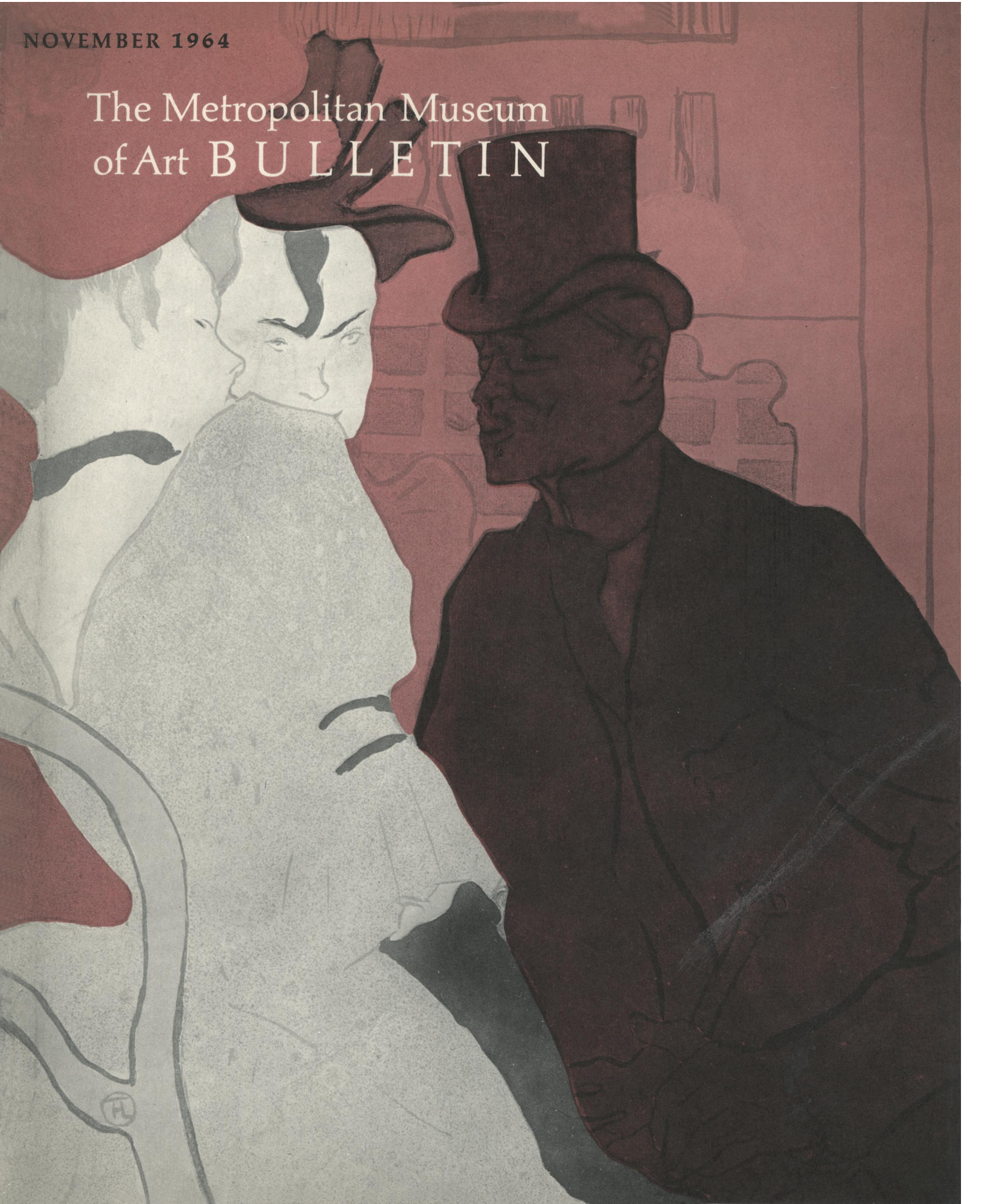
NOVEMBER 1964

The Metropolitan Museum of Art BULLETIN



English Washing Furnitures

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When Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, the famous English bluestocking, went to France in 1776, she rented an unfurnished house at Chaillot and hired a good *tapissier* (an upholsterer, who did the work of an interior decorator) to make it habitable. He proved so efficient that she was "established in it in ye space of a week," as she wrote in a letter, but there was one disaster: "I have just sent back my bed which looked like a state bed for a Prince, being canopied, and of silk crimson damask, but swarming with bugs." This possibility does not usually come to mind when we see these splendid beds in museums or great houses, but Mrs. Montagu's experience makes it easy to understand that curtains and coverlets of printed fabrics, "washing furnitures" as they were called in the eighteenth century, had certain advantages over silk damasks and velvets.

But the convenience of decking a bed with a brightly patterned, washable fabric had not been feasible in Europe before hand-painted but colorfast Indian chintzes, or calicos, became available. These began to be imported in England in quantity early in the seventeenth century; a letter from a certain Lady Sussex (married in 1633) speaks of a "calico spotede with golde cuch [such] as mrs. barbordes bed is lyned with." Similar stuffs, but decorated by printing rather than painting, and never "spotted with gold," began to be made in France, England, and Holland toward the end of the seventeenth century, and, like the Indian chintzes, became so popular that they promptly met with ferocious opposition from silk and wool manufacturers. This was so effective that, in England, importation of cottons from India was forbidden in 1701, but there was much smuggling, and the native imitations continued to be produced. The newspapers give vivid accounts of the violent protests made by silk and wool weavers. In 1719, in Norwich, a wool town, "a Parcel of Fellows got together in a Mobbish Manner and tore People's Callicoe Gowns and Petticoats off their Backs. . . . They March in considerable Numbers through the streets, over and over again, carrying in a triumphing Manner the Callicoes they get upon the Top of Poles, and they are so very bold that they go into People's Houses and tear them off their Backs and even walk in that manner by the very Doors of Magistrates." Four silk weavers of Spitalfields, in London, were stood in the pillory for similar conduct. " 'Tis remarkable," reported a London newspaper of this incident, "that three Women in Callicoes came in a Hackney-Coach and drove several times round them, as they imagined, to insult 'em; but the Weavers, enrag'd at this, stopt the Coach, stript them and then sent them home, notwithstanding a Detachment of Guards was there to keep all quiet."

In spite of their outrageous behavior, the silk and wool weavers won, and in March 1721 the printing of cottons was prohibited, except for export goods, already, appar-

Contents

ON THE COVER: *The Englishman at the Moulin Rouge, by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), French. Color lithograph, 18⅝ x 14¾ inches. Gift of Mrs. Bessie Potter Vonnoh, 41.12.17*

FRONTISPIECE: *Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia. English, about 1788. Size of section reproduced 29 x 25 inches. Rogers Fund, 13.69.37*

ently, something that had to be taken into consideration. This basic restriction remained in force for the next half-century. The new law was rapturously received. "The Weavers made Bonfires in many Places," says a contemporary account, "especially in Spittle-Fields [the center of the silk industry], where at the Coffee-House in Market-Place [the site of the pillory], there was a very stately Bonfire, and a Hogshead of Home-Brew'd Ale given away, by Mr Ben Powel the Coffee-Man, and the Drums, Trumpets and other Music, were brought in to promote the Rejoycings that were made on that Occasion." Owners of clothes made of "Painted, Stain'd, Dy'd, Chequer'd, or Flower'd Callicoes" (the name now given to both the Indian and the English fabrics) could use them only until Christmas 1722, but "Callicoe Quilts and other Household Furniture is to be continued Wearing, all that is made up before Christmas 1722." This led to a number of advertisements the following year, such as one for "the choicest and best printed Callicoes that were ever done in England. . . . to be sold to such as shall want to make up Furniture before Christmas next," and "Great Choice of Callicoe Beds, Window Curtains and Quilts, ready made, after a new Fashion, without Paste or Glue; and so convenient to be wash'd with little more Trouble than a Gown and Petticoat, to be sold great Penniworths, by Reason of the short Time for Selling" (this was in November 1722), and even "Carpets to cover one side of Callicoe Gowns to make into Quilts." On January 5, 1723, there is the first report of a woman "seiz'd near London Wall for wearing a Gown fac'd with Callicoe." She refused to pay the fine and was sent to jail.

OPPOSITE:

1. Birds and flowers. Linen and cotton, wood-block-printed in madder colors. English, about 1750. Size of section reproduced 38 x 30 inches. Purchase, X.364

But in 1736 printing on linen and on a linen-and-cotton mixture became legal again. These fabrics were not only washable but cheap at least in comparison with silk. The correspondence of Mrs. Purefoy of Buckinghamshire with her mercer in London between 1738 and 1753 has been published. She ordered a good deal of printed stuff: "18 yards of chintz to make window curtains for a drawing room," and "such another Quantity for another Room if this is liked on, but I suppose that of abt. 5 or 6 s. [shillings] ye yard will serve for ye other room . . . I suppose you will warrant its standing ye colour when it is washed." She could not have bought silk at this rate, but chintz could be even cheaper; a sample book of English fabrics of about 1750 in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris gives three shillings a yard as a typical price for printed material.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART *Bulletin*

VOLUME XXIII, NUMBER 3 NOVEMBER 1964

2. *Peacock and other birds. On the stone below the hen are the maker's initials, "R. I. & Co.," the place of manufacture, Old Ford, and the date, 1761. Linen and cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia. English (London, Old Ford), Robert Jones manufactory, 1761. Size of section reproduced 40 x 24 inches. Rogers Fund, 24.200*

All English printed fabrics of this period were ornamented by means of wood blocks. These were small, generally less than a foot square; the designs were rather crude, and the range of colors limited. Few specimens from the first half of the eighteenth century have survived, but the Metropolitan Museum has an example made about 1750 (Figure 1), some of which has been hung as window curtains in the American Wing. This method of making the patterns continued to be used until the end of the century and later, but in 1752 a new technique was introduced. It is first met with in Ireland, where its products were advertised in that year as "Drumcondra printed Linens, done from Metal Plates (a method never before practised) with all the Advantages of Light and Shade, in the strongest and most lasting colours." Printing from copper instead of wood did, indeed, mean that the figures could be modeled in chiaroscuro and have much greater fineness of detail; the plates could also be very large, as much as a yard square. The disadvantage was the great difficulty of printing in more than one color, a fairly simple process with wood blocks but likely to make the finer detail of copperplate prints become muddy and unclear. Nevertheless, the elaborate designs that were now possible, printed in monochrome red, purple, sepia, or blue (the only colors available), were much admired. In 1758, Benjamin Franklin sent home from England "65 yards of cotton curiously printed from copper plates, a new invention, to make bed and window curtains; and 7 yards of chair bottoms, printed in the same way, very neat," and George Washington bought "blew plate cotton furniture" in 1759.

Throughout the century, American merchants frequently distinguished in their advertisements between "chintz" or "calico," meaning wood-block-printed fabrics or perhaps painted Indian ones, and "copperplate." A Philadelphia shop offered in 1780 "a superfine blue and white cotton copper plate furniture pattern set of bed curtains, with every article compleat, to fit a large size four post bedstead; two large window curtains to draw

3. *Peasant couple in a landscape, part of the same design as Figure 2. The maker's name* R. IONES *and the date are seen on the stone below the fluteplayer. Size of section reproduced 50 x 30 inches*

OPPOSITE:

5. *The Defense of Gibraltar. Linen and cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia. English, about 1783. Size of section reproduced 32 x 30 inches. Rogers Fund, 17.92.3*

in drapery of the same pattern," and, in the same notice, "a painted four post bedstead, with calico furniture fringed, and made to draw in drapery, with cornices." Abigail Adams made the same distinction, when she described her son, John Quincy's, chamber in a rented house at Auteuil in 1784; she said that it was "lined in the same manner as if it were paper, with a blue and white chintz; the bed curtains, window curtains, and chairs of the same," whereas the little apartment belonging to this chamber "had a sofa of red and white copperplate and six chairs of the same." The "chintz" was probably a French resist-dyed fabric. Even "Chair Cases" (slip covers) could be advertised in America as made of "copperplate Furniture."

The Irish manufacturers did not stay in business long. The Drumcondra works closed down in 1757, and their owner moved to Surrey. But the printers in and around London soon adopted this new process; the first dated English printed fabric is a copperplate pastoral scene on a cotton and linen mixture, signed "R. Iones. 1761," and made at Old Ford in the East End of London, of which the Metropolitan has a large example (Figures 2, 3). Copperplate-printed fabrics look very familiar, for the well-known *toiles de Jouy* are frequently reproduced. But Jouy did not begin to print from copperplates until about 1770, and none of its famous designs is earlier than 1780. By this date the English had turned out hundreds of copperplate patterns; the assets of Jones's factory, when it was sold in 1780, included two hundred copperplates. The English also had a near monopoly of copperplate printing in blue, a complicated process invented in England and seldom used in France.

The second half of the eighteenth century was the period of the great inventions in textile manufacturing that were among the primary causes of the Industrial Revolution. One immediate result of these innovations in spinning and weaving was to lower the cost of finished fabrics. The price of many of the copperplate prints produced in vast quantities by the Bromley Hall works in Poplar was tenpence a yard in 1765 and for the next twenty years, which can be compared with the six shillings that Mrs. Purefoy had been prepared to pay for chintz in 1738. One circumstance that helped keep the price low was that in 1774 the ban on printing on English-made all-cotton cloth was lifted. Three blue threads had to be woven into the selvedges of this cloth to distinguish it from imports. The absence of these lines does not mean that a piece cannot have been printed in England, as printing was done on imported woven cotton, but their presence is proof of English origin.

As nowadays, flower patterns were the favorite decoration for eighteenth century printed fabrics; birds were also popular, rather more so than they are today. But there is another type with few modern parallels, the landscape with figures. These sometimes are purely decorative or they may have symbolic meanings, such as the Four Seasons or the Four Continents; they may also illustrate classical myths, historical or current events, or popular plays or poems. Modern equivalents would be a print with scenes from *Cleopatra*, or the blast-off of a spaceship. One may suppose that eighteenth century cottons with such designs were generally used for wall coverings, bed-curtains, and other upholstery, but at least one dress has survived, in an English collection, with mythological scenes in an expansive landscape all over it.

The designers of these fabrics generally used already published prints on paper as the bases for their work. The Jones landscape mentioned

4. *Action at Gibraltar, line and aquatint by A. Robertson, after a painting by William Hamilton, published 1783. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich*

is derived from a seventeenth century Dutch etching and several English eighteenth century engravings of animals and birds. The central scene on the Defense of Gibraltar (Figure 5) is copied from an aquatint (Figure 4) by A. Robertson after a painting by William Hamilton. Some cottons of this type have no identifying inscriptions, but Gibraltar is most informative; a putto holds a scroll with the title "The Glorious Defense of Gibraltar and Destruction of the Floating Batteries by the Heroic ELLIOT and his Brave GARRISON," and the event is commemorated in a stoutly British verse under the rowboat: "Your FAME, Inglorious France and Spain, Sunk, by Brave ELLIOT's Coup de Main. 1782." The bust of General George Augustus Elliot (afterward Lord Heathfield), the governor of the fortress, appears in a laurel-wreathed medallion in the sky; Captain Curtis, also with a laurel branch, rises from the waves, while the unadorned medallion, with the heads of the defeated Duke of Crillon and Prince of Nassau, is sinking beneath them (Figure 6). Roger Curtis, with the frigate *Brilliant*, convoyed some storeships to Gibraltar early in 1781 and then cooperated with Elliot in the defense of the fortress. He was knighted for his services and later rose to become an admiral. The Duke of Crillon was in command of the Spanish and French armies and Prince Charles of Nassau Siegen was in charge of what were known as the floating batteries, or battering-ships.

The action shown in the painting and the prints was the climax of the nearly four-year-long siege. It took place on September 13, 1782, when ten Spanish floating batteries, considered to be impregnable and incombustible, attacked at close range. These vessels had been made "bomb-proof on the top, with a descent for shells to slide off," to quote a contemporary description; the strange, tentlike structures over the decks can be clearly seen. "Bomb-proof" they were indeed, for "our heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops," but they proved vulnerable to missiles that had been heated red-hot. After midnight, most of them were on fire. "The light thrown out on all sides by the flames, enabled the artillery to point the guns with the utmost precision, whilst the Rock, and neighboring objects were highly illuminated; forming with the flashes of our cannon, a mingled scene of sublimity and terror." Curtis distinguished himself by capturing two launches; the officer standing in the boat on the right is clearly he. One can well believe that it was indeed "a scene, of which perhaps neither the pen nor the pencil can furnish a competent idea," but it is harder to understand why it was thought to be a suitable ornament for bed-curtains.

The patriotic and loyal Englishman could also feast his eyes on the royal family, pictured in all its profusion on his upholstery. The Metropolitan Museum has three cottons showing George III and some of his fifteen children. One with hunting scenes in Windsor Great Park (Figure 7) has an inscription on a tree trunk (Figure 8) naming the horsemen watching the death of the fox; they are the Prince of Wales (afterward Regent and George IV) and two of his friends, Charles James Fox, the

6. Detail of Figure 5. Size of section reproduced 4 x 14 inches

7. Royal hunts in Windsor Great Park. Cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia. English, about 1785. Size of piece 34 x 29 inches. Rogers Fund, 62.43.2

8. Detail of Figure 7. Size of section reproduced 7½ x 3¾ inches

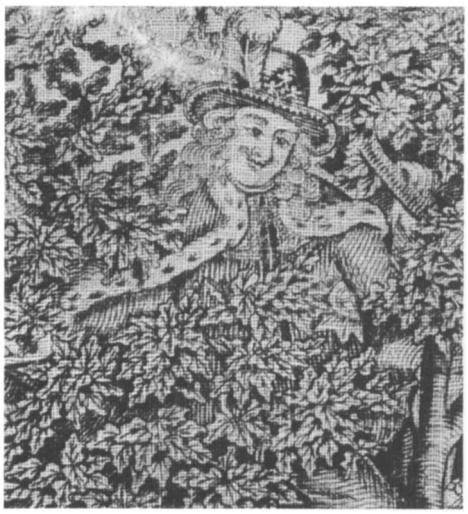
OPPOSITE:

11. Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, with Charles II in the oak tree above. Cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia. English, about 1785. Size of piece 36 x 27 inches. Gift of William Sloane Coffin, 26.265.26

9. Charles II in the oak tree, detail of Figure 11. Size of section reproduced 1¾ x 1½ inches

10. A Cromwellian soldier, detail of Figure 11. Size of section reproduced 5 x 4 inches

statesman who supported the cause of the American colonists, and Colonel John Hayes St. Leger, who founded the St. Leger Stakes at the Newmarket races. The stout rider wearing the Garter Star in the stag hunt above (with Windsor Castle in the distance) is presumably the king, but he is not named, and one suspects that the cotton was intended to appeal to adherents of the opposition party, led by the prince and Fox. Both scenes are derived from engravings published in London in 1779. High Tories, on the other hand, might have liked the cotton showing Charles I and his queen, with, above them, the future Charles II hiding in an oak tree from Cromwell's soldiers (Figures 9, 10, 11). The soldiers'



helmets are marked CROMWELL, to make the point perfectly clear. The event is a famous legend of the English Civil War, but it is doubtful that Prince Charles would have worn an ermine-trimmed robe under the circumstances. The design dates from about 1785, forty years after the final attempt of the Stuarts to recapture the crown; members of the family were becoming romantic figures rather than objects of execration or devotion.

This cotton and the George III designs, which are of the same period, were probably not intended for export – and certainly not to the young United States – but quantities of other patterns crossed the Atlantic. Even as early as 1750, a report to a French official on the Manchester cotton trade said that "the volume of business done with foreign countries is infinitely greater than with the domestic market." Far more English eighteenth century printed cottons have survived in America than have been found in England. A valance in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 12) came from an American bed; it is made of an English cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia but edged with borders of the "blue-resist" usually believed to be of American manufacture, and finished with a fringe and tassels, also presumably American-made. The design on the English cotton is fragmentary and has no inscriptions, but the story can be made out. It shows scenes from the once highly

12. Scenes from Douglas. Cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia, with borders of blue resist-dyed cotton. English and American, about 1790. Size of section reproduced 23 x 34 inches. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George Seligman, 57.56

successful, but now totally forgotten play *Douglas*, by John Home. At the entrance to a castle, with the Douglas family symbol – a heart – over the portcullis, stands a noble youth; he is receiving the thanks of Lord and Lady Randolph because he saved the former's life. Lord Randolph insists on knowing his name: "Blush not, flower of modesty/As well as valour, to declare thy birth." To which the youth replies, in lines once learned by heart by every schoolchild in Britain:

> My name is Norval: on the Grampian hills
> My father feeds his flocks; a frugal swain,
> Whose constant cares were to increase his store,
> And keep his only son, myself, at home.

An account follows of how young Norval routed "a band of fierce barbarians from the hills," and Lord Randolph comments, "He is as wise as brave." But Lady Randolph is perturbed – "Ah! my Matilda, wherefore starts that tear?" asks her husband. Her emotion is accounted for when Old Norval later tells her he has brought up her long-lost son by her first husband, Lord Douglas. This son is, of course, young Norval, the noble youth. But alas, he fights the villain, a scoundrel called Glenalvon, is fatally wounded, and dies in his mother's arms; as shown on the cotton, she rushes to a convenient precipice and leaps to her death.

This now almost unreadable melodrama in blank verse was extravagantly admired, and not only in Scotland. It was first produced in 1756 in Edinburgh, despite opposition from the kirk – not on aesthetic grounds, but because of general disapproval of the stage. Later Mrs. Siddons played Lady Randolph in London. David Hume, the Scottish philosopher, said that Home possessed "the true theatric genius of Shakespeare and Otway [author of *Venice Preserved*], refined from the unhappy barbarism of the one and licentiousness of the other." Hannah More recounted in a letter a "memorable quarrel" she had had with Lord Monboddo (another Scot), who "said *Douglas* was a better play than Shakespeare could have written." She vehemently disagreed: "when he said that Shakespeare had no conception of drawing a king or a hero – that there was not so interesting a discovery in the whole of his works as that of Lady Randolph and her son, and that the passions [in Shakespeare] were always vulgarly delineated – it is impos-

sible to be temperate, and difficult to be just." Lord Monboddo also believed that men were descended from apes, but this idea, of course, was obviously crazy. A more critical estimate of *Douglas* was made by Dr. Johnson, who said there were not ten good lines in the whole play.

But English cotton printers did more for their overseas customers than ship their standard lines. A whole group of patterns was clearly made expressly for America. When the assets of one manufacturer were sold in 1779, they included "extensive and valuable Stocks of Blocks, adapted to the Spanish, American, German, French and Home Trades." No designs created specifically for the American market before the Revolution have been identified, but, as soon as peace was declared, the draughtsmen must have immediately been set to work on appropriate subjects. The citizens of the United States proved to be just as good customers as the colonials had been; William Pynchon, writing from Salem, Massachusetts, to Samuel Curwen in London, in 1784, said, "All who can cross the Atlantic seem determined to go and procure their goods from England; not one discovers a disposition to receive them from France, not withstanding their generosity toward us," and Curwen, in his answer, speaks of the "immense indiscriminate exports to America" from England. The famous French *toiles* with American subjects, the Liberté Américaine and the Hommage de l'Amérique à la France, have actually little that refers to America in their designs, and the very title of the second piece suggests a product for home consumption. The British manufacturers behaved very differently.

One of the American subjects is of particular interest because there is a contemporary reference to it. In the 1788 inventory of John Penn's house, "Solitude," in Pennsylvania, is an entry: "1 set of hair colour furniture cotton bed curtains, pattern William Penn's Treaty with the Indians; 3 window curtains to match ditto." There are in fact two versions of a printed cotton with this subject (Frontispiece, Figure 13). The design is from Benjamin West's famous painting, presumably via an engraving published by Boydell in London in 1775. It is not impossible that one of the copperplates was originally made to order for John Penn; Sheraton, writing in 1793 of his "Summer-Bed in two Compartments . . . intended for a nobleman or gentleman and his lady to sleep in separately in hot weather," says that "the ornamented margins and the ovals with crests in the centre of the counterpanes, may all be printed in any pattern, at a manufactory which has been lately established for such purposes." Earlier workshops may well have provided the same service for good customers. The Penn Treaty patterns, furthermore, would presumably have been attractive to Quakers in England as well as in Pennsylvania; there are, indeed, many examples extant.

More aggressively American are the Washington designs, which evidently sold extremely well, for large quantities of them still exist. The earliest is probably that inscribed "America presenting at the Altar of Liberty medallions of her illustrious Sons" (Figure 14); the portraits of the sons are taken from prints published in London in 1783. The so-called Apotheosis of Washington (Figure 15) probably dates from about 1800. It is signed by the maker, Henry Gardiner, of Wandsworth in Surrey; his factory began business in 1792 and was still in operation in 1815. Washington, in a simple uniform, looking like a Peale portrait, but actually derived from one by Trumbull, stands between Minerva, goddess of wisdom, with an owl on her helmet, and the spirit of

13. Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Cotton, copperplate-printed in purple. English, about 1788. Size of piece 19½ x 24 inches. Bequest of Charles Allen Munn, 24.109.105

14. The Altar of Liberty. Cotton, copperplate-printed in red. English, about 1785. Size of piece 33 x 30½ inches. Bequest of Charles Allen Munn, 24.109.109

OPPOSITE:

16. The Apotheosis of Franklin. Cotton and linen, copperplate-printed in purple. English, about 1790. Size of section reproduced 47½ x 33 inches. Bequest of Charles Allen Munn, 24.109.104

15. The Apotheosis of Washington. Cotton, copperplate-printed in red. English (Wandsworth, Surrey), Henry Gardiner manufactory, about 1800. Size of section reproduced 37 x 27 inches. Rogers Fund, 46.106.1

Freedom, holding a liberty cap on a stick. Behind them is Hercules with his staff, a personification of strength, and the seated figure of Benjamin Franklin, taken from the print by Cochin, supporting a book marked CODE OF LAWS. The kneeling woman has laid her sword on the ground and holds a caduceus, the symbol of Mercury, god of commerce.The bale on which she has set her foot is presumably filled with cotton; the barrel beside it, with rum or tobacco. She represents the young Republic, which, having won the war, has turned to trade. The bust in an oval medallion leaning against a tree is labeled CATO, a reference to the incorruptible honesty of Washington. Fame, in the sky, points to the proud inscription on the obelisk, "Independence, 1776."

Examples of Washington cottons have been found in many of the original thirteen states, and we know that one of them, at least, was used in England. It is described in a book called *Letters from England*, written by the poet Robert Southey under the nom de plume of Don Manuel Espriella. Published in 1807, the book consists of travel letters, ostensibly by a Portuguese visitor. From an inn at Carlisle, he writes: "My bed curtains may serve as a good specimen of the political freedom permitted in England. General Washington is there represented driving American independence in a car drawn by leopards, a black Triton running beside them, and blowing his conch, – meant, I conceive, by his crown of feathers, to designate the native Indians. In another compartment, Liberty and Dr. Franklin are walking hand in hand to the Temple of Fame, where two little Cupids display a Globe, on which America and the Atlantic are marked. The tree of liberty stands by, and the stamp-act reversed is bound round it. I have often remarked the taste of the people for these coarse allegories." This is a close description of the Apotheosis of Franklin (Figure 16), which presumably was designed shortly after his death in 1790.

This quotation is a reminder that many Englishmen sympathized with the new nation, but its reference to the "taste of the


TEMPLE OF FAME
THE ATLANTIC OCEAN
LIBERTY TREE

17-19. Fall of the Bastille: details, from top to bottom, of the seizing of the Bastille; Louis XVI greeting Justice, Liberty, and Minerva; and a monument to Louis XVI. Cotton, copperplate-printed in sepia. English, about 1790. Size of sections reproduced 13 x 10 inches. Rogers Fund, 26.238.7

people" suggests that, by 1807, the fashion for copperplate-printed cottons was waning. In 1786, another poet, William Cowper, could write to his friend Lady Hesketh that the printed cotton furniture being prepared for her bed had a classical subject, Phaeton kneeling to Apollo, but toward the end of the eighteenth century there was such a marked decline in both design and printing of these cottons that it seems unlikely that they still had much appeal to the gentry. By 1826, George Smith said in his *Cabinet Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* that printed calicos, though good for "secondary apartments, or for those in houses of persons of small fortunes" were "not at all suitable for those of persons of rank and splendid income."

There remains the question of why the late eighteenth century copperplate-printed fabrics so often have such unusual storytelling designs. That the manufacturers decided to reproduce figures in landscapes can perhaps be explained by their wish to exploit the capabilities of the new process as fully as possible; no such detailed illustrations could be made with wood blocks. But why, from the mid-1760s, customers wanted current theatrical scenes, and why, from about 1775, they wanted pictures of contemporary events around their beds and across their windows is much harder to account for. A similar phenomenon occurred in France, where theatrical and historical scenes appeared about a decade after they did in England. Comparable French *toiles*, which begin with naval victories, become more frequent after 1789, when they are concerned with episodes of the Revolution. Certainly here one senses a growing involvement of the people as a whole with the political scene, though manufacturers must have lost heavily when they immortalized occasions of the most transitory validity; the *toile* showing Louis XVI in his brief role as a constitutional monarch, "restorateur de la Liberté," would have been hastily ripped from many a bed after the flight to Varennes. An English manufacturer of left-wing sympathies produced a similar subject (Figures 17, 18, 19), showing the French king as well as the fall of the Bastille, with a misspelled inscription about "Louis XVI regeneratel [*sic*] de la liberté françois," and must have also regretted it. Perhaps the short-lived, rather naïve fashion can be linked to the rise of a general interest in history, past and contemporary, found in late eighteenth century literature, as well as in paintings and prints. Dr. Johnson said that the state of the nation, however precarious, never caused a man to eat a less hearty dinner, but this was beginning to be no longer true. The modern world, with newspaper headlines affecting the lives of rich and poor alike, lay ahead. Perhaps one of its first manifestations was the appearance on English beds of such a cause for national rejoicing as the taking of Quebec or the defense of Gibraltar.

NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No article on English printed fabrics can be written without extensive reliance on the work of the late Peter Floud, and of Barbara Morris, both of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The quotations from English newspapers of 1718-1723 are taken from a typewritten collection of extracts, a copy of which is available in the Metropolitan Museum Library. I am indebted to Dr. Donaldson of the Glasgow University Library and Francine Irwin of the same city for the identification of the *Douglas* cotton and to Althea Westland of the Army Museums Ogilby Trust, London, for the source of the Gibraltar design. The reference to printed fabrics in John Penn's inventory was published by Marie G. Kimball, "The Furnishings of Solitude," *Antiques*, XX (1931), pp. 28, 29.

Munch and Lautrec

CAROLINE KARPINSKI *Assistant Curator of Priats*

Edvard Munch and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec were born within one year of each other a century ago: the former in December 1863; the latter in November 1864. Their contemporaneousness is incidental, for the shape of their lives and the sum total of their art are fundamentally different. Their passion and desperation differed as deeply as *die Frau* and *les girls*.

Lautrec's personal misfortunes are only too well known. Without them he might have borne life longer, although his art would probably have been much the same. He asserted what was gay and joyful and vivid. His compositions suddenly flare with wit and unexpected juxtapositions – as did (it is said) his conversation. He valued what was candid and honest, rarely used models, and posed his sitters in natural situations. Yet, paradoxically, he expunged the sordid from anything but the slightest sketches. He mocked earnestly but not bitterly, and caricatured with compassion rather than meanness.

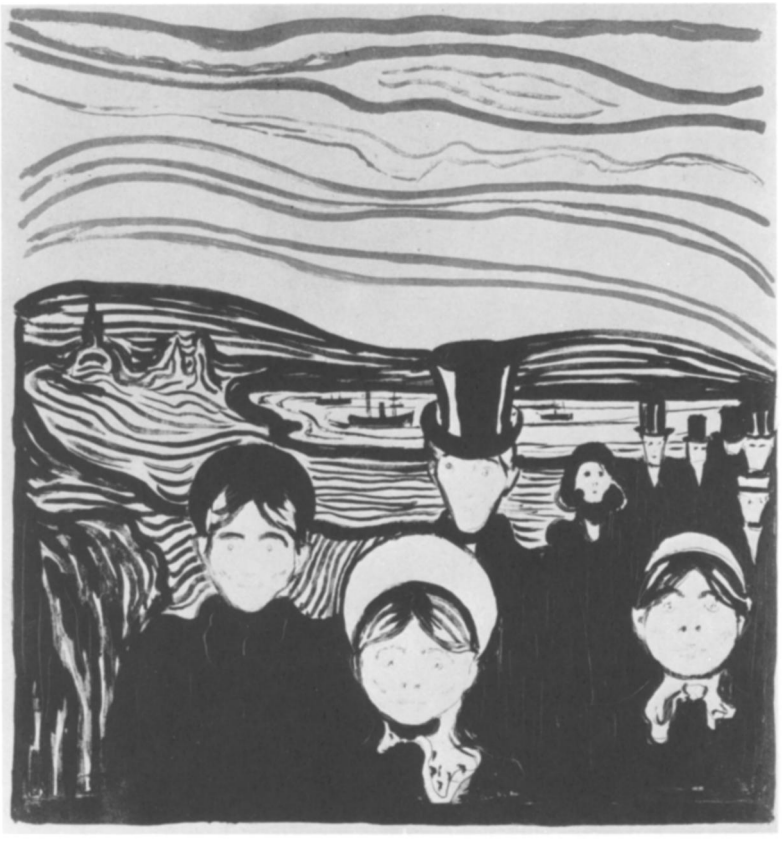
Degas's theatrical subjects may have inspired Lautrec, who, moreover, must have been struck by Degas's bold, audacious compositions. Another significant influence on his style was the flat tones and vivid colors of Japanese woodcuts – characteristics that appear from 1891, the date of his first poster for the Moulin Rouge.

Edvard Munch, brooding and introverted, seems initially a less sympathetic figure. He turned repeatedly to themes of love, loneliness, and death, refreshing his sorrow, yielding to turgid despair. His most compelling versions of these themes are also his earliest, although he lived to be eighty and worked to the end of his life. As Johann Langaard has observed, "Munch did not aim at producing individual works of art." Each painting or print is but another reflection of his interior vision. Yet, like Poussin, he sought to crystallize his conceptions, and carried a few beyond psychic complication to detachment.

The kindred art of Gauguin, more than that of anyone else, must have influenced Munch. Both made symbolic representations of a vision or emotion, but Gauguin deformed the object for compositional needs, whereas Munch never sacrificed idea to form. Yet Munch took certain devices from Gauguin that he absorbed into his own art: the undulating outlines, each line resolving itself into a curve; the concentration of dark masses, to which smaller forms are subordinated. In his woodcuts Munch also shared Gauguin's feeling for the surface of the block and the character of the knife strokes.

Munch's expressions of distress and melancholy are as intense as Lautrec's irony and joy. Munch's repetition of a few themes seems like an expurgation; Lautrec's like an affirmation.

EDVARD

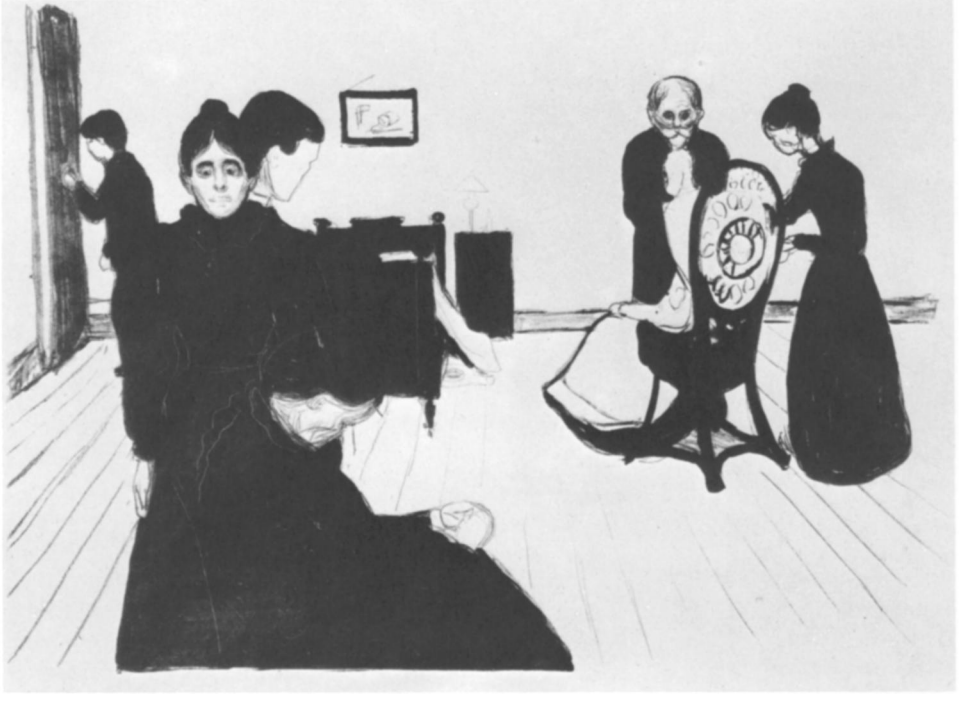


Anxiety

For the first half of his life, Munch was obsessed by the tragedy of existence and of destiny. In his seventies he said, "I have always walked along an abyss," despite a measure of tranquillity and self-detachment long since acquired. He felt that life itself was fearful. The powerless individual is absorbed and carried along by the rhythm of natural forces. He may conceal his fear, but the sky and landscape vibrate with his secret anxiety.

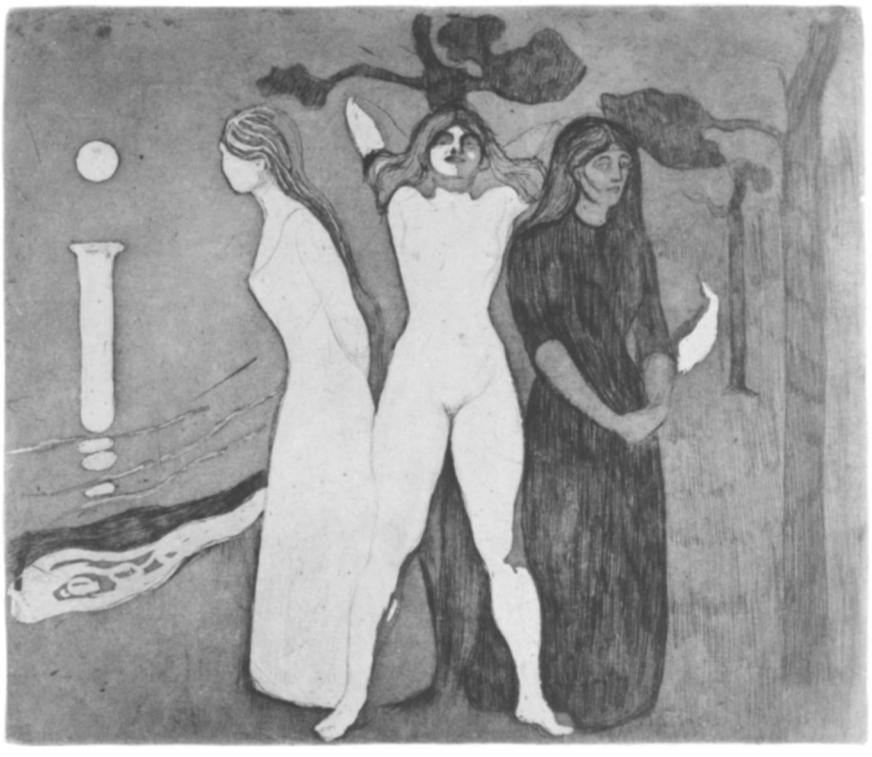
These lines of vibration were suggested to Munch by the abstract linearity of art nouveau, which he encountered in Paris in 1896 and 1897. Yet Munch never used line, form, or color as decoration. Each had to be a symbol for the expression of his inner vision.

1896. Color lithograph, 16⅜ x 15⅜ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund



MUNCH

1863-1944 Norwegian



Woman

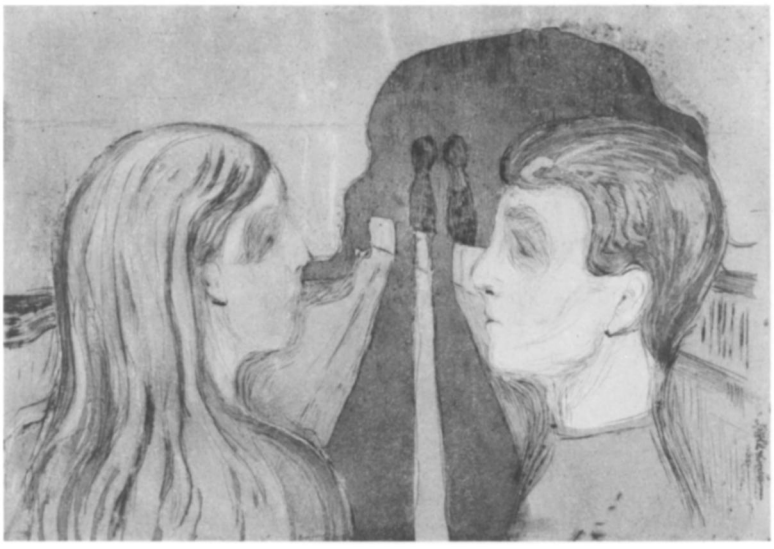
The third of Munch's obsessive themes – that of the torments of love – is here synthesized in three aspects of woman. In her youth she is portrayed as self-absorbed, inhibited, and unapproachable. In the next phase, when she is no longer passive, she becomes a seductive menace, a danger to hopelessly attracted man. In the last phase, she again appears withdrawn, now because disillusioned and emotionally withered. Although no longer agitated by passion, she has not emerged to peace or harmony. In all aspects she is a being who eludes man.

1895. Etching, 11¾ x 13½ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest

The Death Chamber

Death was another theme that preoccupied Munch. In his childhood and adolescence he experienced the prolonged illness and death of both his mother and sister. He conveys in this lithograph the torpor of the death chamber by the immobile black silhouettes. He separates the frail dying figure from life by turning her away from the spectator and showing only an arm and a bit of skirt beyond the chair. The emphasis is on the anguish of the bereaved.

1896. Lithograph, 15¼ x 21⅝ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller

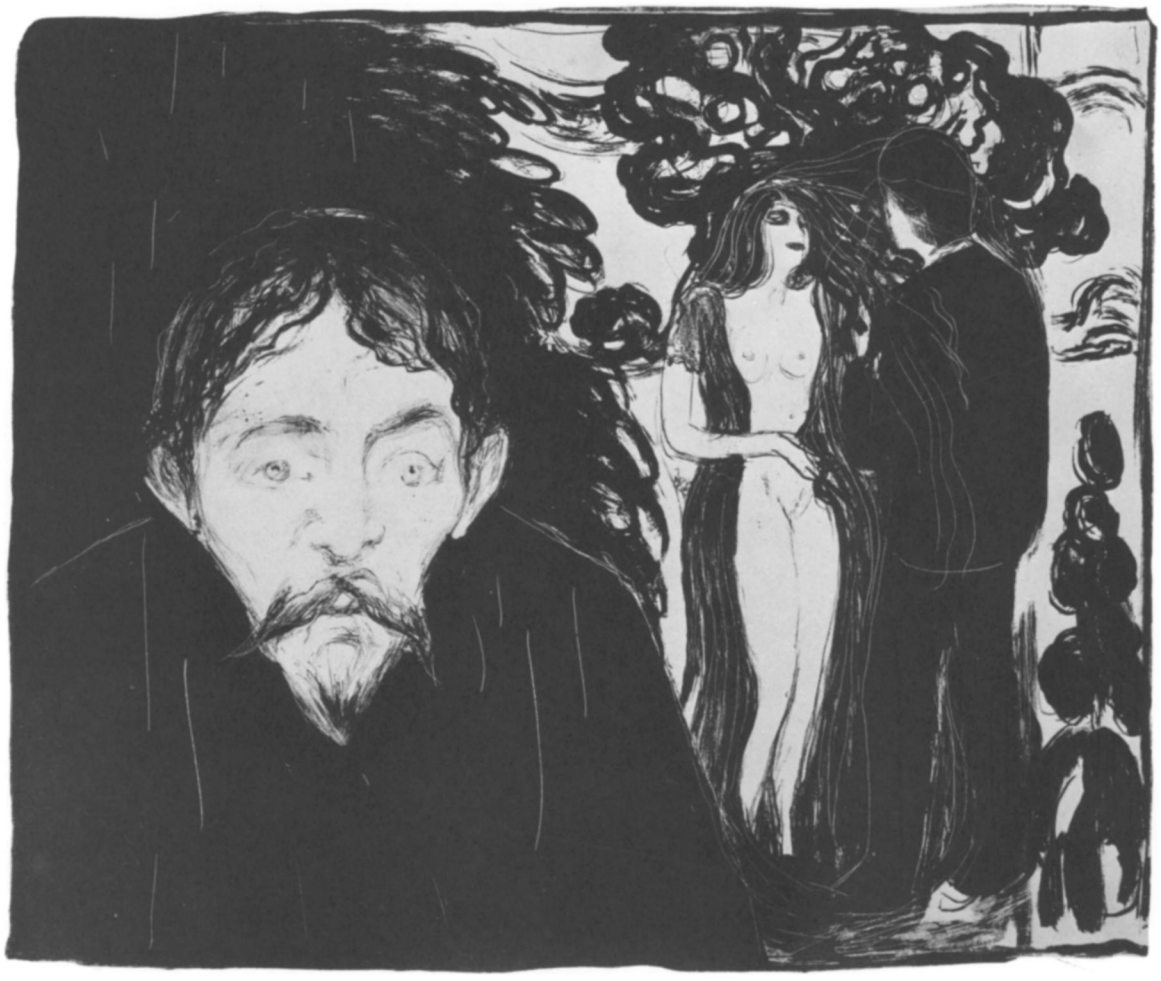


Lovers on the Beach

Munch stated the theme of conflict between the sexes in numerous variations. His images are symbols drawn from the world of phenomena to express the longing, isolation, and loneliness that are the subject of this print. The young lovers are represented as timid, uncertain, half-awakened – and therefore inaccessible to each other. They are separated by parallel roads, and parallels meet only in infinity.
1895. Color etching, 8½ x 12⅜ inches. The Museum of Modern Art

Vampire

Woman in her maturity becomes truly terrifying. Man, pitiful object, is caught in the clutches of a vampire who, with her long hair, entangles and holds him.
1895. Lithograph, 15¼ x 21⅜ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, Purchase



Jealousy Powerless because love is an irresistible power, man yields, only to be abandoned, ravaged by jealousy, remorse, and despair. Woman emerges exultant, in complete self-possession and ever seductive. A preparatory drawing (below) shows the foreground figure and the background couple drawn together by the coiling tendrils of art nouveau. Munch subdues this compositional motif in the lithograph, restating the undulating lines as twining hair. *1896. Lithograph, 18¾ x 22⅝ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, Purchase*

Probably 1896. Charcoal and pastel, 16½ x 22 inches. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. E. Powis Jones

Nude with Red Hair

Munch had to give even a simple figure symbolic meaning. This nude is tense, silent, and alert, like a predatory animal.
1901. Color lithograph, 19½ x 15¾ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, Gift of James Thrall Soby

The Kiss

After 1900 the themes of persecution and hysterical fear became less insistent, although Munch returned to them with renewed zest periodically.

One sign of tranquillity was this 1902 version of The Kiss. The expression of passion is almost secondary to the rhythmic abstract pattern reminiscent of the style of Gauguin.
1902. Color woodcut, 18⅜ x 18⅝ inches. The Museum of Modern Art, Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller

HENRI DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC

1864-1901 French

Jane Avril

Cabaret, music-hall, circus, and theater performers were the most sustained and vital sources of inspiration for Lautrec. Jane Avril was a great favorite, and Lautrec's many portraits helped to make her famous. She had a slim and elegant figure, and was sprightly and intelligent, easygoing yet reserved. Zidler, director of the Moulin Rouge, said she danced like a rapturous orchid.

1893. Lithograph, 10½ x 8¼ inches. Dick Fund, 23.30.3(1)

At the Moulin Rouge

The slim, blonde figure in the center was Louise Weber, a dancer whom Lautrec first met in 1886, when she was sixteen. Although she had neither much talent nor taste for art – she posed for Lautrec reluctantly – she had an enormous vitality and passion for the pleasures of life. Hence her nickname La Goulue – the Glutton.

Between 1892 and 1898 Lautrec was absorbed in lithography, a technique that exercised a purifying effect on his paintings – many of which are studies for lithographs – by freeing them of all that was incidental and tentative.

1892. Color lithograph, 17½ x 13½ inches. Gift of Mrs. Bessie Potter Vonnoh, 41.12.18

Aristide Bruant

In 1885 Lautrec made the acquaintance of Aristide Bruant, who was as keen a performer offstage as on. Singer, songwriter, and owner of the cabaret Mirliton, he mixed mockery and picturesque expression with sincere good feeling.
1893. Lithograph, 10½ x 8¼ inches. Dick Fund, 23.30.3(7)

Yvette Guilbert

Although Lautrec drew Yvette Guilbert's beauty of grace and movement with a supple line, she saw the accent placed on her worst features. "For heaven's sake," she wrote him, "don't make me so ugly. Everybody won't see only the artistic side [of the picture]." Lautrec made posters for her from 1894, and numerous other lithographs.
1898. Lithograph, 11¾ x 9⅝ inches. Gift of Mrs. H. Wolf, 17.52(9)

Marcelle Lender

Lautrec steeped himself in the brilliant style of this singer and dancer, attending more than twenty of her performances in the operetta *Chilpéric*. He painted her in full movement without any formal sittings, and made this small lithograph as a variation on the portrait.

1895. Color lithograph, 13 x 9½ inches. The Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 49.55.183

May Belfort

May Belfort, an Irish singer who affected children's clothing, came on stage and sang:

I've got a little cat
I'm very fond of that.

In a letter owned by Herbert Schimmel, Lautrec applied to one of his friends on behalf of Miss Belfort, who wanted a husband for her cat. "Is your Siamese ripe for the match? Drop me a line please and we'll fix a date."

1895. Color lithograph, 31¼ x 24¼ inches. Gift of Mrs. Bessie Potter Vonnoh, 41.12.1

The Passenger in Cabin No. 54

Each year Lautrec took the same vacation he had taken since childhood: he embarked on a cargo vessel at Le Havre and disembarked at Bordeaux. In 1895 there was on board a lady whom Lautrec so admired from afar that when the ship reached Bordeaux he refused to get off. When the ship arrived at Lisbon (the next stop was Dakar) Lautrec was at last persuaded to disembark. This lithograph of the remote beauty staring at the sea, a souvenir of his voyage, was used as an exhibition poster.
1896. Color lithograph, 23⅞ x 16 inches. Gift of Mrs. Bessie Potter Vonnoh, 41.12.2

Mme Le Marguoin

Lautrec's friends maintained a discreet silence about Louise Blouet, his "last sentimental idyll," as a recent biography puts it. She modeled hats in a milliner's shop, and was the subject of several paintings and drawings executed in 1900, as well as of his last large lithograph.
1900. Lithograph, 12⅜ x 9¾ inches. Bequest of Clifford A. Furst, 58.621.12

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Of the innumerable books and articles on Munch and Lautrec, the following have been particularly useful in the preparation of this article:

Frederick B. Deknatel, with introduction by Johann H. Langaard, *Edvard Munch*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1950.

P. Huisman and M. G. Dortu, *Lautrec par Lautrec*, Paris, 1964.

F. Jourdain and J. Adhémar, *T-Lautrec*, Paris, 1952.

William S. Lieberman, *Edvard Munch, a Selection of His Prints from American Collections*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1957.

Alfred Neumeyer, "Edward Munch," *Magazine of Art*, November 1944, pp. 263-267.

Prints in Elizabethan Poetry

A. HYATT MAYOR *Curator of Prints*

The anniversary of Shakespeare's birth in 1564 should not slip by without some sort of salute. A few months before that joyful day in April, the Council of Trent wound up nearly twenty years of strategic planning for a new military discipline to invigorate the Roman Church against the attacks from the North of Europe. With Catholics and Protestants at a fever pitch of burning and hanging and beheading each other, the violence of life demanded its opposite in art and found it in the passionless elegance of mannerism. Sculptors and painters standardized the human figure to an ideal – the *maniera* – of tapering limbs and a delicate head like the figures on late Roman reliefs, and they twisted these arbitrary manikins as if they were sprays of acanthus to apply the human form as the most exciting of decorations. Such ornamental wrenching of anatomy had an almost legislative sanction from Michelangelo, who died some nine weeks before Shakespeare was born.

An art museum can commemorate Shakespeare with practically no great works of art from England, where the rapture of the age went into declamation and song. Before the Grand Tour started Englishmen forming their great art collections, they had few opportunities of seeing foreign paintings and sculptures beyond those that Torrigiano and Zuccaro had made in London. But prints brought them Continental art and the look of faraway cities, just as magazine illustrations bring them to us today. Through prints they saw the buildings of ancient Rome and modern Europe, exotic costumes, and the latest discoveries. Yet the age was so attuned to words and music that English poets of the time rarely mention the prints that must have passed through their hands, revealing only here and there what pictures they saw.

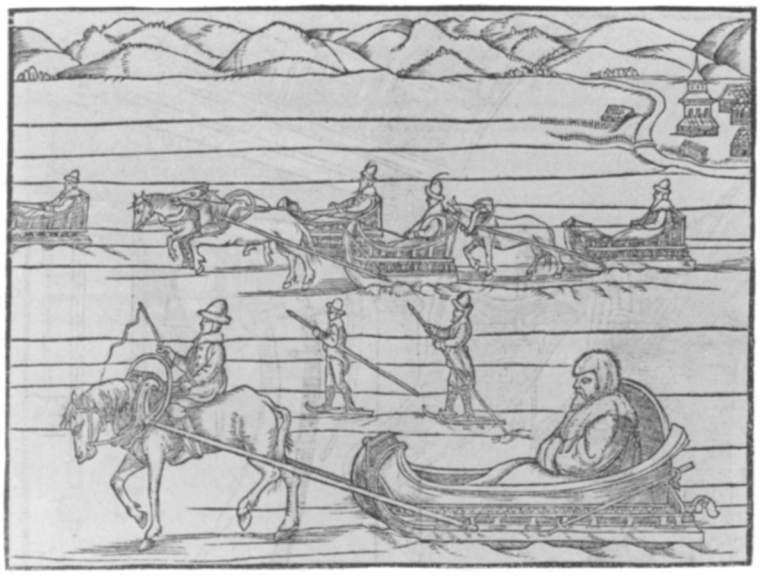
Shakespeare's writing seems like an exception, because his characters feel as close as friends. But his vivid coloring describes states of emotion and not concrete objects. There is no sense in examining pictures by Caravaggio and Elsheimer for the source of "Darkling stand the varying shore of the world": Cleopatra is conjuring up a vision in her inner eye alone. Yet just now and then Shakespeare puts in a touch of local color specific enough to identify a picture. When Othello tells of his travels among

> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders

he undoubtedly visualized the odd woodcut in that first enormous picture book, the Nuremberg Chronicle (Figure 1). To establish the arctic belligerency of Denmark, Horatio says that Hamlet's father "smote the sledded Polacks on the ice." This neatly fits a woodcut (Figure 2) in the first big illustrated book on Russia. Both quartos of *Hamlet* and the folio spell the word "pollax," which Alexander Pope emended to "Polacks." The woodcut now proves Pope right.

Shakespeare names a definite painter or sculptor only once, when Hermione at the end of *The Winter's Tale* poses as a statue by "that rare Italian master, Giulio Romano." It is easy to see why Shakespeare, casting about for an Italian artist's name, should light on a painter rather than a sculptor, because he must have looked at many prints after paintings for one after a Renaissance sculpture. But it is just possible that he may have seen the engraving

1. Illustration from the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. Woodcut, 2 x 2¼ inches. Rogers Fund, 21.36.145



2. *"The Polacks on the ice," from Rerum Muscoviticarum Commentarii, Vienna, 1549, by Sigmund Herberstein. Woodcut. The Pierpont Morgan Library*

3. *The Three Fates, after Giulio Romano, by Giorgio Ghisi (1520-1582), Italian. Engraving, 5½ x 8 11/16 inches. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 17.50.16-125*

(Figure 3) of Giulio's fresco of the three Fates in the Palazzo del Te, which names the painter as a sculptor – perhaps because the three figures sit against a blank background as in a marble relief.

In 1605 when Ben Jonson was creating the wicked, intelligent world of an imaginary Venice, he needed little visual background except in the scene where Volpone disguises himself as a charlatan doctor and sets up his platform "in the face of the public Piazza, near the shelter of the Portico of the Procuratia" in competition with "the rabble of these ground ciarlatani, that spread their cloaks on the pavement, as if they meant to do feats of activity." This dramatizes Giacomo Franco's then recent engraving (Figure 4) of *ciarlatani* – talkers, barkers – selling their quack medicines between songs to attract the public, which includes an Englishman. All these details are enacted on the stage in *Volpone*.

Since this scene from *Volpone* was inspired by a print, the same probably holds for the opening of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*. The alchemist has been compared to various actual

London imposters, but his true parent is more probably the engraving after Pieter Bruegel (Figure 5). Jonson's picturesque lines certainly read as though he had written them with one eye on Bruegel's mad figure:

> You and the rats here kept possession . . .
> Where, like the father of hunger, you did walk,
> Piteously costive, with your pinch'd-horn-nose,
> And your complexion of the Roman wash . . .
> When you went pinn'd up in the several rags
> You had rak'd and pick'd from dunghills, before day:
> Your feet in mouldy slippers, for your kibes [chilblains];
> A felt [hat] of rug, and a thin threaden cloak,
> That scarce would cover your no-buttocks.

Much has been written about the similes that Shakespeare seems to have derived from emblem books, such as:

> Pity, like a naked new-born babe
> Striding the blast.

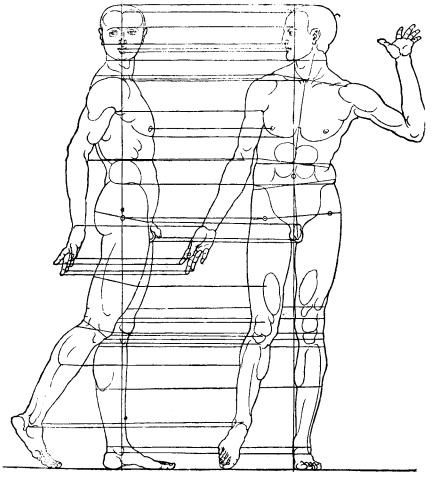
This visual kind of poetry comes from the habit of mind that created the emblem – a picture plus a motto that in combination suggest an idea or a person. We get a definite idea if we see an eagle and E PLURIBUS UNUM. This association of words and picture later separated into the painting of pictures that "talked" to our ancestors even without mottoes, and the writing of the kind of poetry that we call metaphysical when it occurs in English. The great English poet of intricate imagery was John Donne, whose constant search for telling similes led him to look at everything he could see, including prints. He sometimes identified his source, as when he compares one of Dürer's woodcuts of human proportions (Figure 6) to a fantastic dandy who would

> By Durers rules survay the state
> Of his each limbe, and with strings the odds trye
> Of his neck to his legge, and wast to thighe.
> So in immaculate clothes, and Symetrie
> Perfect as circles. . . .

4. Ciarlatani in Piazzi di San Marco, from La Citta di Venetia, by Giacomo Franco (about 1550-1620), Italian. Engraving, 10½ x 6½ inches. Dick Fund, 47.141.2(15)

5. *Detail from The Alchemist, after Pieter Bruegel (about 1525-1569), Flemish. Engraving, 13 3/16 x 17 11/16 inches. Dick Fund, 26.72.29*

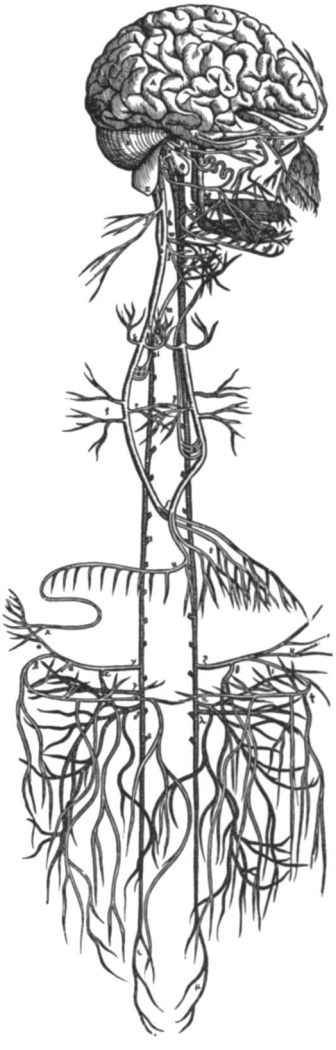
6. *Illustration from De Symmetria Partium Humanorum Corporum, Nuremberg, 1532, by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), German. Woodcut, 12½ x 8 inches. Gift of Mortimer L. Schiff, 18.57.4*



Prints provide the only explanation for at least one of Donne's more recondite passages. The poet of the bracelet of bright hair about the bone hounded death in all its aspects, and naturally examined Vesalius's *Anatomy* or one of the various copies of the illustrations. Donne's strange lines in "The Funeral" can only be understood as a reference to what Leonardo da Vinci called the "tree of the veins," made by quickly dissecting out the veins and drying them on a large table like seaweed. Vesalius himself drew various diagrams of the veins and of the nerves for his book that established modern anatomy at one stride in 1543. With one of these woodcuts in mind (Figure 7) it is clear what Donne means when he writes:

> The sinewie thread my braine lets fall
> Through every part,
> Can tye those parts, and make mee one of all.

Few students of Elizabethan literature have searched among prints since Henry Green published *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* in 1870. It may be time for another look into these fascinating comparisons.



7. *"The tree of the veins," from De Humani Corporis Fabrica, Basel, 1543, by Andreas Vesalius. Woodcut (reprinted from the original wood blocks, Munich, 1934), 13 x 5 inches. Dick Fund, 1935*

Notes

Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., President of Steuben Glass, was elected President of The Metropolitan Museum of Art by the Board of Trustees on September 15. A Trustee of the Museum since 1952, he has served actively on the principal committees of the Board for many years. Mr. Houghton succeeds Roland L. Redmond, who had been President since 1947 and whose administration covered one of the most significant periods of growth and public service in the entire history of the Museum.

Mr. Houghton has a distinguished record in business and industry, as well as in civic and cultural affairs, and is a noted book collector. He is a director of the Corning Glass Works, the United States Steel Corporation, the United States Trust Company of New York, and the New York Life Insurance Company; Chairman of The Cooper Union; Vice-Chairman of Lincoln Center; Vice-President of the Corning Museum of Glass and the Pierpont Morgan Library; and past Chairman of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society. He is a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, the New York Public Library, the Parsons School of Design, and the Institute of International Education, and is a member of many learned societies both here and abroad.

Educated at Harvard University, he has served as an Overseer, and is a member of the Visiting Committee to the Department of Fine Arts and the Fogg Art Museum. The Houghton Library, which houses Harvard's collections of rare books and manuscripts, was the gift of Mr. Houghton.

He was Curator of Rare Books at the Library of Congress from 1940 to 1942, following which he served in the Army Air Force until 1945, when he retired with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He has been awarded honorary degrees by ten colleges and universities, and is an officer of the French Legion of Honor.

JAMES J. RORIMER, *Director*

It was with great reluctance that the Board of Trustees acceded to the decision of Roland L. Redmond not to be considered as a candidate for another annual term as President of the Museum. First elected to the office in 1947, having already been a Trustee since 1934, he served for seventeen years with honor and distinction. It is not possible to do full justice to the zeal, acumen, and judgment he has exerted on behalf of the Museum, but it is, I think, appropriate to present here a brief outline of the Museum's accomplishments in the nearly two decades of his presidency – accomplishments in which he played so great a part, and which reveal better than anything else the extent of his contributions.

The long-range building program instituted shortly after Mr. Redmond became President has already brought about a near-total transformation of the Museum, affecting every single department and collection. The extent of this program can be judged from a partial list of the projects completed: the Grace Rainey Rogers Auditorium, the Harry Payne Bingham Special Exhibition Galleries, the Junior Museum, the restaurant, the service building, and the Thomas J. Watson Library. New installations have been provided for most of the collections, and are soon to be completed for Far Eastern and Islamic art, prints, and drawings. The European paintings galleries have been renovated twice; reconstructed in 1954, they were air-conditioned and again remodeled this year. There have been several special installations as well, many of them elaborate enough to be considered building projects in themselves, including the French and English period rooms, the great choir screen from Valladolid Cathedral, the Fuentidueña apse at The Cloisters, and, most recent-

ly, the Blumenthal Patio from Vélez Blanco.

The major works of art acquired in these years would form a list as long as this whole issue. Only a few outstanding examples can be mentioned here, such as the Bache Collection, the Alfred Stieglitz Collection of modern art, the Sam A. Lewisohn and Stephen C. Clark bequests of impressionists and postimpressionists, Aphrodite and the Hearst vases, the French porcelains and furniture from the Kress Collection, the Campin altarpiece and the Bury St. Edmunds cross at The Cloisters, the Sumerian figure of Gudea, Rembrandt's Aristotle, and the recently purchased drawing by Raphael. The growth of the collections is reflected in the creation of two new curatorial departments, Drawings and American Paintings and Sculpture; in the incorporation of The Costume Institute as an integral part of the Museum; and in the redivision of the Near Eastern collections into Ancient Near Eastern Art and Islamic Art.

The Museum is fundamentally an educational institution, both implicitly, through its collections, and explicitly, through its tours, lectures, and courses. During the years Mr. Redmond was President there was an enormous expansion in these activities at every level, and two new programs were begun, the Museum Training Program, administered jointly with New York University, and the series of undergraduate and graduate courses given at the Museum by members of the staff and the faculty of Columbia University.

The best evidence of the increasingly important role of the Museum in the cultural life of New York is the extraordinary growth in attendance and membership. In 1947 attendance at the main building was one and three-quarters million; the annual figure is now five million. Likewise, at The Cloisters attendance has grown from 400,000 in 1947 to over 1,250,000 in 1963. Membership has enjoyed a similar rate of increase; from about 7,500 in 1947, it has risen to over 20,000 this year.

Although these advances cannot be ascribed entirely to any one individual, there is no question that the leadership of Roland Redmond has been a major factor in their achievement. I am confident that I speak for the Trustees, the Corporation, and the staff in expressing our gratitude to Mr. Redmond, and our deep regret at his retirement from office.

ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR., *President*

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART