Japanese life and art.

In 1888 and 1897, on his return from Japan, Menpes held exhibitions at Messrs Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells in New Bond Street, in London. His choice of themes, a shop front, the span of a

bridge over a river, and a crowd of people, is much the same as Whistler's. The first visit caused a break with his Master, Whistler, whose influence appears throughout Menpes' Japanese subjects. These pictures were very Japanese in subject but not in technique. The influence of Japanese artistic methods on Menpes' art appears much later in the portraits that he started to produce in his 'Japan Room' after coming back from the second visit to Japan.

Menpes looked back on his first departure from Britain to Japan, 'All the way to Paddington, as I journeyed onward, I blamed myself bitterly for having left the Master. I felt that I was doing a wrong thing in leaving him at his greatest period, when he needed all his friends about him. Still, I too had a career to make, and was determined to succeed.'<sup>12</sup> Torn between his obligation to the Master and his ambition, he left Britain for Japan.<sup>13</sup>

Menpes' motivation is quite clear in his words, 'I had been to Japan, had studied the methods of the Japanese, and had come back cleansed. I realised more than ever the greatness of the Master; but I also realised the absurdity of trying to copy him in any way.'<sup>14</sup> Menpes preferred to go to Japan to search for his own identity as an artist rather than remaining his Master's pupil.<sup>15</sup> However, although Menpes' visit to Japan was a turning point in his career, the influence of Japanese art does not appear immediately in his technique.

In this chapter, I would like to discuss Menpes' *Japonisme*, focusing on the Japanese subjects produced during his first and second visits, which show Whistler's influence, his 'Japan Room', and on the portraiture produced in his studio-house with its Japanese decoration.

## Japanese subjects and Whistler's influence

Menpes' exhibition of Japanese subjects, 'the chief attraction of the 1888 art season'<sup>16</sup> was held at Messrs Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells Gallery in Bond Street, London.<sup>17</sup> According to the *Catalogue of Paintings Drawings and Etchings of Japan by Mortimer Menpes R.B.A.*, he exhibited 137 paintings and 40 etchings and drypoints.<sup>18</sup> All are titled and the artist wrote explanations for some of his works. At the beginning of this catalogue, he expressed his gratitude to his Master, Mr. Whistler.

His exhibition at Dowdeswells' Gallery was favourably reviewed:

the young Australian artist, [brings] Japan to London in quaint little frames, with all the customs and scenery, the child-life, and local colour of the Land of the Rising Sun. ... The seven score oil and water-colour paintings are remarkable for the richness, brilliancy, depth and purity of the colour, and for the ease and effect with which sunlight and shadow are dealt with.<sup>19</sup>

Genre scenes such as children, street scenes, a theatre, a street stall, river views, shop fronts and young women were painted with luminous effect, and have a naturalism of light and shade which has its origin in western art, as is seen in *A Family Group* (Fig.98).<sup>20</sup>

The novelty of the frames 'which are so designed as to be without mitres, while the pictures are set in them a little above the middle' was pointed out.<sup>21</sup> Menpes designed picture frames and ordered them in Japan. He was impressed by skilled Japanese workmanship and satisfied with the quality of their work which successfully achieved his artistic intentions. As he said, 'The result was that I got one of the most beautiful frames you can conceive, and that I was

encouraged in my own work by the sympathy of these workmen'.<sup>22</sup>

He focused on genre scenes of ordinary people and places including shop fronts. Menpes treated these Japanese shop fronts as essentially geometrical arrangements, in works such as *Tea-House and Garden at Kioto* (Fig.99) just as Whistler did in his Chelsea shop fronts in the 1880s, for instance in *The Shop - an exterior* (Fig.100). They were animated by children at play or a crowd of people.

For the 40 etchings and drypoints, a separate catalogue was published, entitled '*Mortimer Menpes, Etchings & Drypoints: Japanese*'.<sup>23</sup> Most of his works are impressions rather than an accurate record of Japanese life, as is seen *Tea-House and Garden at Kioto* (Fig.99). *The Magazine of Art* stated that his etchings and drypoints were delicately executed 'impressions' of Japan, and 'masterpieces of printing.'<sup>24</sup>

The delicate execution of the 40 prints from his first visit to Japan show the influence of Whistler's etchings of Venice, such as *Nocturne: Furnace* (1879-80, K.213 VI/VII)(Fig.101), which Menpes probably helped to print.<sup>25</sup> He later recalled, 'it was in this little print room of mine that most of the series of Venetian etchings were printed. Here it was that Whistler taught me the art of etching, and it was seeing these plates printed day after day that first gave me a real insight into Whistler.'<sup>26</sup> Menpes printed one of Whistler's 'palaces', *Nocturne: Palaces* (K.202)(1879-80),<sup>27</sup> and Whistler said; 'I have educated and trained you, and have created an atmosphere which enables you to carry out my intentions exactly as I myself should.'<sup>28</sup> Menpes mastered the Whistlerian manner and, as K.A. Lochnan writes, 'it is apparent from Menpes' etching *Warehouses by*



*the Thames* (Fig.102) that Menpes was perfectly capable of simulating Whistlerian artistic effects.<sup>29</sup> In Menpes own etchings, he expressed Japanese riverscapes as poetic impressions suspended like a veil before the viewer. He also etched genre scenes, which have an effect of being 'unfinished', as is seen in *On the Great canal, Osaka* (Fig.103).

The second group of Menpes' Japanese subjects was exhibited at Messrs Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's Gallery at the end of May in 1897,<sup>30</sup> nine years after his exhibition of Japanese subjects from his first visit.<sup>31</sup> The success of the private view was reported by the *National Observer*, 'At about four o'clock the crowd, which must have numbered 800 or 900 (how private a private view), rendered ingress or egress impossible, and the inspection of pictures a matter of the greatest difficulty.'<sup>32</sup> This statement indicates the popularity of Menpes' work and his exhibition. The attendance of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Sir F. Seymour Haden, Sir Henry Irving, Miss Ellen Terry and her sister Marion, The Grand Duke and the Grand Duchess of Hesse and The Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha at the private view<sup>33</sup> gives further evidence of the establishment of Menpes as an artist.

The *Magazine of Art* stated: 'his [Menpes] colour-sense is at once powerful and subtle; he manages the lighting of his little pictures with remarkable skill, and he draws with happy precision. Besides this, his little oil pictures glow like gems, and his water-colours are in their way hardly less luminous; they present, moreover, an interest of technique that will attract all artists, and hardly be lost upon the general public.'<sup>34</sup>

Many of the subjects were 'the amusements and occupations of the

people, with their picturesque ceremonials<sup>35</sup> and pretty festivities. Many of the drawings showed the artificers busy with their trades - stencil cutting, as in the study reproduced; metal working; designing; and occupied with the details of various artistic crafts; others showed the colour and light effects of the theatres, or the feast of hues presented by processions and gatherings of priests or archers.<sup>36</sup> Menpes used a single light source to illuminate the density of the darkness for dramatic effect in some of these workshops, such as *Young Bronze Worker* (Fig. 104). This could be the result of the influence of an etching like Rembrandt's *Christ Crucified between the Two Thieves (The Three Crosses)*(Fig.105). Rembrandt's influence on Whistler is evident in the manipulation of line and surface tone to create nocturnal effects, as, for instance, in his *Nocturne: Dance House* (Fig.106)(K.408, 1889). Rembrandt's influence could have come to Menpes directly, or through Whistler.

Another Dutch seventeenth-century influence on Menpes is found in the interiors painted by Pieter de Hooch. Menpes' etching, *Family Meal* (Fig.107) shows his visual interest in the abstract pattern of lit windows or beams and the compartmentalising of space. As pointed out by Katherine Lochnan, the geometrical composition of Whistler's early etchings in the 'French Set' (1858) such as *The Kitchen* (K.24. 1858) (Fig.40), where the picture surface is divided into geometric divisions, also shows the influence of the seventeenth-century interiors of de Hooch. Again, Menpes could have absorbed de Hooch's influence directly or through Whistler, who owned photographs of his work.

Whistler's influence is certainly apparent in Menpes' riverscapes. As is seen in 'A Letter from Japan',<sup>37</sup> Menpes showed his interest in riverscapes. He produced many views of river life in Japan and drew

the river and its traffic from a rowboat. The bridge was one of the dominant motifs of his work during his stay in Japan. Menpes' interest in the wooden bridge as a subject, and some of the compositions, which show the span of the bridge over the river, and his use of perspective, for which he sometimes places a boat in the foreground to lead the eye into the composition, as *Upstream from Nagasaki Harbour* (Fig.108), for instance, show the influence of such prints as the *Old Putney Bridge* (K.178, 1879)(Fig.82) or *Old Battersea Bridge* (K177, 1879)(Fig.83) by Whistler.

Menpes was aware of the Japanese influence on Whistler's bridge compositions, for he wrote, 'let us say a Japanese artist is painting a typical Japanese river-scene, such a one as inspired many of Mr. Whistler's graceful Thames etchings - a quaintly formed bridge under whose dim archway a glimpse of shipping and masses of detail can be seen in the distance'.<sup>38</sup> Although it is not quite clear if this statement arises from his first or second visit to Japan since the book was published in 1901 and based on the experience of both trips, it is, however, clear that Menpes understood the Japanese influence on Whistler's Thames subjects.

Many of Menpes' riverscapes are distinguished by their exactitude of detail and crisp definition, for Menpes used detailed realism to give substance to his images of the river. His realistic treatment of riverscapes reminds us of Whistler's early 'Thames Set' rather than the river scenes produced by Whistler in the late 1870s. In these later works, Whistler started to create a feeling of air and atmosphere, and they were no longer so detailed in their depictions of specific areas, as is seen in *The Tall Bridge* (W. 9) (Fig. 84). By contrast, Menpes' river scenes produced during his second visit, such as *Osaka* (Fig.109) are detailed realistic records of Japan.

Having seen the changes in his treatment of Japanese subjects produced during the first and second visit to Japan, it is clear that Menpes' interest shifted from impressionistic expression to realistic execution. An encounter with the method of a Japanese artist, Kawanabe Kyôsei (1831-1889) might have drawn his attention to this form of realism, and this will be discussed later.

The importance of artistic placing and perfect balance was another point which Menpes found in common between Whistler and Japanese art. Menpes said that this was one of the most important lessons of Whistler's work.<sup>39</sup> For instance, Whistler sometimes asked Menpes where to place his butterfly signature on his picture so that it completed the composition. Menpes noticed that Japanese people felt that balance was important, even when placing a stamp on a bill. Like Whistler's signature which was developed into a butterfly monogram from his initials 'JM', Menpes created his signature by piling his initials 'M.M.' up vertically. This signature is quite similar to the *kanji*, a Chinese character, 凧 *tako*, meaning kite. This kite signature appears in the illustrations of the *Magazine of Art*, in April 1888, such as *Playfellows* (Fig.110),<sup>40</sup> and the *Pall Mall Gazette 'Extra'* in May 1888.<sup>41</sup> The same etching illustrated in the exhibition catalogue does not have this signature. Menpes used his butterfly-like monogram in some of his portraits, as is seen in *Arthur James Balfour* (Fig.111).<sup>42</sup> He talks about the importance of *rakkan* (the vermilion stamp of the painter), 'I have known little Japanese painters to ponder for hours and sometimes weeks, over the placing of this little vermilion stamp so that it shall form perfect balance, and in all probability the picture itself has only taken a few minutes.'<sup>43</sup> His collector's mark (Fig.112)<sup>44</sup> looks like *Kagerou* (dragonfly) from

*Genji-Kou* (the game of identifying incense by its fragrance)(Fig.113).<sup>45</sup> Menpes had a square stamp carved '25 Cadogan Gardens S. W.' and on his drawing *A Geisha Girl* (Fig.114) in the V&A,<sup>46</sup> he placed this vermilion stamp exactly as many Japanese painters did and still do.

However, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the principal influence of Japanese artistic methods on Menpes' art appears in the portraits that he produced in his studio-house with its Japanese fittings after his return from his second trip to Japan. Therefore I would like to discuss the artist's studio-house decorated with Japanese fittings in the next section.

## **25 Cadogan Gardens**

During the 1870s and 1880s, ideas about the artistic interior were widely discussed. Japan was one of the major elements in the formation of the Aesthetic interior. Menpes was very much influenced by this fashion, the idea of the Aesthetic interior.<sup>47</sup>

In 1888, the *Pall Mall Gazette* published 'The House of Taste - The ideas of Mr. Mortimer Menpes on Home Decoration', and Menpes' ideas on his house decoration were stated as follows:

Imagine walls and ceiling of a lovely lilac hue, from which hangs a weird Japanese lantern. On your left standing under the screened window, is a round table clothed with a rich Japanese cover with dragons and strange fish and birds woven into the fabric. Upon this cover lie a Japanese card-tray and a Japanese box. The floor is covered with a simple cloth of black and white squares, upon which a huge Japanese frog keeps guard over the gong. This is only a panel of the picture, for the completion of

which you must look through an open door into a luminous little chamber covered with a soft wash of lemon yellow, which is relieved by a trio of sombre etchings, gems by Whistler, by Menpes and by Short....From the antechamber we passed through the open door into a large drawing-room, of the same soft lemon-yellow hue. The blinds were down, the fog reigned without, and yet you would have thought that the sun was in the room.<sup>48</sup>

His Japanese decorations were carefully chosen. The frog, for instance, was appropriate for the purpose (Fig.115). Frog is *kaeru* in Japanese. To receive someone is *mukaeru* and to return home is *kaeru*. It is not known if the painter is playing this homonym game, but it is interesting that he placed frogs besides the door where he received and saw off his guests. The frog is also the creature which Kawanabe Kyōsai sometimes used in his caricatures.<sup>49</sup> Such ornaments were popular with collectors and connoisseurs.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, not only artists such as Whistler or Rossetti but also their patrons such as Henry Thompson or Frederick Leyland, or, later, Charles Lang Freer, collected Oriental goods and decorated their houses with Japanese objects. One of the examples of a room decorated with Japanese objects was 'The Japanese Room' in 20 Charles Street, Mayfair, in London which dated from 1897 (Fig.116). In this room, 'The walls have panels of oriental silk pieced together in precisely the same way as those in the previous picture, and they are surmounted by a frieze of grass cloth hung with Japanese masks.'<sup>50</sup> The decoration of the Charles Street House presents a good comparison with Menpes' studio-house. However, Menpes' experiment of applying Japanese ornament to the decoration of an English house was distinguished from other nineteenth century aesthetic interiors which simply displayed Japanese fans, porcelains or umbrellas.

To achieve his idea of a 'House of Taste', and participate in the formation of the aesthetic interior of his house, Menpes commissioned Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo (1851-1942) to build his studio-house between 1893 and 1895 (Fig.117) in 25 Cadogan Gardens. The façade is still visible; it had a 'stylised Queen Anne exterior'.<sup>51</sup>

This house was designed to produce the setting for his society portraits; as Menpes said, 'I am now engaged in completing my house and in painting portraits. My house is part of my life's scheme, and I have placed it in a fashionable part of London in order to be near my sitters.'<sup>52</sup> The interior of this studio-house, with a studio on the first floor and a printing room on the second, was created as an appropriate setting for the practice.<sup>53</sup> From Menpes' statement, it is clear that he decorated his house fashionably so that it would suit his fashionable sitters and the 'Japan Room' was itself intended to be fashionable. Menpes' house was a unique combination of Queen Anne exterior and Japanese interior, and it was favourably received by the public as is seen by the success of a housewarming party in early July 1899.<sup>54</sup>

Surviving photographs of the interior of this house taken in 1909 for the sale catalogue of the house allow us to glimpse its appearance. Flower carved *ramma* and *osa-ramma* are fixed to the walls and the ceilings. Heavy thick doors remind us of those of Japanese castles since most ordinary Japanese houses employed sliding doors. Not only *ramma* but also cabinets, chairs, and textiles for the curtains seem to have been made in Japan. Menpes also had many *kadai* (flower stands) and placed Japanese sculptures on them.

The fittings for the interior of this house were produced by Japanese craftsmen on Menpes' second visit to Japan.<sup>55</sup> He went to Japan 'armed with the plans of a house constructed for him in Cadogan Gardens, London, in which the fittings and decorations had not been completed, he set himself the task of superintending the construction of a complete range of fittings, each detail of which should not only be designed but actually made by a Japanese craftsman.'<sup>56</sup>

In a photograph published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, the artist wears a *kimono*, posing on a chair, possibly made in Japan, and copied from *kyokuroku*, a chair used by the priest in the temple, in his 'Japan Room'(Fig.118).<sup>57</sup> A woman stands in front of a golden screen which was made for the painter in Japan, '...very beautiful, ... made of gold on silk varnished over and lacquered, with apple-green and vermilion silk borders made from the linings of old dancing dresses'.<sup>58</sup> Posing with the painter is a girl, who may be his daughter, Dorothy, who transcribed and wrote some of Menpes' books. Her *kimono* is so small it must have been made originally for a Japanese woman.

Menpes points out the sense of perfect placing arising from balance in Japanese art.<sup>59</sup> He found this quality of balance in a Japanese house, where all the details of daily life were harmonised to make Japanese life artistic. He says, 'If you enter a Japanese room you will always find that the bough of blossom is placed in relation to the *kakemono* and other furniture to form a picture. And the special note of Japanese house decoration is this bough of blossom with which I was immensely struck. Now, this is an altogether artistic thing.'<sup>60</sup>

Menpes decided to decorate his house with flowers carved in wood after talking with Inchie, a Japanese man whom Menpes 'relied upon



as a good steady colleague'.<sup>61</sup> The details of their talk and his choice of flower is not stated, but, he says, '...this Japanese house of mine should be a house of flowers. Each room should be some individual and beautiful flower - such as the peony, the camellia, the cherry-blossom, the chrysanthemum, - and just as a flower begins simply at the base, expanding as it reaches the top into a full-blown bloom, so my rooms should begin with simple one - coloured walls and carpets, becoming richer and richer as they mounted up, ending as they reached the ceiling in a perfect blaze of detail.'<sup>62</sup>

As Menpes says, each room of this fashionable house was decorated with flowers; the camellia in the studio, the peony in the drawing-room, cherry blossom in the dining-room, and chrysanthemums in the halls.<sup>63</sup> Menpes went to Osaka and chose well-seasoned wood for these wood-carvings.<sup>64</sup> It took British workmen two years to fit these materials into the house.<sup>65</sup>

In Japan, the camellia was believed to have power against evil and was regarded as a sacred flower.<sup>66</sup> Peonies came originally from China and peony flower-viewing in Chang'ancheng was popular during the Tang dynasty. This flower was brought to Japan along with Zen beliefs from China during the *Kamakura* period (1185-1333).<sup>67</sup> Chrysanthemums were brought from China during the *Nara* period (710-794). In Japan it was believed that the Chrysanthemum had medicinal effects, especially for perpetual youth and long life. So *Kikukashu*, an alcohol made from chrysanthemum flowers and leaves, was drunk on the 9<sup>th</sup> of September.<sup>68</sup>

These flower patterns are seen not only in the fittings of the room but also in the fabric that covers the chairs (Fig.119). The chair in which the painter sat in a photograph was the same chair used by his

sitters, such as Henry Irving and the French actress, Sarah Bernhardt (Fig.120). There is no concrete evidence but the photograph suggests that the flower pattern was dyed. Judging from his statement, 'I ordered several piece of cotton crêpe of a certain design that I had drawn myself, and it was during the execution of this commission that I was brought into touch with the stencil-workers and dyers of the country',<sup>69</sup> this fabric must have made by one of Menpes' workers in Japan. The circular monogrammed chrysanthemum, the symbol of the Japanese Royal Family, was also used on the cover of the book written by the painter, entitled *Japan A Record in Colour* (Fig.121).

Menpes's idea of 'a house of flowers' was achieved by *ramma*. He used carved flowers, *ramma* and *osa-ramma*. *Osa* is a reed in Japanese and the shape of *ramma* is similar to a reed (Fig. 122).

*Ramma*, a transom or fanlight, is the opening between the ceiling and the *kamoi* (a narrow piece of wood that passes over the sliding doors and around an entire Japanese room), and it is normally decorated with open work. *Ramma* was introduced into a temple building enshrining a Buddhist statue in the *Heian* period and thereafter introduced to houses.<sup>70</sup> The function of *ramma* is to lighten the room and make it well ventilated; and this flexibility of space is one of the characteristics of Japanese architecture. It is not only functional but should also be enjoyed for its design. It is a characteristic of Japanese design that everyday life and art are closely related.<sup>71</sup>

There are differences between western and Japanese architectural practices. For instance, it is difficult to have privacy because *ramma*

is an open space between the rooms; but the Japanese do not value privacy as people do in the west. In Menpes' house, as can be seen in the figure 122, *ramma* was fitted onto the wall, which altered its function. He used one of *osa-ramma* in the middle of the room, which seems as if he placed it between two rooms. However, there are no doors between them and this would show that Menpes did not intend to have separate rooms. Therefore *ramma* was employed by Menpes for purely decorative effect rather than for a functional purpose.

The functional features in Japanese design were described in 1885 by Josiah Conder. Conder had been invited by the Japanese government to teach at the University of Technology, arrived in Japan in 1877. He became independent and opened his own firm, married a Japanese woman, and settled down to become the leading architect in his adopted country. He had been a pupil of William Burges and carried Burgesian eclecticism across the world, translating Burgesian Gothic into Japanese,<sup>72</sup> and he wrote, 'the light and flimsy nature of internal partitions, and the use of perforated friezes in such divisions for purposes of ventilation, has led to the almost total disregard of privacy as an element of domestic comfort'. He analyses the characteristics of the Japanese residence:

The insufficiency of the old style of dwelling as a protection against heat and cold has been conducive to a natural hardiness and exposure to out-door life. In the winter, which is one of considerable severity, it is not uncommon in fine weather to see the whole house thrown open to admit the sunshine, the charcoal brazier serving as a means of warming the hands, the other extremities being kept warm by a crouching attitude. For similar reasons, the walls and paper slides offering no resistance to the penetration of heat in the summer, the only idea of coolness is that of throwing the whole house open to the breezes. Sunshine in winter, and air in summer, are two essentials of a Japanese dwelling; and, it may be that this out-door arbour-like life has contributed in no small measure to the instructive love of nature

possessed by the Japanese people.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, in the review of *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* by Edward S. Morse published in London in 1886, William Anderson says, 'above the *kamoi*, or continuous lintel, which tops the row of slides, we may find in the larger houses a special set of frames called *ramma*, which serve for ventilation, and are often beautiful example of lattice-work, or may be represented by elaborate carving in open-work.'<sup>74</sup> From such statements one can tell that there was a certain amount of interest in and understanding of Japanese architecture and interiors, and its structures and functions had been introduced to the West by the middle of the 1880s.

Because of these descriptions of *ramma* which were published before Menpes' 'Japan Room' was constructed, the artist may have known the function of *ramma*.

However, perhaps he decided to use *ramma* not because of its function but rather for its decorative effect. He said, 'The great characteristic of Japanese art is its intense and extraordinary vitality, in the sense that it is no mere exotic cultivation of the skilful, no mere graceful luxury of the rich, but a part of the daily lives of the people themselves.'<sup>75</sup>

Josiah Conder said that the long and continuing use of wood in all aspects of Japanese artistic life 'enabled the Japanese to develop a great familiarity with its qualities, and great constructional and artistic skill in its application to building purposes. Whilst falling short of the lasting and monumental, they have attained the utmost delicacy and refinement, and their best domestic buildings can hardly be better described than as exquisite pieces of joinery and

cabinet-making.’<sup>76</sup>

Menpes found every aspect of Japanese life ‘artistic’<sup>76a</sup> and said, ‘It would be utterly impossible for the Japanese to keep art out of their lives. It creeps into everything, and is as the very air they breath.’<sup>77</sup> Again he says, ‘Art begins, as charity begins, at home; and where the home of the individual is absolutely artistic, it cannot fail that the whole nation should be a nation of artists.’<sup>78</sup> He found in Japanese life values that he considered had been lost in the west: ‘Japan is as artistic to-day as we were five hundred years ago’,<sup>79</sup> This attitude, contrasting a pre-industrial with an industrialised civilisation, was common among Victorian artists and designers such as William Morris and Gothic revivalists such as W. Burges. Menpes says, ‘...however great we are in other respects, I am sad we are thoroughly inartistic.’<sup>80</sup>

However, although Menpes sought to create authenticity in the interior of his studio-house, there is no effort to understand the fundamental ideas of a Japanese architect on proportion or construction. From this point of view, applying Japanese decorations to British architecture, in the manner of Menpes’ studio-house, could be defined as *Japonaiserie* rather than *Japonisme*.

The *Magazine of Art* reviewed his work in 1899, ‘Now within the past few months Mr. Menpes has broken out afresh. He has become a portraitist, a portraitist on a small scale’.<sup>81</sup> Menpes started to produce commissioned portraits in 1899, and painted them in a room which is ‘an echo of far Nippon’, and ‘a gold house’ ‘with a lace-work of delicate wood-carving on the gold’<sup>82</sup> in 25 Cadogan Gardens. The wall of the studio (as of the dining room) was the pure yellow which Menpes found becoming to his sitters.<sup>83</sup> He himself received his

guests wearing a blue and white *kimono*.

In the next section, I would like to discuss the portraiture painted in Menpes' Japan Room, which represents the influence of Japan, rather than his Japanese subjects.

### **The Influence of Japan**

Menpes was concerned about western influences on Japanese art. In his article he wrote:

At the present time the Japanese are struggling to adopt all sorts of Western ideas, and what we call civilisation. ...they want what concerns me more nearly as a painter - to introduce English and foreign school-teachers and professors into their schools of art. There was one such teacher at Kioto; he was, I think an Italian.<sup>84</sup> He taught his pupils to paint as the British paint-he taught them, in fact, picture manufacturing.<sup>85</sup>

He was critical of European influence and found it inappropriate that Japanese artists should imitate European methods. He said, 'It was evident that to the Japanese who laboured under this Italian their work was a struggle. They were trying to imitate the foolish examples their misleader set before them.'<sup>86</sup>

Menpes practised and applied the Japanese methods he learned in Japan, especially from Kawanabe Kyôsei (1831-1889). Menpes met Kyôsei 'one of the greatest painters of the day,'<sup>87</sup> whose 'technique was most fascinating.'<sup>88</sup> According to Kyôsei's diary, Menpes met Kyôsei in Captain Brinkley's house on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1887.<sup>89</sup> Kyôsei made a stamp of a European figure wearing a military uniform which represented Captain Brinkley and he used this for his diary so that

he did not have to depict Brinkley each time. On that day of 30<sup>th</sup> April, Kyôσαι stamped five figures to represent European people (Fig.123). One of these is called simply 'British painter', meaning Menpes.<sup>90</sup> Captain Frank Brinkley<sup>91</sup> was an editor of *Japan Mail* 'whose article on Japan has been read with so much interest by all Nipponists'<sup>92</sup> and who was known as Kyôσαι's pupil, as was the British architect, Josiah Conder.

Menpes was impressed by Kyôσαι's method of sketching from life and pointed out that the key-note of Japanese art is 'always study Nature.'<sup>93</sup> Kyôσαι 'stressed the practice of *shasei* or stud from life, by which he meant first hand observation of things in nature in conjunction with sketching from life'.<sup>94</sup> Kyôσαι taught that *shasei*, sketching from life, 'is the foundation and the essentials of brush technique are the embellishment...'<sup>95</sup>

Kyôσαι's teaching of *shasei* to his pupils was introduced to Britain by William Anderson<sup>96</sup> (1842-1900) in 1897. He knew Kyôσαι directly and gave him watercolour pigment and asked him to produce 60 to 70 paintings. Anderson's Kyôσαι collection is now in the British Museum in London.<sup>97</sup> Kyôσαι's painting, *Kyôσαι-shi Monjin e Shasei o Oshieru no zu* (Illustration of Mr. Kyôσαι teaching his pupils Shasei) of 1887, from *Kyôσαι on Painting*, was reproduced in William Anderson's article 'Kawanabé Kyosai' in *The Studio* (Fig.124) in 1897.<sup>98</sup> *Kyôσαι on Painting* is an autobiographical art treatise published in 1887. Kyôσαι sometimes used English words in the captions, so it may have been intended not only for the Japanese but also for his Western admirers.

Anderson introduced one of the most famous episodes of *shasei*: 'a

freshly severed human head' illustrated with sketches by Kyôσαι; 'In one of these curious pictures we see the boy (young Kyôσαι) seated by the river bank, surrounded by horrified townspeople, while he eagerly copies a severed human head which he had found floating down the river.'<sup>99</sup>

In his article in *The Studio*,<sup>100</sup> Anderson mentions Josiah Conder and Charles Holme's Kyôσαι collections. Menpes had sent a letter to Charles Holme, who was the editor of *The Studio*, from Japan on his second visit.<sup>101</sup> It is not known when Menpes met Holme, but he could have heard of Kyôσαι's work in Holme's collection before he went to Japan. As Anderson says, Kyôσαι had many foreign visitors, such as Félix Regamey and M. Guimet, the founder of the Musée Guimet in Paris.<sup>102</sup> Anderson continues, 'Some years later Mr. Mortimer Menpes made his [Kyôσαι's] acquaintance, and has written warmly in his praise; ...'<sup>103</sup> And as mentioned above, Josiah Conder and Captain Frank Brinkley were his pupils. This proves that Kyôσαι was well known among the circle of people who were interested in Japanese art.<sup>104</sup>

Anderson stayed in Japan from 1873 to 1880; he was employed by the Japanese government as a medical doctor for the navy. He collected Oriental art while he was in Japan and he donated his collection to the British Museum in 1882, with a catalogue, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, being published in 1886.<sup>105</sup> The Japanese and Chinese paintings and drawings listed in this book were collected during Anderson's residence of over six years in Japan.<sup>106</sup> In this book, he introduced Kyôσαι:

Sho-Fu Kio-Sai. This artist, who is still living (born 1831), is one



of the most remarkable pupils of the HOKUSAI school. He is the only genuine successor of the master in his comic vein, and although inferior to HOKUSAI in genius and industry, he displays not only a rollicking originality of motive, that perhaps occasionally smacks of the saké-cup, but is gifted with a rapid, forcible and graceful touch, and a power of realising action that would do no discredit to the best pages of the *Manga*. A Large number of his sketches are included in the collection, and hundreds of his designs have been recently published in album form. His portrait, together with much interesting information, will be found in 'Promenades Japonaises,' by Guimet and Regamey.<sup>107</sup>

All of the listed paintings by Kyôσαι<sup>108</sup> are dated 1879, and it is likely that these were the paintings commissioned by William Anderson, as mentioned above.

Menpes was impressed by Kyôσαι's method of *shasei*, sketching from life. Kyôσαι explained it to Menpes, saying that he gazed at a bird and tried to remember as much as possible, then he went to a different room to draw it. Menpes recorded Kyôσαι's explanation of his 'impression picture'<sup>109</sup> as following:

'I watch my bird', he replied, 'and the particular pose I wish to copy before I attempt to represent it. I observe that very closely until he moves and the attitude is altered. Then I go away and record as much of that particular pose as I can remember. Perhaps I may be able to put down only three or four lines; but directly I have lost the impression I stop. Then I go back again and study that bird until it takes the same position as before. And then I again try and retain as much as I can of it. In this way I began by spending a whole day in the garden watching a bird and its particular attitude, and in the end I have remembered the pose so well by continually trying to repeat that I am able to repeat it entirely from my impression - but not from the bird. It is a hindrance to have the model before me when I have a mental note of the pose. What I do is a painting from memory, and it is a true impression. I have filled hundreds of sketch-books," he continued, "of different sorts of birds and fishes and other things and have at last got a facility and have

trained my memory to such an extent that observing the rapid action of a bird I can nearly always retain and reproduce it. By a lifelong training I have made my memory so keen that I think I may say I can reproduce anything I have once seen.'<sup>110</sup>

This method of memory drawing is reminiscent of that of Menpes' master, Whistler. Whistler became interested in Lecoq de Boisbaudran's mnemonic drawing method. Later, he relied on his memory to execute his evocative *Nocturnes*. According to Thomas R. Way's description, Whistler's technique was as follows:

pointing to a group of buildings in the distance, an old public house at the corner of the road, with windows and shops showing golden lights through the gathering mist of the twilight, said, 'Look!' As he did not seem to have anything to sketch or make notes on, I offered him my note-book. 'No, no, be quiet', was the answer; and after a long pause he turned and walked back a few yards; then with his back to the scene at which I was looking, he said, 'Now see if I have learned it', and repeated a full description of the scene, even as one might repeat a poem one had learned by heart.<sup>111</sup>

When Menpes returned to London, he met Whistler and explained Kyô sai's method. Although Whistler said, 'That is my method',<sup>112</sup> there is a difference between the methods Kyô sai and Whistler's method: Kyô sai used his mnemonics for *shasei* with a freer line, giving a more life-like quality to what he drew. On the other hand, Whistler's use of memory was as an aid to subjectivity. It was also practical, since it helped him to paint subjects seen at night.

Menpes practised and applied the method he had learned from Kyô sai in Japan when he started to produce commissioned portraits in the studio of his Japanese inspired house at 25 Cadogan Garden. Marion Harry Spielmann says in his article 'Mr. Mortimer Menpes as Portraitist' in 1899; 'There is, I imagine, not a little of the

Japanese method in Mr. Menpes's operations, as the reader may judge for himself, not only by the numerous studies...which, with the artist's courteous consent, are reproduced in those pages.'<sup>113</sup> However, Menpes developed his own method from the theory of *shasei* and applied it to his portraiture, as Spielmann described: 'We have here a wide variety in class and type of sitter - the statesman, the actor, the *littérateur*, the society-lady, the beauty, the actress, in characteristic pose, with changing expression, and in varying humour: simple, yet scholarly and subtle, too - the work of a nervously elected draughtsman.'<sup>114</sup>

His new method was to adapt himself to the mood of the sitter; and the Japan room was one of the elements that made the sitter feel that he or she had called for a chat rather than for the sake of the portrait. The sitter was then encouraged to animation by the artist's talk. Menpes did not ask his models to be seated and pose for him, but he tried to draw their real nature by creating an atmosphere of freedom. He would 'allow them to wait and sit down where they wish, and when I have got a characteristic pose I get them to keep it as nearly as possible, but to talk or listen, as they wish, while I make innumerable small studies of expression.'<sup>115</sup> Instead of using memory, Menpes made sketches of each facial expression of the sitter. Then he selected the most characteristic and favourable ones, and made a careful study from them. He finished his final picture from life. This method enabled him to obtain more action and more life.<sup>116</sup> This process was reproduced in the *Magazine of Art*<sup>117</sup> using his portraits of M.H. Spielmann as examples (Fig.125, 126 & 127).

He was also conscious of the medium. He prepared as much material as possible, such as 'pencil drawings, colour notes, and so on', because 'In portrait-painting so much depends upon the

atmosphere created by you and the sitter.'<sup>118</sup> Unlike photographic portraits which could perform the basic task of providing a likeness of the sitter, Menpes' advantage was that he had the ability to capture not only the likeness but also a sense of the personality of the sitter. And the method he developed was that he had learned from Kyôsai in the late 1880s.

It is not known whether Menpes used Japanese photographs made for export or as souvenirs for foreign visitors, as George Henry and E.A. Hornel did. He only mentions Japanese photographs as an example of the importance of composition or design in Japanese art:

Placing takes a prominent part in everything that the Japanese undertake; it shows itself not only in the arrangement of the landscape and in artistic matters where there is scope for their decorative powers, but also in small, out-of-the-way, inartistic things, as for instance, photography. I have seen in the Tokio shop-windows photographs taken by native correspondents during the Chinese war, and it was quite extraordinary how their sense of placing showed itself even in this.<sup>119</sup>

According to Harper Pennington, another follower of Whistler, Menpes was a good photographer and used all sorts of tricks and short cuts in his work. Many of the portraits in *Whistler as I knew him* were done from, or over, photographs.<sup>120</sup> It is not known whether Menpes took photographs in Japan by himself, or collected photographs there, and used these photos as the basis of his Japanese subjects, but it is possible.<sup>121</sup> However, his working methods and skilled draughtsmanship suggests that he was challenging this new invention. The lively expressions of his sitters, produced by the new method he developed from Kyôsai's *shasei*, could be seen as a way to pursue Western realism.

## Conclusion

Oscar Wilde who visited Menpes' Japanese exhibition in 1887 at the Dowdeswell Galleries had commented:

do you really imagine that the Japanese people, as they are presented to us in art, have any existence? If you do, you have never understood Japanese art at all. The Japanese people are the deliberate, self-conscious creation of several individual artists. ... In fact, the whole of Japan is a pure invention. There is no such country, there is no such people. One of our most charming painters went recently to the Land of the Chrysanthemum in the foolish hope of seeing the Japanese. All he saw, all he had the chance of painting, were a few lanterns and some fans. He was quite unable to discover the inhabitants, as his delightful exhibition at Messrs Dowdeswells Gallery showed only too well. He did not know that the Japanese people are, as I have said, simply a mode of style, an exquisite fancy of art. And so, if you desire to see a Japanese effect, you will not behave like a tourist and go to Tokyo. On the contrary, you will stay at home and steep yourself in the work of certain Japanese artists and then, when you have absorbed the spirit of their style, and caught their imaginative manner of vision, you will go some afternoon and sit in the Park or stroll down Piccadilly, and if you cannot see an absolutely Japanese effect there, you will not see it anywhere.<sup>122</sup>

Wilde criticised Menpes' Japanese genre scenes because they were attempting to depict the real appearance of Japan. As an aesthete, Wilde wanted Japan to be a source of artistic inspiration. Therefore, for Wilde, it was superficial to simply depict the real or surface appearance of Japan. Here, Wilde says that it is enough to get artistic inspiration from some Far Eastern objects but it is not necessary to see the real country in order to create works of art.

The review in the *Studio* of Menpes' exhibition of Japanese subjects in 1897 says, 'He surprises us by the freshness of his view, the

novelty of his choice and yet he has been painting exactly what he has had before him' and 'what he had chiefly concerned himself with this time had been a certain aspect of the life of the people.'<sup>123</sup> The artistic inspiration Menpes found in Japanese art culminated in the portraiture produced in his studio-house in London decorated with Japanese fittings. Menpes said:

The method of painters all over the world are very much alike. In fact, the methods of great masters (no matter what nationality, and whether of this period or countries past) are often precisely similar, while there can be no doubt but that some of the finest masterpieces ever painted closely resemble one another.<sup>124</sup>

Although the majority of Western artists who were interested in Japanese art found novelty in its different qualities, such as the lack of perspective, Menpes tried to find something in common between Western and Japanese art: especially between the methods of realistic expression in nineteenth century European naturalism and Japanese *shasei*.

### Endnotes for Chapter Three

1. Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler as I knew him*, London, 1904, p.89.
2. List of Menpes' exhibited works from 1880 to 1900, See Algernon Graves, *Royal Academy Exhibitions 1769-1904*, vol.5, London, 1906, p.228.
3. Alfred L. Baldry, 'An Artist of Many Methods', *National Review*, vol.31, 1898, p.100.
4. Christopher Drake, *Mortimer Menpes. Etchings, Drypoints, & Lithographs : Portraits*, exh.,cat., Christopher Drake Ltd, London, 1974, introduction.
5. Baldry in *National Review*, vol.31, 1898, p.100.
6. *The Prints of Mortimer Menpes A Private Collection*, auction catalogue, Sotheby's, October 25, 1995, p.11.
7. Rosemary T. Smith presumes that he might have left in late February or early March 1887 since the *Stowe News* reported that Dowdeswell's had commissioned Menpes to proceed to Japan on February 25, 1887. And the *Pictorial World* wrote that Menpes, who 'is on the way to Japan' asked them to clarify that he was not commissioned by Dowdeswell's but was undertaking the journey at his own expense. See Rosemary T. Smith, 'Mortimer Luddington Menpes (1855-1938): His Life and Work', PhD thesis, University of Virginia, May 1996, p.88 and p.114, n.122.
8. Mortimer Menpes, 'A Personal View of Japanese Art. A Lesson from Khioshi', *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.192.
9. Mortimer Menpes, *Japan A Record in Colour*, London, 1901, p.153. See also p.95. Menpes wrote: 'The manufacture of our vulgar modern monstrosities has been taken up by these people, and they can offer them us at a cheaper rate and of a better quality than we can produce ourselves, freight included. Japan can produce European work better than the Europeans themselves; but that work has not influenced their art one whit - they hate it; whereas Japanese art has permeated and influenced the whole of the West.' According to R.T. Smith, Menpes stayed in Japan approximately nine months on the first time, and eight

months on a second visit. See Smith, 1996, p.118.

10. See Smith, 1996, p.165. For the source of this information, she refers to 'Unpublished Essays' by Dorothy Menpes (1883-1973), a daughter of Mortimer Menpes, see also Smith, 1996, p.10, n. 124.
11. *Japan A Record in Colour*, Adam & Charles Black, London, 1901: 'A Personal View of Japanese Art - The Living Art of the country', *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, pp.255-261: 'A Personal View of Japanese Art - A Lesson from Kyosai', *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, pp 192-199: 'A Letter from Japan dated Tokio July 15, 1896', *Studio*, vol.10, 1897, pp.32-36: 'A Letter from Japan dated Tokyo August 1, 1896', vol.12, 1898, pp.21-26.
12. Menpes, *Whistler*, 1904, p.39.
13. *ibid.*, p.30. The relationship between Whistler and Menpes broke up after Menpes' first visit to Japan. The precise reason is unknown, however, Smith presumes that Whistler was angry with Menpes' audacity in going to Japan and by Spielmann's article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 16, 1888:

The young Australian artist has rushed in where Mr. Whistler feared to tread, and his greater courage has been rewarded with a far greater measure of success - that is to say, from the point of view of decoration. Mr. Whistler must indeed be proud of the aptness of his quondam pupil, who painting with much more brilliant palette, has arranged his pictures with more audacity than the master ever dreamed of, and adopted a scheme of colour for the decoration of the gallery more positive and pleasing than he ever dared to attempt.

Quoted in Smith, 1996, p.92. Smith says that Whistler was certainly fired by jealousy over the phenomenal success of the Japanese exhibition. See, Smith, 1996, pp.93-94.

14. Menpes, *Whistler*, 1904, p.30.
15. In reviews of the spring and autumn exhibition of the Society of British Artists, they wrote of Menpes as Whistler's pupil. For example, *Observer* noted in November 29, 1885: 'It is clear, too, that Mr. Whistler's method continues to attract numerous imitations, amongst whom Mr. Menpes shows most power and promise'. And *Truth* described in December 3, 1885: 'The efforts of Mr. Whistler's pupils are scarcely so successful,



- except, perhaps, the clever trifles of Mr. Menpes.' Quoted in Smith, 1996, p.77. The source of these articles are in 'Clippings I', a book of newspaper and magazines clippings concerning the activities of Mortimer Menpes and his family from 1880 to 1901 and from 1901 to 1902. This is now in the possession of R. Smith and she presumes that this book was compiled by a member of Menpes' immediate family.
16. Baldry in *National Review*, vol.31, 1898, p.101.
  17. At the private view Menpes presented each female guest with a sprig of almond blossom brought from his garden. See Smith, 1996, p.151. Smith referred to 'Japanese Exhibition and Early Days' written by Dorothy Whistler Menpes, a daughter of Menpes. This is now in a private collection in England. She presumes that this was probably written sometime in 1931, before her father's death. See Smith, p.176, n.79.
  18. See Appendix E.
  19. 'Exhibitions of the Month', *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.xxx.
  20. This painting is not identified for certain as the painting from the first visit. However, I illustrate it here as an example since the same title can be found in the 1888 exhibition catalogue. It can not be denied that this may have been painted for his book *Japan A Record in Colour*.
  21. *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.xxx.
  22. Menpes, 'The Living Art of the Country', in *Magazine of Art*, 1888, p.259.
  23. *Catalogue of Paintings Drawings and Etchings of Japan by Mortimer Menpes R.B.A.*, exh.cat., Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells, London, 1888, p.25.
  24. *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.xxx.
  25. Menpes owned a great number of prints by Whistler. See Appendix F.
  26. Menpes, *Whistler*, 1904, p.90.
  27. Illustrated in Margaret F. MacDonald, *Places in the Night. Whistler in Venice*, London, 2001, p.123.
  28. Menpes, *Whistler*, 1904, p.100.
  29. Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler*, New Haven and London, 1984, p.220.

30. 'London Exhibition', *Art Journal*, 1897, p.224.
31. As for the etchings and drypoints, the collection in Yokohama Art Museum of 49 such works is probably one of the largest public collection of Japanese subjects by Menpes. See Appendix G. And also some of them are illustrated in Sotheby's auction catalogue in 1995: *The Prints of Mortimer Menpes A Private Collection*, auction catalogue, Sotheby's, October 25, 1995.
32. Quoted in Smith, 1996, p.168. Smith referred to the *National Observer*, May 15, 1897 in 'Clippings I'; see p.180, n.135.
33. Quoted in Smith, 1996, pp.168-169. *The Star*, May 12, 1897, *The Standard*, May 24, 1897 (for The Grand Duke and grand Duchess of Hesse) and *The Times*, May 15, 1897 (for The Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha), all in 'Clippings I'. See Smith,p.180, n.135.
34. 'Chronicle of Art - July', *Magazine of Art*, vol.20,1897, pp.171.
35. These ceremonial procession pictures were watercolour drawings. See Baldry in *National Review*, vol.31, 1898, p.102.
36. 'London Exhibition', *Art Journal*, 1897, p.224. Menpes' *Procession of Archers* is illustrated in *The Studio* (vol.10, p.167.), and an untitled work displaying the same subject of archers processing in the same volume, p. 175. This resembles the motifs of ceramics in *The Studio* (vol.17, p.176), illustration of pottery painted by Mortimer Menpes.
37. Menpes in *The Studio*, vol.12, 1898.
38. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.54.
39. cf. Mortimer Menpes, 'Reminiscences of Whistler', recorded by Dorothy Menpes, *The Studio*, vol. 29, 1903, p.254.
40. Menpes, 'The Living Art of the Country' in *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.256.
41. For instance, see *A Rush to the Stall* (Original Sketch) reproduced in the *Pall Mall Gazette 'Extra*, no.41, May 7, 1888, p.94. I am grateful to Dr. Margaret F. MacDonald for the source of this information.
42. Chalmers Roberts, 'Mortimer Menpes. The Man & His Methods', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.707.

43. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, pp.80-81.
44. See Frits Lugt (ed.), *Marques de Collections. Les Marques de Collections. De Dessins & D'estampes*, Amsterdam, 1921, p.346. It says, 'La marque ci-contre figure sur ses premières eaux-fortes, surtout celles à motifs japonais.'
45. See Honda Souichirou (ed.), *Kamon Daizen* (The Complete Family Marks), Tokyo, 1997, p.319.
46. V& A, PD, E.1041-1948. Drawn on note-paper stamped with the address 25 Cadogan Gardens SW.
47. For further discussions of nineteenth century aesthetic interiors see e.g. Nicholas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye. Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design*, London, 1976; Charlotte Gere, *Nineteenth-Century Decoration. The Art of the Interior*, London, 1989; Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House of Beautiful. Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior*, London, 2000.
48. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 December 1888. Quoted in Gere, 1989, p.336.
49. Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Kawanabe Kyosai*, Tokyo, 1996, plate. 5.
50. Cooper, 1976, p.36; reproduced in plate 89.
51. Gere, 1989, p.33.
52. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.708.
53. In his interview with the *St. James Budget* in November 22, 1895, Menpes said, '...I have built a house here in Cadogan-gardens, [sic] and must needs inhabit it some day - perhaps develop into a portrait painter - who knows?' Quoted in R.T. Smith, p.170. The source of her information, *St. James Budget*, November 22, 1895, in 'Clippings I', see p.180, n.138.
54. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.703.
55. However, it was sold at auction in 1909 and is now a part of Peter Jones department store.
56. 'An experiment in the Application of Japanese Ornament to the Decoration of an English House', *The Studio*, vol.17, 1899, p.172.
57. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.703.

58. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.164.
59. *ibid.*, p.77.
60. *ibid.*, p.77.
61. *ibid.*, p.181.
62. *ibid.*, p.158.
63. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.704 and Christian Brinton, 'Mr. Menpes, Mr. Whistler, and Certain Etchings', *The Critic*, May 1902, p.416.
64. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.186.
65. *ibid.*, p.196.
66. Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Hana (Flower)*, Tokyo, 1969, p.204.
67. Further discussion, see *ibid.*, p.30.
68. Further discussion, see *ibid.*, p.77.
69. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.175.
70. *Kenchiku Daijiten (Dictionary of Architecture)*, Tokyo, 1993, p.1724.
71. I should like to thank to Dr. Watanabe Kenji for this information.
72. J. Mordant Crook, 'The Strange Genius of William Burges', *The Strange Genius of William Burges. 'Art-Architect', 1827-1881*, J. Mordaunt Crook (ed.), exh.cat., National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1981, p.12.
73. Josiah Conder, 'Domestic Architecture in Japan', *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3, New Series vol.31,1885-86, p.104.
74. William Anderson, 'Japanese Homes and their surroundings', *Magazine of Art*, vol.9, 1886, p.299.
75. Menpes, 'The Living Art of the Country' in *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.255.
76. Conder in *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3, New Series, vol.31, 1885-86, pp.104-105.
- 76a. The term 'artistic' was used by Menpes on a number of occasions when he described Japanese life and culture in general. He applied the idea of the aesthetic interior, as he had seen it in Britain, to what he saw in Japan. He may have used this term to indicate tasteful arrangements

that conformed to his preconceived ideas, rather than in a specific way to indicate the work of artists.

77. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.3.
78. *ibid.*, p.45.
79. *ibid.*, p.45.
80. *ibid.*, p.46.
81. Marion Harry Spielmann, 'Mr. Mortimer Menpes as Portraitist.', *Magazine of Art*, vol. 22, 1899, p.97.
82. Brinton in *The Critic*, May 1902, p.416.
83. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.704.
84. It is not clear which Italian teacher Menpes refers to, it could be possibly Antonio Fontanesi who was the first European employed by the government to teach painting. If this Italian teacher is Fontanesi, he was in Tokyo but not in Kyoto, and Menpes may have had misunderstood it. For further discussion on the Western influences on Japanese paintings, see chapter five.
85. Menpes, 'A Lesson from Khios' in *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.192.
86. *ibid.*, p.193.
87. *ibid.*, p.193.
88. *ibid.*, p.195.
89. Yamaguchi Seiichi, 'Eshi Kyoei to Kyôσαι (Kyoei as a painter and Kyôσαι)', *Rokumeikan no Yume* (Dream of Rokumeikan), Suzuki Hiroyuki & Fujimori Terunobu (eds.), INAX Gallery, Tokyo, 1991, p.48.
90. Kawanabe Kusumi, 'Kyôσαι no Deshi Brinkley (Kyôσαι's pupil Brinkley)', *Kyôσαι*, vol.10, Tokyo, 1982, pp.14-16.
91. Captain Frank Brinkley was a foreign adviser to *Nippon Yusen Kaisha* and also Tokyo correspondent to the *Times* and proprietor and editor of *Japan Mail* from 1881. See *Who was Who 1897-1916*, London, 1920, p.88. For further information, see, Kawanabe, 1982, pp.14-16: Yamaguchi Junko, 'Brinkley no koto (On Brinkley)', *Kyôσαι*, no.17, Tokyo, 1984, pp.22-25: Ellen P. Conant, 'Captain Frank Brinkley Resurrected', *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Japanese Art*, Oliver Impey and Malcolm Fairley (ed.), vol.1, London, 1995, pp.124-151.

92. Menpes, 'A Lesson from Khiosi' in *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.193.
93. *ibid.*, p.195.
94. See Ellen P. Conant, Steven D. Owyong & Thomas Rimer, *NIHONGA - Transcending the Past : The Japanese-Style Painting, 1868-1968*, exh.cat., The Saint Louis Art Museum, The Japan Foundation, 1995, p.306.
95. *ibid.*, 1995, p.306.
96. Surgeon and Lecturer to St. Thomas's Hospital; Professor of Anatomy in the Royal Academy of Arts; Examiner in Surgery, University of London and Royal College of Surgeons of England; Chairman of Council, Japan Society; Companion of the Order of the Rising Sun. Appointed Medical Director of Naval Medical College. Tokio, Japan 1873; Medical Officer to British Legation, Japan, 1874-80. See *Who was Who, 1897-1916*, 1920, London, pp.16-17.
97. Oikawa Shigeru, *Saigo no Ukiyoe-shi Kawanabe Kyosai to Hankotsu no Bigaku* (The Last Ukiyoe-shi Kawanabe Kyosai and the aesthetics of rebellious spirit), NHK Books no.848, Tokyo, 1998, p.131.
98. William Anderson, 'A Japanese Artist, Kawanabé Kyosai', *The Studio*, vol.15, 1897, pp.29-39.
99. *ibid.*, p.36.
100. *ibid.*, p.36.
101. Menpes, 'A Letter from Japan', in *The Studio*, 1897.
102. Guimet and Regamey published their record of meeting Kyosai as *Promenades japonaises. Dessin par Félix Régamey*, Paris, 1878. See Anderson, 1897, p.32.
103. *ibid.*, p.32.
104. For Further discussion, see, Yamaguchi Seiichi, 'Japonisumu no Naka no Kyôsai (Kyôsai in the context of Japonisme)', *Society for the Study of Japonisme*, no.14, Tokyo, 1994, pp.29-45.
105. See Endo Nozomi, 'Daiei Hakubutsukan Shozou. Anderson Collection Chousa Houkoku (Anderson Collection in the British Museum. Research Report)', *Society for the Study of Japonisme*, no.12, 1992, Tokyo, pp.11-45.

106. William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, London, Longmans & Co., 1886.
107. *ibid.*, pp.370-71.
108. *ibid.*, pp.394-97, from numbers 1827 to 1894.
109. Menpes, 'The Living Art of the country' in *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.261.
110. Menpes, 'A Lesson from Khiosi' in *Magazine of Art*, vol.11, 1888, p.195.
111. Thomas Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler, the Artist*, London, 1912, pp.67-68.
112. See Menpes, *Whistler*, 1904, pp.40-42.
113. Spielmann in *Magazine of Art*, vol.22, 1899, p.98.
114. *ibid.*, p.98.
115. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.708.
116. Spielmann in *Magazine of Art*, 1899, p.98.
117. *ibid.*, p.101.
118. Roberts in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.708.
119. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.88.

The invention of photography gave artists an additional aid to eye sight. Ernst Gombrich pointed out that the greatness of the discovery of Renaissance perspective was not that it conformed to optical truth but that it embodies something more fundamental: the need to see the world that way (Quoted in Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography*, London, 1968, p.195), but photography created a new way of reproducing the real or visible world. Because of its apparently accurate reproduction of the visible world, this new invention had many attractions for artists across a broad spectrum from the Academic painters such as Ingres and Cabanel to Avant-garde painters such as Manet or Degas. Photographs provided a creative element for paintings. As already pointed out by Aaron Scharf, the new invention and Japanese *ukiyo-e* could be interrelated, suggesting the cutting off or cropping of the composition, for instance, as in *Place de la Concorde*

- (1875) by Degas or *Boulevard, vue d'en haut* (1880) by Caillebotte.  
 For Further discussion, see Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography*,  
 London, 1968, pp. 196-198.
120. Harper Pennington, 'James A. McNeil Whistler', *The International Quarterly*, October 1904, p.157.
121. By the late 1880s, the camera was small in size and already in common use. In 1889, the article in *Art Journal* says, 'Instantaneous Photography is all the rage now, and in almost every household... The Kodak is the invention of Mr. George Eastman, and it is brought out by Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company, whose London address is 115, Oxford Street. It weighs only twenty-five ounces, and its measurements are some six by four inches. See 'Supplement to Art Journal - Kodak', *Art Journal*, 1889, p.4. Walter Sickert who had been one of fellow-pupils under Whistler wrote Menpes's use of photography in his letter to *Whirlwind* in 1890 (See Scharf, 1968, p.365). Sickert and Menpes knew each other very well. However, no photographs appeared to have survived in public or family collections which may have had used by Menpes. Also George Moore thought Menpes 'was probably the most flagrant example of the artist's misuse of the photographs' (see Scharf, 1968, p.248). Despite Moore's assertion that Menpes used photographs, no such photographs have survived. However, the lack of the evidence does not deny the painter's use of photographs: there would be the possibility of discovering these photographs in the future.
122. Oscar Wilde, *The Decay of Lying*, January 1889, quoted in Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, London, 1996, pp.45-46.
123. 'Mr. Menpes' Japanese Drawings', *The Studio*, vol.10, 1897, p.169.
124. Menpes, *Japan*, 1901, p.51.



## Chapter Four: George Henry & E.A. Hornel's visit to Japan and '*Yokohama Shashin* (Photography)'

### Introduction

Industrial and cultural exchanges between Glasgow and Japan started almost a decade after Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan, industrial exchange going ahead of cultural exchange. Yamao Yozo (1837-1917) came to Glasgow between 1866 to 1868 as the first Japanese student to study engineering. He attended the Andersonian College, and also worked for Robert Napier and Son Shipbuilding Co.<sup>1</sup> The Glaswegian, Henry Dyer (1848-1918) who was recognised as a fellow student of Andersonian College when he met Yamao in Japan, became one of the many *oyatoi gaikokujin* (honourable foreign employees) working in Japan in 1872. He taught students at the *Kobu Daigakko* (College of Engineering in Tokyo) until 1882.<sup>2</sup>

In 1874, Robert Henry Smith (1851-1914) became the first Professor of Civil and Mechanical Engineering for the newly founded Tokyo University. Smith was asked to organise an educational system in engineering,<sup>3</sup> and he therefore needed industrial samples to teach Japanese students; as he wrote in his later years, 'The technical qualities of engineering materials can best be learnt in an extensive practical museum, devoted wholly to both new and used materials, well classified, and equipped apparatus.'<sup>4</sup>

Details of the arrangement are not known because of the lack of original documents, however, it seems Sir Harry S. Parks, H. M. Envoy in Japan, arranged an exchange of Japanese art products and

Scottish industrial samples. In November 1878, 1150 items of Japanese objects, including paper, porcelain, textile and costume arrived in Glasgow. The majority of them were placed in the upper halls of the Corporation Galleries in Sauchiehall Street, and the rest of them were in the City Industrial Museum in Kelvingrove Park. Selected objects were displayed together with Oriental objects on loan from South Kensington Museum from December 1881 to April 1882 at the Corporation Galleries.<sup>5</sup> This was the start of genuine cultural and artistic exchange between Glasgow and Japan.

Christopher Dresser, the Glasgow-born architect and designer gave a public lecture about Japan in the Corporation Galleries on 20<sup>th</sup> March 1882, and in the same year his book *Japan, its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures* was published. The influence of Japan on his work has already been discussed in chapter one.

In 1888, The City Oriental Warehouse in St. Vincent Street advertised 'Imari, Kaga, Satsuma, Cloisonne and Kyoto Wares' and 'Japanese Screens - Embroidered in Gold and Silk Needle-work'.<sup>6</sup> This is the only advertisement for the Oriental Warehouse and it indicates that they had a range of Japanese goods to sell.

The next year, in November 1889, the art dealer Alexander Reid exhibited Japanese prints in his gallery *La Société des Beaux-Arts* at 227 West George Street. One of the 'Glasgow Boys', Grosvenor Thomas, also handled Japanese objects with a partner W.B. Paterson at 33 Renfield Street in the 1890s.<sup>7</sup> The Glasgow shipping magnate, William Burrell, may well have bought prints from these local dealers.

In the same year, at the great Fancy Dress Ball held by the Glasgow Art Club in St. Andrew's Hall on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1889, E.A. Walton dressed himself as Hokusai and his fiancée came as Whistler's butterfly.<sup>8</sup> The 'Taste for Japan' became fashionable in Scotland by the 1880s and what the more progressive artists expected next was direct contact with Japan.

George Henry (1858-1934) and Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933), two painters from the group known as 'The Glasgow Boys', went to Japan in 1893-94, their trip jointly financed by Alexander Reid and William Burrell.

It is not known when and how Henry and Hornel had met; however it must have been after Hornel's return from Antwerp in 1885.<sup>9</sup> After meeting, they struck up a close friendship which was to lead to their joint visit to Japan. Henry and Hornel sailed from Liverpool and arrived at Suez about 5 March 1893. They went to Cairo, and stayed there for several days. Then they made the long trip to Japan on the steamer *Strathlyon* by way of Singapore. According to the *Glasgow Evening News*, they arrived in Nagasaki, Japan on April 21.<sup>10</sup> Over one hundred letters were written from Henry to Hornel between 1886 to 1896,<sup>11</sup> and they collaborated on several pictures during this period including *The Druids* of 1890 (Fig.128) and *The Star in the East* of 1891 (fig.129), before their visit to Japan. After that, however, their styles gradually moved apart. Their work done in Japan shows the difference in their responses to Japanese art.

As regards documentary records of their Japanese visit, there are five short letters from Henry to Hornel written in Japan<sup>12</sup>, Hornel's public lecture delivered at the Corporation Gallery in Glasgow on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1895<sup>13</sup>, and an interview which Henry gave to a local

newspaper<sup>14</sup> soon after their return in 1894. Slim as these records are, they provide a vivid account of the artists' experiences in Japan.

In addition to these documents, however, around three hundred and fifty Japanese photographs have recently been discovered in Hornel's collection at Broughton House in Kirkcudbright.<sup>15</sup> These photographs, of a type now called *Yokohama Shashin*, were produced in the late nineteenth century for export or for the buoyant market in Japan for souvenirs for foreign visitors. Henry and Hornel acquired one hundred and forty photographs on their first visit to Japan. Because of the resemblance between the figures and compositions in many of these photographs and Henry and Hornel's paintings, it is obvious that the two artists used these photographs when they produced their 'Japanese' paintings.

Hornel visited Japan again almost thirty years later between 1920 and 1921 with his sister Elizabeth. However, there is little evidence of development in his artistic creation, his choice of themes and techniques after this visit. Therefore his works from his second visit to Japan will be excluded in the discussion of this chapter.

In this chapter, I intended to concentrate on the photographs in Broughton House acquired on their first visit to Japan and to examine what Henry and Hornel found in these mass-produced *Yokohama Shashin*.

### ***Yokohama Shashin***

The *Yokohama Shashin* in Hornel's collection at Broughton House in Kirkcudbright show considerable diversity but taken as a whole

they are typical of the Japanese nineteenth-century photographs that were produced in huge numbers as souvenirs for foreign visitors.<sup>16</sup> The photographs in Hornel's collection have yet to be catalogued and do not have acquisition numbers. Thirty of them are titled and inscribed 'by Tamamura, Kobe, Japan', and a further eight photographs are probably from the same studio. Tamamura opened a photographic studio in Yokohama in 1882, and produced Japanese photographs for souvenirs or export. He had a branch in Kobe where the Concession was situated as well as in Yokohama, and according to the Japanese newspaper, *Mainichi Shinbun* (19<sup>th</sup> July 1896), he exported forty thousand photographs to the United States.<sup>17</sup>

There are also twenty-three *carte de visite*-size photographs of women (all are mounted on card) of a type which were sold very cheaply in Ueno or Asakusa. Of the rest of the photographs, seventy-nine are of various types and have not been more precisely identified. In addition to the loose photographs, there is an album with a simple thick wooden cover, containing forty-three Japanese photographs. Since it is known that Henry and Hornel went to Japan by way of Egypt and the album also contains photographs of the pyramids, it is possible that they acquired it in Egypt en route to Japan.<sup>18</sup>

Although all of these photographs are in the Hornel collection in Broughton House, the resemblance between certain works by Henry and some of the photographs suggests that he must have used them as sources of inspiration. It is also possible that Henry had some other photographs which might have been used for his paintings, but which have since been lost.

It is not known if the painters took many photographs themselves and used them. As Henry wrote to Hornel while he was in Japan, 'It

is difficult to get kids running about. Parlett's camera is not quick enough for this, and so they are generally taken standing at the corner'<sup>19</sup>. There were obviously technical problems in taking photographs of certain scenes. It is likely therefore, that they preferred to buy photographs by professional photographers. About Parlett, little is known, but he might have been a friend who travelled with Henry in Japan, for the artist wrote to Hornel on 6 October 1893, '... with love from Parlett and "Yoroku" to the household'.<sup>20</sup>

### **Life in Japan**

*Quiz* and *The Bailie* reported their departure as followings.

#### *Quiz:*

The Inseparable of art. Also the Irreconcilables. The Twins of Table mountain a fool them. As for the Gemini-bah! And they too are Stars. Erratic Stars. Of uncertain orbit. The newspapers reviled them. P.R.S.A. sneered at 'em. Instead of which they dont give a hang. And are Unashamed. Pursuing their piratical Impressionist career. With the Scots accent. And thick boots. George is an Ayrshire man. Trained in Glasgow School of Art. But gradually recovering. Painted Galloway Landscape once. *Tres Magnifique!* But terribly though on the masses. Does female studies. Superb. See "Mademoiselle" at Walker's show. Made A.R.S.A. last year. Otherwise very decent fellow. Confederate Ned born in Australia. At very early age. Place called Bacchus, Victoria. Suggestive but sober fact. No harm resulted. Came to Kirkcudbright when one year old. Took a steamer. Also parents. Here ever since. Except when studying in Antwerp. Principally Art. Scholar. Emersonian. Excellent *raconteur*. Pictures big. And brilliant. But simply Art. And Colour. Inseparables sail for Japan. To-day. Paints with them. Also pipes. Away a twelvemonth. Lucky boys. *Bon Voyage!*<sup>21</sup>

#### *The Bailie:*

The most notable event in local art affairs last week, was the leaving of Edward Hornel and George Henry, on Thursday and Friday respectively, for London *en route* for Japan. Through methods of their own, Messrs Hornel and Henry have mastered a *technique*, not dissimilar in character from that favoured in the land of the cherry-blossom - let us call it Hokusai modified by Monticelli, and that they should resolve on a sojourn by the side of Lake Biwa, or on the slopes of Fujiyama, seems, therefore, quite in the nature of things. ... The colour of beauty, we may expert, will be accentuated by Mr. Hornel's stay in Japan.<sup>22</sup>

Bill Smith presumes that, since the article in *Quiz* has much knowing humour as well as information, it was probably one of the Boys who wrote it.<sup>23</sup> Henry and Hornel sailed from Liverpool on 18 February and arrived in Japan 21 April 1893.<sup>24</sup>

As Hornel said in his lecture:

Japanese art, rivalling in splendour the greatest art in Europe, the influence of which is now fortunately being felt in all the new movements in Europe, engenders in the artist the desire to see and study the environment out of which this great art sprung, to become personally in touch with the people, to live their life, and discover the source of their inspiration.<sup>25</sup>

He was trying to find a first hand source of Japanese artistic inspiration; in other words, he went to Japan to gain a deeper understanding of Japanese art rather than simply visual inspiration for his art.

Soon after Japan opened up the country to the rest of the world, foreign visitors had to live in the Concession, called *kyoryuchi*. According to Henry's interview,<sup>26</sup> he and Hornel engaged a house agency so that they could live outside the Concession in order to mix with the Japanese. However, Japanese newspapermen discovered

them in this prohibited area, describing them as 'foreign red-headed devils' in their papers<sup>27</sup> and forced them to return to the Concession.

In spite of the confinement of their living conditions, Henry and Hornel were able to visit many places in and around Tokyo. From Henry's letter to Hornel we can be sure that Henry visited Chiba and Kanazawa area. Taking *jinrikisha* (man with a hand cart), they went to Ueno sometimes and spent their evenings in Asakusa and enjoyed seeing Japanese girls dancing. Hornel said in his lecture:

once you have started, the mistress of the house, knowing you cannot live by bread alone, enquires which particular *Geisha* you wish to call in. Not wishing to show your ignorance in such matters, you take the precaution to ascertain on your own account before you go, the names of the best reputed dancers, and air your acquaintance with those names, with the carelessness of your Man about Town.<sup>28</sup>

It seems that they were thoroughly familiar with, and enjoyed, evening life in Japan. Although Hornel found Japanese music 'a very painful ordeal',<sup>29</sup> he showed his interest in musical instruments, depicting them in *Music in Japan* (Fig.130) and *The Music Party* (Fig.131). He described Japanese dancing as 'Artistically considered, it is essentially made up of quaint posturing, dignified and refined movements, with delicate and artistic and pretty manipulation of the fan.'<sup>30</sup> In contrast to this, however, works such as *Japanese Dancing Girls* (Fig.132) look more like merry parties rather than the 'refined movement' of the description. In this painting, Hornel used a photograph which is still in Broughton House (Fig.133). The composition and the posture of a woman were taken from one of the photographs.

Although Hornel did not depict Japanese interiors accurately, he



demonstrated his interest in them, describing Japanese *tokonoma*, which is 'a shallow raised alcove where a scroll might be hung and a flower arrangement or objects of value might be displayed',<sup>31</sup> in the tea-house as 'a cunning recess', and going on to describe the decoration of *tokonoma* as:

an Art expression requiring many years of careful study. A few flowers, one or two twigs quaintly put together in a beautiful vase, and these tiny parts of nature express a thought, a story, or a tradition. But what an effect! It is a veritable Kakimono<sup>32</sup>, and whether you understand its meaning or not, you instinctively feel its charm; you know it is right, and admire their perfect taste. This is as characteristic of the Japanese today, as it was a century ago, and I trust will ever remain so, that its influence will extend and modify to a considerable degree, the vulgarity and bad taste displayed in that direction by ourselves.<sup>33</sup>

Hornel found that in Japan interior space was appreciated as a part of art, and this tradition made Japanese life artistic. Henry depicted *tokonoma* in his *Salutation* (Fig.134) with *kakemono* (hanging scrolls).

According to Henry's interview, Henry and Hornel associated with many Japanese artists,<sup>34</sup> although it is not known with whom they had contact. A number of Japanese painters were trained in European countries but neither of the Scottish artists liked the westernised Japanese paintings very much. As Henry said 'they are foolishly adopting the tricks of Paris and Munich'.<sup>35</sup> Western-style painting was nevertheless well established in Japan. Hornel said that Kyôσαι, 'who survived till 1887, was its last genuine representative' of a true Japanese style 'in an uncongenial age'.<sup>36</sup> Henry and Hornel carried a letter from the American writer Charles Whibley (who was soon to marry Whistler's sister-in-law Ethel

Philip) to introduce them to Captain Frank Brinkley. Brinkley had arranged the meeting of Menpes and Kyôσαι. Henry and Hornel may also have known about Kyôσαι through Captain Frank Brinkley. It is also clear from a letter from Brinkley to Hornel, that Hornel asked Brinkley for advice on a legal matter.<sup>37</sup>

The evidence of Henry and Hornel's relations with Japanese photographers is more concrete. At the annual meeting of the Photographic Society of Japan, held at the Seiyouken, Ueno, on Saturday, 20<sup>th</sup> May, they were elected as members of the society. Others who were elected as members at the same meeting were the following: Count J. Omura, Dr. Shand, W. Gordon, M. Kondo, M. Suyenobo, C. Otuki, S. Yamamoto, M. Date, M. Nakamura, R. Shimooka, E. Block, Marquis A. Tokugawa, and prince T. Konoye.<sup>38</sup> It is possible that Henry and Hornel acquired some of the photographs directly from members of the society.

At the annual meeting of the photographic society, Hornel made a speech and said 'some very bitter things about the exhibition of oil paintings being held next door to that of the photographs, as also did Mr. Henry'.<sup>39</sup> The exhibition they saw in Ueno in May 1893 can be identified as the 5<sup>th</sup> Exhibition of *Meiji Bijutukai* (*Meiji Art Society*) which was established in 1889 by a circle of painters who had studied in European countries.<sup>40</sup> According to William Buchanan, 'The reviewer reports 'the oils are miserable. One only has any merit. It is by Mr. Ogasawara, and it represents a little girl seated on the seashore busily blowing bubbles'.<sup>41</sup> According to the list of exhibits, there were three pictures by Ogasawara Rintaro in this exhibition, *Haru* (Spring), *Natsu* (Summer) and *Aki* (Autumn), but there is no indication which one was being referred to in this review.<sup>42</sup>

Looking through the list of exhibits, almost half of them are oil paintings and rest of them are watercolour and ink paintings. Hayashi Tadamasu, an art dealer, sent paintings by French artists such as Boudin, Courbet, Corot, and Sisley which he had acquired in France.<sup>43</sup>

Most of the Japanese painters who sent their works to the exhibition are unknown today and their works are untraced.<sup>44</sup> Therefore it is not possible to identify exactly which Japanese paintings so disappointed Henry and Hornel.

Hornel was even critical of traditional Japanese style painting. He said:

I saw an exhibition of pictures by native artists working on the old methods, and came away much disappointed. The exhibits were interesting, but lacking spirit and originality. The designs and *motifs*, though almost always good, were not their own, and their colour - harmonious and dainty - lacked the purity and brilliancy of the masters. Theodore Wores, an American painter, tells of an interview he had while in Japan with a well-known artist of Kioto named Hiaku Nen (literally Mr. One-hundred-years). 'The old man seemed to think that art had of late sadly declined in Japan. He was of opinion that too many of the young men were striving merely to acquire the "brush stroke" facility of their great predecessors, losing sight in the meanwhile of the spirit of their work. They did not seem to realise that these brush-strokes were but the means of expressing great ideas. The result is' he added, sadly, 'clever brush-strokes, and nothing more.' These remarks suit exactly the features of the collection I saw. This collection, by men still true to the old ideals, but evidently waiting the advent of a master greater than they to lead them, is certainly a more hopeful sign for the future of Japanese art than the works I saw by another band of natives who had visited Europe.<sup>45</sup>

Hornel felt that European techniques and materials were not suited to the Japanese traditional manner of expression and sacrificed the character of design which he recognised in Japanese traditional paintings.

Henry and Hornel left Yokohama on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1894 and arrived at Southampton on 11<sup>th</sup> July.<sup>46</sup> Henry went to Glasgow and Hornel returned to Kirkcudbright where he must have immediately prepared for his exhibition of Japanese paintings. Henry, however, found most of his works were damaged when he unrolled his canvasses. He wrote to Hornel, 'I have just got my canvas unrolled, and heavens what a result - I feel very sick. With a few exceptions, they are simply a mass of cracks, ...' and suggested to his friend 'to heat the roll before the fire, before proceeding to unpack.'<sup>47</sup> Perhaps because of his advice, Hornel's oil paintings were safely opened, and his exhibition of Japanese pictures was held in the Gallery of Alexander Reid in St. Vincent Street in Glasgow in 1895.

### **Henry's Japanese Subjects and use of Photography**

Looking through Henry's 'Japanese' paintings, one can see that he had a particular interest in pictorial space. He expressed his interest in the two dimensionality of Japanese painting in works such as *O Mura-Saki San of Shinjuku* (fig.135). Henry could have been inspired by *okubie* of *ukiyo-e*, the type of *ukiyo-e* depicting actors or beautiful women in half-length. However, he did not always adhere to the Japanese conception of pictorial space. Unlike those of Hornel's Japanese paintings, many of Henry's backgrounds are simple, and he tended to place the figures in a clear three-dimensional composition, as is seen in *Salutation* (Fig.134) or *A Japanese Pottery Seller*

(Fig.136). A picture such as *Noon* of 1885, in the collection of Lord Macfarlane of Bearsden,<sup>48</sup> is a typical of example of Henry's treatment of light and shade and cast shadows. It conforms to a European tradition of naturalism, which was itself partly derived from early photography. These features could be described as essential aspects of Henry's visual vocabulary, so it is hardly surprising that they were maintained in such pictures as *A Japanese Pottery Seller*, despite the fact that they have no place in the Japanese pictorial tradition.

Henry did, however, reveal a genuine awareness of Japanese colour:

Well the fact is if you take your impression of Japanese life from the prints you see here, you are all wrong. In Tokio and Yokohama, and throughout the north generally, it is not good taste to dress in colours. Dark blue, unrelieved by any variety, is the ordinary walking dress of the native ladies, and women in lower stations adopt the custom. The Southern blood of the Kioto ladies makes them go in for more vivid colours.<sup>49</sup>

These are unusually sensitive and well informed remarks for a European artist observing the variety of Japanese art. He understood the Japanese sense of colour and taste, and he sometimes used the dark refined colour favoured in Tokyo in his own work. This is seen in his *Japanese Lady with Fan* (Fig.137) and *The Japanese Baby* (Fig.138). This latter example, a watercolour held by the Edinburgh Art Centre, is slightly faded and this obscures the specific colour he used. The almost monochromatic colour has an effect like that of ink painting. The sober charm of the colour and the delicate execution owe much to Japanese art and these characteristics can be seen in other examples of his Japanese paintings, such as *The Koto Player* (fig.139) or *Salutation* (fig.134).

Turning now to Henry's use of photography, there are some paintings whose motifs and compositions would appear to have been taken from photographs. For example, there is a photograph at Broughton House whose motif is quite similar to the painting (Fig.140), *Japanese Lady with a Fan*. The photograph shows a woman from the rear, as does the painting. As the illustration shows, lines in preparation for tracing are drawn into the surface of the photograph, although Henry reversed the image of the photograph in his painting. However, there is another photograph, a *carte de visite* (Fig.141), which shows the woman the same way round as in the painting, so he may have referred to this small photograph as well. Although none of the tracing papers nor studies have survived, the squared-up pencil lines suggest that Henry used this photograph at some stage in his work. It is also possible that he used the same photograph when he depicted *Girl with Goldfish Bowl* (fig.142) in 1896.

In *Japanese Lady with a Fan*, the elaborate treatment of hair, cheek, neck and eyelashes show the painter's skilled draughtsmanship, which had already been seen in his handling of watercolour in his Brig o'Turk days and earlier Cockburnspath paintings such as *Fieldworkers Crossing* of 1884 (Fig.143). This stands in contrast to the boldness of brushstroke used for the background of *Japanese Lady with a Fan* and for the lady's *kimono*. Similarly there is a marked contrast with *Girl with Goldfish Bowl* which is treated delicately throughout, from the figure to the texture of her *kimono*.

In *Salutation* (Fig.134), Henry appears to have combined at least two photographs. One is taken by Tamamura Kozaburo and inscribed on the back, 'by Tamamura, Kobe, Japan. No. 318F,

Interior of a Japanese House'. It is not known who took the other photograph because of the lack of a label inscription (Fig.144). However, there is no doubt that it was taken by a professional photographer because of the painted studio setting with a backdrop intended to suggest a view beyond the house. In these two photographs two Japanese ladies are saluting in the Japanese manner against a painted backdrop of Mt. Fuji. Henry seems to have observed the Japanese way of salutation carefully and evoked the silence of the greeting in his painting. However, Henry expressed the moment of the greeting with European realism as already discussed above.

The posture of *Geisha Girl* (Fig.145), hiding half of her face with her fan, is taken from Tamamura's photograph No.231, *A Japanese Girl in summer dress* (Fig.146). Likewise the posture of *La Japonaise* (Fig.147) can also be found in one of the photographs (Fig.148).

Henry showed his interest in the various hair styles of Japanese women. For example, a flower pin in *The Geisha Girl, Tokio* (Fig.149) is taken from one worn by woman's in one of the *carte de visite* (Fig.150). In *Geisha Girl* (Fig.151) and *O Mura Saki San of Shinjuku* (Fig.135), he depicted *oiran's* (courtesan) typical hair style, decorated with many long ornamental hair pins. The very specific title, *O Mura-Saki San of Shinjuku*, suggests a courtesan whose name is Omurasaki may have actually existed, and have been known to the painter.<sup>50</sup>

## Hornel's Japanese Subjects and use of Photography

Hornel's exhibition of Japanese pictures was held in Alexander Reid's gallery in St. Vincent Street, Glasgow. All the pictures were framed with ivory-coloured frames but no catalogue for the private view was prepared.<sup>51</sup> The ivory-coloured frame of *Figures with Lanterns and Bridge*, now in the Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, is presumably the original frame. The exhibition was very successful and only seven of the pictures failed to sell.<sup>52</sup> A number of critics described Hornel as a colourist, in that he used strong colours as 'mosaics', and they emphasised that his prime concern was colour. For example, *The Studio* reported the exhibition in the following terms:

In looking for Mr. Hornel's work in the exhibitions one need not expect to come on a *plein air* picture as his, with lights and shadows, and aerial perspective, but rather to look for a square of beautiful and sumptuous colour, full in tone, quaint in design, and presenting to the eyes a theme uncommon to a degree, and distinguished as the result of a romantic mind revelling in the charm of colour for colour's sake.<sup>53</sup>

Although he flattened the picture surface, rejecting conventional perspective, he never approached the linear concision, graceful effect or the elegant subtleties of the Japanese manner. Instead, the influence of Monticelli whose works were shown at the Edinburgh and Glasgow International Exhibitions in 1886 and 1888, was probably as important for Hornel as any original sources.<sup>54</sup>

In 1887, Hornel's work began to change and he gradually moved away from traces of the naturalism of Bastien-Lepage. His handling became bolder, he employed the palette knife to create *impasto*, and his colour became stronger. He was to paint in this bold and



impasted manner for the rest of his career.

Hornel's stay undoubtedly helped him to achieve a 'decorative' conception of painting, exemplified by 'Japanese' pictures such as *In a Japanese Garden* (fig.152) or *A Japanese Garden* (Fig.153). However, the influence of Japanese colour and technique on Hornel's art was modest. His technique remained within the European tradition and he made effective use of a European manner to create his own original style when treating Japanese subject-matter. His interest in Japanese prints is indicated by his depiction of animated genre scenes of a type often seen in *ukiyo-e* and perpetuated in popular *Yokohama Shashin*.

Although Hornel and Henry were stylistically close enough to produce the two collaborative works, *The Druids* (Fig.128) of 1890 and *The Star in the East* (Fig.129) of 1891, Henry's work as well as Hornel's changed, and their visit to Japan resulted in the separation of their individual directions. Henry was awakened to the subtly delicate quality of Japanese art, while Hornel maintained his bold, *impasto* style. As Sir James Caw pointed out, Hornel kept his style unchanged and 'for some years he seemed to be in a *cul-de-sac* and made little or no progress'.<sup>55</sup> Neil Munro was also critical of Hornel's attitude. He wrote, 'from the decorative and colour ideals fixed upon by Hornel, after finishing "The Druids" to his own dissatisfaction, I think he has never departed. ... When he returned to Kirkcudbright after a year and a half in Japan and China with Henry it was with his ideas of painting clarified and confirmed, while Henry's were unsettled and in course of time came to have nothing suggestive of "The Galloway Landscape" in them'.<sup>56</sup>

Although it is quite likely that Hornel was inspired by Japanese art, European Medieval manuscripts are also very decorative and they demonstrate a similar lack of coherent linear perspective and could have influenced him equally. The decorative quality, colour, and technical influence of Japanese art on Hornel is probably very little. Hornel's technique is completely within the European tradition and he made good use of a European manner to create his original style while treating Japanese subject matter.

One feels that much of the boldness of his brushwork may be related to Frans Hals and Rembrandt whose works could be seen when he visited the Royal Museum of Antwerp in 1885.<sup>57</sup> The richness of the pattern of his painting also reminds us of Van Gogh and Gauguin. Van Gogh is known to have studied at the Antwerp Academy in 1885, but his contact with Hornel who was in Antwerp from 1883 to 1885, or Hornel's teacher Verlat (whom Hornel described later 'as the best teacher in the world') is not known.<sup>58</sup>

*In A Japanese Garden* (Fig.152) shows girls playing *hanetsuki* or battledore and shuttlecock.<sup>59</sup> Although there is a photograph of girls playing *hanetsuki* at Broughton House (Fig.154), to which Hornel might have referred when he produced this painting, *hanetsuki* was a common theme in *ukiyo-e*, as is seen *Hanetasuku Bijin Zu* (Fig.155). Similarly, the subject of the picture entitled *A Japanese Garden* (Fig.153), women admiring cherry blossom, was a common theme in *ukiyo-e* such as *Ouka Bijin Zu* (Fig.156). There are some photographs of women viewing flowers in the Broughton House Collection, and the painter must have used at least one of them (Fig.157). However, we might presume that these photographs were used as an aid to his work, whereas the artistic inspiration was *ukiyo-e*, which he could have seen in Scotland before and after his visit to Japan.

Although it is not known which precise *ukiyo-e* Hornel had seen, Freda Scott points out the similarities between *The Music Party* (Fig.131) and Kiyonaga's *Musical Entertainment with the Koto and Shamisen*,<sup>60</sup> as well as Utamaro's *The Shamisen*. The common point of Hornel's Japanese paintings and *ukiyo-e* is that the women are engaged in some activity. *In A Japanese Garden* (Fig.152), *Music in Japan* (Fig.130), and *A Japanese Garden* (Fig.153) are examples. As mentioned above, Hornel took the subject of *A Japanese Garden* from a photograph, but this type of motif, of women occupied, is quite common in *ukiyo-e*. Many *ukiyo-e* beauties often engaged in some activity such as 'beauty under cherry blossom' or 'beauty listening to a little cuckoo', were frequently depicted in Japanese art.<sup>61</sup>

Hornel's use of photographs in his later career is well known. William Hardie refers to the fact that:

shortly after 1900 Hornel began to paint his figures from photographs which provides proof, if any were needed, of his predominantly decorative intention: he was not remotely interested in psychological portraiture. The figures were grouped and posed by Hornel, photographed by a professional photographer, and then added to a backcloth of flowers which Hornel had painted *sur le motif*.<sup>62</sup>

Roger Billcliffe is rather critical of Hornel's lack of draughtsmanship and writes 'The photographs doubtless saved him time and effort but they also made a substantial contribution to the declining quality of his work.'<sup>63</sup> The photographs provided Hornel with subjects which became popular, so he constantly returned to these subjects in his later career. He did not travel to find new subjects or techniques since he found photographs useful. Hornel's Japanese subjects, because of the lack of clearly-defined line and form, are sometimes

difficult to read. His use of photographs, however, is quite different from the 'Kodak realism' of a painter such as Sir James Guthrie (1859-1930).<sup>64</sup> It is not possible to discuss all of the paintings and photographs here, but I would like to examine some of the more interesting and relevant paintings.

Hornel derived the design of his *Figures with Lanterns and Bridge* (Fig.158) from a photograph of Kameido Tenjin, a famous shrine in Tokyo identifiable by the wisteria trellis and arched bridge (Fig.159).<sup>65</sup> Hiroshige's print of this shrine, *Kameido Tenjin*, in *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (One Hundred Famous Views of Famous Places in Edo) was well known throughout Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In both Hornel's painting and in the photograph, there is an inscription, 'Wakamatsu (若松)' which may be the name of the tea-house in the shrine. The composition of the painting is not taken from the photograph directly, but it is obvious that the painter used it as an aid to his design.

Henry's *In A Japanese Garden* (Fig.160) also depicts Kameido Tenjin, although he did not take any motifs from the photograph directly. The angle of the arch suggests that he painted his view from the opposite side. Furthermore, the idiosyncratic rendering of the pool, blocking the foot of the bridge, points to the fact that Henry combined elements from two or more images in the preparation of the painting. Since neither Henry nor Hornel copied this particular photograph directly, they must have visited the Tenjin during their stay in Japan and produced their works by a combination of the photograph and their own first hand impressions.

The woman in the centre of the painting, *The Music Party* (Fig. 131),

is taken directly from another photograph (Fig.161). In fact this photograph is squared up with faint lines so that the painter could trace or transfer the figure onto his canvas. The pattern of the *kimono* is the same as in the photograph. In addition, he showed his interest in Japanese gardens by depicting *bonsai* on the left hand side of the painting.

There are several photographs of lotus flowers in Broughton House, including Tamamura's *No.901. Lotus Pound at Ueno, Tokio* (Fig.162). Hornel's painting *The Lotus Flower* (Fig.163) shows an *oiran* (courtesan). Similarity of face and hair style suggest the painter must have referred to one of the photographs of *oiran* in the thick wooden album (Fig.164). Hornel understood some aspects of the Japanese attitude to nature as explained in the following:

Nature to them is symbolic itself, and associated with traditions handed down from remote periods. Flower follows flower - the whole earth rejoicing in a profusion of bloom - the cherry 'first among flowers as the warrior is first among men'; the Wisteria, Iris, and Lotus, following each other in rapid succession, till the season is crowned at length with the regal and imperial chrysanthemum.<sup>66</sup>

Given this level of understanding, Hornel presumably knew of the role of the lotus in Buddhism and may have intended to express an allegorical meaning by combining the lotus flower and *oiran* in this work. At the same time, he was no doubt also aiming for an oriental effect by depicting a gorgeously dressed *oiran* above a large exotic flower.

Hornel used photographs quite often and selected passages from photographs according to his experience. As we can see from the expression of his Japanese women, he never used photography to

accurately record Japanese life and people, but he adapted his own impression with the aid of photographs which appealed to him as typical of Japanese life or genre.

Hornel's *The Lotus Flower* is reminiscent of *Oiran* (1872)(Fig.165) by Takahashi Yuichi. Takahashi Yuichi is regarded as one of the earliest and most important figures to have painted in oil in Japan and who promoted the medium there. He was trained under Charles Wirgman (1832-91) who was a correspondent for the *Illustrated London News*<sup>67</sup> and came to Japan in 1861. Wirgman was one of the first westerners to teach the technique of oil painting to Japanese painters. The photographer, Felix Beato, a British citizen of Italian origin, was his neighbour in the Concession in Yokohama. The first time Yuichi went to see Wirgman, he visited Beato's house by mistake. Because of the linguistic problem, they did not realise the misunderstanding and showed their works to each other. After a short time, Beato realized that Yuichi wanted to see Wirgman, and took him to Wirgman's house.<sup>68</sup>

According to the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* or the Tokyo Daily Newspaper for 28 April 1872,<sup>69</sup> the artist Yuichi was commissioned to paint an *oiran* by a man who regretted the decline of the distinctive *oiran* hairstyle, called *Hyogo Mage* or *Hyogo Sagegami*. The intention of this commission was to record the hairstyle to hand down to future generations. Photography, which was first introduced to Japan in 1848 by a merchant in Nagasaki, Ueno Shunnojo,<sup>70</sup> seemed a better and more convenient form of documentation for this type of thing, especially since it had already made inroads into the popular picture market as a medium used in the 1870s. Despite considerable technical advances, however, the photograph was still not deemed good enough to use as a reliable record.<sup>71</sup>

Yuichi's *Oiran* reveals his painstaking effort to depict the details of *kimono* and hair ornaments. Distinct, strong colours are juxtaposed and this has an effect of flatness. The realistic expression of the *oiran's* face, hollow cheeks, big mouth, and loose hair, is far from an ideal *ukiyo-e* beauty, whose stylised figure is slim, and whose small white face had a small mouth. The *oiran's* head looks as if it is weighted down with the heavy costume. Because of the awkward technique, all these elements create an indescribable impression far from the ideals of Japanese art and beauty.

What is interesting about Yuichi's *Oiran* is that an oil painting is used to record or document a figure of the day.<sup>72</sup> The Japanese seem to have found western painting 'realistic', like a photograph, but thought that oil painting, by virtue of its durability, was superior to photography. It is, therefore, a curious irony that, twenty years after a Japanese patron had preferred a western-style oil painting to record the *oiran*, Hornel should be using a photograph of an *oiran* as the basis for his oil painting.

## Conclusion

Hornel stated in his lecture that if someone were to ask him why he went to Japan, he would answer that he was: 'A reed shaken by the wind'.<sup>73</sup> The wind blew from the west to the east, so he went to Japan wafted upon it. Many of the foreign visitors to nineteenth-century Japan more or less expected their ideal image of Japan to be confirmed. They were seeking an uncorrupted and, above all, un-westernised Japan. *Yokohama Shashin* provided foreign visitors

with these ideal images, and Henry and Hornel were typical of their customers.

Japanese photographs had obviously been the basis for a number of Henry and Hornel's 1893 and 1894 pictures. As reflected in the Hornel Collection of Japanese photographs at Broughton House, most of their Japanese paintings show women, some of whom are *geisha* or *oiran*. They did not use photographs to make an accurate record of Japanese life or people. Rather Hornel derived figures from these photographs, and used them to convey his exotic impressions of Japan while resolutely pursuing an entirely western manner of painting. Henry's work shows a greater insight into Japanese culture and he seems to have understood and reacted to the more gentle and more delicate effects found in Japanese paintings.

As Alfred East said:

The camera, having no power of selection, records with the same prominence vulgar forms as well as the refined; the aim of the artists on the contrary, is to select only what will illustrate his theme, and suitability of the selection is one of the greatest qualities of his art.<sup>74</sup>

Henry and Hornel selected the figures and settings from the photographs and fashioned their images of Japan from a combination of first-hand experience and stock images for the tourist.

As already mentioned above, there are few records of their visit to Japan, and their *Japonisme* has not been closely studied. However, the discovery of these photographs at Broughton House is an important development which cannot fail to enhance our knowledge



of their works and of *Japonisme* in general.

## Endnotes for Chapter Four

1. Five young Japanese men, Yamao Yozo, Ito Hirofumi, Shiji Monta (later Inoue Kaoru), Nomura Yakichi (later Inoue Masaru) and Endo Kinsuke stowed away on a ship to Britain in 1863. Travel abroad was still prohibited in Japan. Thomas Glover, a Scotsman from Aberdeen, who was a merchant with Jardine Matheson & Co, supported them and arranged their study in London. See, Antonia Lovelace, *Art for Industry - The Glasgow Exchange of 1878*, exh.cat., Glasgow Museums, Kelvingrove, Glasgow, 1991, p.11; Olive Checkland, *Meiji Nihon to Igrisu* (Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan), translated by Sugiyama Chuhei and Tamaki Norio, Tokyo, 1996, pp.177-182; Imai Hiroshi, *Nihonjin to Igrisu* (Japanese and Britain), Tokyo, 1994, pp.69-70; Tada Shigeharu, *Gurava-ke no Saigo* (The end of the Glover Family), Fukuoka, 1991, p.35; Brian Burke-Gaffney, *Hana to Shimo - Grava-ke no Hitobito* (Flower and Frost - People of the Glover Family), translated by Taira Sachi-yuki, Nagasaki, 1989, p.31-32.
2. See Lovelace, 1991, pp.11-12 and Checkland, 1996, pp.98-100.
3. Robert Henry Smith, *Testimonials*, 1890. See Checkland, pp.95-96 and p.329, n.9.
4. Robert Henry Smith, *The Engineer*, 1910, vol.109, p.397. Quoted in Lovelace, 1991, p.12.
5. Lovelace, *ibid.*, p.38.
6. See *Quiz*, vol.16, November 2, 1888, between pp.80 & 81. Also see William Buchanan, 'Mr. Henry and Mr. Hornel visit Japan', *Mr. Henry and Mr. Hornel visit Japan*, William Buchanan (ed.), exh.cat., The Scottish Art Council, 1979, p.8.
7. See Buchanan, 1979, p.6; Lovelace, 1991, p.39 and Bill Smith, *Hornel The Life & Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel*, Edinburgh, 1997, p.89.
8. See Lovelace, 1991, p.38. See also Buchanan, 1979, pp.7-8.
9. According to Bill Smith, Hornel registered for his final term at the Academy of Antwerp on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1885 and the term lasted until the end of August (Jeanne Sheehy, manuscript extracts of student registers,

Académie Royal des Beaux-Arts d'Anvers). One of the earliest letters from Henry to Hornel is undated, but presumably written in 1886 since the text is mainly related to the Royal Glasgow Institution in 1886. Bill Smith presumes that Hornel would not have returned to Kirkcudbright until early September if he remained for the full term in the Academy in Antwerp, and Hornel must have met Henry for the first time sometime in the autumn in 1885. See B. Smith, 1997, pp.32-33.

10. cf. B. Smith, *ibid.*, pp.90-91.
11. L.L. Arden, 'Henry and Hornel: Their Friendship as shown in Henry's Letters', *Mr. Henry and Mr. Hornel visit Japan*, exh.cat., William Buchanan (ed.), exh.cat., The Scottish Art Council, 1979, p.16.
12. Five letters from Henry to Hornel: October 6, 1893, Inagi near Chiba; dated in pencil October 1893, Inagi near Chiba; Saturday January 13, 1894, Taternachi, Kanazawa; undated letter and a scrap of a note written on the back of half a telegram form. These letters are in the Hornel Collection, Broughton House.
13. Edward Atkinson Hornel, *Japan*, a lecture delivered in the Corporation Art Gallery in Glasgow 9 February 1895, reprinted by National Trust for Scotland 1997 (See Appendix H). Hornel's lecture was planned as one of the series of eight Saturday lectures supported by the Galleries Committee of the Town Council. However, because of the illness of a near relative and other circumstances, Hornel found it impossible to go to Glasgow, and his prepared lecture was delivered by his friend, the architect, John Keppie. See the *Glasgow Herald*, 11 February 1895; from press cuttings album in Hornel Collection, Broughton House.
14. *Castle-Douglas*, July 20, 1894; from a press cuttings album in Hornel Collection, Broughton House. See Appendix I.
15. For information on the Japanese photographs in Broughton House, I would like to thank the Hornel Trust's Librarian, Mr. Jim Allan. Also see Sato Tomoko & Watanabe Toshio (eds), *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, exh.cat., Tokyo, 1991, p.22.
16. For a discussion of Japanese photographs in the nineteenth century and of *Yokohama Shashin* in particular see Yokohama Kaikou Shiryoukan

- (Yokohama Opening Port Document Archives)(ed.), *Bakumatu Nihon no Fukei to Hitobito* (Landscapes and People in Bakumatsu-Japan), Tokyo, 1997, and Ozawa Kenji (ed.), *Bakumatsu Shasin no Jidai* (Bakumatsu: The Period of Photography), Tokyo, 1997.
17. See Yokohama Kaikou Shiryoukan, 1997, p.197.
  18. *Glasgow Herald*, October 21, 1893; from a press cuttings album in Hornel Collection, Broughton House.
  19. Letter from Henry to Hornel, Inagi, October 1893; Hornel Trust. See n.12.
  20. Letter from Henry to Hornel, Inagi, October 6, 1893; Hornel Trust. See n.12.
  21. 'George Henry and E.A. Hornel', *Quiz*, February 16, 1893, p.226. See also B. Smith, 1997, p.90.
  22. 'Megilp', *The Bailie*, February 22, 1893, p.12. See also B. Smith, 1997, p.90.
  23. B. Smith, 1997, p.90.
  24. *Glasgow Evening News*, April 21, 1894. See B. Smith, 1997, p.91.
  25. Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
  26. *Castle-Douglas*, July 20, 1894, see n.14.
  27. *ibid.*
  28. Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
  29. In his lecture Hornel said, '...what *music!*'Tis simply execrable, and with the instrumental accompaniment superseded, perfectly maddening. Judging by the screwed up face and the tears oozing from the closed eyelids when taking an extra high note, it would appear to be a very painful oral.<sup>1</sup> See Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
  30. *ibid.*
  31. Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art*, New York, 1993,p.214.
  32. This must be *kakemono* (hanging scrolls).
  33. Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
  34. *Castle-Douglas*, July 20, 1894, see n.14.
  35. *ibid.*

36. Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
37. See Appendix J.
38. *Photography*, July 13, 1893; from press cuttings album in Hornel Collection, Broughton House.
39. *ibid.*
40. Details of the Western influence on Japanese art and of Japanese painters who studied in European countries will be discussed in chapter 5.
41. Buchanan, 1978, p.12.
42. *Meiji-ki Bijutsu Tenrankai Shuppin Mokuroku* (List of Exhibits during the *Meiji* era), Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyusho (Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties)(ed.), Tokyo 1994. I would like to thank to Mr. Matsumoto Seiichi for providing this information.
43. About Hayashi Tadamasu's collection of Impressionist paintings, see Mabuchi Akiko, 'Hayashi Tadamasu and Degas', *Society for the Study of Japonisme*, No.16, 1996, pp.20-31.
44. I would like to thank Mr. Miwa Hideo of Kyushu University for the source of information.
45. Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
46. They sailed from Yokohama to Hong Kong on the German steamer *Nurnberg*. And then they took another British steamer to Southampton. *The Japan Weekly Mail*, May 19, 1894; *Lloyd's List*, June 21, 1894. See B. Smith, 1997, p.94 and p.98, n.35.
47. Letter from Henry to Hornel, 136 Wellington Street, Glasgow, July 13, 1894; Hornel Trust.
48. Reproduced in B. Smith, p.29, plate 9.
49. *Castle-Douglas*, 20 July 1894, see n.14.
50. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office is now situated in Shinjuku, and there are many high office buildings there. On the other hand, there is a place called 'Kabuki Cho' there, which is very busy area during the night.
51. Mr. Hornel's Pictures of Japan, February 1895; from press cuttings album in Hornel Collection, Broughton House.

52. 'Megilp', *The Bailie*, May 15, 1895, p.11.
53. 'Studio-Talk', *The Studio*, vol.9, 1896, p.211.
54. See Roger Billcliffe, *Edward Atkinson Hornel 1864-1933*, exh.cat., The Fine Art Society, 1982; Roger Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, London, 1985, p.236 and B. Smith, pp.44,46 and 53.
55. James Caw, *Scottish Paintings Past and Present*, quoted in William Hardie, 'Hornel Reconsidered (Part Two)', *Scottish Art Review*, vol.11, Special Number, 1968, p.25.
56. Neil Munro, *The Brave Days*, Edinburgh, 1931, p.270.
57. Freda Scott, 'The Role of Japonisme in the Art of E.A. Hornel', University of Glasgow Diploma Dissertation, 1975, p.11.
58. Further information, see Edward Pinnington, 'Mr. E.A. Hornel', *Scots Pictorial*, 15 June 1900, pp.171-173.
59. *Hanetsuki* is known as a girl's game while *takoage* (kite-flying) is known as a boy's game. Hornel depicted *Kite-Flying, Japan* as well. However, there is no photograph of *takoage*, so Hornel may have seen it during his stay in Japan.
60. Scott, 1975, p.21. Illustrated in Buchanan, 1979, pp.55 and 57.
61. Wakakuwa Midori, *Kakusareta Shisen* (Hidden Eyes), Tokyo, 1997, pp.22-23.
62. Hardie in *Scottish Art Review*, Special Number, 1968, p.25 and p.26, n.14.
63. Billcliffe, 1982.
64. Billcliffe, 1985, p.69.
65. I should like to thank Mr. Saito, a priest at *Kameido Tenjin*, for the identification of the setting of this photograph.
66. Hornel, *Japan*, 1985.
67. Charles Wirgman published his magazine *Japan Punch* from 1862 to 1887. Kawanabe Kyôsei whom Hornel praised in his lecture as 'the last genuine of a true Japanese style in an uncongenial age' was a regular reader of this magazine. See Shimizu Isao (ed.), *Wâgumen Sobjyô-shû* (Wirgman Drawing Book), Tokyo, 1987, p.171.

68. Haga Toru, *Kaiga no Ryobun* (Sphere of Painting), Tokyo, 1992, p.73.
69. See Wakakuwa, 1997, p.9.
70. See Ozawa, 1997, p.31.
71. See Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shashinga-ron. Shashin to Kaiga no Kekkō* (Photographic Painting - Marriage of Paintings and Photography), Tokyo, 1996, pp.67-69.
72. Yuichi produced his *Oiran* in 1872, the same year as human traffic (that is, the sale of young people for prostitution or hard labour) became illegal. Prostitution was mainly based on this human traffic. Courtesans needed to have luck to find a patron to escape from debt. Many courtesans did not want to be a model because oil painting was not well accepted. It was the role of *nishikie*, the colour woodcut print, to advertise the courtesan's figure as a beautiful woman in the 'popular' media. Courtesans were *ukiyo-e* beauties and the standard of beauty was formed by *nishikie*. See Kinoshita, 1996, pp.66-67.
73. Hornel, *Japan*, 1895.
74. 'Is the Camera the Friend or Foe of Art?', by the Editor and Several Eminent Artists, *The Studio*, vol.1, 1893, p.101.

## Chapter Five: Establishment of *Yōga* as a new Art form

### Introduction

I have discussed how J. McN. Whistler, M. Menpes, G. Henry & E.A. Hornel were inspired by Japanese art. However, cultural exchange is a mutual relationship; it does not take place as a one way system. In the nineteenth century Japan underwent rapid Westernisation in art. The Westernisation of Japanese pictorial art was related to European realism.

European oil painting was regarded as realistic and was appreciated as a technique for expressing reality on a two dimensional picture surface. After the *Meiji* restorations, the acceptance of oil painting resulted in the establishment of a new art form in Japan. The Japanese word *bijyutu*, which represents fine art, was first used translated by the German word *kunstgewerbe* to represent this category of exhibits for the Universal Exposition of Arts and Industry in Vienna in 1873.<sup>1</sup> Many Japanese art terms were created from the equivalent European words to convey a European concept of art.<sup>2</sup>

The interrelationship between *Japonisme* and the Western influence on Japanese art is an important issue which needs to be examined. However, emphasising the difference between them helps to highlight the characteristics of *Japonisme*. To understand *Japonisme* from a different point of view, in this chapter I would like to discuss *Japonisme* and the Westernisation of Japanese paintings as simultaneous phenomena caused by the opening up of Japan. The



discussion will be focused on the phenomenon in Tokyo, which became the capital of Japan. That is, Tokyo became the political as well as cultural centre since learning about European Art was a part of the *Meiji* restoration policy of the government.

### **The Westernisation of Japanese Art**

The gradual adoption of Western painting techniques into Japanese painting can be divided into three phases: *Nanbanga* (*Nanban* means southern barbarian, and *ga* is painting) of the *Momoyama* era (c. 1573-c. 1615), *Ranga* (*Ran* means Dutch, and *ga* is painting) of the latter half of the Edo period, and *Yoga* (Western style painting) of the *Meiji* era. The second phase provided the foundation for the development of Western-style painting during the final decade of the *Edo* period into the *Meiji* period. However, the third phase of the Westernisation of Japanese painting was quite different from the second in that it was deeply connected with the pro-Western policy of the new Japanese government.

The first phase was related to the spread of Christianity. In 1549, Francis Xavier (1506-52), sent by the Jesuits, arrived in Japan to propagate Christianity.<sup>3</sup> He introduced religious paintings as a part of this process. Giovanni Nicolao (1560-1626), a painter as well as a missionary, was dispatched to Japan in 1583 and trained some Japanese painters. The pictures by the painters of this period are called *Nanbanga*. Because of the persecution and outlawing of Christianity by the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), the influence of Western ideas on Japanese art at this time was minimal.<sup>4</sup>

The second phase was related to the rise of positivism and scientific interest. The third Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu, enforced a policy of national isolationism in 1636,<sup>5</sup> and Japan had little relationship with foreign countries. Limited commercial trade had been done with Holland and China through Dejima in Nagasaki. In 1720 the importing of Western books, mainly Dutch, was allowed into Japan. Those which had artistic illustrations provided a new stimulus for the Japanese.<sup>6</sup> The fruits of the import of these books was the establishment of *Rangaku* (Dutch Learning). The well known story written by Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817) in his book *Rangaku Kotohajime* (The Beginning of Dutch Learning), shows that the main interest of the Japanese in Western painting was in the skills of portrayal, which were important for the development of sciences based on observation, such as anatomy. Sugita had a Dutch anatomical book with drawings of internal organs and body parts, *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*, and found that these illustrations were quite different from those in Japanese and Chinese medical books. In March 1771, he went to Senju Kotsugahara to see the dissection of an executed prisoner and compared the illustrations of the book with the actual human body. There he observed the great accuracy of the book, and decided to translate it into Japanese.<sup>7</sup>

Hiraga Gennai (1728-79), a scholar-painter, learned Western painting in Nagasaki. He went to Akita, in the northern part of Japan, at the invitation of the *daimyo* (a feudal lord), because of his knowledge as scientist. Here he happened to encounter Osano Naotake, who was a retainer of Satake Shozan and this led to the birth of *Akita Ranga*. Gennai asked Naotake to draw a hemispherical rice cake, as viewed directly from above. After a moment, Naotake brushed the outline of a circle. Then, Gennai told him that the circle

could be seen simply as a ring or a tray, and he proceeded to instruct Naotake in the Western technique of modelling in light and shade.<sup>8</sup> This story tells us that what the Japanese admired in Western painting was its ability to depict the physical world as it appears in reality in three dimensions. And this interest was carried to the third phase of Western influence on Japanese art.

### **Bansho Shirabesho & Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko - European Art as a Technique**

The third phase started in the late 1850s, when the shogunate encouraged the study of Western art as a technical skill vital for industrialisation and technological development. In 1857, the *Bansho Shirabesho* (Institute for the Study of Foreign Documents) was established to facilitate the conduct of foreign relations. The establishment of this public institute of *Bakufu* (the government of the shogunate) was followed by the arrival of Commander Perry. In 1861, *Gagaku-kyoku* (the Institute for the Study of Painting) was set up in the *Bansho Shirabesho*. Kawakami Togai (1827-81), who had had traditional training under Oonishi Chinnen (1792-1851) as a painter but was much influenced by Dutch painting, was engaged as a leader.<sup>9</sup> The aim of *Gagaku-kyoku* was, in theory, predominantly an institution which taught perspective and chiaroscuro as scientific techniques rather than for the advancement of fine art.<sup>10</sup> The Japanese understood Western painting to be a part of Western scientific civilisation. It was accepted as the same as shipbuilding or mining. This idea underpinned the foundation of the *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko* (Technological Art School) in 1876.

One of the outstanding students of Kawakami Togai was Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1894) who was also a pupil of Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), and a correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*. As mentioned in chapter four, Yuichi was the first major figure who made an effort towards the dissemination of oil painting. Yuichi was the son of *samurai*, but gave up learning the military arts because he was sickly from birth.<sup>11</sup> At first, he was trained in the *Kano* school, a school of Japanese traditional painting; however, he changed his course to learn Western style painting after his encounter with lithographs from the West.<sup>12</sup> He wrote in his autobiography, 'It was during the *Kanei* period<sup>13</sup> that I had an opportunity to see some Western lithographs owned by a friend. They looked so realistic that I found them original, and wanted badly to study the technique. However, it was a difficult undertaking which brought me endless frustration.'<sup>14</sup> He produced a number of still-life pieces between 1874 to 1881. He said that depicting objects of daily use in a realistic manner was a good way to learn to use oil painting as a technique to express things realistically.<sup>15</sup> His realistic *Sake* (Salmon) (Fig.166) looks as if it is *trompe-l'oeil*.<sup>16</sup> In *Tofu* (Fig.167), Yuichi placed *tofu*, *yaki doufu* (grilled *tofu*) and *abura age* (deep-fried bean curd) on a cutting board. He placed the cutting board diagonally to suggest the depth of the pictorial space. However, this angle and that of the piece of *abura age* falling from the board make the composition unstable. In Yuichi's work, the texture of each piece of food is expressed with thick pigment using clearly visible brush strokes. The reality of this painting arises from his painstaking effort to show each of the items as if real rather than creating an overall effect of illusionistic reality.

After the *Meiji* restoration of 1868, Japan set out rapidly to assimilate Western culture. The introduction of Western painting as

a technique was one of the policies of the *Meiji* government. *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko* (the Technical Fine Arts School) was established as an associated institution of *Kôbu Ryou Kogakko* (Technological College),<sup>17</sup> in 1876. It was the first public art school to train artists. The fact that this school belonged to a college that was under the control of the Ministry of Technology shows the Japanese ideological attitude to Western art. *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko* offered only Western techniques of drawing, oil painting, and sculpture. Neither Chinese art nor Japanese traditional art were taken into account.

The *Meiji* government engaged three Italian artists to train the Japanese students of *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko*, a painter Antonio Fontanesi (1818-82), a sculptor Vincenzo Ragusa (1841-1928), and an architect, Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti.

The most influential figure of the three Italian teachers was Antonio Fontanesi. He stayed in Japan for two years, from 1876 to 1878, and taught Japanese students the techniques for oil painting. Also he introduced his own style; elements of idealism and subtle effects of light and shade. Fontanesi was born in Reggio Emilia, outside of Bologna, and studied under Minghetti. After visiting Paris and Southern France in 1855, he became a landscapist. As is seen in his *Shinobazu-ike* (Fig.168), thick pigment and expressive brush work is characteristic of his painting. His well balanced compositions influenced these Japanese painters' works.<sup>18</sup> He was fully prepared to teach in the European academic style. For his students, he brought plaster figures, books about perspective or anatomy, oil and watercolour, pigments, contés, fusains and canvases from Italy. Koyama Shotaro (1857-1916), Asai Chu (1856-1907), Matsuoka Hisashi (1862-1944), Yamamoto Hosui (1850-1906), and Goseda

Yoshimatsu (1855-1915), who became leaders of the *Yōga* circle, were trained under Fontanesi.<sup>19</sup>

Although *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko* played an important part in introducing the techniques of Western art, it did not survive long. The school was closed in 1883. A new Italian teacher after Fontanesi had teaching problems on account of his personality, and students such as Asai and Koyama left the school. The main reasons for the school's closure were a financial crisis caused by the civil war and the rejection of *Yōga* owing to the rise of ultranationalism in the 1880s.<sup>20</sup>

### **Mastering Technique and Seeking a Japanese Subject**

Reaction to rapid Westernisation was in the air in the 1880s. The current changed from the taste for the West to the revival of Japanese traditional art. As Matsuoka Hisashi said, '*Yōga* painters are called traitors to the country';<sup>21</sup> the 1880s was an era of suffering for *Yōga* painters. *Yōga* painters studied in European countries while they were training. For example, Yamamoto Hosui was in Paris from 1878 to 1887,<sup>22</sup> Goseda Yoshimatsu was in Paris from 1880 to 1888 and studied with Léon Bonnat (1833-1922),<sup>23</sup> Harada Naojiro was in Munich from 1884 to 1887 and studied with Gabriel Max (1840-1915).<sup>24</sup> Kawamura Kiyoo was officially sent to the States in 1871 and studied with Charles Lanman (1819-1895) in Washington D.C. and then went to France and Italy.<sup>25</sup>

*Yoga* was debarred from the *Naikoku Kaiga Kyoshinkai* (the National Industrial Expositions and Competitive Shows) for the Promotion of National Paintings<sup>26</sup> held in Tokyo in 1882 and 1884.<sup>27</sup>

Only *Nihon-ga*, Japanese traditional style paintings were exhibited.<sup>28</sup> The enlightenment, the purpose of *Meiji* restoration, aimed to catch up with European civilisation. However, after ten years or so, the Japanese realised that being uncivilised did not mean that they were uncultured, and so started to value their own traditional art.<sup>29</sup>

*Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* (Tokyo School of Fine Art), which is now called *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku*, was established in 1887 in Ueno, Tokyo. This school was opposed to the view of *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko*. *Yôga* was not taught at *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* when it was established. Four subjects: Japanese painting, wooden sculpture, metal engraving and lacquerware technique were taught there.<sup>30</sup> It was just 11 years previously that *Kôbu Bijutsu Gakko* had been established as an institution to teach Western art. These two institutions were established by the government to provide art education; however, they were completely opposed in ideals and this shows the quick change of government policy.

An American philosopher and art historian, Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908), was in part responsible for the movement towards the revival of Japanese art. Fenollosa was invited by the *Meiji* Government to teach philosophy and economics at Tokyo Imperial University, and arrived in Japan in 1878.<sup>31</sup> Because of his social status as a professor of the Imperial University, his opinion was quite influential in Japan. He visited the ancient capitals, Kyoto and Nara, and became an enthusiastic and dynamic figure in the revival of Japanese traditional art.<sup>32</sup> Fenollosa and his student Okakura Tenshin encouraged the establishment of *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko*. In his lecture *Bijutu Shinsetsu* (The True Theory of Art)

delivered in 1883, he emphasised the merit of Japanese painting: expressing ideals and images are more important than realistic expression.

*Yōga* painters who studied in European countries, Yamamoto Hosui, Goseda Yoshimatsu, Harada Naojiro and Kawamura Kiyoo came back to Japan in the late 1880s. In 1889, these painters established the *Meiji Bijutsukai* (*Meiji Art Society*) to re-establish *Yōga* painters' position in Japan. *Meiji Bijutsukai* played an important part in the spread of *Yōga* in Japan until Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) came back from France in 1893 and established *Hakubakai* (the White Horse Society) in 1896. As the result of the efforts of members of *Meiji Bijutsukai*, *Yōga* was permitted to exhibit at the third *Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai* in 1890. From 1889 up until the society was disbanded in 1901, annual exhibitions were held except in 1896. As mentioned in chapter four, the art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu showed some European paintings from his collection, such as works by Degas, Millet, Sisley, Guillaumin, and Courbet, at the fifth exhibition of *Meiji Bijutsukai* in 1893.<sup>33</sup> This was the first time that European paintings had been introduced to the public in Japan.

From the 1880s to the 1890s in France, Japanese painters studying there saw the transition from Impressionism to Post-Impressionism and the work of the Nabis movement. However, these Japanese painters in Paris learned the traditional academic style and tried to 'transplant' it to Japan. They had the same idea as early *Yōga* painters such as Takahashi Yuichi, in the sense that what they aimed at was the realisation of the visible world. However, what differentiates painters of *Meiji Bijutsukai* from Yuichi was that they were concerned with what to paint as well as how to paint. Early



*Yōga* painters chose to depict still-life, portraiture, and landscape since their main concern was to master the technique of oil painting and 'how to paint'. *Meiji Bijutsukai* painters, the second generation of *Yōga* painters, who had mastered Western techniques, started to concern themselves more with 'what to paint'.<sup>34</sup> They started to look for new subjects within the Japanese tradition.

For instance, Harada's *Kiryu Kannon* (Kannon Bodhisattva on the back of a Dragon) (Fig.169) exhibited at the third *Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai* in 1890, gave rise to a great deal of controversy.<sup>35</sup> In Harada's painting, a barefooted *Kannon* is standing on the back of a dragon, with dark clouds covering the sky. Although it has been pointed out that this iconography is based on the Japanese Buddhist tradition,<sup>36</sup> what differentiates this painting from those belonging to the Buddhist school is that the painter used a representational technique to convey an illusion of reality. This was criticised by Toyama Masakazu in his lecture, *Nihon Kaiga no Mirai* (The Future of Japanese Paintings) which was given at the second meeting of *Meiji Bijutukai* on April 27, 1890.<sup>37</sup> Toyama was critical of its clumsy compromise between technique and subject matter, and as Miwa Hideo and Sato Doshin say, his argument was an aesthetic debate about the ideal theme of Japanese paintings for the new age.<sup>38</sup> Miwa describes Harada's *Kiryu Kannon* as having 'curious pictorial appeal' because of the incongruity caused by the differences between the manner and the subject matter.<sup>39</sup> In other words, motifs already established in the Japanese tradition were being expressed in a Western manner, and this caused conflicts between motif and manner.

The experiment in allegory or story telling was to be continued by

Kuroda Seiki who was influenced by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) in the late 1890s.

### **Kuroda Seiki and French Naturalism as an International Style**

The history of *Yōga* entered its next stage when Kuroda Seiki came back from France in 1893. He became a young and innovative leader of the *Yōga* circle. Kuroda was born in Kagoshima, Satsuma clan, in Kyushu in 1866. He was adopted by his uncle and brought up in Tokyo. He went to France in 1884 when he was eighteen years old, returning to Japan in 1893. He intended to study law there and become a future leader of Japanese politics. However, an encounter with Fuji Masazo (1853-1916), Yamamoto Housui, and the art dealer Hayashi Tadamasa caused him to change his course.<sup>40</sup>

He learned drawing before he went to France, but it was there that he started to learn how to paint seriously. He entered L'Académie Colarossi in 1886 and was trained under Raphaël Collin whose style was an eclectic mixture of Naturalism and Academism.<sup>41</sup> As Norma Broude says, Japanese painters went to France to obtain a traditional training:

many of the foreign artists who would go on to develop Impressionist styles in their homelands came to Paris initially with the hope of studying at the École des Beaux-Arts or with conservative painters whose style had been affected to a limited extent by Realism and Impressionist-painters such as Jules Bastien-Lepage, Léon Bonnat, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Emile-Auguste, Carolus-Duran, Raphaël Collin, and Jean-Paul Laurens, all of whom enjoyed considerable international reputations during these decades. ... In Paris, they enrolled in great numbers at the Academie Julian, a private academy staffed by well-known academic painters, which offered a

popular, more open, and flexible alternative to the state-run École.<sup>42</sup>

Despite, or perhaps because of their lack of knowledge or understanding of European history, allegories and symbolism, Japanese painters were able to grasp the essence of *plein-airism* relatively quickly,

Kuroda's teacher, Collin, first went to school at lycée Saint-Louis in Paris, and then at the lycée de Verdun where his parents were living. There, he met Bastien-Lepage, and they studied drawing under Louis Vicent Fouquet (1803-1869). Then he was trained under William Bouguereau (1825-1905) and after 1868 he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts under Alexander Cabanel (1823-89). Collin established his style, painting female nudes in pastoral scenery and assimilating the technique of *plein-airisme* by the early 1880s.<sup>43</sup> Collin's works were exhibited regularly at the Salon from 1875<sup>44</sup> and his *Floréal* of 1886 was acquired by the French Government for the Musée du Luxembourg.<sup>45</sup> He favoured mythological or ancient themes with a naturalistic setting, as Bruno Foucart says:

Collin est donc ailleurs, du côté des anciens, de ceux qui privilégient les sujet tirés de la mythologie ou de l'antiquité, qui considèrent l'allegorie comme une langue toujours d'usage, qui voient dans le corps humain et les incessants allers et retours de l'étude sur le modèle à la traduction idéalisée l'exercice fondamental.<sup>46</sup>

Bastien-Lepage's influence on Collin was considerable,<sup>47</sup> and Collin himself said that his experience of studying with Bastien-Lepage and Dangan-Bouveret was very useful although he was a pupil of

Cabanel.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore it is likely that Collin had contact with *plein air* painters in Grez-sur-Loing, and he was a well-known painter in France.

Michael Jacobs points out that 'By the beginning of the 1880s all the artists at Grez had begun to paint in a similar style. It was a style almost wholly dependent on that of Bastien-Lepage, who had suddenly acquired an enormous reputation because of his *Harvest* in the Paris Salon of 1878.'<sup>49</sup> And in 1882 the writer of a Salon review reported 'In the Salon there is no cohesion of style: it is true that this year a noticeable feature is the many, and often clever, imitations of Bastien Lepage.'<sup>50</sup> It was impossible for the Japanese painters who were in Paris in 1880s and 1890s in France and who visited the colony at Grèz-sur-Loing to avoid or be unaware of Bastien-Lepage's influence.

Kuroda first went to Grèz-sur-Loing in May 1888, and between May 1890 and March 1893 he often visited for long stays and learned *plein-airism*. One of his masterpieces, *Dokusho* (Woman Reading) (Fig. 170), was painted there and exhibited at the Salon in 1891.<sup>51</sup> The model, Maria Billaut, is reading a book by the window where natural daylight is coming into the room. Kuroda avoided painting against the light by using blinds to soften the light.

It was in Grèz that Kuroda painted his *Ochiba* (Autumn Leaves) (Fig.171) which is comparable to *Landscape* (Fig.172) by G. Henry. The specific location of Henry's painting is not known. It could possibly have been painted at Cockburnspath where Henry produced many of his naturalist paintings. There is no evidence that Kuroda had seen Henry's work, however the similarity of these two

paintings is evident: the woodland settings, the narrow field of view and thick pointillist-like brush strokes. Comparing these paintings it is hard to tell which painting is by the Japanese and which by the Scottish artist.<sup>52</sup>

While in its later stages the works of the 'Glasgow Boys' became highly decorative, displaying an increasing awareness of the two-dimensional surface, they shared close affinities with French *plein-air* naturalistic painting, especially the rustic subject-matter and painting methods of Bastien-Lepage, and the 'realist' painting of the Hague School.

As Roger Billcliffe points out, 'The gradual separation into two distinct groups of the Glasgow men who went to France and those who stayed in Scotland became more distinct in 1883 and the following year. In both countries the Boys began to seek out painting-grounds where they could put into practice the ideas about naturalist painting which were implicit in the work of Bastien-Lepage.'<sup>53</sup> Although there is no concrete evidence of Henry's direct contact with Grèz-sur-Loing and Bastien-Lepage, some of his works, for example, *Noon* of 1885 (in the collection of Lord Macfarlane of Bearsden),<sup>54</sup> show a comparable naturalistic tendency in both theme and technique.

Furthermore, *At the Village Well*, painted in 1885, shows a peasant woman drawing water from a well, and appears to indicate Henry's contact with Grèz-sur-Loing. The face of woman does not look Scottish but rather French; and her costumes and shoes, and also the shape of the buckets would be unusual in Scotland. Although there is no concrete evidence of Henry's direct contact with Grèz, this

watercolour, whose technique and theme are consistent with French naturalism, clearly shows that he was aware of it. This painting provides circumstantial evidence to support the possibility.

Kuroda introduced the bright colours that he learned in Grèz-sur-Loing to Japan, and the freshness of his painting made a strong impact on Japanese art circles. Early *Yōga* paintings tended to be dark in colour because of the influence of Fontanesi. Painters of *Meiji Bijutsukai* started to be called 'The Old School' or 'The Resin School' while Kuroda and his circle were called 'The New School' or 'The Purple School'. After the 7<sup>th</sup> exhibition of *Meiji Bijutsukai*, the Press made comparisons between 'old' and 'new' schools.<sup>55</sup> Kuroda explained the Old School and the New School as follows:

The Old School artists painted landscapes as they were seen, but the New School artists saw landscapes and painted what they felt about them, At times, it rains, and other times it shines, thus the New School way, but the New School artists painted these changes. This applied to everything, like the colour of a person's face ... likewise, painting a face as it is, is the Old School way, but the New School artists in their painting, if the objects stands outdoors, would show the reflection of the blue sky on the hair and the colours of flowers and grass under the nose and on the side of the lips. The New School artists do not hesitate to paint half of the face red and the other half yellow if it looks so under the sunshine.<sup>56</sup>

In his words, it is clear that Kuroda was aware of the French Impressionist use of colour, which had been innovative in 1870s France. He took this use of colour to Japan, and also tried to introduce the European tradition that painting should express ideals through subject matter within a firm composition. This will be discussed below.

## Hakubakai and the move Towards Academism

When Kuroda came back to Japan, he joined *Meiji Bijutsukai* which was organised not only by artists but also by politicians and businessmen. *Meiji Bijutsukai* gradually became more bureaucratic by the middle of the 1890s. Kuroda's return to Japan from the open and free air of the Paris art circle was welcomed by young *Yōga* painters. He introduced more than just *plein-airism* into Japan. Having spent the most receptive years of his youth in France, he had acquired wholeheartedly a very liberal, artistic temperament. He established *Hakubakai* or the White Horse Society with his friends in 1896.<sup>57</sup> *Hakubakai* illustrated not only a difference in style from *Meiji Bijutsukai* but also a sense of criticism of, and dissatisfaction with, bureaucratic management.<sup>58</sup>

The principle members of *Hakubakai* were Kuroda Seiki, Kume Keiichiro, Yamamoto Housui, Goda Kiyoshi, Fujishima Takeji, Okada Saburosuke, and Wada Eisaku. They withdrew from *Meiji Bijutsukai*. *Hakubakai* not only exhibited but also set up institutions for the graduates of *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* and published its own magazine *Kōfū*, where, in 1906, Kume published an article on Whistler.<sup>59</sup> These enlightened activities played an important role in helping *Yōga* to take root in Japan.

*Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* was influential in the formation of Academism. When Kuroda came back to Japan, the country was celebrating its victory in the Sino-Japanese War. It was at this time that Japan had successfully completed its first phase of Westernisation: winning the

war underlined its success. Members of the art circle gradually became positive about European culture again, as Tomiyama Hideo says, 'The start of the *Hakubakai* was in tune with the national sentiment prevailing after the Sino-Japanese War and was welcomed to a surprising degree. Their use of bright colours was suited to contemporary taste.'<sup>60</sup>

The *Yôga* section was set up in 1896 in *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko*. Kuroda and his life long friend Kume Keiichirou, who studied in France with Kuroda, were appointed as teachers, and later became professors. Kuroda proposed a clearly defined curriculum based on the French system. The duration of the course was four years; *dessin* of the plaster figure in the first year, *dessin* of the live model in the second year, study of oil painting and depiction of a prescribed theme in the third year, and production of a work for graduation in the final year.<sup>61</sup>

The appointment of Kuroda Seiki caused a struggle for power at the school which was decided at a political level.<sup>62</sup> It was not only because of his ability but also because of his family background that Kuroda Seiki was one of the most influential men in the *Meiji* art circle. Kuroda's foster father was a Viscount and a member of the House of Peers. This status impressed the art administration and made *Hakubakai*, established by Kuroda and his friends, predominant in the *Yôga* circle:<sup>63</sup> *Yôga* was established as the major style of the Japanese art circle in the late 1890s by Kuroda Seiki who was influential not only as a painter but also politically.

Sato Doshin points out the social status of *Yôga* painters, most of whom were originally from the *samurai* class. So after the



establishment of a *Yōga* section at *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* in 1896, the staff of the school was chosen according to feudal clan influences. Leaders of the *Yōga* course at *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* were also the members of *Hakubakai*.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, the early history of the course and society are much the same. Kuroda was from the Satsuma clan in Kyushu who had made a remarkable contribution to the *Meiji* restoration. Not only in politics but also at the public art school, the people from the clan that had contributed most for *Meiji* restoration were predominant. Kuroda Seiki became an influential figure in the art school and he recommended Fujishima Takeji from the Satsuma Clan and Okada Saburosuke from the Saga clan in Kyushu as assistant professors of *Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko*.

### Composition

In spite of his bright colours which clearly show his awareness of Impressionism, Kuroda tried to bring in the European Academic style and 'composition' to Japan. What he had learned in France was that 'The most original innovation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Academic curriculum was the compositional programme'<sup>65</sup> and 'The purpose of the sketch was not the same as that of a finished painting, but was meant "to give an idea of the picture that is to come, the work in process of gestation in the artist's mind, and to foreshadow its composition, effect and colouring. In other words, the sketch is the condensation of the finished work, embodying in a germinal form the essential qualities of high art."<sup>66</sup> Kuroda tried to spread the idea that the painter should aim at the realisation of abstract ideas. He called this kind of painting *Risoga* (Ideal Painting): which is now called *Kosoga*.<sup>67</sup> He said his teacher Collin 'often selected poetry and

songs as his subjects, and depicted nude women as motifs in an appropriate background of landscape such as a spring or summer scene.<sup>68</sup>

He carried out his theory when producing *Mukashi Katari* (Talk on Ancient Romance)(Fig.173) and *Chi, Kan, Jo* (Wisdom, Impression, Emotion)(Fig.174). In *Mukashi Katari*, a priest is telling the tale of the tragic love of Emperor Takakura and Kogou, taken from the Tale of Heike.<sup>69</sup> He made a number of studies and compositions for the finished painting. The series of studies he made for this painting, drawings (Fig.175 & 176) and oil sketches (Fig.177), were exhibited in the first exhibition of *Hakubakai* in 1896 to show the process of composing *Mukashi Katari*.<sup>70</sup>

In spite of Kuroda's effort, there is nothing indicative of the love story in this painting. The intention of the artist, to tell the story without depicting the characters from the story, is hard to understand. The finished work is successful as a genre painting, rather than a historical tragic love story. A certain resemblance between *Mukashi Katari* and *Le Repos* by Puvis de Chavannes (fig.178), a wall decoration for the *Musée des Beaux-Arts* in Amiens, has been pointed out by Sugita.<sup>71</sup> However, the lack of clarity in the theme of *Mukashi Katari* shows that Kuroda's experiment was not successful as an anecdotal or story telling painting.

*Chi, Kan, Jo*, as the title indicates, is an allegorical painting which expresses the painter's abstract ideas through the images of naked women. This painting has a certain decorative quality, with figures set against a golden background. Yet here again, there is nothing to indicate the concept of the painter apart from the posture of the

women. Its subject is only defined by the title given by the painter and cannot be understood by the viewer from the work itself.<sup>72</sup>

Miwa Hideo suggests that in this painting Kuroda used the iconography of the Northern Renaissance, Adam = *Jo*, Eva = *Chi* and God = *Kan*. He says that Kuroda tried to refute the 'nude debate' and justify himself by depicting a naked female body with references to traditional European iconography.<sup>73</sup> However, if Miwa's inference is correct, it is not clear why Kuroda chose the female body for Adam and God. Here again the painter's attempt to achieve composition was successful but the subject is unclear.

*Chi, Kan Jo* was not the first nude painting for Kuroda. His *Choushou* (Morning Toilette) (Fig.179) was produced as the culmination of his study in France and caused the so-called 'nude debate' when it was exhibited in Japan. This is a woman standing on a wolf skin,<sup>74</sup> gazing into a mirror. According to Kuroda's letter to his father, Collin and Puvis de Chavannes advised Kuroda during the later stages of the painting.<sup>75</sup> This picture was accepted by the *Société National des Beaux-Arts* under the title *Le lever*. In France the subject was unexceptional, but Japanese critics were in some doubt as to whether it should be considered pornography.<sup>76</sup>

Although Kuroda tried to produce 'compositions', it could be said that his attempt to transplant the concept was not successful because of the differences between the traditions of the West and Japan. However, *Chi, Kan, Jo* spearheaded the rise of Romanticism in Japan after the interest in *plein-airism*.<sup>77</sup> Romantic literature became popular and contributed to the great leap in freedom of expression which became evident after the turn of the century. In 1900, the

literary and art magazine *Myōjyō* was first issued.<sup>78</sup> At this stage, literature and art started to influence each other mutually. For example, Fujishima Takeji was in charge of designing the cover page of *Myōjyō* from February 1901. His works show the influence of *Art Nouveau*, as can be seen in the series of cover pages.<sup>79</sup> His taste for romantic painting was well expressed in *Tenpyo no Omokage* (Reminiscence of the Tempyo Era)(Fig.180) of 1902 which was exhibited at the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> exhibition of *Hakubakai*.<sup>80</sup> In this painting, a woman in ancient costume holding an ancient musical instrument, *kugo*, stands against a golden decorative background. Although it has been pointed out that Fujishima achieved what Kuroda called *Risoga* in this painting,<sup>81</sup> there is nothing which indicates any story from history nor is the woman in ancient costume a specific figure in Japanese history. His painting is more like the genre painting of a woman in historical costume, and expresses the painter's romantic feelings for ancient times. Also, Fujishima's *Fujin to Asagao* (Lady with Morning Glories) (Fig.181) exhibited at the 9<sup>th</sup> exhibition of *Hakubakai* has a sweet romantic decorative quality and has a suggestion of symbolism.

Here a point should be noted about the Japanisation of oil painting. By the beginning of the twentieth-century, the clash between theme and technique had faded. The decorative quality of the Japanese tradition, the monumentality of the figure in the West, and the use of oil pigments were harmonised. Another successful example which shows the Japanisation of oil painting is Kuroda's *Kohan* (Lakeside)(Fig.182). Refreshingly the lake surface suggests the scent of cool faint air. The composition with its bird's eye view and close-up figure on the edge of the foreground is very Japanese as is the subject of a figure resting by the lakeside in a natural setting. Motoe Kunio

says, 'The Eastern space, having pursued only aesthetics, has never gained the scientific approach, and lacks the objective awareness that objects actually exist, within a space that is like a transparent box, with three-dimensional depth'<sup>82</sup> and 'He [Kuroda] absorbed Paris Academism, and produced works like *Dokusho* (Woman Reading) (Fig.170) with a solid grasp of space during his stay there. But in *Kohan*, one of his representative works after his return to Japan, the sense of depth is much vaguer, and in contrast to the well-defined and elegant figure of the seated woman, the space around her is flat.'<sup>83</sup> Motoe points out that Kuroda's weakness in spatial grasp resulted from the fact that Kuroda was able to absorb the Western sense of space and kept it while he was in France but gradually lost it back in Japan. However, this painting shows the Japanese mastery of oil pigment and its assimilation.

## Conclusion

Western influence on Japanese art was significant and it led to the establishment of a new art form, *Yōga*. The Japanese learnt realistic expression using European techniques in the 1860s to the 1870s. Once they mastered European techniques, they started to look for suitable subject matter from the 1870s. Because of the nationalist movement in the 1870s and the early 1880s, painters tried to find a proper theme for oil paintings in the Japanese tradition. From the late 1880s to 1890s, painters who had studied in European countries came back to Japan and brought back a more sophisticated understanding of technique and of the European cultural background. Painters' understanding of oil painting was transferred from techniques and the reproduction of reality to the creation of

pictorial work. As a result, the Japanisation of oil painting was achieved.

This progress from studying techniques, and concept, and their assimilation was different from Geneviève Lacambre's definition of the process of Japanese influence on French art which I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. The influence of Japan on Western art and Western influence on Japanese art is a complex cultural exchange. However, the differences of the process in East and West shows the differences between each culture. For Western artists, Japanese art was something to be used for the creation of their own art. On the other hand, Western art, both its technique and the concepts that reflect Western traditions, was studied, learned, rejected, and selectively absorbed by the Japanese.

## Endnotes for Chapter Five

1. Sato Doshin, *Nihon Bijyutu no Tanjyo* (Birth of Japanese Art), Tokyo, 1996, p.19.
2. *ibid.*, pp.7-8.
3. It was in 1543 that the first Westerners, three Portuguese sailors, came to Japan, drifting ashore onto Tanegashima in Kyushu.
4. See Asano Toru, 'Yôfû Shajitsu Hyogen no Dônyu (Development of Western Realism in Japan)', *Shajitsu no Keifu, Yôfû Hyougen no Dônyu. Edo chûki kara Meiji Shoki made* (Realistic Representation. Development of Western Realism in Japan -from the middle of *Edo* to the early *Meiji*), exh.cat., The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1985, p.13.
5. Tokugawa Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa shogun, united Japan in 1603 after the protracted civil wars.
6. Tanaka Atsushi, 'Doukei to Manazashi. Kohkan to Denzen ni okeru Yôfû Hyôgen no Jyuyou to Tenkai (The Reception and Development of Western-style Artistic Expression in Kohkan and Denzen)', *Yofu Hyogen no Dônyu. Edo chûki kara Meiji Shoki made* (Realistic Representation. Development of Western Realism in Japan), exh.cat., The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1985, p.16.
7. See Asano, 1985, p.11.
8. See Takashina Shuji, 'Seiyô eno Manazashi (Visions to the West), *Kousasuru Manazashi-Youroppa to Kindai Nihon no Bijutsu* (The Crossing Visions: European and Modern Japanese Art), exh.cat., The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1996, p.11.
9. Yamanashi Emiko, *Takahashi Yuichi to Meiji-shoki no Yôga* (Takahashi Yuichi and *Yôga* in early *Meiji* era), *Nihon no Bijyutu* (Japanese Art) 6, no.349, Tokyo, 1995, pp.19-20.
10. Takashina Shuji, *19・20 Seiki no Bijutsu* (History of Japanese Art -19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Art), Tokyo, 1993, pp.38-39.
11. Haga Toru, *Kaiga no Ryoubun* (Sphere of Paintings), Tokyo, 1992,

- pp.45-49 and Yamanashi, 1995, p.27.
12. Haga, *ibid.*, pp.49-58 and Yamanashi, *ibid.*, p.27.
  13. From 1848 to 1854.
  14. Hijikata Teichi, (ed.), *Takahashi Yuichi Rireki* (The autobiography of Takahashi Yuichi), Tokyo 1972, p.200. Quoted in Tsuzuki Chieko 'Gamen ni Okeru Zoukeiteki na Tankyu - Tokuchô aru Machieru to Kôsei no Hakken (Western Art Scene after the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and "Realistic Representation" in Modern Japanese Oil Painting', *Kousasuru Manazashi-Youroppa to Kindai Nihon no Bijutsu* (The Crossing Visions: European and Modern Japanese Art), exh.cat., The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1996, p.148. (English Translation, see p.230 ).
  15. Yamanashi, 1995, p.32.
  16. *ibid.*, p.33.
  17. Renamed *Kôbu Daigakkô* in 1877. See Takashina, 1993, p.42.
  18. Yamanashi, 1995, pp.42-45.
  19. See *ibid.*, p.46.
  20. Takashina, 1993, pp.46-47 & *ibid.*, p.50
  21. Takashina, *ibid.*, p.47.
  22. See Miwa Hideo, *Meiji no Toou Gaka* (Japanese Painters visited European Countries in Meiji era), *Nihon no Bijutu* (Japanese Art) 7, no.350, Tokyo, 1995, pp.47-54.
  23. *ibid.*, pp.55-59.
  24. *ibid.*, pp.67-75.
  25. *ibid.*, pp.55-59.
  26. For the translation of this term, I have consulted *Meiji no Takara: Treasures of Imperial Japan. Metal Work, Part 1*, London, 1995, p.273.
  27. See Yamanashi, 1995, p.50; Takashina, 1993, pp.50-51; Sato Doshin, *Nihon Bijutsu no Tanjô* (Birth of Japanese Art), Tokyo, 1996, pp.81-82.
  28. Sato, *ibid.*, pp.81-82 and Takashina, *ibid.*, 1993, p.47.
  29. Sasaki Seiichi, 'Meiji Shoki Yôga Sousetsu (Yôga in early Meiji era. General Remarks)', *Kindai Nihon Bijutushi 1. Bakumatsu Meiji* (Japanese Modern Art History 1.), Sasaki Seiichi and Sakai Tadayasu (eds), 1977, p.208.



30. Takashina, 1993, p.47.
31. Yamanashi, 1995, pp.49-50.
32. Takashina, 1993, p.47.
33. See Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyusho (Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural properties)(ed.), *Meiji ki Bijutsu Tenrankai Shuppin Mokuroku* (List of works exhibited at exhibitions during Meiji Period), Tokyo, 1994, p.23.
34. Miwa Hideo 'Yôfû Hyogen no Shajitsu to Sono Henyou (Reality in the Expression of Western Style Painting and its Change)', *Edo kara Meiji e. Kindai no Bijutsu I, Nihon Bijutsu Zenshu (From Edo to Meiji. Modern Art I. The Complete Series of Japanese Art.)* vol. 21, Tokyo, 1991, p.163.
35. Harada's pre-eminent talent is shown in *Shoemaker* of 1886 or *German Girl* of 1886, produced while he was in Germany. Both of these were based on acute observation. Exhibiting realistic description and accurate expression of light and shade, at the same time, they also display psychological depiction of character.
36. For further discussion, see Nakae Akira & Miwa Hideo, 'Harada Naojiro no Rekishiga 1 (Historical Painting by Harada Naojiro 1)' *Bijutsu Kenkyu* no.337, 1987, pp.75-87. Tano Yasunori, 'Yusai no Butsuga - "Kiryu Kannon (A Buddhist Painting in Oil) - Kannon Bodhisattva on Dragonback", *Nihon no Kindai Bijutsu 1 Yusaiga no Kaitakusha* (Modern Japanese Art 1 The Pioneers of Oil Painting), Tokyo, 1993, pp.81-90. See Kitazaki Chikashi, 'Rekishi-ga - Shûkyô to Monogatari no Saihyougen (History Painting - Representing Religious and Literary Themes', *Kousasuru Manazashi-Youroppa to Kindai Nihon no Bijutsu* (The Crossing Visions: European and Modern Japanese Art), exh.cat., The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1996, p.130, n.7.
37. For further details and discussion, see Sato, 1996, pp.68-76.
38. Miwa, 1991, pp.162-163 and Sato, *ibid.*, p.70.
39. Miwa Hideo, *Edo kara Meiji e. Kindai no Bojyutu I, Nihon Bijutsu Zenshu (From Edo to Meiji. Modern Art I. The Complete Series of Japanese Art.)* vol. 21, Kodansha, Tokyo, 1991,p.198, cat.no.21.

40. See Tanaka Atsushi, *Kuroda Seiki to Hakuba-kai* (Kuroda Seiki and the White Horse Society). *Nihon no Bijutu* (Japanese Art) 8 no.351, Tokyo, 1995, p.20.
41. *ibid.*, pp.21-23.
42. Norma Broude, 'A World in Light: France and the International Movement, 1860-1920', *World Impressionism: The International Movement, 1860-1920*, Norma Broude (ed.), New York, 1990 p.28.
43. Miura Atsushi, 'Raphaël Collin - Nihon o Aishita <*Daphnis* to *Chloé*> no Gaka (Raphaël Collin: le peintre de *Daphnis* et *Chloé* amoureux de Japon)', *Raphaël Collin*, exh.cat., Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art, 1999, p.18 (French translation, p.224.)
44. *Raphaël Collin*, *ibid.*, pp.209-210.
45. *ibid.*, p.198.
46. Bruno Foucart, 'Le Petite musique de Raphaël Collin', *Raphaël Collin*, exh.cat., Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art, 1999, p.221 (Japanese translation, see p.13).
47. Miura, 1999, pp.18-19.
48. Kuroda Seiki, 'Koran sensei tsuioku (Recollection of my teacher Mr. Collin)', *Bijutu*, vol.1, no.2, December 1916, p.20; Wada Eisaku, 'Koran sensei no Tsuioku (Recollection of my teacher Mr. Collin)', *Chuou Bijutu*, vol.2, no.12, December 1916, pp.40-41. Also see Miura, 1999, p.225 and n.3 in p.231.
49. Michael Jacobs, *The Good and Simple Life*, Oxford, 1985, p.33.
50. 'The Salon - From an Englishman's Point of View', *Art Journal*, 1882, p.216.
51. Tanaka, 1995, p.32.
52. A single figure of a woman in the forest was depicted by both European and Japanese painters such as *The Girl in White* (1886) by George Henry, *Woman Holding a Hat* (1894) by the French painter Raphaël Collin, *The Western Women in White* (1894) by Kuroda Seiki, painted in the 1880s and 1890s.
53. Roger Billcliffe, *The Glasgow Boys*, London, 1985, p.81.

54. Reproduced in Bill Smith, *Hornel. The Life & Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel*, Edinburgh, 1997, p.29, plate 9.
55. Nihon Shinbun (Japan Newspaper), 10<sup>th</sup> November 1895, p.3. For further discussion, see Tanaka 1995, pp.46-54.
56. 'A Dialogue on Oil Painting', *Meiryu-dankai*, Otaba Ohashi, (ed.), 1899. Quoted in Kuroda Seiki, *Kaiga no Shourai* (The Future of Painting), Tokyo, 1893, pp.18-19. See also Tsuzuki, 1996, p.148.
57. This society was named after Japanese alcohol *Shirouma*, which was favoured by members of the society. See Tanaka, 1995, pp.48-49 and Miwa Hideo, 'Kuroda Seiki to *Hakubakai*', *Hakubakai*, exh.cat., Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo, 1996, p.12.
58. See Tomiyama Hideo, '*Hakubakai* no Rekishiteki Igi (The Historical Significance of the *Hakubakai*)', ex.cat., *Hakubakai*, Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo, 1996, pp.8-9.
59. Kume Keiichiro(1866-1934) who became a life long friend of Kuroda, wrote a series of articles on Whistler in *Kôfû*, 'Whistler's Biography 1-3' and 'Whistler versus Ruskin and the Origin of Impressionism'.(Kume Keiichiro, 'Whistler's Biography 1-3', *Kôfû*, vol.2. No.1.2.4., 1906. 'Whistler vs Ruskin and the origin of Impressionism', *Seika*, vol.2. No.1, December, 1904.) He mentioned Whistler's *Symphony in White No.1: The White Girl* with an illustration in his article. Because of similarities in the form of words, it is likely that, 'Whistler's Biography 1-3', were written based on Théodore Duret's 'James Whistler' of *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1881 and *Histoire de James McNeill Whistler et de son oeuvre*, Paris, 1904. Kume's articles were written in 1906, and Duret's book was published in Paris in 1904. It is not known how Kume got to know about this book and how he acquired it. However, because of the quickness of the response to Duret's book, it might be possible to presume that Kume had known Duret who was a close friend of Whistler and whose book reveals first-hand knowledge of the artist's life and work. Kume may possibly got the book from him directly. However, the existence of Duret's article or his book in Kume Museum in Tokyo has not been confirmed yet. I would like to thank to Miss Fumiko Ito, a

- curator of Kume Museum of Art, for searching for the documents.
60. Tomiyama, 1996, p.8.
  61. Kaizuka Tsuyoshi, 'Shizenshugi to *Hakubakai* (Naturalism and the White Horse Society)', *Hakubakai*, exh.cat., Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo, 1996, p.133.
  62. See Sato, 1996, pp.166-68.
  63. Takumi Hideo, *Meiji-ki Aburae no Seijuku*. Kuroda Seiki to Fujishima Takeji (Maturity of Oil Paintings in *Meiji* era. Kuroda Seiki & Fujishima Takeji)', *Kindai Nihon Bijutushi I (History of Japanese Modern Art I)*, Sasaki Seiichi & Sakai Tadayasu (eds), 1977, p.261.
  64. Sato, 1996, pp.165-66.
  65. Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1971, p.43. See Tanaka, 1995, p.23.
  66. Boime, *ibid.*, p.46.
  67. The term 'composition' was first translated into Japanese as *Kôsôga* by Takashina Shuji. Since then *Kôsôga* stayed as a translation of 'composition'. cf. Takashina Shuji, 'Kuroda Seiki', *Kindai Bijutsushi Ron* (On History of Modern Art). Kodansha, Tokyo, 1972, p.43.
  68. Kuroda, 1983, pp.11-14. See Kitazaki, 1996, p.128.
  69. Tanaka, 1995, p.51.
  70. *Hakubakai*, 1996, p.19 & p.159.
  71. Sugita Masujiro 'Kuroda Seiki Hitsu *Mukashi Katari* (*Mukashi Katari* by Kuroda Seiki)', *Bijutsu Kenkyu No.24*, December, 1933. See Tanaka 1995, p.51.
  72. For further discussion of this painting, See Tanaka, 1995, pp.62-65. *Hakubakai*, 1996, p.31.
  73. Miwa Hideo, 'Kuroda Seiki hitsu <*Chi, Kan, Jyo*> o megutte (On *Wisdom, Impression and Sentiment* by Kuroda Seiki)', *Bijyutu Kenkyu* (Study of Fine Art), no.328, 1884. See *Hakubakai*, exh.cat., 1997, p.31.
  74. The wolf skin carpet in *Morning Toilette* is similar to that of Whistler's *Symphony in White No.1: The White Girl*. Teshigawara Jun points out that the 'bear skin is taken from Collin's *Le sommeil*' of 1873, which won Collin the second class medal at the Salon and was bought for the

Rouen Civic Museum (See Wakakuwa Midori, *Kakusareta Shisen*, Tokyo 1997, p.35.). Although Teshigawara says that it is a 'bear skin', it is not known for certain whether Kuroda depicted an animal carpet with a bear skin or wolf skin as in *The White Girl*. The animal in Collin's picture is a lion. I would suggest that Kuroda probably knew Whistler's *The White Girl* as well and borrowed the wolf skin motif from there, as mentioned in an earlier chapter and note 64 of this chapter, because of a possibility of Kuroda's contact with Whistler through Kume, or Hayashi or Duret. Although Kuroda had not met Whistler, it would have been possible for him to see reproduction of Whistler's *The White Girl*.

75. A letter from Kuroda to his father, 18 March 1893; see Arayashiki Tooru, 'Salon no Gaikou-ha. Paris 1884-1893. Kuroda Seiki (Plein-airism in Salon)', *Kuroda Seiki*, exh.cat., Mie Prefectural Art Museum, 1986.
76. See Tanaka, 1995, pp.44-45. Kuroda's *Choshou* caused a sensation when it was exhibited at the 4<sup>th</sup> National Industrial Exhibition in 1895. The debate was focused on public moral. The exhibition was an occasion when people of any age or kind could come and see this painting. *Nihon Shinbun* (Japan News Paper), May 1, 1895 and *Miyako Shinbun* (The Capital News Paper), May 11, 1895, for instance, criticised the painting for its effect on the public morality. In fact they said it was pornographic. However, Kuroda insisted that nude painting is a matter of aesthetic which need to be considered for the further development of *Yōga*.
77. See *ibid.*, pp.66-70.
78. *ibid.*, p.66.
79. See *ibid.*, p.72.
80. *Hakubakai*, exh.cat., 1996, pp.204 & 225.
81. *ibid.*, p.78.
82. Motoe Kunio, 'Kuukan ni Tsuite (On Space)', *Kousasuru Manazashi - Youroppa to Kindai Nihon no Bijutsu*, (The Crossing Visions: European and Modern Japanese Art), exh.cat., The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, exh.cat., 1996, p.18.(English translation, see p.207.)
83. *ibid.*, p.19. (English translation, see p.207.)

## Conclusion

Creating works of art is always based on the individual creativity of the artist. Different artists took elements of Japanese art for their own needs. What they found in Japanese art is always different: it depends on what the artists' needed for their artistic creation. Here I would like to re-consider Geneviève Lacambre's definition of the development of *Japonisme*, mentioned in the introduction of this thesis.

James McNeill Whistler, originally from America, started his career as an artist in Paris, and settled in London in 1859. His first introduction to Japanese art may have been in Paris in the late 1850s through French Japonists such as Braquemond, Manet or Fantin-Latour. After he moved to London, he became an important figure who introduced it to British artists during the next decade.

Whistler's interest in Japanese art, in the 1860s, was expressed in his works by the use of new compositional devices as the basis for pictorial experiments and the use of certain objects for their aesthetic value and exotic appeal, as expressed in the series of paintings with Oriental subjects. In succeeding years the influence of Japanese art in his works became less obvious but greater in depth. Whistler's interest in decorative and exotic effects was gradually transferred to his more original series of Nocturnes, the essence of which lies in the tasteful manipulation of tonalities.

Whistler accepted and abandoned many different ideas in order to formulate his style, and Japanese art was one of the elements. Whistler interpreted it in his own way, and its influence appears

throughout his career in various ways.

Mortimer Menpes studied with Whistler and presumably acquired from his master an interest and knowledge of Japanese art. Then he visited Japan and received a lesson directly from a Japanese artist. He went to Japan in 1887 and in 1896: the purpose of his first visit was to learn artistic methods from Japanese painters, and the second visit was to order interior decorations for his newly-built London studio-house.

In 1888 and 1897, on his return from Japan, Menpes held exhibitions at Messrs Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells on New Bond Street in London. These pictures were very Japanese in subject but not in technique. His choice of theme and technique were much the same as his Master, Whistler's. After the first visit, Menpes broke with Whistler, but his Master's influence appears throughout his Japanese subjects. The influence of Japanese artistic methods on Menpes' art, especially those of Kawanabe Kyôsei whom Menpes met in Japan, appears in the portraits that he started to produce in his 'Japan Room' after coming back from the second visit to Japan. He found something in common between the techniques of the West and Japan, and he created his new method, an original form of realistic expression that is neither an imitation of Japanese techniques, nor an example of the Western tradition of realism.

George Henry and Edward Atkinson Hornel have been discussed as examples of artists who went to Japan and used the mass-produced photographs which have recently been discovered in the Hornel's Collection in Broughton House in Kirkcudbright. Many foreign visitors to nineteenth-century Japan more or less expected to find their ideal image of Japan confirmed. The popular photographs

known as *Yokohama Shashin* provided foreign visitors with these ideal images, and Henry and Hornel were typical of their customers. They acquired them while they were in Japan, and used them as an aid to their artistic creation.

In Henry and Hornel's Japanese subjects produced from their first visit (1893-94), they responded to Japanese genre scenes, the image made up for foreign visitors. However, Henry and Hornel did not use photographs to make an accurate record of Japan; they selected figures and settings from photographs and fashioned their images of Japan from a combination of first-hand experience and stock images for the tourist. Their technique, especially that of Hornel, remained within the European tradition although Henry showed some understanding of Japanese colour and its subtlety. They made effective use of European methods to create their own original style when they painted Japanese subjects.

For Whistler, who had never been to Japan, Japanese art was one of his artistic inspirations from the early 1860s on. His model in *kimono* was always a European woman, and he was never interested in depicting real Japanese people. In contrast, Henry and Hornel went to Japan and responded to Japanese genre scenes but their technique remained within the European technique. They did not develop their artistic methods from Japanese art as Menpes did. For Menpes, his model was not necessarily a Japanese person. His encounter with Kyôsei enabled Menpes to develop his own method when he painted commissioned portraiture in London.

The question remains why Henry and Hornel preferred to go to Japan since Japanese photographs were also available in Europe. By



the time they went to Japan, the freshness and novelty of Japanese art had already been assimilated into European art in various ways. The decorative pictorial surface of their Japanese subjects reminds us of the manner of the Post-Impressionists, which was partly inspired and developed from Japanese art. The *Glasgow Herald* stated in 1893, when Henry and Hornel left to Japan, 'why Mr. Hornel should seek inspiration in Yokohama or its neighbourhood we are at a loss to understand. It seems to us that he has already studied Japanese art to some purpose.'<sup>1</sup> Hornel wrote:

Japanese art, rivalling in splendour the greatest art in Europe, the influence of which is now fortunately being felt in all the new movement in Europe, engenders in the artist the desire to see and study the environment out of which this great art sprung, to become personally in touch with the people, to live their life, and discover the source of their information.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that Hornel was aware of the broad tendency of *Japonisme* which prevailed throughout Europe but he wanted to experience Japanese art and culture for himself.

If we compare these four artists, we realise that Lacambre's definition can not always be applied to this phenomenon. Menpes was aware of Japanese influence on his master, Whistler. Menpes certainly found some common points between Whistler and Japanese art. Although his Japanese subjects demonstrate his ability as an illustrator, they do not show much understanding on inspiration from Japanese art as Wilde commented at the time. Furthermore, in spite of its 'authenticity', his studio-house decorated with Japanese *ramma* is more *Japonaiserie* than *Japonisme* since Menpes did not try to show and re-create his understanding of Japanese interior space, but simply applied decorations that were made to fit a ready-

made British house. His desire to be fashionable underlies his intention in this project. However, this does not mean that Menpes did not get any inspiration from Japanese art. His originality was expressed in his understanding of Japanese artistic methods, *shasei*, and it was developed in the Western tradition of naturalism.

In Henry and Hornel's case, before their visit to Japan, their technique and choice of subject matter were very much influenced by French Naturalism, as with many other artists from the Glasgow Boys. These two painters expressed Japanese genre scenes with a decorative quality which reminds us of the style of Monticelli or Post-Impressionism. The decorative quality of Post-Impressionism was partly developed from Japanese art. Unlike Menpes, there is no record of Henry or Hornel's writings on Japanese art. Most of their inspirations are from Japanese life rather than Japanese art. In their minds, they may have already had a stereotypical image of *Japonisme* that was developed in France. They tried to express 'real' Japanese life by employing the decorative qualities of European techniques that were developed as part of a Japanese-inspired style.

Menpes, Henry and Hornel had knowledge of the Japanese influence on European art and of works produced with the inspiration of Japanese art by the 1880s. On the other hand, Whistler was one of the first artists who was interested taking Japanese elements into his art; of course, he did not have a pre-concept or stereotypical image of the phenomenon, *Japonisme*. Whistler tried to find the ways of uniting Western and Japanese elements in his art. His experiment seems more fundamental and get never fully completed. His experiment in uniting Western and Japanese art can be seen in different ways throughout his career. An

examination of this consistency, how Japanese art was interpreted and seen by the painter, is one of the ways to study Whistler's artistic development.

The succession of artistic experiments by these painters gives an impression of the breadth and depth of this phenomenon. It also reveals that Japanese art was a source of inspiration that was crucial for the creation and development of Western art in the second half of the nineteenth century.

I would like now to emphasise my conclusion, on *Japonisme* as a source of inspiration, by making a comparison between two paintings, *Ayame no Koromo* (Iris Robe)(Fig.183) of 1927 by Okada Saburosuke and *A Japanese Lady with a Fan* (Fig.138) by Henry. They provide an interesting comparison: both models are dressed in *kimono*; they do not show their faces but look into the painting and away from the viewers. The refined expression achieved by Okada using oil paint makes *Ayame no Koromo* one of the most successful examples of Japanised oil paintings. Okada went to Paris in 1897 and stayed there for five years. He was trained in the studio of Raphaël Collin where he absorbed something of his teacher's graceful and elegant style. In *Ayame no Koromo*, the model bares her shoulder and is depicted half naked. Although the body of the model is depicted monumentally and has a certain level of reality, her body and *kimono* become a decorative pattern on the golden background, with a crisp effect of deep blue, vermilion, and gold. Okada has succeeded in uniting aspects of western technique and the decorative qualities of Japanese art in a sophisticated way.

In Henry's *A Japanese Lady with a Fan*, the painter's skilled

draughtsmanship is shown in the treatment of hair, eyelashes and the tender line from her cheek to chin. The realistic expression of her head against the bold background reminds us of a mixture of the European tradition of realism and the highly decorative quality of Post-Impressionism, which rejected naturalism and exaggerated forms and arbitrary colour harmonies for symbolic and expressive purpose, and which was itself partly developed from Japanese art.

Comparing these two paintings, Whistler's words are recalled. He told his biographers, the Pennells, that for him, 'the Japanese influence meant the maintenance of the tradition, and not a revolution, in European art' and 'art was unchangeable, and his own work has been the same at the beginning as at the end'.<sup>3</sup> The essence of this phenomenon, *Japonisme*, lies here: European painters found some elements for their artistic creation in the novelty of Japanese art. They assimilated the qualities of Japanese art into their own style in various ways. European artists did not try to transplant Japanese art wholly into their art, but they found in Japanese art a source of inspiration for new expressions and for the development of their traditional methods.

## Endnotes for Conclusion

1. 'Royal Scottish Academy', *Glasgow Herald*, 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1893.
2. Edward Atkinson Hornel, *Japan*, delivered in the Corporation Art Galleries, Glasgow, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1895. Reprinted by National Trust for Scotland in 1997.
3. Elizabeth R. and Joseph Pennell, *The Whistler Journal*, Philadelphia, 1921, p.31.

## Abbreviations

### **BM**

British Museum, London.

### **GUL**

Glasgow University Library.

### **K.**

Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler, Illustrated by Reproductions in Collotype of the Different States of the Plates*, New York, 1910.

### **M.**

Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné*, New Haven and London, 1994.

### **V&A**

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

### **V&A PD**

Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Department of Prints, Drawings, and Paintings.

### **W.**

Edward G. Kennedy, *The Lithographs by Whistler: Arranged According to the Catalogue by Thomas R. Way*, New York, 1914.

### **YMSM**

Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret F. MacDonald, Robin Spencer with the Association of Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, New Haven and London, 1980.

Japanese names are listed family name first, followed by personal names.

As for the translation of Japanese terms and titles of books and periodicals, I have consulted: Watanabe Toshio, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Bern, 1991; Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art*, New York, 1993 and Oliver Impey and Malcolm Fairley, *The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Japanese Art*, 5 vols, London, 1995.

## Glossary

- bakufu:** government of the Tokugawa shogunate.
- bakumatsu:** the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate.
- bijinga:** paintings and prints of courtesans.
- chigaidana:** a group of shelves interconnected at different heights.
- choushi:** a sake bottle.
- daimyo:** a feudal lord.
- emakimono:** hand scrolls.
- fusuma:** paper sliding door.
- Genji kou:** the game of identifying incense by its fragrance. Names of incense are taken from the chapters of *Story of Genji*.
- haboku:** splashed ink technique.
- kacho-ga:** bird and flower paintings.
- kagerou:** a dragonfly.
- han:** a feudal clan.
- hanetsuki:** battledore and shuttlecock.
- kaeru:** a frog.
- kakemono:** hanging scrolls.
- kamoi:** a narrow piece of wood that passes over the sliding doors and around an entire Japanese room.
- kyokuroku:** a chair used by a priest in the temple. Its origin is Chinese.
- kugo:** an ancient musical instrument.
- mon:** family crest.
- nan-ga:** literal painting.
- oiran:** courtesan.
- oyatoi gaikokujin:** honourable foreign employees.
- ramma:** a transom or fanlight.
- Risoga:** ideal painting.
- sakazuki:** a sake cup.
- sake:** fermented rice wine.
- shamisen:** a three-stringed musical instrument plucked with a plectrum.
- shoin:** a shallow alcove with a wide ledge used as a desk, and sliding



*shoji* window.

**shoji:** sliding door.

**sudare:** blinds.

**sumi-e:** ink painting.

**tako:** kite.

**tatami:** woven straw mats.

**tarashikomi:** technique developed by Tawaraya Sotatsu; applying one colour over another that was not yet dry, to make them blend in a rich and irregular fashion.

**tokonoma:** a shallow raised alcove where a scroll might be hung and a flower arrangement or objects of value might be displayed.

**uchiwa:** a round fan.

**ukiyo-e (prints):** a woodblock print depicting the ways of the world.

**Yokohama Shashin:** photographs produced in the late nineteenth century for export or for souvenirs for foreign visitors.

#### [Definition of terms]

**Japanisation:** process of acceptance of oil painting in Japan from the end of the *Edo* period to the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Japonaiserie:** the depiction of Japanese subjects or objects in a Western style.

**Japonisme:** Japanese influence on the Western art; a phenomenon whose influence spread widely to the Western art between the 1860s to the end 1920s.

**Japoniste:** person who is interested in Japanese art and culture.

## Appendix A

**“The White House”, Tite Street, Chelsea, A Catalogue of the Remaining Household Furniture, Baker & Sons, London, Thursday, 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1879.**

### *Second Floor.*

#### **Studio.**

Lot.

1. A nearly new Turkey carpet 5ft 6 by 4ft 6.
2. An old carved oak nest of 4 drawers and top locker.
3. A mahogany occasional table on pillar and claws, a small stained deal and 2 cane-seated chairs.
4. A Japanese carved wood arm chair with cane seat.
5. Two similar chairs.
6. A canvas-covered arm chair with extra blue cretonne cover.
7. A small chimney-glass in painted blue frame, a Japanese carved wood bird cage with painted panels and a small grindstone.
8. A wicker linen basket, a clothes rail and a pair of blue baize curtains.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.

### *First Floor.*

#### **Left Back Room.**

12. A 3ft 6 japanned chest of 3 long and 2 short drawers with porcelain knob handles.
13. Two cane-seated chairs, mantel clock, towel airer and a swing-frame toilet glass.
- 14.

- 15.
- 16.

#### **Centre Back Room.**

17. The crimson-ground velvet pile carpet as laid (about 8yds).
18. A capital 3ft mahogany chest of 2 long and 2 short drawers with turned knob handles.
19. A mahogany semi-circular washstand with veined marble top and sundry pieces of fittings.
20. A mahogany towel airer and a japanned ditto.
21. A 3ft japanned chest of 3 long and 2 short drawers.
22. A large quality of etching paper.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.

#### **Left Front Room.**

26. *The bordered Persian Carpet* as laid (about 12 square yards).
27. A pierced steel and iron fender, shovel, poker, hearth brush and 4 blue and white bath towels.
28. A bevelled plate chimney-glass in neat gift frame (plate 24in by 17).
29. A 3ft mahogany Pembroke table on pillar and claws with 2 flaps.
30. A mahogany-frame couch stuffed and covered in brown repp with extra cover.
31. A wicker table, a wicker linen locker and 2 painted cane-seated chairs with cushions.
32. Two wicker easy chairs and cushions.
33. A 3ft 3 polished pine chest of 3 long and 2 short drawers with brass drop handles.
34. A pedestal cupboard *en suite*.
35. A capital 2 ft birch-frame circular washstand with plug basin, ewer, toilet vase, sponge dish, brush and soap trays and chamber.
36. A plateau-frame toilet glass *en suite*.
37. A 6ft Japanese bronzed towel airer with brass mounts.

- 38. An excellent japanned shower bath and a set of cretonne curtains.
- 39. A pair of brass candlesticks, glass flower holder, Chinese tray and water bottle and tumbler.
- 40. A pair of blue flower-pattern cretonne curtains and a pair of muslin ditto.
- 41.
- 42.
- 43.

### **Dining Room.**

- 44. The India matting as laid (about 42 yards).
- 45. A cast iron fender and set of fire irons.
- 46. A capital 4ft mahogany-frame dining table with 2 extra flaps extending to 8ft 6.
- 47. Six stained-frame cane-seated chairs.
- 48. Two birch-frame ditto and a plate warmer.
- 49. A 3ft walnut occasional table on standard supports.
- 50. A 2-tier mahogany coffee table.
- 51. A 6 ½-octave square pianoforte in mahogany case, by *Tomkinson*.
- 52. Two brass curtain rods and 2 pairs of muslin curtains.
- 53. Seven basket ornaments, 14 wicker mats, date, case, 3 lacquered japan trays and 39 Japanese hand screens.
- 54.
- 55.
- 56.

### *Ground Floor* **Drawing Room.**

- 57. The India matting as laid (about 60 yards).
- 58. A cast iron fender and a pair of 7-tread steps.
- 59. A well-made walnut-frame couch spring and hair stuffed and covered in olive brown repp.
- 60. A gentleman's easy chair *en suite*.

- 61. A lady's chair *en suite*.
- 62. The companion chair.
- 63. An ebonised frame child's chair stuffed and covered *en suite*.
- 64. A dwarf mahogany table, a butterfly cage on ebonised stand with stuffed bird, a pair of Chinese clogs, and 2 butterfly cages with pulley.
- 65. A 23in lac japan tray, a 20in. ditto, 3 others, and 3 red lac japan stands.
- 66.
- 67.
- 68.

### **Breakfast Room.**

- 69. The India matting as planned to room (about 20 yds).
- 70. A pieced iron fender, poker, tongs, wool mat, hearth brush, and 2 wood boxes.
- 71. A capital mahogany Pembroke table on pillar and claws with striped cover.
- 72. *A very handsomely covered Oak Davenport* fitted with side drawers and riser (lined leather).
- 73. Four birch-frame cane-seated chairs.
- 74. Pair of blue and white cretonne curtains and a pair of muslin ditto.
- 75.
- 76.

### **Hall and Stairs.**

- 77. The brown Brussels carpet as laid to landing (about yds)
- 78. The blue ditto as laid to hall and stairs (about yds)
- 79. Twenty brass stairs rods.
- 80. Two cocoa mats and 3 wool ditto.
- 81. A mahogany hall seat.
- 82.
- 83.
- 84.

### **Silver (at per oz.)**

- 85. Four table spoons. oz. dwt.

86. Six table forks.
87. Six dessert spoons.
88. Six dessert forks.
89. Ten tea spoons, "fiddle" pattern.
90. Eleven tea spoons, "bead" pattern.
91. A butter knife, pair of sugar tongs, 2 salt spoons and 2 sugar spoons.
- 92.
- 93.
- 94.
- 95.

#### **Plated Articles.**

96. A bacon dish with cover and strainer on stand with lamp.
97. A toast rack.
98. A kettle on stand with lamp.
99. A 6-hole cruet frame with cut cruets.
100. An egg frame and 4 cups (handle faulty).
101. English large forks and 6 tea spoons.
102. A soup ladle, 2 egg spoons, a napkin ring and a pair of nut crackers in leather case.
103. A pair of 3-light candelabra.
104. A pair of plated pillar candlesticks.
105. A similar lot.
106. A chamber candlestick and extinguisher.
- 107.
- 108.
- 109.

#### **Glass.**

110. Six engraved sherries, 4 ports, 10 champagnes and 2 lemonades.
111. A cut butter dish, 4 plain sherries, 2 ports and 4 green hocks.
- 112.
- 113.
- 114.

### **Cutlery.**

- 115. Sixteen large knives.
- 116. Seventeen small ditto.
- 117. Three carves, 3 forks, a steel and a bread knife.
- 118.
- 119.
- 120.

### *Basement.*

#### **Kitchen and Pantry**

- 121. The cocoa matting as laid (about 18yds).
- 122. A capital iron charcoal stove.
- 123. A stout deal kitchen table.
- 124. Two pieces of carpet, coffee mill, 2 coffee pots and a chocolate ditto.
- 125. Four copper moulds, a copper saucepan, 2 strainers, frying basket, knife tray. 2 toasting forks, 2 jugs, tea tray and 2 tea caddies.
- 126. A set of scales and weights, colander, zinc bowl, strainer and 6 baking tins.
- 127. Thirteen saucepans in sizes.
- 128. Three frying pans, 2 gridirons, deal plate racks and 30 pieces of crockery.
- 129. Two tubs, 2 pails, 2 candlesticks, hot water can, 3 mats, crumb brush, slice, rolling pin and shopper.
- 130. Six moulds, 3 hooks, 6 iron spoons, wooden spoon, salad spoon, knife board, piece cocoa matting and a mat.
- 131. A brass coal scuttle and shovel, Windsor chair and 3 brooms.
- 132.
- 133.
- 134.

#### **Store Room and Outside.**

- 135. A CAPITAL 15IN LAWN MOWER.
- 136. A 20IN BALANCE-HANDLE GARDEN ROLLER.

137. A garden engine.
138. A japanned hip bath, cane-seated chair, sun oil burner and a 9-tread ladder.
139. A japanned washstand and 6 pieces of fittings, a dressing table and a towel airer.
140. A quantity of canvas stretchers, a washing stool and tray.
- 141.
- 142.
- 143.



## Appendix B

### *Catalogue of the Decorative Porcelain, Cabinet, Paintings, and Other Works of Art of J. A. McN. Whistler*

*Sotheby, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1880 (sp.coll. Whistler SC 1880.1)*

Cover page

A Handsome Japanese Dinner and Dessert Service, Fine Carvings in Ivory by Japanese Artists.

#### **Oriental Porcelain.**

##### **Lot**

1. Pair of Female Figures, with coloured enamel dresses for suspension, 2. small Figures and 2 Pieces                      6.
2. Nine Spoons (various), of Oriental porcelain                      9.
3. Bowl and Cover, enamelled with plants, cooks fighting on the cover.
4. A fluted Bowl, green ground, and 4 Cups on feet, painted with flowers  
5.
5. Tea Pot, with flowers in red, blue and gold, and 5 Cups and Saucers, painted with figures.
6. Two perforated blue and white porcelain boxes and 2 Inkstands.
7. Ten eggshell china Cups, painted with figures.
8. Four coffee Cups and Saucers and 4 Basins, 1 Cover, red ground, with square white medallions of figures.

#### **Blue and White China.**

9. Two blue and white Coffee Cups and Saucers, diaper pattern, and 3 Pots and Covers, with figures.
10. Tea Pot, with figures in a boat, and 4 Vases, painted with figures and flowers.
11. Pair of crackle Bottles, painted in blue, with figures.

12. Two Bottles and a Beaker, painted with figures.
13. Square Box in 3 parts, and a cover painted with plants.
14. Three Bottles, painted with figures and flowers.
15. Two cylindrical Pots with dragons, and a small Jug with figures.
16. Four earthenware Bowls, 1 covered with wicker work.
17. Two Bottles, painted in blue, with figures.
18. Seven Basins en-suite, painted with birds and flowers.
19. Ten deep Plates, with blue flowers.
20. Tea Pot and 3 Basins, figures and flowers.
21. Two Bowls and Covers, painted with figures, mark of writing implements.
22. Four large circular Dishes of blue aster pattern - *mark, a large leaf*.
23. Two large circular dishes and 12 of a smaller size, painted with china  
asters and birds, all of the same pattern 14.
24. Thirteen Dishes and 6 Plates, bamboo pattern all alike in design, different  
sizes.
25. Pair of fine Basins painted with figures, 6 *marks of the Thsing Dynasty*,  
A.D. 1636 and 2 Plates, with deer, *having the rare mark of a stork* 4.
26. Pair of large Dishes, white embossed borders, painted in the centre with a  
bamboo and china asters, 14 in. diam.
27. Pair of large deep Dishes, a Man in a room playing on the Koto, and two  
ladies outside, 16 1/2 in. diam.
28. Four Plates of the same pattern.
29. Large deep Dish, painted with figures, 6 *marks of the Thsing Dynasty*,  
A>D> 1696; and a Bowl Plate, with flowers, "Made in the Hall of Jade".
30. Ten Plates, painted in the centre with an eagle, landscapes and flowers on  
the border.
31. Ten others of the same pattern.
32. Ten others of the same pattern.
33. Pair of large deep Dishes, painted in the centre with a kylin - *mark, "Riches,  
High Rank, and an eternal Spring," The four blessings*, 14 1/2 in. diam.
34. Six fine Palates, painted in the centre with 8 deities in clouds - 6 *marks of  
the Siouen te period*, 1426.
35. Nine Dishes of the prunus or hawthorn pattern.
36. Three Plates, painted with a man at a gate, and vase of flowers, vases of  
flowers on the borders - *mark, a potter's table, or vase with 4 legs*.
37. Four plates, with two horsemen - *mark, a shell*

38. Ten Plates, with two horsemen shooting an arrow at a hare, all different sketches but the same borders, borders back and front of flowers - *6 marks of the Tching hod period, 1465.*
39. Ten Plates of the same pattern.
40. Three Basins, painted with bats flying and clouds - *square mark.*
41. Two Basins, painted with figures - *with 6 marks of the Tching hod period, 1465,* and "Made Hall of Jade;" and another with key border incuse 3.
42. Ten Cups and 10 Saucers, with male and female figures - *all with 6 marks.*
43. Three Bowls and Covers, and 1 Dish, painted with figures - *6 marks of the Tching hod period, and a leaf.*
44. Two Basins, painted with dragons and fishes, *of the Tching hod period* (1 broken); and 5 Plates (1 broken).
45. Portions of a Dinner Service : soup tureen and cover, 2 dishes, 3 small tureens, covers and stands, butter boat, and hot water plate.
46. Large deep Dish, painted with flowers and birds in blue, 20 in. diam.
47. Five Dishes, painted in blue with flowers, 12 and 13 in. diam (1 broken).
48. Five Plates, various (1 broken).
49. Six Cups and Saucers, painted with crabs and shrimps, all of the same pattern.
50. Ten Cups and 8 Saucers, various, *some damaged;* an oval Dish, painted with a man and deer ; and 2 Knife Rests.
51. A large and fine Bowl, with elephant head handles, painted with a dragon ; and pierced reticulated Cover, for flowers.
52. A Flower Pot, painted with medallions of flowers, on 3 feet.
53. An octagonal Bowl and Cover, painted with landscapes and flowers.
54. A Fruit Basket, with open reticulated sides and handle over the top, blue key border.
55. A large Bowl, with handle over the top, painted with birds and waves.
56. A lofty Beaker, painted with landscapes and figures, height 19 inches.
57. Red Japan lac Bowl and Cover, and a copper Kettle, inlaid with small brass flowers, and 2 cornelian rings on the cover.
58. Six white china Plates, 4 Cups and 5 Saucers.
59. Glass Vase, 2 glass Plates, Scent Bottle, and Chinese enamel Tray.
60. CAMPHOR-WOOD CABINET, fitted with 3 drawers, enclosed by inlaid doors.
61. PAIR OF BRONZE CANDLESTICKS, chased with scrolls, on high rose-

wood stands.

62. Large brown Japanese earthenware Jar, and an Indian Bottle with 2 handles, painted.
63. Brass Mirror, with landscape in relief, on carved and gilt wood stand, and another Mirror in a case.
64. Large brass Jug, a wooden Bowl, covered with canvas, a Gourd, and a Japanese Musical Instrument.
65. Cabinet, formed of a red lac plaque in front, on a carved fard wood stand, and a lac japan stand.
66. Handsome Japanese Screen of 5 folds, with panels of silk, painted with flowers, glazed, and gilt wood frame.
67. Pair of dwarf Screens, painted with landscapes and figures, on gold grounds.
68. Large Japanese Panel, with stone flowers, inlaid brass handle at top, *damaged*.
69. Pair of Japanese bronze Candlesticks, pierced stems, and a Stork, with enamelled wings.
70. Large Roll of paper, painted with Japanese landscape and figures.
71. Pair of Japanese Pictures of raised figures, formed of silk brocade, in gilt frames, "Summer and Winter," in extra. Glass frames.
72. Paintings of a Japanese harbour, with fleet of ships, soldiers, &c. *highly coloured*.
73. Picture of three Ladies, formed of raised brocade, framed and glazed; and a Sketch of Storks in a landscape.
74. Eighteen Japanese Picture Books, Sketches of landscapes and figures, *some coloured*; and 14 loose Drawings.
75. Large brown earthenware Cistern or Bath, ornamented with birds and flowers, oval, 3 ft. by 2 ft. 5, on a stand.
76. Japanese China Cabinet, fitted with ebony drawers, and lac panels, painted with figures, on a stand *Height 3 ft.9in. 2 ft.4in.*
77. Twenty volumes of Books, various.
78. About 100 Copper Plates of Etchings, *mostly erased*.
79. Quantity of Studies, in crayons, on paper, and 16 Photographs.
80. Two Etchings, river view, and sketch of a girl by Whistler, *framed and glazed*.
81. Three Etchings by Whistler, *in Black frames, glazed*, subjects - A Forge,

Battersea reach, and Lady and Dog; *exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.*

82. CRAYON SKETCH, BY WHISTLER, OF SARAH BERNHARST, seated, holding a book; *exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.*
83. CRAYON SKETCH, BY WHISTLER, OF A LADY, SEATED; *exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.*
84. CRAYON SKETCH, BY WHISTLER, OF A NUDE FEMALE FIGURE; *exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.*
85. A plaster Bust of the VENUS of Mile.
86. A terra cotta Bust of J.A. McN. Whistler, Esq. By Boehm, 1872.
87. OIL PAINTING (life size) OF CONNIE GILCHRIST, DANCING WITH A SKIPPING ROPE, STYLED "A GIRL IN GOLD", BY WHISTLER; *exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery.*
88. A SATIRICAL PAINTING OF A GENTLEMAN. STYLED 2THE CREDITOR2, BY WHISTLER.

## Appendix C

**Tadamasa Hayashi. Some Recollections.**  
**by Raphaël Collin.**

**Printed in Illustrated Catalogue of the Important Collection of Paintings, Water Colours, Pastels, Drawings and Prints. Collected by the Japanese Connoisseur the Late Tadamasa Hayashi of Tokyo, Japan. New York, 1913.**

I became acquainted with Tadamasa Hayashi about 1884, when he was some thirty years of age. He came to me to introduce a young Japanese student, Seiki Kuroda, who after some years successfully devoted to literary studies in our old Quartier, later became my pupil, and who has since made for himself in his own country a great name as one of the most famous painters of modern Japan. Hayashi's open and truly "Parisian" mind had been impressed by the rend of modern art, and finding interest in every artistic manifestation, he was one of the first to understand, at the very dawn of their career, those artists whose work was stamped with an audacity, an originality, which, although apparent, was yet beyond the ken of the vulgar crowd.

The paintings of Monet or Degas, the drawing of Renouard, the coloured engravings of Théodore Rivière, had struck him with a deep sense of admiration, and with an enlightened connoisseurship he acquired a number of their works from these masters before their great success. Personally, my studies of nude life in the open had found favour in his eyes, and he expressed the wish to possess several of my most important paintings.

Conversely, Hayashi initiated us in an exquisite manner into that world unknown and full of marvels, whose precious relics he accumulated in his flat of the Rue de la Victorie, where every new visit brought forth fresh pleasure and delight. I cannot do justice to the delicate and graceful

manner with which he showed us those fine potteries from Korea and Japan, powerfully modelled in the first taste and the most unexpected forms in a clay that almost lives; or those noble figures, sober of gesture, dignified in their august mien, which, whether of gilt bronze or lacquered wood. Had been the erstwhile ornaments of Buddhist shrines; or yet the kakemono of pure and refined style, the prints in rare colours or delicate tones, the quaint metal work, and that precious marvel of perfection which we call lacquer. Works of a peculiarity which enhanced the perfection of the aesthetic spirit that created them their contemplation was at once a revelation and a feast for the mind and the eye, a rare pleasure, and a splendid lesson withal.

Again and again I visited Hayashi, and I so felt the charm of all these things of beauty that I yearned to possess at least a few, which I treasure to this day.

Every month the "*Diner Japonais*," founded by Bing, brought together those worshippers of the art of Nippon who lived in Paris, and we met at the same table; Edmond de Goncourt, S. Bing, Alexis Rouart, the painter Whistler, Art Renan, Gillot, Manzi, Ch. Mourier, the collector Groult, Raymond Koechlin, Migeon, Blondeau, and a few others, all passionately fond of that exquisite art. Hayashi, steeped in art to his very soul, supplied us information and explanations with indefatigable patience and charming good nature.

Those were pleasant nights, but of the gifted and refined men in whose midst they were spent, many, alas! Have now departed this world.

In 1898 Hayashi left us to seek in Japan some further art treasures, and to prepare, on behalf of the Japanese Government, the Retrospective section of the Exhibition of 1900. This masterpiece was for him and for his country a real triumph, and for our eyes an unparalleled feat. In the midst of gardens surrounded by ponds stood a building, copy of a famous temple, hoarding the rest types, of which only a few isolated specimens had been shown us before by Hayashi, and at last the public had an opportunity to understand all the grace and all the strength of the Japanese soul.

Alone a Japanese with so Parisian a mind, as was Hayashi, could have brought together in Paris, with so much tact and discrimination, so complete an ensemble, and no words can express the gratitude we owe to this man of taste for this initiation to such sublime beauty.

When, after this success, Hayashi decided to return home forever, and scattered his collections, when the time came for the banquet at which before his start we wanted to give him lasting token of our affectionate gratitude, we felt almost abashed to bring a bronze to this refined connoisseur. Yet the work was signed

Barye; but somehow the cast appeared poor beside those magnificent *cire perdues* which he had so often allowed us to admire. Over that banquet hovered an atmosphere of true cordiality, of warm sympathy, yet mingled with dismay at the departure of a very dear friend, and the emotion conspicuous in the toasts was true and sincere.

Alas, poor Hayashi! A letter received shortly afterward from Tokyo brought us the sad tidings of his precarious health, together with a portrait, in which one would hardly have known him. Yet he wrote without a plaint, with a smiling philosophy; true to his race, he would have grieved to cause us sorrow.

Short was his enjoyment of that fine collection of modern French works of art which he had carefully accumulated in his sojourn of over a score of years. He had found pleasure in showing to his countrymen, so fond of Western novelties, the productions of masters who during that period had been his friends and his preferred painters; he had hoped to influence the taste of Tokyo artists and dilettanti in a happy manner by the variety and the individuality of the latest creations of French paintings at the end of the Nineteenth Century, and to that end he had constructed in his house - decorated in European style by Parisian friends - a hall, the high windows of which opened over a flower garden.

But he departed this life before the realisation of his hopes, and this



beautiful collection will soon be scattered. May its contents be understood and treasurs as fervently appreciative as he was himself.

For the widow and the young son of my friend, I have only to wish the successful issue, and that it mat be seen how, amongst the numberless host of ordinary works, Hayashi has discriminated many full of life, full of Western art as he had shown of taste and refinement in collecting and bringing together the masterpieces of his country.

From the French of Raphaël Collin.

## Appendix D

### GUL Whistler W749

Commodore Perrys [sic] Arrival in Japan.

The following translation made by a resident of San -Francisco, who spent several years in Japan, from the diary of a Japanese [person?] gives a ludicrous idea of the astonishment felt by the natives of those Islands at the [illegible] of the American fleet -

“While yet cold weather, even colder than previous years, and at the time of New Year, although the plum blossoms had put forth, the nightingale had not begun to sing - why so late, the reason could not tell. Loving to hear its voice, I listened and listened; while thus listening, I heard the footsteps of people going by the Tokaido to and from Yedo, saying “This spring, foreigners will come to our country’, this was wonderful and surprising news.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the first month, a friend came and told me that foreign vessels could be seen afar off. On the 15<sup>th</sup>., a vessel came to Koshiha, a place near Kanagawa, and another was seen at Misaki, near Uragawa; this latter was on a rock, it was rumored, and was endeavouring to get off. A few days after wards, 7 vessels were counted at a place called Natzshima, or Summer Island. Owing to the great event, governors Samoura and all manner of Yakoumins, or pfficers, collected in Kanagawa. They had their boats at the landing Miya-n-okashi.

Why did they start from that place? Because it was convenient, and during the time of Esho, at Hong-ga-kouji yama lived a Daimio, with his retainer, and this was near Miya-no-kashi.

Hong-ga-kou-ji is now a temple of Boodha. [sic] - The Osho, or head priest of this Temple, and myself took a boat and went to Kanagawa from the landing place. At the time of starting it was yet early day and cloudy, and the hills of Awa-no-kouni could but be indistinctly seen. At sunrise, therefore, there was a beautiful view. The sun arose in all its splendour, and near it was seen a rainbow; to the left was the town of Namamargi, and to the right was the hill of Homokou, and they faced each other. The great illumination in the front of the view, and darkness hanging over the other point of Kana yawa, gave it the appearance of a fan, and was a beautiful landscape to behold.

It was so lovely a sight that I composed a piece of poetry, although so early in the morning.

“As we neared Homora, with the sails of our boat flapping in the breeze, I saw in the distance that the wonder of the world was before me; the Ocean had put forth woods, and high trees were visible, and they told me that was the foreigners vessels!

“By degrees, as we went near and nearer, we could see more plain[ly]. They had many cross became to their masts and innumerable ropes reaching to the top. In examining we saw the most beautiful clothing decked about the vessels (supposed to be flags.) It was such a beautiful sight in the distance, that I longed to be nearer to see the wonder - but then I had promised the Yakoumins that I was only going to Kanazawa. However, I spoke to the Sento or boatman, and strange to say, his hands became weak; so much so as to be unable to row the boat, and as the breeze was not fair, it curiously took the boat nearer and nearer of the foreign vessels; the nearer they came, the more astonished I became at the wonders disclosed[.] At meal time, the wind biding fair we went to Kanazawa, and having fished finished, returned to the vessels again. This time we say many men manning the beams, which astonished us more than ever. We wondered why they were there and what their business could be; it was so wonderful [sic] that I was reminded of the monkeys in the woods, so that I made per poetry:

A person looking like and working like a monkey, is like unto a small island outside of Uragawa, called Sarushima or Monkey Island, enveloped in a cloud.

While looking at the vessels, snow fell, and we saw Fuji-Yama; on this side was Hakomi mountain. I think every morning and evening foreigners [sic] looking [sic] from their country and see this great mountain; and this time they are facing the people who love below its great height.

[p.5]“I was very desirous of visiting Sugnita, a place celebrated for its plum blossoms, but as it was getting late we returned to Homouku. There being no breeze at that point, and with the sunset rippling over the waters, made it look like the war-fan. (Japanese) At this time the foreign fleet came and anchored near Kana-gawa; there was music on board, the gearing of which was distasteful - I did not like it; thought it very ludicrous. - Those Japanese who had studied Dutch works, doctors with Dutch ears and feelings, were delighted, but no true Japanese could be. Day by day old and young, women, children, and decrepit old men, and even the blind, came in crowds to see the wonderful American vessels. The houses of Kanagawa were filled to overflowing with the friends & acquaintances; [p.6]there was no passing the Tokaido or highway, and there was but one continual crowd. Those who were late and could not get lodging slept in the snow, so anxious were they see everything. Even prices of all articles went up fabulously. In one bed room there were half a dozen persons sleeping together and hotels were crowded.

The people in Kanagawa were so busy that personal comfort was neglected, if time for shaving could not be spared.

“As so many people kept flocking to Kanagawa, people built houses in the mountain paths, and even within miles of the places, and all were crowded. Kagayu, or chair Coolies, made great wages and [p.7] were always busy. Barbers were continually at work, and the night

was given, as by day; they made much as slept not.

Foreign vessels masts could be plainly discerned from the opposite shore, Kadzousa! There arrived from Yedo from Koubo or Tycoon, a red painted vessel, covered on the outside with paintings of all kinds, really beautiful; had purple curtains, and the crest of white, also red and green silk curtains. - As the breeze wafted them, it was beautiful to behold. The sailors were covered with clothing in embroidery of [Bome?] or plum flowers.-

“Night and day were the same - All excitement, and the lights were as day. On the American and Japanese selling [sic] vessels were so many lights that it appeared as though Summer had returned and that they were once more ceibrating [sic] at Drogokoubashi - “taking a nice breeze in Dogokoubashi”.”

## Appendix E

**Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Etchings of Japan**  
**by Mortimer Menpes R.B.A.**  
**at Messrs Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells, London, 1888**

In this Exhibition I present, with some hesitation, my impressions of Japan. Love for the land and sympathy with its art led me to do this work; and if it succeeds in bringing the land and its art at all nearer to anybody, I shall have fulfilled my wishes.

I here desire to acknowledge with all gratitude the help of Mr. Whistler in my artistic life.

### *Paintings*

1. *A Primrose Dame.*

Girl playing the samisen or Japanese lute.

2. *A Quartette*

3. *The Pomegranate Lanterns.*

This is the entrance to a theatre.

4. *A Little Jap.*

A baby Japanese pulling flowers to pieces.

5. *Miss Pomegranate.*

6. *Young Japan.*

7. *A Baby.*

8. *By the Light of the Lantern.*

9. *Reading the Bill of the Play.*

10. *The Laughing Children.*

11. *A Butterfly.*

12. *"In the Eye of the Sun."*

A street in Kioto being decorated for the chief festival of the year.

13. *By the Side of the Temple.*

A little market-place of temporary stalls. People chaffering with a sword-seller. The inevitable baby as usual. At the back a Buddhist temple.

14. *A Suburban Tea-House.*

A tea-house on a hill outside Osaka.

15. *"At the Play"*

All Japanese theatres are open along the front, and the populace can often get a glimpse of what is being performed inside. This is a matter of policy on the part of Japanese acting-managers, who know that a casual spectator of this kind will often pay and pass in to follow the thread of the episode of which he has caught a glimpse. Here a group of children are "dead-heading" a performance, and lending each other friendly backs to witness what is going on inside. All Japanese theatres are decorated on the outside with a row of gaudy pictures representing dramatic subjects.

16. *Outside a Theatre.*

Here we have the vivid pictures, the quaint lamps, and the mighty banners that make a Japanese theatre-front resplendent.

17. *Green and Gold.*

18. *Daughters of the Sun.*

Dancing-girls in gorgeous crape dresses, waiting in the sunlight to be driven to some entertainment.

19. *Bo-Peep.*

20. *Miss Heliotrope.*

21. *Theatre Street.*

The outside of a theatre adorned with pictures inscribed with bold characters, and the long gigantic streamers in which the Japanese delight.

22. *The Dying Day.*

The evening after a wet yesterday, when the traces of rain still linger on earth and in air.

23. *Perplexity.*

24. *Lady Lavender*

25. *The Girl with Jars.*

26. *"Three Little Maids from School"*

Three dancing-girls in their gorgeous dresses, attended by their

“duenna.” The girls’ mouths are painted scarlet. Japanese dancing and singing-women always colour their lips, sometimes an intense red, sometimes a dark bronze. These dancing-girls are in a room at night with light strong upon them.

27. *“Youth and Age.”*

A young Japanese girl is leading her mother through a kind of temporary fair. The ghastly contrast the two in their apparently enormous disparity of years is due to the rapidity with which Japanese, like most Oriental women, age after reaching maturity. A woman of five-and-fifty looks like an old crone over whose head centuries have slipped.

28. *A Tea Sale.*

Tea is being sold at the shop, which is adorned for the occasion with red and white lanterns and banners and green boughs.

29. *A Strip of Shade.*

30. *Miss Violet.*

31. *Ranting Cats and Dogs.*

When it rains in Japan it rains with a will. But the storm seldom lasts long, and it generally followed by sunshine.

32. *Sundown.*

A couple of tea-houses bright with flags.

33. *Flamingo Fan.*

This young lady is a beauty among the dancing-girls.

34. *A Jap in Plum-Colour.*

A little Japanese lady of the middle class about twelve years old.

35. *Bearing a Burden.*

36. *Red as a Rose.*

37. *Gold Fish.*

38. *Marketing.*

39. *A Back View.*

40. *A Young Philosopher.*

41. *The Yellow Lady. A dancing-girl.*

42. *A Sunny Temple.*

43. *Apricot-Blossom Street.*

44. *Honeysuckle Street.*

45. *Blowing Bubbles.*



Japanese children are very fond of blowing soap bubbles with a straight straw.

46. *On the Steps.*

47. *A Rush to the Stall.*

48. *Evening after Rain.*

The remnants of a fair outside a town. The sun is setting on a showery day.

49. *A Street View.*

A comparatively quiet humble street.

50. *A Midday Meeting.*

Outside a shop. Brilliant effect of intense sunlight.

51. *Sunshine.*

52. *A May Garden.*

53. *The Place of Pink Lanterns.*

Children buying sweet waters at a stall.

54. *Night.*

A group of children gathered round a juggler's booth.

55. *A Toy Shop*

56. *The Tea-House of the Slender Trees.*

57. *A Japanese Fifine at the Fair.*

58. *Life on a Gold Background.*

A group of umbrella-shaded booths have been pitched by chance against the golden drapery of a temporary stage. Fair-time.

59. *A Covered Street.*

60. *A Perfect Evening.*

61. *Before the Curtain.*

This little Jap, clinging to its curtain of Venetian red, suggests a Japanese rendering of a baby Doge.

62. *Waiting for the Rickshaw.*

Two singing-girls are standing in front of a house, dressed in their festal attire of costly silk crape, waiting for a jin-rickshaw to take them to the house where they are employed. The Japanese, like the Cairenes and the American ranchemen, never walk when they can possibly ride.

63. *Sand-Pictures.*

A group of children watching a man drawing sand-pictures. All these

children are of the humblest class, and their pretty dresses are of the cheapest and commonest material.

64. *The House of Blue Banners.*

A tea-house, with its mistress waiting for guests. In the window, on a ledge, a little garden of flowers is built up elaborately. Through the open door the inner court is seen steeped in light.

65. *In Theatre Street.*

66. *In Front of a Shop.*

67. *A Noonday Gossip.*

68. *The Child and the Umbrella.*

The umbrella is pitched by the side of the stall to shade it from the intense sunlight.

69. *A Blond Day.*

This might almost be a Greek street, with Greek girls walking in it.

70. *A Brisk Walk.*

71. *A Alley of Pink Lanterns.*

72. *The Stall by the Bridge.*

73. *A Travelling Musician.*

74. *Sugar-Water Stall.*

Two children of the better class in their smart clothes.

75. *The Red Curtain.*

A Shop in Yokohama.

76. *A Sing-Painter's.*

The shop of a painter of signs and inscriptions, to whom umbrellas and lanterns are brought to be decorated.

77. *The Bill of the Play.*

A little cluster of people reading with deepest interest the hand-painted prospects of a play on the walls of a theatre.

78. *Over the Bridge.*

Bridge at Kioto; tea-house at back.

79. *The Scarlet Umbrella.*

A market-place with stalls and a great scarlet umbrella that would delight Théodore de Banville.

80. *Buying Sweets.*

81. *A Sweeratuff Shop.*

82. *The Giant Lantern.*

Exterior of a temple. The beautiful check design on the inner surface of the dececote-shaped awning of the lantern is a marked and peculiar feature of the ornamentation of Japan. It occurs every where.

83. *After Wet Weather.*

The clearing evening of a drenching day.

84. *A Fan Shop.*

85. *Lookers-on.*

A group of people looking through a playhouse door.

86. *A By-Canal.*

A quiet by-canal, luminous in early sunlight. The lattice-work of new wood is highly decorative.

87. *A Sunny Stroll.*

88. *A Closed Shop.*

89. *The Bamboo-Players.*

These children are playing a kind of bamboo pipe or trumpet.

90. *The end of the Day and the end of the Festival.*

91. *Miss Pink.*

92. *Salome.*

93. *A Deluge.*

94. *Entering the Playhouse.*

95. *A Singing-Girl.*

96. *A Rag-Shop.*

97. *A Street in Kioto*

98. *The Curtain.*

Three children standing in the street before a curtained entrance to a shop.

99. *A Curio Shop.*

100. *The New Screen.*

A group of passers-by have stopped before a shop, in which a new screen, with a golden dragon design, is placed on public view.

101. *A Promenade.*

102. *Soap-Bubbles.*

103. *Sweetstuff.*

Three demure little boys of the poorest class intently studying a booth on which some glowing scarlet sweetmeats are displayed.

104. *Miss Almond-Blossom.*

105. *Sun and Lanterns.*

106. *Miss Lilac-Blossom.*

107. *Little Strawberry.*

108. *A Beggar Child.*

109. *Curiosity.*

110. *Dye-Workers.*

A dyer's house at Osaka. The ships of crape that are hanging up to dry are dyed the familiar Japanese blue.

111. *All Alone.*

A tiny child sitting all by herself outside a shop with the gravity characteristic of Japanese youth.

112. *A Blue Girl.*

113. *The Windmill Stall.*

114. *The Lemon Bridge.*

The blue of the water becomes intense as the afternoon wears on.

115. *The Street with the Gallery.*

116. *Flower of the Tea.*

Exterior of a tea-house. The mistress of the house peeling fruit. On the table at the side are vessels containing coloured sugar-waters.

117. "News."

Three Japanese children, two girls and a boy, have got hold of a Japanese newspaper and are reading as they run. The vivid scarlet lanterns form as usual a characteristics feature of the street.

118. *A Religious Procession.*

119. "Our Lord the Buddha."

A group of people, of all ages and of both sexes, gathering together and slowly forming, as they move through the streets, into a procession in honour of Buddha.

120. *The Guitar-Players.*

Three little lute-players have put their music by for a moment to salute some stranger.

121. *Miss Crocus.*

A playing-girl tuning her lute.

122. *Wet Weather.*

123. *A Lacquer Shop.*

124. *After Rain.*

Two children venturing out for a stroll after a rain-storm that has left the roofs shining and brought out the dark tones of the woodwork.

125. *Three Little Tramps.*

126. *The Road to the Theatre.*

127. *The Empty Tea-House.*

128. *A Street in Osaka.*

The banners and lamps, the coloured signboard and stretched awnings, are no gala signs of festivity, but the ordinary commonplace adornments of Japanese streets.

129. *Twilight.*

People leaving at the close of a fair in Kioto, just before the lamps are lit. Behind the umbrella-shaded stalls are the great stone lamps which light Japanese cities.

130. *Dignity and Impudence.*

131. *Bubbles.*

132. *Pickapack.*

133. *Red Carnation Street.*

134. *The Woman in White.*

135. *Forget-me-not.*

136. *A Family Group.*

137. *The Old Curiosity Shop.*

## Appendix F

**Catalogue of the Mortimer Menpes Collection of Etchings, Dry Points and Lithographs, by J. McNeill Whistler. Exhibited at the Leicester Square, London by Ernest Brown & Philips. November-December, 1903.**

### **The Whistler Exhibition.**

In explaining these works to the public, I claim my authority, not only as an expert but as a friend of Mr. Whistler at the time that he was engaged upon his best work. No one, I venture to think, knew Whistler's work - from the etching of the plate to the printing of the proof - so intimately as I did.

This collection of mine is a collection of the very finest proofs, most of them first impressions in the most perfect condition, with the bloom upon them. In certain cases of the dry points the plates have been so delicate that two or three proofs have swept away the burr entirely, and so destroyed richness, but proofs are absolutely unique in their perfection.

In this exhibition I show mainly those rare and beautiful proofs which cannot be seen anywhere else. I have eliminated altogether the first and last period of Whistler's career, and I have confined myself entirely to that great middle period when his best work was in the course of production, and even this is fined down to the choicest specimens.

I would like to correct one curious error that has crept in amongst Whistler collectors and connoisseurs, and that is that his choicest etchings and dry points were often printed on thin Japanese paper. Now, as I know well from personal experience, Whistler disliked this much-vaunted Japanese paper, and preferred instead the rich old paper from France and Holland. This paper, as will be seen from my collection, greatly enhances the value, and brings out the quality of

his rarest work.

To the lover of Whistler this collection will especially appeal, in that it reveals to him the exquisite care which the master expended on each plate; for he worked on the plate, touching here, eliminating there heightening a lighted window, darkening a doorway, until perfection was attained in a picture which in any state was always beautiful; and this is particularly noticeable in the Venice series. As he printed he worked, engraving on the plate itself during the process of printing. And in many of this particular series it will be discovered that no two proofs are alike, thus making each proof unique, and assuring to its possessor the fact that it is only one of its kind in the world.

Mortimer Menpes.

### Catalogue

*The copyrights in all the Exhibits are reserved.*

*The letter W after the title refers to Mr. Wedmore's "Whistler's Etchings - a Study and a catalogue.*

No.		
1.	Speke Hall Etched figure, without monogram.	W.86
2.	Speke Hall Dry-point figure, without monogram.	W.86
3.	From Pickled-Herring Stairs Trial proof, without dry point.	W.137
4.	Speke Hall Etched figure, touched with wash.	W.86
5.	Speke Hall Etched figure completed, with monogram.	W.86
6.	From Pickled-Herring Stairs	W.137
7.	Speke Hall	W.86
8.	Maude Trial proof, with dark tippet.	W.99

9. From Pickled-Herring Stairs	W.137
Trial proof.	
10. Maude	W.99
With fur tipped, indicated in wash.	
11. Maude	W.99
Trial proof, with light tippet.	
12. Price's Candle-Works	W.124
Very early proof.	
13. Maude	W.99
Trial proof, without tippet.	
14. Maude	W.99
Final proof, with rich fur tippet.	
15. Irving as Philip of Spain	W.139
Fourth trial proof.	
16. Irving as Philip of Spain	W.139
Third trial proof.	
17. Irving as Philip of Spain	
With dry-point added, undescribed.	
18. Irving as Philip of Spain	W.139
Second trial proof.	
19. Irving as Philip of Spain	W.139
Described by Wedmore. First trial proof.	
20. Irving as Philip of Spain	
First State of the undescribed plate.	
21. Nocturne-Palaces	W.168
22. The Upright Venice	W. 172
23. The Long Venice	W.182
24. Garden	W.180
25. Quiet Canal	W.184
26. The Palaces	W.153
27. The Little Lagoon	W.152
28. The Fruit Stall	W.166
29. Long Lagoon	W.169
30. The Dyer	W.189
31. Ponte Piovan	W.179
32. Turkeys	W.165



33. The Little Mast	W.151
34. Fishing Boat	W.178
35. Doorway and Vine	W.161
36. The Mast	W.160
37. San Biagio	W.163
38. The Balcony	W.177
39. The Bridge	W.171
40. Stables	W.198
41. The Little Venice	W.149
42. The Rialto	W.181
Trial proof.	
43. The Two Doorways	W.158
Trial proof.	
44. San Giorgio	W.167
45. The Beggars	W.159
Trial proof	
46. The Traghetto	W.156
Trial proof.	
47. The Nocturne	W.150
48. The Doorway	W.154
Trial proof	
49. The Salute, Dawn	W.183
50. Bead Stringers	W.164
51. The Riva, Number Two	W.175
52. Nocturne-Salute	W.199
Delicate, unique impression, suggesting dawn.	
53. Furnace Nocturne	W.183
54. Nocturne-Shipping	W.194
55. Nocturne-Salute	W.190
56. Fish Shop, Venice	W.488
57. Fumette's Bent Head	W.5
In pencil, "Jo" and butterfly.	
58. Drury Lane	W.176
59. Little Salute	W.190
60. Resting	W.105
61. Shipbuilders' Yard	W.121

62. Little Court	W.173
63. Little Arthur	W.43.
With the legs	
64. Battersea Bridge	W.141
65. Weary	W.83
66. Flinor Leyland	W.95
Very early proof	
67. Dutch Boats	Undescribed
68. The Little Velvet Dress	W.92
69. F.R. Leyland's Mother	W.227
70. Lobster Pots	W.174
71. Fumette Standing	W.50
72. Whistler's Mother	W.88
Only known impression.	
73. The Model Lying Down	W.107
Unique dry point, the only known impression.	
74. Finette	W.54
75. Whistler	W.52
76. The Smithy	W.197
77. St. James's Street	W.140
Very early proof before plate was cut, butterfly in ink, and signed "first proof".	
78. Annie Haden	W.57
79. Lady at Window	W.111
Second State, with monogram.	
80. Axenfeld	W.61
81. Lagoon, Noon	W.186
82. Lady at Window	W.111
First State, without monogram.	
83. The Little Forge	W.115
Early proof. Before monogram	
84. Dororecht	W.200
85. Agnes	W.106
86. The Little Forge	W.115
87. Fishing Boats, Hastings	W.131
First State, before butterfly.	

88. The Muff	W.126
First State, before butterfly.	
89. The Scotch Widow	W.118
90. Steamboats off the Tower	W.114
91. The Muff	W.126
Second State.	
92. The Forge	W.63
93. Swinburne	W.110
“Swinburne” and butterfly in pencil.	
94. The Silk Dress	Undescribed
95. The Thames Towrads Erith	W.135
96. Billingsgate	W.45
Second State, signed.	
97. Maude, Seated	W.100
Second State, face re-drawn three-quarters.	
98. The Silk Dress	Undescribed
99. Paris - The Isle de la Cité	W.55
100. The Beach	W.101
101. Maude, Seated	W.100
First State, with full face.	
102. Wych Street	W.132
Butterfly in pencil within plate mark, and signed “Whistler, 1 <sup>st</sup> proof”.	
103. Sketch of a Girl, Nude	W.113
Second State, washed with Indian ink.	
104. Sketch of a Girl, Nude	W.113
Rare dry point	
105. The Unsafe Tenement	W.7
With portion of Early State, with woman.	
106. Wych Street	W.132
Touched in water-colour. Butterfly in pencil, and signed “Whistler, 2 <sup>nd</sup> proof”.	
107. Mr. Mann	W.58
108. The Desk	W.104
Trial proof, first State.	
109. Battersea, Dawn	W.125

Early State.	
110. A Wharf	W.38
111. Two Ships	W.116
Early State in outline.	
112. The Desk	W.104
Trial proof, second State.	
113. Child on a Couch	W.112
114. Chelsea Wharf	W.81
Fifth proof.	
115. Two Ships	W.116
Trial proof.	
116. The Desk	W.104
Trial proof, third State.	
117. Greenwich Pensioner	W.32
Early proof.	
118. "Swan" Brewery	W.89
119. Two Ships	W.116
First State.	
120. The Desk	W.104
Trial proof.	
121. Putney Bridge	W.145
122. Millbank	W.67
Unique impression, with the word "not" added. Described in Wedmore.	
123. Two Ships	W.116
Second State.	
124. The Velvet Dress	W.91
125. Lord Wolseley	W.138
Fine rare proof, first State.	
126. The Velvet Dress	W.91
127. The Miser	W.65
128. The Music-Room	W.26
First State	
129. Lord Wolseley	W.138
Touched with water colour, second State.	
130. The Kitchen	W.19

131.A Sketch on the Embankment	W.211
132.Sketch of Ships	W.127
133.The Piano	W.117
First proof, without butterfly.	
134.The Kitchen	W.19
135.Sketch in St. James's Park	W.207
136.Fruit Shop	W.210
137.The Piano	W.117
138.Model Resting	W.87
First State, without monogram.	
139.The Little Wheelwrights	Undescribed
140.The Menpes Children	W.212
141.The Boy	W.109
First State, unique.	
142.Model Resting	W.87
143.The Boy	W.109
Second State.	
144.Model Resting	W.87
Third State.	
145.Old Clothes Shop	W.209
146.Fishing Boats, Hastings	W.131
Washed with Indian ink. Butterfly re-drawn in dry point.	
147.The Boy	W.109
148.Under Old Battersea Bridge	W APP 280
With boat in Charcoal, first State.	
149.The White Tower	W.128
150.Little Court	W.173
151.Temple Bar	W.133
Trial proof.	
152.Under Old Battersea Bridge	W APP 280
Second State.	
153.On the Scheldt	Undescribed
154.Amsterdam, Etched from the Tolthuis	W.82
Early State.	
155.Temple Bar	W.133
Trial proof.	

156. Under Old Battersea Bridge Third State.	W APP 280
157. Temple Bar	W.133
158. Under Old Battersea Bridge Fourth State.	W APP 280
159. A Sketch at Dieppe	W.202
160. Greenwich Park First State.	W.33
161. The Troubled Thames First State.	W.129
162. Tillie - A Model First State. Very rare, with upright butterfly.	W.102
163. A Sketch from Billingsgate First State, without figure.	W.130
164. The Troubled Thames Second State.	W.129
165. Tillie - A Model Second State.	W.102
166. A Sketch from Billingsgate Second State, without monogram, but with figures.	W.130
167. The Large Pool Before the monogram.	W.143
168. Tillie - A Model Elaborately touched in water-colour.	W.102
169. Seated Girl Second State, head re-drawn.	W.103
170. A Sketch from Billingsgate Second State.	W.130
171. The Large Pool First State, unique impression, described by Wedmore.	W.143
172. Seated Girl First State, unique impression, described by Wedmore.	W.103
173. Speke Shore	W.119
174. The Seamstress	W.206
175. Rotherhithe Rare State, with boat.	W.60

176. The Little Smithfield	W.78
177. Two Slight Dry Points on One Plate	Undescribed
178. Street at Saverne	W.11
179. Whistler, with the White Lock	W.142
180. Two Sketches	W.108
Touched in water colour, pencil butterfly within plate mark.	
181. August Delatre	W.21
182. Fosco	W.90
Singed, "Whistler".	
183. Fragment of Piccadilly	W.108
184. The Dam Wood	W.120
Rare first proof.	
185. Shipping, Liverpool	W.84
186. Little Maunders	W APP 299
187. La Vielle au Loques	W.14
188. The Wood	Undescribed
Signed "J. M. Whistler" and "Seymour Haden," done in collaboration.	

### Lithographs

The letters T.R.W. after the titles refer to Mr. Way's "Catalogue of Lithographs by J. M. Whistler"

189. Early Morning	T.R.W. 7
190. Study	T.R.W.2
On Japanese paper.	
191. The Tall Bridge	T.R.W.9
First State, on Japanese paper mounted, rare.	
192. Nocturne	T.R.W.5
193. Early Morning	T.R.W.7
First State.	
194. Study	T.R.W.2
195. The Tall Birdge	T.R.W.9
Second State.	

196. Nocturne	T.R.W.5
On toned paper.	
197. Early Morning	T.R.W.5
First State, on toned paper.	
198. Study	T.R.W.1
199. Study	T.R.W.15
Only a few printed.	
200. The Broad Bridge	T.R.W.8
On Japanese paper mounted. Before publication.	
201. The Toilet	T.R.W.6
Toned paper, rare.	
202. Study	T.R.W.3
On Japanese paper.	
203. Limehouse	T.R.W.4
204. The Toilet	T.R.W.6
On white paper, before publication.	
205. Study	T.R.W.3
206. The Broad Bridge	T.R.W.8
207. Two Sketches	Undescribed

### In the Folio

208. "Tyzac Whiteley & Co."	W.32
First State.	
209. Wash Drawing of St. Paul's	
Study for an etched plate.	
210. Millbank	W.67
First State.	
211. Annie	W.15
First State.	
212. Vauxhall Bridge	W.66
First State.	
213. Chelsea Bridge and Church	W.85
214. Vauxhall Bridge	W.66



Trial proof before the date.	
215.The Storm	W.77
216.The Tiny Pool	W.76
Third State.	
217.The Title to the French Set	W.20
218.The Little Wapping	W.17
219.Soupe à Trois Sous	W.27
220.Putney, No.3	W.226
221.Battersea Bridge	W.141
Trial rub, with butterfly in pencil.	
222.The Rag Gatherers	W.17
Second State.	
223.La Mère Gerard	W.9
First State.	
224.Thames Police	W.42
225.Venus	W.56
226.The Dog on the Kennel	W.8
227.Marchande de Moutarde	W.16
228.Fumette	W.18
First State.	
229.The Pool	W.41
First State.	
230.Little Arthur	W.13
Second State.	
231.The Limeburner	W.44
232.Rotherhithe	W.60
233.Westminster Bridge	W.36
234.Thames Warehouses	W.35
235.A Little Boy	W.22
235A. Encamping	W.75
236.La Rétameuse	W.5
First State.	
237.Seymour	W.23
First State.	
238.En Plein Soleil	W.6
239.Liverdun	W.4

First State.	
240. Bibi Valentin	W.28
First State.	
241. The Little Pool	W.72
First State.	
242. The Landscape with the Horse	W.46
Rare First State.	
243. The Landscape with the Horse	W.46
Second State.	
244. Nursemaid and Child	W.34
First State.	
244A. Nursemaid and Child	W.34
Second State.	
245. Greenwich Park	W.33
Second State, with sky.	
246. Alderney Street	W.196
247. Billingsgate	W.45
First State.	
248. Limehouse	W.37
First State.	
249. Becquet	W.48
Early State.	
250. Annie, Seated	W.24
First State.	
251. Annie, Seated	W.24
Second State.	
252. Fruit Shop	W.210
253. Reading in Bed	W.29
First State.	
254. Longshoremen	W.43
255. The Tiny Pool	W.73
First State, without butterfly.	
256. The Tiny Pool	W.73
Second State.	
257. Cadogan Pier	W.79
258. Reading by Lamplight	W.25

259. Old Hungerford Bridge	W.80
Proof before steel facing.	
260. Old Hungerford Bridge	W.80
Proof before steel facing.	
261. Bibi Lalquette	W.30
First State.	
262. Reading in Bed	W.29
263. The Rag Gatherers	W.17
First State.	
264. The Wine Glass	W.31
265. A Series of Pencil Drawings	

## Appendix G

### List of works by Mortimer Menpes in Yokohama Museum of Art

1. *Osaka: On the Great Canal*, 90-PRF-017, c.1898-1914, etching, paper, 30.3×23.9 cm.
2. *Osaka*, 90-PRF-018, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 18.8×24.8.
3. *Nagasaki: Junks in the Harbour*, 90-PRF-019, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.0×30.0 cm.
4. *Up Stream from Nagasaki Harbour*, 90-PRF-020, c.1898—1914, etching, paper 17.4×32.7 cm.
5. *Nagasaki: Beyond the Harbour*, 90-PRF-021, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 22.9×30.4 cm.
6. *Nagasaki: Under the Bridge*, 90-PRF-022, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 10.2×30.3 cm.
7. *Kyoto: Bamboo Bridge*, 90-PRF-023, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.0×29.8 cm.
8. *Watching the Play, Kyoto*, 90-PRF-024, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 21.1×29.5 cm.
9. *Workshop in Kyoto*, 90-PRF-025, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 30.3×20.0 cm.
10. *Workshop in Kyoto*, 90-PRF-026, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 22.5×17.4 cm.
11. *Under the Bridge*, 90-PRF-027, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.3×20.3 cm.
12. *Tranquil Waterway*, 90-PRF-028, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.0×25.0 cm.
13. *Desolated Teahouse*, 90-PRF-029, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.0×20.0 cm.
14. *An Iris Garden, Tokio*, 90-PRF-030, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 25.0×20.1 cm
15. *End of Festival*, 90-PRF-031, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 14.8×35.2 cm.

16. *Blossom*, 90-PRF-032, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.0×15.1
17. *By the Light of Lantern*, 90-PRF-033, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 13.8×13.2 cm.
18. *Reflections*, 90-PRF-034, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.0×13.5 cm.
19. *The Venice of Japan*, 90-PRF-035, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 10.2×30.1 cm.
20. *Sunshine and Shadow*, 90-PRF-036, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.3×15.0 cm.
21. *Cloisoné Workers*, 90-PRF-037, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.5×17.5 cm.
22. *Potter*, 90-PRF-038, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 16.8×15.0 cm.
23. *By the Light of Lantern*, 90-PRF-039, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 24.0×19.0 cm.
24. *Young Japan*, 90-PRF-040, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.1×13.2 cm.
25. *Young Girl*, 90-PRF-041, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.0×10.0 cm.
26. *Family Meal*, 90-PRF-042, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 33.8×25.6 cm.
27. *Carpenter*, 90-PRF-043, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 27.0×20.5 cm.
28. *Chums*, 90-PRF-044, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 13.3×15.0 cm.
29. *Picnicking*, 90-PRF-045, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.2×20.2 cm.
30. *Cloisoné Worker*, 90-PRF-046, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.0×13.6 cm.
31. *Geisha*, 90-PRF-047, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 16.8×14.9 cm.
32. *Bronze Workers*, 90-PRF-048, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.0×20.2 cm.
33. *Bronze Workers*, 90-PRF-049, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 16.8×15.0 cm.
34. *Young Bronze Workers*, 90-PRF-050, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 20.2×20.0 cm.
35. *Metal Worker*, 90-PRF-051, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 14.9×13.4 cm.
36. *Baby*, 90-PRF-052, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.0×13.3 cm.
37. *Gardener*, 90-PRF-053, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 15.0×9.9 cm.
38. *Stall by the Temple*, 90-PRF-054, c.1898—1914, etching, paper 13.7×17.6 cm.

39. *Entrance to the Theatre*, 90-PRF-055, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 23.0×17.9 cm.
40. *Bronze Workers*, 90-PRF-056, c.1898—1914, etching, paper, 14.7×16.7 cm.
41. *Osaka: A Bridge*, 90-PRF-057, 1914, etching, paper, 13.8×17.5 cm.
42. *Osaka: Landing Stage on River*, 90-PRF-058, 1914, etching, paper, 13.1×13.7 cm.
43. *Osaka: Dye Workers*, 90-PRF-059, 1914, etching, paper, 13.7×13.2 cm.
44. *Nagasaki: Landing Stage*, 90-PRF-060, 1914, etching, paper, 13.2×13.7 cm.
45. *Geisha of Kyoto*, 90-PRF-061, 1914, etching, paper, 13.6×13.0 cm.
46. *Leading to the Temple*, 90-PRF-062, 1914, etching, paper, 13.5×17.3 cm.
47. *Actors*, 90-PRF-063, 1914, etching, paper, 13.7×13.2 cm.
48. *Blind Beggar*, 90-PRF-064, 1914, etching, paper, 17.5×13.8 cm.
49. *Bronze Workers*, 90-PRF-065, 1914, etching, paper, 13.7×17.3 cm.

## Appendix H

### *Japan*

Lectured by E.A. Hornel, delivered in the Corporation Art Galleries, Glasgow, February 9, 1895.

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It is a difficult, indeed an impossible, task to present to you anything like an accurate or conclusive opinion of Japan, where every phase of life forms a subject sufficient in itself. Specially so it is to me, whose stay there was a comparatively short one, and whose opportunities for getting that insight into Japan and its people, which lies beneath the surface, were necessarily limited. Short as this visit would appear to most people, it errs, however, according to the late Mr Palgrave, on the other side. He said 'that an eight weeks' residence was the exact time qualifying an intelligent man to write about Japan; a briefer period (such was his ruling) was sure to produce superficiality; while a longer period induced a wrong mental focus. (Mr Palgrave had just been eight weeks in Japan.) Ibis is absurd, and only equalled by the general want of knowledge of the simplest things Japanese prevalent at home, for,

'It isn't easy

For one who's never been to far Japan,  
To know a kakimono from a gaily flowered kimono,  
Or know a sayonara from an ichiban.'

Books without number have been given us, in their conclusions widely differing from each other; their study more than ever leaving us in doubt and uncertainty as to the real Japan. This, no doubt, is to be accounted for by the fact that foreigners have only as yet seen Japan in a state of change and unrest.

Feudalism, with the Shoguns at its head, although tottering to its fall, still obtained when first Japan was opened to the world. This

form of Government would not appeal strongly to the sympathies of the European, or the democratic American; neither would it be quite understood by them, while the new civilisation forced upon the nation, and which now prevails, is too recent, and too much affected by the people to allow of a clear estimate being formed of the Japanese. Commodore Perry's visit, and 'the moral grandeur of his peaceful triumph', followed by the revolution of 1868, swept away for ever the old Japan with its poetry and romance, investing the country with a popular government and the habits and practices of Birmingham. The present war with China has done, and will do more, to unveil for us the real Japan, than anything that has been, or is likely to be written, unless it be the history of the war itself. We realise now that it is not only a paradise of babies and pretty girls, a land of cherry blossom and seductive tea house life, but the home of a brave and warlike nation. The conclusion of the war, and the revision of the treaties with Europe and America, will no doubt develop a new era in Japanese history, fraught with as much importance, and with perhaps more significance, than the anchoring in its waters of Perry's warships.

It is disagreeable, indeed almost impossible for me, to associate the Japanese with politics and their consequences, and in this paper I do not mean to do so. Rather do I associate and love to remember them, as a large and happy family, clattering along in the sunshine with smiling faces and no thought of the morrow, to spend the day, mid plum or cherry blossom, or at night joyous and elevated with saki, amusing themselves with pretty geishas, dancing to the weird music of the samisen.

Sir Edwin Arnold, in an after-dinner speech in Japan, said - 'The country was the nearest earthly approach to Paradise or Lotusland - so fairylike is its scenery, so exquisite its art, so much more lovely still that almost divine sweetness of disposition, that charm of demeanour, that politeness, humble without servility and elaborate without affectation, which place Japan high above all other countries in almost all those things which make life worth living.' This I do not quite agree with, but it is the song of a poet, and may be excused on the ground of poetic license. Nor yet do I agree with the remarks of



an old English merchant who has traded among them for over 30 years, that 'Whenever you come across a people short in stature, sallow in complexion, black-haired and with a slight obliquity of vision, you find a race of thieves and blackguards.' This is also an exaggeration, for undoubtedly they are a happy people, polite and courteous to a fault, bright, intelligent, and of an artistic temperament. But they have their faults.

The traveller is fortunate who arrives with the opening spring, for then he will receive an impression of Japanese life alike charming and surprising. Scarcely has the cold and cheerless winter ended, (and the little creatures take very unkindly to it) or the last snow completely melted away, ere the plum bursts forth, the sombre quilted kimonos are thrown aside, the lighter and more gaily coloured costumes of spring substituted, and nature - worship reigns supreme.

This reverence for everything in nature, finds its truest expression in their passion for flowers, especially those of the cherry, and gives us an insight into their true character. The poet Motoori writes: - 'If one enquires of you concerning the spirit of a true Japanese, point to the wild cherry shining in the sun.'

Nature to them is symbolism itself, and associated with traditions handed down from remote periods. Flower follows flower - the whole earth rejoicing in a profusion of bloom - the cherry 'first among flowers as the warrior is first among men;' the Wisteria, Iris, and Lotus, following each other in rapid succession, till the season is crowned at length with the regal and imperial chrysanthemum. Certain localities are famous for their particular flowers, and then the entire population congregate in their gay attire to hold their national holidays, festivals held and carried through with a spirit and enjoyment to be met with in no other country. This symbolism and its traditions finds its highest expression perhaps, in the arrangements of flowers in their homes. It is not the haphazard jumbling together of leaves and blossoms so characteristic of this country, which, in effect, is vulgar and commonplace; but an Art expression requiring many years of careful study. A few flowers, one or two twigs quaintly put together in a beautiful vase, and these tiny

parts of nature express a thought, a story, or a tradition. But what an effect! It is a veritable Kakimono, and whether you understand its meaning or not, you instinctively feel its charm; you know it is right, and admire their perfect taste. This is as characteristic of the Japanese to - day, as it was a century ago, and I trust will ever remain so, that its influence will extend and modify to a considerable degree, the vulgarity and bad taste displayed in that direction by ourselves.

Ueno Park is perhaps the most popular resort of this kind in the capital, and the scene which presents itself there during the time of the cherry blossom, is of a most unusual character. Originally the home of the Shogun, and the prison house of the Imperial Prince, who was held by the Shogun as a pledge of the good behaviour of the Mikado, the heaven descended, absolute and infallible, and the head and fountain of all power, it still as in days gone by, receives that care and protection befitting its original purpose.

Distances are great in the capital, and the jinricksha indispensable. These little carriages, of recent importation, and drawn by coolies, are most comfortable, and cover the ground at a remarkable pace. Taking one of these to go to Ueno Park, you pass through most of the principal thoroughfares of Tokio, all of them more or less *fac similes* of each other, and therefore monotonous, a feature to be found, unfortunately, in all Japanese towns; low shed - like houses of dingy colour, mostly black, and of an order of architecture not requiring much ingenuity or worry of mind to execute. These, jammed together anyway, in fearful disorder, merely leaving a passage way, miscalled a street, characterize most of the thoroughfares of Tokio, serving merely as a background to the colour in the shop windows, and the gay costumes of the busy crowds in the streets. Perhaps the most interesting streets are those in which silk - merchants most do congregate, with their brilliant display of silk kimonos and rich brocades.

As you approach the park the crowd gets denser, and amid the yells and shouts of ricksha drivers, and the varying dries of vendors of all sorts of toys and nicknacks, balloons, kites, dragons, &c., you dismiss your hire and ascending a long flight of steps enter the park.

One is not pestered in Japan, as in most Oriental countries, notably Egypt, by the importunities of guides and the incessant demand wherever you go, for baksheesh, from the hellish legion of beggars which sally forth from all conceivable corners with all sorts and conditions of disease. Guides in Japan are gentlemen, and are regulated by a guild. The beggars gather themselves together mostly at the temples, finding it most profitable perhaps, to work on the sentimental feelings of the righteous. The principal nuisance one has to put up with, is the burning desire of the ricksha man to get hold of a European to victimise and drive him around. They will follow you in crowds through the street utterly regardless of time and your repeated assurances that you prefer to walk. Jostling each other good naturedly to get near you, each in turn will assure you that he alone is fit to conduct the Honourable Gentleman about, and almost persuade you that unless you engage him, the whole ceremonial etiquette of Japan will be trampled upon. Experience, however, soon teaches you many things, and you soon distinguish this class as men determined to make as much as possible out of the 'red-headed barbarian', as all Europeans are called, and that you have got to watch them. By offering a mere trifle, and insisting upon it, you ultimately get rid of the crowd, and get a decent fellow, whom you will find most obliging, but at a figure 100 per cent higher than that paid by a Jap. One word more on this subject, and then back to the park. These ricksha men are a hardy set of fellows, running about 5 miles an hour, well paid at 1s 6d a day, and when you come to know them and, their little ways, most obliging and polite. Perhaps you insist upon having, and get, a first - class runner; very well - your peace of mind is for ever destroyed. and you take your life in your hands. You set out; directly your fine athlete spies a rival runner from - another district, you feel the speed increasing; the ordinary throng fall aside to make way, or stand still to look on; you are reminded of 'Horace Greely's Ride to Placerville,' and gradually the fact forces itself upon you that only two machines are practically running, and that a race is being run. The reputation of each man is at stake, and your own life in jeopardy. Closer and closer they get;

the perspiration coursing down their semi-nude bodies, till they get neck and neck. You protest and expostulate with your man, to no purpose. At last one begins to get exhausted, there is a final spurt, in an instant the wheels of both machines get locked, and you find yourself rolling in the dust. My friend Henry cultivated the acquaintance and employed the services of a man of this sort, a splendid runner, and I have witnessed over and over again a scene which might have caused a vacancy in the Associateship of the Royal Scottish Academy, and deprived Glasgow of one of its most notable painters. I generally started in Henry's company, but was soon left to enjoy the drive alone.

To return to Ueno Park, a spot which witnessed one of those conflicts which went far to complete the revolution of 1868, and to destroy for ever the old Japan, we become part of a scene impossible of description, where the ludicrous becomes mingled with the emotional in a manner unexpected and surprising. Through groves of cherry, whose blossoms float, as it were, as pink clouds against the blue sky, or of stately cryptomeria, in whose shade nestle temples, brilliant in purple, green, and gold; at one time in the midst of parties squatted on the ground, with upturned gaze inditing poems to the cherry, fastening with reverence their scrolls to the boughs; roystering tea house companies; dancing girls quaintly posturing to weird music, and young men masquerading in grotesque costumes; at another becoming part of a company issuing from the temple, eminently righteous and respectable for the time being - a babel of voices, the whole air filled with strange sounds - the shrill Irashi ('come in') of the tea - house girls, the whirr of the switchback railway, the falsetto of open - air acting, and the clang of the wooden shoon - while through all come, in low and irritating monotonous, the chant of the priests and the responses of the devoteés. It is bewildering to a stranger this flower worship and its accompanying gaiety; but to the Jap, looked forward to as a period of pleasure and abandon.

This park, at one time the Yedo residence of the Shoguns, who built here temples to outshine all others in the country, the seat of power and administration of all Japan, is now the playground of the populace, and centre of amusement. The principal temples were

burnt down during the battle I have already mentioned, but there still remain evidences of their former splendour. At every turn you get glimpses of richly-carved dragons, lions, birds, and foliage, intermingled with the three Asamu leaves - the crest of the Tokogawa family. It is impossible to describe these temples, which, with those at Nikko, are certainly the finest things in Japan, with their massive roofs, beautiful colour, and interior decorations. There is a saying in Japan that you cannot use the term 'beautiful' until you have been to Nikko. Certainly one has no idea of a certain phase of the beautiful until he has been there. The temples are magnificent - not absolutely perfect - because the builders, fearful of offending Budha by making them so, reversed the ornament on one of the pillars of the principal door, and thereby left them magnificent specimens of their art, but incomplete and subservient to their God.

The day at Ueno is generally finished up by going to the neighbouring grounds of Asakusa, near by, and the scene there is well described in Murray's 'Guide to Japan,' from which I take the following: - 'On no account should a visit to this popular temple and the grounds surrounding it be omitted, for it is the great holiday resort of the middle and lower classes, and nothing is more striking than the juxtaposition of piety and pleasure, of gorgeous altars and grotesque ex-votos, of pretty costumes and dingy idols, the clatter of the clogs, cocks and hens and pigeons strutting about among the worshippers, children playing, soldiers smoking, believers chaffering with dealers of charms, ancient art, modern advertisements - in fine, a spectacle than Which, surely, nothing more motley was ever witnessed within a religious edifice. the grounds of Asakusa are the quaintest and liveliest place in Tokio. Here are raree shows, penny gaffs, performing monkeys, cheap photographers, street artists, jugglers, wrestlers, life size figures in clay, vendors of toys and lolly-pops of every sort, and circulating amidst all these cheap attractions, a seething crowd of busy holidaymakers.

I cannot attempt for a moment to detail such a scene; and the above description is enough to show you what life is in these places. Besides these holidays in the park, there are other festivals going on in various parts of, the city, but they are purely local. The streets and

houses in the locality are beautifully decorated on such occasions, and the inhabitants, especially the young, give themselves over to enjoyment. I must not omit to mention two gala-days held with great ceremony - the girls' holiday, when the little Mousmés dress in their best clothes and go visiting their friends, carrying presents with them; and the boys' holiday, when, in proportion to the number of boys in the family, paper fish, made hollow so as to fill and wriggle with the wind, are fastened to a bamboo rod and attached to the roof of the house. In such ways, then, do the Japanese enjoy themselves. They vary this, however, with tea-house entertainments and going to the theatre. The tea-house and dancing girl are almost inseparable, and amidst such elements do large numbers find their amusements. Although these abound in plenty all over Tokio, Shimbashi is the favourite quarter, having the finest tea-houses and prettiest girls. The wealthy and upper classes do not patronise such places; but if you should have the honour and privilege of an invitation to their homes, the finest dancing girls will be summoned, and, on a stage temporarily arranged for them, cater for your amusement, and relieve the tedium of the dinner. This over, you stroll through the garden, where miniature lakes and waterfalls with quaint bridges, tiny landscapes with dwarf pines and shrubs relieved with stone lanterns, take you into fairyland; and then with a display of fireworks, with their million stars reflected in the little ponds around, you return to the house perfectly enchanted.

Not so staid and conventional, however, is the life of the tea-house, where, in spite of the ceremonies and etiquette observable, you have an abandon more to the taste of the European. A good tea-house is one of the most charming of places, where good nature and hospitality abound. When you drive up and alight you are received at the entrance by the *Okami San*, (the mistress of the house) and a bevy of little maids in cotton gowns, who, with the cheery salutation of '*Komban Wa*' (good evening), and many most polite bows and attentions, invite you to enter. They take off your shoes, and usher you to a beautiful room, quietly decorated, with here and there a *kakemono* on the wall, or a grotesque flowering shrub placed in a cunning recess. The room is spotlessly clean, carpeted with finely

woven mats, upon which you are invited to squat (a very painful operation, I can assure you, if it lasts long). And the maids, after seeing you comfortably settled, with many excuses retire, returning in a few moments with little wooden boxes containing burning charcoal and a bamboo spittoon. Then you settle down for a smoke. Wise in your day and generation, you bring your own pipe and tobacco with you, as their smoking arrangements, in common with the food, are unsatisfactory, and later on you may possibly wish that etiquette had allowed the interposition of a *pièce de résistance* in the shape of a good old English beefsteak. Soon the supper is brought in, and each guest has placed before him a lacquered tray, upon which is set some five or six dishes - soup, fish, 'a purée of chestnuts, a *palmi* of some small bird or wild fowl, a few boiled lily roots, and a mess of stewed sea weeds.' These dishes of mysterious origin and composition, are to the eye of sense inviting, but to the palate peculiar and embarrassing, more particularly as you require to develop them with the aid of chop sticks. Having broached the preliminary mysteries of the dishes, you are the more content to leave to more adventurous epicureans and speculative 'club-sayers' the fuller resolution of the bill of fare. Now, once you have started, the mistress of the house, knowing you cannot live by bread alone, enquires which particular *Geishas* you wish called in. Not wishing to show your ignorance in such matters, you take the precaution to ascertain on your own account before you go, the names of the best reputed dancers, and air your acquaintance with those names, with the carelessness of your Man about Town. The honourable lady of the house, certain she has got a critical company to cater for, retires, and a messenger is sent off to the *Geisha* Quarter, where none but this class reside, and which is composed of streets of dainty doll-houses with large paper-lanterns suspended over the doorways bearing the names of the favourites who dwell therein. Anon, by the patter of tiny feet upon the stairs, you become aware of the arrival of your favourites, then appear before you 'Miss Pine,' 'Miss Butterfly,' and other as quaint and beautiful ephemera, fall upon their hands and knees, and bowing their heads to the ground, pay you all manner of undeserved compliments, and offer apologies for their own shortcomings, as

uncalled for as they are comical and absurd and ridiculous. According to Norman it is something after this style:-

‘I beg your pardon for my rudeness on the last occasion.’

‘How can you say such a thing? when it was I who failed to show due courtesy.’

‘Far from it, I received a lesson in good manners from you. How can you condescend to come to such a poor house as this?’

‘How can you indeed be so kind as to receive such an unimportant person as myself under your distinguished roof?’

If you are not quite done with your repast they will assist you, and with many little antics, jokes and tricks, fun and laughter, help to make you enjoy yourself. Dancing girls are generally accompanied by elderly *Geishas*, whose dancing days are over, who act as chaperones, (strange vocation surely in the Land of Sunrise!), and supply the gist of the music; but what *music!* ‘Tis simply execrable, and with the instrumental accompaniment superadded, perfectly maddening. Judging by the screwed up face and the tears oozing from the closed eyelids when taking an extra high note, it would appear to be a very painful ordeal. A writer says: - ‘Be the scale what it may, the effect of Japanese music is not to soothe but to exasperate beyond endurance the European breast. Its only time is common time. Harmony it has none.’ It knows nothing of our distinction of modes, and therefore, as a writer on the subject has pointed out, ‘it lacks alike the vigour and majesty of the major mode, the plaintive tenderness of the minor, and the marvellous effects of light and shade, which arise from the alternation of the two.’ Different, however, is their dancing, entailing many years of training, and which, with the exception of one or two merry and grotesquely laughable dances, is sedate and beautiful. Artistically considered, it is essentially made up of quaint posturing, dignified and refined movements, with delicate and artistic and pretty manipulations of the fan. Far removed from the violent, rapid motion, and intoxicating swirl of the skirt dance or Ta-ra-ra-boom-dey-ay, doubtless beautiful in themselves. The whole evening’s entertainment is in strange contrast to the festive scene so felicitously described by Thackeray in his ‘Siege of Limerick’ -



It would benefit your souls to see the buthered rowles,

The shugar-tongs and sandwiches, and the crame galore,  
And the muffins and the crumpets, and the sounds of harps  
and trumpets,  
To celebrate the soiree upon the Shannon shore.

Second- rate dancing, as with us, when redeemed by good looks and seductive winning ways, is as popular and catching with the Japs, and a lady artiste so circumstanced, commands for a while a monopoly of the most lucrative engagements. Lucky indeed are you, if you can tall her but for one brief hour, the giddy thing will dance but a short measure even then, and you sigh as she goes. Doubtless very annoying it is, and unquestionably costly, and you swear you will never do it again, but alas! vain are your resolves; you forget that you are human, and the bewitching enchantress has more of your hand-earned dollars ere the week closes. Twelve at midnight is the regulation hour for closing 'tea-houses', but this enactment is not rigidly adhered to. As the hour approaches, preparation is made for going, and with many an *Arigato* (thank you) and *Sayonara* (good-bye) the company vanish. I will not trouble you with the theatre, which goes in early in the morning, and continues without a break till six or seven in the evening, a description of which would doubtless prove as dry and tedious as the performance itself. Rather let me say a few words anent the home-life of Japan, and my own experience connected with it.

A Japanese house is a marvel of construction and cleanliness, and I take the liberty of quoting Henry Norman's inimitable description of one, viz.: - 'But how to describe a Japanese house, where nothing is like anything corresponding to it at home? The address "*Kojimachiku, Ichibancho Sijuniban*," does not throw much light on it. From the outside it is an uninviting big black barn; inside it is a spotless dolls' house magnified a thousand diameters, all wood and wicker and white paper. The entrance-hall is a platform raised a couple of feet above the ground, where you take off your boots if you are a foreigner, or leave your sandals if you are Japanese. A screen-

door slides back, and you are in - but that depends upon circumstances. Something you are in one room, and sometimes another. It may be a general sitting-room, 50 feet square; it may be a bedroom (if you call in early morning); or you may find yourself in an improvised sanctum, and intruding upon somebody writing laboured descriptions for a far-away public. For here walls have not only ears, they have also legs, and when you wish to make a new room, you simply "from square" by sliding enough panels in their grooves to enclose the space, or at your pleasure all the rooms can be thrown into one, enclosed in our case by forty-six panels. Those forming the sides of the house consist each of sixty little paper panes. To wet one's finger, stick it silently into the window and peep through, is thus the natural Japanese counterpart of occidental surreptitious inspection by the keyhole. The floor is of mats, not mats strewed about as at home, but solid structures of delicate stuffed worker and inch thick, of conventional and regular size let into the floor - elastic, spotless, immovable, never profaned by even the daintiest of slippers. Chairs and tables are of course unknown, and the posture of repose is to seat one's self on one's heels. This squatting, by the way, is very painful at first, and like the 'blameless dancers' in Ruddigore, 'takes a deal of training.' At meanwhile you squat anywhere, and your food is placed before you. When you are tired you throw yourself anywhere on the floor, with no fear of spoiling your white linen suit. When evening comes you do not seek your bedchamber, you simply make it, by sliding the walls round the spot you have chosen for your slumbers.'

This gives you a perfect idea of the interior of a Japanese house, but the difficulty is in getting as true a picture of the life domestic there. As I have already stated, the real Japan has never yet been put before us, and in no particular does this remark so forcibly apply, as in the case of the home-life of the people. In France they have no word expressive of home, in Scotland we pride ourselves on our homeliness. In Japan we see ourselves equalled in this respect, and if a deeper insight could be got into the lives of the people, we might find ourselves surpassed. Their amusements taking place principally in the daytime, the evening are free for the enjoyment of fuller home

life. 'The greater learning for women', not to be rendered more freely, 'the whole duty of women', laid down by the celebrated moralist *Kaibara*, concerning the relation between the sexes is still observed, and the husband as Lord reigns supreme. The new civilisation has so far not introduced the New Woman, and peace still abounds. Foolish in many things, wise in few, in adopting Western ideas as regards worldly things they have still kept intact that dictum of Saint Paul, 'Wives, be ye obedient to your husband', and nowhere is the Fifth Commandment so perfectly obeyed; for filial obedience is shown by the people themselves, and here so many others with greater opportunities have failed, throw more light upon this complex question, made more so as it is by the strong anti - foreign feeling prevalent in the country. Act of Parliament has encouraged and strengthened this, by setting apart a certain district outside of which no foreigner is supposed to reside. You can only do so by becoming a servant of the Government, or being in the nominal employment of a 'Jap'. With that aberration of mind so characteristic of the Art Club, Mr Henry and I, losing sight of the dignity and reputation of the Glasgow School, humbled ourselves and became servants to an alien Barbarian, a house - agent, for whom we were supposed to furnish plans of 'houses to let', and took a house outside the 'concession'.

Happy in the present, though ignorant of the future, we settled down to home - life. With a bevy of servants, and, as far as practicable, living a life Japanese, as the weeks rolled on I was inclined to believe in the gushing remarks of Sir Edwin Arnold - that this, indeed, was Lotus - land, where home was forgotten and the Art Club seemed a dream. But every dream has its awakening, and the month's end brought ours. The cook, with much politeness and many apologies, presented his bill of costs, which, if written in Japanese, would in extent have made an artistic frieze for the Club dining-room, and served at the same time as an awful warning to the members. Then did Arnold vanish, and the truth of the old traders remarks assert itself, that I was in very deed in the land of 'thieves and blackguards'. This, indeed, is the great trouble in Japan - the getting of trustworthy servants. They are in league with each other, and although first - class in their calling, cheat and rogue you at every

turn. They are persistent though artistic liars, and I regret to say that this element extends to the merchant classes, many of whom are not to be trusted in business, as every European merchant will inform you, and are unfavourably compared with the Chinese, who, though perhaps not fighting men, are, at least, honourable in their dealings.

This laxity and demoralisation of true business principles being foreign to the highest ideals of the Feudal Jap of old time, would seem to be an extraneous importation from the Empire of the West, whose principles the Japanese read as 'get money - honestly if you can - but get it'. This is without doubt one of the greatest thorns in the side of a European in taking up house, his life being pestered by expenses for things he never saw, and charges for food he never consumed. Judging from the component items of the culinary account, as presented by our great *chef*, our larder might have done credit to any of our own county families, and also have given rise to an impression that Art must needs be a lucrative profession. This, unfortunately, was considerably aggravated by the evident disfavour with which we were regarded by our neighbours, which found expression in a series of newspaper articles, calling upon the populace to extrude us by tuck of drum, and to wreak vengeance upon men who made their houses gambling dens, and to which they lured needy dancing girls to their doom. Modesty forbids me enumerating the sad catalogue of the sins laid to our account, but those I have above indicated were the mildest and least offensive. This attempt of ours to penetrate into, and to participate in, the home life of the country, lasted for a comparatively brief period, and was not crowned with that success which we anticipated. On consulting an advocate as to whether we ought to prosecute, and on learning from him that a special editor was kept in stock, whose duty consisted of holding himself in readiness to go to jail when required, we decided that 'mixed residence' was a failure, and accordingly retired within the limits of 'the concession', where every second man you encounter is a missionary, and your rest is chronically broken in upon by the uncongenial clang of the church bells, whose notes are as unmelodious and distressing, as the music (so called) of the Japanese.

Another institution peculiar to the country is the Japanese bath, daily patronised by all classes of the community. Mock modesty is an unknown quantity in Japan, but of that let us not speak, but look and pass! The actual bath itself, at first painful and a trying shock upon the nervous system, consists in immersing yourself in water nearly boiling, and sitting there, the perspiration oozing from every pore, until you are parboiled.

The question might naturally be asked an artist who had visited Japan, 'What went ye out for to see?' and the appropriate answer might be given, 'A reed shaken by the wind'; for to those acquainted even slightly with Japanese art the words express the spirit and *motif* of its dainty achievements. Japanese art, rivalling in splendour the greatest art in Europe, the influence of which is now fortunately being felt in all the new movements in Europe, engenders in the artist the desire to see and study the environment out of which this great art sprung, to become personally in touch with the people, to live their life, and discover the source of their inspiration. But anticipation and imagination will have played him false, for in nothing has the opening up of Japan played such severe havoc, as in their art, and the conditions necessary for its production. In 1849, after a long and brilliant career of 89 years, Hokusai died, the head of the artisan artists, a school to which the world is indebted for an art expression of inestimable value. Four years later arrived Commodore Perry, 'the mere threat of whose cannon shivered the old civilisation of Japan into fragments. Japanese art perished. Kyosai, who survived till 1887, was its last genuine representative in an uncongenial age. His favourite subjects had a certain appropriateness - they were ghosts and skeletons.' Yes, Art perished under the new civilisation, got divorced from industry, and relegated to a corner by itself, giving place to a consideration of social problems similar to the purification of the Clyde and the administration of a Glasgow Police Act. So much for modern-progress, so much vaunted now-a-days. A curious spectacle indeed, a people scratching their heads to find words to express *Art* and *Nature*, terms unknown and unnecessary before when both elements entered so deeply into, and formed part of the lives and industries of all classes. The adapting of

their lives to this new condition of things is working havoc all over, stifling meanwhile with deadly grip the art instincts of the people, forcing from the workshops of the craftsmen shoddy and 'scamped work', instead of those beautiful articles which have been appreciated the world over. Fine Japanese work is daily becoming more difficult to find and very expensive to purchase. A sad page, indeed, in the history of any country when search for fine things has to be made in second-hand and in pawnbrokers' shops. Machinery has been adopted, and the finer feelings of the Jap have got entangled. I saw an exhibition of pictures by native artists working on the old methods, and came away much disappointed. The exhibits were interesting, but lacking spirit and originality. The designs and motifs, though almost always good, were not their own, and their colour - harmonious and dainty - lacked the purity and brilliancy of the masters. Theodore Wores, an American painter, tells of an interview he had while in Japan with a well-known artist of Kioto named Hiaku Nen (literally Mr One-hundred-years). "The old man seemed to think that art had of late sadly declined in Japan. He was of opinion that too many of the young men were striving merely to acquire "the brushstroke" facility of their great predecessors, losing sight in the meanwhile of the spirit of their work. They did not seem to realise that these brush-strokes were but the means of expressing great ideas. The insult is', he added, sadly, 'clever brush-strokes, and nothing more.' These remarks suit exactly the features of the collection I saw. This collection, by men still true to the old ideals, but evidently waiting the advent of a master greater than they to lead them, is certainly a more hopeful sign for the future of Japanese art than the works I saw by another band of natives who had visited Europe. Deeply impressed, no doubt, that nothing was correct unless it were European, and thinking to bring Art up-to-date, they went to Paris, entered a studio, and began to learn painting. Yes, they succeeded fairly well; they learned painting, but, in the process, lost their art. They indeed, as it were, sold their birthright for a miserable mess of pottage. A more depressing show I never saw. There was a certain tonality about their work - no lack of that perspective so much missed and deplored by the ignorant, but their

colour and drawing were scarcely better than that of first-year's-students in the School of Art. It is a curious phenomenon, however, that at present, while we in this country, at last aware of the fearful results brought about by Academies and Science and Art Departments, and struggling to free ourselves from their deadly embrace, are turning towards less-civilised countries for new inspiration; the Japanese, perhaps, through their instinctive habit of doing things the reverse way, are practically putting on dead men's shoes. This state of matters arose with the sweeping away of feudalism, and the decay of the *Daimyos* (feudal lords), who were true patrons of Art. Anyone possessing a particular bias for painting, carving, &c., was at once taken up by his feudal lord, under whose patronage his future success was assured. At that period no dividing line existed between art and crafts, workers in all branches assisting each other in the beautifying and perfecting of their labours. The genius discernible in their *Kakemonos* is to be traced in their articles of common use, nothing being too common-place to form the basis of some work of art. And this is perhaps one of the greatest achievements of the Japanese, the raising of the common-place into the region of art, and investing it with a charm at once the despair and envy of the European. And thus, with the introduction of machinery and up-to-date inventions, has the old environment been destroyed, out of which had risen beautiful creations in ivory, *cloissoné*, and *Kakemono* full of dignified line and splendour of colour, the greatest impressionism the world has so far possessed, in which all useless details are laid aside, or made subservient to the *motif*, giving you only the spirit and character of the figure, bird, or flower portrayed. I know of no art which for directness or impressiveness can surpass the past achievements of the Japanese. To those who cavil at its lack of perspective, want of modelling, and in some instances its grotesque drawing, I would say that the possession of these elements do not necessarily make for Art. The regime of our Science and Art Departments and the system prevailing in our Academy Schools have not, however, produced as yet evidence to show that proficiency in those branches has advanced or exalted the profession. We in this country have been working too much on the

surface, and in striving to realise Truth have forgotten the spirit. We in our search for Truth sometimes chanced upon Beauty, the Jap in the worship of the Beautiful attained Truth thereby. In place of the *Daimyo* we have now the Western merchant, whose taste *if* he has any, is always subservient to his profits, who compels men whose lives were meant to be spent in leaving the world better than they found it, to produce articles for the Western market, and the bad taste and vulgarity of English and American 'globe trotters'. Let us hope that this is merely a passing phase in the history of the nation, that its people will awaken ere it is too late to the true value of commercialism in Art, with its debasing suicidal tendencies, and one day with righteous indignation, demand the birthright so falsely and treacherously wrested from them.



## Appendix I

### **'Two Glasgow Artists in Japan - An interview with Mr. George Henry', *Caslte-Douglas*, July 20, 1984.**

Messrs Henry and Hornel are back form Japan (says a *Glasgow Evening News* interview), after a sojourn of more than a year in the land where the apple blossom bloometh and the jocund *gaysha* plucks memory (more or less) from the strings of the melancholy samisen. Mr Hornel has gone to Kirk-bright, and thrown the responsibility of telling all the yarns upon Henry, who to that end holds daily levees in the Art Club. I waylaid Mr Henry on Friday, expecting to find him looking like a print of Hokusai, wearing a gay, easy-fitting Kimona, a 6 by 4 fan, and the wan smile of the person who has seen all that is really worth seeing. But it was quite otherwise. It was the old Henry, a little more tanned, a little more the Bohemian, wearing the ordinary habiliments of Western civilisation, and drinking lemonade instead of the exhilarating saki of the East.

And so you are back again? The walls of the Institute have been blank and monotonous in your absence. Even the purple triumphs of the "Colonel" have failed to interest the public to half the extent of your Galloway landscapes and Montichellian flights. But doubtless you return with things to make us sit np (to use an expressive idiom you may have forgotten): with glimpses of gorgeous colours from the foot of Fusi Yama, impression of quaintly-customed society in Tokio and Yokohama. We shall doubtless have them anon. But how is the dear Mikado?

The victim lighted his calumet anew and spake.

'The Mikado. Oh! all right. We got a glimpse of him one day, and he struck us as being the ugliest person it had ever been our privilege to clap eyes on. He wrote a sort of European uniform, and indeed the Court and society have adopted European ideas to the extent of making our store clothes take the place of their own beautiful and

artistic costumes. The adoption of Western mode is not unattended with some curious blunders, and at a recent garden party at the Mikado's Palace one fair creature from the provinces came on the scene with her corsets on the outside of everything.'

'You made Tokio your headquarters for the most part, didn't you?'

'Yes. It was a job attended with some difficulty. Europeans are supposed to confine their residence in Tokio to the Concession, or reservation, granted to foreigners, and not to mix with the natives. We stayed there for a while, but it became dull, and we wanted to get closer to the native life so an obliging but unscrupulous Jap (for a consideration) took us into his employment. It is a common 'fake,' but it is worked too often, and after a little the native newspaper men discovered us. They straightway began to write us down in their paper as 'foreign red-headed devils,' who were plotting the peace of the empire, and upheaving the whole social fabric outside the Concession. Being used to newspaper slating at home it didn't annoy us much at first, besides it was in Japanese, and that made it hurt less, although it looked dreadfully diagrammatic and scurrilous. Eventually, however, the thing got too warm: the entire native press of Tokio (and newspapers there are as numerous as song books here) jumped on us and our 'employer' to such an event that he prayed on us to flit back to our legitimate bounds.

'Couldn't you sue them for libel?'

'Libel! Well, I should smile. We were advised to consult a lawyer on that point, and we did so. There were whole five of him. He sat round us - a gaudy quintette, with lace and cocked hat on, and drunk our wine and considered the situation with as much gravity as if it involved international arbitration and a requisition for the British fleet. Then he consulted mysteriously with himself and advised a suit. When we learned that each newspaper kept a man on its staff for the sole purpose of going to prison for the editor in default paying libel damages and costs, we backed out of the case. We were not having any.'

'Did you find the British Colony so hospital as repute has it?'

'Every bit. The Britishers in Japan are most hospitable of people.'

We were asked everywhere; the members of the Legation being particularly friendly. We rented a house, and in the innocence of our hearts employed a cook, thinking the domestic details of a Tokio household were very simply arranged. Next day the cook took in his wife - that is to say, the particular lady who was acting in that capacity at the time - and she took a girl to assist her. The girl had a mother and several other dear relatives, and they joined the kitchen department on the following week. Ultimately there were a dozen domestics in our humble but happy home, and Hornel hadn't even to tie his own bootlace. That accounts for him being so stout now. And the best of it was the retinue didn't cost a dollar more than the single cook first engaged. How they do it is the Great Puzzle. Oh, it's a sweet country! Sometimes our domestic retinue swarmed off of an evening, and went to wait at somebody else's dinner-party. It used to surprise us at first to find Wun Lung Thing-um-bob, our cook and all his relatives waiting at a dinner-party we were at, and the presence of our own spoons, lamps, and wine at the same place seemed inexplicable, but we got used to it, and learned that European's servants have a lot of "giff-gaff" and swop their employers' goods for other employers' goods when convenient. As everybody is social, it comes to the same thing in the long-run.'

'But about your work in Japan, did you find it a profitable field for "Scot-French-cum-Antwerp" treatment?'

'Well, the fact is if you take your impressions of Japanese life from the prints you see here, you are all wrong. In Tokio and Yokohama, and throughout the north generally, it is not good taste to dress in colours. Dark blue, unrelieved by any variety, is the ordinary walking dress of the native ladies, and women in the lower stations adopt the custom. The Southern blood of Kioto ladies makes them go in for more vivid colours. Of course the *shogis* or *demi-mondains* of the country dress very gaily. Peacocks are not 'in it' with them, and some of their costumes are truly magnificent.'

'About native art, now?'

'Well, we mixed a good deal among the native artists there. Where they are not mere reproducers of the old stuff with which you are familiar, they are foolishly adopting the tricks of Paris and Munich.'

A number of them have been over on the Continent studying, and they are considerably influencing the modern art of Japan. Western technique could be grafted on Japanese design, the Japs could turn out superb modern stuff; but they too often sacrifice the design in favour of the technique. Everything is painted in distemper water-colour.'

'About curios; did you pick up the bronze of price and the Kakimona which fadeth not away?'

'Well, it's this way; all the antiques and curios visible to the ordinary naked eye in Japan are mere frauds got up for the globe trotter. The resident laughs at them. It is only after one has been there a while he begins to find that the ivories, bronzes, &c., some much in evidence are spurious, and that if he wants the genuine thing he has to go to some unostentatious 'go-down' and tear the treasure out of a Jap's heart, so to speak.'

The Japanese bath is an institution the foreigner does not understand at first, for, said Mr Henry, 'the first time I went to take a bath I one of the public baths I was surprised to find its limited space taken up to some extent by ladies by ladies who were being cooked plain- that is to say, without a scrap of dressing- in water scalding hot. I backed out as gracefully as the circumstances permitted, and waited an aute-room to give them a chance to disappear. The man in charge thought I was indecently prudish, and he explained that it was all right- that there was, by order of some English ambassador's wife of strict morals, a division in the bath between the sexes. The division was there right enough. It was a piece of twine drawn across the bath. The ladies salaam to their male companions; attired simply and inexpensively in blushes, but don't display any further interest in them. A Japanese bath, by the way, is so hot that you can't get into it all at once; you have to get worked up to stand the heat by preliminary sponging with hot water. You soon get used to it after a bit.'

'As you do the earthquake?'

'Exactly. We had small earthquakes every day in Tokio. The first one I experienced was at night. I felt my bed rocking, and on opening my eyes saw the wall wobbling. At first I thought the last cigar I

smoked must have been a villainous brand, or that something like that was wrong, but it was merely an earth tremour. Early in our sojourn we made the acquaintance of Professor Milne, who is in the university there. He is great on earthquake shocks, and had invented a machine which proves that there are earth tremours in Britain every day. It is a very susceptible instrument, so susceptible that it will record the pressure of a hand on a block of stone tons in weight.'

'What do you think the chances of a war in Corea between the Japs and the Chinese?'

'Oh, well, it may come some time, though perhaps not in the meantime. The Japs troops are well-drilled, smart little fellows, with exceptional skill at sword play. Even the police wear swords, and can use them too. To see a Jap policeman arrest a person is comical in the extreme. He approaches the offender, salaams politely and asks how he is keeping; gradually works up the conversation to a courteous invitation to come along and honour the authorities with a visit. The offender says he will be delighted, a piece of twine is produced, tied, with an apology, round the prisoner's wrist, and he leads the way, the police following in the rear a yard or two, with the end of the string in his hand. I have seen a prisoner travelling in a jinrickshaw to jail with the policeman trotting behind, attached to the string.'

## Appendix J

### Letter from Captain F. Brinkley to E.A. Hornel

Dear Mr Hornel,

I have a thousand apologies to make, first, for not to see you, & secondly for leaving your letter so long unanswered. As to the first point, I have been twice to look for you. Once I called at the Hotel Metropole, & subsequently I went to search for you in company with Mr. Curtis, but we failed to find your house. Since my return from the country at the end of last month I have had one of those rushes of work which you doubtless will understand and now I am making for China tomorrow. Instead, therefore, of coming to see you I must content myself with a letter about your passport trouble. I have spoken about the matter at the Foreign Office, & they say you can get a six months' passport at any time by going the right way to work. The right way means that your nominal Japanese employer - for I presume that you are in nominal Jap. Employ in order to live outside the settlement - must apply for a passport stating distinctly that he has given you six months leave & that it is necessary in the interests of the business entrusted by him to you - say scientific research - that you should travel during the six months. Then give yourselves a wide range of country in explaining your route (for the purpose of getting the passport written) & after that use the passport as often as you please during the six months. Say nothing about coming back to Tokyo (?) & leaving it again but simply use the passport each time of going away. I am sure you will have no difficulty if you adopt this method.

Hoping you make your acquaintance on my return from China.

Yours very sincerely,

F. Brinkley

Oct. 16<sup>th</sup> 1893

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From Hayashi Tadamasa to Shinagawa Yataro dated 1887 January 14, Paris.

From George Henry to 'Mr. Dear A.', undated, reprinted *Glasgow Herald*, 21 October 1893.

From George Henry to E.A. Hornel, dated 6 October 1893, Inagi near Chiba. (Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to E.A. Hornel,, dated October 1893, Inagi near Chiba. (Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to E.A. Hornel, undated, a scrap of a note written on the back of half a telegram form. (Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to E.A. Hornel, undated. (Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to E.A. Hornel,, dated 13 January 1894, 93 Taternachi, Kanazawa.(Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to Hornel dated 13 July 1894, 136 Wellington Street, Glasgow. (Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to Hornel dated 17 October 1894 (Hornel Trust)

From George Henry to Hornel dated 3 December 1895 (Hornel Trust)

From Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10 February 1864. GUL AM 1962 W/35.

From James McNeill Whistler to Fantin-Latour, 7 Lindsey Row, Old Battersea bridge, Chelsea, London. Library of Congress, MSS Division, Pennell-Whistler Collection, PWC 1/33/19.

From James McNeill Whistler to Alexander Reid, 26 June 1892. GUL LB 4/47.

***Japonisme* in Britain - A Source of Inspiration:  
J. McN. Whistler, Mortimer Menpes, George Henry,  
E.A. Hornel and nineteenth century Japan.**

**Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of History of Art, University of Glasgow.**

**By  
Ayako Ono**

**vol. 2.**

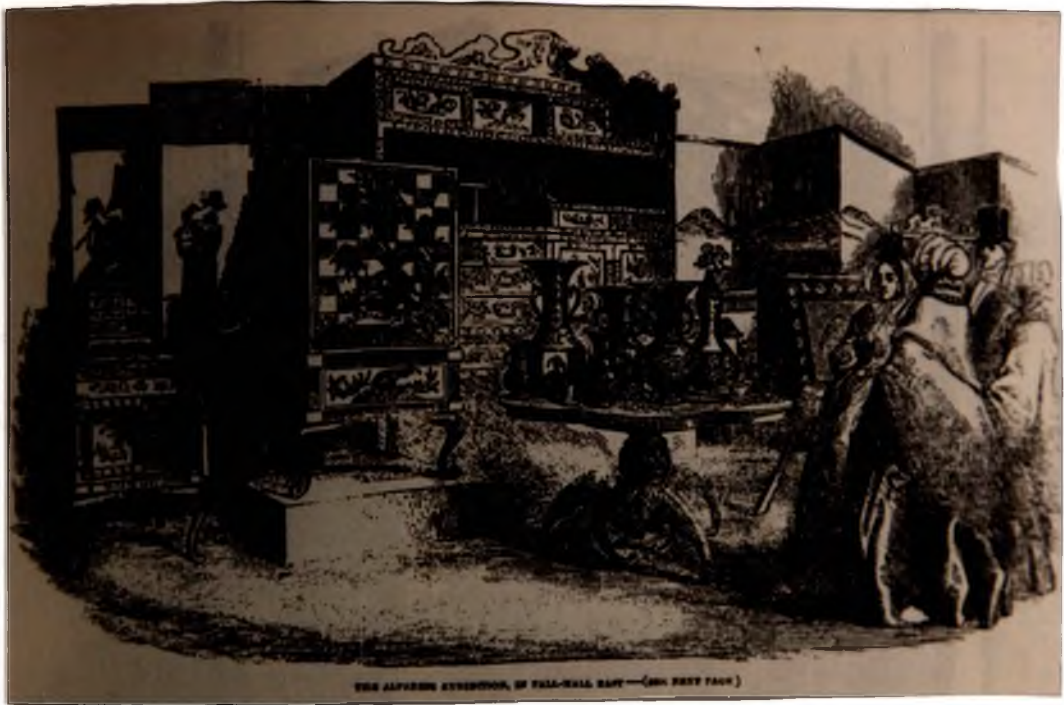
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## **Illustrations**



1. 'Case of Japanese Articles' and 'Japanese Temple, etc.', *Illustrated London News*, June 4, 1853. Touda Masashiro, *Zushou no nakano Chugoku to Nihon, Vilitoria-cho no Oriento Genso* (China and Japan in the Illustrations. Illusions of Orient in Victorian Period), Tokyo, 1998, p.60.





2. The Japanese Exhibition, in Pall-Mall East', *Illustrated London News*, February 4, 1854, p.97.



3. 'The International Exhibition: The Japanese Court',  
*Illustrated London News*, September 20, 1862, p.320.



4. Katsushika Hokusai, An artist standing on back of another man's back and writing on column, c.1820. Colour woodcut prints, 34.9×6.9 cm. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery & Museum. Inv.no. 354. Register no.37/14.

明治二十年一月十四日 巴黎より送

WALL, HAIGH & CO  
24, Rue de la Victoire  
PARIS

謹言、貴社より長途中搬送能く願ふ本館に此項中、殊に重要  
 顧り、貴社之と過る惜し、人々多角、為心、修、中、起、居、伯、  
 得、り、し、此、地、の、傳、止、短、き、り、し、使、中、空、可、相、故、ハ、明、年、一、時、帰、朝、時、  
 十、分、美、術、携、り、ぬ、り、な、し、収、り、今、由、英、國、函、家、江、川、氏、  
 中、人、本、渡、航、由、中、海、下、信、が、致、し、し、ト、事、中、東、  
 中、西、分、に、二、直、接、書、面、を、差、中、同、氏、ハ、英、國、有、多  
 名、画、内、ス、ワ、ル、氏、知、巴、チ、若、手、中、透、達、市、空、日、本、  
 派、紙、目、送、ハ、名、野、田、氏、貝、物、之、風、俗、騰、象、也、  
 動、持、帰、り、東、ノ、若、手、人、モ、ス、展、覽、會、ヲ、開、キ、  
 市、空、ハ、就、チ、同、氏、考、案、上、海、想、命、作、付、  
 此、般、考、想、願、上、右、甚、幸、也、新、出、思、案、多、ク、之、美、術、  
 事、故、様、を、申、上、貴、社、ヲ、煩、シ、奉、リ、何、卒、多、謝、意、  
 岩、山、ハ、同、人、事、ヲ、シ、ラ、ス、ハ、目、之、過、  
 品川様  
閣下  
恐惶再拜  
林忠正  
拜具

運下、貴社、之、空、敷、中、風、戸、々、様、  
 望、望、相、美、國、一、出、之、上、多、分、化、事、後、備、  
 中、東、

外務省  
品川公使閣下  
林忠正

L. G. Monnier Shinagawa  
Envoyé extraordinaire et  
Ministre plénipotentiaire  
Ministère des Affaires  
Etrangères  
Tokio

Yokohama United Club  
5 Beach  
Yokohama  
Mr. Monnier - Member.

5. Letter from Hayashi Tadamasu to Shinagawa Yajiro. Dated Meiji 20 (1887), January 14, Paris.



6. George Du Maurier, 'Reading without Tears', *Punch*, February 27, 1869, p.80.



#### INTELLECTUAL EPICURES.

STEEPED IN ÆSTHETIC CULTURE, AND SURROUNDED BY ARTISTIC WALL-PAPERS, BLUE CHINA, JAPANESE FANS, MEDIEVAL SNUFF-BOXES, AND HIS FAVOURITE PERIODICALS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, THE DILETTANTE DE TOMKYN'S COMPLACENTLY BOASTS THAT HE NEVER READS A NEWSPAPER, AND THAT THE EVENTS OF THE OUTER WORLD POSSESS NO INTEREST FOR HIM WHATEVER.

*Betsy Waring (who goes out a-charing) and is a Martyr to Rheumatics (what comes o' damp attics), expresses similar views. In her own words:—*

" I'VE OFTEN HEARD RUMOURS  
OF WARS AND CONTUMOURS,  
SEA-SARPINTS, AND COMICS AS LIGHTS UP THE SKY;  
STEAM-HINGINS A-BUSTIN',  
AND BANKS AS FOLKS TRUST-AN,  
BUT THEY DON'T NEVER FRET A OLD 'OOMAN LIKE I!"

7. Intellectual Epicures', *Punch*, February 5, 1876, p.33.



THE JAPANESE SCHOOL AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

"Japanese Art . . . is the only living Art in the world . . . In comparatively few years Japan will become the acknowledged centre and leader of the Fine Arts."—*Quoted from Japanese Lectures on Japanese Art.* *Vide "Times," Jan. 25.*

#### FEELINGS AND FOOTLIGHTS.

Mr. Winton, in the second number of *Japonica*, described the various kinds of dances of the actor's art, and has certainly inspired the artist who composed a good deal of ground. That Mr. Winton has done so is proved by the fact that the character of the artist is now a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before. It is not only a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before, but it is also a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before. It is not only a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before, but it is also a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before. It is not only a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before, but it is also a more complete and sympathetic representation than ever before.

arranged to collect by his anthropological method. Still there is more to be seen, and he has provided a third and concluding article. This should not cause other matters with the "analysis of Pantomime," a characteristically interesting relation of this season of the year, and though we will not dwell on the practical anatomy of such work, the subject is well treated and is taken as a fair sample of the way in which the whole matter will be handled. Whether observing any novel method of exhibiting, I have, as a preliminary step, submitted to several noted Chinese and Japanese the following questions:—  
In course of observation to see if, whether you see a fault, object in them (as, in a regular Peking one yourself), or a thing altogether new, in a similar line, in which line of practice, proper or not, of such things, besides of foreign, better, etc. Follow-

8. 'The Japanese School at the Royal Academy', *Punch*, February 4, 1888, p.50.

OUR JAPONNERIES. No. 10.



A ROW IN THE HOUSE DURING "TIMES v. CRIMES" DEBATE IN COMMITTEE.

ESSENCE OF PARLIAMENT.  
 ANOTHER CASE  
 THE MARY OF TONY, M.P.

House of Commons, Monday Night, July 25.—"Times" said  
 Henry Crumey, in a broken voice, whilst a tear ran down his cheek  
 upon his forehead, where it stood like the dewdrop on  
 the nose of gold that Richard once which he saw from the ground  
 of the—"Times, I don't know whether you'll do a splendid thing,  
 but if you will give me the key-note, I should like to stay where you

would to call in Perry, French Dandy. Whether the London be  
 long or short, I can go now in peace: to-night's done me a power of  
 good. Thought I'd never look upon the old scene again. But it's  
 now the right sort of thing. Cannot see whether here's made me  
 feel ten years younger. Haven't you, but the AVENUE'S up, going  
 through the Orders, and I must go and sleep."  
 Their feet is treaded. The old glow in his eye, the old spring  
 in his stride, the old rigidity of the backbone extended to "about."  
 Thought he was released, but only suffering from lack of opportu-  
 nity. As Henry Crumey said the other day, when I was speaking to  
 one of the company. — JAMES GIBSON, and you'll find it worth

9. 'Our Japonneries. No.10. A Row in the House During "Times v. Crimes" Debate in Committee', *Punch*, August 11, 1888, p.63.



OUR JAPONNERIES. No. 12.



FISHING ROD'RICK DHU ABOUT THIS TIME IN SCOTLAND.

THE FACE THAT KILLS.

(Punster Correspondent.)

See,—I was hardly had language in which to convey to you the tremendous impression made on me by a journey recently made in one of those newly introduced "Facing" coaches to the North. The sense of heavy war, overwhelming, I run the moment to which I give the name of a head, by mistake, with a first-class ticket. I was struck as by a third-class compartment, to that of arriving at a single interval of paper. Imagine the sensation when, through a window, the number of which was winking the train was by with a dumb

stare. As we swept past Glasgow, refreshments were done off us from the platform. We reached York at a tremendous rush. Some forward old gentlemen were trampled under feet in their efforts to get into the train.

It seems we had beaten the record by five-and-thirty minutes, which led me to believe that I should be able to partake of history of the excellent dinner of soup, fish, two courses, being, salad, vegetables, and bread-and-butter, provided for the passengers in the refreshment-room. Imagine my surprise, therefore, on being told that, if I wanted to dine, I must do it in three minutes and a half; and so "beating the record," as the waiter emphatically observed, "was the order of the day." I got through as much of it as I possibly could in

- 10. 'Our Japonneries. No.12. Fishing Rod'Rick Dhu About This Time in Scotland', *Punch*, August 25, 1888, p.95.



11. Simeon Solomon, *Lady in Chinese Dress with Japanese Fan*,  
Watercolour and gouache on paper, 40 × 35.1 cm.  
Grosvenor Museum, Chester.



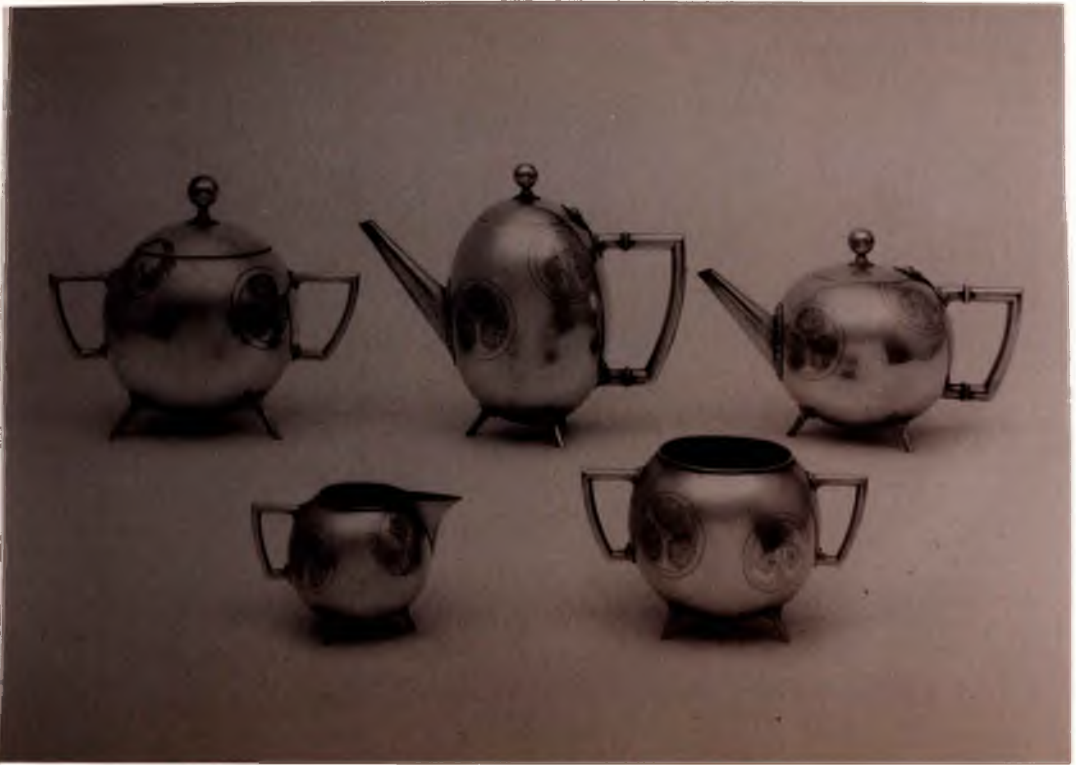
12. Edward John Poynter, *A Portrait of Mary Constance Wyndham, Lady Elcho* (later Countess of Wemyss), 1886. Gouache on paper, 52 × 34.3 cm. Eare of Wemyss and March, K.T.



13. James Cadenhead, *Lady with Japanese Screen and Gold Fish* (Portrait of Artst's Mother), 1886. Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 85.4 cm. City of Edinburgh Art Centre.



14. Kate Hayllar, *Sunflower and Hollyhocks*, 1889. Watercolour, 31.7×22.8 cm. The Corporation of London, Guildhall Art Gallery.



15. Hukin & Heath solid silver tea and coffee sets with incised Japanese crest decorations. Marked 'Designed by Dr. C. Dresser'. 26 March 1879. 12.7-22.9 cm high. Private Collection.



16. Japanese family crest, *Marui ni Mistsuaoi*. Reproduced from S. Honda, *Kamon Daizen* (The Complete Family Mark), Tokyo, 1997, p. 12.



17. Japanese family crest, *Andou Fuji*. Reproduced from S. Honda, *Kamon Daizen* (The Complete Family Mark), Tokyo, 1997, p.120.



18. Japanese family crest, *Chuwa ni Tachiaoi*. Reproduced from S. Honda, *Kamon Daizen* (The Complete Family Mark), Tokyo, 1997, p.15.

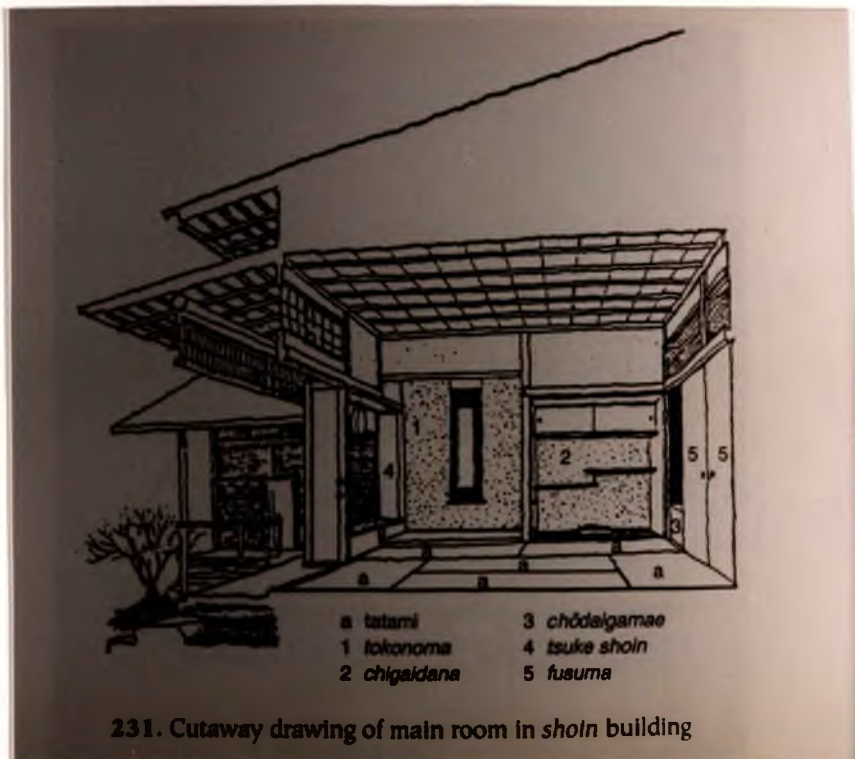


19. E.W. Godwin, Sideboard, ca.1867. Made by William Watt.  
Ebonized mahogany, silver plated fittings ebonised Japanese  
leather paper inserts; 178 × 162 × 56 cm. Trustees of the  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, circ.38-1953.





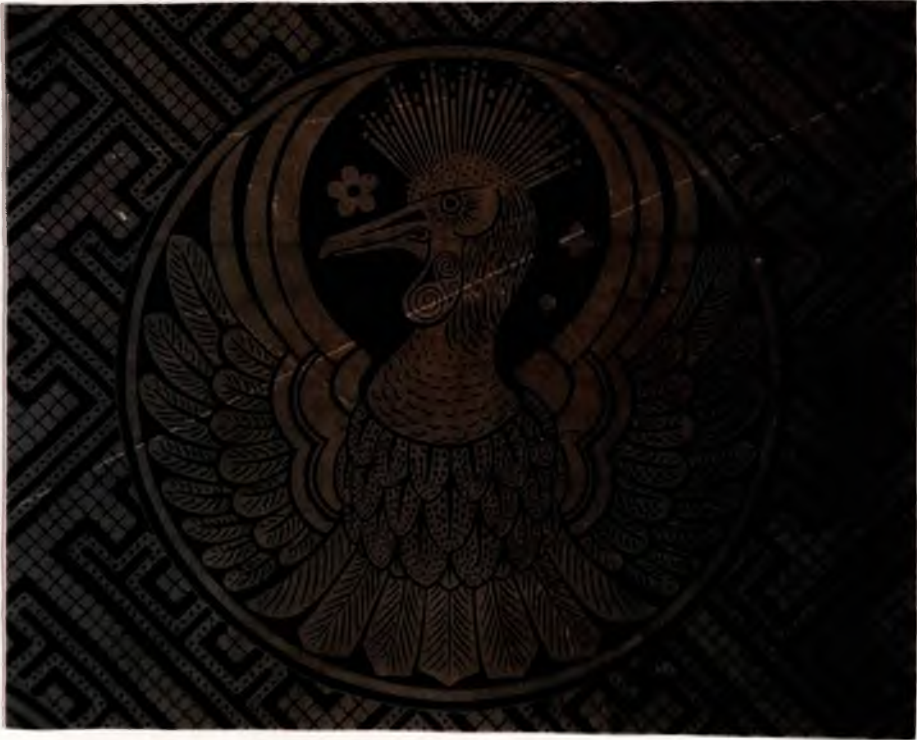
20. E.W. Godwin, A table with folding shelves, ca.1872. Probably made by Collinson and Lock. Walnut with gilt brass fittings; 74.7×40.6×81.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Roger Fund, 1991.



21. Cutaway drawing of main room in *shoin* building.  
 Reproduced from Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art*,  
 New York, 1993, p.214.



22. E.W. Godwin, Cabinet known as the 'Four Seasons Cabinet', ca.1887. Probably made by William Watt. Satinwood with painted and gilt panels, ivory handles, and brass fittings, 177.8 × 128.3 × 40.6 cm. Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, W15-1972.



23. E.W. Godwin, 'Peacock', wallpaper, ca.1873. Made by Jeffrey and Company. Block-printed wallpaper; 67.2×48.9 cm. Manchester City Art Galleries, 1934.22/19iii.



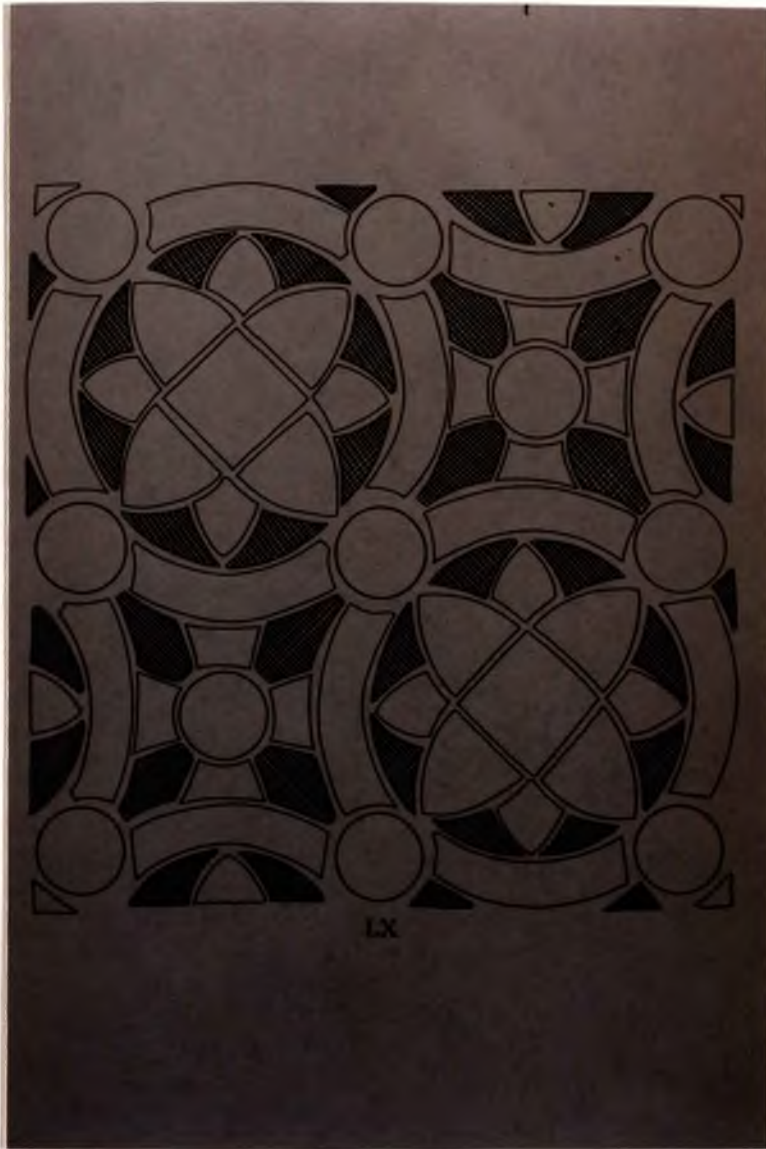
24. Torii Kiyonaga, *Minami Juni-ko* (Twelve Months in the South), 1874. Colour woodblock, 37.3×50.8 cm. British Museum, London. Presented by Birnie Philip, in memory of her sister, Mrs. Beatrix McNeill Whistler.



25.E.W. Godwin, 'Butterfly' Brocade, ca.1874. Made by Warner, Sillett and Ramm. Jacquard woven silk; 86.5 × 55 cm. Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.152-1972.



26 E.W. Godwin, Designs for ceiling wallpapers. From William Watt, *Art Furniture* (1877), pl.9. The Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Collection, The Wolfsonian-Florida International University, Miami Beach, Florida, TD1990.40.62.



27. Mosaic arrangement from a catalogue of Medieval Lead-glazed Earthenware Tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities British Museum. Cat. No. LX. Scale 1:4.





28 E.W. Godwin, Japanese woman in *kimono*, from a sketch book dated from June 1884 to 23 June 1885. Size of volume 15.2×8.9 cm. Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.269-1963.



29. Ellen Terry wearing *kimono*, ca. 1874. Photographed by Samuel Walker. Collection of the National Trust, Ellen Terry Memorial Museum, Smallhythe Palace, Kent.



31.A. Moore, *Azaleas*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 198.1 × 100.3 cm. The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin, Ireland.



30. Eddy, daughter of E.W. Godwin and Ellen Terry, ca. 1874.  
Collection of the National Trust, Ellen Terry Memorial  
Museum, Smallhythe Palace, Kent.



32. A. Moore, *Beads*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 29.8×51.4 cm.  
National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.



33. Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon*. A  
*Tragedy*. Published in London, 1865, 22.3×17.5 cm. Bodleian  
Library, Oxford.



34.J.McN. Whistler, *The Pool*, K.43, 1859. Etching, 13.8 × 21.3 cm.  
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington  
DC.



35.J. McN. Whistler, *The Punt*, K.85, 1861. Etching, 11.8×16.2 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.





36. Suzuki Harunobu, *Hasuike Funa asobi* (Women in a boat, picking lotus flowers), c.1765. Colour woodcut, 19.9×27.2 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



37. Hiroshige, *Haneda no watashi Benten no yashiro* (Haneda Ferry and Benten Shrine) from *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo), 1856-58. Colour woodcut, 35.3 × 24 cm. Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne.



38. Edouard Manet, *En Bateau*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 97×130 cm.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



39. Claude Monet, *En barque*, 1887. Oil on canvas, 145×132 cm.  
National Western Art Museum, Tokyo.



40. J. McN. Whistler, *The Kitchen*, K.24, 1858. Etching, 22.7 × 15.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.



41. De Hooch, *The Courtyard of a House in Delft*, 1658. Oil on canvas, 73.5×60.0 cm. National Gallery, London.



42. J.McN. Whistler, *At the Piano*, YMSM 24, 1858-59. Oil on canvas, 67 × 91.6 cm. The Taft Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio.



43. J. McN. Whistler, *Symphony in White No.2: Little White Girl*, YMSM 52, 1864. Oil on canvas, 76.5×51.1 cm. Tate Gallery, London.





44. J. McN. Whistler, *Variation in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, YMSM 56, 1867-68. Oil on wood, 61.4 × 48.8 cm.  
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington  
D.C.



45. J.McN. Whistler, *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*, YMSM 129, 1872-74. Oil on canvas, 190.2×97.cm.  
Tate Gallery, London.



46. J. McN. Whistler, *Pink and Grey: Three Figures*, YMSM 89, 1879. Oil on canvas, 139.1×185.4 cm. Tate Gallery, London.



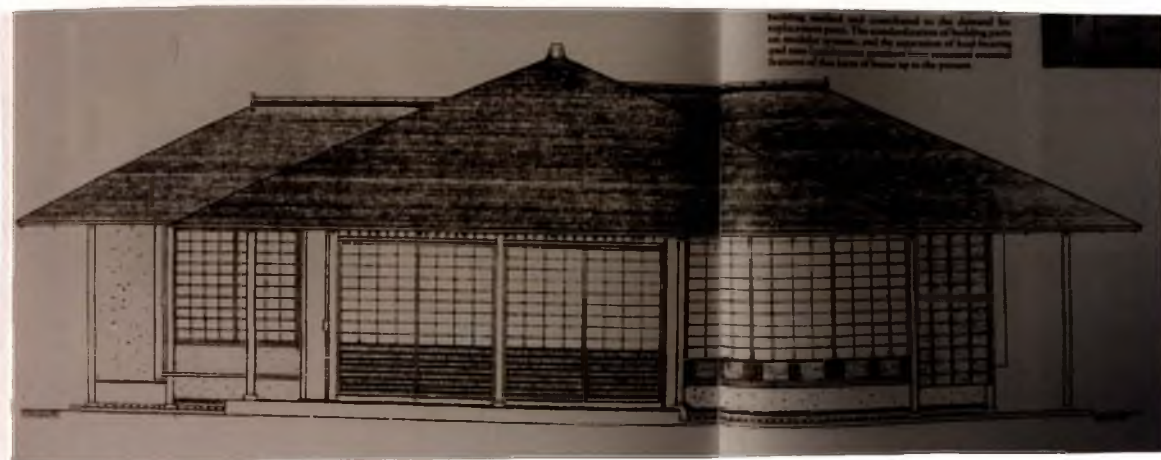
47. J. McN. Whistler, *The White Symphony: Three Girls*, YMSM 87, c.1868. Oil on millboard, 46.4×61.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



48. J.McN. Whistler, *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, YMSM 101, 1871. Oil on canvas, 144.3 × 162.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



49. J. McN. Whistler, *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle*, YMSM 137, 1872-3. Oil on canvas, 171.1 × 143.5 cm. Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, Kelvingrove.



50. *Urasenke XV Soshitsu Sen, Kyoto*, Architect's drawing of the Japanese Tea House in the Englisches Garten, Munich, 1971-72. Area:  $24\frac{1}{2}$  *tatami*, c.108sq.,m. Illustrated in Siegfried Wichimann, *Japonisme. The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, London, 1999, pp.358-359.



51. *Katsura Rikyu* (Katsura Palace), Kyoto, 17<sup>th</sup> century.





52. Utamaro, *Komei bijinmitate Chushingura junimai tsuzuki*  
(Chushingura drama parodied by famous beauties: a set of  
Twelve prints) act 11, c.1795. Woodblock print, 38.7×25.7 cm.  
Publisher: Oumiya. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



53. Torii Kiyonaga, *Three women look into a snow covered garden*, c.1876. Colour woodcut, 37.5×25.5 cm. Berlin, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst.



54. J. McN. Whistler, *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*, YMSM 34, 1860-61. Oil on canvas, 95.5 × 70.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



55. J. McN. Whistler, *Wapping*, YMSM 35, 1860-64. Oil on canvas, 71.1 × 101.6 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



56. J. McN. Whistler, *Rotherhithe*, K.66, 1860. Etching and drypoint printed in black ink on cream Japan paper, 27.5 × 19.9 cm. S.P. Avery Collection, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation.



57. Eishi, *Sumidagawa Ogiya no zashiki* (Ogiya at the Sumida River), cetre panel, c.1790-92. Colour woodcut. Oban size. Reproduced in t. Watanabe, 'Eishi Prints in Whistler's Studio? Eighteenth-century Japanese prints in the West before 1870', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXVIII, no.1005, December, 1986, p.877.



58. J.McN. Whistler, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*,  
YMSM 50, 1864. Oil on canvas, 199.9×116.0 cm. Freer  
Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



59. J. McN. Whistler, *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, YMSM 60, 1864. Oil on canvas, 50.2×68.7 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.





60. J. McN. Whistler, *Purple and Rose: The Lange Lizen of the Six Marks*, YMSM 47, 1864. Oil on canvas, 92×61.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art.



61. Claude Monet, *La Japonaise*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 231.5 × 142 cm. Boston Museum of Fine Arts.



62. The drawing room at Whistler's house at 2 Lindsey Row, London, 1867-78. Library of Congress, Washington D.C., Prints and Photographs Division, Pennell Whistler Collection. Reproduced in Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room. A Cultural Biography*, New Haven and London, 1997, p.148.



63. Japanese family crest, *Mitsuwari Shuro*. Reproduced from S. Honda, *Kamon Daizen* (The Complete Family Mark), Tokyo, 1997, p.87.



64. J. McN. Whistler, *The Japanese Dress*, M 1227, 1888-90.  
Pencil, chalk and pastel on brown paper laid down on card,  
26.6 × 17.9 cm. Davison Art Centre.



65. J. McN. Whistler, *Design for a Mosaic*, M 1226, 1888-91.  
Pastel on paper, 28×17.5 cm. Private Collection.



66. J. McN. Whistler, *Symphony in White No. 1: The White Girl*, YMSM 38, 1862. Oil on canvas, 241.6 × 108 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



67. J. McN. Whistler, *Symphony in White, No. 3*, YMSM 61, 1865-67. Oil on canvas, 51.1 × 76.8 cm. The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University of Birmingham.





68. J. McN. Whistler, *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red*,  
YMSM 91, 1869. Oil on canvas, 38.7 × 35.6 cm. Museum of  
Fine art, Boston.



69. J.McN. Whistler, *Symphony in White and Red*, YMSM 85,  
c. 1868. Oil on millboard mounted on wood. 46.8 × 61.9 cm.  
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington  
D.C.



70. J. McN. Whistler, *Symphony in Blue and Pink*, YMSM 86, c.1868. Oil on millboard mounted on wood, 46.7 × 61.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



71. J. McN. Whistler, *Variations in Blue and Green*, YMSM 84, c. 1868. Oil on millboard mounted on wood, 46.9 × 61.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



72. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: The Solent*, YMSM 71, 1866.  
Oil on canvas, 50.8×94 cm. Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa.



73. J.McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Chelsea*,  
YMSM 103, 1871. Oil on wood, 50.2 × 60.8 cm. Tate Gallery,  
London. Bequeathed by Miss Rachel and Miss Jean  
Alexander.



74. J. McN. Whistler, *The Thames in Ice*, YMSM 36, 1860. Oil on canvas, 74.6 × 55.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



75. J. McN. Whistler, *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*,  
YMSM 64, 1865. Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 75.5 cm. Isabella Stewart  
Gardner Museum, Boston.





76. J. McN. Whistler, *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*, YMSM 72, 1866. Oil on canvas, 80.7×101.9 cm. Frick Collection, New York.



77. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*, YMSM 140, 1872-75. Oil on canvas, 66.6×50.2 cm.  
Tate Gallery, London.



78. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, YMSM 170 1875. Oil on wood, 60.3×46.6 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts.



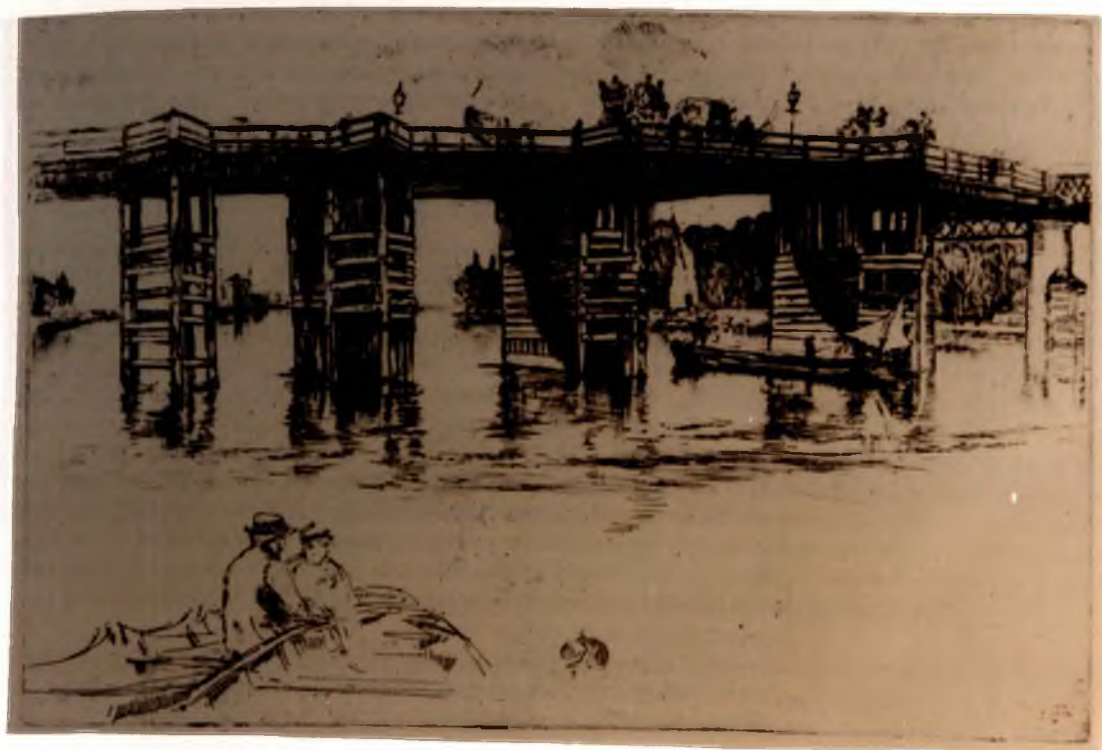
79. J. McN. Whistler, *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*, YMSM139, 1872. Two hinged wood panels. Screen fully opened in frame 195.0 × 182.0 cm. Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



80. Hiroshige, *Kyobashi Takegashi* (Bamboo Bank, Kyo-bridge) from *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo), 1857. Nishiki-e, vertical *Oban*, 33.3×22.1 cm. The Brooklyn Museum, New York.



81. Hiroshige, *Ryogoku Hanabi* (Fireworks at Ryogoku) from *Meisho Edo Hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo), 1858, *Nishiki-e*, vertical *Oban*, 33.3×22.1 cm. The Brooklyn Museum, New York.



82. J. McN. Whistler, *Old Putney Bridge*, K.178, 1879. Etching, 20.1 × 29.5 cm. British Museum, London.



83. J. McN. Whistler, *Old Battersea Bridge*, K.177, 1879.  
Etching, 20.1 × 29.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian  
Institution, Washington D.C.





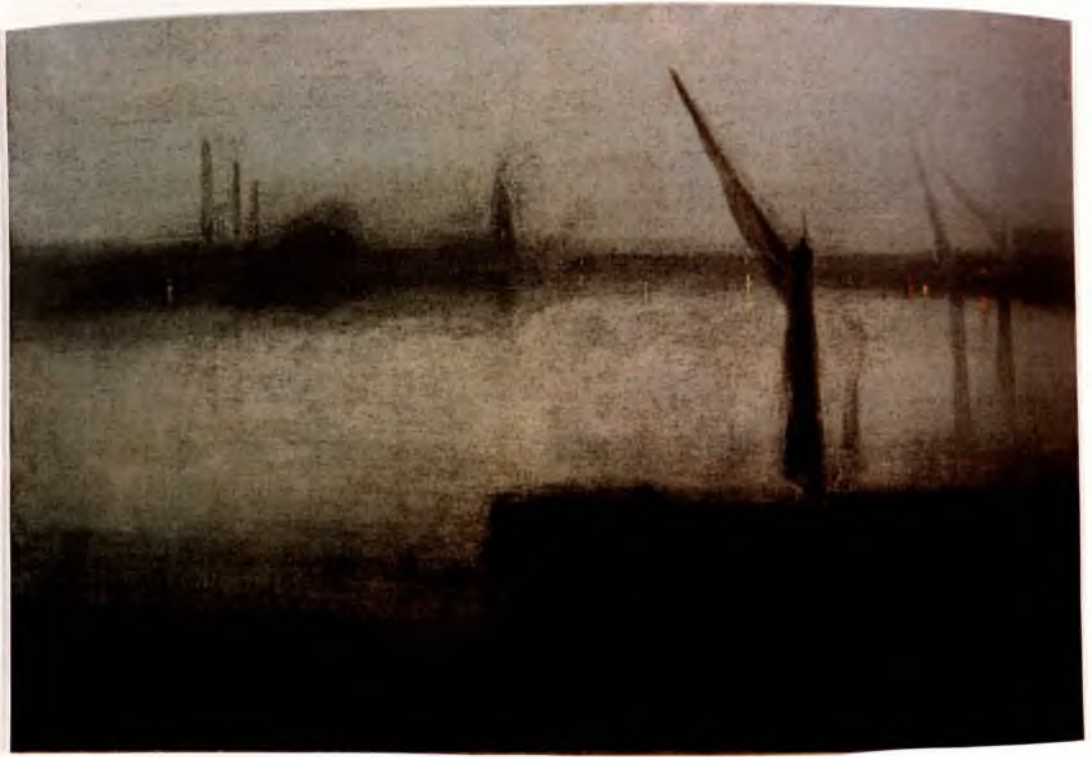
84. J. McN. Whistler, *The Tall Bridge*, W.9, 1878. Lithotint printed in brown on chine collé laid down on to white wove paper, 27.9×18.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



85. J. McN. Whistler, *Sea and Rain*, YMSM 65, 1865. Oil on canvas, 50.8 × 72.7 cm. Museum of Art, University of Michigan.



86. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*, YMSM 113, 1871-72. Oil on canvas, 44.4 × 60.3. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.



87. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach*, YMSM 119, 1870-75. Oil on canvas, 49.9 × 76.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



88. J.McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: Grey and Gold - Westminster Bridge*, YMSM 145, 1871-72. Oil on canvas, 47.0 × 62.3 cm. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery and Museum.



89. Sesshu Touyou, Landscape in the *haboku* technique, 1495.  
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 147.9 × 32.7 cm. Tokyo National  
Museum.



90. J. McN. Whistler, *Souvenir of Nocturne in Blue and Gold / From Westminster bridge*, M 569, c.1874. Pen and brown ink on white laid paper, 10.8 × 17.7 cm. Private Collection, New York.



91. Ogata Korin, *Kakitsubata Byōbu* (Iris Screen)(right hand side screen), early 19<sup>th</sup> century. A pair of 6 fold screens. Colours on gold foil over paper, (each screen) 150.9 × 338.8 cm. Nezu Museum of Art, Tokyo.





92. Kitagawa Utamaro, *Nishiki-ori Utamaro-gata Shinmoyou - Yukata* (Utamaro type, New Pattern of Brocade. Informal Summer *Kimono*), c. 1796-98. Colour woodblock print. Chiba Museum of Art.



93. Katsushika Hokusai, *Sanka haku-u* (Sudden storm below the summit) from *Fugaku Sanjyu-rokkei* (Thirty-six views of Mount Fuji), c.1830-31. Colour woodblock print, 26.2×38.3 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



94. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: The River at Battersea*, W. 5, 1878. Lithotint printed in black on ivory chine collé laid down on wove card, 17.1 × 25.9 cm. British Museum, London.



95. Tawaraya Sotatsu, *Raijin Fujin* (Wind-God and Thunder-God), mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. A pair of two fold screens. Colours on gold foil over paper, (each screen) 154.5 × 169.8 cm. Kennin-ji, Kyoto.



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96. *Quiz*, New Series Vol.1, January 7, 1897.



97. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Cremorne Lights*, YMSM 115, 1872. Oil on canvas, 50.2 × 74.3 cm. Tate Gallery, London. Bequeathed by Arthur Studd 1919.



98. M. Menpes, *Family Group*, 1887/1896. Reproduced from M. Menpes, *Japan a Record in Colour*, London, 1901.



99. M. Menpes, *Tea-House and Garden at Kioto*, c.1887. Etching, ink on paper, 22.6 × 30.3 cm. Reproduced from *Mortimer Menpes, Etchings & Drypoints: Japanese*, London, 1888, cat.no.5.





100. J. McN. Whistler, *The Shop - an exterior*, 1883-85.

Watercolour and pencil on white wove paper, 19.4 × 28.3 cm,  
signed with butterfly, Collection IBM Corporation, Armonk,  
New York.



101. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: Furnace*, K.213, 1879-80. 16.8  
×23 cm, etching and drypoint, printed in dark brown ink  
on Japanese paper, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of  
Galsgow, Birnie Philip Bequest.



102. M. Menpes, *Warehouse by the Thames*, mid-1880s. Etching, 27.9×34.3 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Gift from the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce Fund, 1977.



103. M. Menpes, *On the Great Canal, Osaka*, c.1887. Etching, ink on paper, 30 × 21.6 cm, illustrated in *Mortimer Menpes, Etchings & Drypoints: Japanese*, London, 1888, cat.no.22.



104. M. Menpes, *Young Bronze Workers*, 1898/1914. Etching, ink on paper, 16.8 × 14.9 cm, Yokohama Museum of Art.



105. Rembrandt, *Christ Crucified between the Two Thieves* (*The Three Crosses*), B.78, 1653. Etching and drypoint, National Gallery, London. 38.5 × 45.0 cm. Pierpont Morgan Library.



106. J. McN. Whistler, *Nocturne: Dance House*, K.408, 1889.  
Etching, 27×16.6 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington  
D.C., Rosenwald Collection, 1943.



107. Menpes, *Family Meal*, 1898/1914. Etching, ink on paper, 33.8×25.6 cm. Yokohama Museum of Art.





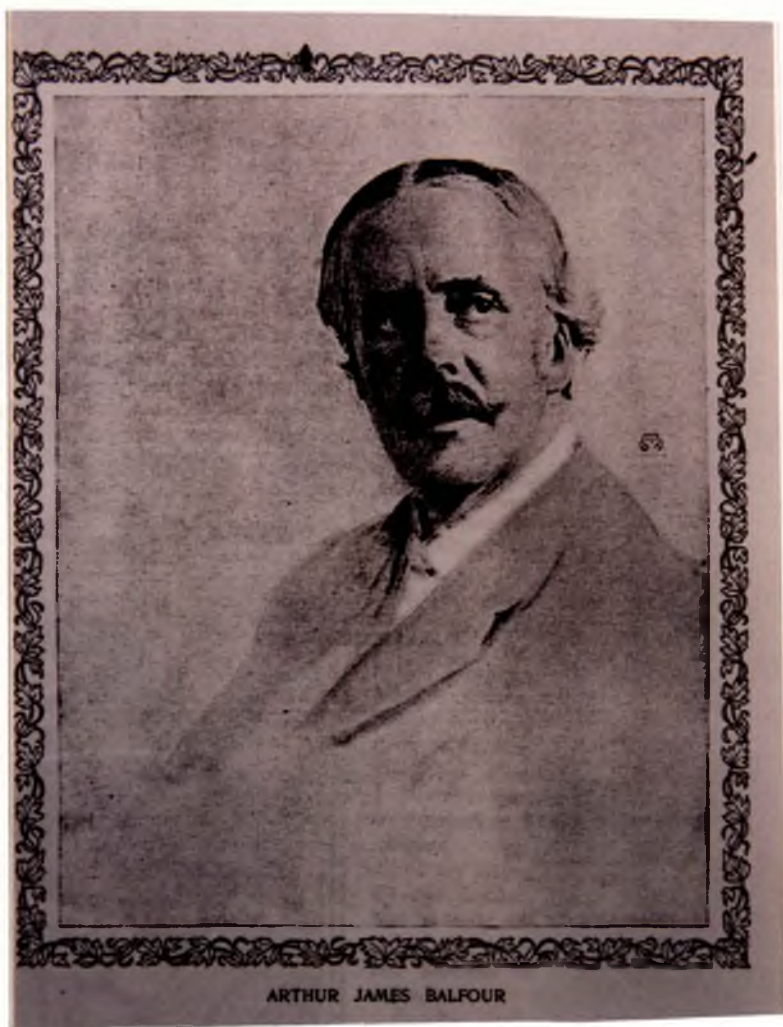
108. M. Menpes, *Upstreaming from Nagasaki Harbour*,  
1898/1914. Etching, ink on paper, 17.4×32.7 cm. Yokohama  
Museum of Art.



109. M. Menpes, *Osaka*, 1898/1914. Etching, ink on paper, 18.8  
× 24.8 cm. Yokohama Museum of Art.



110. M. Menpes, *Playfellows*. Reproduced from M. Menpes, 'A Personal View of Japanese Art. The Living Art of the Country', *Magazine of Art*, April 1888, p.256.



111. M. Menpes, *Arthur James Balfour*. Reproduced from Chalmers Robert, 'Mortimer Menpes. The Man & His Methods', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.707.

**Mortimer MENPES** (n  
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112. M. Menpes's collector's mark from *Marques de Collections*.  
*Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & D'estampes*, Frits  
Lugt, Amsterdam, 1921, p.346.



113. *Kagerou* (Dragonfly) from *Genji Kou*. Reproduced from S. Honda, *Kamon Daizen* (The Complete Family Mark), Tokyo, p.319.



114. M. Menpes, *A Geisha Girl*, 1903. Pencil and watercolour, Drawing on note - paper stamped with the address 25 Cadogan Gardens S.W. dated Christmas Day 1903. 20.6 × 13.3 cm. V&A PD, E.1041-1948.



DOOR OF THE INNER HALL

AT 25 CADOGAN GARDENS

115. M. Menpes's House, 25 Cadogan Gardens, London. Door of the inner hall. Reproduced from *The Studio*, vol.17, 1899, p. 171.





116. *The Japan Room* - 20 Charles Street, Mayfair in London, 1897.  
Reproduced from N. Cooper, *The Opulent Eye. Late Victorian  
and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design*, London, 1976, plate.89.



MR. MORTIMER MENPES' HOUSE, 25 CADOGAN GARDENS

A. H. MACKMURDO, ARCHITECT

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117. Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo, Mortimer Menpes's House, 25 Cadogan Gardens, London. c.1893-85. Reproduced from *The Studio*, vol.17, 1899, p. 170.



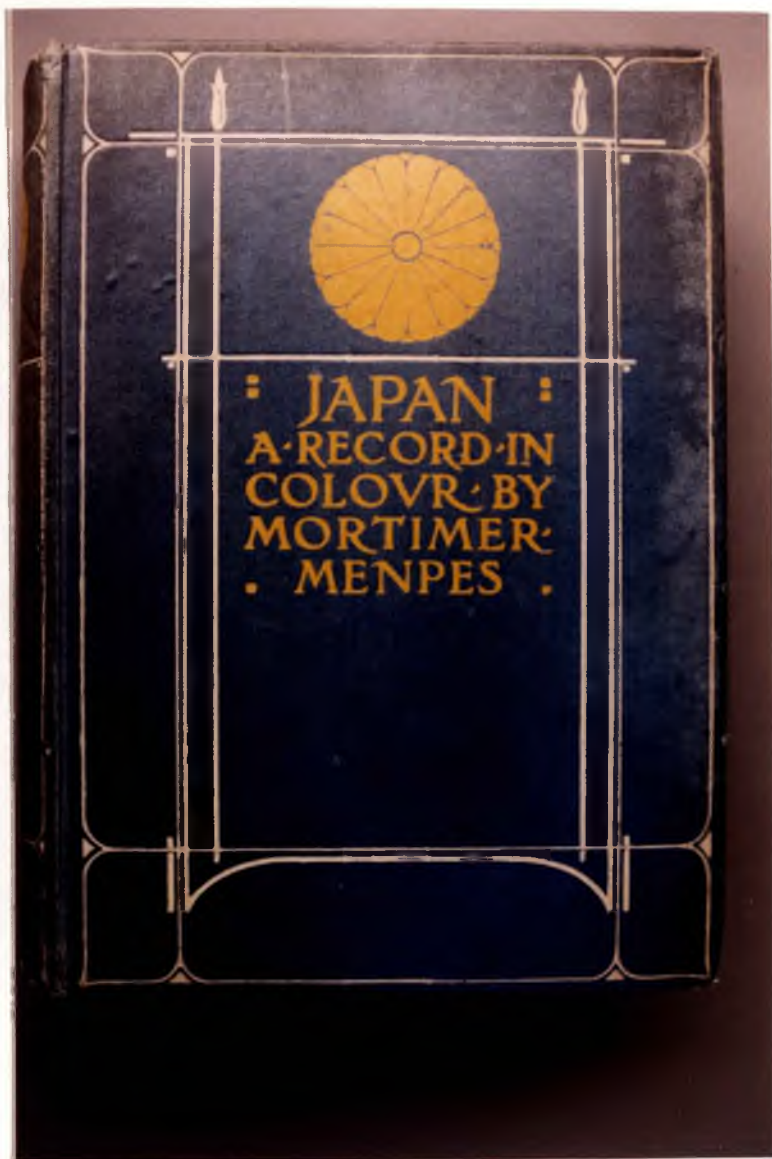
118. M. Menpes in his 'Japan Room'. Reproduced from Chalmers Robert, 'Mortimer Menpes. The Man & His Methods', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1900, p.703.



119. M. Menpes sitting on a chair. Reproduced from *The Prints of Mortimer Menpes. A Private Collection*, auction catalogue, Sotheby's, London, Wednesday October 25, 1995, p.27.



120. M. Menpes, *Sarah Bernhardt*, c.1900. Etching, 27.6×17.5 cm V&A, PD, E.4771-1968. Purchased from the funds of the Gabrielle Enthoven Bequest.



121. M. Menpes, *Japan A Record in Colour* - front cover, London, 1901.



122. M. Menpes's House, 25 Cadogan Gardens, London. The Dining room. Reproduced from *The Studio*, vol.17, 1899, p.175.

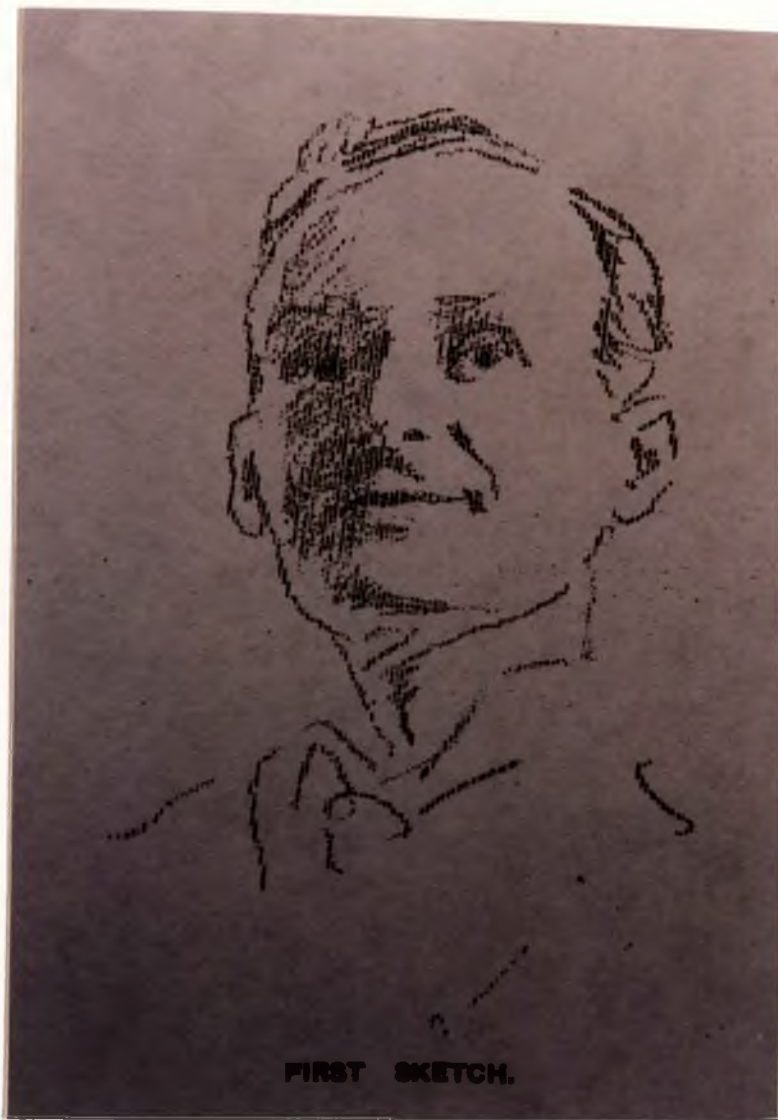


123. Kawanabe Kyôsei, *Kyôsei E-nikki* (Kyôsei Picture Diary),  
20 April 1887. Tokyo Geijutudaigaku Fuzoku Toshokan  
(Library of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and  
Music).





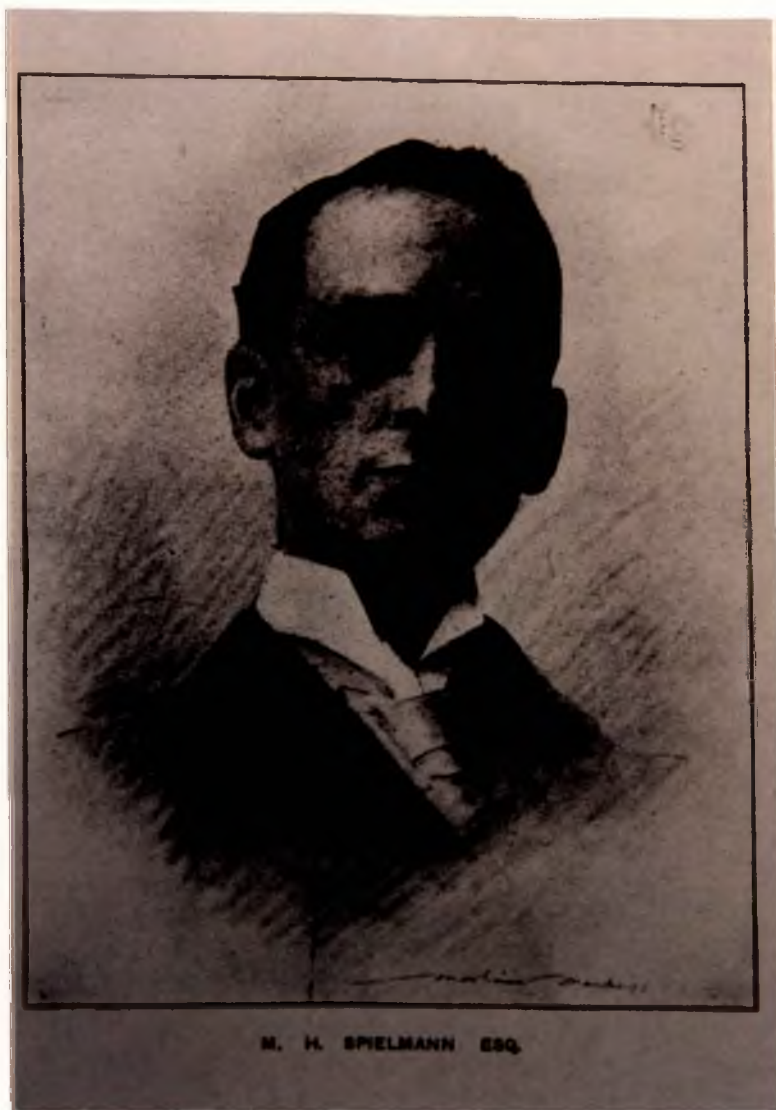
124. Kawanabe Kyôsai, *Kyôsa's Life-School*. Illustrated in William Anderson, 'A Japanese Artist, Kawanabe Kyôsai', *The Studio*, vol.15, p.31.



125. M. Menpes, *Portrait of M.H. Spielmann*, 'First Sketch'.  
Reproduced from M.H. Spielmann, 'Mr. Mortimer Menpes  
as Portraitist', *Magazine of Art*, 1899, p.101.



126. M. Menpes, *Portrait of M.H. Spielmann*, 'Second Sketch'.  
Reproduced from M.H. Spielmann, 'Mr. Mortimer Menpes  
as Portraitist', *Magazine of Art*, 1899, p.101.



127. M. Menpes, *Portrait of M.H. Spielmann*, Reproduced from M.H. Spielmann, 'Mr. Mortimer Menpes as Portraitist', *Magazine of Art*, 1899, p.101.



128. G. Henry & E.A. Hornel, *The Druids*, 1890. Oil on canvas, 152.4 × 152.4 cm. Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery & Museum Kelvingrove.



129. G. Henry & E.A. Hornel, *The Star in the East*, 1891. Oil on canvas, 198.4 × 182.99 cm. Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery & Museum Kelvingrove.



130. E.A. Hornel, *Music in Japan*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 64 × 35.6 cm. City of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Collections.



131. E.A. Hornel, *The Music Party*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 76 × 35.6 cm. City of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Collections.





132. E.A. Hornel, *Japanese Dancing Girls*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 69.2 × 91.5 cm. Ewan Mundy, Glasgow.



133. Photographer unknown, 22: *Dancing Party*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, 21.4×27 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



134. G. Henry, *Salutations*, 1894. Watercolour, 30.2×55.0cm.  
Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery & Museum Kelvingrove.



135. G. Henry, *O Mura-Saki San of Shinjyuku*, 1894.  
Watercolour, 25.4 × 50.8cm. Private Collection.



136. G. Henry, *A Japanese Pottery Seller*, c.1894. Watercolour and gouache on paper, 31.0 × 25.0 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



137. G. Henry, *Japanese Lady with a Fan*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 61.0 × 40.6cm. Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery & Museum Kelvingrove.



138. G. Henry, *The Japanese Baby*, 1894. Watercolour on paper, 36.8 × 26.0 cm. City of Edinburgh Art Centre.



139. G. Henry, *Koto Player*, 1894. Watercolour, 71.0×48.3 cm.  
Glasgow Museums : Art Gallery & Museum Kelvingrove.





140. Photographer unknown, Woman seen from behind, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen prints, 27.9×20.8 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



141. Photographer unknown, Two Women, *carte de visite*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, 5.5×8.3 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



142. G. Henry, *Girl with Goldfish Bowl*, oil, 60.56 × 50.8 cm.  
Private Collection.



143. G. Henry, *Fieldworkers Crossing a Bridge*, 1884.  
Watercolour, 29.0 × 44.5 cm. The Fine Art Society.



144. Tamamura Kouzaburo, *No. 318F. Interior of a Japanese House*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, Hand-Coloured, 14.8 × 23.1 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



145. G. Henry, *Geisha Girl*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 54.5×31.8 cm.  
Private Collection.



146. Tamamura Kouzaburo, *No.231 A Japanese Girl in Summer Dress*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, Hand-Coloured, 22.7×15.1 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



147. G. Henry, *La Japonaise*, 1984. Watercolour, 71.1×38.1 cm.  
Location unknown.





148. Photographer unknown, A Girl holding a fan, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen prints, 29.1 × 12.1 cm, The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



149. G. Henry, *The Geisha Girl, Tokio*. Oil, 64.8×55.9 cm. Kyle and Carrick District Council.



150. Photographer unknown, A woman seen from the back, *carte de visite*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen prints, 8.1 × 5.3 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



151. G. Henry, *Geisha Girl*, 1894. Oil, 53.3×33 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.



152. E.A. Hornel, *In A Japanese Garden*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 61.0×50.8 cm. Private collection.



153. E.A. Hornel, *A Japanese Garden*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 45.7×  
35.6 cm. Private collection.



154. Photographer unknown, 181: *Shuttlecock*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, 19.6 × 26.5 cm, The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



155. Uwagaki Horyu, *Hanetsuku Bijinn-zu* (Beauties playing battledore and Suttlecock), c.1716-36. Tokyo National Museum. Reproduced in M. Wakakuwa, *Kakusareta Shisen* (Hidden Eyes), Tokyo, 1997, p.23.





156. Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Ouka Bijin-zu* (Beauties under a cherry tree), c.1716-40. Azabu Arts and Crafts Museum, Tokyo. Reproduced in M. Wakakuwa, *Kakusareta Shisen* (Hidden Eyes), Tokyo, 1997, p.23.



157. Photographer unknown, Flower viewing, late 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
Albumen print, 19.2×23.8 cm. The Hornel Library, The  
National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House,  
Kirkeudbright.



158. E.A. Hornel, *Figures with Lanterns and Bridge*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 60.8 × 45.0 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



159. Photographer unknown, Kameido Tenjin, late 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
Albumen print, 20.4×26.9 cm. The Hornel Library, The  
National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House,  
Kirkcudbright.



160. G. Henry, *In a Japanese Garden*, c.1984. Oil on canvas.  
45.7×35.6 cm. Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery & Museum  
Kelvingrove.



161. Photographer unknown, Woman playing *koto*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, 20.3×25.5 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



162. Tamamura Kozaubro, *No. 901: Lotus Pond at Ueno, Tokio*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, Hand-Coloured, 15.1 × 23.1 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



163. E.A. Hornel, *The Lotus Flower*, 1894. Oil, 76.2×48.3 cm.  
Private collection, reproduced from *The Studio*, vol.9,  
1897, p.209.





164. Photographer unknown, 234: *Singing Girl*, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Albumen print, 24 × 18.7 cm. The Hornel Library, The National Trust for Scotland, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.



165. Takahashi Yuichi, *Oiran* (Courtesan), c.1872. Oil on canvas, 77.0×54.8 cm. Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.



166. Takahashi Yuichi, *Sake (Salmon)*, c.1877. Oil on paper, 140.0 × 46.5 cm. Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.



167. Takahashi Yuichi, *Tofu*, c.1876-77. Oil on canvas, 30.5×  
43.0 cm. Kotohira Shrine Museum, Kagawa.



168. Antonio Fontanesi, *Shinobazu Ike* (Shinobazu Pond), oil on canvas. Tokyo National Museum. Reproduced from E. Yamanashi, *Takahashi Yuichi to Meiji-shoki no Yoga* (Takahashi Yuichi and *Yoga* in early *Meiji* era). *Nihon no Bijyutu* (Japanese Art) 6, no.349, Tokyo, 1995, p.9.



169. Harada Naojiro, *Kiryu Kannon* (Kannon Bosatsu on the Back of a Dragon), 1890. Oil on canvas, 272.0×183.0 cm. Gokoku-ji, Tokyo.



170. Kuroda Seiki, *Dokusho* (Woman Reading), 1891. Oil on canvas, 98.2×78.7 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



171. Kuroda Seiki, *Ochiba* (Autumn Leaves), 1891. Oil on canvas, 80.8×63.8 cm. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.





172. G. Henry, *Landscape*, c.1888. Oil on canvas, 61.0×51.0 cm.  
Angus Maclean.



173. Kuroda Seiki, *Mukashi Katari* (Talk on Ancient Romance),  
No longer in existence. Reproduced from *Halubakai*,  
exh.cat., Tokyo, 1996, p.19.



174. Kuroda Seiki, *Chi, Kan, Jo* (Wisdom, Impression, Sentiment), 1897-1899. Oil on canvas, (each) 180.6 × 99.8 cm. Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.



175. Kuroda Seiki, Study for *Mukashi Katari* (Talk on Ancient Romance), 1896. Charcoal on paper, 63.0 × 47.0 cm. Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.



176. Kuroda Seiki, Study for *Mukashi Katari* (Talk on Ancient Romance), 1896. Charcoal on paper, 47.0×63.0 cm. Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.



177. Kuroda Seiki, Study for *Mukashi Katari* (Talk on Ancient Romance), 1896. Oil on canvas, 41.1×63.3 cm. Inscribed lower right in the panel of 'Composition Study II'. Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.



178. Puvis de Chavannes, *Le Repos*, 1867. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Reproduced from *Hakubakai*, Tokyo, 1996, p.14.



179. Kuroda Seiki, *Choushou* (Morning Toilette), 1893. No longer in existence. Reproduced from A. Tanaka, *Kuroda Seiki to Hakubakai* (Kuroda Seiki and the White Horse Society), *Nihon no Bijyutu* (Japanese Art) 8, no.351, Tokyo, 1995, p.39.





180. Fujishima Takeji, *Tempyou no Omokage* (Reminiscence of *Tempyo* era), 1902. Oil on canvas, 197.5×94.0 cm. Ishibashi Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation.



181. Fujishima Takeji, *Fujin to Asagao* (Lady with Morning Glories), 1904. Oil on canvas, 46.0 × 45.6 cm. Private Collection.



182. Kuroda Seiki, *Kohan (Lakeside)*, 1897. Oil on canvas, 69.0  
× 84.7 cm. Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural  
Properties.



183. Okada Saburousuke, *Ayame no Koromo* (Iris Robe), 1927.  
Oil on paper, 80.6 × 53.6 cm. Fukutomi Taro Collection.