

Cosmopolitan Facture: John Singer Sargent and Anders Zorn, 1871–1915

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For Zach and Charlie, the loves of my life.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation demonstrates how the logistics of fin-de-siècle cosmopolitanism, particularly the experience of geographical itinerancy, informed the painting practices of two friendly rivals: John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) and Anders Zorn (1860–1920). The first study to place these artists in dialogue, my project recovers Sargent and Zorn’s shared artistic language, which I have termed “cosmopolitan facture,” and defines this praxis as an extended creative approach informed by their negotiation of picture-making, travel, and transnational social networks. Through a careful scrutiny of their portable sketchbooks, painted surfaces, and preparatory studies, I analyze the ways in which their drawings, paintings, watercolors, and etchings materialize the tension between rootedness and mobility. Centered on four key episodes—The Portrait, The Threshold, The City, The Sea—my dissertation unfolds along three central avenues of inquiry—facture, time, and mobility—through which I discuss the meanings, tensions, and histories of the paintings, drawings, and prints at the center of my project. As my study oscillates between geographical nodes, it expands spatially outward: from the intimate portraits that established transnational collegiality and patronage, to the symbolic resonance of Sargent’s repeated architectural motifs, to Zorn’s depictions of ambiguous modern cities, to the port, sea, and harbor, sites that connect artists, economies, and nations on a global scale.

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## PREFACE

In the late nineteenth century, the contours of the international art world were not defined or restricted by national or linguistic boundaries. Rather, they were produced and policed by the telegrams, invitations, prints, shipping containers, and letters that crossed newly defined time zones to connect itinerant painters and facilitate professional community. The eminent fin-de-siècle painters John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) and Anders Zorn (1860–1920) anchored a transatlantic coterie of artists whose peregrinations across and between inchoate time zones enabled their simultaneous participation in the creative communities of Sweden, France, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States. By foregrounding the peripatetic circuits that facilitated their artistic production, and not simply their country of citizenship, my reevaluation of Sargent and Zorn opens an avenue around inflexible stylistic movements or rigid categorization along national borders. Their painted scenes of modern life, urban space, and open seas translate motifs across media. Rather than singular episodes that record static instants, their paintings took shape while they were in transit and between time zones. As I examine works that range from society portraits of wealthy patrons in New England, to charcoal drawings of a steamship deck somewhere in the Atlantic, to watercolors of a Mediterranean port, to oil studies of a Parisian sidewalk, I argue that both artists' persistent reengagement with their subjects led to paintings that record a cumulative, composite visual experience rather than an isolated time or place. Most importantly, such works represented sites of material experimentation with their own formal language—a prolonged working process I term “cosmopolitan facture.” Locating and defining this praxis enables me to shift accounts of Sargent and Zorn away from the scrutiny of their art in relation to their respective nations and toward a global model rooted in the fluid and transnational relationship between people, place, and pigment. By doing so, my



ambition is to foreground global streams and the scrupulous examination of objects in the fullness of their making.

Three central avenues of inquiry—facture, time, and mobility—anchor my analysis of specific objects throughout the dissertation. My methodology responds in equal measure to the transnational turn in art history and the discipline’s long-standing formalist tradition by insisting upon the interpenetration of artistic process and transatlantic movement circa 1900. Furthermore, my emphasis on the international topography of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art and its makers extends and advances recent reappraisals of mobility as both a cultural practice and discursive process. The stakes of my project, however, are not limited to either the study of fin-de-siècle painting or the field of art history. Although rooted in questions of modernism, my research engages contemporary issues by challenging the legacies of national exceptionalism that continue to pervade political discourse in and beyond art historical writing.

### *Mobility*

Contemporary critics frequently used the term “cosmopolitan” as a way to categorize the artistic production of Sargent and Zorn, and to invent a rivalry between them in the press. As I engage with the many valences of cosmopolitanism and artistic mobility, I turn with particular attention to critical interventions by art and literary historians, including Hollis Clayson and Peter Gibian, that look beyond Paris as the sole cosmopolitan urban center of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Jennifer Roberts considers constitutive questions of

<sup>1</sup> Peter Gibian, “A ‘Traveling Culture’: Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature,” *Annals of Scholarship* 14, no. 2 (2002): 5–23; Hollis Clayson, “Voluntary Exiles and Cosmopolitanism in the Transatlantic Arts Community, 1870–1914,” in *American Artists in Munich: Artistic Migration and Cultural Exchange Processes*, ed. Christian Fuhrmeister, Hubertus Kohle, and Veerle Thielemans, (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 15–26. Although the extensive literature on cosmopolitanism cannot be fully summarized here, my work also

mobility by drawing attention to the impact of a traveling picture's movement across space and time, especially the delays that impacted international shipping and its effect on an object's reception.<sup>2</sup> Following Roberts' model, I consider the communicative function of cosmopolitanism as it can operate as a formal problem, and not merely as a political orientation. In Ulf Hannerz's terms, it is "a mode of managing meaning."<sup>3</sup> My study also builds on a growing body of work, such as that by Susan Waller and Karen Carter, that has reframed the study of late nineteenth-century transatlantic art through the lens of artistic migration, focusing on artists "who moved across national boundaries or forged transcultural identities."<sup>4</sup> I seek to demonstrate the analytical richness of foregrounding the logistics of travel in the late nineteenth century, especially as it affected the art making of Sargent and Zorn.

The term "cosmopolitan" itself serves as a necessary shorthand for a larger, more complex conversation. In their introduction to an edited volume on "Cosmopolitanisms," Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carl A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty usefully define cosmopolitanism as a way of "inhabiting multiple places at once, of being different

draws on interdisciplinary texts such as Julie F. Codell, ed., *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) and Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt, eds., *The Edwardian Sense. Art, Design and Performance in Britain 1901–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> "The constitutive intervals with which I am concerned are temporal as well as spatial. If traveling pictures are in some sense fabricated out of the spatial distances they cross, then they must simultaneously be made of the delays they both figure and endure." See Jennifer Roberts, *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ulf Hannerz investigates the socio-historical effects of globalization and discusses cosmopolitanism primarily from the perspective of urban anthropology. See Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places* (London: Routledge 1996).

<sup>4</sup> Karen Carter and Susan Waller's edited volume, which situates Paris as a global nexus, includes essays that consider larger issues of international mobility. See Karen L. Carter and Susan Waller, eds., *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870–1914: Strangers in Paradise* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 18.

beings simultaneously, of seeing the larger picture stereoscopically with the smaller.”<sup>5</sup> As I examine the artistic production of Sargent and Zorn, two geographically untethered painters, it is useful to acknowledge the limits of “cosmopolitanism,” a term arguably so broad, nebulous, and interdisciplinary in scope that it has become nearly unserviceable—while probing how it might, nonetheless, serve as a generative framework in dialogue with the more formal and material elements of an art work. The competing interests of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, I argue, manifest in Sargent and Zorn’s identity construction and participation in the international art world as a dynamic, unstable tension rather than as a divisive dichotomy. In conceiving Sargent and Zorn’s careers and bodies of work as occupying this space between nation and globe, I follow Tanya Agathocleous’s useful articulation of cosmopolitanism, recognizing that it is “part of a complex, dynamic, and unfinished dialectic discourse rather than a finite project doomed to failure by its normative ambitions.”<sup>6</sup>

Few artists of the period are associated with cosmopolitanism as much as John Singer Sargent. Contemporary art critics often remarked upon Sargent’s international upbringing and worldly knowledge, calling him “a thoroughly accomplished cosmopolitan.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carl A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Cosmopolitanisms,” in *Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carl A. Breckenridge, and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 11.

<sup>6</sup> Tanya Agathocleous and Jason R. Rudy, “Victorian Cosmopolitanisms: Introduction,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38, no. 2 (2010): 392.

<sup>7</sup> “Mr. Sargent is an artist proceeding from that nomadic life of certain American families in Europe, which sometimes produces mere waifs, and sometimes produces sons of uncommonly liberal education. In this case, at a very early age the young painter had the picture of every European capital imprinted on his mind, spoke all modern languages, and remembered his Latin and Greek derived from various professors between London and Florence. He is a thoroughly accomplished cosmopolitan. He comprehends music scientifically, reads all literatures with avidity, and paints better than his professor, Duran.” See Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], “The National Academy of Design,” *Art Amateur* 1, no. 1 (1879): 4–5. In a more recent exploration of Sargent’s career, Allison Syme refers to “Sargent’s polyglot, cosmopolitan coterie.” See Allison Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-Siècle Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010), 19.

In what follows, I diverge methodologically from previous Sargent scholarship, which has placed a considerable emphasis on biography and has situated the artist's career almost exclusively in dialogue with those of other expatriate Americans such as James McNeill Whistler, Henry James, and Mary Cassatt, and thus has insisted upon artistic mobility from an exclusively American perspective. Richard Ormond, who directs the comprehensive Sargent catalogue raisonné project with Elaine Kilmurray, Elizabeth Oustinoff, and Warren Adelson, has contributed foundational scholarship that draws extensively on archival research.<sup>8</sup> For decades, he has also organized thematic exhibitions of Sargent's work, often in collaboration with curators of American art.<sup>9</sup> Stanley Olson, Marc Simpson, and Erica Hirshler may also be counted in this generation of scholars who are invested in a biographical approach to Sargent's oeuvre and who are active in curatorial initiatives that privilege thematic considerations of his work.<sup>10</sup> Hirshler has highlighted Sargent's specific relationship to nineteenth-century New England patrons and exhibition venues while

<sup>8</sup> In addition to coauthoring the nine-volume John Singer Sargent catalogue raisonné, Ormond has contributed to a wide range of exhibition catalogues and publications. See, for example, Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970); Richard Ormond, *Early Victorian Portraits* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1973); Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, *Sargent: The Watercolours* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Recent exhibitions include Richard Ormond, *Sargent: Portraits of Artists and Friends*, with Elaine Kilmurray, and contributions by Trevor Fairbrother et al. (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2015); Erica E. Hirshler et al., *John Singer Sargent Watercolors*, with contributions by Karen A. Sherry, Janet Chen, and Connie H. Choi (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts / Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 2013); Sarah Cash, ed., *Sargent and the Sea*, with Richard Ormond et al. (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); and Bruce Robertson, ed., *Sargent and Italy*, with Jane Dini et al. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art / Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, Marc Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent*, with Richard Ormond and H. Barbara Weinberg (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Barbara Dayer Gallati, Erica E. Hirshler, and Richard Ormond, *Great Expectations: John Singer Sargent Painting Children* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 2004); Kathleen Adler, Erica E. Hirshler, and H. Barbara Weinberg, *Americans in Paris, 1860–1900*, with contributions by David Park Curry, Rodolphe Rapetti, and Christopher Riopelle (London: National Gallery, 2006); and Ormond, *Sargent: Portraits of Artists and Friends*. In 2021–22, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, plans to mount a major exhibition dedicated to John Singer Sargent and fashion, curated by Erica E. Hirshler.

Patricia Hills has likewise studied Sargent in terms of American communities of artists.<sup>11</sup>

Other pivotal publications by scholars of American art consider Sargent's self-fashioning, masculinity, and cultural construction through comparative analysis with William Merritt Chase, Cecilia Beaux, and James McNeill Whistler.<sup>12</sup>

A concurrent strand of Sargent scholarship pivots from Boston to London in order to place Sargent within a context of aestheticism and the Royal Academy.<sup>13</sup> Anne Helmreich specifically contextualizes Sargent's work at the nexus of "Impressionism, Aestheticism, nationalism, and antiurbanism—in ways particular to Britain with its distinctive art press, market, and institutional politics."<sup>14</sup> Andrew Stephenson has also demonstrated a consistent interest in Sargent's place within the metropolitan culture of London in order to examine the role of whiteness and imperialism in Sargent's Anglo-English oeuvre—a topic to which I will return in the fourth chapter of this dissertation.<sup>15</sup>

Scholarship on Anders Zorn similarly tends to address his oeuvre in terms of his nationality or nationalist agenda.<sup>16</sup> Through the analysis of Zorn's bather paintings and

<sup>11</sup> Patricia Hills, *John Singer Sargent*, with Linda Ayres et al. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art / Harry N. Abrams, 1986); Patricia Hills and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *John S. Sargent: Portraits in Praise of Women* (Cooperstown, NY: Fenimore Art Museum, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Anne Helmreich, "John Singer Sargent, 'Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose,' and the Condition of Modernism in England, 1887," *Victorian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2003): 453. For another perspective on Sargent's portraits of British men in the context of homoerotic desire, see Jongwoo Jeremy Kim, *Painted Men in Britain, 1868–1918: Royal Academicians and Masculinities*. (London: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Helmreich, "John Singer Sargent," 453.

<sup>15</sup> See Andrew Stephenson, "'A keen sight for the sign of the races': John Singer Sargent, Whiteness and the Fashioning of Anglo-Performativity," *Visual Culture in Britain* 6, no. 2 (2005): 207–25.

<sup>16</sup> Hans Henrik Brummer and Birgitta Sandström, former directors of the Zorn Museum in Mora, Sweden, have published extensively on Zorn's career in both Swedish and English. The museum's current director, Johan Cederlund, collaborated with Brummer in 2013 on a major retrospective of the artist's work and, in the same year, helped the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston organize a second retrospective that highlighted Zorn's relationship to benefactors and exhibition venues in America. Michelle Facos, a leading

images of the Swedish countryside in particular, scholars have attended to Zorn's relationship to regionalism, the folk tradition, and Swedish National Romanticism. His work has thus been framed primarily in terms of his Swedish community, particularly his participation in the Konstnärsförbundet (the Swedish Artists' Society) alongside Bruno Liljefors, Carl Larsson, Richard Bergh and Karl Nordström. My work addresses the extant scholarship in order to challenge the utility of nationalism as the habitual framework in nineteenth-century art-historical writing.

Within the field of Scandinavian modernism at large, there has been a recent shift to focus on global connections and communities, particularly within Western Europe, rather than on individual Nordic nations. Kirk Varnedoe's landmark exhibition, *Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting, 1880–1910* (1982), served as the first American presentation of Nordic art since 1912.<sup>17</sup> By reintroducing celebrated painters like Zorn, Richard Bergh, Vilhelm Hammershøi, and Edvard Munch to a new audience, Varnedoe's show reignited public interest in Scandinavian modernism. Indeed, it continues to serve as a critical touchstone in the historiography of Nordic art, particularly relative to its international reception. Exhibitions that followed throughout the late twentieth and early twenty-first

scholar of nineteenth-century Swedish art in America, has focused on Zorn's career through the lens of Swedish nationalism and the Scandinavian landscape tradition. See, for example, Hans Henrik Brummer, *Zorn MCMLXXXIX* (Stockholm: Författarförlaget Fischer & Rye, 1989); Hans Henrik Brummer, *Anders Zorn : till ögats fröjd och nationens förgyllning* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1994); Birgitta Sandström, *Zorn i svart och vitt : Anders Zorn som etsare, tecknare och fotograf* (Mora: Zornsamlingarna, 2002); Johan Cederlund et al., *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco / New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2013); and Oliver Tostmann, ed., *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, with contributions by Hans Henrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013); Michelle Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsh, eds., *Art, Culture, and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Kirk Varnedoe, *Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting, 1880-1910* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 1982); Christian Brinton, ed., *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art Held Under the Auspices of the American-Scandinavian Society* (New York: Redfield Bros., 1912).

centuries underscored how Nordic painting reacted against European industrialization, as it celebrated a vigorous and untamed North, a communal “folk” culture, and a sense of rootedness.<sup>18</sup> The wake of the transnational turn in art history, which has expanded exponentially since 2000, however, prompted a renewed interest in the multifarious nexus of Franco-Nordic exchange in particular, and has stimulated a reorientation of the field’s geographic scope.

Instead of posing Paris and the North as opposing examples of what Varnedoe termed “progressive internationalism” versus “resolute parochialism,”<sup>19</sup> the 2004 anthology *European and Nordic Modernisms* resituated Scandinavian artists as original contributors to European modernism as opposed to passive recipients or derivative practitioners of international trends.<sup>20</sup> In one such instance, Thor Mednick, writing about Danish artist Peder Severin Krøyer, referred to his international visual style as “negotiated modernism,” which was at once “comfortingly familiar” and “intriguingly exotic.”<sup>21</sup>

For decades, accounts of Scandinavian painters in fin-de-siècle Paris have emphasized how their exposure to French culture fueled their appreciation for, and eventual

<sup>18</sup> See David Jackson, *Nordic Art. The Modern Breakthrough 1860–1920* (Munich: Hirmer, 2012). Jackson uses the phrase “the modern breakthrough” to signify the innovative literary milieu of writers such as Georg Brandes, Henrik Ibsen, and August Strindberg. Compared to the catalogue for *Northern Light*, Jackson’s catalogue includes more Icelandic artists, including Thórarinn B. Thorláksson and Ásgrímur Jónsson, and female artists.

<sup>19</sup> Varnedoe, *Northern Light*, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Mats Jansson, Jakob Lothe, and Hannu Riikonen, eds., *European and Nordic Modernisms* (Norwich: Norvik Press, 2004), 12–13.

<sup>21</sup> Thor J. Mednick, “Danish Internationalism: Peder Severin Krøyer in Copenhagen and Paris,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 10, no. 1 (2011), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring11/danish-internationalism-peder-severin-kroyer-in-copenhagen-and-paris> (accessed January 16, 2020). Patricia G. Berman has similarly noted how “the history of Danish painting can be outlined as a series of subtle tensions between nationalism and internationalism.” See Patricia G. Berman, *In Another Light: Danish Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), 8.

return to, their northern homelands.<sup>22</sup> In *Le mythe du retour: Les artistes scandinaves en France de 1889 à 1908* (2013), however, Vibeke Røstorp questioned this assumption and demonstrated that many of the Scandinavian artists who made Paris their home never returned to the North at all, choosing instead to pursue careers in the French capital.<sup>23</sup> Focusing on how the impressionists were received by Nordic critics and artists, the watershed exhibition *Impressionism and the North* (2002) similarly used a dialogic model to show how Nordic painters intersected with and wrote about their Parisian contemporaries. Critical episodes highlighted in this exhibition included Paul Gauguin's direct links to the Copenhagen art scene, Claude Monet's oft-forgotten visit to Norway in 1895, and Van Gogh's 1893 exhibition alongside Gauguin in Copenhagen.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, *Auguste Rodin and the Nordic Countries* (2015) drew attention to Rodin's exhibition history in Scandinavia and close friendships with Nordic colleagues, including prominent figures in the Swedish art world such as Anders Zorn and Prins Eugen.<sup>25</sup> Recent analyses of canonical Nordic artists, especially since 2010, have repositioned their oeuvres in light of international travel, global patrons, and international exhibitions.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Frank Claustrat, ed., *Échappées nordiques. Les maîtres scandinaves et finlandais en France, 1870/1914* (Lille: Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> Vibeke Røstorp, *Le mythe du retour. Les artistes scandinaves en France de 1889 à 1908* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitets förlag, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> Torsten Gunnarsson and Hans Henrik Brummer, *Impressionism and the North: Late 19th Century French Avant-Garde Art and the Art of the Nordic Countries, 1870–1920* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2003). For a more detailed account of the relationship between post-impressionism and Danish art, see Merete Bodelsen, *Gauguin and van Gogh in Copenhagen in 1893* (Copenhagen: Ordbruggaard, 1984).

<sup>25</sup> Linda Hinner, ed., *Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) and the Nordic Countries* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2015).

<sup>26</sup> See Christophe Leribault et al., *Anders Zorn. Le maître de la peinture suédoise* (Paris: Paris-Musé, 2017); Marianne Saabye, ed., *Kroyer. An International Perspective* (Copenhagen: Hirschsprung Collection / Skagen: Skagens Museum, 2011); Sven Bjerkhof, ed., *Hammershoi and Europe* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2012); and Frank Claustrat, ed., *Frits Thaulow. Paysagiste par nature* (Caen: Musée des Beaux-Arts Caen, 2016).



New translations of key nineteenth-century texts regarding Nordic artists' colonies in the years 1870–1914, an initiative led by Frances Fowle, have drawn attention to the active Nordic engagement with the European avant-garde.<sup>27</sup> A renewed interest in artists' colonies in particular, such as those in Grez-sur-Loing, Varberg, and Skagen, has expanded the conceptual terrain of Nordic art by emphasizing the role of global exchange, even in rural, informal sites of artistic contact in France, Italy, and Denmark.<sup>28</sup> Alexandra Herlitz's interest in dialogue and exchange in Grez-sur-Loing marked a turning point in the scholarship on subsequent exhibitions such as *Grez-sur-Loing: Konst och Relationer* (2019).<sup>29</sup> By revisiting Zorn's internationalism in conversation with that of Sargent, my approach in the ensuing chapters likewise foreground collaboration and friendship over one-sided "influence" or segregated artistic communities and responds to the new directions of Nordic modernism as a scholarly field.

### *Fracture and Materiality*

Alongside questions of transnational mobility, this dissertation draws attention to surface and materiality. My foregrounding of questions of form, and my close attention to artistic process takes its place in dialogue with scholars like Carol Armstrong, Anthea Callen, Laura Kalba, Ann-Sophie Lehmann, and others who have centered their analysis on art

<sup>27</sup> Frances Fowle, "Introduction: Nordic Artists' Colonies, 1870–1914," *Art in Translation* 9, no. 2 (2017): 183–89.

<sup>28</sup> A recent exhibition, *In the Light of Italy: A Danish-Norwegian Artist Community 1879–1886* (Skovgaard Museum, Viborg, 2016–17), focused on the Danish and Norwegian artists who painted in Sora and Civita d'Antino, near the Abruzzo Mountains. These artists included P.S. Krøyer, Eilif Peterssen, Christian Meyer Ross, Joakim Skovgaard, Kristian Zahrtmann, Theodor Philipsen and Viggo Pedersen.

<sup>29</sup> Alexandra Herlitz, *Grez-sur-Loing Revisited: The International Artists' Colony in a Different Light* (Gothenburg and Stockholm: Makadam, 2013); Karin Sidén, ed. *Grez-sur-Loing: Konst och Relationer* (Stockholm: Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, 2019).

objects and art making without dismissing the contextual, historical realities of the fin de siècle.<sup>30</sup> My use of the term “formalism” likewise combines a sustained attention to surface and materiality with social history and theories of time. By doing so, I follow Whitney Davis’s useful articulation of formalism as “a historical project in which formality must be located in the visuality within which it could have been seen by other people—within which it was *made* by other people.”<sup>31</sup> My framework engages significant voices in the formalist debate, among them Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby and Reinhold Heller, who have approached nineteenth-century painting with a sustained attention to surface.<sup>32</sup> A “post-Greenbergian” formalism, or “post-formalism,” expands and clarifies the “material plane,” without detaching form from content, in order to understand the canvas as a space of negotiation.<sup>33</sup> My critical approach to medium, and to what I describe as the temporal context of mark making, interrogates Sargent and Zorn’s academic training and artistic process, challenging their habitual categorization as foreign followers of impressionism. In my work to reassess the relationship between art’s materiality, the artist, and social context, I draw upon the work

<sup>30</sup> Anthea Callen, *The Art of Impressionism: Painting Technique and the Making of Modernity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Anthea Callen, *The Work of Art: Plein-air Painting and Artistic Identity in Nineteenth-Century France* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015); Laura Anne Kalba, *Color in the Age of Impressionism: Commerce, Technology, and Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2017); Ann-Sophie Lehmann, “The Matter of the Medium: Some Tools for an Art-Theoretical Interpretation of Materials” in *The Matter of Art: Materials, Technologies, Meanings 1200–1700*, ed. Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 21–41; and Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>31</sup> Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 74.

<sup>32</sup> Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, “Patina, Painting, and Portentous Somethings,” *Representations* 78 (2002): 140–44; and Reinhold Heller, “Concerning Symbolism and the Structure of Surface,” *Art Journal* 45, no. 2 (1985): 146–53.

<sup>33</sup> Whitney Davis, “Subjectivity and Objectivity in High and Historical Formalism” *Representations* 104, no. 1 (2008): 8–22; and Whitney Davis, “What is Post-Formalism? (Or, Das Sehen an sich hat seine Kunstgeschichte),” *Nonsite*, issue 7 (October 2012), <https://nonsite.org/article/what-is-post-formalism-or-das-sehen-an-sich-hat-seine-kunstgeschichte>.

of Giuliana Bruno, a cultural critic and theorist, whose investigation of media and material relations treats the surface as a “space of relations”: “an active site of exchange between subject and object” and “a site of dynamic projections.”<sup>34</sup>

A key part of my practice of formalism and commitment to materiality includes the analysis of condition reports and consultations with conservators in order to respond to what might be gleaned from x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and x-radiographs.<sup>35</sup> I attend also to how the very materials of Sargent and Zorn’s watercolor practice, such as their use of gum water, a binding agent sourced from Africa, connect their scenes of western port cities to contemporaneous anxieties, articulated in sources such as the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, about gum production, cost, and export during this moment of New Imperialism.<sup>36</sup> By taking seriously Sargent and Zorn’s artistic practices and material surfaces, my dissertation insists upon the fundamental argument: that materials shape meaning.

### *Temporality*

<sup>34</sup> “In many ways, then, I treat the surface as a site of dynamic projections. This surface is tensile in the sense that it is also a landscape of projective motion. This means that the surface holds what we project into it. It is an active site of exchange between subject and object. The surface, like the screen, is an architecture of relations. It is a mobile place of dwelling, a transitional space that activates cultural transits. It is a plane that makes possible forms of connectivity, relatedness, and exchange. Such surface, far from being superficial, is a sizable entity: it is a space of real dimension and deep transformation. Conceived as such a space of relations, the surface can contain even our most intimate projections. The site of an experience of public intimacy, the surface is, indeed, a real screen.” See Giuliana Bruno, *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 8.

<sup>35</sup> Rebecca Hellen and Joyce H. Townsend, ““The Way in Which He Does It”: The Making of Sargent’s Oils,” in *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 9, *Figures and Landscapes, 1914–1925*, ed. Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2016), 29–55.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, “Gum Arabic from the Sudan,” *Journal of the Society of Arts*, no. 2750 (August 4, 1905): 950.

In 1884, against the backdrop of Sargent and Zorn's international exhibitions and artistic engagements, the Prime Meridian Conference took place in Washington, D.C.<sup>37</sup> This conference, which adopted a single meridian in Greenwich, standardized so-called clock time and established an international consensus for global time zones. As Adam Barrows and others have argued, the ensuing temporal standardization had a resounding effect on the art and literature produced in the late nineteenth century, as artists and authors wrestled with and responded to the discourse of synchronized scientific time.<sup>38</sup>

Although the organizers of the Prime Meridian conference advertised a unifying, utopian vision of standard time that would rise above what Vanessa Ogle has called “national jealousies,” these initiatives, in practice, served only to accentuate national differences. Furthermore, the universal adoption of time, although tempting to distill to a single moment, did not occur in practice for decades. The 1884 proceedings in Washington were only the beginning of the extended process of time reform, which lasted until the 1940s and has been described as “unstable,” “precarious,” and “full of malfunctioning.”<sup>39</sup> Ten years

<sup>37</sup> In January 1884, John Singer Sargent attended Édouard Manet's memorial exhibition, staged at the *École Nationale des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. Later that year, he would paint the Parisian *salonnière* Henrietta Reubell, spend early spring in London, cross paths with Henry James at a party thrown in Edwin Austin Abbey's new studio, then return to Paris to exhibit the divisive *Madame X* at the May Salon. Anders Zorn, in that same year, traveled to Madrid via Portugal, exhibited his watercolors in Paris, London, and Stockholm, and continued etching under the guidance of Alex Herman Haig, a fellow Swede, in England. In Madrid, Zorn exhibited at the *Exposicion general de bellas artes*. For a complete chronology, see Hans Henrik Brummer, *Anders Zorn: Till ögats fröjd och nationens förgyllning* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1994), 289. Two recent Zorn retrospectives in America, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America* (2013) and *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter* (2013) emphasized Zorn's international significance, “highly civilized urban interlocutors,” and ability to “tell anecdotes in at least three different languages—Swedish, French, and English.” See Oliver Tostmann, “Anders Zorn and His International Success,” in *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, ed. Oliver Tostmann, with contributions by Hans Henrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013), 25.

<sup>38</sup> “As political and scientific representatives of ‘civilized’ nations argued over the value of synchronized civil time, literary artists were experimenting with the representation of human temporality in ways that would radically alter prevailing aesthetic forms.” Adam Barrows, *The Cosmic Time of Empire: Modern Britain and World Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 2.

<sup>39</sup> Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time: 1870–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 14.

after the conference, the world was still not united by a shared, universal time. Sweden, situated fifteen degrees east of the prime meridian, was one of the first countries to adopt the standard hour, one hour ahead of Greenwich time.<sup>40</sup> France, on the other hand, whose delegate to the Prime Meridian Conference abstained in the vote for Standard Time, had not yet formally adopted the British Meridian even a decade later.

The scientists, bureaucrats, and lawmakers who advocated for standard time at the end of the century, and organized the 1884 forum, also addressed shifting notions of globalization and cosmopolitanism in their appeals to a wider public. Sandford Fleming, a Canadian engineer, industrialist, and leader of the standard time movement, used the terms “cosmic” and “cosmopolitan” to describe and advertise uniform time as a critical intercontinental system and, at the 1884 conference, implored fellow delegates to act as “citizens of the world” by supporting his policy.<sup>41</sup> Fleming’s defense of temporal standardization, undergirded by the language of cosmopolitanism, occurred at the very moment Sargent and Zorn were building their careers as international portrait painters and relying on the commissions and collegiality of transatlantic acquaintances to further their global networks. Indeed, both artists benefitted from the practicalities of standard time’s gradual adoption in the 1880s and 1890s as they navigated frequent international engagements.<sup>42</sup> This interest in, and reliance on, a standard time is perhaps best illustrated by

<sup>40</sup> Sandford Fleming, *Time-Reckoning for the Twentieth Century* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1886), 50.

<sup>41</sup> See Adam Barrows, “‘The Shortcomings of Timetables’: Greenwich, Modernism, and the Limits of Modernity,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 56, no. 2 (2010): 283.

<sup>42</sup> Although this dissertation reflects an interest in late nineteenth-century international networks, I aim to avoid the uncritical “connectivity talk” that validates and elevates a hierarchical global history at the expense of the periphery. As Vanessa Ogle convincingly warns, “Such a version of global history risks making itself the mouthpiece of an ideology that pretends to merely describe a networked globe but more often seeks to remake the world in its highly normative mold. Today’s apostles of interconnectedness are heirs to nineteenth-century visions of hegemony. The invocation of networks and connections today resembles the proliferation of ‘time

the trail of letters and telegrams left by both artists, which coordinate the many logistics associated with a mobile artistic career and a transatlantic professional community.<sup>43</sup> The simultaneous technological innovation of the street lamp and the indoor electric light, which blurred clear divisions between day and night, also disrupted natural temporal rhythms of a day.<sup>44</sup>

The strict divide between temporal and spatial objects has been subject to vigorous debate and reconsideration since the eighteenth century. In 1766, German philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing published *Laocoön*, a seminal polemic that considers the division between spatial and temporal arts. In his Enlightenment-era aesthetic treatise, Lessing argues that a painting can only record a single moment, while prose can capture a complete duration by describing an event in succession.<sup>45</sup> This strict divide between temporal and spatial objects has been subject to vigorous debate and reconsideration since *Laocoön's* publication.<sup>46</sup> In his twentieth-century rebuttal to Lessing, W. J. T. Mitchell argues “that the

talk’ among Europeans and Americans around 1900, which was just as politicized and nonuniversal, nonneutral.” See Ogle, *Global Transformation of Time*, 204.

<sup>43</sup> A July 1888 letter from Sargent to Claude Monet exemplifies both Sargent’s active pace of travel and his dependence on train schedules and telegrams to coordinate meetings: “J’ai couru à Charing Cross mais vous n’êtes pas dans le train de 5 heures. Dans le cas où vous arrivez à 7 heures je compte sur vous pour demain à déjeuner à 12½ ici. Faites moi savoir par une dépêche. Je ne suis à Londres que pour 24 heures. Mon adresse est Calcot Mill House Reading.” John Singer Sargent to Claude Monet, July 1888, John Singer Sargent archive, SC.SargentArchive.6.2, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>44</sup> Bryony Randall, *Modernism, Daily Time and Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1.

<sup>45</sup> “Painting, in its coexistent compositions, can use but a single moment of an action, and must therefore choose the most pregnant one, the one most suggestive of what has gone before and what is to follow.” See Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay Upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Ellen Frothingham (Boston: Little, Brown, 1910), 92.

<sup>46</sup> Georges Didi-Huberman has challenged art historical conceptions of time and memory, arguing “we cannot produce a consistent notion of the image without thinking about time that includes difference and repetition, symptom and anachronism; that is, a critique of history as unilateral submission to chronological time.” See Georges Didi-Huberman, “History and Image: Has the ‘Epistemological Transformation’ Taken Place?” in *The Art Historian: National Traditions and Institutional Practices*, ed. Michael F. Zimmermann (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2003), 135.

whole notion of ‘spatial’ and ‘temporal’ arts is misconceived insofar as it is employed as a general differentiation of or within the arts.”<sup>47</sup> To label a work of art as *either* spatial or temporal, he maintains, is to create a problematic and false dichotomy.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, the danger of removing temporality from a concept of the image is that it could strip an art object of its embodied context or turn the process of artistic creation into a “purely noetic act.”<sup>49</sup>

Marnin Young has called on art historians to rethink Lessing’s “spatializing, anti-temporal account of the visual arts” and to reassess the history of painting in the nineteenth century with a more comprehensive inclusion of time.<sup>50</sup> Young, whose work acknowledges the late nineteenth-century “cultural transformations in the perception of temporality,”<sup>51</sup> argues that time’s synchronization and coordination coincided with realism’s replacement by impressionism.<sup>52</sup> Impressionist brushstrokes, which were assumed to align the time of representation with represented time, heightened an ideological interest in the concept of the

<sup>47</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell, “The Politics of Genre: Space and Time in Lessing’s *Laocoon*,” *Representations*, no. 6 (Spring 1984): 100.

<sup>48</sup> Mitchell, 104.

<sup>49</sup> Aaron Stoller, “Time and the Creative Act,” *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society: A Quarterly Journal in American Philosophy* 52, no. 1 (2016): 53.

<sup>50</sup> Marnin Young, “After Courbet: Realism and the Specter of History, 1871–1889” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1994), 9. Other texts that effectively engage with the relationship between painting and time include Marnin Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Michael Fried, *Manet’s Modernism; Or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Mary Hunter, “The Waiting Time of Prostitution: Gynecology and Temporality in Henri de Toulouse Lautrec’s *Rue des Moulins, 1894*,” *Art History* 41, no. 1 (February 2019): 68–93; André Dombrowski, “Painting Time: Impressionism and the Modern Temporal Order,” *The Institute Letter*, Fall 2013, 11; and Michelle Foa, *Georges Seurat: The Art of Vision* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

<sup>51</sup> Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism*, 9.

<sup>52</sup> My use of lowercase, here and throughout the dissertation, follows the lead of Allison Morehead, who notes that symbolism, impressionism, and naturalism were “discourses (practices) in flux, never able to be entirely pinned down, and involving different stakes and different stakeholders at any given moment.” The lowercase thus resists the notion of a singular, definable “Impressionism” and makes space for multiple impressionisms. See Allison Morehead, *Nature’s Experiments and the Search for Symbolist Form* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2017), 23.

“instant.”<sup>53</sup> The emergence of later realism, Young posits, tried to make sense of this new synchronization of time by emphasizing temporal dilation and producing temporally extended pictures.<sup>54</sup> André Dombrowski, who likewise probes the nineteenth-century cultural transformation of temporal priorities, locates what he terms “an economy of time” in impressionism, with an emphasis on its redefinition of brushwork, composition, and translations of modern experience.<sup>55</sup> This fin-de-siècle reading of the brushstroke as an index of the artist’s swift practice coincided with the ongoing process of time’s standardization and the implementation of a uniform “instant” across national borders. Emily Burns has investigated these shifting national and painterly attitudes in order to consider the relationship between appropriations of plein air painting and strategies of nation building. The notion of “forgetting,” she argues, both artistically as aesthetic naiveté and politically in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War, served as a tool of burgeoning nationalism and as an artistic lens in the late nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup> In national cultures shaped either by newness or

<sup>53</sup> Richard Brettell refers to this correlation as “an aesthetic accord between represented time and the time of representation—a symbiotic link between style and subject in which the rushed or rapid quality of the former reinforces the corresponding qualities of the latter.” See Richard Brettell, *Impressionism: Painting Quickly in France, 1860–1890* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 17.

<sup>54</sup> Marnin Young, “The Temporal Fried.” *Nonsite* issue 21 (July 2017): <https://nonsite.org/article/the-temporal-fried>. Michael Fried uses the term “temporal dilation” to describe a protracted moment depicted on a painted surface: “Thus for example an absorptive thematics calls for effects of temporal dilation that in turn serve the ends of pictorial realism by encouraging the viewer to explore the represented scene in an unhurried manner.” See Michael Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 42.

<sup>55</sup> André Dombrowski, “Instants, Moments, Minutes: Impressionism and the Industrialization of Time,” in *Monet and the Birth of Impressionism*, ed. Felix Krämer (Frankfurt: Städel Museum, 2015), 36–45.

<sup>56</sup> Emily Burns, “‘Local Color in Art’: Nationalism and Impressionism in the United States, Australia, and France” (paper presented at the American Studies Center, University of Warsaw, Poland, June 7, 2016). Paul Hayes Tucker has similarly posited that impressionistic ambition was not just about formal experimentation, but also intended to establish impressionism as a national style. See Tucker, *Claude Monet: Life and Art*. For other studies that consider the relationship between art and politics in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, see Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after the War and Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870–1871)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); John House, *Impressionism: Paint and Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); Philip Nord, *Impressionists and Politics: Art and Democracy in the Nineteenth Century* (London:



by recent war, appropriations of the impressionistic style transformed a modernist strategy into a cultural mythology of nationalism. These scholars model how invisible or abstract notions of temporal distance, duration, and delay affected the reception of objects in space, especially in the late nineteenth century.

The nineteenth-century restructuring of temporality affected multiple artistic movements and reached far beyond the boundaries of France.<sup>57</sup> As I will discuss in chapter three, Zorn's ethos of pleinairisme in the 1890s, as seen in his paintings from London, Paris, and Mora in particular, fused a sense of immediacy with memories of past encounters and had less to do with the physical conditions of painting outside or painting with haste. Ultimately, his works allow us to ask if pleinairisme should be defined as the physical act of painting out-of-doors or if it might instead be conceived as a more nuanced *material* property that facilitates the viewer's sense of proximity. More fundamentally, Zorn's purported pleinairisme prompts us to examine what is at stake in this difference.

If, as David Mikailu and Brendan Wattenberg have explained, "cosmopolitan temporality inhabits that space between lived realities and remembered visions,"<sup>58</sup> I explore the degree to which Sargent and Zorn's engagement with cosmopolitanism manifests physically on canvases that reveal a more complicated translation of time than their *alla prima* aesthetic suggests. This dissertation's philosophical underpinnings, furthermore,

Routledge, 2000); and Paul Hayes Tucker, *Claude Monet: Life and Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>57</sup> Focusing on a later phase of artistic production outside of Paris, Allison Morehead has interrogated how artists in the 1890s wrestled with issues of temporality to a different effect, concentrating specifically on symbolist visual aesthetics. See Allison Morehead, "Creative Pathologies: French Experimental Psychology and Symbolist Avant-Gardes, 1889–1900" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007), 234.

<sup>58</sup> David Mikailu and Brendan Wattenberg, "My Name Will Not Be Lost: Cosmopolitan Temporality and Reclaimed History in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's 'The Headstrong Historian,'" *African Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (2015): 55.

respond to the intellectual contours of temporality by integrating key fin-de-siècle theorists. Chapters two and three turn with particular attention to William James (1842–1910), Henri Bergson (1859–1941), and Harald Høffding (1843–1931), who wrote extensively on the consciousness of time and temporal awareness.<sup>59</sup>

Throughout the ensuing four chapters, I consider the backdrop of temporal standardization as it filtered into international artistic production in the late nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup> These chapters and specific case studies examine the wider intellectual landscape that surrounded and informed Sargent and Zorn's work to demonstrate how clusters of preparatory sketches and paintings, or traces of an artist's alterations, might tell us something about Sargent and Zorn's alternate models of temporality as they translated and mutated time through their mark marking.

### *Chapter Organization*

Anchored by four episodes, "The Portrait," "The Threshold," "The City," and "The Sea," this dissertation shifts between locations, media, and subject matter as my lens widens to consider intimate interior portraits, vignettes of modern urban space, and images of the sea. The art treated within this dissertation is closely linked, both thematically and

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, trans. F. L. Pogson, first published 1913 (New York: Dover, 2001); William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (New York: Holt, 1910); Harald Høffding, *Psykologiske Undersøgelser* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Society for the Sciences 1889).

<sup>60</sup> Stephen Kern provides a conclusive social history of time in relation to modernist literature, arguing that these many technological and cultural changes "created distinctive new modes of thinking about and experiencing time and space." Kern's monograph remains a touchstone for studies of time and aesthetics through the lens of social history. See Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1. In his account, Kern considers both the technological innovations of industrialization—exemplified by the telegraph, the cinema, the train, and the telephone—that placed new pressures on temporal awareness and "the literary explorations of private time" that "challenged the authoritarian and overbearing tendencies of world time." He goes on to explain, "The sense of time throughout this period emerged from tensions and debates in physical science, social science, art, philosophy, novels, plays, and concrete technological change." See Kern, 35.

historically, with concerns that animated the work of other international painters at the fin de siècle. At the same time, each chapter engages with cosmopolitanism as an artistic, critical, and theoretical concept.

My first chapter, “The Portrait,” begins by mapping the international contours of Sargent and Zorn’s artistic networks and the way the two artists were positioned in the press as direct rivals. This was especially apparent in the public response to their competing depictions of the same subjects, for instance their portraits of collector Isabella Stewart Gardner and heiress Virginia Bacon. At the same time, I propose that these and other paintings be understood as embodying—and functioning as—dynamic agents of mobility rather than mere displays of affluence. This chapter goes on to focus on two case studies that materialize the temporal dialectic between rootedness and transatlantic mobility. In the case of Zorn, the son of a Bavarian brewer, we can trace his visual engagement with the transnational economic exchange that emerged as part of the nineteenth-century pilsner industry through his portraits of the Anheuser-Busch family in St. Louis and his depictions of labor at the Hamburg Brewery in Stockholm. For Sargent, a portrait of a young girl in a greenhouse gives visual form to the Franco-American, or more specifically the Paris-Boston, axis that facilitated not only Sargent’s career but also a larger horticultural initiative and transatlantic seed exchange led by his cousin, Charles Sprague Sargent. Sargent’s repeated depiction of the hydrangea in particular exemplifies his ties to a community of New England botanists and landscape architects as well as his contemporaneous interest in French symbolist aesthetics.

In the second chapter, “The Threshold,” I reconsider John Singer Sargent’s 1885 portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson and his wife and offer an alternative account of what has long been recognized as the picture’s distinctive—if not idiosyncratic—formal qualities.

Rather than dismissing the work as an outlier in Sargent's oeuvre, I argue that the painting is a productive exemplar of his temporal as well as technical experimentation; his cosmopolitan facture. Drawing on both conservation records and the nineteenth-century philosophical texts of William James, my chapter establishes the pictorial connections between *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* and Sargent's preceding trip to Morocco.

Chapter three, "The City," turns to Anders Zorn's paintings of the modern city. At its core are Zorn's *Omnibus* of 1892 and *Night Effect* of 1895, long considered scenes of Parisian modernity. Scholarly discussion of Zorn's legacy tends to consider his works as a reflection of his clearly delimited national identity and as constituting his Swedish identity incarnate. These pictures of ostensibly Parisian locations, therefore, are bracketed as exceptions to his oeuvre. By attending instead to the porous boundaries between his contemporaneous painting projects, which spanned continents, I argue that his studies of modern life are the product of multiple temporally and geographically specific moments brought into new contact through a process of constant revision. Specifically, I correct the scholarly record in order to recast their production and painted surfaces as dynamic negotiations between Sweden and France in the 1890s.

The final chapter, "The Sea," addresses the recurring presence in Sargent and Zorn's bodies of work of ports, harbors, and steamships, which served as recurring vantage points from which the two artists recorded their travel and reflected on past journeys. Sargent and Zorn's intimate, episodic renderings of these liminal spaces contribute to their shared cosmopolitan imaginary, one lacking local specificity. Their paintings instead mirror the lived experience of the artist-traveler and draw attention to the relationship between cosmopolitan facture and the visual politics of imperialism.

## CHAPTER 1: THE PORTRAIT

In his early twentieth-century caricature, *31 Tite Street* (fig. 1.1), c. 1908, the British essayist and parodist Max Beerbohm addressed a pervasive perception that John Singer Sargent's rote artistic production centered on an insular British community and moneyed clientele. Beerbohm's playful scene presents a stoic Sargent, sequestered in his London studio, peering out onto a queue of hatted women in fashionable furs and gowns. Standing alongside their diminutive, uniformed male attendants, these eager sitters anticipate the opportunity that awaits them behind the studio door: the chance to have their likenesses rendered by an eminent, if somewhat imprisoned, portrait master.<sup>61</sup>

In the century that has passed since Beerbohm published his caricature, this vision of Sargent's superficial artistic production and confinement within a certain echelon of British society has largely been dispelled. Instead of emphasizing Sargent's isolated portrait production or identity as a singular artist-genius, scholars have begun to place Sargent in dialogue with his expatriate contemporaries, namely James McNeill Whistler and Mary Cassatt, or his Parisian colleagues, such as Carolus-Duran and Claude Monet. By doing so, they have emphasized the triangular Anglo-French-American circuitry that defined Sargent's "chronic itinerancy."<sup>62</sup> The diversity of Sargent's artistic community, however, and the extent of its geographical scope, have yet to be fully explored, especially as they encompassed the

<sup>61</sup> While one reading of the caricature might focus on Beerbohm's commentary on gender, fashion, and emasculation, I am more interested in his depiction of Sargent as a secluded, solitary artist at the beck and call of elite patrons.

<sup>62</sup> Stanley Olson, "The Question of Sargent's Nationality," in Patricia Hills, *John Singer Sargent*, with Linda Ayres et al. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art / Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 13-25; Peter Gibian, "Beyond Aesthetic Tourism: Travelers and Locals in Sargent's Self-Reflexive Subject Pictures," in *A Seamless Web: Transatlantic Art in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Cheryll L. May and Marian Wardle (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 163-82; Hollis Clayson, "Voluntary Exiles and Cosmopolitanism in the Transatlantic Arts Community, 1870-1914," in *American Artists in Munich: Artistic Migration and Cultural Exchange Processes*, ed. Christian Fuhrmeister, Hubertus Kohle, and Veerle Thielemans (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 15-26; and Andrew Stephenson, "Locating Cosmopolitanism within a Trans-Atlantic Interpretive Frame: Critical Evaluation of Sargent's Portraits and Figure Studies in Britain and the United States c. 1886-1926," *Tate Papers*, no. 27 (2017): 1-36.

art and artists of the Nordic nations. Although Sargent's only recorded voyage to Scandinavia was a 1901 fishing trip to Norway, which resulted in a sporting portrait (fig. 1.2) and a series of salmon studies, his artistic orbit intersected with that of Nordic painters—both directly and indirectly—from the early stages of his career.<sup>63</sup> These points of convergence, particularly Sargent's documented ties to Anders Zorn, a painter of comparable international acclaim, reveals a more comprehensive narrative of Sargent's artistic exchange and affirms the significant Nordic contributions to modern art on the global stage.

Sargent and Zorn, in particular, exemplify a resistance to portraiture's assumed rootedness, or to the vision of a secluded portrait painter in his formal studio. Although, of all genres, the portrait, along with the still life, is considered most static, most staged, and most tied to a particular sitter's environment, Sargent and Zorn's portraiture, I argue, reveals just as much about their transnational artistic process as it does a final product. Portraits, as Heather McPherson has observed, register fragments of the past, present, and future. In the case of Sargent and Zorn, they also install images of conventional subjects—upper-class sitters—into global visions of travel and mobility.<sup>64</sup> Portraits are thus employed as tools of worldmaking and identity construction, as a way to map the artist's travels and to emphasize his biographical cosmopolitanism. Fleshing out the circumstances of their production reveals

<sup>63</sup> Shared sites of artistic production mark additional, tangential ties between Sargent and a much wider Swedish community. Grez-sur-Loing, an artist colony eighty kilometers south of Paris, attracted an international collective of American, British, and Scandinavian artists who gathered to escape urban life and paint *en plein air*. Sargent recalls his visit to Grez with fellow students in Carolus-Duran's atelier, either in 1875 or 1876, in a letter to Vernon Lee. In 1880, Sargent painted a portrait of Francis Brooks Chadwick, an American artist who settled permanently in Grez-sur-Loing and, in 1881, married the Swedish painter (and friend of Anders Zorn), Emma Löwstädt-Chadwick. See William H. Gerdts, "The American Artists in Grez," in *Out of Context: American Artists Abroad*, ed. Laura Rachel Felleman Fattal and Carol Salus (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 35–68.

<sup>64</sup> Heather McPherson, *The Modern Portrait in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

not only the local specificity of a sitter's environment, but also their role within a larger network.

While Zorn is frequently cited for his promotion of an explicitly Nordic artistic identity and his ties to Swedish National Romanticism, his relationship with Sargent complicates this regional framework.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, although the individual contributions of these artists have been recognized, it is especially timely in the wake of art history's transnational turn to resituate their work in a broader context.<sup>66</sup> Zorn, a Swede, established a far-flung career in France, America, Italy, Spain, Germany, and England before returning to his birthplace in the province of Dalarna. By foregrounding cultural exchange and artistic convergence rather than regional identity, my consideration of these two artists resists a Francocentric narrative of modern art. Likewise, it challenges the rhetoric of national exceptionalism that has marked the scholarship surrounding both artists. Rather, my study of the creative nexus promoted by Sargent and Zorn at the height of their professional success demonstrates their central role as advocates of a geographically untethered artistic community and proponents of the visual language of cosmopolitanism.<sup>67</sup>

*"Portrait Masters of the World"*

<sup>65</sup> For a cogent account of Swedish National Romanticism, as well as Zorn's ties to this movement, see Michelle Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>66</sup> Recent volumes, such as Barbara Groseclose and Jochen Wierich, eds., *Internationalizing the History of American Art: Views* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2009), and symposia like "Shifting Terrain: Mapping a Transnational American Art History" (Smithsonian American Art Museum, October 16–17, 2015) have probed the international topography of American art and its makers. These interventions represent important new developments in the study of American art, which is increasingly enmeshed in a transnational art history.

<sup>67</sup> For a discussion of cosmopolitanism as an interpretive lens and its development as a formal endeavor in nineteenth-century literature, see Tanya Agathocleous, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).



As members of a transatlantic cohort, Sargent and Zorn spent the last decades of the nineteenth century toggling between time zones and participating in the cultural simultaneity of multiple nations. They also spent significant time in Paris, where Sargent completed his artistic training in the atelier of Carolus-Duran and Zorn kept a studio for eight years. Even when Paris was no longer either artist's primary residence, they found frequent occasions to return for exhibitions or events. As such, Sargent and Zorn coincided chronologically and geographically with the French impressionist and post-impressionist painters—the eighth and final impressionist exhibition was held in Paris in May and June 1886—even as they formulated an artistic approach best understood as independent from this framework.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, their art and artistic networks confound familiar paradigms of realism, impressionism, post-impressionism, symbolism, and the avant-garde.<sup>69</sup> As a result, they are often evaluated as individual artist-geniuses or in terms of their biographies, national allegiances, and ostensibly rearguard commissions. The effect of this categorization has limited scholarly engagement with the theoretical precepts that informed their working processes and shaped the cultural dialogues in which they participated as they traveled, painted, and established community across the globe. To unite Sargent and Zorn within a larger artistic community of “restlessly inveterate”<sup>70</sup> travelers and painters across Europe and the United States necessitates a revised definition of their cosmopolitanism. Although the

<sup>68</sup> Sargent moved to Paris with his family in 1874 and maintained the capital as his primary residence until 1884, when he moved to England. Zorn resided in Paris from 1889 to 1897, though he frequently traveled to Paris before and after these dates.

<sup>69</sup> Robert Jensen, in his investigation of the fin-de-siècle art market, articulates the institutional coherence of what he terms the *juste milieu* (and includes Zorn and Sargent within this class of artists) and its divergence from French impressionism. See Richard Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 142.

<sup>70</sup> I borrow this apt term from Angus Trumble and Andrea Wolk Rager, eds., *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 178.

idea of the cosmopolitan painter has tended to connote an elite, genteel class of male artist, fin-de-siècle cosmopolitanism can more usefully be understood as a means of signaling “the proliferating circuitry of travel and tourism” in which Sargent and Zorn took part.<sup>71</sup>

The professional trajectories and peregrinations of Sargent and Zorn correspond to larger nexus of artists including, but not limited to, Cecilia Beaux, Giovanni Boldini, William Merritt Chase, Albert Edelfelt, Giuseppe De Nittis, Joaquín Sorolla, Ramón Casas, Max Liebermann, Peder Severin Krøyer, and Christian Krohg.<sup>72</sup> The so-called sophisticated international style favored by these portrait painters of the late nineteenth century has been considered a midpoint between avant-garde practices and the more conservative submissions to the Parisian Salon.<sup>73</sup> They have further been understood to be linked by their employment of a capricious visible facture, or paint handling, that “destroyed contours” and “broke up the literal surface of their paintings.”<sup>74</sup> Uniting these artists under the broad categorization of *juste milieu*, however, offers only a superficial reading of the connective tissue that links a diverse collection of painters. Although it has been, to date, the best articulation for this commercially successful centrist style, it also serves as an attempt to place the artists to

<sup>71</sup> Hollis Clayson, “Voluntary Exile and Cosmopolitanism in the Transatlantic Arts Community, 1870–1914,” 19. It must be noted here that Sargent and Zorn’s ability to travel freely across borders and establish international communities of patrons reflects their privilege as white, European men. This privilege, which facilitated seamless boundary crossing and defined a nineteenth-century cosmopolitan class of painters, was rarely extended to female artists or artists of color.

<sup>72</sup> In one recent instance, the 2007 exhibition *Sargent/Sorolla* productively placed these two artists in direct dialogue in order to investigate their stylistic similarities, especially their approach to society portraiture. See Tomàs Llorens, ed., *Sargent/Sorolla* (Madrid: Turner / Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2006).

<sup>73</sup> Oliver Tostmann, in his discussion of Zorn’s relationship to Sargent, Boldini, and Sorolla, notes how all four artists shared the same patrons and clients and displayed work at the same exhibitions: “Together, they appropriated and adapted the newest trends in modernist art and stood for a sophisticated international style.” See Oliver Tostmann, “Anders Zorn and his International Success,” in *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, ed. Oliver Tostmann, with contributions by Hans Henrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013), 13.

<sup>74</sup> Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, 144.

which it has referred within a distinctly French narrative—one rooted in political philosophy and economics and not art history.

My intentional selection of Sargent and Zorn as anchoring figures in this dissertation sheds light on a particular, physical response to shifting ideas about time and travel that is unique to these specific artists. Often cited in passing as rivals, Sargent and Zorn shared strikingly parallel geographies and eminent patrons throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, in spite of known contact between the artists, shared sitters, and parallel trips to Venice, London, Paris, Boston, and Washington, DC, there has yet to be a comprehensive study that critically examines their intersecting social networks in tandem with their approaches to painting.<sup>75</sup> By narrowing the scope of this project to focus on the examples of these two artists, I intend to examine their *facture*, the indexical traces of their process, as it reflects the epistemological conditions that surrounded them in a shared historical moment.

David Summers devotes an entire chapter to *facture* as an investigative mode of art historical analysis in his volume, *Real Spaces* (2013). By his definition,

The word “artifact” couples art with the idea of making, or having been made. “Facture” is from the past participle of the Latin *facio, facere*, to make or do; it thus has the same derivation as “fact,” which might be defined as something evidently done. Understood in this way, “fact” and “facture” are closely related; *to consider an artifact in terms of its facture is to consider it as a record of its own having been made.*<sup>76</sup>

Just as Sargent and Zorn’s portraits serve as records of their creation, and tell a story of the materials that were gathered and selected by the artists with purpose, we may also infer “that

<sup>75</sup> Epistolary records attest to a number of specific encounters between the two artists c. 1900. See Tostmann, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, 180.

<sup>76</sup> David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (New York: Phaidon, 2013), 74.

these human activities belonged to worlds, ‘second natures,’ social spaces and times of which these skills were a part.”<sup>77</sup> The notion of cosmopolitan facture, therefore, reaches beyond the technical aspects of art making—the weave of the canvas, the selection of wooden stretchers, the particular brushes and knives and techniques—and also encompasses the social spaces and networks in which these artists worked and traveled. In this chapter, I will examine how Sargent and Zorn’s portraits are especially indicative of these transnational circuitries and open up productive dialogues surrounding not only their materiality as individual objects but also their “second natures” as a larger series.

Recent scholarship has exposed a variety of Franco-Nordic contact in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, enriching the canonical discourse of aesthetic modernity by considering Claude Monet’s two-month stay in Norway, Vincent van Gogh’s 1893 exhibition alongside Paul Gauguin in Copenhagen, and Auguste Rodin’s Swedish collectors.<sup>78</sup> The prolific oeuvres of Anders Zorn and his international colleagues (Albert Edelfelt, Peder Severin Krøyer, Frits Thaulow, and others) likewise reveal the breadth of Nordic participation in an increasingly connected global network—a map with many points of aesthetic interdependence made possible by train travel and steamships, telegrams and postcards. One of the ways in which painters cultivated their pan-European careers was through portraiture, both by way of commissioned portraits of aristocratic patrons and through the exchange of portraits as tokens of collegial artistic exchange.

<sup>77</sup> Summers, 75.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, Torsten Gunnarsson and Hans Hendrik Brummer, *Impressionism and the North: Late 19th Century French Avant-Garde Art and the Art of the Nordic Countries, 1870–1920* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 2003); and Merete Bodelsen, *Gauguin and van Gogh in Copenhagen in 1893* (Copenhagen: Ordbruggaard, 1984).

As portrait masters, Sargent and Zorn not only documented the likenesses of the wealthy and powerful, but also the authors, dealers, and collectors who comprised the growing international art world and transatlantic masculine elite.<sup>79</sup> While I focus particular attention on the generative decades of the late nineteenth century, when Zorn and Sargent completed commissions for the same American patrons, two emblematic portraits from two different decades, Sargent's *Henry James*, 1913 (fig. 1.3) and Zorn's *Portrait of Franz Heiss*, 1902 (fig. 1.4) give expression to the formal synergies that continued to exist between these artists well into the twentieth century. In their depiction of an author and an industrialist, the two artists adhered to the conventions of academic portraiture by presenting each sitter in fine costume against a monochrome backdrop. In each case, the consistent pose—the subject seated with his left hand raised—creates a balanced composition that conveys both restrained composure and dynamic potential energy. Sargent and Zorn were unafraid to harness the power of black pigment, responding to Diego Velázquez and Édouard Manet in equal measure and providing a path forward, not as a return to academic stasis but as an alternative to the high-key palette of impressionism.<sup>80</sup> Their shared reverence for Velázquez reverberates in their pigments, facture, and compositional choices, a quality particularly remarked upon in the early stages of their careers.<sup>81</sup> At the same time, these artists were

<sup>79</sup> Hollis Clayson considers Zorn's "composite masculinity" as an animating feature of his portrait etchings. See Hollis Clayson, "Anders Zorn's Etched Portraits of American Men, or the Trouble with French Masculinity," in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789–1914*, ed. Temma Balducci, Heather Belnap Jensen, and Pamela J. Warner (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 177.

<sup>80</sup> Sargent and Zorn both acquired paintings by Manet for their personal collections. After Manet's death, Sargent purchased *Portrait of Madame Claus* (1868), a preparatory study for *Le Balcon*, in a studio sale. In Paris, Zorn received Manet's *Young Boy Peeling a Pear* (1868) as a gift from the opera singer Jean-Baptiste Faure, which he donated to the Nationalmuseum in 1896.

<sup>81</sup> Contemporary critics identified congruities between Sargent's 1882 painting, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, and *Las Meninas* (1656) and debated whether or not Sargent was "Velasquez [sic] come to life again." See W. C. Brownell, "American Pictures at the Salon," *The Magazine of Art* 6 (1883): 498. During his visits to Spain, Sargent completed a number of painted copies after Velázquez, including, among many others, *Prince Baltasar Carlos on Horseback* (1879). Likewise, critics noted how "Zorn's pictures are perpetuated movements. He has,

committed to promoting elements of the naturalist tradition and avant-garde techniques in their depictions of modern life and modern men.

The most sustained contact between Sargent and Zorn occurred in the late nineteenth century when universal expositions, shared patrons, and mutual friends led to public comparison by leading art critics and opportunities to hang their paintings alongside one another at popular exhibition venues. As early as 1882, both Sargent and Zorn exhibited at the Georges Petit Gallery in Paris as part of the first exhibition organized by the Société internationale de peintres et sculpteurs. Another such shared venue was the newly founded Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, an alternative to the Société des Artistes Français, which had a reputation for less restrictive rules and a more favorable disposition towards foreign artists.<sup>82</sup> In an 1891 review, a year in which both painters contributed works to the exhibition, one critic noted:

Zorn, a comparatively new man, a Swede, sends the most vigorous lot of portraits to be seen in either Salon. His manner, a broad and sweeping style, recalls Sargent, but he is still freer and unconstrained. Without doubt the man from the north will shortly be recognized as one of the portrait masters of the world.<sup>83</sup>

Although Sargent was the more established of the two artists, at least in Parisian artistic circles, critics were quick to comment on Zorn's favorable, sweeping style and promise as a rising star of the international art world.

like Valasques [sic], the mysterious faculty of imparting to his gesture something of the imposing breath, a sense of the actuality of movement." See Oscar Jacobson, "The Modern Art in Sweden," *Nya Idun* (December 1910): 282.

<sup>82</sup> "Art at the Champ de Mars," *New York Times*, June 1, 1891, 3.

<sup>83</sup> Zorn subscribed to a number of international press-clipping services, the records of which have been collated in a binder now housed in the archives of the Zorn Museum. Many thanks to Johan Cederlund and the staff of the Zorn Museum for providing me with access to these materials, which will henceforth be cited by page number as Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 25, Zorn Museum, Mora.

*Comrades of the Gilded Age*

Anders Zorn, born in Mora, trained at Stockholm's Royal Academy of Fine Arts before launching his peripatetic career as the "consummate cosmopolitan."<sup>84</sup> A skilled etcher and watercolorist, Zorn would shift his focus to oil painting upon his move to Paris in the spring of 1888. The following year, at the Exposition Universelle, Zorn and Sargent simultaneously gained public recognition for their exhibited paintings; both would receive the coveted Légion d'Honneur. Although he maintained longstanding friendships with his Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish colleagues, especially Albert Edelfelt, Richard Bergh, and Carl Larsson, Zorn's fame at the fin de siècle would eclipse that of his Nordic peers as he traveled to great lengths to court patrons and accept commissions, rising in the ranks of sought-after portrait painters. By the end of the nineteenth century, Zorn was an established star of the intercontinental art world, often cited in passing as a rival to Sargent, with whom he shared eminent patrons.<sup>85</sup> In her memoir, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life*, the American designer Candace Wheeler recalls a telling conversation with Zorn: "We were discussing a late portrait of John Singer Sargent and someone said, 'Sargent is your rival, Zorn!' Zorn seemed to muse over this a moment; then he answered, in his slightly hesitating English: 'Rivals? Why, we call them *comrades!*'"<sup>86</sup> In archival records, evidence of this camaraderie can be found in letters and even in Zorn's personal address book, where he recorded the location of Sargent's early twentieth-century London studio.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Clayson, "Anders Zorn's Etched Portraits of American Men," 177.

<sup>85</sup> Vibeke Röstorp, *Zorn och Frankrike* (Mora: Zornmuseet, 2017), 18.

<sup>86</sup> Candace Wheeler, *Yesterdays in a Busy Life*, (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1918), 359.

<sup>87</sup> Zorn's address book, which can be dated c. 1900, includes Sargent's studio address in England: The Avenue, 76 Fulham Road. Zorn Museum, Mora.

While they were not close friends or painting side by side, Sargent and Zorn's experiences as traveling artists shaped their production in comparable ways. Their ambitions as international portrait painters also led them to foster a rich fellowship of artists who were scattered across creative hubs, and who worked in a range of media. Sargent, who exhibited alongside Auguste Rodin in Brussels at the inaugural show of *Les XX* in 1884, painted his portrait in the same year with dramatic modeling and sculptural presence. In his 1884 portrait, *Auguste Rodin* (fig. 1.5), Sargent emphasizes the sculptor's piercing gaze, which meets that of the beholder. His auburn beard, pictured in raking light, tumbles down a black coat. To return the gesture, Rodin inscribed a copy of his bronze, *Walking Man*, "à J. Sargent/affectueux admirateur/A Rodin."<sup>88</sup> Zorn's relationship with Rodin blossomed years later, in 1906, when he served on the committee of Zorn's retrospective exhibition in Paris at the Durand-Ruel Gallery. This exhibition coincided with Zorn's portrait etching of the sculptor (fig. 1.6), and led Rodin to send Zorn a version of his bronze sculpture *The Hand of God* in gratitude, as well as four drawings of nudes, three of which bear the inscription "au maître peintre Zorn."<sup>89</sup> These exchanges emphasize the value each placed on the other's work, and their shared investments in building a collegial network.<sup>90</sup> American sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and French artist Albert Besnard, both of whom maintained close ties with Sargent and Zorn, also participated in this active exchange of artwork.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> The sculpture is now in the collection of Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop. Stephan Wolohojian, ed., *A Private Passion: 19th-Century Paintings and Drawings from the Grenville L. Winthrop Collection, Harvard University* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 294.

<sup>89</sup> These drawings are now located in the Zorn Museum, Mora. In a letter to Rodin, dated December 14, 1906, Zorn thanked Rodin for the sculpture. Zorn Museum, Mora, ZAR 3905.

<sup>90</sup> For more on Rodin's relationship to Sweden, see Linda Hinners, *Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) and the Nordic Countries* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2015), 97–108.

<sup>91</sup> See, for example, Anders Zorn, *Albert Besnard and His Model*, 1896; John Singer Sargent, *The Birthday Party*, 1885; Anders Zorn, *Augustus Saint Gaudens II*, 1897; John Singer Sargent, *Homer Saint-Gaudens and his Mother*, 1890; and Augustus Saint Gaudens, *Medal of John Singer Sargent*, 1880.



The trail of letters, postcards, and telegrams left by Sargent and Zorn illustrate the professional practicalities of careers situated in between multiple artistic centers and the many logistics associated with a transatlantic professional community. Zorn's distinct position straddling cultures also informed his public artistic reputation, as reflected in a 1912 article for *Scribner's Magazine*, which described Zorn's "aesthetic internationalism," "international artistic language," and "clever cosmopolitanism."<sup>92</sup> Royal Cortissoz, a nineteenth-century art critic for the *New York Tribune*, first encountered Zorn's paintings at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, where Zorn served as a Commissioner, and noted the way in which Zorn's paintings showcased "the accent of Monet tempered by a feeling for more nervous, precise effects." Zorn, he argued, was "Impressionist in spirit without ceasing to be very Swedish."<sup>93</sup>

The World's Columbian Exposition also provided a forum for Zorn's introduction to significant American collectors, namely Isabella Stewart Gardner, who purchased his *Omnibus* (1892) for the then-substantial amount of \$1600, and Charles Deering, a successful Chicago executive.<sup>94</sup> Both Gardner and Deering amassed rich collections during their lifetimes, enhanced by their extensive travel throughout Europe, their relationships with nineteenth-century connoisseurs, and their intimate friendships with Sargent and Zorn, who

<sup>92</sup> Christian Brinton, "Scandinavian Painters of To-Day," *Scribner's Magazine* 52, no. 6 (December 1912): 647–48.

<sup>93</sup> Mary Towley Swanson, "A Tangled Web: Swedish Immigrant Artists' Patronage Systems, 1880–1940," *Art History Faculty Publications*, paper 9 (2004): 4, [http://ir.stthomas.edu/arhistory\\_pub/9](http://ir.stthomas.edu/arhistory_pub/9).

<sup>94</sup> Sargent, who met Deering in Newport, Rhode Island, as early as 1876, encouraged him to pursue his own career in painting. When, in 1893, Deering traveled to Paris to paint, he stayed at Zorn's apartment on the Boulevard de Clichy. See Judith A. Barter, Kimberly Rhodes, and Seth A. Thayer, eds., *American Arts at the Art Institute of Chicago: from Colonial Times to World War I* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 19. For more on Zorn's relationship with Gardner, see Anne-Marie Eze, "Zorn in Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner's 'Faithful Painter,'" in *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, ed. Oliver Tostmann, with contributions by Hans Hendrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013), 54–65.

painted their portraits on numerous occasions (figs. 1.7–1.11). Although, at the time, Zorn’s painterly depiction of Gardner on her balcony in Venice was deemed more successful, and less posed, than that of Sargent, we can understand how they capture two sides of the same woman—an aristocratic philanthropist and a free-spirited traveler with a taste for adventure. Sargent and Zorn’s shared patrons were not only American. Ramón Subercaseaux, a Chilean painter and diplomat, counted himself among Sargent and Zorn’s circle of preferred clientele. Early in Sargent’s career, in 1880, he painted Subercaseaux in a Venetian gondola (fig. 1.12) and, in the same year, completed a full-length portrait of his wife (fig. 1.13), which earned a medal at the Paris Salon. Sargent likely facilitated Subercaseaux’s introduction to Zorn, who was commissioned to paint the diplomat’s youngest daughters, Bianca and Isabel (fig. 1.14), in 1892. This painting, which captures the private world of the two children, employs slanting perspective to place the viewer on eye level with the distracted subjects. The thrust of Zorn’s painted diagonals adds dynamism to this informal portrait, and gives the viewer a glimpse of playful quotidian life.

Sargent’s gondola portrait sketch of Subercaseaux prefigures his repeated interest in the striking architecture, aquatic passageways, and daily life of Venice, a preoccupation he shared with Zorn. Sargent frequently traveled to the Veneto region, drawn to its distinct color and light, and often stayed for extended periods of time. On several occasions, he lodged with his distant relatives at their residence in the Palazzo Barbaro. Built on the Grand Canal in 1425, this Gothic palace had become an anchor of the Anglo-American community in Venice after Daniel and Ariana Curtis, a wealthy Boston couple, repaired and restored it in the 1880s.<sup>95</sup> Noted guests included Robert Browning, James McNeill Whistler, Claude

<sup>95</sup> Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, “‘A Knock-Down Insolence of Talent’: Sargent, James, and Venice,” in *Sargent’s Venice* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2006), 142.

Monet, Edith Wharton, and Henry James, whose 1902 novel *The Wings of the Dove* features a ballroom inspired by that in the Palazzo Barbaro.<sup>96</sup> Sargent's 1898 group portrait, *An Interior in Venice* (fig. 1.15), shows the grand salon as it appeared under the ownership of Daniel and Ariana Curtis, who are seen on the right. Their son Ralph and his wife, Lisa De Wolfe Colt, are posed at the tea table on the left. In 1894, at the invitation of Isabella Stewart Gardner, Emma and Anders Zorn likewise traveled to the Palazzo Barbaro, which the Gardners had rented. During this trip Zorn captured, in a variety of media, the gondolas that wove through the city's canals and the glimmer of light on the water's surface (fig. 1.16).

Much more could be said of the resonance between Sargent and Zorn's agile paint handling and parallel aesthetic concerns as they were manifested in their subject pictures, landscapes, and portraiture, and especially as they painted and etched the same elite American clientele. Noted shared subjects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include the heiress Virginia P. Bacon (figs. 1.17–1.18), the statesman John Milton Hay, and President Theodore Roosevelt. In fact, it was through the Bacon commission that rumors of Sargent and Zorn's rivalry were fueled. In his autobiographical notes, Zorn explains how Sargent had asked Mrs. Bacon if he could see Zorn's painting, a request that was denied until after he had finished his own. Upon viewing Zorn's completed portrait, however, Sargent allegedly pushed a hot poker through his canvas and began again.<sup>97</sup>

Contemporary newspaper clippings demonstrate the frequency with which critics—admirers and antagonists alike—placed the two artists in conversation. On November 12,

<sup>96</sup> For a recent reappraisal of Henry James's place within the history of American painting, particularly his close friendship with Sargent, see Colm Toibín, Marc Simpson, and Declan Kiely, *Henry James and American Painting* (New York: Morgan Library and Museum / University Park: Penn State University Press, 2017).

<sup>97</sup> Han Henrik Brummer, *Anders Zorn: Till ögats fröjd och nationens förgyllning* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1994), 204–5.

1893, a critic for the *New York Times* wrote of Zorn's oil paintings, "A seated lady recalls very forcibly the methods of John S. Sargent. Zorn has the same brilliant way of painting a hand, showing the light through the delicate, nervous fingers, the same rather sensational pose, the same broad, vigorous dash when painting stuffs and garments."<sup>98</sup> A year later, the *New York Times* likewise considered the distinguished painters with whom Zorn was in conversation:

Here Anders L. Zorn is easily the leader, and comparison with the work of Sargent, Dannat, and other Franco-American painters is at once certain to be made. Apart from his Swedish types there is little that is Swedish in his pictures. He is a Parisian or, let us say, a cosmopolite, and he bears the mark of modern French work, the mark of excessive cleverness that makes one think more of the way he paints than of the picture itself.<sup>99</sup>

By propagating a narrative of artistic rivalry, posing Sargent and Zorn as direct competitors, and suggesting the merits of one artist over the other, journalists only furthered the celebrity of both men, whose movements and exhibitions were chronicled in great detail throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In spite of the spirited rhetoric that surrounded them in the press, most evidence suggests that ultimately, Sargent and Zorn's relationship remained one of mutual admiration.

While fin-de-siècle Nordic art is often characterized in terms of its distinctive national character and *stämning*, a combination of mood and atmosphere intimately tied to the natural landscape, Zorn's self-fashioning and career trajectory complicate this tendency to elide artistic style with national impulse. Likewise, instead of searching for an intangible "Americanness" in Sargent's oeuvre, tracing the contours of his global network yields new

<sup>98</sup> "Among the Printsellers: Etchings by Zorn and Beast Pastels by Nettleship," *New York Times*, November 12, 1893, 24.

<sup>99</sup> "Dutchmen, Swedes, and Norse: World's Fair Pictures Make a Sensation at the Fine Arts Society," *New York Times*, January 18, 1894, 5. Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 79–80, Zorn Museum, Mora.

insights into his multifaceted career and far-reaching communities.<sup>100</sup> The many extant paintings, drawings, etchings, and sculptures by Sargent and Zorn present an opportunity to investigate one slice of this artistic community, whose work was marked by its so-called elegant international style—a compromise between experimental aesthetic innovation and the more conservative submissions to the Parisian Salon.<sup>101</sup> It was precisely their continued allegiance to aspects of academic painting, however, that caused Sargent and Zorn to fall out of critical favor. As the twentieth century wore on, and the success of experimental avant-garde practices revealed shifting public preferences, society portrait painters were deemed too tied to the establishment and became victims of their era’s vicissitudes. Sargent and Zorn participated in a shared artistic project—a cosmopolitan modernism that looked back to the old masters, prioritized international exposure, forged transnational artistic community, and embraced new techniques.

As this dissertation contends with cosmopolitanism as a *formal* problem, I will highlight, in what follows, two portraits that materialize the tensions between rootedness and transatlantic mobility and give way to broader thematic series. These episodes convey how each artist’s biography, social context, and deliberate self-fashioning affected his portraiture and united paintings produced on different continents. In Zorn’s case, we can trace a visual engagement with the Swedish-German-American exchange that emerged as part of the nineteenth-century beer industry through his portraits of brewing tycoons. As the estranged

<sup>100</sup> Both artists participated in a larger, international nexus including, but not limited to, Cecilia Beaux, Giovanni Boldini, William Merritt Chase, Giuseppe De Nittis, Joaquín Sorolla, Ramón Casas, Max Liebermann, Peder Severin Krøyer, and Christian Krohg, whose social mobility, interest in light effects, and prolific figure painting reveal the strong crosscurrents of European and American artistic preoccupations at the turn of the century. This dissertation, however, is occupied with the specific intersection of Sargent and Zorn’s career, due in large part to their strikingly parallel relationships to travel.

<sup>101</sup> “John Singer Sargent” in *A Walk through the American Wing* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 194.

son of a Bavarian brewer, Zorn's series asserts his legacy to this particular mode of cosmopolitan industrialization. In the case of Sargent, a portrait of a young girl surrounded by hydrangeas gives visual form to the Franco-American, and more specifically Paris-Boston, network that galvanized not only Sargent's career but also the larger horticultural initiatives fomented by his first cousin, the botanist Charles Sprague Sargent.

Critics in Sargent and Zorn's lifetime often harnessed the notion of a portrait's cosmopolitanism as a pejorative. British art critic Walter Sickert, in his review of the *Third Exhibition of Fair Women*, for example, lamented the adoption of impressionist techniques by international artists: "How far we have travelled in our ideals of portraiture! . . . Alas! We are all cosmopolitanised."<sup>102</sup> These signs of cosmopolitanism in portrait painting signaled, in his view, a derivative foreign sensuousness versus a local British traditionalism. My reading of Sargent and Zorn's cosmopolitanism, however, has more to do with the conditions in which their portraits were produced versus their position within the false dichotomy of cosmopolitanism versus nationalism. Portraiture, the genre that anchors this chapter, is especially useful in our understanding of Sargent and Zorn's cosmopolitan communities. Rather than celebrate the local specificity of a sitter's environment, the portraits on offer negotiate the visibility of a larger network and each artist's relationship to international industry. In the episodes to follow, my definition of cosmopolitan facture deviates from Sickert's critical disfavor, particularly his use of the term to describe a particular style. Rather, a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of this term allows us to unpack the conditions of an artwork's production and the myriad decisions that informed both its surface and subject matter.

<sup>102</sup> Walter Sickert, "Wriggle and Chiffon," *New Age*, June 9, 1910, in Anna Gruetzner Robins, ed., *Walter Sickert: The Complete Writings on Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 244.

*Anders Zorn and the Brewery*

Anders Zorn's 1907 portrait of *Hugo Reisinger* (fig. 1.19), a prominent German-American importer-exporter, depicts a seated male figure in a black suit and polka-dot tie, perched on an oversized, patterned chair in tones of taupe and beige. Behind him, a wooden storage rack indicates the interior setting—an artist's studio. The location of this portrait—Zorn's Stockholm studio on Bryggargatan—is confirmed not only through the portrait's inscription, "i min verkstad" (in my studio) but also by the presence of tapestries, framed photos, and various bric-à-brac behind Reisinger, which echo photographs taken of Zorn's Stockholm studio in 1913 (fig. 1.20). In one such photograph of Zorn in his studio (fig. 1.21), the artist is seated in the same upholstered armchair in which Reisinger is posed.

Reisinger's leather gloves and hat, clutched casually in his right hand, give the portrait a momentary effect, as though he has just stepped in for a brief visit. The portrait of Reisinger was executed in oil paint on a medium-to-heavy-weight fabric and applied on top of a thin, white layer of ground. As is typical with Zorn's facture throughout the late nineteenth century, the paint was applied *alla prima*, though there are patches, particularly in the background, where he used dry brushstrokes that articulate the texture of the canvas weave. The figure of Reisinger, especially his hat, was painted with more careful brushwork and some areas of low impasto. Throughout the composition, especially along the edges, the white ground is visible beneath the second layer of paint. An examination report from the National Gallery of Art's painting conservation department identifies a few areas of repainting. Specifically, "the position of the proper left middle finger has been changed by the artist from straight to bent and the straight finger is halfway covered with the black sleeve of the jacket. The x-radiographs showed that the position of a button in the left cuff

of the white shirt has also been changed.”<sup>103</sup> Although this, like many of Zorn’s paintings, has a loose facture that suggests a rapid application of pigment, these pentimenti demonstrate Zorn’s extended process of revision and reconsideration of the composition as it unfolded over time.

Reisinger, a well-known importer of brewers’ rice and carbon, was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, but settled in New York in 1884. The son-in-law of St. Louis brewer and industrialist, Adolphus Busch, Reisinger was also a noted collector of contemporary German and Scandinavian art, including works by Wilhelm Leibl, Max Liebermann, Fritz Thaulow, and Anders Zorn as well as the French painters Gustave Courbet, Claude Monet, and Camille Pissarro, and the American artists James McNeill Whistler and Sargent. In 1914, following Reisinger’s death, the *New York Times* noted that his collection of modern art was “one of the finest in existence.”<sup>104</sup> A vocal supporter of German art in America, Reisinger left his fortune to charitable and educational institutions, including Columbia University, Harvard University, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to promote German art and its history.<sup>105</sup> At the same time, Reisinger promoted Scandinavian art, notably through his financial support of the 1912 American-Scandinavian exhibition. As reported in the *American-Scandinavian Review*, “Mr. Hugo Reisinger, the patriotic German American who has brought a German art exhibit to America . . . announced that he was willing to defray the

<sup>103</sup> See Mika Koyano, Sarah Fisher, and Ross Merrill, Examination Report, March 27, 1998, Painting Conservation Department, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. The report concerns Anders Zorn’s *Hugo Reisinger*, 1907, 1957.4.3.. Many thanks to Jay Krueger for providing me with a copy of this report.

<sup>104</sup> Quoted in M. Melissa Wolfe, *George Bellows Revisited: New Considerations of the Painter’s Oeuvre* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2016), 56.

<sup>105</sup> “Hugo Reisinger Dies in Germany,” *New York Times*, September 29, 1914, 11.



expenses of an exhibition of American art to be sent next summer to the capitals of the three Scandinavian countries.”<sup>106</sup>

It was in his role as honorary commissioner to Europe for the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904 that Reisinger likely first met Anders Zorn, who was then best known for his portraits of eminent diplomats, entrepreneurs, European royalty, and American presidents. At this fair, also known as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, critics noted that “Zorn is one of the most versatile as well as virile among modern painters. His figure work is especially strong, and as a painter of men’s portraits he has no superior.”<sup>107</sup> A more measured accounting of the fair by James W. Buel mentions Zorn’s fans and critics alike:

The list of modern Swedish portrait-painters who have achieved international distinction is not a large one, those best known being Carl Larsson, Emil Osterman, and Anders L. Zorn. Of these three Zorn is the most talked of, but with such a variety of opinions as to very well prove the statement made in an early part of this volume that in judging the merits of a picture, like that of a piece of music, it is not often two persons will agree. Zorn has many admirers, who pronounce him “matchless,” “inimitable,” “original” and other such stock adjectives of praise; but he is also the subject of harsh criticism, in which just as strong antonymous terms are used. I think to judge him justly would be to place him among the strongest figure painters of modern times. There is, in fact, a strength and naturalness in his work which while it may not equal, does undoubtedly suggest Sargent. An example of his style is shown in our reproduction of the portrait of Mr. James Deering.<sup>108</sup>

This aforementioned 1903 portrait (fig. 1.22) of Zorn’s longstanding patron and friend, and the younger brother of Charles Deering, won the grand prize at the fair, extending Zorn’s fame and cementing his reputation in America.

<sup>106</sup> “American Art in Scandinavia,” *American Scandinavian Review* 1 (January 1913): 21.

<sup>107</sup> Mark Bennett, ed., *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing, 1905), 544.

<sup>108</sup> James W. Buel, ed., *Louisiana and the Fair: An Exposition of the World, Its People, and Their Achievements*, vol. 7 (St. Louis: World’s Progress, 1905), 2722–23.

In 1907, three years after the fair, Zorn traveled extensively between Sweden, England, and the United States. Specifically, his travels took him from Mora and Stockholm to New York, Miami, Cuba, Mexico, San Antonio, New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, and Evanston before he returned to Sweden via London.<sup>109</sup> Zorn's autobiographical notes explain the conditions of his travel and his interaction with Reisinger in both America and Sweden:

When I see the list of the year's works I must name Hugo Reisinger, who had come to Stockholm from New York to be painted, because the year before, during my trip to America, I had refused to pick up a brush, let me tell a little about that trip. I had at the time also been chosen as a juror in Pittsburg [sic] but got the request late and on my wife's advice had telegraphed to decline. I certainly didn't need their travel stipend to go over the Atlantic but decided to travel there for pleasure some weeks later.<sup>110</sup>

Zorn's assertion of his financial autonomy (he doesn't *need* their travel stipend) also reveals his professional success and stability by the early twentieth century. Some pages later, Zorn returns to this particular trip and articulates his intention at the time to use his travels throughout North America as a networking opportunity:

I went up to St. Louis, Chicago, Rock Island, Boston and New York to shake hands with my friends and they tried to get me to work, but at that time they gained nothing. No, they had to come to Sweden if they wanted to be painted. One came: Mr. Hugo Reisinger and I painted him in my studio [on] Bryggargatan. A great collector of modern art, who has also acquired three or four of my paintings.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Timeline provided by Fia Bladh at the Zorn Museum, Mora.

<sup>110</sup> Anders Zorn, *Autobiographical Notes*, trans. Ulrika Brand, 139. This translation is currently unpublished. Many thanks to Johan Cederlund, Director of the Zorn Museum, for providing me with access to this manuscript.

<sup>111</sup> "Jag for upp till St. Louis, Chicago, Rock Island, Boston och New York för att skaka hand med mina vänner och man försökte få mig att arbeta, men den gången fingo de intet. Nej, de fick komma till Sverige om de ville bli målade. En kom: Mr. Hugo Reisinger och honom målade jag på min atelier [på] Bryggargatan. Stor samlare av modern konst har han även förskaffat sig tre eller fyra av mina målningar." See Anders Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, ed. Hans Henrik Brummer (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1982), 161–62. Zorn's Stockholm studio was located on Bryggargatan 2.

In the bottom right corner of the aforementioned portrait, an inscription by the artist, “i min verkstad (in my studio) / Stockholm aug 1907 / Zorn,” confirms Reisinger’s willingness to cross the Atlantic at Zorn’s behest and the painting’s production in Sweden. The portrait’s condition report also reveals how the very surface of *Hugo Reisinger* contains traces of its journey across the Atlantic: “The surface, particularly the center, is covered with tiny accretions which appear to be saw and paper dust from former packing materials.”<sup>112</sup> By tracing the passage of the artist (Sweden–America–Sweden), the passage of the sitter (Germany–America–Sweden) and the passage of the portrait after its completion (Sweden–America), we can better understand the painting’s multifaceted cosmopolitanism. At the same time, the portrait’s subject and its biography as a mobile object are critically and inexorably tied to the parallel movements of the burgeoning, international beer industry.

Zorn’s portrait of Reisinger, who imported, among other things, a patented apparatus for carbonating beer, and brewers’ rice from European rice mills, is but one facet of Zorn’s entanglement within the fin-de-siècle brewing trade. Zorn’s repeated pictorial engagement with the Hamburg Brewery in Stockholm and his portraits of German brewers like Reisinger and Adolphus Busch in Sweden and America was not arbitrary. In fact, Zorn himself was a product of the German-Swedish brewing industry. It was while working at a brewery in Uppsala, north of Stockholm, that Zorn’s mother met Leonard Zorn, a master brewer from Würzburg. Raised by his grandmother in Mora, Zorn never established a relationship with his father, who left the family and moved to Helsinki. His ties to the brewery community, however, were cemented from a young age. As Zorn explains in his autobiographical notes, his artistic education was funded by the generosity of Swedish

<sup>112</sup> Koyano, Fisher, and Merrill, Examination Report.

brewers, particularly Frans Heiss, a friend of Zorn's father, vice chairman of Stockholm's Board of Brewers, and master brewer of the Hamburg Brewery:

The inheritance began to run out and I wondered how it was going to go now . . . brewer Fr. Heiss, who had known my father, had his friends make a joint contribution so I would get SEK 50 per month. This was paid out by the brewer Dölling, who also contributed to the joint venture. I would continue my studies, but again I was dependent on the help of strangers, which felt humiliating and oppressive.<sup>113</sup>

In an 1879 letter written by Heiss in the Zorn Museum archives, he asks Philipp Zorn, Anders Zorn's paternal uncle and a brewery master in Chicago, to contribute financial support to the young artist's education. Zorn is described as looking like his father and having "one major gross talent for art."<sup>114</sup> In 1891, Zorn painted Heiss, along with his wife, Veronika (figs. 1.23–1.24). These stately, formal portraits, and their palettes of black and gold, flaunt the couple's wealth through visual signs such as Veronika Heiss's feathered hat and fur cape. Zorn indicates Frans Heiss's position of power through his authoritative, seated stance, his gold watch, and the inclusion of official documents in his right hand. In 1902, Zorn would go on to paint their son, Franz Heiss (fig. 1.4), who was later appointed managing director of the brewery. As with the portrait of his father, Zorn's portrait of the younger Franz Heiss draws attention to the subject's fine apparel and opulent surroundings. The inclusion of a book in the younger Heiss's portrait suggests his status as a member of the educated upper class.

<sup>113</sup> "Den ärvda slanten började taga slut och fråga blev hur det nu skulle gå . . . Bryggaren Fr. Heiss, som hade känt min far, fick hans vänner göra ett sammanskott så jag skulle få 50 kr. i månaden. Detta utbetalades av bryggaren Dölling som ju också bidrog till sammanskottet. Jag skulle få fortsätta mina studier men jag var återigen beroende av främmandes hjälp och det kändes förödmjukande och tryckande." See Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, 21.

<sup>114</sup> Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark, "Fru Veronika Heiss Salong," in *Fataburen: Kulturhistorisk tidskrift* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1998), 28.

With these biographical connections in mind, Zorn's brewery series may be understood, in part, as an exercise in self-fashioning as he confronted his simmering resentment towards the charity he received as a child and asserted his rightful place within the international brewing community (and thus the international art market) via portraits of his estranged father's peers. To that end, we can recontextualize the aforementioned portraits as a coherent series tied to the emergence of a new addition to the global economy: brewing. These paintings navigate the artist's cosmopolitan identity while they simultaneously communicate a history of transatlantic trade and industrial production. By doing so, they negotiate multiple temporal and geographical realms: local Swedish production, transnational industrialization, trade across oceans, and cosmopolitan portrait subjects in America.

### *The Hamburg Brewery*

The modern brewing industry took shape in Sweden in the second half of the nineteenth century as newly established Bavarian breweries produced bottom-fermented beer of a German type. At the same time, nationwide industrialization made possible new storage facilities for this type of beer and the use of steam engines to transport it.<sup>115</sup> The Hamburg Brewery in Stockholm (*Hamburgerbryggeriet*) was best known for its production of pilsner beer—a lighter, hop-filled variety from Bavaria—which was introduced in Sweden in the late 1870s.<sup>116</sup> As the demand for pilsner grew, Heiss moved the brewery to a new

<sup>115</sup> Torbjörn Lundqvist, "The Making of a National Cartel in the Swedish Brewing Industry, 1885–1908," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 46, no. 3 (1998): 45.

<sup>116</sup> Marcus Box, "Bring in the Brewers: Business Entry in the Swedish Brewing Industry from 1830 to 2012," *Business History* 59, no. 5 (2017): 715.

location at the corner of Nortullsgatan and Surbrunsgatan, which could accommodate more modern systems and included features such as a storage basement, cooling vessel, carpenter's workshop, and paint workshop.<sup>117</sup> By 1885, when the Swedish Brewers' Association was founded, there were 143 breweries in Sweden, the largest being those situated in Stockholm and Gothenburg, Sweden's two largest cities. The use of railways meant that breweries could extend their sales to larger geographical areas, which intensified competition and cemented brewing as a large-scale industry in Sweden, especially in the later decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>118</sup>

From 1885 to 1900, when the Hamburg Brewery reached its height of productivity, new brewery technologies included the "introduction of cooling machinery, the cultivation of yeast, the introduction of electricity, and sundry improvements of the production process such as beer filters and the cooking of the brew by indirect steam."<sup>119</sup> Much of the success enjoyed by Bavarian brew masters can be attributed to the Hamburg Brewery's successful production of a pasteurized pilsner that could be shipped abroad without refrigeration. The demand for this pilsner in America also required the brewery to invest in infrastructure projects including bottle works, railroad lines, cooling machinery, and carbon arc lights.

In 1890 Zorn completed several interiors of the Hamburg brewery, including *Bottle Washers* (fig. 1.25), *The Little Brewery* (fig. 1.26), and *The Large Brewery* (fig. 1.27), the last of which formed the basis of his etching of the same name. Karl Asplund's 1921 biography of Zorn describes the shared compositional features of this series:

<sup>117</sup> Herman A. Ring, "Hamburgerbryggeriet," in *Sveriges industri: dess stormän och befrämjare* (Stockholm: Eklund, 1894–1907), n.p.

<sup>118</sup> Lundqvist, "Making of a National Cartel in the Swedish Brewing Industry, 1885–1908," 49.

<sup>119</sup> Lundqvist, 47.

*The big Brewery* [sic] shows a new compositional touch in the painting of interiors; just as the late Renaissance masters took to oblique perspective in order to produce a stronger impression of space, so here Zorn has passed from the frontality of *Baking Bread* and has made the row of Dalecarlian girls pasting their labels project obliquely inwards towards the hazy background. But here, too, we see what strong use Zorn makes of the atmospheric values as factors in the formation of space; if we look at the left half alone of the picture the impression of the remoteness of the figures in the background is almost equally great.<sup>120</sup>

In chapter three, I will return to these brewery scenes, particularly *The Large Brewery*, examining them through the lens of Zorn's broader investigation of modern light and modern life. Together, these paintings—dimly lit interiors—emphasize the human labor associated with beer production and, specifically, the women from Dalarna who were hired to rinse, fill, and cork bottles. *Bottle Washers* is particularly notable, as it was purchased by the Heiss family and hung in their private home in the Villastaden area of Stockholm (5 Floragatan), along with Zorn's portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Heiss (figs. 1.28–1.29).<sup>121</sup> The diffuse light, oblique angles, and emphasis on female labor that unites Zorn's views of the Hamburg Brewery also echo Sargent's Venetian genre scenes c. 1880–82, a series of interiors that likewise elevate physical labor and draw attention to everyday Venetian inhabitants who worked as bead stringers and glass blowers.<sup>122</sup>

Examined on their own, Zorn's brewery interiors may suggest a straightforward, underlying nationalism as they promote a Swedish trade. Placed into a broader context of the brewing industry and the artist's biography, however, they are better understood as a celebration of the local, while, at the same time, alluding to a wider nexus of cross-cultural

<sup>120</sup> Karl Asplund, *Anders Zorn: His Life and Work* (London: The Studio, 1921), 35.

<sup>121</sup> Stavenow-Hidemark, "Fru Veronika Heiss Salong," 34–35.

<sup>122</sup> See, for example, John Singer Sargent, *A Venetian Interior*, 1880–82; John Singer Sargent, *Venetian Bead Stringers*, 1880–82; John Singer Sargent, *Venetian Glass Workers*, 1880–82.

industrialization. By hanging these paintings in their formal, opulent Stockholm residence, the Heiss family solidified Zorn's standing as an instrumental member of the art world. At the same time, his heritage—the product of a Dalecarlian woman, not unlike those pictured in the brewery scenes, and a German immigrant—ties his artistic identity to the local production, transnational modernization, and cosmopolitan success of the brewing community.

Zorn's engagement with this community, however, was not confined to Europe. After his initial success at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Zorn returned to the United States from 1896 to 1897, where he completed a number of portrait commissions. While in St. Louis in 1897, Zorn painted Adolphus Busch (fig. 1.30), cofounder of the Anheuser-Busch brewery. Busch, a German immigrant who moved to St. Louis in 1857, also founded the Busch-Sulzer Diesel Engine Company, which made engines to transport the unrefrigerated beer—made possible by the newly perfected pasteurization process. Busch's 1861 marriage to Lilly Eberhard Anheuser (fig. 1.31), the daughter of Eberhard Anheuser, solidified the beer empire in St. Louis. Busch's efforts, particularly his creation of a lighter beer called Budweiser, transformed the family business into an international giant with “110 buildings on seventy acres and six thousand employees producing 1.6 million barrels of beer a year.”<sup>123</sup> When one of Busch's daughters married Hugo Reisinger years later, this German-American empire would continue into the next generation.<sup>124</sup>

When Hugo Reisinger visited Zorn in Sweden to sit for his portrait, the brewing industrialist purchased a few canvases from Zorn's Stockholm studio. One of these

<sup>123</sup> William Hagans and Willow Hagans, *Zorn in America: A Swedish Impressionist of the Gilded Age* (Chicago: Swedish-American Historical Society, 2009), 114.

<sup>124</sup> Hagans and Hagans, 114.



paintings, *Håll Kesti* (fig. 1.32), painted in 1907, the same year as the Reisinger portrait, depicts a young woman from the Dalarna region in a traditional folk costume, including an embroidered blouse and red kerchief juxtaposed against her golden hair. Like the composition of the Reisinger portrait, the female figure is seated in what appears to be Zorn's studio—the monochromatic brown accents and furniture indicate the dark wood furnishing the interior space.

In 1921, *Vanity Fair* published a reproduction of *Håll Kesti* with the caption: “A famous portrait by Zorn. In the background there is a rough sketch of the late Hugo Reisinger.”<sup>125</sup> Indeed, the distinct mustache of the unfinished background figure (fig. 1.33), as well as his high forehead, white shirt, and dark jacket, are all consistent with Reisinger's pose. The background portrait sketch, however, has alternatively been identified as Erik Johan Ljungberg, an industrialist in Dalarna, whose portrait of 1907 (fig. 1.34) Zorn was painting at the same time as *Håll Kesti*, and Harald Bildt, a Swedish diplomat who was born in England and spent his childhood in Rome (fig. 1.35).<sup>126</sup> The congruities between these three canvases—the general dress and posture of the portrait subjects as well as the swift brushstrokes that indicate facial hair and similar backgrounds—suggest Zorn worked from a general portrait template during this era, particularly for his portraits of elite male subjects.

*Håll Kesti* was displayed in the New York Scandinavian exhibition in 1912, along with other works from Reisinger's collection. If Reisinger is indeed the background figure in *Håll Kesti* (which could have inspired his purchase of this particular painting), his proxy portrait asserts a masculine dominance over the young Swedish girl. As a whole, the portrait's

<sup>125</sup> Christian Brinton, “Anders Zorn: Master Painter of the North,” *Vanity Fair* 15, no. 5 (1921): 42.

<sup>126</sup> Håkan Knutsby, archivist at the Zorn Museum, has identified the sketch in the background as a portrait of Ljungberg, managing director of Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags.

composition visualizes two key components of the brewing network, and Zorn's place within it: a Swedish girl from Dalarna, not unlike those who, like Zorn's mother, worked in the Stockholm breweries, and an international member of the import-export industry, conjured by the portrait of Reisinger. Even if the portrait were indeed depicting Bildt or Ljungberg, it would achieve this same effect. Both men, like Reisinger, built reputations through international professional success—Bildt as a Swedish diplomat who lived in Sweden, Buenos Aires, Rome, and Cairo, and Ljungberg as a leading Swedish industrialist who participated in Swedish-German treaty negotiations and traveled to England to influence Russian action on Åland.<sup>127</sup> Zorn's vantage point in *Håll Kesti* unites the local and the global through a visual document, not unlike his personal biography. The artist's persistent interest in the paradox between local and global was noted by a critic in *Cosmopolitan* in 1914:

It is thus as a composite product that Zorn must be approached. He is both Peninsular and Continental, both Swedish and European. He is a creature of disconcerting contrasts, of disturbing paradox. Peasant and cosmopolitan, he is an inveterate globe-trotter. You will meet him now in Madrid, now in Chicago. You may pass him on the sparkling Boulevards, or you may discover him in the birch-clad solitudes of Dalecarlia.<sup>128</sup>

While the brewery served as one site of “disconcerting contrast” in Zorn's oeuvre, a motif that allowed him to celebrate his ties to Swedish and Anglo-American communities in equal measure, Sargent's parallel and contemporaneous globe-trotting resulted in a botanical portrait series that likewise negotiated the productive tension between literally rooted subject

<sup>127</sup> “E. J. Ljungberg,” Ljungbergs Fonden, accessed October 16, 2019, <https://ljungbergsfonden.se/e-j-ljungberg/>. The portrait in the background of *Håll Kesti* shares with the Ljungberg portrait a silvery medal on the sitter's breast, which, in the Ljungberg portrait, represents the Order of Vasa. The *Håll Kesti* background portrait, however, has a high forehead, prominent ears, and narrow face, more in keeping with Zorn's depictions of Bildt and Reisinger than of Ljungberg.

<sup>128</sup> Christian Brinton, “Zorn: Painter of Strength and Beauty,” *Cosmopolitan* 56, no. 3 (February 1914), 291.

matter (in this case, hydrangeas) and the larger, global network of the Franco-American horticultural community with which he had personal ties. The “birch-clad solitudes of Dalecarlia,” which represented one facet of Zorn’s artistic identity and one critical site of his production, stood in marked contrast to the carefully cultivated conservatories, arboretums, and garden shows in New England, which reappear with regularity in Sargent’s body of work.

*The Botanist and the Blue Hydrangea*

John Singer Sargent’s 1895 portrait of Helen Sears (fig. 1.36) pictures a fashionable young girl, surrounded by hydrangeas, in a well-appointed, if nebulous, interior. Painted in Boston, where Sargent was installing his Boston Public Library murals, the portrait depicts the six-year-old daughter of real estate magnate Joshua Montgomery Sears and Sarah Choate Sears, a noted photographer and patron of the arts.<sup>129</sup> Helen’s crisp, white smock dress, silk shoes, blonde hair, and porcelain skin complement the cool tones of the white and pale blue hydrangea blooms in the foreground. At the same time, the crimson carpet, large brass pot, and murky blue curtains provide a stark contrast to her pale body. To her left and right, bunches of blue hydrangeas echo Sargent’s painterly rendition of the sitter’s blonde curls and construct a liminal pictorial environment in which interior finery and exterior florae converge. Painted from an elevated perspective, Helen Sears does not acknowledge the beholder’s presence, but rather stares vacantly beyond the picture plane.

<sup>129</sup> For more on Sears’s career, see Erica E. Hirshler, “The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears,” *Magazine Antiques* 160, no. 3 (September 2001): 325–26; and Erica E. Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870–1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001).

A closer look at the blue hydrangeas in the composition's foreground reveals Sargent's thick application of oil paint, particularly the impasto highlights on Helen's thumb and the central bloom's blue and white petals (fig. 1.37). The painting's condition report reveals significant adjustments that were made to its surface—particularly the position of the hands, sleeves, and central flowers—which Sargent reworked at least once.<sup>130</sup> The artist's decision to include this particular variety of flower so prominently in his portrait, as well as his repainting of their position, suggests their critical role within the composition. It also opens up the possibility of a more meaningful intersection of painted canvas with botanical history than previously understood. As I will continue to demonstrate through episodes in later chapters, Sargent's cosmopolitan facture is most evident when his works are resituated not as individual, finished paintings but as a series of attendant studies and analogous projects. In this case, as with Zorn's portrait of *Hugo Reisinger*, *Helen Sears* opens up to a larger body of work which, together, allows us to consider Sargent's biographical and historical ties to the cosmopolitanism of nineteenth-century horticulture. Specifically, I will resituate *Helen Sears* in conversation with a number of similar portraits, often staged in a conservatory or on a veranda, that pointedly consider the parataxical relationship between figure and flora.

Sarah Choate Sears, who commissioned the portrait of her daughter, studied painting in Boston with Dennis Bunker and Edward Tarbell. Focusing on watercolor portraits and floral motifs, she exhibited her work at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, and other international venues. In the 1890s, encouraged by

<sup>130</sup> Object file (55.1116) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See also Alison Syme, "Hedgewhores, Wagtails, Cockatrices, Whipsters: John Singer Sargent and his Coterie of Nature's Artful Dodgers" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2005), 137.

Boston Pictorialist F. Holland Day, Sears transitioned her talents to photography and established an oeuvre of floral still lifes and portraits of noted figures in the art world, including John Singer Sargent himself, whom she photographed at work c. 1890 (fig. 1.38). Nine years later, Sargent painted *Mrs. Joshua Montgomery Sears (Sarah Choate Sears)*, an elegant portrait of the subject in a white satin dress, clutching a bouquet of roses (fig. 1.39). In 1891, Sears photographed her daughter wearing a white dress—one with lace fringe around the bodice and sleeve—similar to that featured in Sargent’s portrait. This time, a younger Helen poses beside a vase of lilies. Like the 1895 portrait in oil, Helen is situated in an ambiguous interior space, nearly dwarfed by the flowers beside her. When, in 1895, Sears once again photographed her daughter in a white dress and silk shoes, the ensuing platinum print, *Helen Sears with Japanese Lantern* (fig. 1.40) testifies to the aesthetic parallels between her scenes of childhood and those of Sargent. As a number of scholars have noted, this 1895 photograph recalls Sargent’s earlier scene of transient light effects, floral motifs, and glowing lanterns: *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose* (fig. 1.41).<sup>131</sup> When Sears sent the photograph to Sargent, he replied in kind on August 7 1895:

Many thanks for sending me the photographs. The new one of Helen has a wonderfully fine expression and makes me feel like returning to Boston and putting my umbrella through my portrait. But how can an unfortunate painter hope to rival a photograph by a mother? Absolute truth combined with absolute feeling.<sup>132</sup>

While the comparison between Sargent’s portrait of *Helen Sears* and his painting of Dolly and Polly Barnard in *Carnation, Lily, Lily Rose*—particularly the pictures’ prominent flowers and

<sup>131</sup> Alison Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-Siècle Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010), 186–87.

<sup>132</sup> Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 2, *Portraits of the 1890s* (New Haven CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2002), 99.

the girls' gauzy white dresses—may be the most obvious within Sargent's oeuvre, especially given Sears' photograph of her daughter with a Japanese lantern, it is not the only portrait with which *Helen Sears* is in dialogue. *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* of 1882 (fig. 1.42) not only depicts children who are similarly overpowered by their well-appointed, shadowy interior but also foregrounds—through the two colossal Japanese vases in the foreground—the transmission and transportation of people and objects across national borders. In this case, the painting invokes the particular Paris-Boston axis of exchange in which Sargent actively participated. The vases, as symbols of the French and American taste for Asian decorative art, underscore Mary Louisa (Isa) Boit's ties to the legacy of Boston's China trade, which facilitated the family's financial freedom to live abroad as expatriates. Set in an indeterminate space—likely an entrance hall that bridged public space with private quarters—these Japanese vases were made in Arita in the late nineteenth century “specifically for export to the West,” and were a prized possession of the Boit family, who traveled frequently between their Boston home and their Parisian apartment.<sup>133</sup> In fact, we know that the vases made an impressive sixteen transatlantic crossings.<sup>134</sup> The hydrangeas pictured in *Helen Sears* echo the Boit family's vases, as they similarly serve as potent visual signifiers of export and exchange, only here they function as symbols of transatlantic, botanical collaboration and Japonisme.

### *The Art of the Hybridizer*

<sup>133</sup> The vases were made by the potter Hirabayashi or his workshop. See Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 2, 56.

<sup>134</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray 56.

At the helm of Boston's progressive botanical initiatives was Charles Sprague Sargent, director of the Arnold Arboretum at Harvard University, author of the *Silva of North America* (1890), and cousin of John Singer Sargent.<sup>135</sup> Charles Sargent's social standing and familial connections in the Boston area facilitated his professional rise within the fields of horticulture and dendrology. In his biographical memoir of Charles Sargent for the National Academy of Sciences after his death, William Trelease wrote, "Sargent was of good and efficient English ancestry domiciled in New England for over three centuries; he was related to John Singer Sargent who in the field of art rivals Charles Sprague in that of science."<sup>136</sup> In an undated photograph (fig. 1.43), the two Sargents are shown together in a garden, the elder Sargent perched on a bench with his cane as John Singer Sargent stands behind him in a lighter suit, a floral boutonniere affixed to his lapel. Towards the end of his career, c. 1919, Sargent completed a charcoal portrait of his older cousin (fig. 1.44), which served as the frontispiece of the 1925 illustrated volume *America's Greatest Garden (The Arnold Arboretum)* by Ernest H. Wilson. Consistent with Sargent's contemporaneous charcoal portrait busts, Charles Sargent is shown in a frontal position with a furrowed brow, wearing a formal suit and bow tie. White highlights in his hair and mustache evidence his advanced age at the time of the sitting, and thick, gestural strokes of charcoal behind his head provide tonal depth that contrasts with his more delicately rendered facial features. In 1903, Sarah Choate Sears photographed Charles Sargent (fig. 1.45), cementing the Sargents' shared community in Boston, and posed him with a book in a picture that emphasizes his scholarly aptitude.

<sup>135</sup> Frances Duncan described Sargent's *Silva* as "the fourteen large quarto volumes which make the most notable botanical work ever published in America." See Frances Duncan, "Professor Charles Sprague Sargent and the Arnold Arboretum," *The Critic* 47, no. 2 (August 1905): 109.

<sup>136</sup> William Trelease, *Biographical Memoir of Charles Sprague Sargent* (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1928), 247.

Charles Sargent grew up on his family's Brookline estate, Holm Lea, graduated from Harvard University in 1862, and served in the Civil War as a commissioned officer. Following three years of travel throughout Europe, and four more years of study, he was appointed a professor of horticulture, curator of the Arnold Arboretum, and director of the botanical garden of Harvard University.<sup>137</sup> The Arboretum was "the headquarters in America of knowledge of trees and shrubs" and the heart of Sargent's data collection for the Tenth Census Report on the Forest Trees of North America.<sup>138</sup> Under Sargent's direction, the Arboretum was also a site of active transnational exchange. The superintendent of the Arboretum, Mr. Jackson Dawson, for example, oversaw the cultivation of "seedlings of rare forest trees of Japan or China" in the greenhouse as well as "experiments in acclimatizing and hybridization."<sup>139</sup>

Charles Sargent outlined his global mission for the Arboretum in his 1917 article, "The Arnold Arboretum—What It Is and Does" for *The Garden Magazine*:

When the President and Fellows of Harvard University bound themselves in return for Mr. Arnold's \$100,000 to grow every tree and shrub which could endure the climate of Massachusetts they committed themselves to an undertaking the difficulty of which could not have been foreseen . . . The last forty years has seen great activity in botanical exploration for the discovery and introduction of new trees and shrubs, and in the creation of new forms by the art of the hybridizer.<sup>140</sup>

As outlined above, a central part of Charles Sargent's goal as the Arboretum director was to establish a census and, through diplomatic means, establish a living

<sup>137</sup> "The One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Charles Sprague Sargent," *Arnoldia* 1, no. 5 (1941): 29–32.

<sup>138</sup> Duncan, "Professor Charles Sprague Sargent and the Arnold Arboretum," 109.

<sup>139</sup> Duncan, 109.

<sup>140</sup> Charles S. Sargent, "The Arnold Arboretum—What It Is and Does," *The Garden Magazine* 26 (November 1917): 124.



collection—a microcosm of the world’s plants in Boston. Practicing the “art of the hybridizer,” he introduced new species and varieties of flowers, such as the rhododendron, to Boston, many of which he named after family members.<sup>141</sup> The census also catalyzed Charles Sargent’s travels across Europe, Asia, and South America and enabled his relationships with plant collectors, such as William S. Clark, who established an agricultural college in Japan and sent Japanese seeds back to the Arnold Arboretum.<sup>142</sup>

In 1927, an article in the *New York Times* highlighted the internationalism of Charles Sargent’s collection:

To enrich its coloring (to follow the analogy of the other Sargent’s art), trees and shrubs and plants have been gathered from every clime that permits its flora to live in the temperatures which put to the test the physical hardihood and the moral qualities of the Pilgrim Fathers. One expedition brought back to the Arboretum from Western China seeds of more than 1000 trees and shrubs, many lily bulbs, cuttings of willow and poplars and the roots of other trees and shrubs, besides a herbarium of 50,000 shrubs, yielding new genera as well as many new species and many more new varieties.<sup>143</sup>

After successfully cultivating Japanese plants in the early 1890s, Charles Sargent went to Japan himself in the summer of 1892 so as to increase the Arboretum’s collection.<sup>144</sup> By doing so, he joined the ranks of the so-called plant hunters. In 1894, he published his findings in a comprehensive volume, *Forest Flora of Japan*. In it, Sargent notes, “Nothing is so un-American or so attracts the attention of the American traveler in Japan as the trunks of

<sup>141</sup> Some of these varieties were named after his parents and wife. See Donald Wyman, “Sixty Years of Growing Rhododendrons and Azaleas in the Arnold Arboretum,” *Quarterly Bulletin of the American Rhododendron Society* 21, no. 3 (July 1967): 142.

<sup>142</sup> Keith N. Morgan, Elizabeth Hope Cushing, and Roger G. Reed, *Community by Design: The Olmsted Firm and the Development of Brookline, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 117.

<sup>143</sup> “Charles Sprague Sargent,” *New York Times*, March 24, 1927, 24.

<sup>144</sup> Sargent, “Arnold Arboretum—What It Is and Does,” 124.

trees clothed, to the height of 60 feet or 80 feet, with splendid masses of the climbing Hydrangea.”<sup>145</sup> Indeed, the climbing hydrangea, like almost all hydrangea varieties, was native to southern and eastern Asia but quickly ascended in popularity in Europe and North America after its introduction in the late nineteenth century.

In an undated photograph in the Arnold Arboretum archives, Charles Sargent’s wife, Mary Robeson Sargent, (fig. 1.46), appears seated on a porch or in a conservatory, surrounded by hydrangeas and holding gardening gloves. Mary Sargent, an artist herself, participated in her husband’s botanical initiatives by composing a series of over four hundred watercolor paintings to illustrate the Jessup collection of North American woods in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. These illustrations (figs. 1.47–1.48), which accompanied Charles Sargent’s volume, were exhibited in the Women’s Building at the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition, where they received favorable reviews for their “outline, color, grace, beauty, and scientific detail” and were compared to the work of John James Audubon.<sup>146</sup> Two years later, in 1895, Mary Sargent exhibited ninety of these pictures at the St. Botolph Club in Boston—a popular venue where John Singer Sargent frequently exhibited his works—where they were likewise sympathetically received.<sup>147</sup> In a second photograph of Charles Sargent by Sarah Choate Sears, c. 1903 (fig. 1.49), the botanist

<sup>145</sup> “Trees and Shrubs: The Climbing Hydrangea (*Hydrangea Petiolaris*),” *Gardening Illustrated* 17 (August 1904), 307.

<sup>146</sup> “These illustrations are drawn from nature, the size of life, and for outline, color, grace, beauty, and scientific detail they are beyond criticism. Professor Goodale of Harvard University declares them to be unique and admirable in the realm of both science and art; the very spirit of the trees stirs in them, and a revelation of beauty and harmony greets us in these inimitable and loving studies from nature. Mrs. Sargent’s drawings take the place in the delineation of native foliage that Audubon’s matchless and exhaustive sketches hold in the representation of the birds of North America.” See Louisa Parsons Stone Hopkins, “Woman in Science,” in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, ed. Maud Howe Elliott (Paris and New York: Boussod, Valadon, 1893), 95.

<sup>147</sup> “Art Notes,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1895, 4.

and Arboretum director is shown holding a printed triptych—a botanical illustration, perhaps created by his wife, which speaks to their creative partnership. This photograph, if it indeed captures Mary Sargent’s drawings, situates Charles Sargent at the nexus of two female artists whose creative endeavors, like his seeds, were duplicated, translated, and circulated widely (Sears through her international photography exhibitions and Mary Sargent through the mass publication of her botanical illustrations).

Mary Sargent’s pose, dress, and clasped hands in the Arboretum’s archival photograph and, above all, her adjacent hydrangeas, recalls John Singer Sargent’s 1890 portrait of *Katherine Pratt* (fig. 1.50), the daughter of Frederick Sumner Pratt and Sarah Hilliard of Worcester, MA. This oil on canvas, painted on a veranda, also parallels Helen Sears’s ambiguous setting and diaphanous white dress, painted five years later. The focal point of the portrait, however, are the blue hydrangeas that surround the sitter. To prepare for this portrait, Sargent sketched flowers at Lange’s Greenhouses, a local greenhouse in Worcester. The resultant works, however, such as his oil study of *Hydrangeas at Lange’s Greenhouses*, remain untraced.<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, he would have executed these studies prior to the portrait of Helen Sears, indicating his enduring interest in this subject matter.

The greenhouse, like the conservatory, veranda, winter garden, or hothouse, served as a liminal space where plants could thrive outside of their natural habitat. These enclosed, artificial climates—often heated and humidified—not only facilitated the preservation of exotic plants but also “epitomized a scientific approach to landscape by requiring gardeners to monitor and simulate southerly climates under glass to force the growth of tropical

<sup>148</sup> Hermann F. A. Lange, florist, had a shop at 314 Main Street and greenhouses on Mt. Vernon Street. The location of this sketch is unknown. See Susan Strickler, “John Singer Sargent and Worcester,” *Worcester Art Museum Journal* 6 (1982–83): 37.

plants.”<sup>149</sup> Dustin Valen notes that “as early as 1829, T. R. Rivère praised glass buildings in the *Gardener’s Magazine*, writing that ‘art can do what nature, uncultivated, forbids,’ and describing how, even in the middle of winter, there ‘are days as fine and agreeable as any in the summer months’”<sup>150</sup> Samantha Burton has characterized the space of the conservatory as a “complex site wherein contemporary ideas and anxieties about science and empire came in contact.”<sup>151</sup> James Tissot’s repeated depictions of the conservatory in England, for example, “[raise] important questions about the intersections among sex, race, and health in the context of nineteenth-century understandings of climatology.”<sup>152</sup> Paintings like *Tea in the Conservatory* by Harry E. J. Browne (fig. 1.51), painted in the same year as *Katharine Pratt*, highlight the conservatory’s social function and emphasize the conservatory as a feminine enclosure—one marked by “artifice, social control, and imprisonment.”<sup>153</sup>

*Helen Sears*, painted in a nebulous interior, which some scholars identify as a conservatory, may allude to the conventional allegory of the winter garden as a fiction or an artificial construction.<sup>154</sup> Either way, the brass planters and robust hydrangea blooms in Sargent’s work celebrate the triumph of transnational mobility (the movement of seeds, artists, and pigments) and the cosmopolitan time that exists beyond any national border (or

<sup>149</sup> Dustin Valen, “On the Horticultural Origins of Victorian Glasshouse Culture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 75, no. 4 (December 2016): 405.

<sup>150</sup> Valen, 405–6.

<sup>151</sup> Samantha Burton, “Champagne in the Shrubbery: Sex, Science, and Space in James Tissot’s London Conservatory,” *Victorian Studies* 57, no. 3 (2015), 476.

<sup>152</sup> Burton, 476–77.

<sup>153</sup> Margaret Flanders Darby, “The Conservatory in St. John’s Wood,” in *Seductive Surfaces: The Art of Tissot*, ed. Katharine Lochnan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 173. Darby also discusses the Victorian conservatory as a metaphor for social and political conflicts, and especially for sexual politics.

<sup>154</sup> “Perhaps most important, the conservatory setting of *Helen Sears* stresses the artificiality of Sargent’s allegorical equation.” See Syme, *A Touch of Blossom*, 185.

growing season). In Alison Syme's discussion of *Helen Sears* as a "strange, almost oneiric image," she aptly considers the symbolic weight of the blue hydrangea within its contemporary literary context.<sup>155</sup> Her analysis, however, applies the notion of a "floral metamorphosis" to suggest a threatening, sexualized relationship between Helen and the blanché flower.<sup>156</sup> Shifting our analysis instead to the biographical and social history of Sargent's intersection with horticulture and landscape architecture allows us to see *Helen Sears* less as a disturbing symbol of "the emptiness of Symbolist aesthetics" than a multifaceted illustration of Franco-American exchange c. 1890.<sup>157</sup> The hydrangea, I argue, does not, as Syme states, "suck vampirically from Helen" but rather bespeaks Sargent's formal and biographical ties to the particular, transnational botanical initiatives fomented in Boston c. 1895. Just as hybridized flowers can bloom in new geographical and temporal contexts, so too can portraits showcase the crosscurrents of an artist's international travels, memories, and communities.

Garden shows in Boston provided another setting in which to display a range of exotic plant varieties. At one 1901 flower show in Boston, critics noted the impressive azaleas, rhododendrons, and palms, which "have been arranged with the highest art by Professor Sargent assisted by Miss Beatrix Jones, the landscape gardener, so that they appear as if growing in a garden"<sup>158</sup> The azaleas, in particular, were highlighted as being "from the

<sup>155</sup> Syme, *A Touch of Blossom*, 174. Debra N. Mancoff also considers the nineteenth-century symbolism of flowers in her book *Flora Symbolica: Flowers in Pre-Raphaelite Art* (Munich: Prestel, 2003); and Debra N. Mancoff, *The Pre-Raphaelite Language of Flowers* (Munich: Prestel, 2012).

<sup>156</sup> Syme, *A Touch of Blossom*, 174.

<sup>157</sup> Syme, 184.

<sup>158</sup> Darby, "Conservatory in St. John's Wood," 166.

private greenhouses of Professor Sargent.”<sup>159</sup> Charles Sargent, like his cousin, artfully constructed, assembled, and arranged the artificial display, which both insisted on the illusion of a natural garden and asserted its artifice as plants and flowers blossom and thrive outside of their regional origins. By reassembling Sargent’s contemporaneous hydrangea portraits, we can recover the artful, artificial arrangements of pigments and materials that allude to a world beyond the rooted sitter. Rather, the presence of the hydrangea emphasizes the global mission that united painters and botanists—it was travel and transnational exchange that cultivated plants and patrons.

Isabella Stewart Gardner, John Singer Sargent and Anders Zorn’s mutual patron and friend, also participated in competitive garden shows, specifically the Massachusetts Horticultural Society’s annual shows, where she won many awards for her floral entries. At Green Hill in Brookline, the estate she and her husband inherited in 1884, Gardner dedicated her energy to the greenhouse and gardens, which she transformed and revitalized by adding Italian and Japanese gardens as well as an English lawn. On July 18, 1898, she wrote to Bernard Berenson, her trusted art advisor, from Beverly, Massachusetts: “We came here ten days ago—but I often go to Brookline to look at the flowers that I love. I have been raking in 1st prizes (did I already tell you?) for Japanese irises, foxgloves, Canterbury bells and larkspurs.”<sup>160</sup> In a series of undated photographs in the Zorn Museum archive, Anders Zorn captured Gardner in the Green Hill conservatory in a series of informal snapshots (figs. 1.52–1.53). Although Zorn’s photographs incorrectly identify the location as Brooklyn, comparisons between the glass panes, pitched roof, walkway, and climbing plants in Zorn’s

<sup>159</sup> Darby, 166.

<sup>160</sup> Rollin Van N. Hadley, ed., *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner, 1887–1924: With Correspondence by Mary Berenson* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 145.

image correspond to archival photographs of the Gardner estate in Brookline, taken c. 1890–1905 by an amateur photographer (fig. 1.54).

Sargent's preparatory process for *Katharine Pratt*, in addition to his studies at a local greenhouse, included paintings such as *Garden Sketch*, 1890 (fig. 1.55), made alongside Frederick Pratt in Worcester. Letters attest to the central role of the flowers within this portrait, which were not merely rendered as background props. After having to postpone the sitting due to a shortage of suitable hydrangeas, Pratt wrote to his wife on August 8, 1890, "I have finally heard from Mr. Sargent who promises to come on Monday next in the evening. So Kitty need not come until then. I am afraid it will be difficult to get any *blue* Hydrangea now, but I shall search for some."<sup>161</sup>

Pratt's anxiety about blue hydrangeas reveals an ongoing fin-de-siècle debate about how best to achieve this elusive tinted effect. The letters to the editor of *American Gardening* throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include lively discussions about the most desirable color of hydrangea blooms and suggestions regarding soil treatments and light conditions to achieve the desired result. One reader wrote:

By many gardeners, indeed, most amateurs, the blue color is regarded as the acme of perfection; blue in a flower always calls forth admiration. It is the rarest of all floral colors and besides its aesthetic value serves a purpose which renders it particularly valuable in small gardens. The effect of blue, as is well known, is to increase the apparent distance; thus, blue in a landscape seems to add enormously to the depth of the view; therefore in a garden blue gives the effect of breadth and depth which is otherwise lacking.<sup>162</sup>

Another suggested focusing on light instead of soil:

<sup>161</sup> Pratt made a close copy of the portrait, which is inscribed on the reverse: "Copied from John S. Sargent's portrait sketch of Katharine Chase Pratt. Original was painted August 1890 in veranda of house 53 West Street Worcester, MA. Copied by F. S. Pratt." See Strickler, 25.

<sup>162</sup> "Current Notes and News: Color in the Hydrangea," *American Gardening* 23, no. 400 (August 23, 1902): 539.

In my opinion, it is above and not below that we must look for a cause which will satisfactorily explain this phenomenon of blue Hydrangea flowers. To me it seems to be a question of light, for I have particularly noted that those flowers which open earliest in the season, and consequently when the sunlight is strongest, are always of the normal pink color; while those on the same plant which expand later are usually blue.<sup>163</sup>

As one author noted regarding this confusion, “We know it had been said oftentimes that iron in the soil is a controlling factor . . . These theories, however, are without absolute proof.”<sup>164</sup> Like *Katherine Pratt*, John Singer Sargent posed his earlier *Ernest-Ange Duez*, c. 1884 (fig. 1.56), in an ambiguous space, surrounded by thickly painted, blue-tinged hydrangeas. Although he did not have to navigate soil pH levels or precise light conditions, Sargent assumes the role of the gardener or botanist as he renders the pale blue, white, pink, and lavender petals that dominate the portrait’s backdrop. This painting depicts Duez, a prominent French painter and Sargent’s neighbor in Paris on the Boulevard Berthier, who was best known for his landscapes, figure paintings, and flower pictures.<sup>165</sup> Here, Duez appears against “what appears to be one of his own pictures of white hydrangeas.”<sup>166</sup> With no release for the beholder’s gaze, the patterned hydrangeas flatten the composition, not unlike Duez’s painting of blue hydrangeas against a seascape in Sargent’s personal collection. This recurring motif testifies both to their artistic exchange and camaraderie and the potent symbolic function of the hydrangea in the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>167</sup> The

<sup>163</sup> S. Scott, “Color in the Hydrangea,” *American Gardening* 23, no. 409 (October 25, 1902): 686.

<sup>164</sup> “Current Notes and News: Color in the Hydrangea,” 539.

<sup>165</sup> Sargent lived at no. 41 Boulevard Berthier and Duez at no. 39. See Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 1, *The Early Portraits* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 1998), 149.

<sup>166</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, 149.

<sup>167</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, 152.



hydrangeas in this case, a painting within a painting, are symbolic of a very specific transnational exchange—that of the paintings exchanged between Sargent and Duez. Indeed, Sargent’s portrait is inscribed “À mon ami Duez John S. Sargent,” and was a gift to the French artist that remained in the family’s collection, perhaps in direct exchange for Duez’s hydrangea seascape.<sup>168</sup> At the same time, the hydrangeas themselves represent new advancements in the study of botany. It was in the 1880s that a Parisian florist first discovered the chromatic capabilities of the hydrangea and gardening periodicals debated the source of the celestial blue variety.<sup>169</sup> Duez and Sargent’s representations of the blue flower while they lived in worked in Paris indicate their participation in modern, urban Parisian life and their awareness of the efforts made by horticulturalists and nurserymen to present consumers with new chromatic varieties through hybrid flowers and new public garden spaces.

The larger cultural resonance of the hydrangea in France is most directly reflected in the work of Robert de Montesquiou, a painter and poet whose 1896 book of poetry was entitled *Les Hortensias bleus* and whom John Singer Sargent described to Henry James as “extrahuman.”<sup>170</sup> An article in the *New York Times*, written on February 20, 1903, announced

<sup>168</sup> Maureen C. O’Brien, “John Singer Sargent: Portrait of Ernest-Ange Duez,” in *The American Painting Collection of the Montclair Art Museum: Research supplement I* (Montclair, NJ: Montclair Art Museum, 1979), 13. The whereabouts of this Duez painting unfortunately remains unknown.

<sup>169</sup> “The blue hydrangea (*Hydrangea hortensia*), which derives its strange but perfectly natural coloring from sundry agents in the soil, was first a more banal discovery at some Parisian florist’s, where it made its first appearance during the 1880’s.” See Edgar Munhall, *Whistler and Montesquiou: The Butterfly and the Bat* (New York: Frick Collection / Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 36. For an in-depth account of the impact of new color technologies on French visual and material culture, including horticulture, see Laura Kalba, “Blue Roses and Yellow Violets: Flowers and the Cultivation of Color in Nineteenth-Century France” *Representations* 120, no. 1 (2012): 83–114.

<sup>170</sup> Munhall, *Whistler and Montesquiou*, 58.

Montesquiou's conference in America as "aestheticism of the purest order" and explained the symbolic resonance of his book's title:

The title of this singular book, "Blue Hydrangeas," was chosen not so much through predilection for a flower of soft and delicate tint—which supposed predilection has been made the basis of many ridiculous stories—as because of the relation the poet establishes in his mind between the mysterious nuance of this blossom, whose natural hue should be pink, and the mastery imparted to objects of his contemplation and study by a certain esthetic way of considering them.<sup>171</sup>

Just as Montesquiou adopted the plant's form as a symbol of his artistic ideology, so too did his French colleagues, Jacques-Émile Blanche and Paul César Helleu, stimulate artistic interest in the plant through their repeated engagement with the motif in paint. In fact, scholars have drawn attention to the resonance between *Helen Sears* and Blanche's *La Petite Fille aux Hortensias*, 1887 (fig. 1.57), as scenes that, by posing a child with blond hair and fair skin against a hydrangea bush, emphasize the tension between artifice and nature.<sup>172</sup> For these artists, the blue hydrangea, which they would have encountered in Parisian flower shops throughout the late nineteenth century, was interesting for its apparent unnaturalness as well as its origin in Japan and China. Helleu, a close friend of Sargent's, fixated throughout the 1880s on the hydrangea, the "blueish obsession" of symbolist Paris.<sup>173</sup> Montesquiou purchased Helleu's hydrangea pictures for his personal collection: "I own seven pictures of hortensias gardened by Helleu, whose clusters, blue-green or yellowing, give off reflections, on silver platters, like bouquets of dead turquoises"<sup>174</sup> Sargent, who met Blanche and Helleu as a student in Paris in the 1870s, painted portraits of both artists over

<sup>171</sup> "Count de Montesquiou Discusses 'Mystery,'" *New York Times*, February 20, 1903, 7.

<sup>172</sup> Syme, *A Touch of Blossom*, 185.

<sup>173</sup> Judith Ryan, *Rilke, Modernism and Poetic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 62.

<sup>174</sup> Munhall, *Whistler and Montesquiou*, 130.

the course of his long career (figs. 1.58–1.59). Sargent and Helleu formed a particularly close lifelong friendship in which they traveled throughout Europe to paint side by side and created multiple portraits of one another, often en plein air.

The French-American exchange exemplified by Sargent's friendships with Helleu, Blanche, and Montesquiou also impacted the scientific community, particularly that of Charles Sargent. The same Paris-Boston axis that catalyzed Sargent's career also manifested in the tangible, transatlantic relay of seeds between Charles Sargent and the French landscape architect Édouard André. Thirty-five extant letters from André to Charles Sargent in the archives of the Arnold Arboretum reveal the collegiality and collaboration of these two figures who "exchanged seeds, plants, and books."<sup>175</sup> They also met in person in Paris and in the United States.<sup>176</sup>

André, like Charles Sargent, was a self-described botanical traveler who completed plant collecting trips in South America, Russia, the Mediterranean, Turkey, and the United States.<sup>177</sup> Many of his letters discuss Charles Sargent's decision to have the plates of his *Silva of North America* (1890–1902) engraved in Paris under André's supervision.<sup>178</sup> In one letter, dated October 31, 1887, André begins:

My dear friend, Your two letters of October 15 and 17 reached me at the same time as your *Olneya* and *Cereus* seeds, which have been carefully planted. Accept my thanks. I hope soon to be able to let you know that they are prospering. I am going to keep the young plants under glass at Lacroix during the winter, and send them in the spring to my gardens at Cannes.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Phyllis Andersen, "Mon cher ami: The Letters of Edouard André to Charles Sprague Sargent," *Arnoldia* 54, no. 2 (1994): 11.

<sup>176</sup> Andersen, 11.

<sup>177</sup> Andersen, 12.

<sup>178</sup> The illustrations were drawn by Charles Faxon. See Andersen, 14.

<sup>179</sup> Andersen, 15.

He continues with a request:

If, from your side, you send something to England, I would like to request that you add some grafts or a young specimen of a new variety of plum tree that is being much talked about in the United States. It is the Japanese Kelsey Plum. They are found at Bruckman's in Augusta, and elsewhere, I believe.<sup>180</sup>

Along with his letters, André often sent Sargent seeds, many of which originated in China or Japan but were virtually unknown in the United States or France.

At the end of one letter to Charles Sargent, André concluded, “please remember me to Professor Gray, and do the same with Olmsted.”<sup>181</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., the prominent American landscape architect, established a firm in Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1883, where he designed Boston's Emerald Necklace, among other projects. His garden design was often compared to that of André, and the two maintained a warm, collegial friendship.<sup>182</sup> Olmsted was also a good friend of Charles Sargent's, who served on the Brookline Park Commission throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>183</sup> John Singer Sargent's portrait of Frederick Law Olmsted (fig. 1.60) was painted in 1895, when the landscape architect was seventy-three. Commissioned by George Vanderbilt, Sargent's portrait honored Olmsted's role as the designer of 125,000 acres of grounds at the Biltmore summer estate.<sup>184</sup> Sargent worked with Olmsted both outside on the grounds of the

<sup>180</sup> Andersen, 15.

<sup>181</sup> Andersen, 15.

<sup>182</sup> In 1892, for instance, André prepared a detailed trip through the Loire for Olmsted's visit to France. See Andersen, 13.

<sup>183</sup> Morgan, Cushing, and Reed, 110. Charles Sargent's nephew, Henry Sargent Codman, began working for the Olmsted office in 1884 on the recommendation of his uncle. Codman would later work with the Olmsted firm on the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893, where Mary Sargent exhibited her botanical images, Zorn served as Commissioner of the Swedish pavilion, and Sargent earned wide acclaim for his exhibited paintings. See Morgan, Cushing, and Reed, *Community by Design*, 61.

<sup>184</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 2, 99.

estate and in a studio in the main house, and selected a backdrop of foliage native to North Carolina, specifically rhododendron, mountain laurel, and dogwood.<sup>185</sup>

The overlooked relationship between Charles Sprague Sargent's botanical initiatives and John Singer Sargent's painting practices exposes a larger, interconnected, transnational community of artists, authors, botanists, and explorers in the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>186</sup> As I argue for the centrality of John Singer Sargent's mobility and transatlantic navigation, it is important to return to his 1895 portrait of *Helen Sears*, in particular, which constitutes a critical episode of Franco-American exchange. The subject's floral focal point powerfully coincides with Charles Sargent's travel and seed exchange throughout the 1880s and 1890s and participates in a renewed interest within New England in the creation of blue hydrangeas, a potent symbol of French aestheticism, first propagated by artists and esthetes like Helleu, Blanche, and Montesquiou in the 1880s.

These botanical initiatives were taking place at the same time as the rapid industrialization of brewing in Sweden, Germany, and the United States, especially the Hamburg Brewery's rise to prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By understanding Zorn's cosmopolitan aspirations in relation to burgeoning industry, we can likewise place his portraiture, for instance his 1907 rendering of Hugo Reisinger, within a richer, transnational context. This portrait, coupled with his earlier portraits of the Heiss and Busch families in the 1890s, functioned as more than just naturalistic likenesses of particular sitters; they also were connected to a wider web of production, consumption, and importation across national borders.

<sup>185</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, 101.

<sup>186</sup> Even Alison Syme's influential study of Sargent through a botanical lens neglects this specific biographical connection.

## CHAPTER 2: THE THRESHOLD

*In short, the practically cognized present is no knife-edge, but a saddle-back, with a certain breadth of its own on which we sit perched, and from which we look in two directions into time.*

*William James, Principles of Psychology, 1890*<sup>187</sup>

In the summer of 1885, John Singer Sargent painted a portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson and his wife, Fanny Van de Grift Osbourne, in Bournemouth, Dorset (fig. 2.1).<sup>188</sup> Later that year, Stevenson described the work in a letter to the American artist Will H. Low:

It is, I think, excellent; but is too eccentric to be exhibited. I am at one extreme corner; my wife, in this wild dress and looking like a ghost, is at the extreme other end; between us an open door exhibits my spatial entrance hall and a part of my respected staircase. All this is touched in lovely, with that witty touch of Sargent's; but of course it looks dam [sic] queer as a whole.<sup>189</sup>

Painted at the height of Stevenson's literary career, two years after his well-received adventure novel *Treasure Island* had infiltrated public consciousness, Sargent's "eccentric" portrait was indeed exhibited in 1885: first at the Georges Petit Gallery in Paris then again at the New English Art Club in 1887 where it received positive, if puzzled, reviews. George Bernard Shaw, having seen the work at the Dudley Art Gallery in London, described it as "humorous and interesting,"<sup>190</sup> while *Art Journal* called it "almost grotesque as portraiture."<sup>191</sup> The disruptive, "extreme" corners of the composition add to the "interesting" peculiarities

<sup>187</sup> William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (New York: Holt, 1910), 609.

<sup>188</sup> Frances (Fanny) Matilda Van de Grift Osbourne Stevenson (1840–1914) married Robert Louis Stevenson in San Francisco on May 19, 1880. The portrait is inscribed in Sargent's hand in the upper left-hand corner: "to R.L. Stevenson, his friend John S. Sargent 1885."

<sup>189</sup> Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 1, *The Early Portraits* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 1998), 168.

<sup>190</sup> G. B. S. [George Bernard Shaw], "Picture Shows," *The World: A Journal for Men and Women*, no. 667 (April 13, 1887): 20.

<sup>191</sup> "Spring Exhibitions," *Art Journal* 49, no. 5 (May 1887): 159.

of the portrait's spatial configuration, which belies implicit hierarchies of space. Stevenson's description of his wife as a "ghost" in "wild dress," likewise underscores a tension between reigning conventions of nineteenth-century European portraiture and Sargent's decisions about both costume and compositional arrangement.

Rendered midgait, the painting's titular subject paces away from his wife, who reclines in a Victorian bergère that was often occupied by the novelist Henry James, a mutual friend of Sargent and the Stevensons and frequent visitor to Skerryvore, their home in Bournemouth.<sup>192</sup> The arresting, open door between the two figures bisects the canvas to create two realms: that of the ambulatory Stevenson on the left side, and that of his motionless, barefoot wife on the right. Fanny's shimmering ensemble, an Indian sari articulated with staccato brushwork, highlights the figure's spectral presence, as does her cropped placement and languid pose in the foreground.<sup>193</sup> These robes, a thinly painted veiling device that obscure Fanny's physical form, reveal the textured contours of the underlying canvas weave and complicate yet again the painting's relationship to any other

<sup>192</sup> In a letter to Will H. Low (1885), Stevenson notes: "Sargent was down again and painted a portrait of me walking about in my own dining-room, in my own velveteen jacket, and twisting as I go my own moustache; at one corner a glimpse of my wife, in an Indian dress, and seated in a chair that was once my grandfather's; but since some months goes by the name of Henry James's, for it was there the novelist loved to sit - adds a touch of poesy and comicality." See Sidney Colvin, ed., *Letters and Miscellanies of Robert Louis Stevenson: Letters to his Family and Friends*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 428. In a letter to Henry James on October 28, 1885, Stevenson remarks on this once again: "And now to the main point: why do we not see you? Do not fail us. Make an alarming sacrifice, and let us see 'Henry James's chair' properly occupied. I never sit in it myself (though it was my grandfather's); it has been consecrated to guests by your approval, and now stands at my elbow gaping." See Colvin, 435. John Singer Sargent likely met Stevenson in the 1870s, either through Henry James in Paris or through the introduction of R. A. M. Stevenson, a cousin of the author who studied alongside Sargent in Carolus-Duran's atelier. See J. A. Hammerton, ed., *Stevensoniana* (London: Richards, 1903), 75.

<sup>193</sup> In a letter to Dora Norton Williams, Fanny writes: "Mr. Sargent, the portrait painter, has been here, also, and has painted a very insane, most charming picture of Louis and me; Louis is walking about the room talking, apparently, and pulling his moustache, while I lounge in a big blue chair in the robes (veritable) of an Indian princess, one blaze of gold and colour and white lace. I had put on the dress to show it to him, and she could not resist putting it into the picture. He has taken it up to London with him to show to some people, but when it comes back I will try to photograph it." See Fanny Stevenson to Dora Norton Williams, n.d., Stevenson Papers, MS B 3856, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



“portrait of a gentlemen.”<sup>194</sup> Coded as distinctly non-European, Fanny’s costume, like the Stevenson’s imported rug in the foreground, showcases material evidence of the couple’s frequent travel, while Sargent’s tactile, visible brushstrokes emphasize the dynamism of the virtual space.<sup>195</sup> Stevenson, dressed in muted earth tones, serves as Fanny’s foil in both color and pose; his lithe, mobile body is framed against a flattened plane of pigment. Although the jarring, open doorway may initially promise a visual release, the obscured, opaque windowpane beyond the threshold blocks any coherent view of a world outside the picture plane. This strategy of simultaneous revelation and occlusion destabilizes the domestic interior and activates the portrait’s provocative pictorial space. Instead of connecting two rooms within a home, the doorway draws attention to itself as an impermeable painted surface.

For Sargent and Stevenson, united by an interest in travel and a shared network of friends and collaborators, 1884–87 marked a brief period of professional intersection before both men would continue their peripatetic career trajectories, which would ultimately find Stevenson in Samoa, and Sargent in London. As literary critics have well established, Stevenson’s body of work demonstrates a recurring interest in “the effects of movement, the narrative possibilities, and pitfalls, of characters moving rapidly from place to place.”<sup>196</sup> In *The Wrecker* (1892), for example, a non-linear, episodic collaboration with his stepson, Lloyd

<sup>194</sup> Fanny Stevenson describes her portrait again in a letter to her mother-in-law on August 13, 1885: “It is lovely, but has a rather insane appearance, which makes us value it all the more. Anybody may have a ‘portrait of a gentleman’ but nobody ever had one like this. It is like an open box of jewels. I am dying for you to see it.” Fanny Stevenson to Margaret Isabella Balfour Stevenson, MS, Silverado Museum, St. Helena, California.

<sup>195</sup> David Summers defines “virtual space” as “space represented on a surface, space we ‘seem to see.’” See David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (New York: Phaidon, 2003), 43.

<sup>196</sup> Richard J. Hill, “Robert Louis Stevenson and the Great Affair,” in *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Great Affair: Movement, Memory, and Modernity*, ed. Richard J. Hill (London: Routledge, 2017), 2.

Osbourne, Stevenson constructs a narrative vision of exile and rootlessness that reflects his own rapid movement, both spatially and temporally.<sup>197</sup> Stevenson's travel narratives, *An Inland Voyage* (1878), *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes* (1879), *The Silverado Squatters* (1883), *Across the Plains* (1892), and *In the South Seas* (1896), likewise demonstrate his narrative practice of composing texts in transit.<sup>198</sup> A telling excerpt from *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes* clarifies his preoccupation with travel throughout his literary production: "For my part, I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move."<sup>199</sup>

Similarly, great swaths of Sargent's oeuvre chronicle the artist's ongoing negotiation of transnational artistic communities and art markets.<sup>200</sup> To some degree, Sargent and Stevenson, whose artistic themes and creative communities crossed continents, epitomize cosmopolitanism as "a form of elite cultural movement" since their freedom to move across geographical borders and between social clusters with ease was, in part, a byproduct of their financial resources and cultural capital as members of the intellectual literati.<sup>201</sup> The habitual framing of their careers at the intersection of cosmopolitanism and privilege, however, has obscured opportunities to take measure of the ways in which the logistics of itinerancy

<sup>197</sup> Hill, 3.

<sup>198</sup> For a discussion of the effect of travel on Stevenson's professional activity and texts, see Oliver S. Buckton, *Cruising with Robert Louis Stevenson: Travel, Narrative, and the Colonial Body* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007).

<sup>199</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes and Selected Travel Writings*, ed. Emma Letley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), xiii.

<sup>200</sup> For a recent account that situates Sargent within a transatlantic art economy and explores his role within the shifting Anglo-American geopolitics of the fin de siècle, see Andrew Stephenson, "Locating Cosmopolitanism within a Trans-Atlantic Interpretive Frame: Critical Evaluation of Sargent's Portraits and Figure Studies in Britain and the United States c. 1886–1926," *Tate Papers* 27 (Spring 2017): 1–36.

<sup>201</sup> Marsha Meskimmon, *Contemporary Art and the Cosmopolitan Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2011), 21.

would have informed modes of creative output.<sup>202</sup> Just as movement fueled both artist and author's artistic production and professional success, so too did it require the navigation of steamship departure times, train schedules, and international exhibitions, coordinated by telegram. Pages of graphite sketches, produced during transatlantic passages and shorter intervals of transport throughout Sargent's career, record the boats and trains that made such frequent travel possible.<sup>203</sup> Graphite inscriptions of travel timetables (fig. 2.2), packing lists, and other practical notations, interwoven throughout Sargent's sketchbook pages, similarly illustrate the clerical aspects of a career in transit. This cadence of travel, especially during a decade in which temporal standardization was being debated and implemented across Europe and North America, would have undoubtedly shaped one's sense of time, space, and memory, something akin, perhaps, to the modern-day effects of disrupted circadian rhythms during transcontinental air travel: jet lag.<sup>204</sup>

Returning to Sargent's portrait of the Stevensons with these questions in mind, a new reading of the picture's visible facture and "eccentric" compositional arrangement emerges.

<sup>202</sup> Jennifer Roberts examines the effect of distance and delay on transatlantic painting practices in *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). For another insightful account of the relationship between pictorial devices and mobility, see Shira Brisman, *Albrecht Dürer and the Epistolary Mode of Address*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). For an astute engagement with the 'vast and therefore elusive discursive process of mobility' See David Young Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>203</sup> For more on the nineteenth-century transatlantic passage, see Erica Hirshler, "Uncharted Waters" in *Sargent and the Sea*, ed. Sarah Cash, with Richard Ormond et al. (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 39–58; Judy Bullington, "Henry Bacon's Imaging of Transatlantic Travel in the Gilded Age," *Nineteenth-Century Studies* 14 (2000): 63–91; and Mark Rennella and Whitney Walton, "Planned Serendipity: American Travelers and the Transatlantic Voyage in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 365–83.

<sup>204</sup> Stephen Kern's monograph remains a touchstone for studies of time and aesthetics through the lens of social history. See Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983). Among the notable additions to the interdisciplinary literature on time's standardization, see Adam Barrows, *The Cosmic Time of Empire: Modern Britain and World Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Peter Galison, *Einstein's Clocks, Poincaré's Maps: Empires of Time* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003); Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time: 1870–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); and Bryony Randall, *Modernism, Daily Time and Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Rather than an exceptional episode in Sargent's oeuvre, this painting takes its place as part of a larger pictorial pattern, one best understood in relation to fin-de-siècle thinking through time. The "queerness" of *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* turns, this essay argues, on the dynamic materiality of its surface as a site of negotiation between Sargent's perception of the present and the specter of his memories. These formal observations are here put into dialogue with then-active philosophical debates about the cognitive process of remembering, particularly the theories given voice by Sargent's contemporary, William James. In light of these interventions, *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, along with Sargent's similarly disorienting interior portraits from the 1880s, take shape as a new kind of artistic engagement with modern life, one responsive to the role of memory, the visceral impact of mobility, and their influences on perception.

*Circa 1884: Portraits of Robert Louis Stephenson and Shifting Topographies of Time*

In November 1884, Sargent traveled to Bournemouth to paint the first of what would be three portraits of Robert Louis Stevenson. Although Stevenson found Sargent "a charming, simple, clever, honest young man," his account of the first portrait was less fulsome.<sup>205</sup> Stevenson wrote to poet William Ernest Henley, "he represents me as a weird, very pretty, large-eyed, chicken-boned, slightly contorted poet. He is not pleased; wants to do me again in several positions; walking around and talking is his main notion."<sup>206</sup> Although this painted portrait does not seem to have survived, a charcoal drawing, c. 1885 (fig. 2.3),

<sup>205</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson to Margaret Isabella Balfour Stevenson. See Ernest Mehew, ed., *Selected Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 273.

<sup>206</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson to W. E. Henley, c. December 17, 1884. See Mehew, 273.

may have served as an adjacent study for the final oil on canvas.<sup>207</sup> The frontal, loose charcoal rendering on paper shows Sargent's first attempt to discern Stevenson's distinctive facial features. Sporting his characteristic moustache and wavy locks, Stevenson stares ahead with an inscrutable expression. Delicate smudges on the sitter's chin and below his eyebrows indicate tonal shadows and suggest Sargent's enduring interest in light effects, though a viewer can glean almost nothing of Stevenson's surroundings.

The year of this first Stevenson portrait, 1884, marked a moment of transition in Sargent's career in the wake of what he termed the "désastre Gautreau."<sup>208</sup> As Sargent took stock of his professional trajectory and reassessed his geographical mooring, he oscillated between England and France at a constant pace, frequently moving between Paris, London, Sheffield, Sussex, Nice, Giverny, Broadway, and Bournemouth and, without a permanent residence, using the Arts Club in London as his postal address.<sup>209</sup> Beyond Sargent's manic itinerary, external factors would have made this particular course of travel especially destabilizing, for all three portraits of Stevenson were painted within the context of what Marnin Young has recently identified as "cultural transformations in the perception of

<sup>207</sup> In a recent essay, Marc Simpson has argued that this drawing may be an amateur's copy of Sargent's lost painting and not by Sargent, as currently catalogued. Additional research would need to be conducted, however, to confirm or deny this attribution. See Marc Simpson, "I like ambiguities and detest great glares': Henry James and American Paintings," in *Henry James and American Painting*, ed. Colm Toibín, Marc Simpson, and Declan Kiely (New York: Morgan Library and Museum / University Park: Penn State University Press, 2017), 77.

<sup>208</sup> This comment references the divisive reception of Sargent's painting, *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, at the Salon of 1884. See John Singer Sargent to Emma-Marie Allouard-Jouan, c. 1885, John Singer Sargent Archive, SC.SargentArchive.7.8, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>209</sup> For a more complete chronology of Sargent's movements see Stephanie L. Herdrich and H. Barbara Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent*, with Marjorie Shelley (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 367–68; and Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 5, *Figures and Landscapes, 1883–1899* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2010), 96.

temporality.”<sup>210</sup> These shifts in the early 1880s, marked by time’s synchronization and coordination across Europe and North America, led to debates about the modern workday and decisions about how best to implement standard time within a nation. The relationship between impressionism, instantaneity, and modern time has been particularly well documented, as has the temporal crisis of photography.<sup>211</sup> While Greenwich time had already been adopted across England by 1880, France abstained from the 1884 conference vote and waited until 1891 to establish “Paris Time” as the legal time of France, nine minutes and twenty-one seconds ahead of Greenwich. Even with this more formal adoption of a national time, the French railroads continued to run five minutes behind the clocks in the train stations—a discrepancy that allotted passengers extra time to board. These kinds of discontinuities, in France and elsewhere, made one’s temporal awareness, and perhaps attendant anxieties, especially acute.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Marnin Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 9.

<sup>211</sup> See, for example, Carole McNamara, “Painting and Photography in Normandy: The Aesthetic of the Instant,” in *The Lens of Impressionism: Photography and Painting Along the Normandy Coast, 1850–1874*, ed. Carole McNamara (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Museum of Art / Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2010), 15–35; Steven Z. Levine, “Monet’s Series: Repetition, Obsession,” *October* 37 (1986): 65–75; and Joel Isaacson, “Constable, Duranty, Mallarmé, Impressionism, Plein Air, and Forgetting,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (September 1994): 427–50.

<sup>212</sup> Adam Barrows identifies this anxiety in H. G. Wells’s *The Time Machine* and other modernist texts that respond to the radical transformation of time management and manipulation. See Adam Barrows, “‘The Shortcomings of Timetables’: Greenwich, Modernism, and the Limits of Modernity,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 56, no. 2 (2010): 264. It is also important to acknowledge the relationship between nineteenth-century spatio-temporal mapping strategies, the exportation of standard time, and the long history of imperialism. The decision to restructure time itself, as well as when and how to do so, cannot be divorced from this subtext of progress, economic development, and imperial order. By accounting for the role of imperialism, however, I do not suggest that imperial time was straightforward or linear. Rather, I follow Adam Barrows’s more nuanced argument that “world standard time not only enabled the efficiency of advanced global imperialism, but more important (for a study of aesthetics), it provided English citizens with a conceptual tool for cognitively reading that new imperial space as intrinsically unified with England through the hyperprecision of Greenwich time.” See Adam Barrows, *The Cosmic Time of Empire*, 17. See also Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time*, 7–8.

Three years after the Prime Meridian Conference, and two years after Sargent's double portrait was exhibited in Paris, Boston banker Charles Fairchild commissioned an informal portrait of Stevenson for his wife, Elizabeth, who admired the author's work. In the ensuing painting, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, 1887 (fig. 2.4), the author rests in a wicker chair on a plush fur rug, cigarette poised between sinewy fingers. As Patricia Berman has persuasively argued, the inclusion of a smoldering cigarette in fin-de-siècle portraiture and self-portraiture served as a potent subculture signifier and symbol of the mysterious, "intellectually powerful aesthete."<sup>213</sup> By including a cigarette in his third portrait of Stevenson, Sargent afforded the author an accessible identity as a member of bohemian culture—an image consistent with his literary pursuits. An 1887 critical appraisal of the painting in *Art Amateur* discussed the "odd sketch" as "intimate," explaining how Stevenson's "quizzical smile on his speaking face" seems to signal that he "enjoyed the artist's prank to the full."<sup>214</sup> The strangeness of this image, so disarming it could be interpreted as a prank between friends rather than as a portrait, was further noted in *The Magazine of Art*, which emphasized how his long legs, long fingers, and long hair give him "a queer, uncanny look."<sup>215</sup> Allison Syme, in her assessment of Sargent in the context of late nineteenth-century invert sexuality, has described the artist's depiction of Stevenson's "undulant hands" as pulsing "with an internal, torpedolike electricity in his dim, aquariumlike

<sup>213</sup> Patricia G. Berman, "Edvard Munch's *Self-Portrait with Cigarette*: Smoking and the Bohemian Persona," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December 1993): 632.

<sup>214</sup> Greta [pseud.], "Art in Boston," *Art Amateur* 18, no. 1 (December 1887): 3–4.

<sup>215</sup> Quoted in William Howe Downes, *John S. Sargent, His Life and Work* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926), 142. For more on smoking's transgressive associations and Sargent's intersection with "queer" space, see Paul Fisher, "The Lost Ambassador: Henrietta Reubell and Transnational Queer Spaces in the Paris Arts World, 1876–1903," in *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870–1914: Strangers in Paradise*, ed. Karen L. Carter and Susan Waller (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 200–212.

interior.”<sup>216</sup> Employing the same palette as *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, Sargent shows the author sporting almost identical trousers and shoes in this iteration as those pictured in 1885. A caricature of the portrait appeared in the sixth annual exhibit of “American Fakirs,” a jocular organization founded by members of the Society of American Artists, where it earned honorable mention and was accompanied by a humorous text.<sup>217</sup>

This later portrait in many ways operates as an extension of, and complement to, the earlier works, as opposed to a discrete episode or instantaneous response to a particular moment. As Sargent shifted between England and France—his career in precarious flux—his working process, and the ensuing “intimate,” “odd” interior portraits he produced in the 1880s, became less attuned to the mimetic representation of a single moment or discrete space and more redolent of a suggestive visual amalgamation of places and experiences. Sargent’s painterly process and odd threshold spaces, filtered through “a scrim of time consciousness,” echoes Stevenson’s integration of recursive memories into his prose.<sup>218</sup> Sargent’s “tangle of pastness,” enmeshed within the painted surface, makes itself known to its beholders through clues that define its visual experience: spatial voids that defy logical perspective and gestural brushstrokes that incite close viewing.<sup>219</sup>

<sup>216</sup> Alison Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-Siècle Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010), 104.

<sup>217</sup> “When the Pant-hunter, pantless, panteth for pants, He pants for the best pants the pa(i)nt market grants, He panteth until all in canvas he plants. Some say trousers and some say pantaloons, Others say breeches, they’re all of them doons, But John Singer Sargent complacently chants, ‘Look at my portrait of Stevenson’s pants.’” Quoted in “American Fakirs’ Exhibit. Sympathy with Cuba Marks Their Annual Display of Competitive Caricatures,” *New York Times*, April 19, 1898, 7.

<sup>218</sup> Julie Levinson, “Time and Time Again: Temporality, Narrativity, and Spectatorship in Christian Marclay’s *The Clock*,” *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2015): 95.

<sup>219</sup> By asking how Sargent’s pictures and their formal devices register the complications of both space and time, I follow the example of scholars who have contested and revised Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s polemic division between the spatial and temporal arts. The historicization of time as a philosophical category has generated exciting new avenues of scholarship. See, for example, Michelle Foa, *Georges Seurat: The Art of Vision* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, “Drawing Time,” *October* 151 (Spring 2015): 3–



Sargent's 1880-85 clothbound sketchbook, which bears the label "Carnation Lily," contains a collection of sketches on off-white wove paper, many of which relate to contemporaneous paintings. *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose*, 1885–86 (fig. 1.41), one of Sargent's most celebrated large-scale works, corresponds to a number of these drawings as well as to a panoply of adjacent oil studies and sketches housed elsewhere. These related works, which attest to Sargent's laborious preparatory process, explore similar motifs but depict different models, times of day, and compositional arrangements. Sargent also adjusted the exhibited painting at length, repositioning the lanterns and flora by "scraping back, painting out, and painting new motifs on top."<sup>220</sup> Rebecca Hellen and Elaine Kilmurray's astute technical analysis of *Carnation Lily, Lily, Rose* confirms the difficulty of establishing a definitive chronology of Sargent's studies, concluding that the exhibited painting "is not so much a single 'big picture' or 'one object,' but it is the outcome of a sequence of different materials, processes, and creative moments coming together."<sup>221</sup> This picture, out of sync with notions of what constitutes either a finished work or a plein air "impression," sheds light on the nonlinear procedural logic of Sargent's work at the time of his Stevenson portrait.

The sketchbook also attests to the fact that these projects were concurrent. Midway through the "Carnation Lily" sketchbook, two charcoal drawings of Robert Louis Stevenson appear on a single page (fig. 2.5), adjacent to a faint rendering of Dorothy (Dolly) Barnard from behind. Two spectral, rectangular frames, neither of which contains either portrayal of

42; and Marnin Young, "The Temporal Fried," *Nonsite* issue 21 (July 2017), <https://nonsite.org/article/the-temporal-fried>. For another example of artistic engagement with the pictorial "tangle of pastness," see Natalie Dup  cher, "'Like Clocks': Keeping Time and Tracing Space in Cy Twombly's Morocco Paintings," *Oxford Art Journal* 39, no. 1 (March 2016): 19–33.

<sup>220</sup> Rebecca Hellen and Elaine Kilmurray, "*Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose* and the Process of Painting," *British Art Studies*, issue 2, Spring 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-02/rhellen-ekilmurray>.

<sup>221</sup> Hellen and Kilmurray, "*Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose* and the Process of Painting."

Stevenson within its bounds, may allude to the dimensions of a future canvas. In the smaller of the two sketches, Stevenson walks with bent arms and a forward gaze, while in the slightly larger version the author glances over his right shoulder, towards the viewer. When compared to the compositional arrangement of *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, one can establish how Sargent shifted the position of Stevenson's hand and adjusted the viewer's proximity to the central portrait subject. Upon closer inspection, it appears that the angle of Stevenson's bent arms in the two graphite sketches aligns more closely with the 1887 portrait than that of 1885.<sup>222</sup> Furthermore, Stevenson's directionality (pacing to the right of the page) has been reversed in the final portrait, another indication that Sargent's oil on canvas is a composite image that draws both on firsthand observation and on the artist's memory.

Weeks after Sargent varnished and framed *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, he continued to consider how he might revisit the canvas and alter its figural arrangement. In an illustrated letter to Stevenson in November 1885 (fig. 2.6), Sargent reflected on Edwin Austin Abbey's assessment of the portrait:

Abbey who is the only one who has seen it to my knowledge likes *you* in it very much, but I think that on the whole he thinks it paradoxical. It oughtn't to be in the least, so perhaps it is unlucky that I did not cut it down to a single figure like this [drawing]. We will see. Perhaps I may run down and see you again before returning to France, for perhaps I shall be almost all winter in London.<sup>223</sup>

These sketches and epistolary notations clarify Sargent's recursive impulses. In his sketchbook, moments, memories, and observations have been recontextualized to form a

<sup>222</sup> Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray confirm that Sargent's drawings in this particular sketchbook are not sequential. See Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 5, 120.

<sup>223</sup> John Singer Sargent to Robert Louis Stevenson, November 1885, Stevenson Papers, MS B 5427, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, quoted in Ormond and Kilmurray, 168.

mutable framework.<sup>224</sup> With each viewing, Sargent could relive and reinvent his memories, adjusting drawings as he saw fit or appropriating components of a sketch for translation in different media. The sketchbook, a compendious visual record, thus operates as a dynamic combination of nonlinear visual juxtaposition with the linear experience of page turning. As one flips from page to page, one jumps from a sketch of Madame Gautreau to an abstracted British garden landscape, to Robert Louis Stevenson, twice over. These abrupt, unlikely combinations of adjacent sketched subjects pictorially echo Sargent's frequent transatlantic crossings.

The modest profile view of Madame Gautreau, 1880–85 (fig. 2.7), best known as Sargent's model for the contentious portrait of *Madame X* (1884), constitutes a telling episode within Sargent's larger sketchbook practice. On the right side of the page, a delicate, linear profile of the American-born "professional beauty" emphasizes the subject's sharp nose and chin. This angle, which draws attention to her high forehead, resonates with other depictions of the sitter from the early 1880s, specifically the informal pose pictured in *Madame Gautreau Drinking a Toast* (1882–83), a loosely rendered oil sketch (fig. 2.8). On the reverse of this sketchbook page, a second line drawing seems, at first, to depict the facial contours of Madame Gautreau yet again (fig. 2.9). Indeed, given the continuity of the perspective and corresponding, abstracted hatted figures on the recto and verso, it is likely that these profiles were drawn in succession. Dorothy Moss, however, resists the straightforward classification of these and other portrait studies in order to convincingly identify Sargent's challenge to social codes of behavior at the fin de siècle through gender blurring. An undated, nearly identical pen-and-ink profile sketch (fig. 2.10), Moss argues,

<sup>224</sup> Jennifer Jolly, "History in the Making: A Columbian Exposition Scrapbook" in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 91.

reveals Sargent's unusual practice of fusing figures to create composite portraits. This particular sketch, in fact, is not a drawing of *Madame Gautreau* but rather a conflation of Gautreau and Albert de Belleruche, one of Sargent's friends and frequent models.<sup>225</sup> This synthesis of male and female sitter, and the implications of such a merging, point to the complexity of Sargent's larger portrait practice in this period. The androgynous profile drawings in Sargent's "Carnation Lily" sketchbook add further credence to Moss's argument and contribute evidence in support of Sargent's technical experimentations. The artist's creative combination of features and memories, which challenges the viewer's ability to differentiate gender, also demonstrates his willingness to deviate from the impulse to record more mimetic instant impressions.

Other subjects in this illustrative sketchbook include detailed botanical diagrams, Spanish dancers, self-portrait caricatures, matadors, ships, and ink drawings from *Tristan and Isolde*, the Wagnerian opera. Filled with these sorts of asynchronous juxtapositions and repeated themes, the sketchbook at once records movement, spontaneity, duration, and memory, and typifies Sargent's playful, somewhat irregular practice throughout the decade. Sargent's cosmopolitan sketchbooks—he worked in several simultaneously—are both physically mobile and intellectually porous, vacillating between multiple temporal and spatial registers and, in so doing, creating their own time.<sup>226</sup> These observations about Sargent's practice as a draughtsman allow us to reflect on our customary understanding of the

<sup>225</sup> Dorothy Moss, "John Singer Sargent, 'Madame X' and 'Baby Millbank,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1178 (May 2001): 268–75.

<sup>226</sup> Benedict Anderson, following Walter Benjamin's lead, appropriates the notion of "homogeneous empty time" to suggest the intimate relationship between a burgeoning national consciousness and the adoption of uniform time. Renewed attention to the direct ties between standardized time and national identity c. 1885 reframes the stakes of Sargent's temporal experimentation in light of his cosmopolitan career. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin of and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

sketchbook as an archival system contributing to the linear development of more formal, exhibited works. Sargent's entanglement of visual records, imaginative projection, and past memories offers a counterpoint to the practice of artists like Mary Cassatt, with whom he is often placed in dialogue due to their similar academic training and status as American expatriates. Cassatt's pocket-size sketchbooks, which fastidiously document her immediate surroundings, typify a more geographically and temporally rooted approach to sketchbook notations as *aides-mémoires*.<sup>227</sup> Sargent's deviation from this journalistic practice in his 1880–85 sketchbook suggests a generative reframing of his process and enriches our understanding of the paintings that ensued.

*William James, Sargent, and the "Specious Present"*

Sargent's irregular sketchbook practice, sporadic British residency, and ensuing production of oil paintings coincided with powerful intellectual currents in the study of memory and perception. In the 1880s, the Stevensons not only welcomed John Singer Sargent and Henry James to Skerryvore but also Henry's brother William, who often traveled to Bournemouth to visit their sister, Alice.<sup>228</sup> The older James, a psychologist and philosopher, developed a collegial rapport with Stevenson, and described his 1888 essay, "The Lantern-Bearers," as "one of the most beautiful things ever written."<sup>229</sup> While these avenues of exchange between philosopher and author are well-mined, art historical writing on Sargent rarely mentions William James, and then only in the context of his brother's

<sup>227</sup> H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry, *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885–1915* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 207.

<sup>228</sup> Alice James, who suffered from a number of chronic somatic complaints and neurasthenia, moved to Bournemouth in 1885 with her companion and caretaker, Katharine Loring.

<sup>229</sup> Jack Barbalet, "WJ and Robert Louis Stevenson," *Streams of William James* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 6.

novels or the loose group of intellectuals with whom Sargent associated in America and England. By taking seriously the resonance of James's theoretical framework in these years, I trace the potential affinities between his philosophies and the temporal fluctuations of Sargent's late nineteenth-century milieu portraits.<sup>230</sup> By doing so, however, I do not mean to reduce the significance of Sargent's paintings to a single lens of analysis. Indeed, part of the critical discomfort these pictures have engendered is due to their enduring resistance to categorization or fixed interpretation. Instead, I consider how a renewed attention to three mutually constitutive elements—mobility, physical matter, and memory—can inform a reassessment of Sargent's late nineteenth-century visuality as an extension of the larger cultural conditions and preoccupations of his time.

Born in 1842, James's upbringing in New York and Europe and his Harvard education fostered intersections with Sargent's social networks on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>231</sup> Perhaps best known as a purveyor of American pragmatism, James made lasting contributions to the philosophy of time through his theory of the "specious present," a term he borrowed from E. R. Clay and introduced in his seminal publication, *The Principles of Psychology* (1890).<sup>232</sup> Although James spent the majority of his life in Cambridge,

<sup>230</sup> For a discussion of William James and the aesthetic dimension of experience, see Richard Shusterman, "The Pragmatist Aesthetics of William James," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 51, no. 4 (October 2011): 347–61.

<sup>231</sup> William James maintained close relationships with many members of Sargent's social network, including the connoisseur Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner, one of Sargent's loyal patrons. See Adrienne Rubin, "From Impressionism to Post-Impressionism: Continuities in Roger Fry's Concept of Aesthetic Perception," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2015), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/rubin-on-continuities-in-roger-fry-s-concept-of-aesthetic-perception>; and Randall Albright, "Isabella Stewart Gardner and WJ," *Streams of William James* 3, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 14. Sargent's sisters gave two posthumous palettes to William James, which speaks to the friendship and mutual admiration between Sargent and James. A comprehensive pigment analysis of these (and other) palettes can be found in Georgina Rayner and Joyce Townsend, "Sargent's Painting Materials: New Discoveries and Their Implications," *Visual Culture in Britain* 19, no. 1 (April 2018): 1–23.

<sup>232</sup> In 1890 James defined "the prototype of all conceived times" as "the specious present, the short duration of which we are immediately and incessantly sensible." Quoted in Gerald Eugene Myers, *William James: His Life and Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 144. See also Holly K. Andersen, and Rick Grush,

Massachusetts, he maintained longstanding associations with a transatlantic philosophical community and was, in turn, well read and well received internationally throughout his career. As early as the 1870s, James actively participated in French intellectual life and, throughout the 1880s and 1890s, continued to articulate his key concepts in American publications.<sup>233</sup> At the same time, he remained “a fixture in British philosophical and intellectual circles” and published excerpts from *Principles of Psychology* in *Mind*, a London-based periodical, and the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*.<sup>234</sup> James’s treatise, which he began writing in 1878, explores connections between the natural and social sciences as he delves into thematic chapters, including “habit,” “attention,” “the perception of time,” and “memory.”<sup>235</sup> In the text’s final chapter, James articulates his notion of consciousness as a “stream” of continuity, elaborating that “the knowledge of some other part of the stream, past or future, near or remote, is always mixed in with our knowledge of the present thing.”<sup>236</sup>

Theories of experiential and temporal perception have been debated for centuries, marking texts as early as the fourth-century *Confessions* of St. Augustine.<sup>237</sup> The nature of

“A Brief History of Time-Consciousness: Historical Precursors to James and Husserl,” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 47, no. 2 (April 2009): 278. For more on James’s misleading citation of E. R. Clay (the passage James quotes was, in fact, taken from an anonymous publication), see Holly Andersen, “The Development of the ‘Specious Present’ and James’s View on Temporal Experience” in *Subjective Time: The Philosophy, Psychology, and Neuroscience of Temporality*, ed. Valtteri Arstila and Dan Lloyd (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014), 25–42.

<sup>233</sup> Eliza Jane Reilly, “Concrete Possibilities: William James and the European Avant-Garde,” *Streams of William James* 2, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 24.

<sup>234</sup> Reilly, 22. James’s chapter on “The Perception of Time” in *Principles of Psychology* appeared almost verbatim in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* in 1886.

<sup>235</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 101.

<sup>236</sup> James, *Principles of Psychology*, 606.

<sup>237</sup> Robin Le Poidevin, “The Experience and Perception of Time,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2015 ed., <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/time-experience/>.

time, it seems, has always been discussed as an abstruse, abstract puzzle. How are temporal relations perceived? How does one conceptualize the present? What is the relationship between temporal duration and memory? While James was entangled within a much broader philosophical discourse surrounding the space-time-being continuum in the late nineteenth century, our focus here is to consider the ways in which James's personal and philosophical affinities with Sargent might be brought to bear on the specific objects at hand. In turn, how might a close reading of Sargent's surfaces complicate and complement contemporaneous debates about time? Following Michael Baxandall's notion of "vulgar Lockeanism," I aim to explore informal correspondences between a mode of philosophical thought and certain forms of representation.<sup>238</sup>

By defining the particularities of cognitive functions, particularly the distinction between immediate sensation and perception, James's text also clarifies the temporal divergence between Sargent and his impressionist contemporaries. Although James was not writing as an art theorist, this interest in the peculiarity of sensation echoes the nineteenth-century psychology of Hippolyte Taine and Émile Littré, whose early positivist doctrine emphasized the significance of the impression as the "phénomène primitif."<sup>239</sup> The "theory" of forgetting and the fantasy of perceptual innocence, particularly with regard to plein air painting, informed impressionism's unique spectatorial conditions.<sup>240</sup> As theories of pure sensation underscored the new temporal contours of modern life, painters embraced

<sup>238</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 76–77.

<sup>239</sup> Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Hachette, 1875); and Hippolyte Taine, *De l'intelligence* (Paris: Hachette, 1870).

<sup>240</sup> Richard Schiff, "The End of Impressionism," in *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886*, ed. Charles S. Moffett (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 71; and Isaacson, "Constable, Duranty, Mallarmé, Impressionism, Plein Air, and Forgetting," 437.



the aesthetic ideal of the “innocent eye” and a return to childlike naïveté.<sup>241</sup> Sargent, although often placed in dialogue with impressionist painters, resisted the adoption of aesthetic innocence as an artistic lens.<sup>242</sup> His paintings, the evolution of which were informed by past moments and locations, might be better understood within James’s framework of perception, which acknowledges that the “now” one experiences at any given time is not punctate but rather irrevocably bound together with memories from the past.<sup>243</sup>

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars have continued to argue against the stability of instantaneity. Richard Terdman, in his cultural history of memory, propagates James’s principles by emphasizing the fiction of instantaneity and the elongated temporality of perception. Memory, he argues, is a precondition, without which there could be no intelligible cognition.<sup>244</sup> In *Principles of Psychology*, James further notes the discrepancy between the concepts of experienced time and linear, standardized time, explaining, “a week of travel and sight-seeing may subtend an angle more like three weeks in the memory; and a month of sickness hardly yields more memories than a day.”<sup>245</sup> In essence, while emptiness, monotony, and familiarity quicken and shrivel time, travel and new experiences elongate it.<sup>246</sup> To follow this logic, and to return to Sargent and Stevenson in Jamesian terms, we can recognize how

<sup>241</sup> Mallarmé identifies naïveté as a central tenet of Manet’s modern vision. See Stéphane Mallarmé, “The Impressionists and Édouard Manet,” *Art Monthly Review* 1 (September 1876): 117–22.

<sup>242</sup> William H. Gerdts, “The Arch-Apostle of the Dab-and-Spot School: John Singer Sargent as an Impressionist,” in *John Singer Sargent*, ed. Patricia Hills, with Linda Ayres et al. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art / Harry N Abrams, 1986), 111–46.

<sup>243</sup> James, *Principles of Psychology*, 629.

<sup>244</sup> Richard Terdman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 9.

<sup>245</sup> James, *Principles of Psychology*, 624.

<sup>246</sup> James, 624.

their nomadic careers would have extended their experience of time and modified their concomitant production of memory.

The much-remarked-upon threshold space of Sargent's portrait of Fanny and Robert Louis Stevenson takes on new meaning in light of James's theories. The disruptive painted doorway, a recurring motif throughout Sargent's interior portraits, could be understood as simulating the sensation of temporal slippage. As one crosses a threshold, one is not fully independent of the space that comes before or materializes after its parameters, just as James argues that "our perception of time is a *duration*, with a bow and a stern, as it were—a rearward- and a forward-looking end."<sup>247</sup>

The iconographic power of doorways and windows in paintings harkens back to Leon Battista Alberti's fifteenth-century artistic paradigm, which established paintings as windows to the world, sites that are indebted to the ideal of mimesis and through which we might glimpse a fragment of reality.<sup>248</sup> While Sargent's recurring emphasis on materiality is not limited to his painted doorways, they frequently serve as charged spaces of mimetic discontinuity and function as focal points within Sargent's oeuvre, particularly in the 1880s.<sup>249</sup> The doorway, as a site of contact between representation and reality and as a place of purported visual release, beckons the beholder's attention. As such, it serves as a particularly conducive site for invoking involuntary memory or disrupting a viewer's expectations of virtual space. As we will see through the examination of concurrent episodes

<sup>247</sup> James, 609.

<sup>248</sup> Alberti's treatise, *De Pictura*, was first composed in Latin in 1435. Rocco Sinisgalli, ed. *Leon Battista Alberti: On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39.

<sup>249</sup> Georg Simmel's evocation of the doorway as a metaphoric spatial dynamic of everyday life provides another way to access Sargent's recurring motif through the lens of human interest in connectedness. See Georg Simmel "The Bridge and the Door" [1909], in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), 65, 67.

including *The Breakfast Table*, 1883—84 (fig. 2.11), and *Le verre de porto* (*A Dinner Table at Night*), 1884 (fig. 2.12), these spaces, *dislocations* within a painted portrait, interior, or streetscape, illustrate the interchangeability of connection and separation, past and present, fact and fiction.

### *Doors and Thresholds: Sargent's Interior Portraits*

Depicting a wide range of locations and subjects, Sargent's painted doorways provide a static iconographic touchstone to which he would return amidst a mobile working process. In the 1880s, in particular, Sargent executed a number of interior portraits populated by confounding spatial features, notably voids, liminal spaces, and inconsistent perspectives. Alison Syme's examination of Sargent's botanical artistry has revealed the artist's pervasive interest in veils, petals, glass, lanterns, and skins, which Syme argues was rooted in "the chiasmic intertwining of interior and exterior worlds they can embody."<sup>250</sup> Syme's observations are powerfully germane for the wider study of Sargent's intimate interiors, pictures that celebrate the threshold with layered interstitial, intermediary spaces. In response to the disruptive, central void of Sargent's 1882, large-scale Salon submission, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, an *Art Amateur* critic wrote, "All this is very well as showing the artist's clever manipulation of 'effects,' but what in the world has it to do with portraiture?"<sup>251</sup> The mixed critical response to *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* likewise reveals an enduring debate over the work's genre, which conformed neither to a specific artistic movement nor to the usual terms of "Grand Manner" portraiture. Sargent's recurring liminal spaces,

<sup>250</sup> Syme, *A Touch of Blossom*, 142.

<sup>251</sup> "American Art at the Paris Salon," *The Art Amateur* 9, no. 2 (July 1883): 24.

therefore, not only allow us to explore how experienced time might manifest in paint but also assert the centrality of this moment in the artist's career as a critical juncture.

In contrast to the familiar images of Sargent's large-scale formal portraiture, marked by lush gowns and opulent gilded space, his "deeply puzzling portraits" such as those of Stevenson or his sister Violet in *The Breakfast Table* remain comparatively unexplored. Scholars have recognized Sargent's "unusual interior portraits"<sup>252</sup> or "impressionistic interiors"<sup>253</sup> of the late nineteenth century as a nebulous category.<sup>254</sup> To address the underlying pictorial logic of this image group, however, one that chronicles the architecture of liminality, it is worth considering the crucial, if unexpected, and thus far overlooked, connections between Sargent's cluster of interior portrait paintings and the series of Moroccan streetscapes that directly preceded them. The relative scholarly silence on the subject of Sargent's architectural studies, especially those produced in North Africa, has

<sup>252</sup> Renate Brosch, "Insidious Interiors: John Singer Sargent's Theatrical Versions of Domestic Portraiture" in *New Beginnings in Twentieth-Century Theatre and Drama: Essays in Honour of Armin Geraths*, ed. Christiane Schlote and Peter Zensinger (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003), 407.

<sup>253</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 1, 135.

<sup>254</sup> Marc Simpson, calling attention to these images as a related cluster, has labeled them "portrait sketches" that "established a mode of informal genre portrait, an updated version of the eighteenth-century conversation piece." Simpson describes *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, in particular, as "splendidly vivid and lively, yet deeply puzzling." A selection of these early portraits and character studies were included in the 2007 exhibition, *Sargent's Women*, where they were categorized by their shared investment in domestic, "feminized" interior space and artificial light. Likewise, in the catalogue accompanying the 2007 exhibition, *Sargent/Sorolla*, Elaine Kilmurray's brief essay, "Painting in a Modern World: Sargent's Informal Portraiture," addresses the influence of Manet and Carolus-Duran on Sargent's "modernist impulses" between 1883 and 1885, citing both Sargent's "compositional deliberation" and sympathies toward the work of French Impressionists. In the most recent curatorial reconsideration of Sargent's informal portraits, *Sargent: Portraits of Artists and Friends* (2015), Richard Ormond emphasizes a tension at the heart of the portraits, which he describes as "experimental but rigidly planned." See Marc Simpson, *Uncanny Spectacle: The Public Career of the Young John Singer Sargent*, with Richard Ormond and H. Barbara Weinberg (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 124; Warren Adelson et al., *Sargent's Women* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2003), 43; Elaine Kilmurray, "Painting in a Modern World: Sargent's Informal Portraits," in *Sargent/Sorolla*, ed. Tomàs Llorens (Madrid: Turner / Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2006), 15–23; and Richard Ormond, *Sargent: Portraits of Artists and Friends*, with Elaine Kilmurray, and contributions by Trevor Fairbrother et al. (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2015); Mary M. Lane, "When Sargent Painted his Friends," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 12, 2015.

minimized the ways in which elements of this series, where places of intersection and intercession emerge forcefully as Sargent's primary pictorial concern, may have informed his ensuing production and resurfaced in his later portraits. Seen from this vantage point, these pictures take their place within a more complex map of Sargent's draftsmanship, visual memory, and iconographic inspiration.

In a letter to his friend Ben Castillo dated January 4, 1880, Sargent describes his lodging in Tangier, where "the little white tortuous streets are so exactly alike."<sup>255</sup> In addition to crisp whitewashed façades and focused attention on shadows cast at midday, Sargent appears preoccupied with the painted doorways and horseshoe arches that characterized the streets around his rented house. The modest streetscapes produced during this brief Moroccan residency, painted on portable boards, are devoid of human figures.<sup>256</sup> Instead, the painted doors, and the saturated colors that set them apart from their monochromatic surrounds, register as almost figural. In *Moorish Buildings in Sunlight*, 1879–80 (fig. 2.13), sharp, diagonal shadows cascade across cream-colored walls as planes of rich blue sky converge with crisp white roofs along the composition's high horizontal axis. The building's doorway, seemingly impenetrable, serves as a prominent focal point in the middle ground. Similarly, *Open Doorway, Morocco*, 1879–80 (fig. 2.14), pictures a singular architectural feature, beyond which the viewer can discern an abstracted exterior space, perhaps a mosque amidst a sun-bleached landscape. The three stones in the foreground, painted with loose strokes of grey and impastoed white highlights, serve as an invitation to the beholder to step through the arched doorway. Although this virtual opening implies a world beyond the threshold, it

<sup>255</sup> Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), 50–51.

<sup>256</sup> Many thanks to Stephanie Herdrich for coordinating my visit to view these works in person.

denies the viewer a coherent semblance of the street beyond, and quickly dissipates into two-dimensional painted matter upon closer examination. To the right of these stones, irregular brushstrokes and flourishes of lighter grey mark the gestural brown foreground, leaving large areas of the wood board visible below the thinly painted surface.

The months Sargent spent in Morocco, rendering landscapes and figural studies that challenge and experiment with surface effects, informed his transactional portrait series of the 1880s and their fixation on liminal space. The disruptive voids that activate these pictures, by insisting on their tactile presence, parallel the disturbing intrusion of memory into pure sensation.<sup>257</sup> The novelty of this particular trip to North Africa, a new location ripe with aesthetic inspiration, would have been encoded in Sargent's memory, affecting his perception of its duration and extending its relative import. It perhaps comes as no surprise, therefore, that elements of these "Moorish" scenes and threshold spaces speak directly to Sargent's compositional and technical choices in subsequent projects, especially *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*. In *Courtyard, Tetuan, Morocco*, 1879–80 (fig. 2.15), for example, two doorways bisect the figureless streetscape into distinct regions. Whereas an open doorway divides husband and wife in the Stevenson portrait, a sharp, triangular shadow dictates our reading of the courtyard space in Tetuan. In the foreground, Sargent employs cross-hatching to create textured, thickly painted, monochromatic planes, which are then scraped and smudged. The base of the recessed red doorway reveals the wood grain's patterning most prominently, just as the red robes of Fanny Stevenson reveal the textured canvas weave below the painted surface.

<sup>257</sup> Later in his career, Sargent would return to North Africa and the Middle East in search of inspiration and source material for the Boston Public Library mural series. For a complete account of this project and its conservation, see Narayan Khandekar, Gianfranco Pocobene, and Kate Smith, eds., *John Singer Sargent's "Triumph of Religion" at the Boston Public Library: Creation and Restoration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Painted by an artist caught between the variable national times of England and France, Sargent's interior portraits probe the oppositional timescapes of rootedness and cosmopolitanism, the stability of immediate sensory perception, and the extended experience of time due to constant uprootedness. The relationship between threshold spaces and artistic itinerancy has a long history in nineteenth-century artistic production, as seen in the gates, doors, bays, and windows throughout Delacroix's Moroccan sketchbooks, which Elisabeth Fraser argues operate as a type of metaphor for the traveler's place as an outsider in a foreign environment, surrounded by "the privilege of access not quite attainable."<sup>258</sup> Likewise, Sargent's thresholds, at once representational and evocative as abstract metaphors, serve as fulcrums of a larger, experimental picture series that expose the temporal cross-pollination between disparate geographical nodes and their attendant notions of what constitutes "now."

Painted in 1884, the same year as Sargent's first Stevenson portrait, *Le verre de porto* (*A Dinner Table at Night*) once again denies the viewer a coherent narrative and fashions a space devoid of temporal markers from the external world (weather conditions, direct light). In this after-dinner scene of Albert and Edith Vickers, Mrs. Vickers's diaphanous sleeves blend into the middle ground while the trace of Mr. Vickers's cigarette drifts into the glowing domain of the red table lamps. The smooth wall surface, painted with rich red pigments, has been punctuated by unidentifiable, framed paintings, small in scale. As with the artworks on the wall of the Stevenson portrait, these paintings within paintings offer visual analogies to

<sup>258</sup> Elisabeth Fraser, "Images of Uncertainty: Delacroix and the Art of Nineteenth-Century Expansionism" in *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 142–43. Hollis Clayson has explored how the thresholds of American expatriate Mary Cassatt may likewise be interpreted as a "trenchant comment upon modernity and the artist's own thwarted cosmopolitanism." See Hollis Clayson, "Threshold Space: Parisian Modernism Betwixt and Between (1869–1891)," in *Impressionist Interiors*, ed. Janet McLean (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2008), 27.

the open doorway, both insisting on the physical presence of their painted matter.<sup>259</sup> The inclusion of these visually ambiguous paintings not only identifies the interior as one of upper-class sensibilities but also calls attention to the veracity of painting in a larger sense, insofar as it suggests the mimetic limits of paint on a surface. The ivory linen tablecloth, hanging off the dining table's edges, leads to an abrupt diagonal in the foreground and provides the brightest whites within the composition. As the viewer's eye oscillates between identifiable figures and reflective still life elements of interior space, particularly the gleaming silver service, the beholder must reconcile disparate focal points and spatial ambiguities, lingering on the picture and its vignette of temporal extension: the wafting cigarette smoke, suspended like a pregnant pause.

Scrutiny of the picture's surface and visible pentimenti exposes Sargent's deliberate construction of interstitial space and thematic and compositional points of contact with his portrait of *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, painted less than one year later. Clearly revealed in infrared reflectography, Sargent originally painted an open doorway between the Vickerses, almost exactly aligned with the placement of the door in the Stevenson portrait.<sup>260</sup> The distorted junction of walls in the background, which disobeys the laws of perspective, further supports this modification and may be characterized as an example of what Georges Didi-Huberman terms the "patch," or what David Peters Corbett defines as the "indexical, nondescriptive, and dissemblant part" of the painting where an artist negates or clouds the

<sup>259</sup> Anne Hemkendreis has explored the relationship between opaque painted windows and pictures-within-pictures in the work of Vilhelm Hammershøi. See Anne Hemkendreis, "Inner and Outer Realms: Opaque Windows in Vilhelm Hammershøi's Interior Paintings" in *Interiors and Interiority*, ed. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth and Beate Söntgen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 309–10.

<sup>260</sup> Catherine Johnson, Condition Report, August 8, 1990, American Art Department, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. The report concerns John Singer Sargent's *A Dinner Table at Night*, 1884, 73.12.



mimetic order.<sup>261</sup> Didi-Huberman's compelling intervention draws attention to painting's material cause as opposed to iconography. The concept of the "patch," which gestures to Proust's *pan* (fragment, patch), both references a simple fragment of color on a wall and serves as a metaphor for involuntary memories.<sup>262</sup> As such, it offers one approach to the resonance of Sargent's insistent materiality and visible facture.<sup>263</sup> Sargent's threshold space, understood in these terms as a disruption of the image's referential register, functions as a meaningful site of transaction between the artist and the beholder.<sup>264</sup> Even in its state as a puzzling pentimento, this spatial boundary calls attention to the painting's haptic constructedness and evokes the specter of past images and brushstrokes below the surface, which seep into the inherently fictitious painted space.

Another such "patch" appears in Sargent's *The Breakfast Table* by way of a partially opened doorway not unlike that pictured in *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* the following year. The red walls of this dining space appear cool in the morning light and fade to translucency in the bottom and upper registers. In the top edge of the open doorway (fig. 2.16), deep black fades into dark grey in a gestural area that was smudged while the paint was still wet.<sup>265</sup> This intermediary region, where the upper edge of the threshold inexplicably fades into the wall, is one of many indecipherable passages that draw the viewer's prolonged

<sup>261</sup> Georges Didi-Huberman, "The art of not describing: Vermeer—the detail and the patch," *History of the Human Sciences* 2, no. 2 (June 1989): 147-150; and David Peters Corbett, *The World in Paint: Modern Art and Visuality in England, 1848–1914* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004), 119.

<sup>262</sup> Marcel Proust, *À la recherche du temps perdu* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1995), 156.

<sup>263</sup> Marilyn M. Sachs persuasively identifies the intellectual kinship between Proust and James. See Marilyn M. Sachs, *Marcel Proust in the Light of William James: In Search of a Lost Source* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014).

<sup>264</sup> This notion of threshold as a zone of transaction is further explored in Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

<sup>265</sup> My analysis of *The Breakfast Table* was greatly enriched by conversations with Kate Smith and Miriam Stewart at the Harvard Art Museums, to whom I am immensely grateful.

attention. To the right of the doorknob, the effect of Sargent's scraping is evidenced by the reworked and loosely rendered strokes of brown, white, grey, and green. The central figure in this intimate portrait, Sargent's younger sister, sits at the breakfast table in a well-appointed room, immersed in her book. Although likely a depiction of the Sargent family's home in Nice, the painting was photographed in Sargent's Paris studio alongside *Madame X* (fig. 2.17) and may have been created, or at least completed, in the French capital. The intimate scale of the painting requires the movement of a viewer towards the work to discern its sumptuous details: a lavish table glimmering with its trappings, and two small, spherical oranges that artfully elevate the white pages of a book, stressing an "aesthetics of display."<sup>266</sup> These oranges, which Sargent rearranged during the course of his painting process (the ghostly traces of their earlier placement can still be seen to the right of the open book), anticipate his later inclusion of the same still life props in *Daffodils in a Vase* (1891/94) and *Still Life with Daffodils* (1885/95).

Together, the sumptuous details within this portrait—linen napkins, white china, glass decanter, brass oil lamp, silver bowls—accentuate the artifice of the interior space. While never intended for public exhibition, its inscription to Albert Besnard, a French painter and a friend of Sargent's in Paris, indicates that it existed in a world of artist-exchanges.<sup>267</sup> The combination of suggested porosity and material resistance throughout the canvas refers to Sargent's own painterly process and produces a space of contact between sitter, artist, and beholder. Just above Violet's head, a Japanese picture scroll, suggested with summary blue and purple brushstrokes, echoes the shape of Robert Louis Stevenson's

<sup>266</sup> James H. Rubin, *Manet's Silence and the Poetics of Bouquets* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 181.

<sup>267</sup> The canvas is inscribed by Sargent: "à mon cher ami Besnard."

ambulatory silhouette. While *The Breakfast Table* precedes *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, it intersects with Sargent's earlier interactions with the writer. The abstracted marks in the painted scroll, one could imagine, might also operate as a proleptic shadow or memory of Stevenson's physical likeness.

Robert Louis Stevenson's appraisal of his 1885 portrait as "excellent," "eccentric," and "touched in lovely" could also describe Sargent's larger sequence of interior portraits that likewise incite the beholder's curiosity and close looking.<sup>268</sup> Movement, or the imagined potential to navigate a world beyond the doorframe, endures as a central facet of space's perpetual unfolding within and around Sargent's canvases. In *The Birthday Party*, 1885 (fig. 2.18), Sargent depicts Albert Besnard and his wife, the sculptor Charlotte Dubray Besnard, with their son Robert in their home on rue Guillaume-Tell. This informal scene of domesticity, painted in the same year as *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, features analogous rich red walls, ambiguous cast shadows, and opaque threshold space. Fine decorative details throughout the composition, especially the Japanese-inspired lampshade and reflective glassware, emphasize aesthetic artifice and recall the still-life elements of *The Breakfast Table*. The window, partially concealed by translucent curtains, has been marked with white flecks of pigment that indicate abstract, puzzling reflections. Once again, the opacity of the painted threshold flattens the depicted room and heightens the composition's claustrophobia. Although Albert Besnard stands in a prominent position above his wife and son, Sargent defies the usual emphasis on a patriarch's identity within a family portrait by leaving his blurred face unfinished. Through these visual ambiguities and inconsistencies, which

<sup>268</sup> It would benefit our understanding of Sargent's oeuvre to explore more fully his engagement with the aesthetics of empathy. For more on the fundamental role of embodiment and the imaginative projection of bodily experience in nineteenth-century painting, see Michael Fried, *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

reappear throughout Sargent's contemporaneous portraits, the artist draws attention to sites of temporal transition and liminality, conspicuously favoring the doorway (or window) as a tool of spatial disruption. At the same time, this physical motif unites Sargent's interior portraiture and, as a recurring fixture of aesthetic interest throughout his travels, transposes memories of the past into the present.

*"Dam [sic] Queer as a Whole"*

*Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, like Sargent's analogously "queer," "unusual," informal portraiture, operates as more than an outlier within his larger body of work. Rather, it reflects a consistent pictorial logic. The doorway that separates Robert Louis Stevenson from his wife, a "patch" of painted matter (fig. 2.19), simultaneously asserts the disruptive intrusion of memory and the fiction of mimesis. Establishing this portrait's shared conceptual terrain with Sargent's Moroccan architectural studies and sketchbook practice reveals a new, significant moment within his career, one marked by the artist's frenetic peregrinations, the shifting politics of time across Europe and the United States, and the philosophical meditations on time's subjective force.

As Sargent impedes his viewers' efforts to read *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* as either a linear narrative or an instant impression of real space painted on site, his artistic practice also integrates memories of past locations, responding to what scholar Annamarie Jagose has described as the "recursive eddies and back-to-the-future loops" of perception.<sup>269</sup> Unlike the impressionistic commitment to an illusion of instantaneity, or mechanical processes that cohere with the quickening pace of standard time, *Robert Louis Stevenson and*

<sup>269</sup> See Annamarie Jagose, "Feminism's Queer Theory," *Feminism and Psychology* 19, no. 2 (May 2009): 158.

*His Wife* reflects Sargent's movement between national times and rejection of a singular "now." Instead, Sargent offers his viewer a different rubric of temporality, one that embraces asynchrony and belatedness and strays from any fixed definition of the present. In the wake of a recent temporal turn in queer theory, it is especially timely to reconsider the rhetoric of Sargent's nineteenth-century critical interlocutors, specifically their use of the term "queer" to denote indefinability and indeterminacy, detached from sexual identity.<sup>270</sup> Indeed, addressing new formulations of queer time in dialogue with Sargent's "queer" portrait and contemporaneous art criticism might generate productive new avenues of inquiry to understand the temporal and material circuitries that animate *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*.<sup>271</sup> It is striking that Sargent filters this alternate mode of temporality through images of families, either his own or others. In so doing, Sargent strategically stages explorations of dynamic—and disruptive—temporalities relative to subjects that would have telegraphed intimate connection and genealogical continuity. Sargent's use of anomalous spaces, shadows, pentimenti, and thresholds disorients and restructures a beholder's expectations of the intimate nuclear family, thereby "queering" the family portrait and its redolence of a

<sup>270</sup> Henry James described the portrait in an 1885 letter to Henrietta Reubell as "very queer & charming." Henry James to Henrietta Reubell, November 18, 1885, MA Am 1094 [1061], Houghton Library, Harvard University.

<sup>271</sup> Although scholars have pursued the question of Sargent's sexual orientation, my invocation of queerness does not intend to retroactively "out" the artist as homosexual. Rather, the theorization of queer temporality as an engagement with time "out of sync with the ordinarily linear measurements of everyday life" allows us to probe the materiality of paintings "produced out of temporal and historical difference" without trivializing its use by employing "queer" simply as a synonym for "strange" or "different." See Anne Pasek, "Disorientations: John Singer Sargent and Queer Phenomenology," *Emaj* 7, no. 1 (November 2013): 2. Other important theorizations of queer temporality include Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Carolyn Dinshaw et al., "Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 13, nos. 2–3 (2007): 177–95; and Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

linear, future-oriented kinship model.<sup>272</sup> Putting this aspect of Sargent's practice in dialogue with a reevaluation of the writings on perception that penetrated Sargent's social and artistic circles promises to enhance and modulate a rigorous consideration of his distinctive mark making.

In an 1886 letter to Henry James, in which she thanked him for a mirror, Fanny Stevenson includes a schematic drawing of the wall on which his gift was hung, alongside Sargent's double portrait (fig. 2.20).<sup>273</sup> As the Stevensons moved, however, the portrait moved with them, eventually hanging over the dining room mantelpiece at Bailima, their home in Samoa.<sup>274</sup> Tracing the provenance and circulation of *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* from Paris and London to Bournemouth and Samoa (and to Arkansas where it now hangs in the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art) tells a different story of time—a story of transmission and delay as the picture moved across oceans and, while in transit, operated outside of time altogether. The formal choices that led critics to describe this painting as both “humorous” and “grotesque,” especially the open doorway's distracting,

<sup>272</sup> Dinshaw, *How Soon is Now?*, 183.

<sup>273</sup> Fanny writes: “The above, as you will easily perceive, is the present aspect of the side wall of our drawing room, correctly and carefully drawn. Miss Taylor's beautiful work, Mr. Lemon's adorable picture of horses, the magic mirror, Sargent's picture of Louis, and the copy of Chatterton.” Fanny Stevenson to Henry James, Letter 1560, [February 25, 1886], *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, vol. 5 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 210–11. William Archer also describes the configuration of Skerryvore's drawing room in an essay for *Critic* in 1887: “From another wall, Mr. John E. [sic] Sargent's half-grotesque yet speaking portrait of Mr. Stevenson himself looks out at us livingly. It represents him pacing noiselessly up and down this very room in the ardour of conversation, stroking his moustache and turning his head with eager interest to look his unseen interlocutor full in the eyes. A close examination will discover Mrs. Stevenson as well, reclining in fantastic costume upon the divan; but this is a joke of the artist's rather than a piece of serious portraiture.” Quoted in Reginald Charles Terry, ed., *Robert Louis Stevenson: Interviews and Recollections* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 104. These sources offer some clues as to which items from the Stevensons' collection may have been pictured above Fanny in Sargent's portrait, before the drawing room was rehung. Conversations with Duncan Milne and Richard Dury have suggested possible candidates for the upper image, including John Horsburgh's engraving after J. M. W. Turner, *Bell Rock Lighthouse*, a print after Jean-François Millet, *The Angelus*, or A. W. Henley's watercolor of the New Forest. The lower image might be Arthur Lemon's *Landscape with Horses*, though these speculations remain inconclusive.

<sup>274</sup> Hammerton, *Stevensonism*, 145.

self-reflexive emphasis on surface, connect the artist's enterprise with theories of modern perception. Sargent's technical strategy in *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* can be traced to his experimentation in Morocco, when he first privileged a tactile, rich application of paint to emphasize themes of discovering, uncovering, and laying open to sight on the surface level. The physicality of Sargent's palpable pigments and brushstrokes insists on the dissolution of boundaries between painted thresholds and their constructed environments. This effect both engages the viewer and asserts the presence of the creator.

Relocating this painting within the context of Sargent's movement and memory production reveals that these material disruptions may signify not only formal experimentation or a rejection of academic finish but also the incursion of the past. Without reconciling incommensurable views of time, the "eccentric," "queer" portrait resists the impressionistic propensity towards instantaneity and offers an alternative vision of a painting's relationship to the present. As a site of dialogic potential and painterly self-referentiality, *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* probes the potential of painted matter to communicate both the representation of a moment and the vital recurrence of memory. This temporal aspect of cosmopolitan facture reverberates a decade later in the paintings of Anders Zorn and his interpretations of the modern city.

### CHAPTER 3: THE CITY



Anders Zorn composed the first pages of his autobiographical notes (*Självbiografiska anteckningar*) in March 1907 on stationery from the transatlantic ocean liner *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*.<sup>275</sup> “Once again on the Ocean,” Zorn begins. “I cannot find a better use of my time than seeking to recall memories of my earliest impressions of life and writing them down. They may have determined my life’s direction.”<sup>276</sup> The artist’s frequent transatlantic crossings, particularly his seven trips to America between 1893 and 1911, provided him with regular occasions to revisit childhood memories and artistic achievements. Functioning at once as travelogue and memoir, the informal and asynchronous structure of Zorn’s autobiographical notes reflects the conditions of their construction at sea. As Zorn recalls his early schooling, portrait subjects, and professional triumphs, he intersperses these memories with interjections from the present tense, often observations about the ocean and its condition, as in this passage from 1907:

Today it is rough, storm and rain—coming from the south—the foam is turning over outside, but you can’t expect much different on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March. It’s difficult to crawl back among childhood memories with this squeaking and cracking in your ears. I love the sea when I’m steering my own boat, but this is like sitting on a horse with someone else at the reins.<sup>277</sup>

A few pages later, Zorn interrupts his description of early childhood in Dalarna with another update from the sea, somewhere “below Newfoundland”: “Yuck, so rough outside, cold and stormy, a northwest storm—glad I took my fur with me. Well, now I will go back to what I

<sup>275</sup> This German ocean liner belonged to Norddeutscher Lloyd, Bremen, a German maritime company that played a significant role in the international shipping market. See William H. Miller, *Floating Palaces: The Great Atlantic Liners* (Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2010).

<sup>276</sup> “Ännu en gång på Ocean kan jag ej använda tiden bättre än att söka återkalla i minnet mina tidigaste intryck av livet och skriva ner dem. De har kanske varit de bestämmande för mitt livs riktning.” See Anders Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, ed. Hans Henrik Brummer (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1982), 9.

<sup>277</sup> “I dag är det ruskigt, storm och regn—sydligt—skummet slår över utanför men man kan ej vänta annat 24 mars. Svårt krypa tillbaka bland stilla barndomsminnen med detta sus och knak i öronen. Nog älskar jag sjön när jag i synnerhet sitter till rors på min egen skuta, men detta är som att sitta till häst och någon annan håller i tyglarna.” See Zorn, 14.

remember from Enköping.”<sup>278</sup> By thrusting his reader in and out of the present moment, Zorn emphasizes the mediated nature of his notes, and their nonsequential composition in fits and starts. These prolonged oceanic passages, which gave Zorn the time and space to write without the distractions of quotidian life, also facilitated his abundant production of letters and sketches. While on board the RMS *Teutonic* in 1898, for instance, Zorn completed two drawings of Maud Cassel for a later etching (fig. 3.1) as well as a gestural sketch of a figure reclined on a sofa with a prominent vessel on the floor beside her (fig. 3.2), perhaps a passenger contending with an unfortunate bout of seasickness.<sup>279</sup>

By foregrounding Zorn’s travel within Europe and across continents, we can better understand the modality of his cosmopolitan facture—a process that was affected by the construction of his recollective memory over time and between countries. Although his journeys aboard steamships adhered to notionally regulated schedules, Zorn’s experiences on these vessels simultaneously inculcated periods of temporal dilation, delay, and boredom as passengers were held at the mercy of the ocean and the wind. For Zorn and other travelers aboard, days on the ship could begin to feel indistinct—the ship itself served as a liminal site outside of a regulated space or time.<sup>280</sup>

By foregrounding Zorn’s frequent travel in the fin de siècle as inexorably tied to his facture, we can better understand the particularity of this moment in his career, c. 1890,

<sup>278</sup> “Hu, så ruskigt ute, kallt och stormigt, nordvä storm, glad tag tog min päls med. Nå, jag får gå tillbaka till vad jag minns från Enköping.” See Zorn, 16.

<sup>279</sup> Maud Cassel was the daughter of British industrialist and merchant banker Sir. Ernest Cassel, an early supporter of Zorn’s career. Zorn inscribed this sketch with the name of the ship, the RMS *Teutonic*, as well as the date, December 20, 1898, and a vague location—somewhere between Europe and New York.

<sup>280</sup> I rely upon anthropologist Victor W. Turner’s concept of “liminality”: “Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and [the] ceremonial.” See Victor W. Turner “Liminality and Communities,” in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), 359.

when new technologies fostered an increasingly transnational professional orientation. The resulting pictures bear the traces of this travel as moments, figures, and vignettes are transposed and combined, complicating their habitual designation as images rooted in a particular location or moment.

### *Clever Cosmopolitanism*

In 1884 Zorn traveled to Madrid via Portugal, exhibited his watercolors in Paris, London, and Stockholm, and continued his etching practice under the guidance of Axel Herman Hägg, a fellow Swede, in England.<sup>281</sup> As Zorn spent the year pursuing his professional ambitions, which increasingly required artistic engagements beyond the Swedish border, the Prime Meridian Conference was taking place in Washington, DC. Zorn, who organized his nomadic career around universal expositions and international commissions, would have possessed an acute awareness of the newly standardized train schedules and steamship timetables that facilitated his frequent movement between Paris, London, Munich, Berlin, Vienna, Stockholm, Venice, Chicago, Boston, and other artistic nodes (see map, fig. 3.3).

The scholarly treatments of Anders Zorn, particularly in the twentieth century, have addressed his oeuvre primarily in terms of his nationality and rural origins, often at the expense of his artistic identity as it developed vis-à-vis travel. Hans Henrik Brummer and

<sup>281</sup> In Madrid, Zorn exhibited at the *Exposicion general de bellas artes*. For a complete chronology, see Hans Henrik Brummer, *Anders Zorn: Till ögats fröjd och nationens förgyllning* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1994), 289. Two recent Zorn retrospectives in America, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America* (2013) and *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter* (2013) emphasized his international significance, “highly civilized urban interlocutors,” and ability to “tell anecdotes in at least three different languages—Swedish, French, and English.” See Oliver Tostmann, “Anders Zorn and His International Success,” in *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, ed. Oliver Tostmann, with contributions by Hans Henrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013), 25.

Birgitta Sandström, former directors of the Zorn Museum, have published extensively on Zorn's biography and career in both Swedish and English, often drawing attention to his humble origins, interest in Swedish vernacular architecture, and depiction of local traditions.<sup>282</sup> Even today, Zorn's 1897 oil painting *Midsummer Dance* (fig. 3.4) serves as a metonym for his career as a whole—one presumably rooted in Swedish tradition. Major exhibitions such as *Mirror of Nature: Nordic Landscape Painting 1840–1910* have likewise focused on Zorn's evocative Swedish landscapes, and his ability to capture the “thin drift of chill that the air contains even in the heat of summer” in paintings like *Girls Bathing (In the Open Air)*.<sup>283</sup>

The Zorn Museum's current director, Johan Cederlund, has expanded the lens through which to understand Zorn's internationalism, especially in a curatorial context. In 2013, Cederlund collaborated with Brummer on a major retrospective of the artist's work in San Francisco and, in the same year, helped the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum organize a second retrospective that highlighted Zorn's relationship to benefactors and exhibition venues in America.<sup>284</sup> These exhibition catalogues, with essays like “Anders Zorn in America: Painting the Gilded Age” and “Zorn in Boston; Isabella Stewart Gardner's ‘Faithful Painter,’” began to consider Zorn within a wider international context, particularly his

<sup>282</sup> See, for example, Hans Henrik Brummer, *Zorn MCMLXXXIX* (Mora: Zornsamlingarna / Stockholm: Författarförlaget Fischer & Rye, 1989); Brummer, *Anders Zorn: Till ögats fröjd och nationens förgyllning*; and Birgitta Sandström, *Zorn i svart och vitt : Anders Zorn som etsare, tecknare och fotograf* (Mora: Zornsamlingarna, 2002).

<sup>283</sup> Annika Waenerberg, “In the Open Air: Nordic Paths to Plein-Air Painting,” in *Mirror of Nature: Nordic Landscape Painting 1840–1910*, ed. Torsten Gunnarsson et al. (Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 2006), 104.

<sup>284</sup> Johan Cederlund et al., *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco / New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2013); Oliver Tostmann ed., *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, with contributions by Hans Henrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013); and Vibeke Røstorp, *Zorn och Frankrike* (Mora: Zornmuseet, 2017).

intersection with American art, artists, and patrons.<sup>285</sup> The most recent international exhibition on Zorn's work, *Anders Zorn: le maître de la peinture suédoise*, staged at the Petit Palais in Paris, and the related volume, Vibeke Röstorp's *Zorn och Frankrike* (2018), similarly considered one axis of transnational exchange by emphasizing the productive and prolonged era of Zorn's career that took place in France.<sup>286</sup>

Although more focused in scope, Hollis Clayson's 2010 essay on Zorn's etchings instigated a new mode through which to interpret his internationalism and gender identity. In "Anders Zorn's Etched Portraits of American Men, or the Trouble with French Masculinity," Clayson traces Zorn's "innovations in the portrayal of a masculine transatlantic elite" and explores how his portraiture did not assume the dominant model of masculine individuality.<sup>287</sup> Instead, Clayson argues that Zorn's "composite masculinity" manifested in work that could move within different modes of manhood and social classes.<sup>288</sup> Clayson does not, however, examine Swedish primary sources or Zorn's visual materials beyond etching. In the ensuing chapter, I engage with these reconsiderations and extend their purview in order to continue challenging the utility of nationalism as the operative framework in nineteenth-century art historical scholarship. At the same time, I expand scholarly appraisals of Zorn's career by moving beyond the social history of Zorn's biography and artistic network in order to account for the materiality of his work.

<sup>285</sup> Hans Henrik Brummer, "Anders Zorn in America: Painting the Gilded Age," in Cederlund et al., *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter*, 54; Anne-Marie Eze, "Zorn in Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner's 'Faithful Painter,'" in *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, edited by Oliver Tostmann (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013), 54–65.

<sup>286</sup> Johan Cederlund et al., *Anders Zorn: le maître de la peinture suédoise* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2017); Vibeke Röstorp, *Zorn och Frankrike* (Mora: Zornmuseet, 2017).

<sup>287</sup> Hollis Clayson, "Anders Zorn's Etched Portraits of American Men, or the Trouble with French Masculinity," in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1870–1914*, ed. Temma Balducci, Heather Belnap Jensen, and Pamela J. Warner (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 177.

<sup>288</sup> Clayson, 178.

As Zorn's constant movement, especially in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, brought him further afield from Sweden, he adopted a self-consciously cosmopolitan identity, intentionally resisting national labels. An anecdote from Zorn's visit to Pittsburgh in 1900 with John Wesley Beatty, the head of the Carnegie Institute's art department, best illustrates this self-fashioning in practice. When Zorn picked up a pen to sign the registration book of the Hotel Schenley, he jokingly asked Beatty, "Where am I from, anyway?" to which Beatty replied, "Everywhere." The artist signed his name "Zorn, Nowhere."<sup>289</sup> A lengthy profile of the artist, written in an 1897 issue of *The Sunday Inter Ocean*, expanded upon Zorn's positive reception across artistic centers and the impressive extent of his international exposure:

Not the slightest among the characteristics of his career is its curious cosmopolitanism. It is exceedingly rare, even in an epoch like our own, when pictures travel from city to city and are exhibited in the four quarters of the globe, that an artist becomes so strikingly identified with cities so widely separated as Paris and Chicago, as Stockholm and Berlin. Yet such is the case with the artist in question, and while in Sweden he is honored equally with the friendship of his sovereign and the affectionate admiration of the inhabitants of his peasant home, he is regarded in Paris as one of the most popular of men and the most talented of painters—a sentiment which the French nation has further demonstrated by decorating him with the Legion of Honor, and Chicago, completing this quartet of artistic cities, long ago adopted him as her own and wisely secured many of his finest portraits.<sup>290</sup>

These primary texts show us that, in his time, Zorn was recognized and celebrated as distinctively international. Insofar as this fact appears to be admired, however, we observe a slight hesitation in the way he was characterized as "clever" "curious" and "rare" in these suggestive descriptions. There was something unexpected, or perhaps destabilizing, about

<sup>289</sup> Brummer, "Anders Zorn in America: Painting the Gilded Age," 54.

<sup>290</sup> Henry G. Fearing, "In Zorn's Studio: An Afternoon with the Great Swede in Paris," *The Sunday Inter Ocean*, December 12, 1897, 26.

the way his internationalism translated into his exhibited paintings.<sup>291</sup> In this chapter, I probe how Zorn's "curious" cosmopolitanism materializes on painted surfaces and in his artistic practice. Instead of identifying an innate "Swedishness" in Zorn's facture, or resituating his extensive corpus within a stable national subgroup, Swedish, French or otherwise, I approach Zorn's work, and particularly the paintings associated with his tenure in Paris, with attention to the timing of his process and itinerancy of his career in the late nineteenth century.<sup>292</sup> By reframing his practice from this perspective, I aim to excavate the ways in which his manner of painting, which has been termed an "international artistic language," may have been informed by both the shifts in temporal restructuring across Europe and North America, and by Zorn's own international movement, which manifested in the negotiation of time, place, and memory on his painted canvases.<sup>293</sup>

### *Paris*

After their marriage in Stockholm in October 1885, extended honeymoon in Constantinople, and two years of voracious travel between Prague, Cronstadt, Capri, Rome, Florence, London, Algiers, Seville, Granda, and St. Ives, among other locations, in 1888 Emma and Anders Zorn settled in Paris, which would serve as their primary residence for

<sup>291</sup> This push and pull of localism and global engagement defined a later era of twentieth-century literary and artistic modernism, exemplified by figures such as Marcel Duchamp, William Faulkner, and William Butler Yeats. Zorn's navigation of national identity and cosmopolitan ambition in the late nineteenth century attest to the early beginnings of this modernist strain, especially when considered alongside his temporal experimentation.

<sup>292</sup> The resonance between Zorn's later career and burgeoning national identity in Sweden has been well mined by Michelle Facos and other scholars who consider his many bathing scenes and lush landscapes. See Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*.

<sup>293</sup> By emphasizing the urgency of Zorn's paintings as objects in both space and time, I follow W. J. T. Mitchell, who argues against the stark division between "temporal" and "spatial" arts. See W. J. T. Mitchell, "The Politics of Genre: Space and Time in Lessing's *Laocoon*," *Representations*, no. 6 (Spring 1984): 100.

the subsequent eight years and a frequent destination thereafter (Zorn would keep his studio even after they built a new home in Sweden). Although they originally resided at 11 rue Daubigny, in the seventeenth arrondissement, they moved to 71 boulevard de Clichy in Montmartre the following autumn. This location, not far from the Place Pigalle, situated Zorn more centrally among his artistic peers in a lively bohemian neighborhood. A profile of the artist in 1897 notes how Zorn chose the location of his studio to be most professionally advantageous:

In a measure, the very position of Mr. Zorn's Paris studio is typical of the man and his profound devotion to his art. Disdaining alike the tempting splendor of the Champs-Élysées quarter, with its wide avenues but inartistic 'atmosphere', and the Latin quarter with its too youthful enthusiasms, its too easy admiration, he established himself many years since in the heart of the Montmartre quarter, the most modern, the most artistic, and the most intellectual of modern Paris.<sup>294</sup>

Before long, Zorn had successfully integrated himself within a Parisian enclave of international artists, diplomats, and authors who included Antonin Proust (fig. 3.5), directeur général des Beaux-Arts, opera singer Jean-Baptiste Faure (fig. 3.6), and sculptor Auguste Rodin (fig. 3.7) in addition to a wider network of French colleagues including Coquelin Cadet, Ernest Renan, Paul Verlaine, Alfred Beurdeley, and Marcellin Berthelot, all of whom Zorn painted or etched. By making an effort to initiate friendships beyond the immediate orbit of his Scandinavian peers, Zorn distanced himself from his more insular Swedish compatriots. Likewise, by choosing Paris as his artistic center as opposed to the nearby Grez-sur-Loing, a popular artist commune favored by Swedish artists Karl Nordström, Carl Larsson, Emma Chadwick, Julia Beck, and Bruno Liljefors, Zorn solidified his independent

<sup>294</sup> Fearing, "In Zorn's Studio," 26.



artistic ambition.<sup>295</sup> As Larsson noted of Zorn's seamless acclimation to the Paris art world, "Zorn was like a fish in water, there as everywhere else."<sup>296</sup>

At the momentous 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, a remarkably successful and widely attended international exhibition, Zorn exhibited seven works and was named a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Zorn's warm reception and comfortable circulation within French artistic circles led one critic to announce, "He is Parisian save for accident of birth."<sup>297</sup> Recent research on Zorn's Paris years, particularly the 2017 volume *Zorn och Frankrike* by Vibeke Röstorp, has scrupulously reconstructed Zorn's social network and exhibition history while he was living in the French capital. Röstorp turns particular attention to the prominent Parisian dealers, among them Paul Durand-Ruel and Georges Petit, who advocated on Zorn's behalf and promoted his career in Paris. Extending this important and instructive archival work into the context of Zorn's creative practices in the 1890s, as well as the philosophical undercurrents that surrounded his career, significantly enriches our understanding of this critical creative juncture in Zorn's career.

The question of time, and the unwieldy process of standard time's gradual implementation in the wake of the Prime Meridian Conference, would have surely affected

<sup>295</sup> For a recent comprehensive study of Grez-sur-Loing, see Alexandra Herlitz, *Grez-sur-Loing Revisited: The International Artists' Colony in a Different Light* (Gothenburg and Stockholm: Makadam, 2013).

<sup>296</sup> "Late, we met in Paris, where he had moved and where he very rapidly had forged a friendship with Antonin Proust and several other French notables. By now he was married to Emma Lamm, one of the very best women I ever knew, and Zorn no longer borrowed money to invite us to dinner where he lived in the Montmartre. This was in 1888, and I lived at the other end of the city, Montparnasse, where I painted and modeled my triptych. Zorn was like a fish in water, there as everywhere else." See Carl Larsson, *The Autobiography of Sweden's Most Beloved Artists*, ed. John Z. Lofgren, trans. Ann B. Weissmann (Iowa City: Penfield Press, 1992), 183.

<sup>297</sup> Sophia Antoinette Walker, "The Swedish Pictures," *The Independent* 48, no. 2458 (January 9, 1896): 6. Zorn subscribed to a number of international press clipping services, the records of which have been collated in a binder now housed in the archives of the Zorn Museum. Many thanks to Johan Cederlund and the staff of the Zorn Museum for providing me with access to these materials, which will henceforth be cited by page number as Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 129, Zorn Museum, Mora.

Zorn's experience of modernized Paris. After having already endured the adoption of Greenwich time in his native Sweden in 1879, Zorn would witness firsthand the 1891 decision to instate "Paris Time" in France. Zorn's Parisian period was one in which debates about time loomed large, and with real implications for the lived experience of the city. A byproduct of these temporal shifts and discontinuities was a certain degree of instability around standardizing time. This prodigious era of Zorn's artistic development was also enmeshed within a far-reaching cultural milieu of contemporary thinkers and philosophers who, like him, considered the shifting temporality of modern life and reckoned with new approaches to the formation of memory. Returning to these literary and philosophical voices enriches our understanding of Zorn's aesthetic production and places his definitively modern project within the larger framework of historical change in the 1890s.

Henri Bergson, a French "time-philosopher," was born in Paris and educated at the École Normale Supérieure.<sup>298</sup> Like his American contemporary William James, Bergson's interests privileged the philosophy of psychic life over empirical scientific experimentalism. In 1881 he began his teaching career at a lycée outside of Paris and, in 1891, he married Louise Neuburger, the second cousin of the author Marcel Proust.<sup>299</sup> As a professor of

<sup>298</sup> Bergson, though born in Paris, had a Polish father and an English mother, both of whom were Jewish. While Bergson's philosophical precepts have most famously been adapted and adopted by Gilles Deleuze, art historians have also considered the utility of his writing in conjunction with visual art. George Hamilton's reading of Cézanne's paintings through the lens of Bergson resists the reductive view of Cézanne's compositions as "timeless two-dimensional patterned space" and instead considers how "the multiple points of view, which are durational in the painter's own experience, are the means by which he arrives at a profound visual expression of such space." See George Heard Hamilton, "Cézanne, Bergson, and the Image of Time," *College Art Journal* 16, no. 1 (Autumn 1956): 7.

<sup>298</sup> Julie Levinson, "Time and Time Again: Temporality, Narrativity, and Spectatorship in Christian Marclay's *The Clock*," *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2015): 91.

<sup>299</sup> The influence of Bergson on Proust has been well established in contemporary scholarship. "The first important appearance in literature of Bergsonian time is thought to have taken place in Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*." See Adeline R. Tintner, *The Twentieth-Century World of Henry James: Changes in His Work After 1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 147.

philosophy at the Collège de France in Paris, Bergson continued his celebrated international career long into the twentieth century and served as a public intellectual figure in the French capital. Bergson was writing *Time and Free Will*, his 1888 doctoral thesis, at the University of Paris while the delegates of the Prime Meridian Conference met in Washington and while Anders and Emma Zorn took up residency in Paris. By the 1890s, Bergson's works had been published in English translation and his well-attended lectures at the Collège de France regularly drew together a creative community of Parisians and foreign visitors.<sup>300</sup>

It was in this first publication, *Time and Free Will*, that Bergson introduced his concept of the *durée*, which can be defined as the “temporality of human consciousness.”<sup>301</sup> The English translation of *Time and Free Will*, published in 1889, allowed a new audience of readers to understand his distinction between “real” or experienced time and scientific, abstract, standardized time.<sup>302</sup> Instead of visualizing time as an arrow or a straight line, Bergson's assessment imagines time as “a Mobius strip, endlessly recursive and continuous.”<sup>303</sup> Another visualization of this concept can be seen in Zorn's *The Waltz*, *The Omnibus*, *Night Effect*, and *The Ice Skater*, which similarly defy linear models of creative production and permeate one another with recursive visual motifs. Written against the backdrop of late nineteenth-century temporal restructuring, *Time and Free Will* rejected the spatialization of time, exemplified by watches, clocks, or the Prime Meridian, which reduce its reality and misunderstand its function in human experience. Indeed, the efforts made to standardize time had the unintended effect of stimulating an interest in less sequential or

<sup>300</sup> Randall Stevenson, *Modernist Fiction: An Introduction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 110.

<sup>301</sup> Bryony Randall, *Modernism, Daily Time and Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 30.

<sup>302</sup> Tintner, *Twentieth-Century World of Henry James*, 148.

<sup>303</sup> Levinson, 93.

uniform modes of temporality, especially “simultaneity, synchronicity and duration.”<sup>304</sup> One allied voice in these philosophical debates was Nathan Söderblom, a student of Bergson who served as the pastor of a Swedish church in Paris in the late nineteenth century and was later named Archbishop of Uppsala.<sup>305</sup> Bergson’s influence informed much of Söderblom’s theological and philosophical writings, and it is possible that Söderblom introduced Zorn to Bergsonian philosophy, whether during his many visits to Mora or in the context of their interactions in Paris.<sup>306</sup>

In his second principal text, *Matter and Memory*, published in 1896, Bergson continued to probe the subjectivity of perception. Contrary to the habitual interpretation of memory’s secondary role as a regression from the present moment, Bergson argued that “memory also moves forward to meet and intersect with a present that either rejects, acknowledges, or uses it.”<sup>307</sup> The experience of a present reality, furthermore, is contemporaneous with the past and can be defined as “the invisible progress of the past gnawing at the future.”<sup>308</sup> Reflective perception can thus be conceptualized as a circuit “in which all the elements, including the perceived object itself, hold each other in a state of mutual tension.”<sup>309</sup> When Zorn’s

<sup>304</sup> Martha Blassnigg, *Time, Memory, Consciousness and the Cinema Experience: Revisiting Ideas on Matter and Spirit* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 32.

<sup>305</sup> Works by Söderblom include *Gudstrons Uppkomst* (Stockholm: H. Gebers, 1913); “The Church and International Good Will,” *Contemporary Review* 116 (1919): 309–15; and “The Unity of Christendom,” *American Scandinavian Review* 8 (1920): 585–92.

<sup>306</sup> Jonas Jonson, *Nathan Söderblom: Called to Serve* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 125–26.

<sup>307</sup> Ann C. Colley, *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 10.

<sup>308</sup> Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (1913; New York: The Macmillan Co.), 194.

<sup>309</sup> Bergson, 104. The influence of Bergsonian philosophy on the cubist and futurist painters of the twentieth century has been well investigated, as evidenced by the panoply of texts published on this subject in the last decade alone. Bergson’s influence on the later writings of Proust, Woolf and other modernist authors has likewise received sustained attention. See, for example, Suzanne Guerlac, *Thinking in Time: An Introduction to Henri Bergson* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 9–10. Bergson’s twentieth-century application can be seen in Mary Ann Gillies, *Henri Bergson and British Modernism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University

paintings from the 1890s are reexamined through the lens of Bergson's first two publications, they reveal an engagement with Bergson's shifting ideas about time and memory and Zorn's manipulation of a beholder's temporal bearings.

Similar philosophical discussions on the nature of time and memory were taking place in Scandinavia. In 1889, the same year Bergson published his doctoral thesis and Zorn exhibited at the Exposition Universelle, Danish philosopher Harald Høffding introduced the concept of "unmediated recognition" in his work *Psychological Investigations*. Høffding's theory, related to Bergson's concept of the memory trace, posits that the *Bekendthedskavalitet* (quality of familiarity) is the first step of recognition. This later came to be known as the Høffding function or the Høffding step, which could set into motion a chain of memory reactions.<sup>310</sup> In other words, we might recognize a sensory object (or, in Zorn's case, a light effect) without a concrete understanding of the source of its familiarity—this ambiguous state exists somewhere between pure sensation and memory.<sup>311</sup> William James shared a similar interest

Press, 1996); John Mullarkey and Charlotte de Mille, eds., *Bergson and the Art of Immanence: Painting, Photography, Film, Performance*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Todd Cronan, *Against Affective Formalism: Matisse, Bergson, Modernism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); and Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). Antliff unpacks Bergson's impact on avant-garde painting, particularly as his philosophy affected Henri Matisse, Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger, Marcel Duchamp, and the Futurists. Recently, Matthew Simms has applied Bergson's theories to Cézanne's watercolors, investigating how the layered space of these works also convey a temporal experience of duration. Scholars—among them T. J. Clark, Jonathan Crary, W. J. T. Mitchell, and Georges Didi-Huberman—have also placed Bergson within a tradition attentive to "the temporal unfolding of the art object." Rather than conceptualizing time as a sequence of motions, a Bergsonian art history would consider how visual media reflect the intermingling of moments from the past and present. The cultural potency of Bergson's theories in their contemporary moment, however, has been largely ignored. See Matthew Simms, *Cézanne's Watercolors: Between Drawing and Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 120; T. J. Clark, *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); and Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005).

<sup>310</sup> Jörgen L. Pind, *Edgar Rubin and Psychology in Denmark: Figure and Ground* (New York: Springer International, 2013), 37.

<sup>311</sup> Høffding describes this state as follows: "I am asked: 'Have you ever visited Les Plans?' The name Les Plans is familiar to me and yet I can associate no idea with it . . . and this quality of familiarity in its sound is the *whole phenomenon*. Though I notice the psychological interest of this phenomenon, I am unable to notice even the faintest trace of associated impressions or ideas. While it is clear that the quality of familiarity must stem from

in the slippery nature of the perception of time and the formation of memory, which he discussed in his 1890 volume *The Principles of Psychology*. Here, James explains Høffding's concept as the state of consciousness that exists when you are on the brink of finding a memory source:

That nascent cerebral excitations can affect consciousness with a sort of sense of the imminence of that which stronger excitations would make us definitely feel, is obvious from what happens when we seek to remember a name. It tingles, it trembles on the verge, but does not come. Just such a tingling and trembling of unrecovered associates is the penumbra of recognition that may surround an experience and make it seem familiar, though we know not why.<sup>312</sup>

Exploring the possible potency of Bergson, Høffding, and James's theories when applied to a revised assessment of Zorn's artistic process allows us to return to questions of artistic production. Specifically, we can reexamine how Zorn's process complicates the implied rapidity we associate with painterly facture and how his resulting pictures in turn communicate a dynamic temporal duration for the beholder, who must reconcile and attend to the layers of time depicted on a single canvas.<sup>313</sup>

### *The Waltz*

Turning to Zorn's contemporaneous painted scenes of modern life, *The Waltz* (1891), *The Omnibus* (1892), *Night Effect* (1895), and *The Ice Skater* (1898), we can begin to

me having earlier heard the world, this quality can only be explained by assuming that my earlier state is somehow reawakened alongside the repeated impression, but without emerging as a separate element in consciousness besides the impression itself." See Harald Høffding, *Psykologiske Undersøgelser* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Society for the Sciences, 1889), 8, 12.

<sup>312</sup> William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (New York: Holt, 1910), 673–74.

<sup>313</sup> In the words of Eric Alliez, "It is in this manner that time, qua 'active element' and as 'duration,' becomes 'the primordial factor of the work,' while 'the viewer in front of the work discovers his vital time as he engages in an univocal relation with the time of the work.'" See Eric Alliez, "Matisse, Bergson, Oiticica, etc.," in Mullarkey and de Mille, *Bergson and the Art of Imminence*, 73. Mieke Bal has also focused on the time of embodied encounter. See Mieke Bal, "Art Moves: Performativity in Time, Space and Form," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 7, no. 4 (2016): 25.

probe the ways in which time's instability informed his painted surfaces in a pivotal decade of artistic production. Exhibited first in Paris in 1891, *The Waltz* (fig. 3.8), a grand ballroom scene, was shown in Copenhagen in 1892 and then again in Chicago in 1893. It was in Chicago that George Vanderbilt purchased the painting for his home, the Biltmore Estate in North Carolina, at the World's Columbian Exposition for \$3000, a hefty sum at the time.<sup>314</sup> This large-scale oil on canvas, a scene of two couples dancing in the foyer of a ballroom, was termed a "marvel" by nineteenth-century viewers for its "rising scale of white" and striking composition.<sup>315</sup> In his autobiographical notes, Zorn writes that he was particularly attracted to the "mysterious illumination" of the society balls he attended in Paris, and sought to recreate this effect in his studio.<sup>316</sup> To do so, he solicited the help of Count Louis Sparre and Märta Petrini, who served as his models for one of the dancing pairs. Armand Dayot, a French critic, likewise agreed to pose for Zorn as a solitary male onlooker, casually surveying the scene from the back of the antechamber. An oil sketch of *The Waltz* (fig. 3.9) depicts Sparre, who went on to own the smaller painting, dancing with Petrini in the back of the room as a second young man dances towards the viewer in the foreground. His partner, likely Emma Zorn, who often posed for her husband, wears a black gown with white polka dots, a pattern reminiscent of Emma Zorn's dresses captured in contemporaneous photographs (fig. 3.10). As Zorn constructed his larger oil on canvas, however, he continued

<sup>314</sup> Emma Zorn wrote in a letter to her mother from October 6, 1893, that the painting was sold to George Vanderbilt for \$3000. The title *Bal* (Ball) was also used in the Copenhagen exhibition and is interchangeable with its current title, *The Waltz*, both of which were used by contemporaneous critics. On November 7, 1893 the *New York Times* reported on the art sales from the Chicago Exposition and Zorn's overwhelming success: "In the Swedish section all but one of Zorn's pictures are sold. George W. Vanderbilt bought 'The Ball,' Mrs J.L. Gardner bought 'In an Omnibus,' Charles Deering took 'Summer,' and C. T. Yerkes 'Forest Study' and 'Sunset.'" See "Art Notes," *New York Times*, November 7, 1893, 4.

<sup>315</sup> "Art at the World's Fair, The Swedish Exhibit," Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 52.

<sup>316</sup> "Den mystiska belysningen lockade mig också." See Zorn, *Själviografiska anteckningar*, 72.

to revise the compositional arrangement, most notably by painting his own face as the prominent foreground dancer and switching the positions of the female partners.<sup>317</sup>

Although he maintained the unusual spatial arrangement of his earlier study, he added more detail to the figures in the foreground and the dancers in the adjacent ballroom, whose colorful gowns create a sense of dynamic motion. The antechamber, a shade darker in the larger painting, emphasizes the whiter, glaring light glowing from the ballroom and generates a distinct contrast between the two spaces, further dramatizing the reflection in the foreground.

American critics heralded Zorn's ability to capture a naturalistic sense of movement, and called *The Waltz* "his greatest work this year," remarking upon the ways in which "the illusion of motion is well suggested."<sup>318</sup> "The lovely lady," one review noted, "whose face we shall never see, fills the eye and stirs the imagination."<sup>319</sup> The French press similarly celebrated *The Waltz* as a penetrating vision of modernity:

His big picture, *The Waltz*, is a very intense vision of modern festivities. The shimmering satins perfectly fill the bright living room in the background, while, in the foreground, you can see through dim lamplight a proper and nervous cavalier in tails, rhythmically spinning his dancer.<sup>320</sup>

<sup>317</sup> Zorn identifies his models and notes his later inclusion of a self-portrait in his autobiographical notes: "När jag tänker tillbaka på denna tid i början av 90-talet kommer jag i synnerhet ihåg min strävan med den besvärliga uppgiften, en vals. Jag dansade själv gärna och ville försöka mig på en sådan rörelseuppgift med motiv från de baler i societeten som jag bevistat i Paris. Där bjöds samman sådan röra av folk att man sällan i balsalen kunde ta många steg utan att bli knuffad en takt. Man var tvungen gå ut i en antichambre för att få dansa i fred och en sådan intim scen ville jag framställa. Den mystiska belysningen lockade mig också. Så denna gång fick jag arrangera mig på bästa sätt i ateliern. Greve Louis Sparre, min landsman och konstnärbroder, var en ypperlig valsör och var min modell samman med Märta Petrini som hade vacker nacke och armar. Armand Dayot är den avundsamme ensamme mannen i bakgrunden. Till ansiktet i förgrunden stod först en ung fransk bankir men sedan målade jag dit mitt eget innan tavlan sändes till Salongen. Jag minns den tavlan med saknad. Den köptes sedan på chicagoutställningen av George Vanderbilt och pryder ny hans slott Biltmore i södra staterna." See Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, 72–73.

<sup>318</sup> Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 12.

<sup>319</sup> "Bits of Foreign Art: Gems of Color from Scandinavian and Holland on Exhibition," 1894, Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 74.

<sup>320</sup> "Son grand tableau, *la Valse*, est une très intense vision de fête modern. Le miroitement des satins remplit à merveille le salon lumineux du fond, tandis que, à travers la pénombre d'une pièce doucement éclairée par des



Zorn's preparatory studies for *The Waltz* in graphite and watercolor demonstrate his particularly pronounced interest in the figures that hover between the viewer in the foreground and the blurred, more populous ballroom scene in the background, where dancers and lights and swishing fabric occupied his peripheral vision. A faint pencil sketch (fig. 3.11) outlines this space with summary notation—the dancers curve around the hastily defined space in a web of fine pencil marks. Likewise, a delicate watercolor (fig. 3.12) blurs the distinction between foreground and background by withholding the architectural context provided in the exhibited painting. In this loose study, Zorn offers us a glimpse of paired dancers in the ballroom as we peer over the elegant neck of a woman in white from the cusp of the antechamber. His bold application of juxtaposed, tinted washes forms the suggestion of figures, whose costumes bleed together. The curtain, meanwhile, rendered with translucent strokes of brown, frames the figures' activity.

A caricature of *The Waltz* by the French satirist known as Stop (fig. 3.13), printed in *Le Journal Amusant* after the painting's 1891 exhibition in the Salon du Champ-de-Mars, draws attention to the unnatural shock of light in the foreground of the oil painting. The image, captioned "Explosion de dynamite au milieu d'un bal," reimagines the sharp, reflected light as a violent detonation—the dancer's severed leg a casualty of the dynamite's force. Critics similarly expressed confusion over some of the artist's choices and questioned how the painting should be categorized, hovering as it did between portraiture, self-portraiture, and a scene of daily life. One asked, "Why does Anders Zorn let his couple, the gentleman's face a portrait of the artist himself, be dancing in a cabinet adjoining the ball-room, but

lambes, au premier plan, un correct et nerveux cavalier entraîne dans le tournoiement rythmique sa danseuse à longue traîne." See Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 23.

almost shrouded in darkness?”<sup>321</sup> To make sense of Zorn’s light effects in *The Waltz*, we must first consider Zorn as a collector of visual memories. Rather than an artist who records specific places or moments with precise naturalism, Zorn’s travels contributed to his visual Rolodex of reflections, shadows, and motifs. By finding points of convergence between *The Waltz* and an earlier impression of a Stockholm brewery, we can begin to see how these memories generated canvases that complicate and traverse national boundaries.

In *The Large Brewery* (fig. 1.27), painted just one year before *The Waltz*, Zorn depicts the Hamburger Brewery in Stockholm, a different kind of modern space. Though it showcases a contrasting site of industrial production and female labor as opposed to one of leisure and opulence, the painting contains a strikingly analogous, prominent reflection in the left foreground. Painted with thick strokes of yellow paint, it similarly draws a viewer’s attention to the painted foreground. Zorn explained his fascination with the lighting conditions of the brewery in his autobiographical notes: “[I enjoy] these brewery interiors with their moist mist of water, wet floors and the mystical dawn—gas- and daylight competing for domination along with the young women’s shining wax aprons.”<sup>322</sup> As he did in *The Waltz*, Zorn creates the vibrant effect of reflected light with short strokes of a loaded brush, juxtaposed against an otherwise dark foreground plane. These punctuated marks, which animate the scene with a cross-hatching effect, are redolent of his extensive training and practice in intaglio etching.

<sup>321</sup> “Art at the World’s Fair, The Swedish Exhibit,” Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 52.

<sup>322</sup> “Något av allt detta utom att dessa bryggeriinteriörer med dess fuktiga imma av varmt sköljvatten, våta golv och den mystiska dagern—gas- och dagsljus stridande om herraväldet—samt kullornas skinande vaxförkläden.” See Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, 70.

Photographs of contemporaneous Stockholm breweries (fig. 3.14) indicate how new lighting technologies would have illuminated the space—in which interior arc lights were mixed with daylight streaming through large windows. In *The Waltz*, Zorn likewise invokes two different forms of artificial illumination: electric chandeliers in the ballroom and a kerosene lamp in the antechamber. Indeed, in spite of their narrative differences, both ballroom and brewery scenes are united as pictures in which the artist was preoccupied by the contact between two light sources—arc light and daylight in Stockholm versus electric light and kerosene in Paris. Despite these differences, both canvases feature a strikingly similar, painterly execution. That these sources could have generated identical reflections, however, is unlikely. Rather, it seems probable that Zorn transplanted and translated a memory of the peculiar brewery light effect—worked out in his painting of 1890—into a new Parisian space less than a year later.<sup>323</sup>

Zorn's fascination with modern light also manifested in his contemporaneous portraiture throughout the 1880s and 1890s, particularly *Isabella Stewart Gardner in Venice, 1894* (fig. 1.8), in which his prominent female patron dramatically hovers on a balcony's threshold, caught between two light sources—artificial interior illumination and a firework display over the Grand Canal. In 1888, his watercolor of Rosita Mauri (fig. 3.15), painted at the request of Antonin Proust, likewise frames the celebrated Spanish ballet dancer in a doorway, crossing from the bright, unnatural light of her dressing room into the shadowy space of the beholder.<sup>324</sup> The bright golden tones from the dressing room cast a dramatic,

<sup>323</sup> Given the chronology of Zorn's travel in 1890, it is also possible that he completed *The Large Brewery* back in Paris.

<sup>324</sup> Alan Chong, "Anders Zorn and the Palazzo Barbaro," in *Venice: From Canaletto and Turner to Monet*, ed. Martin Schwander (Riehen/Basel: Fondation Beyeler / Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2008), 142–43.

conspicuous shadow that bisects Mauri's figure and seems to divide the canvas into two distinct halves, unsteady her figure (fig. 3.16). Zorn's autobiographical notes reflect the lingering influence of *The Waltz* as he began subsequent projects: "I had become so fired up by 'The Waltz' and now painted a light effect again."<sup>325</sup> It is clear that Zorn was more interested in these effects than in attempting to reproduce accurate views of his immediate environment. In his autobiography, American artist Edward Simmons describes Zorn's painting process in St. Ives, the seaside artist colony:

The first thing Zorn painted in oils he did out of the window of his little stone house on the embankment overlooking the bay and island. I helped him set up his palette, and he jokingly called himself my pupil (I had told him what materials to buy), being as peevish as a child when I dared to criticize the fact he had put the moon in due north. 'But don't you think it looks well?' he said.<sup>326</sup>

While *The Waltz* may be Zorn's first large-scale examination of transitory space and dueling light sources, his continued interest in sites of permeability—parted curtains, distorted windows, ambiguous illumination—continued to pervade his artistic exploration throughout the decade, shaping his aesthetic vision of transnational modernity.

### *The Omnibus*

"In an omnibus," one nineteenth-century panoramic text describes, "you find the most perfect comedy, the soul-stirring drama, the witty vaudeville, and broad farce. . . . This moving theater requires no prompter; nature herself performs the office. Nor do the actors wear paint or disguise. They are spectators of each other's performance."<sup>327</sup> The introduction

<sup>325</sup> "Jag hade så att säga blivit eldfångad av 'Valsen' och målade nu åter en eldskenseffekt." See Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, 73.

<sup>326</sup> Edward Simmons, *From Seven to Seventy: Memories of a Painter and a Yankee* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers: 1922), 169.

<sup>327</sup> *Paris; or, the Book of the Hundred-and-One*, vol. 1 (Boston: Lilly, Wait, Colman, and Holden, 1833), 97.

of the omnibus across Europe, and especially in Paris, offered a new space for social interaction and provided unchaperoned women greater mobility within the city. Residents of all classes and genders frequented the omnibus, benefitting from its inexpensive and efficient routes across Paris.

This particular mobile Parisian space inspired an artistic response throughout the late nineteenth century by artists such as Pierre Carrier-Belleuse and Mary Cassatt (figs. 3.17–3.18). Between 1890 and 1892, Zorn was similarly interested in this dynamic “moving theater,” as evidenced by an array of graphite sketches, etchings, and paintings that depict the theme of public transportation. In 1891, Zorn exhibited his oil painting *The Omnibus* (fig. 3.19) at the 1892 Salon du Champ-du-Mars in Paris, and in 1893, he exhibited a second, slightly larger iteration of the scene, also entitled *The Omnibus* (fig. 3.20) at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. When this second exhibited version of *The Omnibus* was shown alongside *The Waltz* (fig. 3.8) in Chicago in 1893, critics frequently placed the two in conversation for their similarly ambiguous narrative and preoccupation with modern light:

There is a Parisian ball scene as different in color and handling as full dress and artificial light must needs be; there is a wonderfully clever and suggestive group on a Parisian omnibus. Just two or three figures, the outside ones ruthlessly cut into by the frame; a milliner’s apprentice, perhaps, with a bandbox, a sleepy workman, a fine lady, and others jogging on in semi-obscurity, the imperfect glass of the windows confusing the streets without, and an oblong of electric light falling through a pane opposite upon the nearest face.<sup>328</sup>

Zorn’s prolific graphite studies of omnibus interiors exemplify his ongoing exploration of the theme in a range of media. One such drawing (fig. 3.21a) shares its page (fig. 3.21b) with a hastily drawn nude study, demonstrating Zorn’s constant vacillation between subjects as he

<sup>328</sup> “Peeps at Foreign Art: Fine Displays in the Austrian and Swedish Sections of the Fair,” Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 58.

considered his current surroundings alongside future projects. In another iteration of an omnibus scene (fig. 3.22), Zorn employs planes of tonal ink wash to define the light and shadows that fall on each passenger, focusing on broad masses and eliminating detail or precise facial features. A related vignette (fig. 3.23), also in graphite, captures a man and woman seated beside one another, their attention focused on a scene beyond the picture plane, outside a window. By clustering vigorous marks that move in a single direction, Zorn creates a more energetic composition, activating the figures with flurries of diagonal lines. A modest oil study of an omnibus interior (fig. 3.24) provides a more detailed view of the passengers, though it is still marked by loose paint handling. Compared to his graphite studies, this sketch places a greater emphasis on tonal variation and color values, especially as the passengers' muted dress contrasts with the bright lights shining through the row of windows.

These undated, nonsequential studies and sketches consumed Zorn's artistic production in the early 1890s and illustrate the rotating cast of characters that he may have observed on his many omnibus rides across the city. As he collected these vignettes of modern life, he repurposed and combined them, translating memories onto new surfaces to achieve his desired amalgamation of Parisian types in these transient, public spaces. In two oil paintings (figs. 3.25–3.26), both considered studies for *The Omnibus*, Zorn focuses on a single female figure beside a window, her direction reversed from that of the prominent milliner in the larger, exhibited omnibus paintings. By taking a closer look at Zorn's modifications and sources of inspiration throughout his painting process, we can begin to see the painting's dynamism as a work informed by extended observations that transcend national boundaries, particularly those of Sweden and France. Although these two studies depict women in similar positions, with consistent facial features and tilted heads, the

figure's costume has changed dramatically between the two canvases. So too has the overall tone of the painting, which, in the horizontally oriented study, is more saturated with golden light and ochre pigment. The subject's right hand has also shifted: in the second version she seems to gesture towards something beyond the glass window, gazing longingly at a world beyond her confines.

The gestural flicks of paint that populate these intimate scenes of individual passengers serve as the dirty fingerprints on Alberti's illusionistic window, asserting the paint itself and the gradual unfolding of a picture before us.<sup>329</sup> Although Zorn's staccato brushstrokes seem to tie us to the artist's experienced sense of immediacy, the relationship between these pictures and their associated sketches, studies, and exhibited works compel us to reckon with the temporal underpinnings of Zorn's process. Although Zorn's autobiographical notes emphasize the "good and industrious working class of France" pictured in his moving carriage, a critical reexamination of the composition, particularly the central female figure, destabilizes this geographical rootedness.<sup>330</sup> Given the overlapping chronology of Zorn's many drawn and etched portraits of Gerda Grönberg, a well-known Swedish operetta singer, I argue that these two projects informed one another as Zorn continued to modify their precise aesthetic arrangements.

The compositional structure of Zorn's single-figure oil studies entitled *Study for the Omnibus* resonate with his contemporaneous depictions of Grönberg, as both projects

<sup>329</sup> Rocco Sinisgalli, ed. *Leon Battista Alberti: On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39.

<sup>330</sup> "The labourer, exhausted after his day's work, falling asleep on the soft shoulder of a beautiful stranger. The kind milliner in the foreground, with electric light from the Boulevard passing across her face, is in my opinion an apt representative of the good and industrious working class of France." Quoted in Per Hedström, "Omnibus," in *Zorn's Masterpieces*, ed. Johan Cederlund (Malmö: Arena, 2010), 102.

feature a woman turning to the side and gazing out a large window.<sup>331</sup> Between 1891 and 1892, Zorn completed three etchings of Grönberg (figs. 3.27–3.29) in addition to a handful of studies in graphite and ink (figs. 3.30–3.32). In the first etching, *Gerda Grönberg I* (fig. 3.27), Grönberg wears a fashionable hat and silk evening and rests her head on her right hand. The second and third etchings, *Gerda Grönberg II* (fig. 3.28) and *Gerda Grönberg III* (fig. 3.29), are dated 1892 and depict Grönberg in a similar position, gazing out a curtained window, her hand slightly lifted, gesturing perhaps to a scene outside. Although the cropped composition has made the rendered space indistinct, the presence of a curtain implies an interior setting, or perhaps a train compartment. The parallels between the motifs and gestures in this scene and Zorn's omnibus studies make a compelling case for the connective tissues that unite these two projects, something scholars have thus far overlooked. Even the costuming—a prominent collar and hat—connects Zorn's portraits of Grönberg and the oil studies of an omnibus interior.

In 1891 and 1892, the years he experimented with the omnibus motif and completed his Grönberg series, Zorn was not firmly anchored in Paris. Based on records from the Zorn Museum, including dated correspondence, Zorn spent January and February of 1891 in Paris; March in Canterbury and London; April and May back in Paris; June in Mora, Göteborg, and Stockholm; July and August in Mora; September and October in Stockholm; and November and December in Stockholm and Hamburg. It was likely in Göteborg that Zorn sketched Grönberg, who was a member of the Göteborgsteatern at the time.<sup>332</sup> The profile of the foreground figure in the Nationalmuseum's *Omnibus* (fig. 3.19)—the angle of her nose, her thin upper lip, and her round

<sup>331</sup> While the oil studies feature a woman turning to her right, the corresponding etchings of *Gerda Grönberg* are reversed—a function of the intaglio printing process.

<sup>332</sup> J. S., "Senaste Sköna Helena," *Figaro*, October 17, 1891. Additional biographical information and press clippings are housed in the Teaterarkivregistret, Stockholm.



chin and strong brow—once again bears a strong resemblance to that of Gerda Grönberg (fig. 3.33). The following year Zorn’s time was similarly split between Paris, Stockholm, and Mora, among other sites.<sup>333</sup>

Rather than classify the omnibus as a purely Parisian motif, Zorn’s paintings of it must thus be understood in terms of his extended artistic process and creative inspiration, which affected his pictures as they unfolded over time. Indeed, what is so often heralded as Zorn’s most “French” subject, in practice, bears the traces of both the urban landscape of Parisian modernity and the likeness of a Swedish model (who never traveled to France).

The second exhibited version of *The Omnibus* (fig. 3.19), purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, remains in her Boston museum. In Chicago, *The Omnibus* was heralded as an example of Zorn’s aesthetic independence and uncanny ability to capture light. The critic for the *Chicago Daily Tribune* effused,

Of the artists whose names were unfamiliar to Americans before this exhibition, none have risen more rapidly into public favor than Anders Zorn. The fact of his presence in Chicago as Art Commissioner for his country may have contributed to this end, but it is undoubtedly because he has struck a new and a true note and shown a new view of nature that he has been so successful. His “Interior of an Omnibus” is little less than a revelation. By many who have not learned to form a just appreciation of those things in nature which he has chosen to represent it may not be easily comprehended, but to any one who has observed similar effects of light and air it is a truly remarkable work. Mr. Zorn probably owes much of the originality, which is only another name for personality, of his work to the fact that he is the pupil of no school nor master, but gives in his work results of his personal observation of nature.<sup>334</sup>

Another American critic described the “queerness” of *The Omnibus*:

<sup>333</sup> “Anders Zorn I Data,” Zorn Museum Archives, Mora. Many thanks to Fia Bladh for sharing this detailed chronology with me.

<sup>334</sup> “Popular Successes of the Art Palace,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 29, 1893, 35.

Though Mr. Zorn [sic] says he is first of all a portrait painter, we can enjoy him more in this exhibition by turning to some such stunning oddity as “The Omnibus.” If you let yourself go with the painter, you can get right in that bus and feel it roll and lurch, and the glare of those amazing electric lights hurts your eyes. It is one of the queerest compositions ever seen. People call it ‘impressionistic,’ but Mr. Zorn does not call himself an impressionist. He paints what he wants and the way he wants and leaves other people to do the calling.<sup>335</sup>

Methodical, studied, and at times self-consciously overworked or revised—the surfaces of Zorn’s exhibited paintings allow us to better understand his deviation from the impressionistic “instant” where each brushstroke serves as an indexical trace of the artist’s swift process. X-rays performed by the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (fig. 3.34) have revealed a number of significant modifications made to the second version of *The Omnibus*, some of which are visible to the naked eye, in addition to changes made after the painting was framed.<sup>336</sup> In the lower portion of the image, the ridges below the surface paint diverge from the finished scene and reveal where Zorn adjusted the figure’s hand and resituated her hatbox. In both exhibited versions of *The Omnibus*, a sweeping diagonal of passengers rushes our eye to the back corner of the canvas in a fluid sweep. These passengers, situated on an angular axis, lead our gaze from the milliner in the foreground to the slumped, cross-armed commuter. We are pulled into the world of the seated figures, their facial features, their stories, and their occupations. We are eager to detect clues about who they are and what they do. The low vantage point—which perhaps contributed to the critic’s declaration of its compositional “queerness”—echoes the surreptitious angle from which one would use a “detective camera,” a device popularized in the late nineteenth-century and often disguised

<sup>335</sup> “Bits of Foreign Art,” Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 74.

<sup>336</sup> Oliver Tostmann, ed., *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, with contributions by Hans Henrik Brummer et al. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum / London: Paul Holberton, 2013), 98.

as a parcel or concealed in top hats and waistcoats.<sup>337</sup> The longer we engage in this type of viewership before *The Omnibus*, however, the more we are thrust back out onto our own self-conscious experience of viewing.

Coming upon the figure of a mustached man in a top hat in the Gardner Museum's *The Omnibus*, we are held for a moment in a more intimate exchange—one made possible by Zorn's subtle but telling shift in the figure's pose. As we project ourselves into the composition and imagine our position in the overcrowded carriage, this affront to our anonymity can feel like an unwelcome acknowledgment that provokes heightened self-awareness. Who is this man, and why does he meet our gaze? In the months between the first and second exhibited versions of the painting, Zorn transformed the figure's identity by replacing a beard with a full moustache and giving him a rounded face defined by two sunken eyes. If we are initially inclined to equate our perspective with that of the artist, this omnibus presents a paradox, for this figure bears an uncanny resemblance to the artist himself—no longer a Swedish outsider but a Parisian bus rider (fig. 3.35). As with *The Waltz*, we witness here Zorn's subtle, late inclusion of a self-portrait. That this is a question of careful self-fashioning is attested by his decision to include the red ribbon of the Legion of Honor on his lapel, a move that simultaneously asserts his claim to the Parisian art world. At the same time, in this self-portrait Zorn rejects familiar impressionist aesthetics. That is, he does not invite the beholder to adopt the artist's vantage point but rather provides a visual form to the "moving theater" of his memories, inviting the beholder to enter the constructed space of his cosmopolitan imaginary. *The Omnibus* thus underscores a tension between the rapidly transforming modern life and "clock time" of nineteenth-century

<sup>337</sup> Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A. Henisch, *The Photographic Experience, 1839–1914: Images and Attitudes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 302.

Paris—the ideological framework of French impressionism—and what I want to call Zorn’s cosmopolitan time, a temporal mode that mediates between standard, abstract time and the provisional nature of perception and memory.

As we have observed, Zorn’s omnibus project did not develop in a linear fashion from preliminary sketch to final product but rather unfolded as Zorn worked out his experience between Paris and Sweden over an extended period of time. That the exhibited versions of this work bear traces of alterations further points to Zorn’s painterly navigation of time—his memories continued to be revised and revisited even after they were translated to a large-scale canvas.

### *Night Effect*

Three years after *The Omnibus* was exhibited in Chicago, Zorn considered another liminal space charged with distinctive light effects: the urban sidewalk, in his large-scale figural painting, *Night Effect* (fig. 3.36). In this space of suggestive exchange and nocturnal modernity, the central, unescorted female figure steadies herself against a tree, visibly off-balance.<sup>338</sup> Zorn’s insistent verticality and lowered viewpoint aggrandize the extravagant fashion of the figure’s dress, while active brushstrokes enliven her outstretched muff and fur cape. Even the title of this work is a gesture to the primacy of the light itself, as opposed to the identity of the figure or the particularity of location.

On this sidewalk in Place Pigalle, a mythic site of urban encounter and the famed territory of the demimondaine, the figure in red teeters between public and private, interior

<sup>338</sup> When exhibited in Paris in May 1895, the painting’s subject matter—interpreted by many as a prostitute—shocked many of the Parisian viewers, who saw it as a “failure of virtuosity.” See Röstorp, *Zorn och Frankrike*, 82.

café and exterior boulevard.<sup>339</sup> This particular view and streetscape, made possible by the reconfiguration of Paris's urban geography, emphasizes the presence of artificial streetlight. As the painting recedes from the vibrant hue of the figure's dress, streetlamps punctuate the background as glowing orbs bathe the adjacent sidewalk vignette in warm light. This type of large-scale rendering, which would have been impossible to paint on site, also contains substantial indications of fastidious reworking. As critics responded to the painting when it was exhibited in Chicago in 1893, they noted Zorn's modern treatment and sophisticated paint handling:

It is . . . with added interest that one turns . . . to the splendid riot of color displayed on a canvas familiar to all Chicagoans, and representing a night scene on the Paris boulevard. A woman of a striking type of blond beauty advances to the curbstone, with glove uplifted to arrest a passing cab, and with the other hand draws closely about her the opulent folds of a dress whose scarlet tones are lifted to the highest pitch of gorgeous color by the yellow light which streams from the open door of the café behind her, as well as from the gas jet of a street lamp overhead. Nothing could be more natural in idea or more modern in treatment; nothing also could be more difficult of execution.<sup>340</sup>

The 2013 exhibition catalogue, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, estimated that there were eleven preparatory studies completed for *Night Effect*: eight held at the Zorn Museum, one at Waldemarsudde, and two in private collections.<sup>341</sup> As was the case with *The Omnibus*, however, the studies that surround *Night Effect*'s production complicate its interpretation as a singular, final image and reveal its connection to multiple paintings, subjects and locations. In two such studies (figs. 3.37–3.38), we can understand one way in which Zorn's training as a portraitist informed his approach to the project. In both scenes,

<sup>339</sup> Lars-Göran Oredsson has identified the location of this painting. See Lars-Göran Oredsson, "Night Effect," in *Zorn's Masterpieces*, ed. Johan Cederlund (Malmö: Arena, 2010), 124.

<sup>340</sup> Fearing, "In Zorn's Studio," 26.

<sup>341</sup> Tostmann, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, 103.

he focuses more on the figure's facial features and expressions than on the scene as a whole. Although the model seems to be consistent in both figural studies, with the same sunken eyes, parted lips, and thin, arched eyebrows, she wears two distinct costumes: one in grey fur and another in black. In the latter, her pale yellow pallor has also been replaced by a rosy complexion.

Just as Zorn worked on *The Omnibus* alongside his portrait studies of Gerda Grönberg, *Night Effect* coincides with his depiction of Gerda Hagborg, a fellow Swede in Paris and the wife of painter August Hagborg. In her biography of Zorn, Gerda Boëthius notes: "Back in Paris [winter 1894] Zorn immediately began working on *Night Effect*. The initial efforts he made before travelling led only to dead ends: a beautiful watercolour of a hatless girl walking on the boulevard and a sketch in oil showing August and Gerda Hagborg lit by gaslight from behind. So too a number of ideas about a woman wandering on a boulevard."<sup>342</sup> Rather than treating these studies and related portraits as "dead ends" for a fixed purpose, however, we can understand them instead as contributions to the larger project at hand and appreciate the way in which elements of Zorn's experimentation with the subject of nocturnal modernity and urban space carried into his oil on canvas.

The aforementioned study of August and Gerda Hagborg, also labeled *Study for Night Effect* in archival records (fig. 3.39), depicts the couple in summary notation walking along a Parisian boulevard, a space illuminated by a gaslight. The foreground figure, a woman in a red dress walking alone, may prefigure the protagonist of *Night Effect* and serves as the focal point of the composition. On the left, rows of empty café tables and a prominent gas lamp indicate the time of day and specify the figures' location on a wide, Haussmannized boulevard. The scene is not, however, a conventional portrait, nor does it

<sup>342</sup> Quoted in Lars-Göran Oredsson, "Night Effect," 124.

capture the facial features of the walking pair or single woman. Zorn uses the white of the canvas as a tool to recreate the reflections of the gas and electric light sources and employs shades of peach, yellow, and green to allude to interior electric light on the other side of the prominent windows. While this scene certainly resonates with *Night Effect* in terms of general location, Zorn has changed dramatically the figure's position, comportment, and costume. The only stable element of the scene, it seems, is Zorn's interest in competing light sources. The connection between the Hagborgs and *Night Effect* can also be seen in Zorn's inscription on the abovementioned half-length portrait, *Study for Night Effect* (fig. 3.38), which reads "To my friend Hagborg, from Zorn."<sup>343</sup> This inscription, coupled with the portrait's visual similarities to Zorn's three etchings of Gerda Hagborg, especially *Gerda Hagborg III* (fig. 3.40), further complicates the singularity of *Night Effect* as detached from Zorn's other ongoing projects in the 1890s. This particular figural study, for example, could instead have been painted after *Night Effect* was exhibited and before *Gerda Hagborg III* was printed. It also bears a resemblance to Zorn's contemporaneous half-length portrait studies, both of which are now entitled *Study for Omnibus* (figs. 3.25–3.26), though they were for many years considered studies for *Night Effect*.<sup>344</sup>

Of the many studies considered part of the larger *Night Effect* project, three are schematic graphite sketches of the central female figure (figs. 3.41–3.43), three are oil studies that show the figure's full body and red dress (figs. 3.44–3.46), and one is a watercolor (fig. 3.47). Together, these scenes corroborate the labored process we saw evidenced in *The*

<sup>343</sup> "Till vän Hagborg från Zorn," Object file, Zorn Museum, Mora.

<sup>344</sup> The object files for these paintings in the Zorn Museum list their previous titles, which include *Studie till Nattfeffet och Omnibus* and *Nattfeffet*. These have since been crossed out and replaced with the current title for both works: *Studie till Omnibus*. The date has likewise been changed from 1894–5 to 1892. There does not appear to be any conclusive evidence, however, for what prompted this shift in title and date in the museum's records.

*Omnibus*. While these graphite and oil studies closely align with the format and figural arrangement of the exhibited oil painting, with only minor distinctions in palette and position, the watercolor diverges dramatically in both composition and tone. Here, Zorn balances the prominent female figure with the lively depiction of a colorful boulevard unfolding behind her. The picture's dramatic framing crops the scene arbitrarily, and the unnaturalistic oranges and yellows pulsing through the row of horizontal windows draw the eye immediately to this peculiar effect, and then to the contrasting white dress in the foreground.

Housed at the Zorn Museum, two large-scale oil studies (figs. 3.48–3.49), both identified as boulevard studies for *Night Effect*, reveal Zorn's ongoing interest in the Parisian sidewalk. By revisiting these forgotten streetscapes, we can examine their resonance not only with the exhibited *Night Effect* but also with the painterly boulevard suggestively framed in the window of *The Omnibus*. Likewise, by foregrounding the partial view of an outdoor café, an image that stuck in Zorn's memory, I argue that these sidewalk studies were painted years before *Night Effect*, and correspond to Zorn's initial consideration of an outdoor café scene in 1891. The blur of an abstracted café outside the moving omnibus shares with Zorn's oil studies the presence of a diagonal tree, thrust across the composition, and small tables situated on the edges of an evening boulevard. *The Omnibus* and *Night Effect* are not two distinct impressions of separate occasions, but could be more usefully considered in terms of their porous boundaries, which connect studies and sketches, observations and memories.

Returning to the X-ray of *The Omnibus* (fig. 3.34), we can discern a dotted ring around the tree trunk—a Haussmann-era, iron tree grate—that was later painted over. These gestural marks around the base reappear as concentric circles in *Night Effect*, exhibited two years later. By superimposing Zorn's oil sketch into the omnibus window frame (fig. 3.50),



the striking resonance between these sidewalk vignettes becomes especially clear. As this episode remarkably attests, Zorn's painted studies were not strictly produced in service of a final, exhibited work. Rather, they are recursive and duplicative, material traces that attest that Zorn's process turned on subjective perception and transnational memory. A final episode reveals how Zorn's painting of an ice skater, when reunited with its many attendant studies, exemplifies a rich amalgamation of memories, motifs, and experiences drawn from both France and Sweden.

### *The Ice Skater*

In 1893, Zorn sent an illustrated letter to his countryman and fellow painter, Carl Larsson.<sup>345</sup> Using both sides of a folded page, which bears the seal of the Cunard Royal Mail Steamship *Etruria*, Zorn crafted a narrative in four parts, featuring vignettes from the past, present, and future (figs. 3.51a–b). In the first scene, “Presens,” Zorn pictures his corpulent silhouette beside that of his wife, Emma, as they wave goodbye to “Europa” and to a stick figure on its shore labelled with Larsson's initials. In the second frame, “Imperfectum,” Zorn once again employs a Latin grammatical notation to indicate a habitual, ongoing action in the past—in this case, the caviar and drink he and Larsson would consume together in Paris.<sup>346</sup> Zorn's characteristic drooping eyes and round face are instantly recognizable in the festive dining scene from previous caricatures, as are Larsson's wispy moustache and sharp chin.<sup>347</sup> The following frame, “Perfectum,” illustrates another juncture in the past tense, the

<sup>345</sup> Zorn Museum Archives, Bild 16.

<sup>346</sup> This was not the first time Zorn integrated Latin into his compositions. In a nod to Renaissance portraiture, Zorn inscribed *Emma Zorn Reading* (1887), AETATIS SUAE 27 (her age 27).

<sup>347</sup> Zorn frequently included self-portrait caricatures in his correspondence. See, for example, those included in his letters to Isabella Stewart Gardner. See Tostmann, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, Appendix.

artist's tearful farewell before an admiring crowd at the Gare Saint-Lazare in Paris.

"Futurum," the final sketch, confirms Zorn's playful wit as he teases his colleague. Here, Zorn envisions what will transpire in Chicago once he has stepped into his role as commissioner of the Swedish art exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition. Drawn again in summary outline, Zorn's robust avatar directs a pair of art handlers as they hang a framed painting by "C. Larsson" in an undesirable location below the rafters. Zorn's many canvases, meanwhile, occupy the enviable, eye-level position on the *cimaise* (picture rail).

This letter's fluctuation between different memories, moments, tenses, languages, and locations—composed during a transitory moment of transatlantic passage—emblemizes Zorn's larger representational strategy and compositional approach in the 1890s. The rediscovery of a contemporaneous two-sided preparatory sketch at the Zorn Museum (figs. 3.52a–b) provides a complement to Zorn's illustrated letter as it likewise embodies the influence of his episodic memories and transnational peregrinations on his formal process. At the same time, this preliminary study, which highlights Zorn's enduring interest in both ice-skating motifs and scenes of Parisian modernity, offers compelling evidence for a revised assessment of the inspiration for, and implied setting of, *The Ice Skater* (fig. 3.53), his large-scale, widely acclaimed painted nocturne of 1898.

Staged at the Petit Palais in Paris, the 2017 exhibition *Anders Zorn: le maître de la peinture suédoise* offered a comprehensive survey of Zorn's work, highlighting the artist's international success, range of media, and stylistic experimentation. In a review for *The Burlington Magazine*, Christopher Riopelle noted that, "More fully than any before, this exhibition and its catalogue trace the essential dichotomy in Zorn's life between the suave 'man of the world' and the 'local boy made good' who pined for rural Sweden and rustic

life.”<sup>348</sup> As we have already begun to observe in the case of Zorn’s *The Omnibus*, however, such a dichotomous model merits reexamination. A number of works included in the exhibition, however, suggest the need to revisit such a dichotomous model. *The Ice Skater* serves as a particularly illustrative episode as it engages the multiple temporal and geographical realms—past and present, Sweden and France—that animated Zorn’s picturing in the fin de siècle.

The titular skater of Zorn’s large-scale evening scene, a bundled woman rendered midstride, occupies nearly a third of the nebulous compositional space. Bold, raking light, which eliminates fine details, simultaneously generates an elongated shadow that projects from the hem of her black dress. While her left arm is indistinct, consumed by dark, atmospheric pigment, orbs of light in the distance indicate the glow of artificial illumination—a significant factor, as will become clear. The sharp contrast between the skater’s thick overcoat and pale, exposed thumb, together with her rosy cheeks, allow us to imagine the icy evening air. In the 2017 retrospective, the painting was exhibited in a gallery entitled “Traditional Sweden,” where it appeared alongside Swedish genre paintings such as *Hersmaid* and *Midsummer Dance* (fig. 3.4), scenes that celebrate local costume and Nordic light and emphasize the artist’s affection for the province of Dalarna, where he was born and raised. Painted in 1898, *The Ice Skater* was completed shortly after Zorn and his wife, Emma, left Paris, where they had lived for eight years, to settle back in Sweden. Most scholars presume, therefore, that the scene is firmly rooted in rural life.<sup>349</sup>

The logic behind this assumption is due, in part, to the existence of a

<sup>348</sup> Christopher Riopelle, “Anders Zorn” *The Burlington Magazine* 159, no. 1376 (November 2017): 933.

<sup>349</sup> Tostmann, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, 110.

contemporaneous etching, *On the Ice, Mora* (fig. 3.54) that depicts Saxviken, a popular local skating destination.<sup>350</sup> Although this intaglio print likewise features a female figure on skates, the two works are otherwise radically incongruent. Unlike *The Ice Skater*, this etching includes the recognizable steeple of Mora Church in the background, which anchors the viewer's perspective, centers the composition, and fixes the skating figures in space. A small house in the distance can be identified as Zorn's own residence and confirms the precise vantage point from which this view was captured. Lightly etched lines throughout the page allude to the tracings of earlier skaters, and concentrated pools of parallel marks suggest the figures' reflections in the frozen surface. The model, likely Julia Carlsson, is known to have lived in Mora before marrying the famed Belgian architect and influential art nouveau designer, Victor Horta.<sup>351</sup>

Zorn often exhibited his etchings with the Société des peintres-graveurs français in Paris, but *On the Ice, Mora* did not circulate widely during his lifetime.<sup>352</sup> His oil painting, on the other hand, gained international attention at popular exhibitions. Ludwig Hevesi, an Austro-Hungarian art critic, was especially taken with *The Ice Skater* when he saw it in Vienna during the 1898 secessionist exhibition. Calling Zorn "the genius of the moment," he wrote: "The large painting *The Ice Skater* [ . . . ] is simply astounding, for it comprises nothing but uncertainties. There is an expanse of frozen surface: a mirror which is not a mirror. Dark figures, in pair or singly, float eerily across it, their faces faintly glowing as if distant reminiscences of daytime."<sup>353</sup> Twinkles of sourceless light and a flash of white in the back

<sup>350</sup> A sign erected by the Zorn Museum in central Mora indicates the precise location of this etching.

<sup>351</sup> "Morakvinna som blev belgisk friherrinna," *Mora Tidning* (October 1966), Object file, Zorn Museum.

<sup>352</sup> Quoted in Sven Lidbeck, *Anders Zorn Etchings: Catalogue Raisonné 2007: States and Editions, 1883–1920* (Stockholm: Zorn Gallery, 2007), 178.

<sup>353</sup> Tostmann, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, 113.

corner enhance this eerie, unsettled quality and confound times of day. Hevesi also notes the distorted view of this woman, whom Zorn has depicted as simultaneously moving toward the right due to centrifugal force, and foreshortened due to the painting's elevated perspective. With two spatial systems juxtaposed on a single canvas, it is left to the viewer to reconcile these multiple moments. Not all critics, however, were so complementary. The experimental, unnaturalistic treatment of the skaters may have contributed to the dissatisfaction of commentators, such as the one who concluded about the Keppel Gallery exhibition in New York, "A curious arrangement called 'Skating' is about the only really unsatisfactory performance here."<sup>354</sup>

The recurring motif of the ice skater, or ice skaters, occupied Zorn's attention in a range of media and over the course of many years, and not just in the months leading up to his exhibited 1898 painting.<sup>355</sup> A series of contour drawings (figs. 3.55–3.58) establish Zorn's persistent interest in the subject and gestural sketching practice throughout the 1890s, even as their mobile forms suggest an index of Zorn's gaze from the shore of Lake Siljan.<sup>356</sup> The ice skaters that populate his sketchbooks, though at times anchored to local landmarks, more frequently float on the page, divorced from geographical specificity. These figural studies both inform and diverge from his subsequent painterly nocturnes as Zorn picks and chooses which elements to translate across media. In an 1898 preparatory watercolor for *The Ice*

<sup>354</sup> Zorns klippsamling, 1875–1914, 138.

<sup>355</sup> Anders Zorn was made a board member of the Royal Ice Skating Club in Stockholm at age 21 and was known to skate often in both Mora and Stockholm. In 1878, Jonas Olaf Grafström sketched Zorn skating with a female companion on Nybroviken, a small bay in central Stockholm. Zorn depicted this skating track himself in the 1885 watercolor *Skridskoåkning på Nybroviken*, which was exhibited in London. See Axel Tallberg, *Zorn: hans barndom, ungdom och studieår 1860–1881* (Stockholm: Minerva, 1919); and Gerda Boëthius: *Anders Zorn: An International Swedish Artist, His Life and Work* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotorgravyr, 1954).

<sup>356</sup> For examples of Zorn's exploration of the skating motif in graphite, see Sketchbook 18 and Sketchbook 20 in the Zorn Museum Archives.

*Skater* (fig. 3.59), Zorn renders the aesthetics of nightfall by constructing layers of evening shadows cast by an indistinct light source. From these broad swaths of pigment and a swirling indigo background, a figure materializes in a green dress, fur collar, and muff. Withholding any indication of a precise spatial milieu, Zorn isolates the central figure in an ambiguous space, accompanied only by the spectral suggestion of moving figures on the right-hand edge of the page. The imprecise silhouette of the skating pair establishes a radical and destabilizing asymmetry within the composition, an effect Zorn carries into his subsequent oil painting. Although they may share iconographic or compositional points of congruence, closer examination complicates the relationship between the watercolor, other related studies, and Zorn's 1898 canvas. The skater's shadow in the oil painting, which has shifted ninety degrees from its position in the watercolor, alludes to two different times of day. Furthermore, Mora Church, which featured so prominently in Zorn's etching, disappears in his nocturnes. The silhouettes of secondary figures in the painting's background, perhaps the same couple that skated across the pages of Zorn's sketchbook, have also shifted in scale and direction.

The hitherto unpublished, two-sided study at the Zorn Museum pictures, on its recto (fig. 3.52a), a primary figure on skates and a tilted skating pair in the distance. This configuration, especially the extended left arm of the central figure and the angle of her radiating shadow, echoes that of Zorn's oil painting most directly. When the page is rotated 180 degrees, it is possible to discern the contours of a fainter, overlapping skater. On its reverse, however, Zorn has departed from the winter motif and painted an equestrian self-portrait in watercolor. The striking similarities between this second composition and a photograph of Zorn on horseback in the Bois de Boulogne from the Zorn Museum (fig. 3.60) make clear that this watercolor sketch depicts an explicitly Parisian scene in which

Zorn's self-fashioning as a gentleman is telegraphed through subject matter and costuming.

The presence of Zorn's ice skaters on the recto of the Bois de Boulogne scene invites a reconsideration of the spatial and chronological situations of Zorn's ice-skating motif. Le Pôle Nord, the first modern skating rink in Paris, opened in 1892 and was situated near Zorn's apartment in Montmartre on the nearby rue de Clichy. In the years that followed, additional rinks emerged throughout the city, catering to the public's growing interest in these new sites of urban leisure. Albert Engström, a Swedish artist and illustrator who had come to know Zorn during his stay in Paris in 1894, remarked that Zorn often skated with his models at the Palais de Glace on the Champs-Élysées.<sup>357</sup> This ice-skating rink, which opened on December 23, 1893, was, like the Folies Bergère and the Moulin Rouge, an emphatically modern space. Color lithographs and posters (fig. 3.61) promoted the fashionable crowd who would frequent the attraction and emphasized one signal highlight of the site: "Éclairé avec la lumière électrique" (Illuminated with electric light). Parisian newspapers likewise underscored the "bouquet of electric lamps," "gas lights," and "voltaic arches" that illuminated the icy enclosure.<sup>358</sup>

As it happened, Zorn's written reflections on *The Ice Skater* of 1898 likewise turned on questions of lighting. During one crossing from America to France on the SS *Kronprinz Wilhelm* in May 1911, Zorn referenced his "skater" in a stream of recollections:

Also in the winter, my ice skater. Miss Carlsson had to make continuous curves skating backwards and I stood on skates painting by the light of a faint lantern. One of these exceedingly difficult problems that I set for myself to solve. Perhaps the hardest of all, but one that brought me the least glory. I'm sure to be the only one who appreciates it. But it will probably be

<sup>357</sup> Albert Engström, *Anders Zorn* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1928), 169.

<sup>358</sup> "Ces panneaux, encadrés de colonnes et d'arcades dorées, alternent avec de grands miroirs où se reflètent une vingtaine de lampes électriques émergeant d'un velum colossal formant plafond, tandis que de grands lampadaires à gaz, en cuivre ciselé, tamisent de leur lumière plus douce l'éclat des arcs voltaïques." See "Les appréciations de la presse parisienne sur le Palais de Glace," *Paris-Capital* 27 (December 1893): 3.

discovered in due time.<sup>359</sup>

This is not the first time that Zorn would describe his paintings as puzzles of light. In its negotiation of multiple light sources, *The Ice Skater* resonates with Zorn's contemporaneous scenes of modern life—above all, his response to Parisian urban space in the 1890s.

Revisiting Zorn's sketchbooks once again reveals the dialogue between his simultaneous projects. On the first page of an 1894 Paris sketchbook, two pencil drawings (fig. 3.57) depict an ice skater in a long dress, rendered twice in the same tilted position with identically outstretched right arms. On subsequent pages, however, Zorn's attention has shifted to a Parisian boulevard at night (fig. 3.62), and an unsteady, hatted woman, rendered with rapid pencil strokes (fig. 3.63).<sup>360</sup> In the archives of the Zorn Museum, this later figural sketch has been categorized as yet another study for *On the Ice*, "Studie i blyerts till 'På isen.'" When taking into account, however, the figure's position and costume as well as the study for a café scene on the following page, this sketch is more likely a study for *Night Effect* (fig. 3.36). Comparison with other graphite studies for *Night Effect* (figs. 3.41–3.43) make these compositional similarities especially pronounced.<sup>361</sup> The ice skaters and boulevard motif may thus be better understood as mutually informative aspects of Zorn's engagement with an explicitly Parisian, fin-de-siècle modernity, which for Zorn turned upon a pronounced investment in the dynamic interplay of multiple light sources. Zorn described *Night Effect* as

<sup>359</sup> "Också på vintern min skridskoåkarska. Fröken Carlson [sic] fick göra ideliga kurvor på ytterskär baklänges och jag stående på skridskor målande vid ljuset av en svag lykta. Ett av dessa ytterligt svåra problem som jag satte mig för att lösa. Kanske det svåraste av alla men som bringat mig minst ära. Jag är visst den ende som uppskattar den. Men den blir nog upptäckt med tiden." See Anders Zorn, *Självbiografiska anteckningar*, ed. Birgitta Sandström (Mora 2004), 153. Oliver Tostmann interprets this passage as a direct reference to Zorn's exhibited 1898 iteration of *The Ice Skater*. See Tostmann, *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*, 110.

<sup>360</sup> Zorn Museum Archives, Sketchbook 18, ZT 327–346.

<sup>361</sup> All three preparatory studies in graphite are located at the Zorn Museum, Mora.



his third “difficult illumination problem”—in this case, the tension between the jarring electric light of the café interior and the gentler glow of gas lights on the boulevard, both of which disrupt the natural patterns of light and darkness.<sup>362</sup>

A closer examination of the light effects featured in *The Ice Skater* reveals the previously overlooked intersection between the two paintings as they explore strikingly similar modern lighting conditions.<sup>363</sup> The twinkling lights in the background of the nocturne, glowing like fireflies in the distance, correspond to Zorn’s deliberate depiction of gas lights in *Night Effect*, which were similarly rendered with an opaque center of bright yellows and whites surrounded by a translucent halo of pigment.

A return to *The Ice Skater*’s ostensible Swedish circumstances reveals an altogether different lighting situation. In 1898, gas lighting, which required citywide infrastructure, did not exist in Mora, which lacked the necessary networks of gas piping. Moreover, artificial streetlight would not have illuminated public spaces in the Swedish village until the early twentieth century, when, in 1906, electrical power lines connected Mora with the neighboring town of Orsa, which supplied Mora with electricity.<sup>364</sup> At the time of *The Ice Skater*, therefore, in the areas around Mora, the only electric lighting in use would have existed in small factories or on farms for utilitarian purposes. In private homes, meanwhile,

<sup>362</sup> “Där löste jag ett tredje svårt belysningsproblem.” See Zorn, *Själfbiografiska anteckningar*, 139.

<sup>363</sup> The rapid electrification of Paris and its effect on the visual arts has been widely discussed by scholars of nineteenth-century French art and was the subject of a 2013 exhibition, *Electric Paris*, held at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA, and at the Bruce Museum, Greenwich, CT, in 2016. See, for example, Hollis Clayson, “Mary Cassatt’s Lamp,” in *Is Paris Still the Capital of the Nineteenth Century? Essays on Art and Modernity, 1850–1900*, ed. Hollis Clayson and André Dombrowski (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 257–84.

<sup>364</sup> In 1903 a small acetylene gasworks was built beside Zorn’s house, but before 1903, streetlights were fueled with kerosene. It was not until 1906 that electricity arrived in Mora. Many thanks to Anneli Larsson at Mora Kommun for providing this data.

paraffin and kerosene lamps were used as the predominant form of illumination.<sup>365</sup>

As Zorn deciphered the relationship between skater and ice from different angles over time, his drawn and painted sketches also took shape in different geographical locations. What initially inspired Zorn as a young man in Stockholm as early as 1885 (fig. 3.64) reemerged and was transformed in Paris alongside his scenes of modern life and his emergent interest in urban nocturnes. Although Zorn's interest in ice skaters continued after his return to Mora, where his experiences served as the direct inspiration for his etched illustration of 1898, the Parisian studies attest that his more experimental, painted iteration of the scene was affected as much by memories of his immediately preceding years in Paris as it was informed by his observations on-site in Sweden.

Even if we choose to accept Zorn's account of the lanterns that aided his work at night, the multiple light sources visible in this particular painting unsettle his narrative of the nocturne's plein air construction. The flash of white light on the far right of the canvas, which seems to catch a gust of snow, resembles the cool tones and potency of an arc light. Zorn would have seen such carbon lamps throughout his travels, most notably, perhaps, in Parisian theatres and on prominent display at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.<sup>366</sup> Since no kerosene lamp could have produced such a strong, spotlight effect, or emitted such a purely white glow, this painting would seem to merge an experience of plein air, nocturnal lantern illumination and a memory—captured in sketches and paintings like

<sup>365</sup> Jan Garnert graciously offered consultation on this project as it took shape. By his estimation, the few light bulbs that might have existed in Mora in 1898 would have been used primarily in sawmills or other small industries. Although modest power plants were built in Dalarna in the early twentieth century, which would have used electric light, light bulbs were not widespread in Sweden until the late 1910s. See Jan Garnert, *Ut ur mörket: Ljusets och belysningens kulturhistoria* (Lund: Historiska Media), 2013. See also Jan Garnert and Göran Gunér, *Alltid ljus*, produced by Göran Gunér/Athenafilm, Stockholm: Zooropa Production, 2013, DVD.

<sup>366</sup> Andreas Blühm and Louise Lippincott, *Light! The Industrial Age 1750–1900: Art & Science, Technology & Society* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 30.

*Night Effect*—of a distinctively Parisian experience of light: namely, the collision of multiple, artificial light sources as they animated public urban spaces.

As Zorn moved along axes that connected his Swedish village with the Parisian metropole, he incorporated memories from multiple sources and sites into his painted canvases. What might have begun as a quick sketch on the frozen shores of Saxviken or from the periphery of a circular Parisian rink developed and transformed as he revised and revisited the same motif in other locations. As Zorn oscillates between sketches, studies, and a larger canvas, he simultaneously shifts between “presens” and “perfectum,” lived moment and memory, the fleeting impression and an extended, fluid perception of time. Like his letter to Larsson, Zorn’s two-sided study is the product of a career in transit. Resisting relegation to a single biographical chapter or category of geographical production, *The Ice Skater* reveals the relationship between Sweden and France that marked Zorn’s early career.

By reframing *The Waltz*, *The Omnibus*, *Night Effect*, and *The Ice Skater* as part of the same project, I resist their customary categorization as either derivative of French impressionism or as rooted in a specific location. By examining these paintings alongside their copious studies, they reemerge as part of a sustained project, which unfolded over time and between national borders. Neither portraits nor genre scenes, neither fleeting impressions nor purely staged, these pictures, which destabilize the assumed linearity and geographical rootedness of Zorn’s exhibited paintings and their construction, stand at the center of Zorn’s Paris works and offer a lens into his unreliable, transnational construction of memory. Although his contour drawings and sketchbook notations may reflect to some degree a direct translation of his surroundings, Zorn’s exhibited paintings function as more than just static objects or final works. Rather, they are activated by multiple temporally and geographically specific moments and informed by an array of preparatory studies and

constant revision. While it is perhaps tempting to categorize Zorn's production into national categories, the related studies of his prominent exhibited paintings tell a different story of his interconnected, porous process and the ways in which suggestive memory traces connected his production throughout the decade and across national borders. Rather than trying to depict the illusion of an instant in time or promoting a national identity, Zorn instead opted to create a vision of cosmopolitan modernity that existed outside of any one, standardized, national time.

Zorn's scenes of modern life ultimately probe the ways in which time's instability informed his painted surfaces and settled into what Høffding might call the tingling consciousness of almost-recognition—in the guise of the glow of a gas light, the blur of a boulevard, the silhouette of a former model, or a skater at night. Strung together, his paintings form an elegant concatenation of transnational modernity, united by recursive memory traces and formal dialogues that have been translated from surface to surface as memories are transposed into plein air observations internalized for later use. A detail as seemingly meaningless as the blur of seated figures in a Parisian café (fig. 3.65) takes on new meaning as a hinge between the artist's memory and observation. As such, Zorn's paintings from this pivotal decade of artistic production can be productively revisited and interrogated as sites of negotiation between past and present, fiction and reality, artist and viewer. Resisting relegation to a single biographical chapter or category of geographical production, Zorn's series of modern-life subjects yield an enriched sense of the fraught interplay between times and places that distinguished his distinct internationalism.

## CHAPTER 4: THE SEA

During his brief trip to northern Italy in the fall of 1911, John Singer Sargent visited the marble quarries of Carrara, lodged at the Palazzo Barbaro in Venice, and passed through the historic port city of Genoa. It was here that Sargent painted *View from a Window, Genoa* (fig. 4.1), a watercolor with graphite and oil. From what appears to be his hotel room, Sargent rendered the hazy view—a lively scene of maritime activity, clustered in a harbor—through translucent curtains. The many types of boats depicted through the parted curtains reveals the artist’s familiarity with marine equipment: delicate strokes of graphite indicate masts of a sailing vessel while looser watercolor brushstrokes illustrate the contours of fishing boats. In the greater distance, a semitransparent wash of blue and grey suggests a cityscape beyond the harbor, though there is no indication of its precise location. Indeed, this harbor scene could be any number of seaside locations or port cities. In the composition’s foreground, two open paint boxes showcase the artist’s tools and a smattering of mauve, azure, green, and yellow pigments.<sup>367</sup> Notably, both boxes are collapsible and portable—designed for easy transportation from site to site. In the middle foreground, one such open box balances atop a leather suitcase, ready to be packed and moved to its next destination. This juxtaposition of mobile tools and materials with the port below, and the ships that rest for just a moment in this transitory dock, offer the beholder an active image of artistic mobility painted from the unspecific space of an anonymous hotel room.

Inveterate travelers Sargent and Zorn bore witness to an era of global transformation from a range of geographical locations. Ports, harbors, and steamships served as recurring vantage points from which the two artists recorded their travel and reflected on past journeys. Just as Zorn’s autobiographical notes include frequent metacommentaries on the

<sup>367</sup> Sargent worked with tube watercolors, which enabled his thick application of paint. He sometimes squeezed directly from the tube onto the paper. Annette Manick, “The Uncanny Sargent: The View from Conservation” (lecture, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, March 3, 2017).

sea and its condition, his 1894 letter to Carl Larsson includes a hastily rendered seascape in pen, emphasizing the choppy seas he braved en route to Paris (fig. 4.2). Sargent and Zorn's depictions of maritime travel also belong to a long-standing tradition in the history of Western art. The sea, as a system of circulation, served as an index of modernization and an axis of new technologies, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. European ship portraits and marine paintings, particularly those of Joseph Mallord William Turner, Claude Lorrain, and Joseph Vernet, often appropriated the visual rhetoric of the port in order to advance specific vectors of nationalism—for example, the promotion of trade or assertion of industrial power. Turner's nineteenth-century maritime images, in particular, acted in service of British national identity as they “feed upon a collective identification, at some basic level, of British history and cultural and national development with the voyage and with imperial maritime expansion: an identification, moreover, that is mediated by visual representation.”<sup>368</sup> In France, Vernet's propagandistic eighteenth-century series, *Vues des ports de France* (1753–65), documented the nation's military and commercial seaports in brilliant detail at the request of King Louis XV.

This chapter seeks to explore how Sargent and Zorn's intimate, episodic renderings of ports, harbors, and steamships continue the legacy of landscape paintings as politicized, constructed fantasies. In Denis Cosgrove's definition, “Landscape is a way of seeing, a composition and structuring of the world so that it may be appropriated by a detached, individual spectator.”<sup>369</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell goes one step further, defining the landscape as an

<sup>368</sup> Geoffrey Quilley, “Art History and Double Consciousness: Visual Culture and Eighteenth-Century Maritime Britain,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 48, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 33. For a recent re-presentation of Turner's ports, see Susan Grace Galassi, Ian Warrell, and Joanna Sheers Seidenstein, eds., *Turner's Modern and Ancient Ports: Passages Through Time*, with Gillian Forrester, Rebecca Hellen, and Eloise Owens (New York: Frick Collection / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017).

<sup>369</sup> Denis Cosgrove, “Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10, no. 1 (1985): 45–62.

“instrument of power.”<sup>370</sup> Sargent and Zorn’s vast production of landscape paintings, specifically images of the sea, also reflects the particular historical conditions in which they were produced—a moment of transnational modernism and new imperialism, which coincided with the adoption of standard time. Informed by these conditions, they deviated from the maritime paintings of their predecessors by constructing a shared, fragmented cosmopolitan imaginary, one purposefully devoid of local specificity.<sup>371</sup> This chapter reunites Sargent and Zorn’s largely overlooked representations of the sea and the port, resituating the significant corpus as a complete series of porous, interchangeable, atemporal non-sites united by their formal characteristics, abstracted vision, and consistent iconography. By doing so, we can better understand the aesthetic and ideological implications of their cosmopolitan facture.

The recent rediscovery of three oil paintings, *Atlantic Storm* (1878), *Atlantic Sunset* (1878), and *The Derelict* (c. 1876), reveals Sargent’s early-career exploration of dramatic waves and stormy seas.<sup>372</sup> The 2009 exhibition *Sargent and the Sea*, staged at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, in 2010, marked the first curatorial investigation of Sargent’s seascapes and aimed to provide viewers with a general overview of the sea motif within Sargent’s oeuvre, emphasizing his figural beach scenes, particularly those painted in Brittany, and recognizable Venetian canals. The exhibition, which focused on Sargent’s early marine phase (before 1880), included eighty of his maritime-themed paintings, watercolors, and

<sup>370</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

<sup>371</sup> Turner used academic oil painting to promote Britain as “morally, culturally, and politically superior” to other regions defined as East. See K. Dian Kriz, “Dido versus the Pirates: Turner’s Carthaginian Paintings and the Sublimation of Colonial Desire,” *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1995): 116–32.

<sup>372</sup> Sarah Cash, ed., *Sargent and the Sea*, with Richard Ormond et al. (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).



drawings.<sup>373</sup> It did not, however, transcend the biographical framework of these images' production, consider his later maritime watercolors, or account for the strange ambiguity of his many unidentified harbor and port studies.

Scholars are similarly quick to note Zorn's pervasive interest in depictions of water, but foreground his treatment of lakes and rivers in Dalarna as they serve as a symbolic celebration of Sweden's natural landscape.<sup>374</sup> The lack of scholarly analysis of both artists' port series and scenes at sea reflects a larger historiographic bias towards their more plentiful, large-scale exhibited works, particularly their portraiture, as opposed to the journeys that enabled such far-flung portrait subjects. Sargent and Zorn's significant production of sea pictures, and their related interest in the elastic time of transatlantic voyages, necessitates further consideration. More than highlighting Sargent's biographical links to seaside locations or Zorn's childhood spent by Swedish lakes, these images suggest a new framework through which to understand cosmopolitan facture as it manifests in their harbor studies and seascapes, increasingly fragmented and dissociated from a specific time or place.

The relative silence on the subject of Sargent and Zorn's prolific exploration of maritime scenes—pictures that depict the sea, in addition to scenes of ports and harbors—marks a critical gap in the existing scholarship and reflects a larger lack of scholarly exploration of nineteenth- and twentieth-century maritime imagery. Geoff Quilley's important intervention, *Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain, 1768–1829* (2011), has sought to correct this oversight by engaging with the ideological

<sup>373</sup> During Sargent's later marine phase (after 1900), he produced a comparable number of ocean and port images.

<sup>374</sup> Birgitta Sandström, *Anders Zorns Vattenbilder* (Mora: Zornsamlingarna, 1991).

complexity of the maritime within visual and cultural studies.<sup>375</sup> Although he focuses with particular attention on the reverberations of these images in the late eighteenth century, Quilley's larger argument—that works of art at sea do not merely reflect the concepts of empire or nation but are “themselves one place where that identity can be formed”—serves as a productive framework for this chapter, which considers the identity and power formation propagated by such ocean studies and port scenes at the fin de siècle alongside their formal properties.<sup>376</sup> By examining seascapes in a “dialectical binary relation” to landscape painting, further inroads may be made to recover their lasting impact as a significant subject of investigation within Sargent and Zorn's larger bodies of work.<sup>377</sup> Jill Casid has offered a useful definition of empire in eighteenth-century France as it was built not through conquest or government but by using the aesthetic ordering of painted landscapes as a device for asserting power.<sup>378</sup> In a similar vein, John Zarobell's study of mid-nineteenth-century landscape painting has examined how an image's pictorial language structures a beholder's visual apprehension of information and generates imperial power.<sup>379</sup> These models are productively harnessed in the exploration of work by Sargent and Zorn by opening up new ways of understanding their commitment to this subject of representation,

<sup>375</sup> Geoff Quilley, *Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain, 1768–1829* (New Haven, CT: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2011). Other scholars have productively explored how landscape figured in the process of Western empire building. See, for example, Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Charmaine A. Nelson, “Interrogating the Colonial Cartographical Imagination,” *American Art* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 51–53; and John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>376</sup> Leo Costello, *J. M. W. Turner and the Subject of History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 9.

<sup>377</sup> Quilley, “Art History and Double Consciousness,” 24.

<sup>378</sup> Casid, *Sowing Empire*, 233.

<sup>379</sup> John Zarobell, *Empire of Landscape: Space and Ideology in French Colonial Algeria* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010).

particularly between 1890 and 1910, the decades during which the two artists were most engaged with the subject.

Sargent's watercolors, as the artist declared to his friend and fellow painter Edward Darley Boit, "only amount to anything when taken as a lot together."<sup>380</sup> Likewise, Zorn's ports, harbors, and seafaring scenes are best discussed as a unit, which once again departs from the impressionistic directive to record specific destinations. "Taken as a lot together," Sargent and Zorn's scenes of the sea do not depict one place or port or boat but the *idea* of a port or a steamship that, together with other seaside nodes and ocean vessels, compose a familiar, united global network. Like their oil paintings that conflate Morocco and Britain, or Sweden and France, Sargent and Zorn's pictures—most of which were painted in watercolor—form a cohesive group. In framing my analysis in these terms, and eschewing the singularity of any specific watercolor scene, I follow the example of Michelle Foa, whose analysis of Seurat's seascapes as a series inculcated new perspectives on his body of work and recontextualized the port, in particular, in the artist's oeuvre to reflect larger questions of cognition and visual perception.<sup>381</sup> As this chapter examines Sargent and Zorn's ocean, port, and harbor studies, I consider the pressing question of technical experimentation as the two artists constructed a shared, consistent fiction divorced from local time or place.

Although neither Sargent nor Zorn was a victim of subjugating colonial policies or actively promoting an imperial political agenda, they cannot be fully absolved from the

<sup>380</sup> Sargent to Edward Boit, January 26, 1909. Quoted in Erica E. Hirshler et al., *John Singer Sargent Watercolors*, with contributions by Karen Sherry, Janet Chen, and Connie H. Choi (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts / Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 27.

<sup>381</sup> Michelle Foa, *Georges Seurat: The Art of Vision* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

colonial project.<sup>382</sup> As empire's beneficiaries, the artists profited from better transport and painting materials as well as freedom of movement. The resultant images are thus marked by the specter of colonial relations and reveal how empire was coded into a shared cosmopolitan imaginary.<sup>383</sup> Despite a recent surge of interest in maritime imagery, the changing role of the seascape at the fin de siècle merits a reappraisal "both on its own terms, but also because of the reconsideration that it enforces, of the places of visual culture within the historical relation of empire to nation."<sup>384</sup> Even their pigments—like the Indian yellow found in Sargent's collection of watercolors—or their binders—gum arabic exported from African colonies—were implicated in a global economy and history of labor.<sup>385</sup> In what follows, I continue to foreground the interconnected themes of artistic exchange and shifting temporalities with recourse to the practice of travel. Through the ensuing investigation of ocean studies, port scenes, harbor views, and, ultimately, imperial portraiture, I aim to unearth the fraught, interdependent relationship between empire, vision, control, and facture that is so powerfully bound up with this imagery.

### *Seafaring: Marine Studies*

<sup>382</sup> For more on the concept of "colonial complicity," see Suvi Keskinen et al., "Postcolonialism and the Nordic Models of Welfare and Gender," in *Complying with Colonialism. Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 1.

<sup>383</sup> By posing this question, and by asking what it would mean to place empire at the center of artistic production, I follow the lead of recent publications in the field of British art. See, for example, Timothy Barringer, Geoff Quilley, and Douglas Fordham, eds., *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); and Julie F. Codell, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

<sup>384</sup> Quilley, *Empire to Nation*, 263.

<sup>385</sup> Jordanna Bailkin, "Indian Yellow: Making and Breaking the Imperial Palette," *Journal of Material Culture* 10, no. 2 (2005): 197–214; Mary Broadway, Ken Sutherland, Veronica Biolcati, and Francesca Casadio, "Mastery of Materials: Sargent's Watercolors at the Art Institute of Chicago," in Annelise K. Madsen, *John Singer Sargent and Chicago's Gilded Age*, with contributions by Richard Ormond and Mary Broadway (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 183–201.

The travel mania of the mid-nineteenth century, a byproduct of more advanced ocean steam navigation and an increasingly interconnected railway system, made possible Sargent and Zorn's particularly nomadic artistic practice. Steamship travel, as a mode of transit between the New and Old Worlds, "framed the Atlantic's registers of meaning" and offered artists new subject matter as well as a floating studio.<sup>386</sup> The elastic time and liminal status felt aboard the ship left the passenger in a temporary state of transition or "betweenness." The psychology of the transatlantic voyager, traveling between borders, facilitated chance encounters with other travelers and provided passengers with the time to thoughtfully encounter the open sea as a visual motif.<sup>387</sup> In his 1884 "Log of an Ocean Studio" for *Century Illustrated Magazine*, C. C. Buel meditated on this unique condition: "Once free from the wharf strings, our steamer was nearly as independent of the ordinary world as a miniature planet peopled to order."<sup>388</sup> In Sargent and Zorn's images of the sea, however, people are very rarely pictured. This notable absence of sailors, people on the shore, or the artists themselves serves as a departure from the eighteenth-century maritime watercolors, such as those painted by Captain John Johnson of the Bombay Engineers, which include self-portraits of the artist at work to emphasize the scene's authenticity as a reliable visual record.<sup>389</sup> The characteristic absence of figures in Sargent and Zorn's scenes remove the sites

<sup>386</sup> Emily Burns, "The Old World Anew: The Atlantic as the Liminal Site of Expectations," in *Framing the Ocean, 1700 to the Present: Envisaging the Sea as Social Space*, ed. Tricia Cusack (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), 37.

<sup>387</sup> For more on the modernity of nineteenth-century travel and its psychological effects, see Kate Hill, "Introduction: Narratives of Travel, Narratives that Travel," in *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects*, ed. Kate Hill (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 1–13.

<sup>388</sup> C. C. Buel, "Log of an Ocean Studio," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 27, no. 3 (1884): 356.

<sup>389</sup> John McAleer, *Picturing India: People, Places, and the World of the East India Company* (London: British Library: 2017), 21.

pictured from a temporally or geographically grounded narrative while promoting a fantasy—a landscape or port unspoiled by the physicality of human labor.

As discussed in chapter three, Anders Zorn's autobiographical notes, which record his many observations from the transatlantic steamship, suggest the productive potency of this independent space as it allowed him to reflect on the past alongside the monotonous, drifting present. Likewise, ocean studies and boat-deck illustrations reappear as favored motifs throughout his watercolor production. *Steamer Lisbon London*, 1884 (fig. 4.3), one such deck scene, renders the active, layered reflections of light on a wet surface. Grey sails fade into the rust-colored foreground; raised, brown jolly boat; black ropes; and white hammock netting. Zorn does not shy away from the buildup of pigment as he layers washes of brown, blue, and red in the foreground to create dimensional contours of the various pipes and valves. Thin white highlights dragged through the foreground—likely gouache—establish the wooden deck's texture, while brighter pools of white indicate the reflection of an overcast sky. The linear delineation of this ship deck and its visual anchors—rope ladders, pipes, stacks, and sails—echoes Sargent's earlier, placid scene of an ocean and sunset, *Deck of a Ship in Moonlight*, 1876 (fig. 4.4). Like Zorn's watercolor, Sargent emphasizes the geometry of the ship's deck and the pleasing contrast between a billowing sail, hanging ropes, and metal poles.

The boat, as an instrument of economic development and self-contained imagination, functions, in the words of Michel Foucault, as a “floating piece of space” and “a place without a place”—a “heterotopia par excellence.”<sup>390</sup> The boat or ship possesses a “topological duality”; it demarcates outside from inside but also permeates the spaces with

<sup>390</sup> Coined by Michel Foucault, a heterotopia is defined as a space that can accommodate multiple, incongruent times and places. See Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986) 22–27.

which it interacts. As such, it can “invert and open new social and material orders, both on and offshore.”<sup>391</sup> Sargent and Zorn’s images draw attention to this relationship between the material and the imaginative as their sea pictures suspend and reorder time and space, echoing the very conditions associated with a life at sea.

Ten years after he painted *Steamer Lisbon London*, Zorn painted *View from Atlantic Steamer* (fig. 4.5), an abstracted vision of the same subject. Zorn controls the bleeding contours of layered blue pigments to render this scene, which is once again void of figures or geographical context. His modeled washes of blue and purple and brown and ochre create a slanting, foreshortened perspective from the ship’s deck, looking towards the netting along the rails. Zorn takes advantage of the reserve and uses the texture of his white paper to create highlights that direct a viewer’s eye. This image’s abstracted qualities underscore the way in which location and locatability were confused by transatlantic journeys, as the landscape at sea lacks geographical markers—the horizon, sea, and boat are the only visual constants. The 2004 exhibition *Zorn Watercolors* and an earlier exhibition, *Anders Zorns vattenbilder* (1991), emphasized Zorn’s mastery of “the art of depicting water surfaces, their movements and infinite variations.”<sup>392</sup> Anders Zorn’s water pictures—whether inspired by the Bosphorus, the Venetian harbor, Algiers, Hamburg, Dalarö, or Stockholm—convey more, however, than simply the weather he observed or the conditions of the ocean’s waves. Through their generalized aesthetic and lack of narrative they also exist outside of linear time, and translate into pictorial form the temporal monotony and liminality one might have experienced while in transit.

<sup>391</sup> Jonathan R. Rankin and Francis L. Collins, “Enclosing Difference and Disruption: Assemblage, Heterotopia and the Cruise Ship,” *Social and Cultural Geography* 18, no. 2 (2017): 226.

<sup>392</sup> Birgitta Sandström, ed., *Anders Zorn Akvareller/Watercolors* (Skärhamn: Nordiska Akvarellmuseet, 2004), 11

Indeed, life on board a steamship engendered many opportunities for experimentation, precipitated perhaps by boredom and the sheer availability of ocean views at any hour. Zorn's forty-some surviving harbor scenes and sea motifs—broad sweeps of pigment applied to a wet page with a loaded brush—exist without any compositional markers of time or place.<sup>393</sup> As such, they have evaded categorization beyond the general umbrella of “water images,” as they were designated in the 2017 exhibition *Anders Zorn: le maître de la peinture suédoise*.<sup>394</sup> Characteristic of this expansive series—there are over ten analogous watercolors from Zorn's 1894 steamship voyage from America alone—are two ocean studies (figs. 4.6–4.7), which highlight the mercurial properties of the Atlantic Ocean. They share a similar blue palette, small scale, horizontal orientation, and simple compositional features. The intimacy, informality, and ambiguity of these studies also echo Sargent's later exploration of coastal areas in watercolor and gouache. *Sunset at Sea*, c. 1905–6 (fig. 4.8), for example, pictures an unidentified Mediterranean coast rendered as horizontal bands of pigment. In a catalogue of Sargent's watercolors and drawings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the editors call attention to the scene's lack of specificity: “this delicate watercolor may represent the Sea of Tiberias (Sea of Galilee), Palestine (present day Israel). However, this open view of distant clouds beyond an expanse of water could represent any number of coastal areas around the Mediterranean, such as Tangier, Spain, or Syria, that Sargent visited after 1890.”<sup>395</sup> This inability to pinpoint the watercolor's precise location

<sup>393</sup> This number is based on my investigation of Zorn's surviving watercolors at the Zorn Museum in Mora. Due to the lack of a catalogue raisonné, I can only approximate the exact number of maritime scenes in Zorn's complete oeuvre.

<sup>394</sup> Johan Cederlund et al., *Anders Zorn: le maître de la peinture suédoise* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2017).

<sup>395</sup> Stephanie L. Herdrich and H. Barbara Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 307.



bespeaks a recurring trend in both artists' sea pictures. Instead of attempting to discern a scene's geographical coordinates, however, it is more fruitful to investigate Sargent and Zorn's compositional patterns and maritime placelessness as meaningful and deliberate artistic choices.

Unlike the eighteenth-century desire for precise, reliable coastal views taken from the sea (such as we witness in the marine scenes of J. M. W. Turner, William Hodges, John Johnson, John Webber, and many others), Sargent and Zorn emphasize subjective expression over objective eye-witnessing. These images, which lack discernable figures, are distanced from the labor or human activity that would have made such transatlantic voyages possible. It is not enough, however, to consider these watercolors as a proto-modernist turn away from naturalism. While Turner's watercolors of the sea provide a visual complement to the concept of sublime experience, Sargent and Zorn's transnational water views, with their conceptual and formal unity, communicate a controlled vision of the boat and the port as stable, reproducible spaces. Furthermore, unlike Turner's scenes, which offer a compelling contest between humans and nature, Sargent and Zorn's pictures drain out narrative and experiential tension by omitting identifiable figures or recognizable architectural sites.

Like Zorn, John Singer Sargent's interest in the sea began quite early in his career, during his childhood summers in Nice, on the Brittany coast, in Normandy, and in Newport, Rhode Island c. 1874–79.<sup>396</sup> The summer of 1875, which he spent with his family near St. Enogat and St. Malo in Brittany, likely informed his nascent interest in ships and coastlines. Sargent's father described the site in a letter as “a city, or large town, of some importance as

<sup>396</sup> “According to Vernon Lee the young John was taken to entertainments on board US flagships at Villefranche, the port serving Nice, ‘and his toy boats were the badge of his naval future.’” See Cash, *Sargent and the Sea*, 7.

a sea port.”<sup>397</sup> Sargent’s scrapbook pages, especially the early vignettes that capture his Atlantic crossings of 1876, are populated with technical studies of rigging and ship parts, pencil sketches of the crew at work, and studies of waves in watercolor (fig. 4.9). One of these drawings, *Schooner and Bark in Harbor* (upper left), demonstrates Sargent’s attentiveness to the linear construction of the schooner and precise diagonals of the many ropes, which enliven the scene and emphasize a ship’s detailed infrastructure. Another scrapbook image, *Men Hauling Lifeboat Ashore* (fig. 4.10) contains on its verso *Sailor* (fig. 4.11), a watercolor and graphite study of a sailor in three slightly different positions. In the lifeboat scene, Sargent studies the figures from different perspectives, which he combined for a later sketch, *Men Hauling Boat onto Beach* (fig. 4.12). The Metropolitan Museum of Art addresses these sketches as “types.” Though they are all tentatively dated c. 1876, the catalogue entry for *Sailboat Deck with Figures* (fig. 4.13) notes that “the schooner, heavily laden with baggage and a few passengers, yields little information to assist with dating or identification of locale.”<sup>398</sup>

Sargent’s Atlantic crossing with his mother and sister in October 1876, after roughly four months in America, furthered his burgeoning interest in the sea. This voyage aboard the SS *Algeria*, a Cunard liner, would last seventeen days, a longer duration than usual due to a storm’s disruption, and resulted in a constellation of oil paintings.<sup>399</sup> Painted on a grand scale, *Atlantic Storm* (fig. 4.14) threatens the beholder—captive and exposed on the slanting deck—and echoes works by the seventeenth-century Dutch masters with its rough seas and

<sup>397</sup> Fitzwilliam Sargent to his sister, St. Enogat, January 9, 1876. Quoted in Herdrich and Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 141.

<sup>398</sup> Herdrich and Weinberg 152

<sup>399</sup> Herdrich and Weinberg 40.

dramatic angles, especially the pitch of a steamship's deck.<sup>400</sup> Sargent dramatically foreshortens the space and indicates the presence of figures on the bow, dwarfed by the impending waves, through summary notations made with thick brushstrokes. The boat's stern, which fills only a small area at the bottom edge of the canvas, creates a frothy white wake, which traces a path through the threatening ridge of water in the center of the composition. Sargent had considered this scene in earlier sketchbook drawings, where he drew the sloping deck of the SS *Algeria* and recorded the mountainous waves in graphite.<sup>401</sup> Painted at such an early stage of his career, *Atlantic Storm* is indebted to the example of eminent Romantic painters, especially Turner's seascapes and boat scenes like *Shipwreck*, which Sargent copied as a young artist.<sup>402</sup> Sargent also included a print of Turner's *Calais Pier* (1803) in his early scrapbook—a comparable scene that emphasizes a heavy swell and storm clouds, and was based on a real-life event.<sup>403</sup>

George Santayana's 1912 essay "The Philosophy of Travel" suggested that, during a transatlantic voyage, "the most prosaic objects, the most common people and incidents, seen as a panorama of ordered motions, of perpetual journeys by night and day, through a hundred storms, over a thousand bridges and tunnels, take on an epic grandeur, and the mechanism moves so nimbly that it seems to live."<sup>404</sup> Sargent's early paintings of the open sea reflect this grandeur, made more epic, perhaps, in retrospect. The canvas on which he

<sup>400</sup> See, for example, Ludolf Backhuysen, *Ships in Distress off a Rocky Coast*, 1667, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

<sup>401</sup> Erica Hirschler, "Uncharted Waters," in *Sargent and the Sea*, ed. Sarah Cash, with Richard Ormond et al. (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 44.

<sup>402</sup> Cash, *Sargent and the Sea*, 18.

<sup>403</sup> Cash, 18.

<sup>404</sup> George Santayana, "The Philosophy of Travel," in George Santayana, *The Birth of Reason and Other Essays*, ed. Daniel Cory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 15.

painted *Atlantic Storm*, in fact, was purchased in France, and the presence of a full-length nude underneath the composition supports the conclusion that *Atlantic Storm* was painted in a Parisian studio, and from memory.<sup>405</sup> Although this idiom of the dramatic seascape fueled his early explorations, *Atlantic Storm* is anomalous within his larger oeuvre of sea pictures. Sargent's ensuing, vast watercolor production of maritime themes as a more mature artist after 1880 diverges from this early project. Instead of foregrounding the power and danger of the sea, his later watercolors of placid urban ports and hazy harbors explore its function as it facilitates professional opportunity and connects systematized points of travel.

Sargent and Zorn's interest in the ocean and in the water has been noted by curators and scholars alike, who have, in the past decade, rediscovered studies and watercolors that never gained recognition and were not exhibited during the artists' lifetimes. Erica Hirshler has astutely traced the resonance between Sargent's "restless pattern of travel," his biographical connection to seafaring ancestors, and his own fraught psychological position caught between an American and European cultural identity.<sup>406</sup> This biographical approach to his work, however, could be substantially enriched through the examination of its formal properties—the connective tissue that places them in direct dialogue with Zorn's analogous watercolor production.

### *Memorializing Events/Erasures*

<sup>405</sup> Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 4, *Figures and Landscapes, 1874–1882* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2006), 96.

<sup>406</sup> Ormond notes, for instance, that Sargent's New England ancestors were wealthy merchants and ship owners from Gloucester, Massachusetts. Fitzwilliam Sargent continued the ship-owning business, establishing the India Company for trade with the East, and amassing a large fortune in the process. See Ormond, "Sargent and the Sea: Introduction," in *Sargent and the Sea*, 7.

In 1890, Zorn rendered an impressive military ship arriving in Stockholm's harbor, *The Battleship* Baltimore (fig. 4.15).<sup>407</sup> This occasion, which occurred on September 14, marked the arrival of the late Capt. John Ericsson's remains to his native country. Ericsson, a Swedish-American mechanical engineer and inventor of propeller-driven boats, gained wide acclaim in America for his project developing the USS *Monitor*, a military ship with the world's first rotating gun turret.<sup>408</sup> Following the war, Ericsson continued to create naval technology for the US Navy. When he died in New York City on March 8, 1889, arrangements were made for funerary commemorations on both sides of the Atlantic. After a memorial service in New York at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, his body was placed on the USS *Baltimore* and carried to Sweden, where Swedish authorities received the body in Stockholm and then transported it by train for reburial in his hometown, Värmland.<sup>409</sup> Edward Moran, a celebrated American maritime painter, captured the pomp and circumstance of the ship's departure from the New York Harbor as it returned to Sweden (fig. 4.16). The Swedish flag, a focal point of Moran's composition, gleams as a triumphant symbol of national pride amidst the choppy seas and smaller boats. As the *New York Times* reported,

The coffin will be brought ashore the same day the steamer arrives. If she comes to anchor in the forenoon, as is expected, the ceremonies will begin at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when a Government board will transfer the remains from the vessel to a special landing stage, erected at the foot of Carl

<sup>407</sup> Zorn's depiction of this homecoming belonged to the Swedish general consul in the United States, Olof Lamm, Emma Zorn's nephew. See Object file, Zorn Museum, Mora.

<sup>408</sup> This ship was employed during the battle against the Confederate CSS *Virginia* in 1862. Its success made Ericsson somewhat of a hero in the North.

<sup>409</sup> W.W. Thomas Jr., the minister to America in Sweden, delivered an address to the Swedish Rear Admiral Peyton, which recognized the diplomatic aspect of this mission: "And America is not unmindful that in honoring Ericsson she also honors the land that gave him birth; a gallant land, with which we have always lived in peace and friendship." See *The Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Second Session of the Fifty-First Congress (1890–91)* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), 709.

XIII Square, where the coffin will be met by the full military force stationed here, accompanied by full bands.<sup>410</sup>

Although the title of Zorn's watercolor alludes to the historic event, he chose not to depict the national festivities or the Swedish flag. Indeed, he curiously eschews any nationalist markers within the scene and renders a harbor that compositionally aligns far more with his ambiguous *Port of Hamburg*, 1891, (fig. 4.17) and *Port Scene* (fig. 4.18) than with Moran's interpretation of the national celebration. In fact, the painting has alternatively been titled *Stockholm Harbor*, a title that omits any reference to the ceremonial proceedings.<sup>411</sup> In all three examples, Zorn positions himself on the shore, looking towards the sea, and eliminates any clear or discernable skyline so as to unmoor the beholder's sense of location. Painted in the early 1890s, during the era of Zorn's most forceful self-fashioning as an international artist, his omissions may be understood, in part, as a component of his professional persona as a cosmopolite and not simply as an explicitly Swedish painter. Zorn also combines multiple ship types to create a diverse but dynamic harbor with multiple forms, geometrical shapes, and strong diagonals by way of oars, masts, and ropes.

Zorn's selective editing and erasure can be seen in his oil seascapes as well. In his 1894 oil sketch *In My Gondola* (fig. 4.19), Zorn painted over the campanile of San Marco, perhaps the most recognizable landmark of the Venetian waterfront, leaving only a pentimento of its vertical outline (fig. 4.20). Without this prominent landmark, Zorn's image does not serve as a detailed *veduta* (view), like those produced for the grand tourists in Italy, but rather coheres with his larger body of maritime works and scenes of boats. Sargent's

<sup>410</sup> "To Receive Ericsson's Body: Preparation for the Ceremonies to be Held in Stockholm," *New York Times*, September 6, 1890, 1.

<sup>411</sup> Object file, Zorn Museum.

presentation of Venice employs similar editing—as seen, for example in *Gondoliers' Siesta*, 1904 (fig. 4.21) which depicts the identifiable Grand Canal and Palazzo Contarini della Figure, but uses oblique angles and cropping to eliminate other prominent architectural landmarks.<sup>412</sup>

Zorn's intentional erasures bring his works into sustained conversation with those of Sargent, especially from a technical perspective. *Unloading Plaster* (fig. 4.22), painted c. 1908 typifies Sargent's early twentieth-century watercolor port series—a departure from his earlier, sensationalized *Atlantic Storm*—and exemplifies the many analogous scenes he completed just after 1900. Although the title of this work connotes labor, materiality, and active transport, the actual movement of plaster within the composition appears only in the hazy background of the port scene, barely discernable as flecks of grey and blue that suggest the presence of distant dockworkers. As Sargent minimizes the presence of labor, he likewise reduces the port to its connotations of flow, connection, and exchange rather than acknowledging the actors (merchants, laborers, sailors) who activated its local specificity.

Sargent's Mediterranean palette—sandy pink façades, alabaster highlights, cyan shutters, cerulean skies—evokes a general port type, consistent with his interchangeable, contemporaneous studies of Venice (fig. 4.23), Majorca, Spain (fig. 4.24), Viana do Castelo, Portugal (fig. 4.25), and Jaffa, Palestine (fig. 4.26). A thick band of blue, thinly applied to the upper edge of *Unloading Plaster*, fades into colorful rooftops and façades that rise above the water and protect the harbor. In the foreground, a row of anchored boats contrasts with the warm, architectural palette and introduces richer blues, interspersed with lines of black and brown, which indicate the contours of pointed hulls. Thin, translucent diagonals throughout

<sup>412</sup> Kathleen A. Foster, *American Watercolor in the Age of Homer and Sargent* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 321.

the upper half of the paper add vertical dynamism as masts and twisted sails punctuate the clear sky and penetrate the beholder's sightline. To the left, short, alternating brushstrokes of green and brown suggest the texture of gentle waves.

The foreground of this particular port scene, however, deviates from the thin application of pigment throughout the upper register of the paper. Two nude, male bodies rest in a rowboat, which lingers to the viewer's immediate right. As one figure drapes himself over the gunwales, gazing into the water below, his companion steadies the oars and looks toward the viewer, his back curved into a crescent that recalls the celebrated Belvedere Torso of antiquity. The bright midday sun casts shadows on the rower's body and on the boat's interior and highlights the figure's musculature and strong backside. Although Sargent's watercolor practice is often associated with lightness and quickness of paint application, a closer look at the foreground of *Unloading Plaster* indicates a thick layer of gouache and reveals how "Sargent altered large portions of this composition by scraping away previous paint applications, abrading the surface of the paper in the process."<sup>413</sup> Conservators at the Brooklyn Museum, NY, have conducted extensive technical study of this watercolor, which brings to the fore unexpected erasures, consistent with Sargent's cosmopolitan facture:

The largest alteration—the area of the entire rowboat and the nudes—was then repainted with thickly applied opaque watercolors bulked with zinc white. This repainting is so masterful that it is difficult to detect without the aid of a microscope, which reveals clumps of the abraded surface fibers in the paint. Sargent altered the triangular sail at right and repainted it with white lead.<sup>414</sup>

<sup>413</sup> "Unloading Plaster," Brooklyn Museum, accessed February 12, 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/20395>.

<sup>414</sup> "Unloading Plaster."



Painted with thick strokes of watercolor, the male rowers lack distinct facial characteristics and, without clothes, are stripped of any regional or ethnic markers often associated with costume. The presence of nude male figures in a maritime setting recurs in Sargent's *Two Nude Figures Standing on a Wharf*, 1879–80 (fig. 4.27). In this unfinished oil on wood, the figures recall classical statuary as they fill water barrels in idealized poses—their musculature clearly defined by graphite underdrawing. As was the case in *Unloading Plaster*, the nude figures lack defining facial features or clear indications of ethnicity. The setting, likewise, could be any wharf in any country.

The placement of lounging male figures in the foreground recurs as a compositional motif throughout Sargent's maritime watercolors, including *Low Tide at Cancale Harbor* (1878) (fig. 4.28) and *La Dogana* (1907) (fig. 4.29). As with *Sketching on the Giudecca, Venice* (fig. 4.23) and many other works, the city is seen only through the masts and riggings of moored water crafts. The obstructed, fragmentary view resists the viewer's desire to equate Sargent's ports and harbors with the nineteenth-century *vedute* that preceded them. These tangled assortments of boats obscure the viewer's sense of place, while assuring him or her of the familiar, homogenous optical sensation of a port city.

For both Sargent and Zorn, the choice to depict with such frequency these unmoored seascapes and maritime views marks an active departure from the national traditions with which they were so frequently placed in dialogue. In nineteenth-century American painting, for example, the relationship between landscape views, principally the majestic mountains and wilderness of the American West, and national identity pervaded discussions of what constitutes American art.<sup>415</sup> In the contemporaneous, burgeoning era of

<sup>415</sup> See, for example, Angela Miller's investigation of the relationship between American landscape painting and nationalism. Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Swedish National Romanticism, meanwhile, landscape painting celebrated the relationship between regional identity and *stämming*, the poetic, melancholy treatment of one's natural surroundings. Sargent and Zorn's maritime *capricci*, or fantasy scenes, to the contrary, incorporate recognizable buildings in arrangements not meant to be topographically accurate and foreground indistinguishable boats clustered in identical harbors, even as their loose, gestural appearance may suggest a trustworthy record of a particular moment.

These erasures—of landmarks, of labor, of local signifiers—eliminate the need to negotiate cultural difference in visual imagery.<sup>416</sup> On a technical level, the use of reductive devices was a central aspect of both artists' watercolor practice. Technical analysis of Sargent's watercolors beyond *Unloading Plaster* has revealed the way in which he created images through a process of selective blotting, reworking, and scraping. While the page was still wet, he would selectively lift parts of the wash with a sponge, rag, or blotter. If the page had dried, he would rework parts of the composition with water. Both of these methods left "veil-like traces of pigment" and gave the watercolors an "atmospheric luminosity."<sup>417</sup>

Marjorie Shelley's detailed analysis of Sargent's technique confirms this process:

It is not known how frequently Sargent reworked his watercolors, for the end result was meant to give the illusion of swift improvisation. However, the alternating processes of wetting and drying, subtracting and rewashing, masking and revealing would have given him the opportunity to capitalize on accidents, make revisions, or change course.<sup>418</sup>

<sup>416</sup> Social and cultural historians like Dr. Brad Beaven have sought to correct this erasure by focusing on the neglected history of port town communities and sailors ashore, specifically the sailortown district of London's Ratcliffe Highway in the nineteenth century. See Brad Beaven, Karl Bell, and Robert James, eds., *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront, c. 1700–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>417</sup> Marjorie Shelley, "Materials and Techniques," in Stephanie L. Herdrich and H. Barbara Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 22.

<sup>418</sup> Shelley, 30.

Through these erasures, rewashings, subtractions, and maskings, Sargent and Zorn's cosmopolitan facture not only reveals the impact of their mobile practices but also their technical process of standardization and control. These features of Sargent and Zorn's maritime imagery become more striking when considered in relation to a longer history of harbor and sea pictures in nineteenth-century French painting, particularly those of the French impressionists.

*Points of Departure: The Port and the Harbor*

Of all the impressionists, only Edgar Degas crossed the Atlantic. While many French artists engaged with the harbor theme in the late nineteenth century, the vast majority of these scenes—for example the works of Claude Monet, Berthe Morisot, and Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic—remain anchored to the shore and conventional in their perspective. Likewise, the transient network of painters with whom Sargent and Zorn are most often placed in dialogue—Joaquín Sorolla, Peder Severin Krøyer, and William Merritt Chase—painted maritime images in order to emphasize the specificity of their local landscapes. For Krøyer, this meant focusing on his home in Skagen, the picturesque artist colony where the Baltic and North Seas meet. Other ocean studies by artists painting en plein air echo this rootedness to the particularity of location—for example William Merritt Chase's exploration of American ports, specifically those in Brooklyn, NY, through scenes like *Harbor Scene, Brooklyn Docks*, 1886 or *Woman on a Dock*, 1886. Sorolla's maritime series visualized Valencia's local fishing culture, as seen in paintings like *Boats in the Port, Valencia*, 1904 and *Fishing Boats, Port of Zarauz*, 1910.

In France, long before the impressionists, there were artists who focused on local coastal towns, especially those in Brittany and Normandy. Eugène Boudin devoted his career

to this genre of painting, producing works which recorded the fishing industries in French harbor towns and were sold as souvenirs to tourists. Likewise, Claude Monet focused on Le Havre, a major port in the Normandy region where the Seine meets the English Channel, which was embedded in his childhood and personal history.<sup>419</sup> His interest in this site may also reflect its symbolic resonance following France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. The port, as a thriving urban center, carried symbolic weight as it exemplified France's postwar regeneration.

Placing Sargent and Zorn's ports side by side, one sees how the impact of transatlantic journeys, and the contingency of this travel, undergirded their careers. Deviating from the infrequent, easily identified port scenes of his contemporaries, Sargent painted over thirty seascapes and ports in oil and watercolor between 1874 and 1879 alone.<sup>420</sup> The locations of very few of these scenes, however, can be positively identified. Three such topographically elusive examples from this era, *Port Scene II* (fig. 4.30), *Boats in Harbor I* (fig. 4.31), and *Boats in Harbor II* (fig. 4.32) depict strikingly vacant, silent views of unidentified, seaside sites. *Port Scene II* foregrounds a brightly lit street by the water. The structure on the canvas's right, with its prominent doorway, dramatic foreshortening, whitewashed façade, and slanting roofline, rather than offering clues to a local site, foreshadows the compositional structure of Sargent's subsequent Moroccan series, specifically *Moorish Buildings in Sunlight* (fig. 2.13, which may have been inspired by the geometry of this particular port scene. Notably, while ports were historically active, noisy sites of commerce and

<sup>419</sup> For more on Monet's depictions of Le Havre see Géraldine Lefebvre, *Monet au Havre. Les années décisives* (Vanves: Hazan, 2016)

<sup>420</sup> Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 6, *Venetian Figures and Landscapes, 1898–1913* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2009), 60.

movement, this, as so many of Sargent's ports, is quiet and empty, in spite of the many ships painted in silhouette on the scene's left.

*Boats in Harbor I*, an oil on panel painted with monochrome hues of grey and brown, was given by Sargent to Kenyon Cox, the American painter and writer. The scene depicts the receding diagonal of a wharf and a warehouse with arched doorways. On the dock basin, three figures, barely discernable in the background, appear to load barrels of wine or oil into the sailing vessel but do not function as the focal point of the composition.<sup>421</sup> In fact, it is difficult to discern anything about their identities. This iteration of the painted wharf, created on a thin, portable wood panel, like *Port Scene II*, parallels the formal elements of Sargent's contemporaneous architectural studies in Morocco (c. 1879–80), including *White Walls in Sunlight, Morocco* (fig. 4.33) and the receding diagonal façade and open doorways (a repeating, mobile shape) in his later painting *Moroccan Street* (1890–95) (fig. 4.34). *Boats in Harbor II*, a nearly identical, though simplified, composition, was painted in watercolor with a brighter palette, additional arched openings, and white highlights. In these landscapes, as with his portraiture, Sargent conflates times and places, memory and invention, by deploying and redeploying familiar motifs.

In the early twentieth century, Sargent returned to the port and its aesthetic pattern of curving hulls, vertical bowsprits, and twisting ropes. *In a Levantine Port* (fig. 4.35)—a study of light and shadow, crisscrossing hulls and masts, again offers no particularities of location. Sargent's deft brushstrokes create layered reflections of light and water, blues and whites, which project onto the hull of the ship. As one reviewer for the *Morning Post* wrote on June 1, 1908, "A vast amount of knowledge and calculation must have gone to the performance

<sup>421</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 4, 130.

of so complicated a process with such ease and swiftness.”<sup>422</sup> Even the title—a Levantine port—suggests an expansive geographical scope encompassing the large area of land in the Eastern Mediterranean. Although likely inspired by his Middle Eastern travels c. 1905–6, Sargent eliminates any views of distinctive landmarks. This serial exploration of the port echoes Zorn’s consistent compositional choices in his corresponding series. The foggy ambiguity of Sargent’s *Venice, Sailing Boat* (fig. 4.36), for example, shares with Zorn’s 1881 *Picture of Stockholm* (fig. 4.37) a hazy, indistinct skyline, a cluster of small boats, and a loose, translucent wash of pigment in the foreground, suggesting the viewer’s perspective from the shore.

Zorn creates spaces that, through their perspective, invite embodied perception even while they emphasize a general, shared experience of travel versus an individual moment. The maritime series he completed between 1890 and 1891, when he was based in Hamburg, Germany, exemplify this tension between a particular place and his creation of a consistent, aesthetic type. Alfred Lichtwark, the young director of the Hamburger Kunsthalle in these years, commissioned a number of artists to paint the city, especially its quaysides.<sup>423</sup> Zorn, recommended perhaps by his friend Max Liebermann, was one such artist personally invited by Lichtwark to paint the city. He described the experience in his autobiographical notes: “It was freezing out there on the Kaiserhöft, but interesting to paint this sea of mud posing as water, the big and small steamers, the smoke, soot and fog.”<sup>424</sup> Scholars have noted, however, the lack of geographical specificity in the ensuing paintings and have explained that

<sup>422</sup> Quoted in Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 7, *Figures and Landscapes, 1900–1907* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2012), 83.

<sup>423</sup> Object file, Zorn Museum.

<sup>424</sup> Quoted in Per Hedström, “Omnibus,” in *Zorn’s Masterpieces*, ed. Johan Cederlund (Malmö: Arena), 100.

Zorn's series "works as a lyrical picture rather than a portrait of the harbour," though it was not exactly what the commissioner had in mind.<sup>425</sup> Five of these port studies (figs. 4.17 and 4.38–4.41) showcase the foggy, monochromatic port with various degrees of naturalism. In *Port of Hamburg* (fig. 4.17), a rowing figure in the foreground draws a viewer's attention while the steam and fog distort any coherent vision of a city skyline. Likewise, *Hamburg Port* (fig. 4.38) frames the scene from a reversed perspective with the same grey palette, foreground rower, and distant steamship. Zorn's more abstract depictions of this space (figs. 4.39–4.41) emphasize the delicate mix of fog, steam, smoke, water, and sky that coalesce on the painted surface and offer a foil to Max Liebermann's later, figural scene of Alster (fig. 4.42), a right tributary of the Elbe river in Hamburg, which highlights leisure, dining, merriment, and local culture. Zorn's painting *Från Skeppsbrokajen* (fig. 4.43), which pictures a quay in central Stockholm, parallels the compositional structure of *Port of Hamburg* (fig. 4.39) with its emphasis on a central freighter, reflecting water, and vertical masts, grey palette, and ambiguous urban environs. His nocturne *Hamburg Port* (fig. 4.41), with its silver light, obscuring shadows, and silhouetted boats, echoes Sargent's similarly dark, monochromatic exploration of a wharf scene at night (fig. 4.44).

Neither Sargent nor Zorn afford their viewer the satisfaction of an easily recognizable site. Instead, we jump from port to port, from boat deck to boat deck, floating in the ambiguous space of the sea or gazing upon yet another anonymous collection of boats in a harbor. It is the moments of "in betweenness" that they choose to venerate in their fragmented views. Here, the selection of the space of the port is key. Just as a ship navigates between East and West, North and South, so too do port cities function as theoretical sites

<sup>425</sup> Hedström, 100.

of connection. In sociological research, such as Ulrich Beck's writings on mobility and cosmopolitanism, the port is conceptualized as one of the many "networks of mobility" (others include airports and road systems) that inform cosmopolitan society and the process of globalization.<sup>426</sup> Port cities, especially colonial port cities, have been studied as "hinges," spaces of commercial exchange and trade, points of arrival and departure, sites of border control, and points of reentry from temporary exile.<sup>427</sup> Likewise, they have been categorized by historians of imperialism as both "emblems of cosmopolitanism at the interstices of flows of capital, people, and ideas" and as "anchor points within larger tourist circuits (connecting the littoral dots on a map so to speak)."<sup>428</sup> Non-Western ports in the nineteenth century propagated an experience of "elite exoticism" where Western travelers could experience a glimpse of an unfamiliar culture from a "safe" distance and for a predetermined amount of time during a scheduled stopover.<sup>429</sup> As Sargent and Zorn engaged with these spaces—sites that controlled global flows of information and where concepts like "home" and "away" dissolved—their paintings echo a vision of the port as a liminal place that operates outside of time and space.

As sites of modern transportation and commerce, the ports both insist on their timelessness and yet remain fundamentally entangled with the contemporaneous export of

<sup>426</sup> Ulrich Beck, "Mobility and the Cosmopolitan Perspective," in *Tracing Mobilities: Towards a Cosmopolitan Perspective*, ed. Weert Canzler, Vincent Kaufmann, and Sven Kesselring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 33.

<sup>427</sup> Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2007), 77; and Pamila Gupta, "Consuming the Coast: Mid-Century Communications of Port Tourism in the Southern African Indian Ocean," *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo* 12, no. 35 (2015): 151.

<sup>428</sup> Sujit Sivasundaram, "Towards a Critical History of Connection: The Port of Colombo, the Geographical 'Circuit,' and the Visual Politics of New Imperialism, ca. 1880–1914," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59, no. 2 (April 2017): 346; and Gupta, 151.

<sup>429</sup> For more on the concept of "elite exoticism," see Gordon Pirie, "Elite Exoticism: Sea-Rail Cruise Tourism to South Africa, 1926–1939," *African Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (June 2011): 73–99.



standard, uniform time. Ports, situated on the edges of empires that rely on universalizing time reform, regulated timetables, and timed departures, bring this temporal tension into sharp relief, even as they remain suspended in the interstices of geographical and national identity. Sargent and Zorn's portscapes navigate these tensions as they generated a shared visual experience of travel and codified the maritime encounter as something coherent and unified.

What's more, by framing the port and the harbor as fragments, as opposed to panoramic views, both Sargent and Zorn stress the sameness and consistency of these particular urban spaces and concretize a shared geographical imaginary. Through their construction of a unified seascape aesthetic, Sargent and Zorn depart from the touristic view and mirror the lived experience of the artist-traveler, a separate, privileged class of traveler. Paul Fisher's discussion of Isabella Stewart Gardner's travel albums provides a useful corollary to Sargent and Zorn's interchangeable port scenes. Just as her "cut-and-paste travel albums and notebooks visually and spatially traced her subversive itineraries," Sargent and Zorn's art of travel "became a pivotal performance, a crucial means of 'world making' and self-fashioning."<sup>430</sup>

While twentieth-century touristic scenes were a direct outgrowth of earlier imperial views by professional artists as well as the widespread appeal of the picturesque, Sargent and Zorn's cosmopolitan facture serves as an alternative vision—the product of their frequent transnational movement. When discussing their fragmented scenes of ambiguous ports and ship decks, it is impossible to ignore the pervading presence of routes and networks that

<sup>430</sup> Paul Fisher, "Isabella Stewart Gardner's 'Barbarous Barbaro': Fenway Court as Exilic Map and Liberation Cartography," in *Cartographies of Exile: A New Spatial Literacy*, ed. Karen Elizabeth Bishop (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 134-135.

organized the logistics of fin-de-siècle artistic practice.<sup>431</sup> The idea of a route as a fixed trajectory between places, however, is not neutral. Instead, such “connectivity talk” supports an ideology that sought to export Western systems of organization, remaking the world in a normative mold. Assembling Sargent and Zorn’s fragmented views of port cities and examining them as a series reveals a remarkably standardized vision of a harmonious, familiar, Western world and exposes the artists’ participation in the “complex spatiality of empire.”<sup>432</sup> Indeed, Sargent and Zorn were not immune to the seductive force of homogenization and what Vanessa Ogle has described as “the vision of the nineteenth-century global village united in uniform time.”<sup>433</sup> We must be conscious, therefore, of our use of the term “connection,” in light of its historical implications at the fin de siècle, which connotes both linkages and boundedness, connection and disconnection, depending on one’s identity.<sup>434</sup> For Sargent and Zorn, these images of ports and harbors do not capture precise topographies of empire but rather demonstrate how the conceit of empire in the late nineteenth century connects to a shared cosmopolitan imaginary at a formal level—one distinct from the sublime Romanticism, picturesque vistas, or state-sponsored coastal views that permeated the art of the British empire in the first half of the century.<sup>435</sup> The idea of

<sup>431</sup> See, for example, Bruno Latour’s Actor-Network-Theory. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>432</sup> David Lambert and Alan Lester, “Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects,” in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>433</sup> Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time: 1870–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 204.

<sup>434</sup> “Connections can channel, mesmerise and displace. A self-reflexive critique of the word, ‘connection’, highlights the need to twin linkage with boundedness in moving further with it.” See Sivasundaram, “Towards a Critical History of Connection,” 347.

<sup>435</sup> Examples of this earlier, imperial maritime genre include the landscape paintings of Royal Academy artists like William Hodges (1744–1797) and John Webber (1751–1793), who served as official artists on James Cook’s journeys around the Pacific.

empire in this later era of New Imperialism—a moment more concerned with Western control than with national achievement—unites geographically dispersed places of connection and reimagines them through the lens of a standardized Westernization. In this sense, Sargent and Zorn’s ocean studies, ports, and harbors, provided the visual equivalent to the language of “connectivity talk” espoused by the proponents of standard time. Although they purported a naturalistic standardization, their constructed images, in reality, transposed an idealized vision onto local culture—a cosmopolitan facture complicit within an imperial project.

### *Binding Agents*

In spite of their constant movement between artistic communities and across national borders, Sargent and Zorn’s artistic materials remained strikingly consistent. A receipt from George Squire in London (fig. 4.45) records the pigments, tracing paper, palettes, and frames Zorn purchased in 1884—an indicative cross section of his favored pigments and supplies. Other suppliers on which he relied included Winsor & Newton Ltd. (London), George Rowney & Co. Ltd. (London), H. Schmincke & Co. (Munich), Pigment-Dupont (Paris), M. H. Hartmann Artist Materials (New York), and Wilhelm Becker (Stockholm).<sup>436</sup>

Watercolor paints gathered from Sargent’s studio after his death represent a similarly consistent array of Western manufacturers from urban centers such as J. Newman (London), Winsor & Newton (London), George Rowney & Co. Ltd. (London), F. Weber & Company

<sup>436</sup> This information was gathered based on sketchbooks, paint tubes, and ephemera found in the Zorn Museum, Mora.

(Philadelphia), Joseph Hatfield (Boston), and H. Schmincke & Co. (Munich).<sup>437</sup> As with Zorn, this specific selection both reflects Sargent's travels around the United Kingdom, Europe, and the United States as well as his allegiance to particular shops and suppliers. Since cost was of no concern, Sargent typically selected the highest quality, most textured sheets of wove paper on which he composed his watercolor paintings. Technical surveys of his oeuvre reflect his particular preference for J. Whatman papers, known for their durability and quality, which were robust enough for Sargent's physical manipulation of the pigment through his wiping and scraping.<sup>438</sup> Indeed, close analysis of his watercolor papers in raking light reveal the paper's tooth, which adds dimension to layers of translucent wash. Recent analysis of Zorn's materials confirms his preference for Whatman papers as well.<sup>439</sup> While watermarks on Sargent's watercolors reveal that the majority were purchased from the Whatman paper mill, others were produced at the Arnold & Foster paper mill. We also know that Sargent likely bought his papers in blocks—a pile of prestretched sheets glued together at the edge with a fabric fastener.<sup>440</sup>

By following supply chains, the recent turn towards materiality in art history affords scholars the opportunity to consider painting in terms of economic globalization and borderless artistic production. Scholars such as Ann-Sophie Lehmann, following Bruno Latour's writings on materialization, have convincingly asserted that materials cannot be

<sup>437</sup> Broadway et al., "Mastery of Materials," 188.

<sup>438</sup> Broadway et al., 184.

<sup>439</sup> Many thanks to Emma Jansson, a technical art historian at Stockholm University, for providing this information.

<sup>440</sup> Annette Manick and Antoinette Owen, "Bringing Back Something Fine," in Erica E. Hirshler et al., *John Singer Sargent Watercolors*, with contributions by Karen Sherry, Janet Chen, and Connie H. Choi (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts / Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 2013), 207.

separated from representation.<sup>441</sup> In fact, the material presence of art objects carry with them critical historical and context-bound information.

The recent study of Sargent's watercolor practice by technical art historians and conservators has also revealed the unexpected, perhaps accidental, infiltration of mixed media in his paintings. When creating multiple works in a single day, Sargent would often interweave his wet paintings with sheets of newspaper for protection. In *Tarragona Terrace and Garden* (fig. 4.46), a scene of a courtyard arcade painted during a trip to Spain, fragments from a Spanish newspaper stuck to the painting's surface where the thickly applied paint had not fully dried. Infrared reflectography enhances the legibility of the newspaper's text, which was embedded throughout the composition (fig. 4.47).<sup>442</sup> This penetration of pieces of a Spanish periodical into Sargent's watercolor practice—a practice innately tied to his mobility and travel motifs—harks back to Benedict Anderson's conception of the nineteenth-century newspaper as a “technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation”—a system which formed “imagined linkages” amongst disconnected events and provided readers with a constructed world view—a linear, “steady onward clocking” of events in time.<sup>443</sup> Sargent's use of the newspaper signals his participation in its ritualized function, while his repurposing of the printed page, absorbing it within his mobile art work, takes it outside of standard time.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>441</sup> Ann-Sophie Lehmann, “The Matter of the Medium: Some Tools for an Art-Theoretical Interpretation of Materials,” in *The Matter of Art: Materials, Technologies, Meanings 1200–1700*, ed. Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 21.

<sup>442</sup> Mary Broadway, “Hidden Materials in John Singer Sargent's Watercolors,” *Art Institute Blog*, Art Institute of Chicago, August 1, 2018, <http://www.artic.edu/articles/705/hidden-materials-john-singer-sargents-watercolors>.

<sup>443</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

<sup>444</sup> Peter Putnis, “News, Time and Imagined Community in Colonial Australia,” *Media History* 16, no. 2 (2010): 167.

Technical research on Sargent's watercolor production at the Art Institute of Chicago has also revealed his frequent use of a product known as gum water, a solution of gum arabic in water. Gum arabic, a popular binding medium for watercolor and gouache paintings, originates from several *Acacia* species, such as the *Acacia senegal* and *Acacia seyal* tree, and has been used by artists for centuries due to its relatively low cost and water-solubility. This dried sap has immense commercial value as a global commodity since there is no substitute among synthetic additives. It was most often harvested in Africa and Western Asia, specifically Senegal and Sudan.

By adding gum to his watercolors, Sargent could dilute the concentration of pigment particles in the paint, control its viscosity, and maintain an even wash of color. The Winsor & Newton Archive of 19th Century Artists' Materials includes a precise recipe for gum water, written in 1893, that describes the solution's "decided opalescence" once the gum begins to dissolve in warm water.<sup>445</sup> A pigment with added gum would retain a high gloss, even after it dried.<sup>446</sup> Although there were some variations to the gum water recipe artists used, technical investigations have confirmed that, by the early twentieth century, gum arabic was used as the sole binder in watercolor painting as it was the finest and least colored, while other gums were used for purposes as diverse as gilding and calico-printing.<sup>447</sup> Although there has yet to be a comprehensive technical analysis conducted of Zorn's extant watercolor palettes and paint tubes, conservators agree that Zorn's use of gum water was likely,

<sup>445</sup> Winsor & Newton Archive of 19th Century Artists' Materials, 1893, Hamilton Kerr Institute, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, <https://winsorandnewton.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/>.

<sup>446</sup> Broadway et. al., "Mastery of Materials," 195–96.

<sup>447</sup> Bronwyn A. Ormsby et al., "British Watercolour Cakes from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century," *Studies in Conservation* 50, no. 1 (2005): 57.

especially given the two artists' shared suppliers, such as Winsor & Newton, which maintained a reputation for high standards and quality products.<sup>448</sup>

The history of plant gums, and their importation into Europe, ties the physical matter of Sargent and Zorn's watercolor practice to imperial anxieties during the first wave of globalization c. 1870–1914. It also recovers gum arabic as an active agent in the process of transnational art making, since the Scramble for Africa—the occupation, division, and colonization of African territory by European powers between 1881 and 1914—coincided with Sargent and Zorn's maritime series. On December 31, 1892, an article in *Scientific American* explained the consequences of “the disturbances in inner Africa” which had “made good gum rare and expensive.”<sup>449</sup> Due to this scarcity, inferior gum substitutes were entering Europe, causing some anxiety about their dispersal by colormen throughout the region.<sup>450</sup> For an artist like Sargent, concerned with the quality of his pigments, this would have posed a problem. As an imperial import from colonies, the export and cost of gum was closely monitored and widely discussed. On August 4, 1905, the *Journal of the Society of Arts* reported on recent developments in the gum trade:

The trade in gum Arabic from the Sudan shows an enormous increase during the last few months, while the price is very low. During the insurrection in the Sudan and while its markets were closed, gum was unobtainable from that region, but in the wake of conquest it began to be shipped again in large quantities from Kordofan, and the high price that had been obtained soon dropped.<sup>451</sup>

<sup>448</sup> I anticipate that Emma Jansson's forthcoming dissertation at Stockholm University, “Anders Zorn: A Technical Study,” will offer more empirical evidence on this matter.

<sup>449</sup> “Gum Arabic,” *Scientific American* 67, no. 27 (December 31, 1892): 421.

<sup>450</sup> The term “colorman” was used throughout the nineteenth century to denote individuals who sold and prepared artist's paints.

<sup>451</sup> “Gum Arabic from the Sudan,” *Journal of the Society of Arts*, no. 2750 (August 4, 1905): 950.

This report also tracked the commodity's journey from where it was gathered in the forests of the Sudan, to Omdurman, where it was packed, weighed, and forwarded to Cairo or another port.<sup>452</sup> The global movement and dissemination of these materials suggests the ways in which the British colonization of the Sudan affected the materiality of the maritime watercolor series—a series that valorizes and celebrates the maritime throughways and trade routes that controlled the global economy. In spite of its prevalence in the discourse of art making, gum plants have received very little attention from historians or art historians.

Gum water was not the only artistic material, however, implicated within and affected by imperial trade routes. Natural indigo, an organic compound from the tropical plant *Indigofera*, was imported from India, a British colony, to London and Liverpool throughout the late nineteenth century. Due to the British monopoly on the indigo trade, the dark blue color was quite expensive and led chemists elsewhere in Europe to create a synthetic version of the same pigment. The full-scale manufacture of synthetic indigo began in 1897, and prompted substantial price decreases in the natural product.<sup>453</sup> This, in turn, led to the pigment's politicization as the British government aimed to defend the market. When synthetic indigo overtook the sale of the natural product c. 1900, the indigo plantations of India suffered and increased the vulnerability of the British trade monopoly at the turn of the century. When, in the mid-nineteenth century a commission was established to assess the

<sup>452</sup> "The gum exported from these countries did not reach Britain directly. It went by caravan to Tripoli where it was sorted, graded and then shipped to Trieste and Bordeaux where further grading was done. From Bordeaux and Trieste it was re-exported to Britain at a good profit to the dealers." See E. O. Egboh, "The Nigerian Gum Arabic Industry: A Study in Rural Economic Development Under the Colonial Régime (1897–1940)," *Présence Africaine*, n.s., no. 108 (1978): 94.

<sup>453</sup> Prakash Kumar, "Plantation Indigo and Synthetic Indigo: European Planters and the Redefinition of a Colonial Commodity," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 58, no. 2 (2016): 410.



conditions of the dye's production, the commissioner, E. W. L. Tower, noted that "not a chest of Indigo reached England without being stained with human blood."<sup>454</sup>

As with gum arabic and natural indigo, Indian yellow—an orange-yellow pigment used with some frequency by Sargent—relied on the exploitation of nonwhite labor and became a contested material in the colonial economy.<sup>455</sup> Known also as purree or piuri, this pigment was reported to come from the dried urine of cows fed solely mango leaves and water.<sup>456</sup> The primary market for the pigment was in Europe, where it had been popular since the eighteenth century and praised for its "fineness in conveying the subtleties of skin colors."<sup>457</sup> Specifically, the rich tones of Indian yellow allowed imperial European artists to visually document the expanse of the empire by recording darker-skinned inhabitants. After their transport from India to Europe, the balls of pigment were "washed, purified, and formed into yellow tablets to be used as a base for oil paint or watercolor."<sup>458</sup> In 1891, one cake or tube of Indian yellow cost one and sixpence. This relatively high cost excluded many modern painters from regularly including it in their palettes and suggests the privileged status of those who could afford to benefit from the imperial trade.

Just as the binding agent gum arabic controlled the viscosity of Sargent's watercolors, so too did his representations of the port control the aesthetic of western connectivity.

<sup>454</sup> Rev. James Long, *Strike, but Hear! Evidence Explanatory of the Indigo System in Lower Bengal* (Calcutta: R. C. Lepage, 1861), 68.

<sup>455</sup> Manick and Owen, "Bringing Back Something Fine," 208. The records on Zorn's watercolor pigments are, unfortunately, incomplete and unreliable.

<sup>456</sup> "[Mukharji's] report, published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* in 1883, is the only 'first-hand' account of the production of Indian yellow, and was thought to be the end of the mystery regarding the origin of the pigment." See Rebecca Ploeger and Aaron Shugar, "The Story of Indian Yellow—Excreting a Solution," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 24 (March–April 2017): 192.

<sup>457</sup> Bailkin, 202.

<sup>458</sup> Bailkin, 204.

Indeed, Sargent and Zorn's collective series can be understood as a visual embodiment of fin-de-siècle Western uniformity, as their scenes not only depict a standard conception of an uninhabited portscape but also were composed with the same six or seven standard colors from the same cohort of artistic suppliers.<sup>459</sup> These commercially prepared, portable paint sets and prestretched paper blocks facilitated a mobile painting career. While this type of artistic standardization was not deployed as an overt tool of militarized imperial expansion, it still owes a debt to imperial geography. The standardization of time and place—the ports that exist in the same imagined, fragmented landscape—echo the function of gum arabic, which similarly controls a viscous medium. Finally, Sargent and Zorn's shared materials, purchased in Western capitals from the same network of artistic suppliers, ensured a standardized aesthetic regardless of physical location. At the same time, Sargent's wariness of synthetic pigments buttressed the imperial economy by placing a demand on natural pigments from the British colonies.<sup>460</sup>

### *Imperial Portraiture*

When Sargent first exhibited at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours (later known as the Royal Watercolour Society) in 1904, critics responded to his paintings positively, often using the rhetoric of vitality and strength to characterize their successful

<sup>459</sup> Birge Harrison noted in 1909 that Zorn used only white, black, vermilion, and yellow ochre to paint his portraits. See Lance Mayer and Gay Myers, *American Painters on Technique: 1860–1945* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), 48. Sargent and Zorn's fear of chemical changes in their pigments during an era of synthetic pigment production incited their loyalty to specific pigments and suppliers.

<sup>460</sup> The tube watercolors found in John Singer Sargent's Boston studio in 1925 were mostly English and European imports, with a few American brands. Sargent's preference for English and European suppliers was likely due to their resistance to synthetic pigments. See Rebecca Pollak, "Flash in the Pan: A History of Manufacturing Watercolor Pigments in America," in Kathleen A. Foster, *American Watercolor in the Age of Homer and Sargent*, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 385.

appearance. In the *Westminster Gazette*, critics noted how “the vehement vitality and swift assurance of his sketches reduce their immediate neighbours on the wall to paper in a curious way.”<sup>461</sup> A *London Times* reviewer likewise wrote that his sketches were “so strong and masterly that their neighbours find it difficult to hold their own beside them.”<sup>462</sup> Using the language of dominance, critics noted how Sargent exercised control over his medium—one known for its relative autonomy and impulsiveness: “The seeming carelessness of touch is really controlled by the most correct judgment and by the acutest perception of relations of tone and colour.”<sup>463</sup> This rhetorical anxiety about control pervades the historical debates about colonial power and its reach, and infiltrates Sargent and Zorn’s contemporaneous formal portraiture of male imperial, military, and royal leaders.<sup>464</sup>

Sargent inscribed his Venetian watercolor, *The Libreria*, c. 1904, “to my friend.”<sup>465</sup> On its reverse he wrote more specifically: “to be sent to/ Sir Frank Swettenham/ Aberdunant/ Tremadoe/ North Wales.” The movement of Sargent’s sea pictures, given as gifts to broaden his network of influential patrons, once again indicates a kind of aesthetic currency with which he ingratiated himself to an imperially minded clientele.

<sup>461</sup> Quoted in Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, eds., *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 3, *The Later Portraits* (New Haven, CT: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 2003), 30.

<sup>462</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent: The Complete Paintings*, vol. 3, 30.

<sup>463</sup> Ormond and Kilmurray, 30.

<sup>464</sup> Andrew Stephenson explores Sargent’s portraits of imperial military men and British members of the nobility, including colonial administrators and bureaucrats, many of whom are pictured in regimental robes and official uniforms. By engaging with these portraits, Stephenson examines the semiotics of race and specifically aims to identify how “Sargent’s works were received differently in ‘white’ Europe and America.” Beyond this theorization of whiteness, however, Sargent and his work have been largely severed from imperial interests. See Andrew Stephenson, ““Wonderful pieces of stage management”: Reviewing Masculine Fashioning, Race, and Imperialism in John Singer Sargent’s British Portraits, c. 1897–1914” in *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, ed. Julie F. Codell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 237.

<sup>465</sup> Inscribed, upper right: “to my friend/Sir Frank Swettenham/John S. Sargent.”

Throughout the fin de siècle, Sargent painted a number of British military figures, colonial administrators, and imperial bureaucrats, including his aforementioned friend, *Sir Frank Swettenham* (fig. 4.48), a British colonial official in British Malaya. This portrait commemorated Swettenham's service, in particular his success controlling British policy and the structure of British administration in the Malay Peninsula. Carefully posed, Swettenham is shown surrounded by the spoils of his international career, primarily in the Far East. In the composition's left-hand corner, an oversized globe above cascading Malayan brocades emphasizes both imperial reach and the finery Swettenham gained as a result of his powerful role. Dressed in an impeccable white uniform, Swettenham leans against a chair, exuding authority, power, and wealth. His collection underscores his control of the space—the presence of souvenirs and curios of empire only assert his power over them. For some critics, however, Swettenham's portrait, particularly the excess on display, veered dangerously into Oriental commodity fetishism.<sup>466</sup>

Although they may seem like an incongruous pairing, the cosmopolitan facture of Sargent and Zorn's water images complements their imperial portraits. While one privileges a lightness of touch and lack of figural narrative, the other is densely painted and grounded in a single figure's likeness. And yet, by reexamining these portraits, which coincided with the artists' maritime watercolor practice, we can understand that these two series—in spite of their disparate scale, form, materials, and subjects—share a preoccupation with Western uniformity, in all its guises.

<sup>466</sup> One critic for *Art Journal* called it “a composition full of threatening accessories.” In a later version of this portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London, the cropping and arrangement of accessories was adjusted. See Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 253.

In Sargent's portrait of *Colonel Ian Hamilton* (fig. 4.49), the colonel and commander of the Third Brigade of the Tirah Expeditionary Force on the North-West Frontier of India, the sitter's confident, erect posture and glistening medals celebrate both his status and achievements. A critic for *Art Journal*, in fact, wrote in his 1899 review that "the picture might be labeled 'Imperialism.'" <sup>467</sup> A similar portrait, *The Earl of Dalhousie*, 1900 (fig. 4.50), was praised by the art critic Frank Rinder for its "masterly treatment of whites." <sup>468</sup> The whiteness of this figure, made even more palpable by his sunburnt forehead (save for a band of pale white on his upper forehead, which alludes to the contours of his pith helmet), complements his white costume and the white columns behind him. This figure, an Imperial consul posted to South Africa following the outbreak of the Second Boer War, served with the Second Battalion of the Scots Guards and was later named lieutenant. The Second Boer War, part of the struggle for power in South Africa, used the rhetoric of imperialism to justify a violent clash between British forces and the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State.

In spite of these portraits, Sargent's maintained a complex relationship to imperial concerns as an expatriate American artist. As Andrew Stephenson explains:

First, Sargent was not an imperialist, but was rather a liberal and a humanitarian. He had little sympathy for the militarist expansion of the British Empire between 1898 and 1914, especially for the South African War from 1899 to 1902. Like many of his American compatriots and along with many European and some British observers, Sargent saw the cruel treatment of Boer captives as an indictment of British imperial ruthlessness. It is revealing that in February 1900 Sargent donated his *Autumn on the River* (c. 1889) to the South African Relief Fund auction at Christie's to raise funds to help interned South African widows and children. <sup>469</sup>

<sup>467</sup> Quoted in Stephenson, "Wonderful pieces of stage management," 222.

<sup>468</sup> Quoted in Andrew Stephenson, "A keen sight for the sign of the races': John Singer Sargent, Whiteness and the Fashioning of Anglo-Performativity," *Visual Culture in Britain* 6, no. 2 (2005): 222.

<sup>469</sup> Stephenson, "Wonderful pieces of stage management," 235.

Sargent may have been “sensitive to ethnic and racial prejudice” with “complex and contradictory” views on race.<sup>470</sup> However, the power dynamics that were advanced by these portraits cannot be divorced from their relationship to the ideology of Western empire building. The uniformity of these portraits, which celebrate an imperial, masculine type, reaffirm a certain normative concept of Western superiority and control, even while taking issue with particular excesses or engagements. Just as Sargent’s ports underscore a hegemonic view of connected Western power and erase the presence of nonwhite labor, so too do his imperial portraits propagate an image of cleanliness, order, and control—the benefits of empire for a Western, male traveler. These projects reveal the conscious and unconscious ways in which art fostered empire.

Like Sargent, Zorn often completed portraits of high-ranking military officials and royal figures. His portraits of *Oscar II* (fig. 4.51) and *Prins Carl* (fig. 4.52) typify his comfortable position operating within an elite world of powerful patrons. *Oscar II* showcases the king of Sweden as Zorn knew him—not as a military operative but as a foreign dignitary and patron of the arts. The portrait, a study in blue and gold, fittingly echoes the colors of the Swedish flag. Although he does not wear his formal trappings or orders, Oscar maintains a dignified air through his formal, seated posture and opulent surroundings. With powerful sweeps of his brush, Zorn constructed this harmonious color study of the king enthroned. *Prins Carl*, Zorn’s portrait of Oscar II’s third son, offers a more conventional formal portrait of a military figure. Painted in 1898, the same year as the portrait of his father, the prince wears the light blue and white uniform of the *Lingardet*, a combined Swedish Army cavalry-infantry regiment to which he belonged, largely in a ceremonial manner. With one arm

<sup>470</sup> Stephenson, 235.

akimbo, Carl's alert posture imbues him with a commanding presence. His left hand, grasping his sword, also emphasizes his power and authority. The glistening gold accents of his uniform—the epaulettes, buttons, and royal medals—combined with his stiff collar and authoritative stance, create an unmistakable portrait of power, consistent in composition and pose with Sargent's portrait of Ian Hamilton.

Scholars of Nordic history have been reticent to acknowledge or take responsibly for the Nordic involvement in the colonialization and evangelization of the Congo. In a more general sense, the Nordic countries, unlike Great Britain, have never had to reckon with a critique of colonialism and, as such, have retained a self-image unmarred by a colonial legacy. While Nordic involvement was often subtle, it still propagated a hegemonic worldview and normalized the colonial ideology and status quo. Historian David Nilsson has conducted extensive research to revisit the active role of Sweden, particularly of King Oscar II, at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85. Swedish involvement, in fact, went beyond its participation in international trade. While King Leopold of Belgium initiated colonial expansion, the Scandinavian countries endorsed his actions in the Congo in 1885 and, of the Europeans who participated in Leopold's mission, Swedes were the third most numerous since many Swedish missionaries depended on Leopold's harsh administration. Some Swedes even bought slaves, which they kept at the mission stations.<sup>471</sup> Sweden, both culturally and economically, benefitted from the colonial system and participated in the production of Europe as the global center, even as their purported indirect involvement in colonial

<sup>471</sup> David Nilsson, *Sweden-Norway at the Berlin Conference 1884–85: History, National Identity-Making and Sweden's Relations with Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2013), 5.

expansion has allowed them to claim innocence within the larger narratives of colonial history.<sup>472</sup>

On January 4, 1885, Oscar accepted King Leopold's proposition that Sweden-Norway enter into trade agreements with the International Congo Association:

I am all the more eager to respond affirmatively to your request, as it gives me a new and welcome opportunity to support Your Majesty, whose civilising work is pursued with an admirable perseverance.<sup>473</sup>

This participation in, and endorsement of, Leopold's "civilizing" efforts in Africa, "fits into a longer ideological trend in which racial biology and social Darwinism gained a certain acceptance in political and scientific life in Sweden."<sup>474</sup> This ongoing discrimination against Swedish ethnic minorities, especially the Sámi people in Northern Sweden, lasted well into the 1930s. This Eurocentric ideology and tacit endorsement of what Rudyard Kipling called "The White Man's Burden" (1899) were also reflected in Swedish newspaper coverage of the Berlin Conference.<sup>475</sup>

The discursive colonialism on display through Sargent and Zorn's military and royal portraiture is made more resonant through a comparison to their maritime scenes. Like Sweden's indirect relationship to imperialism, one that benefitted from the colonial system without leading colonial efforts, Sargent and Zorn's subject matter, travel routes, and artistic materials affirmed Europe as the global center. Although they were not documenting

<sup>472</sup> Diana Brydon, Peter Forsgren, Gonlög Fur, eds. *Concurrent Imaginaries, Postcolonial Worlds: Toward Revised Histories* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 1. Recent studies have also addressed the history of Swedish presence in the Lapland as a form of colonial domination.

<sup>473</sup> Nilsson, *Sweden-Norway at the Berlin Conference 1884–85*, 26.

<sup>474</sup> Nilsson, 37.

<sup>475</sup> Nilsson, 37.



colonial expansion alongside colonists, their bodies of work were not insulated from colonial history.

While the notion of connection and exchange is not, in and of itself, imperialist, the depiction of ports and harbors—places imbued with imperial politics—and the uniformity with which Sargent and Zorn present diverse geographical locations, contribute to a homogenous vision of Western expansion. While their scenes are largely without people, this absence only further promotes an “unmarked” imaginary that contrasts the reality of nonwhite labor and mixed classes that would have populated such spaces. Although the centrality of the national paradigm in the late nineteenth century, particularly the emphasis upon Zorn’s scenes of Swedish daily life and folk culture, have effectively excluded the histories of Nordic colonial interactions, his indirect engagement with colonialism promotes an interconnected, homogenous Western world. While the early manifestation of imperialism in art, specifically eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century maritime scenes and seascapes, identified and asserted dominance over specific locations, the new imperialism of the *fin de siècle* accepted and promoted the triumph of Western uniformity.

Sargent’s late maritime scenes, such as *Captain Herbert M. Sears on the Deck of the Yacht Constellation*, 1924 (fig. 4.53) exude passive leisure in the contained space of a ship’s deck. In this painting, Sears leans comfortably against a mast in the center of the composition—his white shoes and white slacks contrasting with the rich mahogany of the yacht’s interior. As Sujit Sivasundaram has emphasized in his analysis of the Port of Colombo and the visual politics of New Imperialism: “As one moves from the 1880s to the 1910s, connection comes to seem more stable and racially hygienic.”<sup>476</sup> Sargent’s 1917 watercolor *Basin with Sailor, Villa*

<sup>476</sup> Sivasundaram, “Towards a Critical Theory of Connection,” 351.

*Vizcaya* (fig. 4.54) epitomizes this stable, “racially hygienic” vision of connection. The foreground of this Miami port scene does not showcase physical labor but rather inert whiteness—a familiar motif from earlier watercolors like *Unloading Plaster* (fig. 4.22). The thin sailor, his sharp features, and the immaculate whiteness of his crisp uniform reflect the cleanliness of the basin behind him. This figure could be interpreted as standing in for the artist himself, who likewise participates in the connectivity of the port from a comfortable distance. Unlike the earlier sailors Zorn drew in his sketchbook c. 1875, hastily-rendered agile bodies of unknown race, this sailor is a comfortable proxy for a white, male beholder’s conception of voyages by sea and the nonthreatening actors—young, white sailors, sea captains, and artists—who facilitate the connection between Western spaces.<sup>477</sup> These scenes of the 1910s and 1920s also conveniently exclude the African dockworkers and seafarers, mostly immigrants from the Belgian and French colonies, who labored on the docks and on steamships and would have populated many of these spaces.<sup>478</sup> Sargent and Zorn’s cosmopolitanism, their consistent use of imported pigments and supports, and their recurring compositional structures, homogenize and standardize the port as yet another “placeless place.” By doing so, they overlook, or purposefully erase, a different mode of cosmopolitanism—the active, ethnic diversity that characterized each of these spaces as sites of contact.

<sup>477</sup> Lasse Heerten and Daniel Tödt, “Some Reflections on Imperial Port Cities in the Age of Steam,” *Global Urban History* (blog), October 2016, <https://globalurbanhistory.com/2016/10/29/some-reflections-on-imperial-port-cities-in-the-age-of-steam/>. The workshop “Imperial Port Cities in the Age of Steam: Towards a Comparative History of Entanglements” was held from July 14–16, 2016, at the Center for Metropolitan Studies, Technische Universität Berlin.

<sup>478</sup> Daniel Tödt’s ongoing research project, “Imperial Port Cities—African Workers in Marseille and Antwerp (1880–1960)” considers the life and work of African workers in these port cities as their labor was entangled with colonialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

*“Glossy Placelessness”*

Sargent and Zorn’s maritime images, fashioned primarily in watercolor, do not glorify the singular instant, in spite of their varying speeds of execution. Returning to Sargent’s directive that his watercolors “only amount to anything when taken as a lot together,” we can understand their temporal register as one that falls, once again, between times. By eradicating local specificity from their images, these images neither assert a nationalist agenda consistent with the momentary qualities of French impressionism, like Monet’s depictions of the port of Honfleur, nor celebrate a timeless past, like the ancient ports of Turner, nor valorize the sublimity and tempestuous drama of the sea, like works by the Dutch masters. The subtle, Western imperialism they promote through systems of imagined linkage, such as the port or the steamship, is itself the product of an imperial context that favored the mobility of the elite, one manifestation of their cosmopolitan ambitions and lifestyles. Whereas the oil-painting projects discussed in previous chapters—Sargent’s *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* or Zorn’s *The Omnibus*—fuse multiple locations, integrating memories of past sites in order to create their own time and place, these maritime watercolors underscore the heterotopic dimensions of the sea and glorify a fictional world of atemporal connectivity. This tacit acceptance of, and participation in, a colonial ideology makes the airy, luminous watercolors take on a politicized undercurrent as their standardized aesthetic and their very pigments promote and propagandize imperial trade.

In contemporary culture, we see a twenty-first-century analog to Sargent and Zorn’s aestheticized placelessness in the global network of “live-work” spaces marketed to “digital nomads.”<sup>479</sup> A recent article in the *New York Times Magazine* investigated this phenomenon in

<sup>479</sup> Kyle Chayka, “When You’re a ‘Digital Nomad,’ the World is Your Office,” *New York Times Magazine*, February 8, 2018, MM26.

a profile of the company Roam, an international housing network targeted at a growing demographic of millennials who work remotely. Companies like Roam aim to standardize geographic dislocation for a group of entrepreneurs, programmers, freelancers, and tourists who prefer to remain both unmoored and comfortably insulated from the logistical hurdles of cultural immersion. The company's founder, Bruno Haid, has effectively marketed these spaces with his vision that "cities and countries today can be refashioned as backdrops behind a laptop screen to be swapped smoothly at will."<sup>480</sup> Whereas home ownership was once the true marker of success, geographic flexibility and mobility have now become alternate markers of status and privilege. Indeed, as the article concludes, "a glossy placelessness is part of Roam's core product."<sup>481</sup> Eliminating a sense of place entirely, these featureless spaces could indeed be anywhere. At the same time, their residents can maintain control within a nomadic bubble of privilege. The growth of a border-crossing, technology-driven economy has been encouraged by twenty-first-century globalism and neoliberal economic strategies. However, such a utopian "post geographical" world has direct parallels to the glamorous, postplace life celebrated by the sanitized, whitewashed ports, harbors, and ocean scenes of Sargent and Zorn. Their cosmopolitan mobility remains limited to their physical movement between defined, standardized, often unoccupied spaces in global cities. Returning to Sargent's *View from a Window, Genoa* (fig. 4.1), we can almost imagine Sargent's collapsible paint box and pigments in the foreground as his own kind of mobile devices, and the port below simply another backdrop "to be swapped smoothly at will."

<sup>480</sup> Chayka, MM26.

<sup>481</sup> Chayka, MM26.

## POSTSCRIPT

In the summer of 1914, John Singer Sargent painted with his friends Adrian and Marianne Stokes in the southern Tyrol. On July 28 of the same year, Austria declared war on Serbia, effectively beginning the First World War. Trapped without his passport, Sargent was forced to remain near Sankt Lorenzen until November, when he sorted out proper documentation at the American embassy in Vienna.<sup>482</sup> Anders Zorn's artistic output in the 1910s likewise reflected his compulsory isolation from international activity. In a letter to his wife, Emma, in 1914, Zorn lamented, "It is horrible that so many innocents shall suffer and starve."<sup>483</sup> Gerda Boëthius, who worked closely with Zorn as the first director of the Zorn Collections, noted the lasting impact of the war on his career:

The war compelled Zorn to alter his plans and the disposition of his time. Foreign travel was practically impossible. Bad communications and censorship of letters, the whole atmosphere drove Sweden into a period of isolation. The possibility of international exchange that had been the breath of life to Zorn since his early years was brutally shattered. As a matter of fact, the Zorns had intended altering their habits in so far as they, instead of traveling round to different places, intended to stay a few weeks once or twice a year in Paris or Rome, and possibly travel via England, and perhaps make a detour to North Africa and Spain. Now they were compelled to stay at home and it was only natural that they canalized their many interests.<sup>484</sup>

Moored to his hometown in Dalarna, Zorn shifted his attention to scenes of rustic life, exemplified by his 1914 canvas, *Dance in Gopsmor Cottage* (5.1)—a scene of revelry set in his rustic studio on the Österdal River. This new era of regulated borders and militarized national alliances, exemplified by Sargent's logistical woes in the Tyrol and Zorn's confinement to central Sweden, brought the casual, constant travel that had defined both

<sup>482</sup> Stephanie L. Herdrich and H. Barbara Weinberg, *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: John Singer Sargent*, with Marjorie Shelley (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 373.

<sup>483</sup> William Hagans and Willow Hagans, *Zorn in America: A Swedish Impressionism of the Gilded Age* (Chicago, IL: Swedish-American Historical Society), 2009.

<sup>484</sup> Gerda Boëthius, *Anders Zorn: Swedish Painter and World Traveler* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1961), 137.

artists' careers to an abrupt halt. It also affected the ease and regularity of transatlantic shipping, which in turn impacted their participation in international exhibitions and gallery shows.

Over the course of this dissertation, I have argued that the spatial and temporal conditions of pre-war, fin-de-siècle cosmopolitanism shaped the formal processes of John Singer Sargent and Anders Zorn from 1871, when Sargent began his artistic training at the Accademia delle Belle Arti, to 1915, when Zorn completed his final self-portrait and World War I curtailed both artists' travels. Through four related chapters, I have highlighted Sargent and Zorn's overlapping communities, exhibition venues, pictorial investments, geographical routes, and temporal anxieties. I have done so not to reduce them to a singular historical narrative or technical approach, but rather in order to consider the ways that chronic itinerancy, subjective memory production, and temporal instability informed both their intellectual disposition towards painting and the materiality of those painted surfaces. By putting at the forefront "cosmopolitan facture," my term for the way in which mobility at once opened onto and impinged upon artistic process, my study has emphasized the interconnected formal and temporal tensions that animated Sargent and Zorn's lives and painting practices.

While each chapter has addressed a discrete aspect of this "cosmopolitan facture" by reconciling the materiality of painted canvases, mobile sketchbooks, and watercolor vignettes with the artists' social and historical contexts, all four episodes emphasize a critical point: Sargent and Zorn's paintings do not record isolated incidents, singular locations, or precise, fleeting moments. Rather, I have shown that the cosmopolitan facture that links works like *Steamer Lisbon London* (4.3) and *Unloading Plaster* (4.22) registers Sargent and Zorn's sustained and iterative negotiations of time, place, matter, and memory. Chapter one mapped Sargent

and Zorn's biographical transnationalism and self-conscious construction of an emphatically global identity via portraits like *Hugo Reisinger* (fig. 1.19) and *Helen Sears* (1.37). These portraits, I argued, also functioned as tokens of artistic exchange and as sites of negotiation between multiple nations, artistic communities, and international industries—for instance, brewing and horticulture.

In chapter two, I demonstrated the uncanny correspondence between Sargent's "unusual interior portraits" and the intellectual history of the 1880s vis-à-vis the philosophy of Sargent's contemporary, William James. More specifically, I argued that a Jamesian concept of time offers a new way to understand the threshold spaces in paintings like *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife* (fig. 2.1) as archives of involuntary memories. These spatial disruptions which reappear throughout his series of interior portraits, often in the form of open doorways that cleave the composition, assert the disruptive urgency of an artist's recollections, particularly those associated with travel. Likewise, in chapter three, I addressed Zorn's relationship to modern life and the memory traces that take on physical form as they recur throughout his interconnected depictions of urban sidewalks, omnibus interiors, dancers, and ice skaters throughout the 1890s. Reuniting paintings like *Night Effect* (fig. 3.36) or *The Ice Skater* (fig. 3.53) with the related sketches and studies that informed their final form tells the story of Zorn's process as it unfolded between places—namely Sweden and France— and across time, unlike the impressionistic dedication to a standardized instant. Finally, as the fourth chapter reveals, cosmopolitan facture was not apolitical. Restaging Sargent and Zorn's maritime and port scenes as a series elucidates the potency of this motif as a device of aesthetic standardization. Not just an aesthetic subject, their ports also functioned as interlocking nodes within an imperial network. By resituating Sargent and Zorn in dialogue with one another, and by reexamining their corpora as a transnational,



interrelated series of sketches, studies, and exhibited works, I offer a new way of conceptualizing the relationship between painting practice, travel, and memory—one unique to this particular historical moment. The questions raised by this dissertation, however, are not limited to the two artists who anchor its pages.

As I have assessed the vectors of movement that animated Sargent and Zorn's careers, my framework resists the conventional reading of nineteenth-century artistic production in terms of national identity. This model could be expanded beyond the present scope of this project to further consider the colonialist implications of the "nation" and the ways in which, throughout the nineteenth century, national identity was deployed to displace and repress indigenous peoples. As Peter Kulchyski has usefully articulated, "One person's inclusive nationality is another person's appropriating, totalizing power."<sup>485</sup> Applying this method to a larger swath of painters, furthermore, has the potential to productively interrogate other cohorts of artist-travelers working in the same era and, by extension, to destabilize the conventions of nineteenth-century art history, particularly the centrality of Paris. As such, my work participates in a much larger conversation about transnational exchange and encounter and, in turn, speaks to the global shift in art history as a larger discipline.<sup>486</sup> Moreover, it is especially timely to think critically about terms like "cosmopolitan" or "global citizen" as they have been deployed both historically and in contemporary political discourse.

<sup>485</sup> Peter Kulchyski, "Canada and the Idea of North," *Études/Inuit/Studies*. Vol. 28 No. 1 (2004): 201.

<sup>486</sup> In recent years, curatorial and scholarly initiatives have begun to respond to this shift, especially within the sub-field of American art history. The Harvard Art Museum, for example, has reinstalled their collection of Western art according to theme or period *not* media or nation. Additionally, at the Smithsonian's "Shifting Terrains" symposium in 2016, Claudia Mattos-Avolesse suggested that the terms "national" and "international" be replaced with "local" and "global." These concepts reject artificially constructed geographic identities, but still allow scholars to explore tensions between groups of people or cultural traditions. Although they employ different methodologies, the textbooks *American Encounters* and *Framing America* concur that by embracing pluralism and diversity, it is impossible to create an encompassing narrative of American art or a singular definition of American identity.

The partisan backlash to cosmopolitanism in contemporary politics has manifested in a rhetoric of national exceptionalism throughout the United Kingdom, Europe and North America. For example, in October 2016, former British Prime Minister Theresa May's post-Brexit speech to the Conservative Party summoned the specter of cosmopolitanism as a threat to populist nationalism. More specifically, May presented Brexit as an act of sovereign defiance, a revolt against a cosmopolitan elite and the concept of global citizenship:

Today, too many people in positions of power behave as though they have more in common with international elites than with the people down the road, the people they employ, the people they pass on the street. But if you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere. You don't understand what citizenship means.<sup>487</sup>

May's divisive speech situates nationalism and cosmopolitanism at opposite ends of a static spectrum. Re-engaging with Sargent and Zorn's cosmopolitanism and its legacy means thoughtfully reconsidering the idea of a "global citizen." As we have seen, their bodies of work do not propagate utopian or unproblematic ideals, but rather the messy, lived experience of transnationalism. Interrogating the ways in which cosmopolitanism materializes on painted surfaces and in Sargent and Zorn's artistic practice allows for a reconsideration of these two canonical artists. Furthermore, as I have sought to illustrate, the cosmopolitanism of Sargent and Zorn did not negate their national citizenship. Rather, probing the limits of their internationalism and its impact on their art making makes space for the give-and-take of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, complicated further by their negotiation of national boundaries, subjective memory construction, durational artistic process, and translation of motifs across media.

<sup>487</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, "The Importance of Elsewhere; In Defense of Cosmopolitanism," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2019).

Sargent and Zorn died within five years of each other, Zorn in 1920 and Sargent in 1925. In the years that followed, temporal standardization was more smoothly regulated; travel by train and ship was likewise more predictable. At the same time, the archetype of the traveling portrait painter fell out of favor as modernism—exemplified by the famed Armory Show in 1913 and its celebration of abstraction—replaced Gilded Age portraiture and patronage. While this study has focused upon three lines of inquiry: time, facture, and mobility, it has also called for a revised assessment of two canonical late nineteenth-century artists by pushing back against their conventional categorization in either nationalistic or aesthetic terms. As I have demonstrated, the portraiture, scenes of modern life, and port scenes that dominated Sargent and Zorn's careers were also characterized by a durational, recursive artistic process, which unfolded in transit and between national borders. Set against the backdrop of unstable temporal conditions, their cosmopolitanism manifested as a formal problem that affected the very materiality of their painted canvases and led to works that occupy a liminal space between past and present, between nation and globe.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

**Figure 1.1**

Max Beerbohm, *31 Tite Street*, c. 1908



**Figure 1.2**

John Singer Sargent, *On His Holidays, Norway*, 1901

Oil on canvas, 137 x 244 cm., Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, UK, LL3136.



**Figure 1.3**

John Singer Sargent, *Henry James*, 1913

Oil on canvas, 85.1 x 67.3 cm., National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1767





**Figure 1.4**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Franz Heiss*, 1902  
Oil on canvas, 81 x 61.5 cm., Bukowskis





**Figure 1.5**

John Singer Sargent, *Auguste Rodin*, 1884

Oil on canvas, 72 x 53 cm., Rodin Museum, Paris, P.7341



**Figure 1.6**

Anders Zorn, *Auguste Rodin*, 1906

Etching, third state of three, 21 × 15.5 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.3.683



**Figure 1.7**

John Singer Sargent, *Isabella Stewart Gardner*, 1888

Oil on canvas, 190 x 80 cm., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P30W1



**Figure 1.8**

Anders Zorn, *Isabella Stewart Gardner in Venice*, 1894, 1894

Oil on canvas, 91 x 66 cm., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P17E10



**Figure 1.9**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Charles Deering*, 1893

Charcoal on ivory laid paper, 23.7 x 23.3 cm., Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1996.830





**Figure 1.10**

Anders Zorn, *Travelling Companion* (Mr. Charles Deering), 1904

Etching on ivory laid paper, 20 x 15 cm., Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1927.1963



**Figure 1.11**

John Singer Sargent, *Charles Deering at Brickell Point, Miami*, 1917  
Oil on canvas, 72.4 x 53.3 cm., Private collection, Chicago





**Figure 1.12**

John Singer Sargent, *Ramón Subercaseaux in a Gondola*, 1880

Oil on canvas, 47 x 63.5 cm., Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Memphis, TN020001





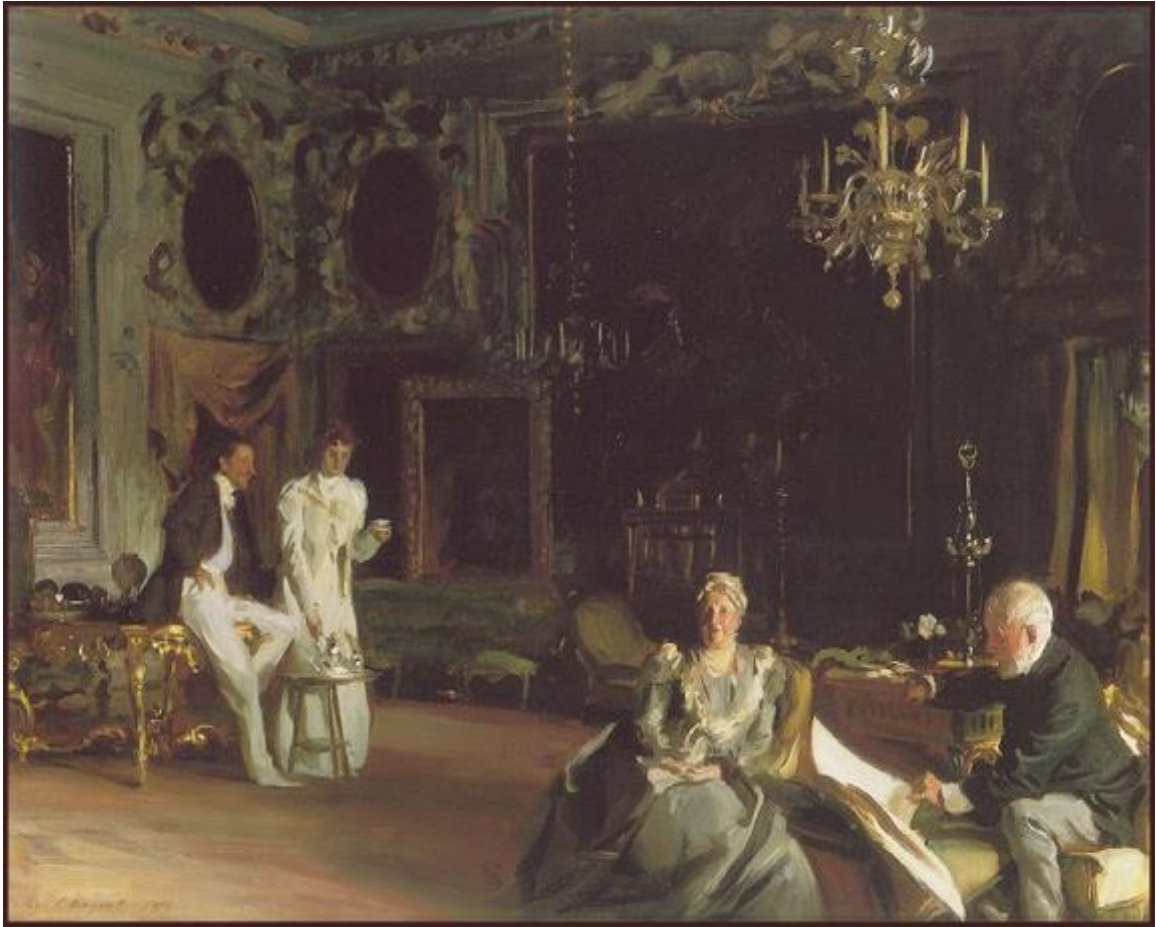
**Figure 1.13**

John Singer Sargent, *Madame Ramón Subercaseaux*, 1880  
Oil on canvas, 165.1 × 109.9 cm., Private collection



**Figure 1.14**

Anders Zorn, *A Portrait of the Daughters of Ramón Subercaseaux*, 1892  
Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 65 cm., Private collection. Photo: Bukowskis

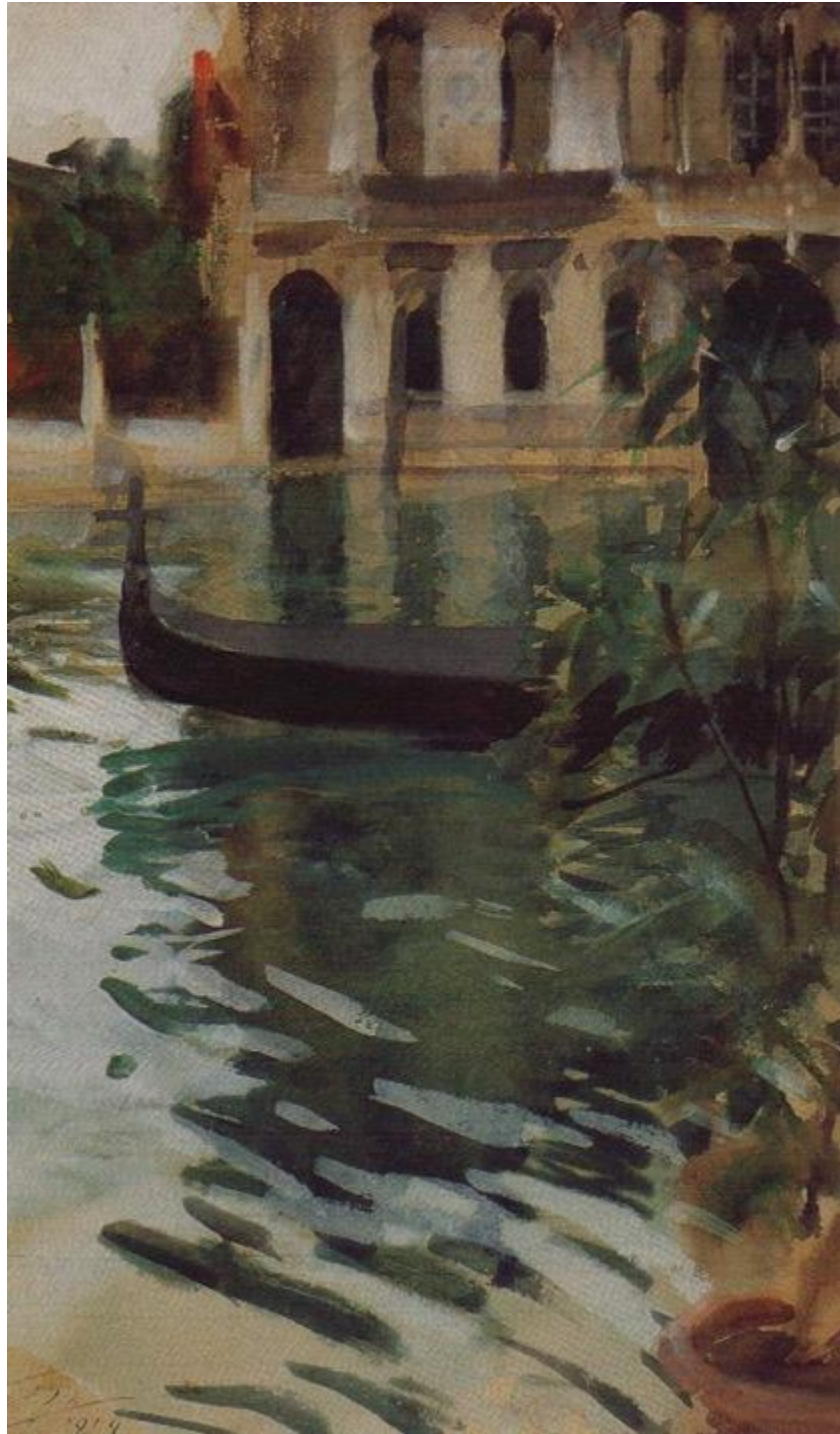


**Figure 1.15**

John Singer Sargent, *An Interior in Venice*, 1898

Oil on canvas, 66 x 83 cm., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 03/1387





**Figure 1.16**

Anders Zorn, *Gondola in Front of the Palazzo Barbaro*, 1894

Watercolor on Paper, 38 x 23.5 cm., Gothenburg Museum of Art, Gothenburg, GKM 1842



**Figure 1.17**

John Singer Sargent, *Mrs. Walter Bacon (Virginia Purdy Barker)*, 1896  
Oil on canvas, 207.3 x 97.2 cm., Biltmore Estate, Asheville



**Figure 1.18**

Anders Zorn, *Mrs. Walter Rathbone Bacon (Virginia Purdy Barker)*, 1897

Oil on canvas, 170.8 x 108 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.204



**Figure 1.19**

Anders Zorn, *Hugo Reisinger*, 1907

Oil on canvas, 135.5 x 100 cm., National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1957.4.3





**Figure 1.20**

Photograph of Anders Zorn's Bryggargatan Studio, September 1913  
Zorn Museum, Mora, Zfo 4690





**Figure 1.21**

Photograph of Anders Zorn's Bryggargatan Studio, September 1913  
Zorn Museum, Mora, Zfo 4691



**Figure 1.22**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of James Deering*, 1903

Oil on canvas, 111.76 x 75.56 cm., Vizcaya Museum and Gardens, Miami, Florida.

Anonymous gift in memory of Barbara Strachan Deering Danielson



**Figure 1.23**

Anders Zorn, *Mr. Frans R. Heiss*, 1891

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 2667



**Figure 1.24**

Anders Zorn, *Mrs. Veronika Heiss*, 1891

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 2668





**Figure 1.25**  
Anders Zorn, *The Rinse Shed or Bottle Washers*, 1890  
Oil on canvas, 68 x 50 cm., Private collection



**Figure 1.26**

Anders Zorn, *The Little Brewery*, 1890

Oil on canvas, 47.5 x 78 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 6875



**Figure 1.27**

Anders Zorn, *The Large Brewery*, 1890

Oil on canvas, 68 x 100 cm., Göteborgs konstmuseum, Gothenburg, GKM 1839



**Figure 1.28**

Heiss Residence, Floragatan 5, with Zorn's painting *Bottle Washers*, c. 1891–1927

Photograph, Private Collection, Reproduced in "Fru Veronika Heiss Salong," by Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark, p. 34





**Figure 1.29**

Heiss Residence, Floragatan 5, with Zorn's portraits of Frans and Veronika Heiss, c. 1891–1927

Photograph, Private Collection, Reproduced in "Fru Veronika Heiss Salong," by Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark, p. 34



**Figure 1.30**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Adolphus Busch*, 1897

Oil on canvas, 129.5 x 95.2 cm., Private collection, Photo: Christie's



**Figure 1.31**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Lilly Eberhard Anheuser*, 1897

Oil on canvas, 129.5 x 95.2 cm., Private collection, Photo: Christie's



**Figure 1.32**

Anders Zorn, *Håll Kesti*, 1907

Oil on canvas, 69x 50 cm., Private collection





**Figure 1.33**

Anders Zorn, *Håll Kesti*, detail, 1907

Oil on canvas, 69x 50 cm., Private collection



**Figure 1.34**

Anders Zorn, *Erik Johan Ljungberg*, 1907

Oil on canvas, 90 x 60 cm., Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB, Falun



**Figure 1.35**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Harald Bildt*, 1908

Oil on canvas, 125.4 x 90.2 cm., Private collection, Photo: Sotheby's



**Figure 1.36**

John Singer Sargent, *Helen Sears*, 1895

Oil on canvas, 167.3 x 91.4 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 55.1116





**Figure 1.37**

John Singer Sargent, *Helen Sears*, detail, 1895

Oil on canvas, 167.3 x 91.4 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 55.1116



**Figure 1.38**

Sarah Choate Sears, *John Singer Sargent*, c. 1890

Toned gelatin silver print, 25.2 × 18.7 cm., The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles,  
84.XP.164.20



**Figure 1.39**

John Singer Sargent, *Mrs. Joshua Montgomery Sears (Sarah Choate Sears)*, 1899  
Oil on canvas, 148 x 97.2 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 80.144



**Figure 1.40**

Sarah Choate Sears, *Helen Sears with Japanese Lantern*, 1895

Platinum print, 23.7 x 13.2 cm., Descendants of Sarah Choate Sears



**Figure 1.41**

John Singer Sargent, *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose*, 1885–86  
Oil on canvas, 174 x 153.7 cm., Tate Britain, London, N01615





**Figure 1.42**

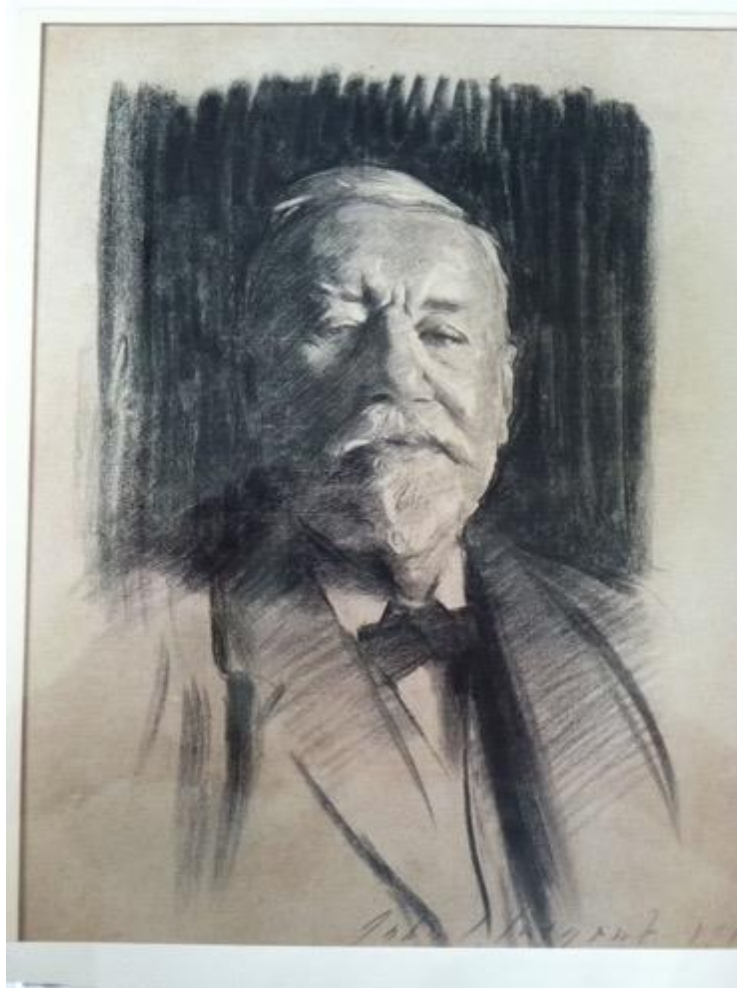
John Singer Sargent, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, 1882

Oil on canvas, 221.93 x 222.57 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 19.124



**Figure 1.43**

Unknown, *John Singer Sargent and Charles Sprague Sargent*, c. 1921  
Photograph, Arnold Arboretum Archives, Cambridge

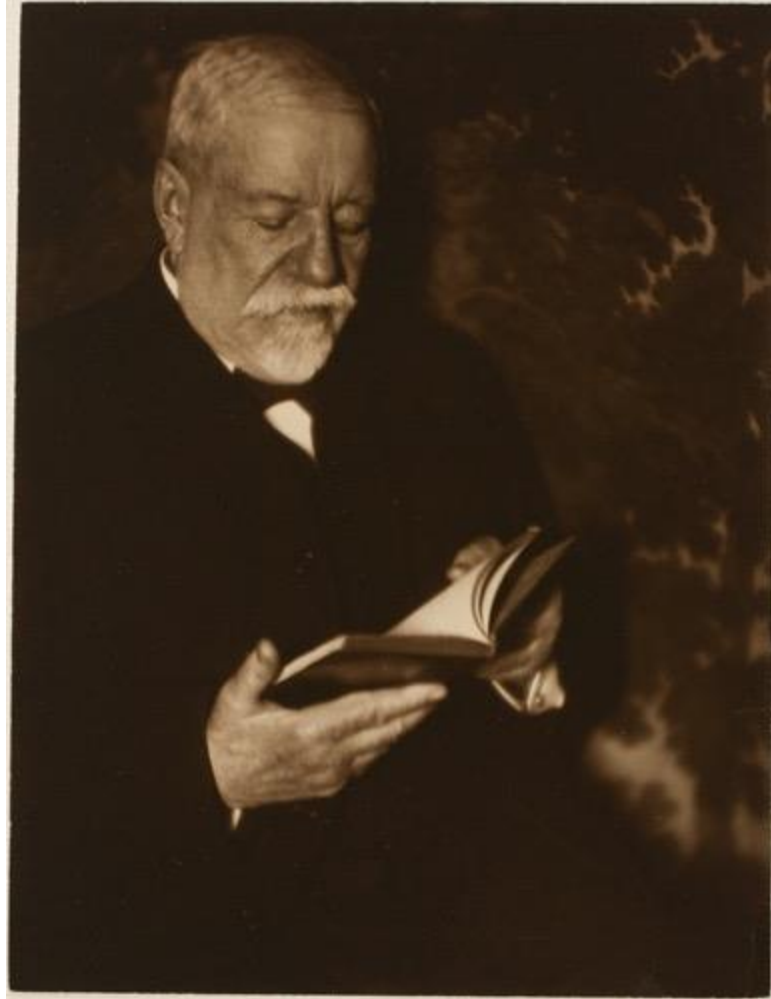


**Figure 1.44**

John Singer Sargent, *Charles Sprague Sargent*, 1919

Charcoal on paper, 24 x 18 cm., Sargent House Museum Collection, Gloucester





**Figure 1.45**

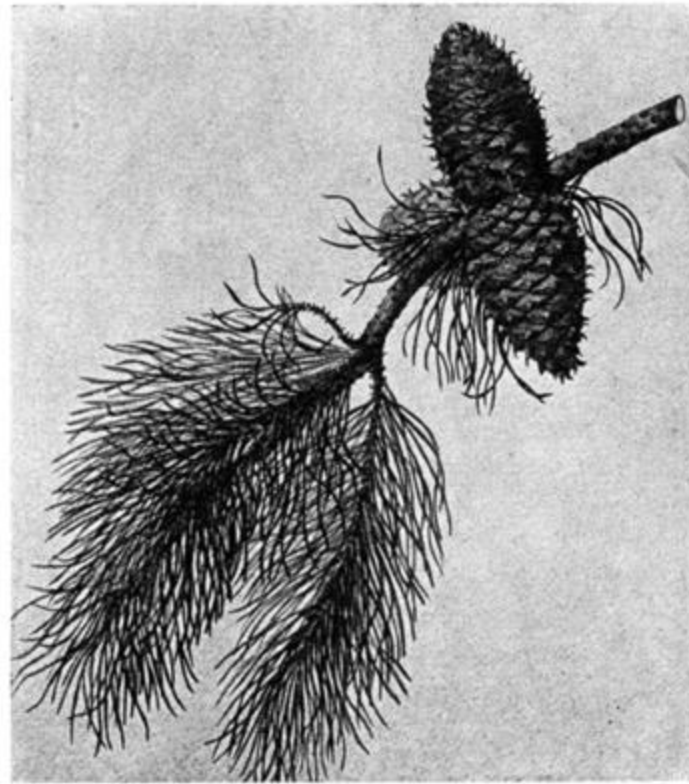
Sarah Choate Sears, *Photograph of Charles Sprague Sargent*, c. 1903  
Platinum print, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, P1984.53



**Figure 1.46**

Unknown, *Mary Robeson Sargent*

Photograph, Arnold Arboretum Archives, Cambridge



WATER-COLOR. JESSUP COLLECTION OF NORTH  
AMERICAN WOODS. MINNIE R. SARGENT.  
UNITED STATES.

**Figure 1.47**

Mary Sargent, Jessup Collection of North American Woods

Watercolor, reproduced in Maud Howe Elliott, ed., *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1894), p. 113.

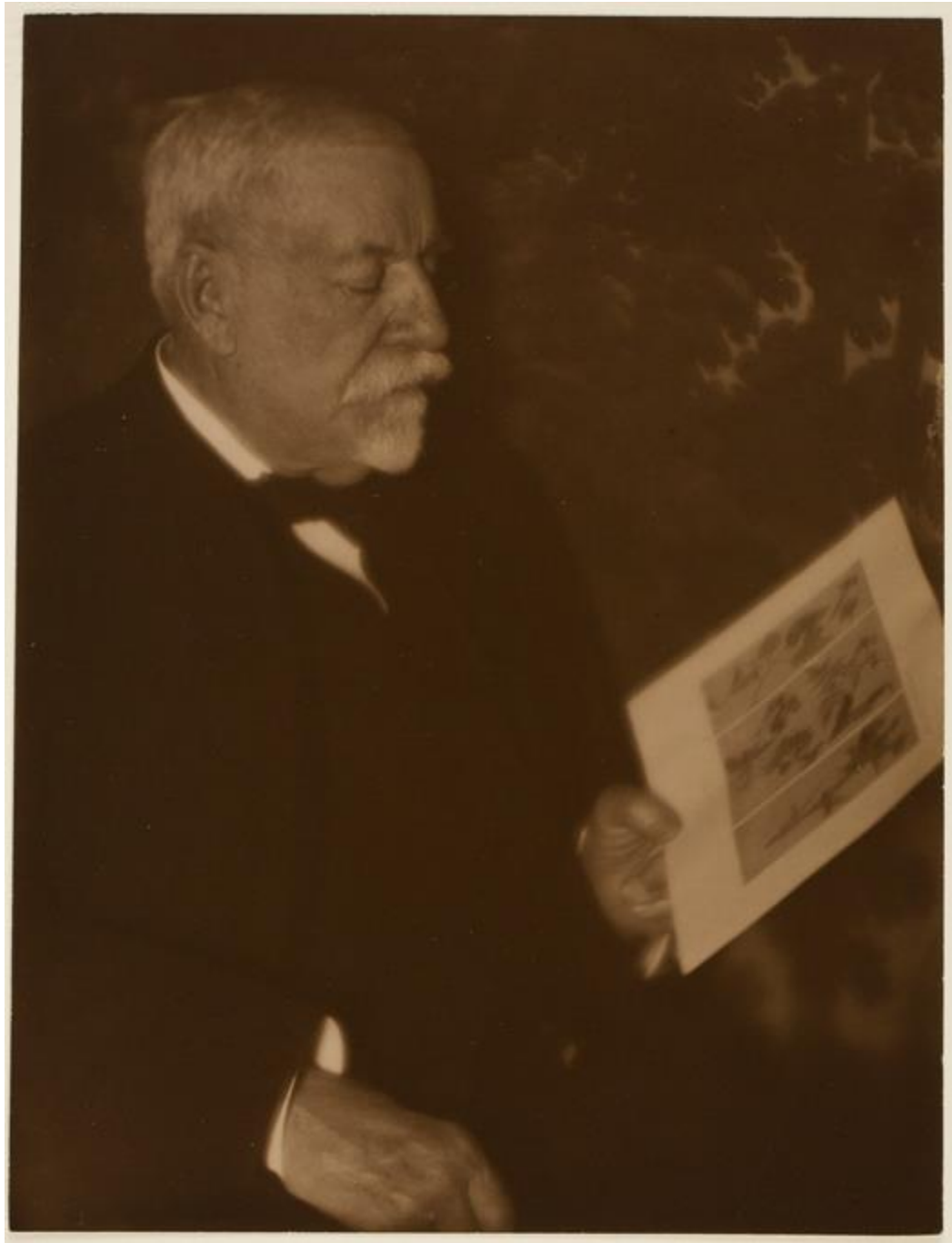


WATER-COLOR.  
JESSUP COLLECTION OF NORTH AMERICAN WOODS.  
MINNIE R. SARGENT. UNITED STATES.

**Figure 1.48**

Mary Sargent, Jessup Collection of North American Woods

Watercolor, reproduced in Maud Howe Elliott, ed., *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1894), p. 107



**Figure 1.49**

Sarah Choate Sears, *Charles Sprague Sargent* (holding a print), c. 1903

Platinum print, 20.7 x 15.8 cm., Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, P1984.54



**Figure 1.50**

John Singer Sargent, *Katharine Pratt*, 1890

Oil on canvas, 101.6 x 76.5 cm., Worcester Art Museum, 1983.36



**Figure 1.51**

Harry E. J. Browne, *Tea in the Conservatory*, 1890

Oil on canvas, 92 x 122.5 cm., Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth,  
BORG 1995.29





**Figures 1.52–1.53**

Anders Zorn, *Isabella in Brooklyn* [sic]

Photograph, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZFO 1639 and ZFO 1636



**Figure 1.54**

*Gardner Estate, "Green Hill," Brookline, Mass., 1890–1905*

Photographic Print, Historic New England, PC009.009





**Figure 1.55**

John Singer Sargent, *Garden Sketch*, 1890

Oil on canvas, 59.4 x 44.8 cm., Witherrspoon Art Museum, Greensboro, 1971.1783



**Figure 1.56**

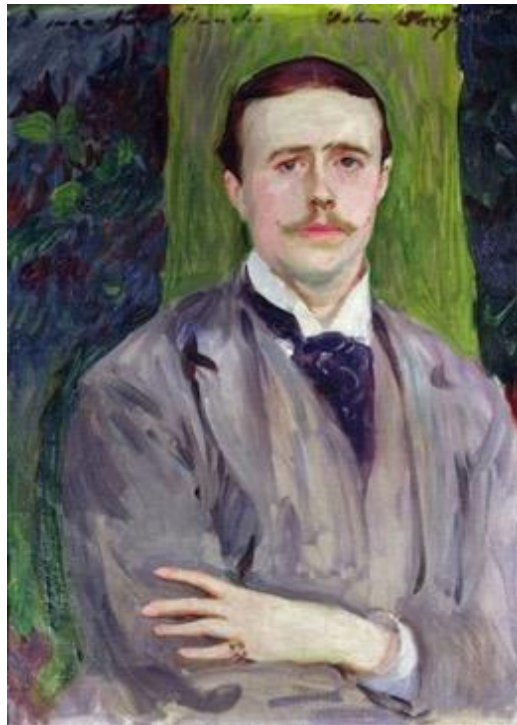
John Singer Sargent, *Ernest-Ange Duez*, c. 1884

Oil on canvas, 73 x 60.3 cm., Montclair Art Museum, NJ, 1962.32



**Figure 1.57**

Jacques-Emile Blanche, *La Petite Fille aux Hortensias*, 1887  
Oil on canvas, 92 x 64.8 cm., Private collection



**Figure 1.58**

John Singer Sargent, *Jacques-Emile Blanche*, 1886  
Oil on canvas, 82 x 60 cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, 1922



**Figure 1.59**

John Singer Sargent, *Portrait of Paul Hellen*, c. 1880

Pastel on brown wove paper, 49.1 x 45.6 cm., Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, 1933.18





**Figure 1.60**

John Singer Sargent, *Frederick Law Olmsted*, 1895

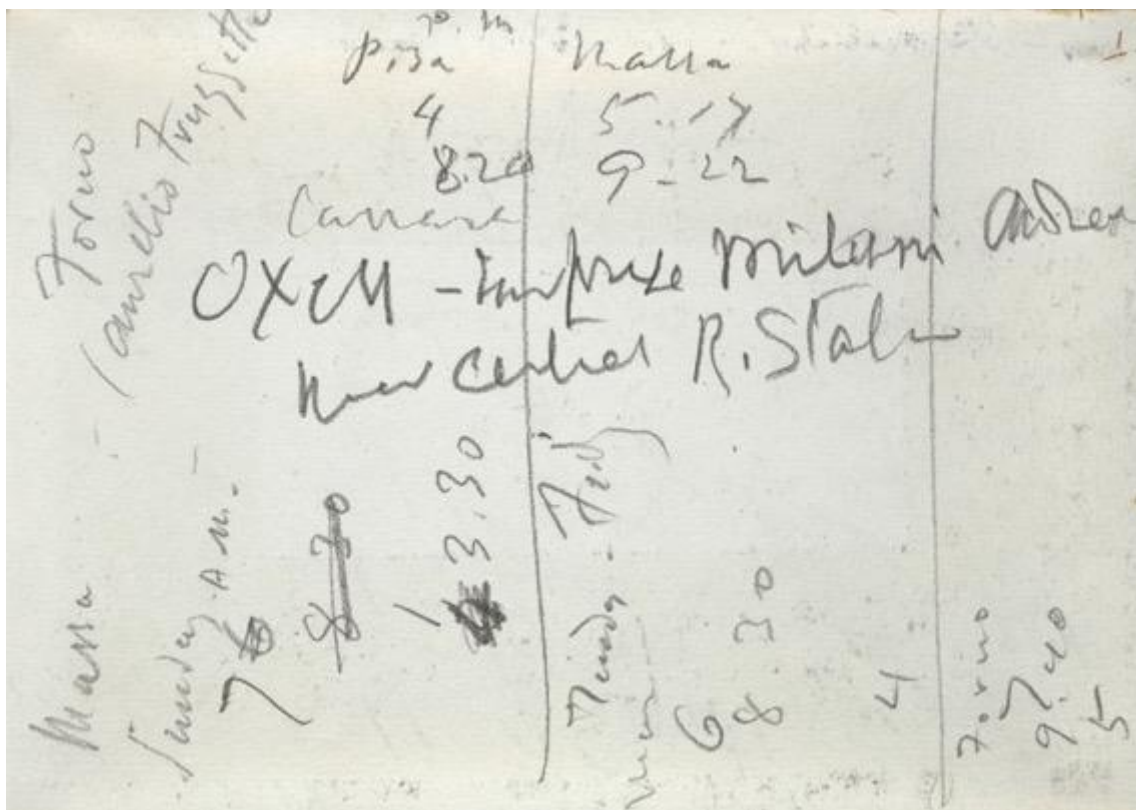
Oil on canvas, 254 x 139.7 cm., Biltmore House, Asheville



**Figure 2.1**

John Singer Sargent, *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, 1885

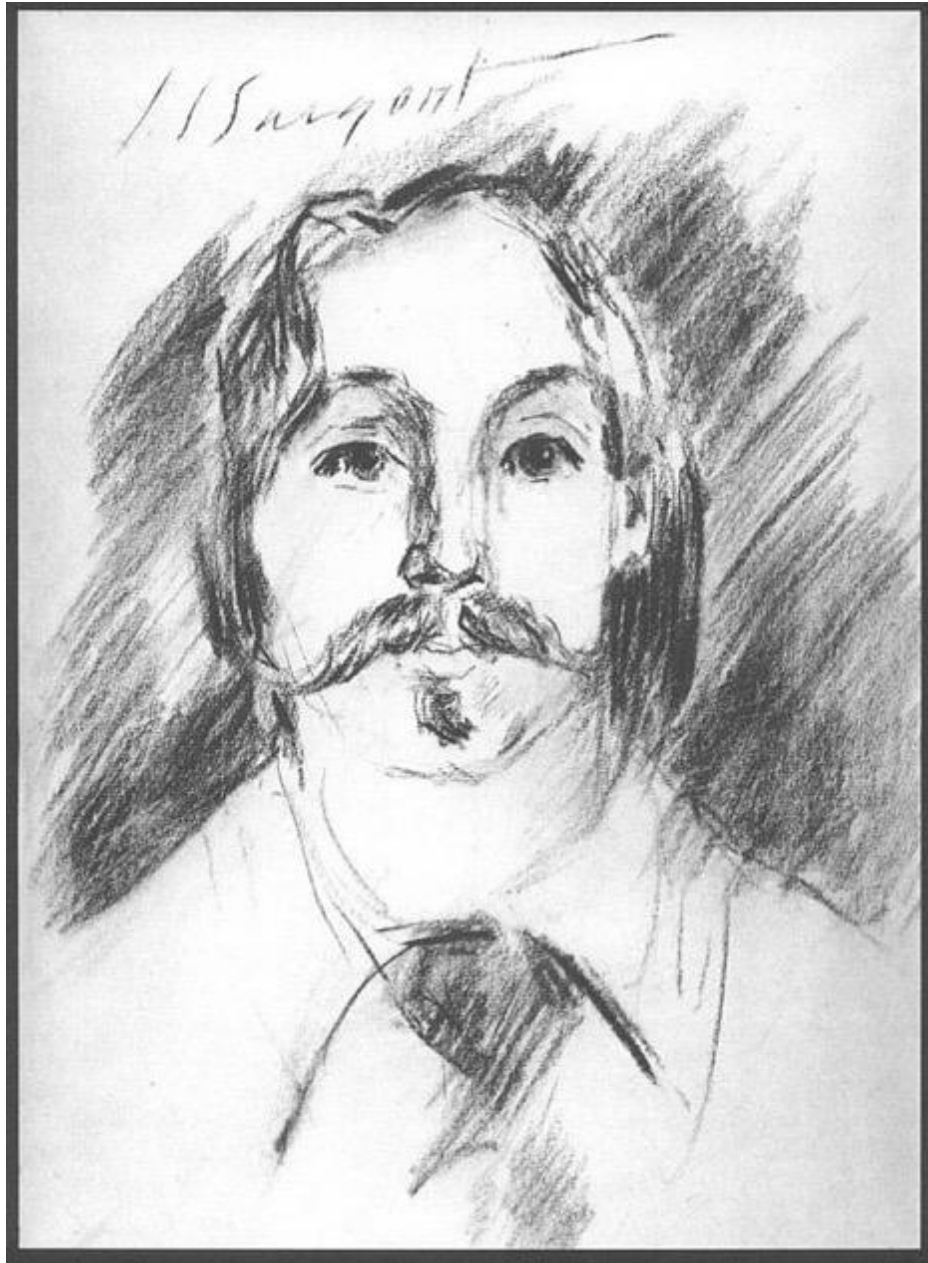
Oil on canvas, 52.1 x 62.2 cm., Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, AR



**Figure 2.2**

John Singer Sargent, *Sketchbook Page with Travel Timetable*, 1911

Graphite on off-white wove paper, 12.7 x 18.1 cm., Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, 1937.7.18.1



**Figure 2.3**

John Singer Sargent, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, c. 1885.

Charcoal on paper, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven





**Figure 2.4**

John Singer Sargent, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, 1887

Oil on canvas, 51 x 61.8 cm., Taft Museum of Art, Cincinnati



**Figure 2.5**

John Singer Sargent, *Study, Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, 1880–85

Charcoal on darkened off-white wove paper, 24.7 x 34.6 cm., Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge

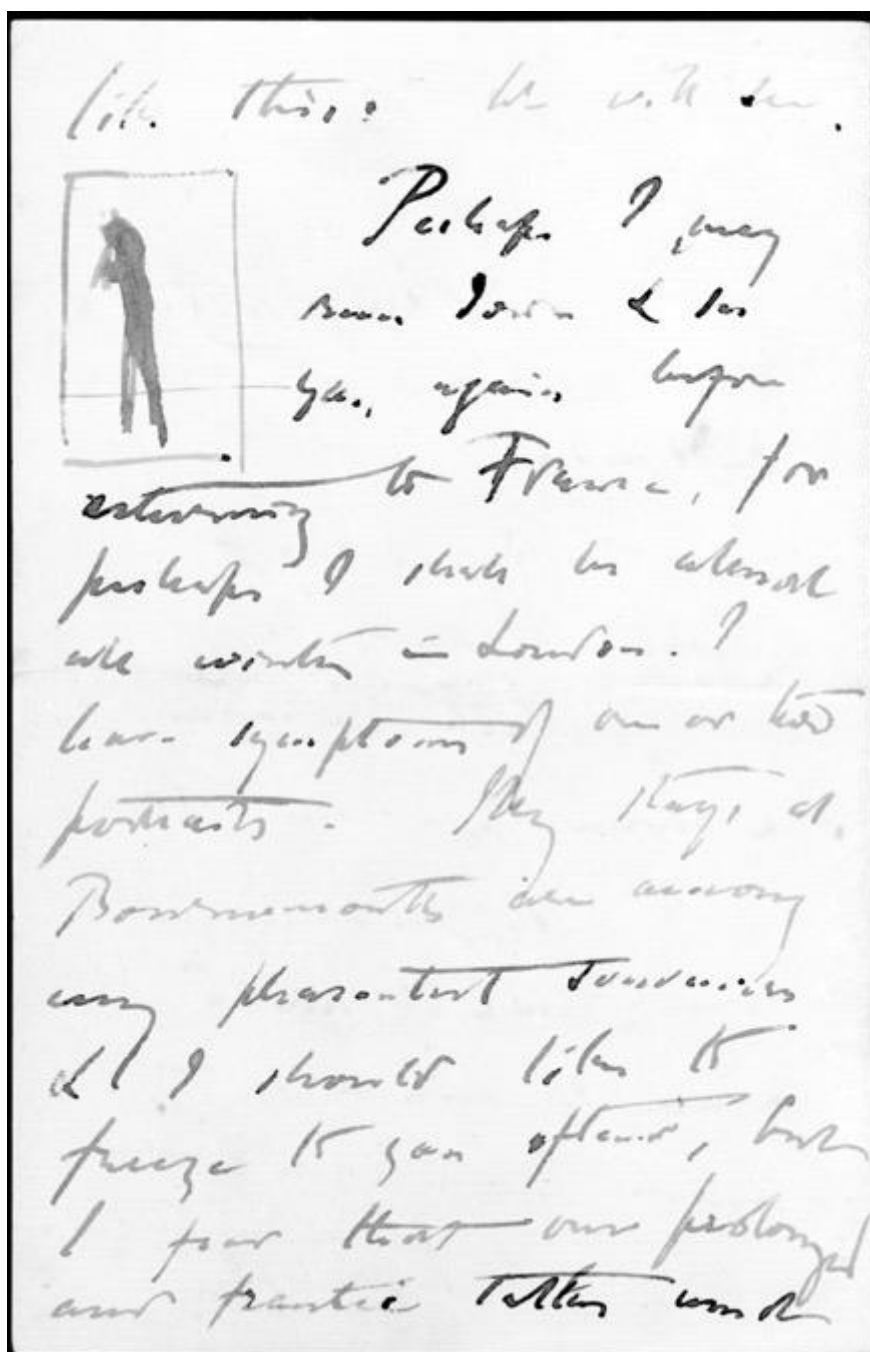
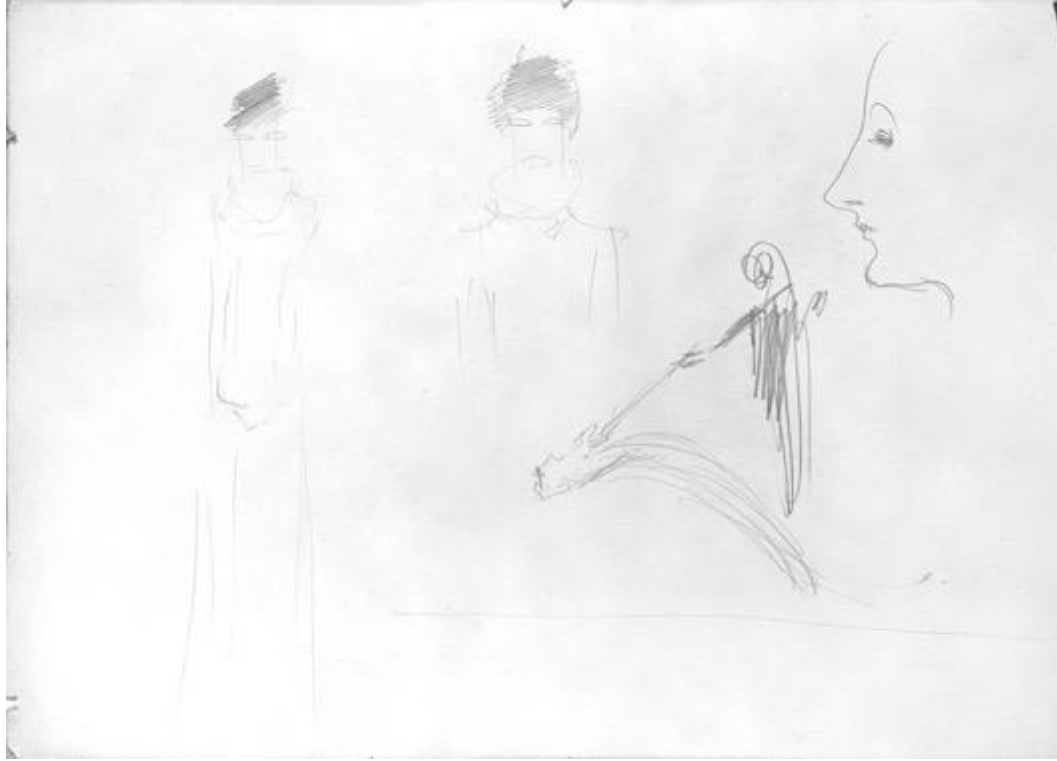


Figure 2.6

John Singer Sargent, Illustrated letter to Robert Louis Stevenson, 1885  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven



**Figure 2.7**

John Singer Sargent, *Profile Head of Madame X (Madame Gautreau), Figures (Verso)*, 1880–85  
Graphite on darkened off-white wove paper, 24.7 x 34.6 cm., Harvard Art Museums,  
Cambridge



**Figure 2.8**

John Singer Sargent, *Madame Gautreau Drinking a Toast*, 1882–83  
Oil on panel, 32 x 41 cm., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston



**Figure 2.9**

John Singer Sargent *Profile Head and Three Faces (Recto)*, 1880–85

Graphite on darkened off-white wove paper, 24.7 x 34.6 cm., Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge



**Figure 2.10**

John Singer Sargent, *Head of a Young Man in Profile*, n.d.

Pen and ink, 24.4 x 33 cm., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven





**Figure 2.11**

John Singer Sargent, *The Breakfast Table*, 1883-84

Oil on canvas, 54 x 45 cm., Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge





**Figure 2.12**

John Singer Sargent, *Le verre de porto* (*A Dinner Table at Night*), 1884

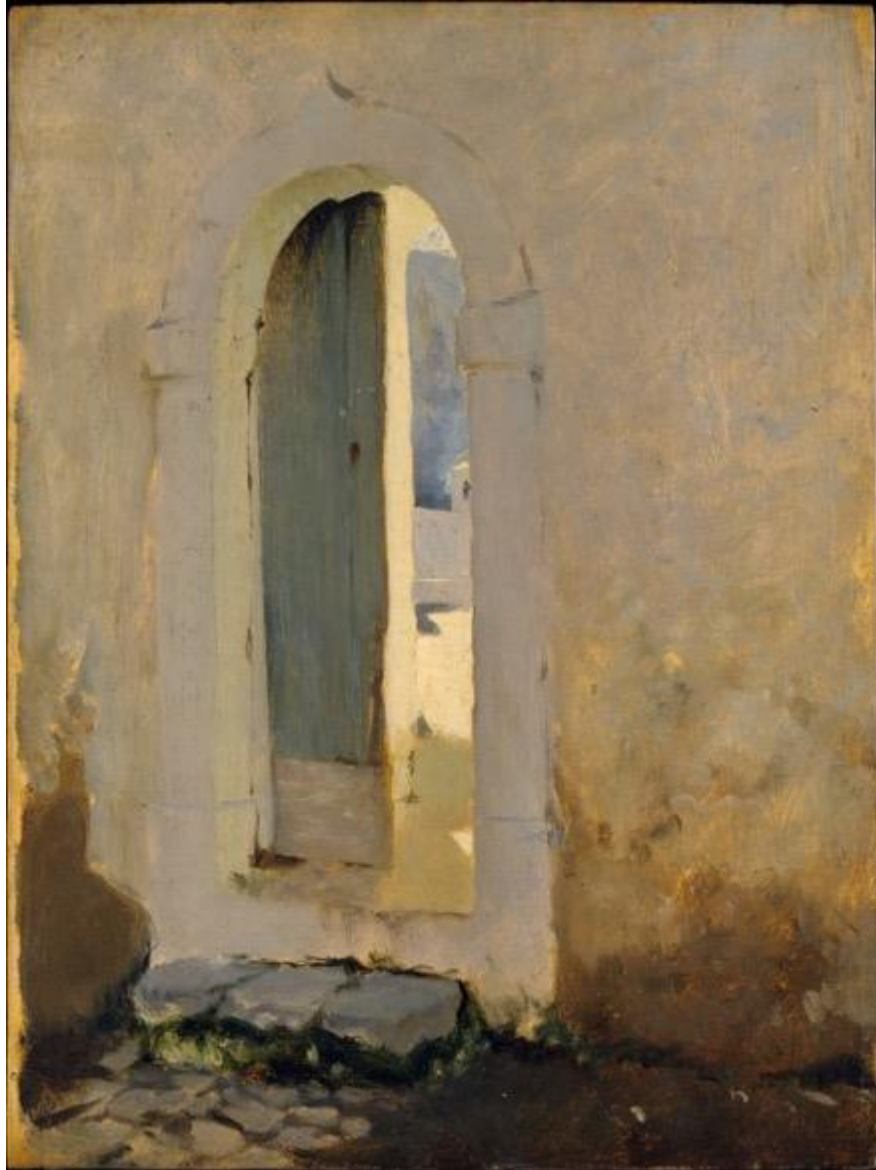
Oil on canvas, 51.4 x 66.7 cm., Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (de Young Museum), San Francisco



**Figure 2.13**

John Singer Sargent, *Moorish Buildings in Sunlight*, 1879–80

Oil on wood, 26 x 35.2 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



**Figure 2.14**

John Singer Sargent, *Open Doorway, Morocco*, 1879–80

Oil on wood, 35.2 x 26 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



**Figure 2.15**

John Singer Sargent, *Courtyard, Tetuan, Morocco*, 1879–80

Oil on wood, 26 x 34.9 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



**Figure 2.16**

John Singer Sargent, *The Breakfast Table*, detail, 1883/84

Oil on canvas, 54 x 45 cm., Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge





**Figure 2.17**

Unidentified photographer, John Singer Sargent in his studio with *Portrait of Madame X*, c. 1884 Black and white photographic print, 21 x 28 cm., Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC



**Figure 2.18**

John Singer Sargent, *The Birthday Party*, 1885

Oil on canvas, 59.69 x 72.39 cm., Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, the Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund and the John R. Van Derlip Fund, 62.84. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art



**Figure 2.19**

John Singer Sargent, *Robert Louis Stevenson and His Wife*, detail, 1885

Oil on canvas, 52.1 x 62.2 cm., Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, AR





**Figure 2.20**

Robert Louis Stevenson, Letter (with Fanny Stevenson) to Henry James, February 25, 1886

Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge



**Figure 3.1**

Anders Zorn, *Maud Cassel (Mrs. Ashley)*, 1898

Pen and ink on paper, 25.3 x 20.4 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 994



**Figure 3.2**

Anders Zorn, *Untitled Sketch*, c. 1898

Graphite on paper, 20.4 x 12.1 cm., Sketchbook 23, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 387



**Figure 3.3**

Maps showing cities where Anders Zorn stayed

Appendix, in Johan Cederlund et. al., *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco / New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2013).



**Figure 3.4**

Anders Zorn, *Midsummer Dance*, 1897

Oil on canvas, 140 x 98 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 1603





**Figure 3.5**

Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Antonin Proust*, 1888

Oil on canvas, 106 x 138 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 3.6**

Anders Zorn, *A Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Faure*, 1891  
Oil on canvas, 83 x 66.5 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 3.7**

Anders Zorn, *Auguste Rodin*, 1906

Etching, third state of three, 21.5 x 15.5 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.3.683





**Figure 3.8**

Anders Zorn, *The Waltz*, 1891

Oil on canvas, 195 x 133.5 cm., Biltmore Estate, Asheville, North Carolina



**Figure 3.9**

Anders Zorn, *The Waltz*, c. 1890

Oil on board, 53 x 34 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 3.10**

*Emma Zorn in the Paris studio as model for her husband and Maurice Faure, 1892*

Photograph, Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 3.11**

Anders Zorn, *Study for the Waltz*, c. 1891

Graphite on paper, 23.5 x 14 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 943

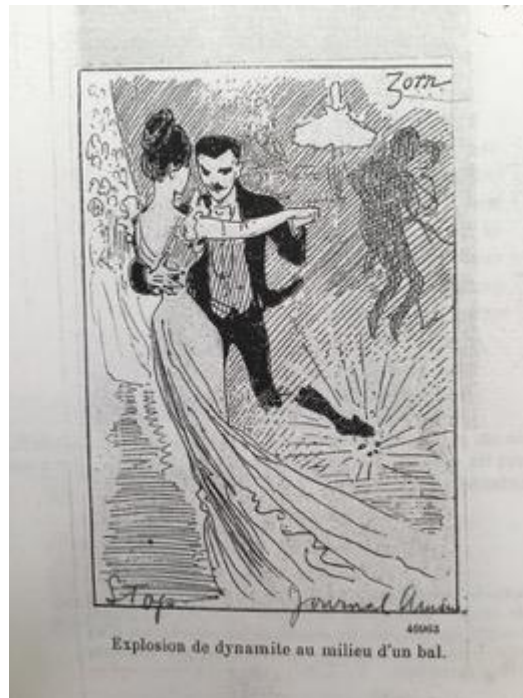


**Figure 3.12**

Anders Zorn, *Study for The Waltz*, c. 1891

Watercolor on paper, 23 x 13.9 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 234





**Figure 3.13**

Stop, *Explosion de dynamite au milieu d'un bal*, 1891

*Le Journal Amusant*, May 30, 1891, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris



**Figure 3.14**

Unknown, *Interior of the Munich Brewery (Interiör från Münchenbryggeriet)*, 1901

Photograph, Stockholmskällan, C 3515



**Figure 3.15**

Anders Zorn, *Rosita Mauri*, 1888

Gouache and watercolor on paper, 103 x 69 cm., Göteborgs konstmuseum, Gothenburg, GKM 2440





**Figure 3.16**  
Anders Zorn, *Rosita Mauri*, detail, 1888



**Figure 3.17**

Pierre Carrier-Belleuse, *L'Omnibus*, 1877

Oil on canvas, 44.8 x 83.2 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 3.18**

Mary Cassatt, *In the Omnibus*, 1890–91

Drypoint and aquatint, printed in color from three plates; seventh state of seven, 36.4 x 26.7 cm.,

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 16.2.4



**Figure 3.19**

Anders Zorn, *The Omnibus*, 1891–92

Oil on canvas, 99.5 x 66 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NM 6810





**Figure 3.20**

Anders Zorn, *Omnibus*, 1892

Oil on canvas, 126 x 88 cm., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P3e1



**Figure 3.21a**

Anders Zorn, *Sketch for Omnibus* (Verso), c. 1891

Lead on paper, 25 x 16 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMH 133/1939 verso



**Figure 3.21b**

Anders Zorn, *Nude* (Recto), c. 1891

Lead on paper, 25 x 16 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMH 133/1939 recto



**Figure 3.22**

Anders Zorn, *Study for the Omnibus*, 1891–92

Ink on white paper, 24.9 x 15.0 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 956



**Figure 3.23**

Anders Zorn, *Omnibus study (man and woman)*, c. 1891–92

Graphite on paper, 10.2 x 15 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 959



**Figure 3.24**

Anders Zorn, *Study for the Omnibus*, 1891–92

Oil on panel, 46.2 x 30.2 cm., Royal Collections, Stockholm





**Figure 3.25**

Anders Zorn, *Study for the Omnibus*, 1891–92

Oil on canvas, 38.1 x 46 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 118



**Figure 3.26**

Anders Zorn, *Study for the Omnibus*, 1891–92

Oil on canvas, 46 x 37.7 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 120



**Figure 3.27**

Anders Zorn, *Gerda Grönberg I*, 1891

Etching on white wove paper, 11.5 x 7.5 cm., Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1946.300



**Figure 3.28**

Anders Zorn, *Gerda Grönberg II*, 1892

Etching on ivory laid paper, 19.0 x 13.4 cm., Wallace L. DeWolf and Charles Deering  
Collections of Etchings by Anders Zorn, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1927.1840



**Figure 3.29**

Anders Zorn, *Gerda Grönberg III*, 1892

Etching on ivory wove paper, 19.0 x 13.2 cm., Wallace L. DeWolf and Charles Deering  
Collections of Etchings by Anders Zorn, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1927.1841



**Figure 3.30**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Gerda Grönberg I*, 1891

Graphite on paper, 15 x 9.5 cm., Sketchbook 18, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 327–346.





**Figure 3.31**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Gerda Grönberg III*, 1892

Graphite on paper, 15.9 x 24.9 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 952



**Figure 3.32**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Gerda Grönberg*, 1891-92

Ink drawing on paper, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 0951





**Figure 3.33**

*Gerda Grönberg, porträtt, 1883*

Photograph, Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, H3111



**Figure 3.34**

X-radiograph of *The Omnibus*

Curatorial files, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston



**Figure 3.35**

Anders Zorn, *Omnibus*, detail, 1892

Oil on canvas, 126 x 88 cm., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P3e1



**Figure 3.36**

Anders Zorn, *Night Effect*, 1895

Oil on canvas, 161 x 106 cm., Göteborgs konstmuseum, Gothenburg, F 161



**Figure 3.37**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1895

Oil on canvas, 45 x 31.5 cm., inscribed, "åt Bob Thegerström minne från Paris. Zorn," (To Bob Thegerström, a memory from Paris) Prins Eugens Waldermarsudde, Stockholm, W 830



**Figure 3.38**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1894–1895

Oil on panel, 41 x 27 cm., inscribed, “Till vän Hagborg från Zorn,” (To my friend Hagborg, from Zorn), Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 121



**Figure 3.39**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect* or *Study of August and Gerda Hagborg*, c. 1895  
Oil on canvas, 49.2 x 33.4 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 119





**Figure 3.40**

Anders Zorn, *Gerda Hagborg III*, 1896

Etching on ivory laid paper, 24.0 x 16.0 cm., Wallace L. DeWolf and Charles Deering  
Collections of Etchings by Anders Zorn, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1913.1013





**Figure 3.41**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1895

Graphite on paper, 24 x. 29 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 969



**Figure 3.42**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1895

Graphite on paper, 30.5 x 23 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 970



**Figure 3.43**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1894

Pencil on paper, 30.5 x 23.0 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 968



**Figure 3.44**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1895  
Oil on panel, 32.5 x 23.8 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 3.45**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1895  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 115



**Figure 3.46**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1895  
Oil on canvas, 73 x 55 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 3.47**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, 1892

Watercolor on paper, 24.6 x 15.8 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 243



**Figure 3.48**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1894  
Oil on canvas, 51.4 x 31.5 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 116



**Figure 3.49**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect*, c. 1894  
Oil on canvas, 46 x 31.9 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 117





**Figure 3.50**

*Study for Night Effect* superimposed onto *The Omnibus* window





**Figure 3.51a**

Anders Zorn, *Letter to Carl Larsson (Recto)*, 1893  
11.3 x 17.7 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA Bild 16



**Figure 3.51b (verso)**

Anders Zorn, *Letter to Carl Larsson (Verso)*, 1893  
11.3 x 17.7 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA Bild 16



**Figure 3.52a**

Anders Zorn, *On the Ice* (Recto), 1890s

Graphite on paper, 15.8 x 24.9 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 1182



**Figure 3.52b**

Anders Zorn, *Anders Zorn on Horseback* (Verso), 1890s

Watercolor on paper, 15.7 x 24.8 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 1182



**Figure 3.53**

Anders Zorn, *The Ice Skater*, 1898

Oil on canvas, 120.5 x 150 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZO 134



**Figure 3.54**

Anders Zorn, *On the Ice, Mora*, 1898

Etching, 37.1 x 28.5 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZG 140



**Figure 3.55**

Anders Zorn, *Ice Skaters*, 1890s

Graphite on paper, 9.5 x 15 cm., Sketchbook 20, Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 3.56**

Anders Zorn, *Ice Skaters*, 1890s

Graphite on paper, 9.5 x 15 cm., Sketchbook 20, Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 3.57**

Anders Zorn, *Ice Skaters*, c. 1894

Graphite on paper, 9.5 x 15 cm., Sketchbook 18, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 327



**Figure 3.58**

Anders Zorn, *On the Ice*, c. 1898

Graphite on paper, 29.6 x 22.8 cm., Sketchbook 48, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 990





**Figure 3.59**

Anders Zorn, *The Ice Skater*, 1898

Watercolor on white paper, 25.1 x 35.2 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 244

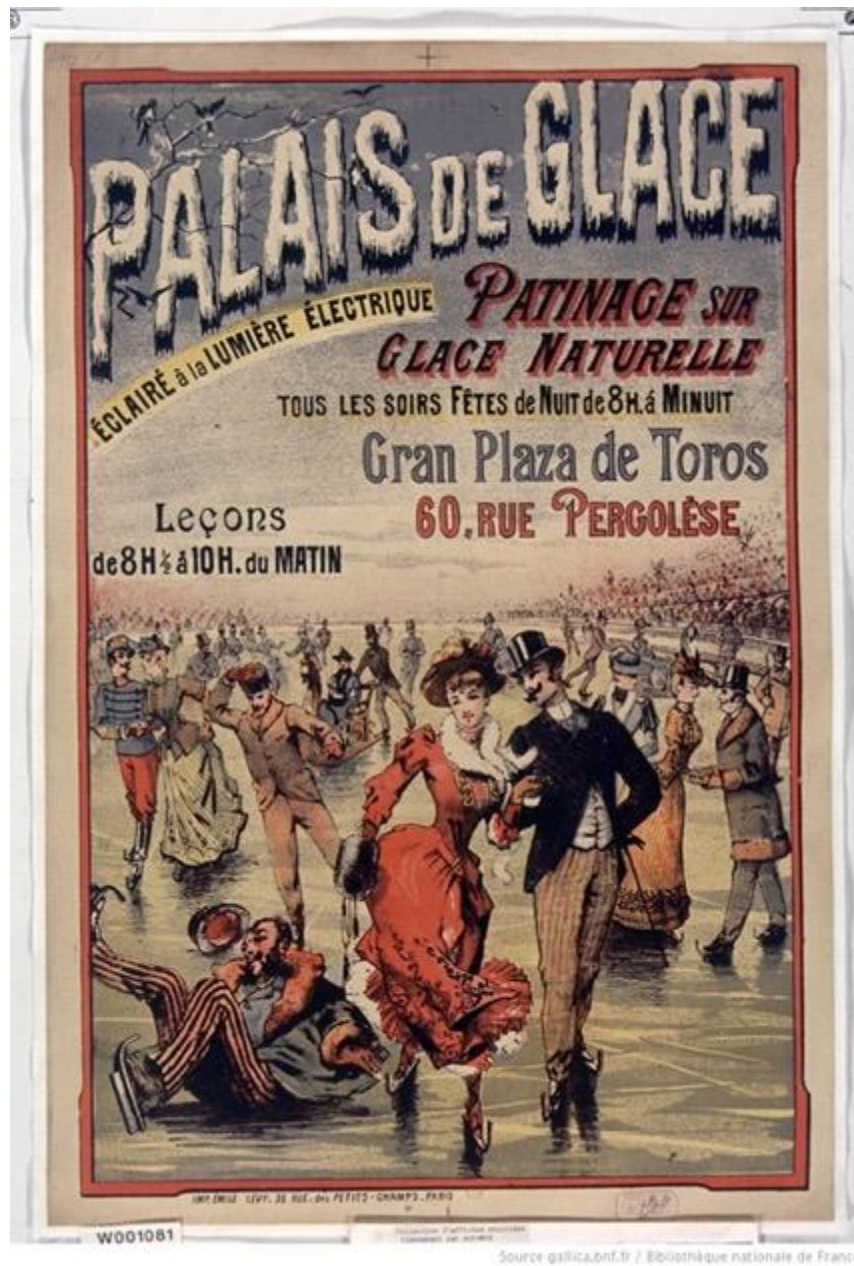


**Figure 3.60**

*Anders Zorn on horseback in the Bois de Boulogne, 1890s.*

Photograph, Zorn Museum, Mora





**Figure 3.61**

*Palais de Glace*, 1890.

Color Lithograph, 60 x 40 cm., Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, FRBNF39839161



**Figure 3.62**

Anders Zorn, *Study for Night Effect (Café Scene)*, c. 1894

Graphite on paper, 9.5 x 15 cm., Sketchbook 18, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 337



**Figure 3.63**

Anders Zorn, *Study for On the Ice*, c. 1894

Graphite on paper, 15 x 9.5 cm., Sketchbook 18, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZT 327–346



**Figure 3.64**

Anders Zorn, *Ice Skating on Nybroviken*, 1885

Watercolor, 35.5 x 25.2 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 61



**Figure 3.65**

Anders Zorn, *Omnibus*, detail, 1892

Oil on canvas, 126 x 88 cm., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P3e1

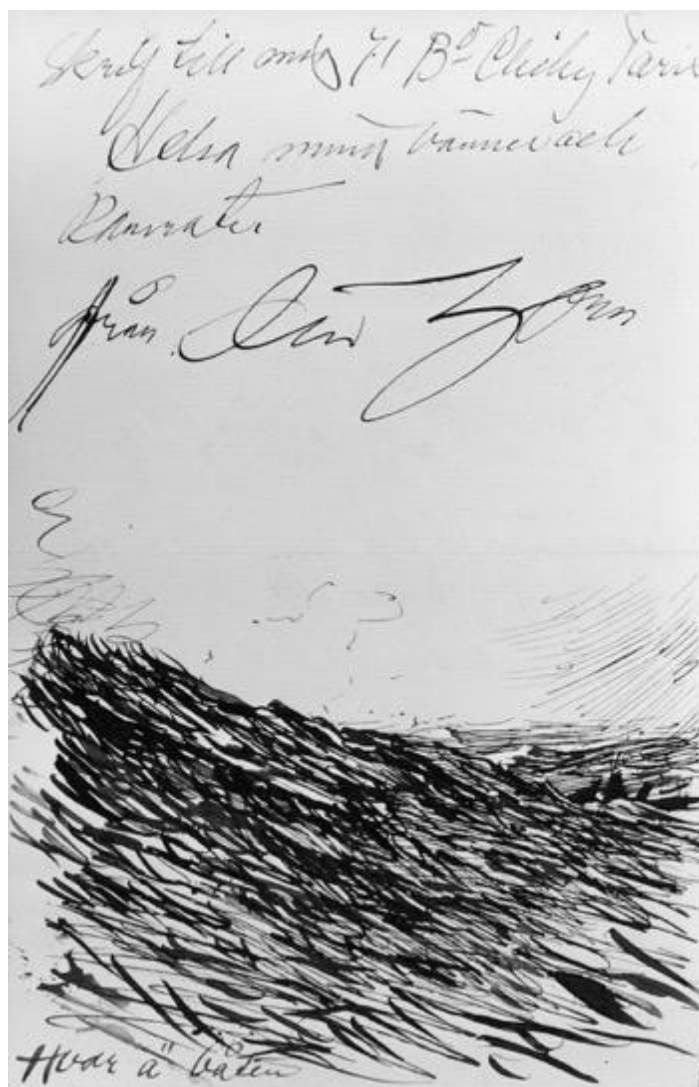




**Figure 4.1**

John Singer Sargent, *View from a Window, Genoa*, 1911

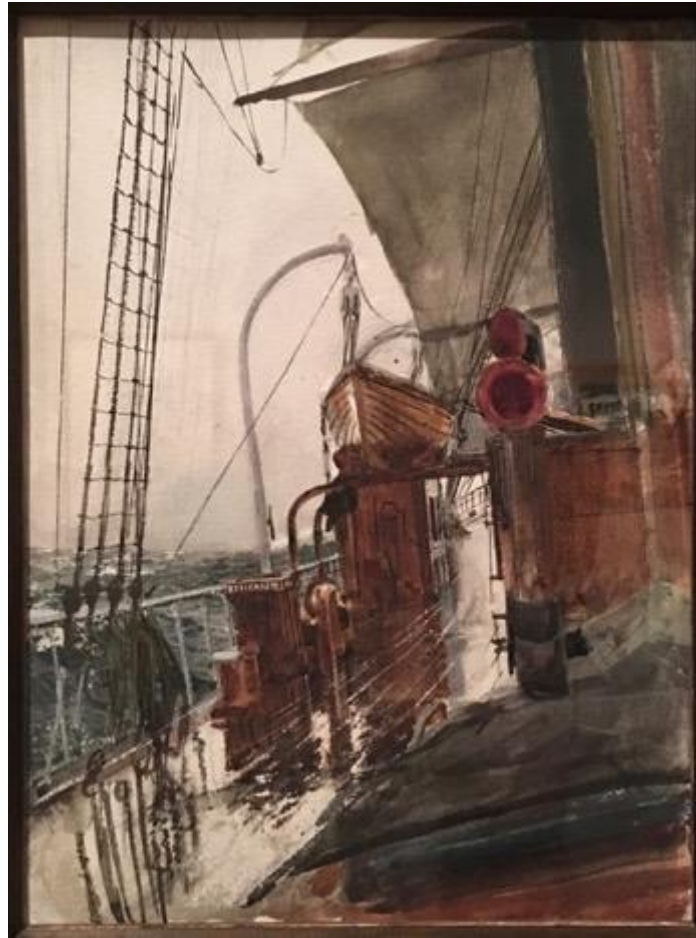
Watercolor and oil over graphite on paper, 40.3 x 53 cm., British Museum, 1936,1116.2



**Figure 4.2**

Anders Zorn, *Brevsida med hav*, 1894

Pen on paper, 11.3 x 17.7 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 4.3**

Anders Zorn, *Steamer Lisbon London*, 1884

Watercolor on paper, Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 0119





**Figure 4.4**

John Singer Sargent, *Deck of a Ship in Moonlight*, 1876

Watercolor on off-white wove paper, 22.9 x 29.8 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.154bb



**Figure 4.5**

Anders Zorn, *View from Atlantic Steamer*, 1894

Watercolor on paper, 12.6 x 20 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 235



**Figure 4.6**

Anders Zorn, *The Atlantic*, 1894

Watercolor on paper, 12.6 x 20 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 212



**Figure 4.7**

Anders Zorn, *Ocean Study*, 1894

Watercolor on paper, 12.6 x 20 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 209



**Figure 4.8**

John Singer Sargent, *Sunset at Sea*, c. 1905–6

Watercolor and gouache on white wove paper, 25.4 x 35.6 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.80d





**Figure 4.9**

John Singer Sargent, *Scrapbook*, c. 1874–80

Pencil and gouache on paper, 32.7 × 49.2 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.154



**Figure 4.10**

John Singer Sargent, *Men Hauling Lifeboat Ashore* (from scrapbook), 1876

Watercolor and graphite on off-white wove paper, 9.5 × 29.8 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.154n recto



**Figure 4.11**

John Singer Sargent, *Sailor* (from scrapbook), 1876

Watercolor and graphite on off-white wove paper, 9.5 x 29.8 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.154n verso



**Figure 4.12**

John Singer Sargent, *Men Hauling Boat onto Beach* (from scrapbook), 1876

Graphite on off-white wove paper, 16.8 x 24.8 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.154o



**Figure 4.13**

John Singer Sargent, *Sailboat Deck with Figures* (from scrapbook), c. 1876

Graphite on off-white wove paper, 10.6 x 18.3 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.140a





**Figure 4.14**

John Singer Sargent, *Atlantic Storm*, 1876

Oil on canvas, 59.69 x 80.65 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.15**  
Anders Zorn, *The Battleship Baltimore*, 1890  
Watercolor on paper, 22 x 30 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.16**

Edward Moran, *The White Squadron's Farewell Salute to the Body of John Ericsson, New York Bay, August 23, 1890*, 1898

Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 137.2 cm., U.S. Naval Academy Museum Collection



**Figure 4.17**

Anders Zorn, *Port of Hamburg*, 1891

Watercolor on paper, 46.5 x 67 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMB 467



**Figure 4.18**

Anders Zorn, *Port Scene*, 1892

Watercolor on paper, 26.7 x 20.7 cm., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMH 127





**Figure 4.19**

Anders Zorn, *In My Gondola*, 1894

Oil on canvas, 67 x 91 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 4.20**

Anders Zorn, *In My Gondola*, detail, 1894



**Figure 4.21**

John Singer Sargent, *Gondoliers' Siesta*, c. 1904

Watercolor on paper, 35.6 x 50.8 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.22**

John Singer Sargent, *Unloading Plaster*, c. 1908

Opaque and translucent watercolor on paper with graphite underdrawing, 35.3 x 49.2 cm.,  
Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY, Purchased by Special Subscription, 09.844





**Figure 4.23**

John Singer Sargent, *Sketching on the Giudecca, Venice*, 1904  
Watercolor on paper, 35.5 x 50.8 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.24**

John Singer Sargent, *Palma, Majorca*, 1908

Watercolor on paper, over preliminary pencil, with touches of body color, 36.2 x 52.6 cm.,  
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



**Figure 4.25**

John Singer Sargent, *Portuguese Boats*, c. 1903

Watercolor on paper, 30.5 x 45.9 cm., Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY, Purchased by  
Special Subscription, 09.834



**Figure 4.26**

John Singer Sargent, *Melon Boats (Palestine)*, c. 1908

Opaque and translucent watercolor on paper with graphite underdrawing, 35.6 x 50.7 cm.

Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY, Purchased by Special Subscription, 09.829



**Figure 4.27**

John Singer Sargent, *The Balcony, Spain [and] Two Nude Bathers Standing on a Wharf*, 1879–80  
Oil on wood, 34.9 x 26.7 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Mrs. Francis Ormond, 1950, 50.130.10a, b





**Figure 4.28**

John Singer Sargent, *Low Tide at Cancale Harbor*, 1878

Oil on canvas 48.6 x 28.3 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Zoe Oliver Sherman Collection, 22.646



**Figure 4.29**

John Singer Sargent, *La Dogana*, 1907

Watercolor on paper, 34.9 x 25.4 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.30**

John Singer Sargent, *Port Scene II*, c. 1879

Watercolor and pencil on paper, 25.5 x 35.7 cm., Private Collection.



**Figure 4.31**

John Singer Sargent, *Boats in Harbor I*, 1879

Oil on panel, 25.3 x 33 cm., inscribed top left: "to my friend Cox/J.S. Sargent 1879,"  
collection of Dr. Cornelius Lansing





**Figure 4.32**

John Singer Sargent, *Boats in Harbor II*, c. 1879

Watercolor and pencil on paper, 21.6 x 28 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.33**

John Singer Sargent, *White Walls in Sunlight, Morocco*, 1879–80

Oil on wood, 26 x 34.9 cm., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Mrs. Francis Ormond, 1950, 50.130.4



**Figure 4.34**

John Singer Sargent, *Moroccan Street*, 1890–95

Oil on canvas, 70.49 x 91.44 cm., Harvard Art Museums, gift of Mrs. Francis Ormond, 1937.211



**Figure 4.35**

John Singer Sargent, *In a Levantine Port*, c. 1905–6

Translucent watercolor and touches of opaque watercolor with graphite under drawing on paper, 30.6 x 46 cm., Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, NY, Purchased by Special Subscription, 09.825



**Figure 4.36**

John Singer Sargent, *Venice, Sailing Boat*, c. 1903

Watercolor on paper, 23.5 x 34.29 cm., Private Collection





**Figure 4.37**

Anders Zorn, *Picture of Stockholm*, 1881

Watercolor on paper, 23 x 29 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora



**Figure 4.38**

Anders Zorn, *Hamburg Port*, c. 1890–91

Watercolor on paper, 66.5 x 50.5 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 228



**Figure 4.39**

Anders Zorn, *Port of Hamburg*, 1891

Watercolor on paper, 30.2 x 45.4 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 231





**Figure 4.40**

Anders Zorn, *Hamburg Port* 1891

Watercolor on paper, 15.9 x 24.7 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 229



**Figure 4.41**

Anders Zorn, *Hamburg Port*, 1891

Watercolor on paper, 39.2 x 27 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora, ZA 230



**Figure 4.42**

Max Liebermann, *On the Alster in Hamburg*, 1910

Oil on canvas, 85.5 x 104 cm., Galerie Neue Meister, Dresden, 2457 A



**Figure 4.43**

Anders Zorn, *Från Skeppsbrokajen*, 1890

Watercolor on paper, 30.5 x 21.5 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.44**

John Singer Sargent, *Wharf Scene*, c. 1879  
Oil on canvas, 32.7 x 46 cm., Private Collection







**Figure 4.46**

John Singer Sargent, *Tarragona Terrace and Garden*, 1903–13

Watercolor and opaque watercolor with printed paper fragments over traces of graphite on ivory wove paper, 30.5 x 45.9 cm., Art Institute of Chicago, 11.9.1989



**Figure 4.47**

Enhanced detail of a reflected infrared (IR) photograph of John Singer Sargent, *Tarragona Terrace and Garden*, 1903–13 (Published in Mary Broadway, Ken Sutherland, Veronica Biolcati, and Francesca Casadio, “Mastery of Materials: Sargent’s Watercolors at the Art Institute of Chicago,” in Annelise K. Madsen, *John Singer Sargent and Chicago’s Gilded Age*, with contributions by Richard Ormond and Mary Broadway (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago / New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 191)



**Figure 4.48**

John Singer Sargent, *Sir Frank Swettenham*, 1904

Oil on canvas, 258 x 142.5 cm., National Museum of Singapore





**Figure 4.49**

John Singer Sargent, *Colonel Ian Hamilton, CB, DSO*, 1898

Oil on canvas, 138.4 x 78.7 cm., Tate Britain, London, N05246



**Figure 4.50**  
John Singer Sargent, *The Earle of Dalhousie*, 1900  
Oil on canvas, 154 x 111 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.51**

Anders Zorn, *Oscar II*, 1897

Oil on canvas, 119 x 93 cm., Royal Collection, Stockholm



**Figure 4.52**

Anders Zorn, *Prins Carl*, 1898

Oil on canvas, 146 x 98 cm., Private Collection



**Figure 4.53**

John Singer Sargent, *Captain Herbert M. Sears on the Deck of the Yacht Constellation*, 1924  
Watercolor and gouache on paper, 63.5 x 70.48 cm., Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA,  
M18969





**Figure 4.54**

John Singer Sargent, *Basin with Sailor, Villa Vizcaya*, 1917

Watercolor on paper, 39.93 x 52.07 cm., Orlando Museum of Art, Acquisition Trust  
Purchase 1988, 88.5



**Figure 5.1**

Anders Zorn, *Dance in Gopsmor Cottage*, 1914

Oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm., Zorn Museum, Mora