# Charles Ricketts and Japan: British Japonisme of the Second Generation from the 1880s to the 1930s

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PhD

University of York History of Art November 2022

#### Abstract

Charles Ricketts (1866-1931) was a versatile British artist who worked as a theatre designer, painter, sculptor, book designer, art critic, connoisseur, and collector. This thesis explores Ricketts's Japonisme: the interaction between Ricketts and Japanese art and people through his work and collection from the 1880s to the 1930s. This represents the comparatively little-explored period of the second generation of Japonists, who flourished in London.

Chapter 1 examines the development of the Japanese art collection that Ricketts and his partner Charles Shannon jointly established. It also provides a comprehensive analysis of the collection bequeathed to the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Chapter 2 focuses on Ricketts as a scholarly Japonist. Following an exploration of his interaction with Japanese people in London, the chapter explores Japanese art studies in Britain at that time and Ricketts's Japanese art criticism regarding ukiyo-e artist, Kitagawa Utamaro and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London.

Chapter 3 discusses Ricketts's artworks and their connection to Japanese art. It explores his theatre designs, book designs, paintings, and sculptures, especially theatrical costume designs.

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## Acknowledgements

During the first half of the period when I wrote my thesis, I met many people and went to various places. These encounters were irreplaceable and precious experiences.

However, in March 2020, the world changed. In this challenging time, I came to realise again and again how much gratitude people around me deserved.

Firstly, I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisor, Jason

Edwards for stimulating feedback and generous support. I was always encouraged by

his advice. Especially during the last two years, sending a weekly draft to him via email

and having supervisory meetings via Zoom between Britain and Japan greatly motivated

me. I am also grateful to my thesis advisory panel Elizabeth Prettejohn for opinions

with acute insights. What I learned at the Department of History of Art, University of

York established the foundation for my research skills.

Between 2018 to 2019, I had opportunities to visit conferences, museums, and archives. Through my long-distance academic travel, I am thankful to Watanabe Toshio and Kato Akiko for their thoughtful advice. During the field survey, I examined materials at the British Museum, the British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Fitzwilliam Museum. Their staff and curators kindly helped me, and I appreciate all their help.

My PhD research on Ricketts's British Japonisme was generously funded by the Sasakawa Japanese Studies Postgraduate Studentship Programme. I am thankful to Oleg Benesch, who recommended me to apply to this programme.

Throughout my research period, my friends and family were indispensable to me. I wish to express my deep gratitude to my friends, Barbara, Don, and Pam. It has been great meeting all of you in York. Specifically, Barbara Lodge always gave me both academic and private support. I greatly appreciate her generous help. Lastly, let me say that I hugely thank my parents for their continuous support.

# **Author's Declaration**

I declare that this thesis, "Charles Ricketts and Japan: British Japonisme of the Second Generation from the 1880s to the 1930s" is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

#### Introduction

## **Historical Context of Britain and Japan**

The beginning of Anglo-Japanese relations dates back to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In 1600, British navigator, William Adams arrived in Japan. He met Tokugawa Ieyasu who became the first *shogun* of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603, who designated Adams as a diplomatic advisor. This situation made the East India Company interested in Japan, and Captain John Saris visited the country on one of the company's voyages in 1613. Saris presented a diplomatic document by James I and gifts to Ieyasu, and Ieyasu approved, for the first time, trade with Britain.

The Tokugawa shogunate strengthened international trade regulations from the latter half of the 1610s. Additionally, there was a Japanese trade race between Britain and the Netherlands, causing Britain to imagine that trade with Japan was likely to yield low profit, Britain closed its trading house in Japan in 1623, and 17<sup>th</sup>-century trade relations between Britain and Japan lasted only 10 years.

In the Edo period (1603-1868), the shogunate adopted a national seclusion policy for more than 200 years. The next opportunity for Japan and Britain to re-establish diplomatic relations came in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Western ships often approached Japanese ports because of the increase of commerce in the Pacific Ocean. At that time, British military force and economic power was stronger

than Japan's. Eventually, Japan concluded the Anglo-Japanese Convention in 1854 and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1858, unequal treaties for Japan advantageous to Britain.<sup>1</sup>

In 1859, the British counsel general, Rutherford Alcock opened the consulate general in Edo. In 1868, the Tokugawa shogunate was overthrown and the Meiji era commenced (1868-1912). As a result, interactions between Britain and Japan began to intensify. For Japan, Britain was the biggest importing and exporting country. Japan imported wool, cotton fabrics, spinning machines, and steam engines from Britain, British imports multiplying more than 20 times from 1873 to 1920.<sup>2</sup>

As a result, the Japanese government pressed forward with Westernisation and modernisation. Between 1894 and 1895, Japan was fighting, ultimately successfully, the Sino-Japanese War, revealing its increase national wealth and military power. In 1902, Britain and Japan, both seeking to stop Russian extension in the Far-East, concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Japan successfully defeating Russia in the Russian-Japanese

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Yokohama Archives of History, *Zusetsu Nichiei Kankeishi 1600-1868* [An Illustrated History of Japan and Britain 1600-1868] (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 2021).

Gordon Daniels, "Erito, Seifu, soshite Shimin: Eikoku kara Mita Nihon [Elite, Government and Citizen: The View of Japan from Britan]," in *Nichiei Koryushi 1600-2000* [The History of Anglo-Japanese Relation, 1600-2000], vol. 5, Social and Cultural Perspective, supervised by Hosoya Kazuhiro and Ian Nish, edited by Tsuzuki Chushichi, Gordon Daniels and Kusamitsu Toshio (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2001), 2-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sugiyama Shinya, *Nichiei Keizai Kankeishi Kenkyu 1860-1940* [Studies of Anglo-Japanese Economic History 1860-1940] (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2017), 3.

Sugiyama Shinya, and Janet Hunter, ed., *Nichiei Koryushi 1600-2000* [The History of Anglo-Japanese Relation, 1600-2000], vol. 4, The Economic Dimension (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2001).

War of 1904 to 1905.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the remnant of the Edo era in Japan had faded.

At the same time, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, British government officials were involved not only in Anglo-Japanese diplomacy but artistic exchanges, acquiring a rich array of Japanese cultural artefacts. For example, Laurence Oliphant, assistant to the British diplomat, James Bruce, the 8th Earl of Elgin who concluded the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce, included reproductions of Katsushika Hokusai, Utagawa Hiroshige, and Utagawa Kunisada in his travelogue of Japan in 1859.<sup>4</sup>

In addition, interpreter and diplomat, Ernest Satow collected rare Japanese books and ukiyo-e prints by Torii Kiyonaga, Toshusai Sharaku, Kitagawa Utamaro and other artists, and brought them back with him to Britain.<sup>5</sup> His art and book collections are now stored in the British Museum and the University of Cambridge library.

Moreover, in 1863, Alcock published *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three* 

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kibata Yoichi, Ian Nish, Hosoya Chihiro, and Tanaka Takahiko, ed., *Nichiei Koryushi 1600-2000* [The History of Anglo-Japanese Relation, 1600-2000], vol. 1, The Political-Diplomatic Dimension, 1600-1930 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Laurence Oliphant, *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59* (Edinburgh, London: W. Blackwood and sons, 1859), vol.2, 19, 82, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kobayashi Toshinobu, "Nihon Bijutsu no Kaigai Ryushutsu: Japonisumu no Shushi ha Donoyoni Makaretanoka [The Outflow of Japanese Art to Foreign Countries: How was the Seeds of Japonisme Planted?]," in *Japonisumu Nyumon* [The Introduction to Japonisme], ed. Society for the Study of Japonisme (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Publishing, 2000), 18.

Koyama Noboru, *Ānesuto Sato to Zosho no Yukue: Zoho Ukiyoe Ruiko no Purobinansu o Megutte* [Ernest Satow and the Whereabouts of his Library: The Provenance of Zoho Ukiyo-e Ruiko] (Tokyo: Benseisha Publishing, 2020).

Years' Residence in Japan, discussing Japanese artists, such as Hokusai and Hiroshige.<sup>6</sup> Alcock also helped to collect exhibits for the International Exhibition of 1862 in London, the Japanese court displaying some 623 Japanese artworks,<sup>7</sup> famously stimulating British interest in Japanese art and culture. Through his experience at the exhibition, Alcock published *Art and Art Industries in Japan* in 1878, which introduced many kinds of Japanese artefacts to British audiences.

Furthermore, in 1910, the Japan-British Exhibition was held in London to strengthen the cultural and industrial relationship between Britain and Japan, following the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. The Japanese government attached importance to this exhibition as the opportunity to display their national power, and the government permitted the transport and exhibit of Japanese national treasures in London. Compared with the Japanese section, the British section was comparatively modest. However, over 8 million people visited the exhibition, many seeing for the first time rare Japanese artefacts.

Peaceful relations did not last very long. In 1914, Japan participated in World War I because of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In 1921, Britain, Japan, France, and the United States, the victorious nations of the First World War, concluded the Four-Power

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan* (New York: Bradley Co., 1863), 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *The International Exhibition of 1862: The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department*, (London: Clay, son & Taylor; Clowes & Son; Peter & Galpin; Spottiswoode & Co., 1862), Vol.4, 89-101.

Treaty. However, in the 1930s, the relationship between Britain and Japan became tense, and, in World War II, the countries became adversaries. It was not until 1951 that Anglo-Japanese diplomatic relations were normalised based on the Treaty of San Francisco.

# Britain and Japan from the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Art Historical Contexts

As the trade between Japan and Western countries grew, Japanese art spread around the world in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, inspiring many artists, a trend that became known, initially in French, as "Japonisme." The period, when the central figure of this thesis, multi-talented artist Charles Ricketts (1866-1931) lived, was in the middle of this age of Japonisme, and the studies on Japanese art by the Japanophiles flourished. Watanabe Toshio examined the history of the use of the term "Japonisme," which seemed to have been employed for the first time in 1872 by Philippe Burty and Jules Claretie.<sup>8</sup>

In the 1980s, the study of Japonisme accelerated its development. In 1985, Kawamura Joichiro reported that he found a leaflet of the exhibition, which displayed

<sup>9</sup> Phylis Anne Floyd, "Japonisme in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions." (PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 1983).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Watanabe Toshio. "What is *Japonisme*? Terminology and Interpretation," in *Art of Japan*, *Japanisms and Polish-Japanese Art Relations*, ed. Agnieszka Kluczewska-Wójcik, and Jerzy Malinowski (Toruń: Polish Institute of World Art Studies and Tako Publishing House, 2012), 215. Philippe Burty, "Japonisme," *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique* vol. 1 (1872): 25-26. Jules Claretie, *L'Art français en 1872*. Paris, 1872.

Watanabe Toshio, High Victorian Japonisme (Bern, New York: P. Lang, 1991), 13-52.

Ricketts and Shannon's Hokusai collection in Paris in 1909, at the British Library.<sup>10</sup>

Despite this interesting finding, the study of Ricketts's Japonisme did not gain much ground after 1985. The mainstream study of Japonisme and its public recognition was French Japonisme, especially the relationship between Japonisme and Impressionism, making art historically canonical the French term and experience.<sup>11</sup>

French Japonisme began in earnest in 1867, following the Japanese exhibits at the International Exposition that year. Claude Monet and Vincent van Gogh famously collected ukiyo-e prints, and have been frequently featured in books and exhibitions, detailing their debts to the colour schemes and compositional strategies of Hokusai and Hiroshige.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kawamura Joichiro, "Rikettsu and Shanon no Hokusai Korekushon [Hokusai Collection of Ricketts and Shannon]," *Gakuto* 94, no. 6 (1985): 28-31.

Charles Shannon (1863-1937) met Ricketts at the City and Guilds Technical Art School in 1882 for the first time. Shannon lived together with Ricketts for over 40 years until Ricketts passed away in 1931. Shannon worked actively as a painter, portraitist, lithographer from the 1890s, and he was elected a Royal Academician in 1920. For the details, see Joseph Darracott, "Shannon, Charles Haslewood (1863–1937), lithographer and painter," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, accessed September 21, 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36038.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Genevieve Lacambre, "Les milieu japonisants à Paris, 1860-1880," in *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium*, ed. Yamada Chisaburo (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980), 43-55. This is based on the international symposium organised by the Society for the Study of Japonisme. Oshima Seiji, *Japonisumu: Inshōha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen* [Japonisme: The Surrondings of Impressionism and Ukiyo-e] (Tokyo: Bijutsukoronsha, 1980).

Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (New York: Harmony Books, 1981).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gogh's *Portrait of Pere Tanguy* (1887) and Monet's *La Japonaise* (*Camille Monet in Japanese Costume*) (1876) are representative examples of their Japonisme paintings.

Mark W Roskill, *Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist Circle*. New Aspects of Art (London, Thames and Hudson, 1970).

Genevieve Aitken, and Marianne Delafond, *La Collection D'estampes Japonaises de Claude Monet* [Claude Monet's Japanese Prints Collection] (Lausanne: La Bibliotheque des Arts, 2003). Endo Nozomi, Kato Aya, Ozaki Masato, Goto Yumiko, Inoue Hitomi, Kagami Chika, NHK, and NHK Promotion Inc., ed., *Bosuton Bijutsukan Kareinaru Japonisumu-ten: Inshoha o Miryo shita* 

1988 also witnessed the major *Japonisme* exhibition in Paris and Tokyo which displayed about 420 artefacts from Western countries and Japan. 13 The exhibition included various Japonisme artists, alongside copies of ukiyo-e prints by Symbolist artist, Gustave Moreau, who Ricketts respected, as we shall see. 14 Among the exhibits, there were artworks by James MacNeill Whistler and British artists, including Simeon Solomon, Christopher Dresser, Ford Madox Brown, Mortimer Menpes, Albert Moore, and, most importantly for this thesis, Ricketts's book design for *The Sphinx* in 1894 (Fig. 1), which I return to in Chapter 3. The exhibition catalogue characterised Ricketts as follows:

Illustrator, engraver, painter, and critic in Britain. After a stay in France, he entered the Lambeth School of Art in London in 1885. At the school, he met his life-time friend and collaborator, Charles Shannon. In 1891, he painted illustrations for Oscar Wilde's book with Shannon. [...] They were interested in typography and wood engraving. They were also collectors of Japanese art. [...] Their collection is now housed in the British Museum.<sup>15</sup>

Nihon no Bi [Looking East: Western Artists and the Allure of Japan from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston], exh. cat. (Tokyo: NHK and NHK Promotion Inc., 2014).

Kodera, Tsukasa, Cornelia Homburg, and Sato Yukihiro, ed. Fuan Gohho Meguriyuku Nihon no Yume [Van Gogh & Japan], exh. cat. Kyoto: Seigensha, 2017.

Axel Rüger, and Marije Vellekoop, Japanese Prints: The Collection of Vincent van Gogh (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, ed., *Japonisme*, exh. Cat. (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, 1988).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The following year of *Japonisme* exhibition, Lacambre wrote about the relationship between Moreau and Japan. For the details, see Genevieve Lacambre, "Gustave Moreau et le Japon [Gustave Moreau and Japan]," Revue de l'art, no. 85 (1989): 64-75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, ed., *Japonisme*, 382. I translated Japanese into English.

This limited summary focused on the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the first half of Ricketts's life, making no mention of his important theatrical design in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which I return to centre stage in this thesis.

Scholarly interest in British Japonisme, meanwhile, was also growing at the beginning of the 1990s, British art studies frequently following on belatedly in the wake of canonical French art history in this period. Between 1991 and 1992, the exhibition *Japan and Britain –An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930* was held at the Barbican Art Gallery in London and the Setagaya Art Museum in Tokyo. This included about 400 British and Japanese artefacts, revealing the art interaction between the two countries. <sup>16</sup> This exhibition showed various aspects of Ricketts's works, especially his theatre design, including Ricketts and Shannon's magazine, *The Dial*, no. 1 (1889); their book design for *The Sphinx*; as well as Ricketts's stage and costume design for *Salome* (1919), and *The Mikado* (1926). The catalogue characterised Ricketts as:

a versatile artist, painter, sculptor, wood-engraver, book-illustrator and stage designer. He also wrote on art, and together with his friend Charles Shannon (1863-1937) built up an exquisite art collection ranging from antiquities and Old Masters drawing to Japanese paintings and prints.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Sato Tomoko and Watanabe Toshio, ed., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue*, *1850-1930*, exh. cat. (London: Lund Humphries, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sato and Watanabe, ed., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue*, 133-134, 150-152.

Whilst the exhibition briefly acknowledged Ricketts as one of the most notable

Japonisme artists in the West, the artist has not been featured in Japonisme studies on a
large scale as a star figure of Japonisme, even in British Japonisme studies.

At the same period, in 1991, Watanabe Toshio demonstrated comprehensive research of British Japonisme in the 19th century in *High Victorian Japonisme*. 18 Looking at British Japonisme history, as we have seen, the International Exhibition of 1862 in London triggered the trend of Japanese art, inspiring the Aesthetic Movement and Aestheticism. For example, Elizabeth Aslin argued that Japonisme was connected with the Aesthetic Movement strongly in the 1870s, becoming only more popular among British people in the 1880s. 19 In this movement, designer, Christopher Dresser and architect-designer E. W. Godwin created sophisticated Anglo-Japanese designs. Aestheticism was also inspired by Japanese art, and Whistler played a central role in the field of British Japonisme.<sup>20</sup> Whistler spread Japonisme among his circle of British painters, especially Albert Moore and the Rossetti Circle including Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Frederick Sandys. High Victorian Japonisme featured these artists of the Aesthetic Movement and Aestheticism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau* (London: Elek, 1969), 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Robin Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement: Theory and Practice* (London: Studio Vista, 1972). Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement* (London: Phaidon, 1996).

Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West* (London: Phaidon, 2005).

Following the pioneering Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue exhibition and Watanabe's High Victorian Japonisme in 1991, in the 2000s further scholarly literature focusing on the interaction between Aestheticism and British Japonisme appeared. Tanita Hiroyuki explored the relationship between Japanese art and Rossetti, Whistler, Moore, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Frederic Leighton and *Punch* cartoonist, George du Maurier. At a moment in which British art studies were seeking to differentiate itself from its French parallels and precedents, Tanita used the word "Japanism" to distinguish British interest in Japan from French Japonisme. He mentioned Ricketts in the chapter on Rossetti's book design as Ricketts's book design was inspired by Rossetti's. 21 In addition, Watanabe gave Ricketts's name as one of the leading Japonisme illustrators along with Aubrey Beardsley. 22 Furthermore, Ono Ayako investigated the British Japonisme of Whistler and Menpes. 23 Her research led to the exhibition, James McNeill Whistler Retrospective in Kyoto and Yokohama, Japan in  $2014.^{24}$ 

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Britain] (Tokyo: Gihodo Books, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tanita Hiroyuki, *Yuibi-Shugi to Japanizumu* [Aestheticism and Japanism] (Aichi: University of Nagoya Press, 2004), 93-95.

This thesis uses not "Japanism" but "Japonisme," which broadly means a world phenomenon of Japanese art inspirations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Watanabe Toshio, "Igirisu: Goshikku Ribaibaru kara Nihonfuteien made [Great Britain: From the Gothic Revival to the Japanese-style Garden]," in *Japonisumu Nyumon* [The Introduction to Japonisme], edited by Society for the Study of Japonisme (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Publishing, 2000), 87. <sup>23</sup> Ono Ayako, *Bi no Koryu: Igirisu no Japonisumu* [The Interaction of the Beauty: Japonisme in

She demonstrated the connection with Japanese art of Whistler's etchings and paintings, such as *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (1864), the painting series of *Symphony in White, Nocturne.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ono Ayako, *Hoissurā Ten* [James McNeill Whistler Retrospective], exh. cat. (Tokyo: NHK and NHK Promotions, 2014).

In 2008, meanwhile, Itabashi Miya explored the reception of Japanese art from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, mentioning Ricketts's responses to the Japanese paintings on display at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London, and his printing house, the Vale Press.<sup>25</sup>

In the 2010s, whilst literature on British Japonisme continued to be published, Ricketts remained marginalised. Yamaguchi Eriko examined the relationship between Victorian and Japanese art using the context of Medievalism. She also investigated the Rossetti brothers' ukiyo-e print collection. Kume Kazusa further explored the relationship between Aestheticism and British Japonisme, and Japanese art collections in Britain by Augustus Wollaston Franks, William Anderson, and James Lord Bowes. She also explored the place of a wider British public in Japonisme, especially women. As reasons why Ricketts remains marginal, Ricketts was not as famous as Rossetti or Whistler. In addition, Ricketts was a multi-talented artist, collector, and critic like a kaleidoscope, making him further difficult to characterise and pigeonhole.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Itabashi Miya, "*The Reception of Japanese Prints and Printmaking in Britain, 1890s – 1930s,*" (PhD Thesis, Royal College of Art, 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Yamaguchi Eriko, "Eikoku Bikutoria-cho no Nihon Shumi to Meiji Geijutsu no Rafuaeruzempa Juyou: Chusei Shugi to Soushoku Geijutsu o Musubime to shite [Japanese Tastes in Victorian Britain and Reception of the Pre-Raphaelites in Meiji Art: Connection between Medievalism and Decorative Art]," in *Nihon to Bikutoria-cho Eikoku: Koryu no Katachi* [Japan and Victorian Britain: The Shape of Interactions], ed. Matsumura Masaie (Osaka: Osaka Kyoiku Tosho, 2012), 45-107.

Yamaguchi Eriko, "Bikutoria-cho no Medievalism to Japanisme no Setten: Rossetti Kyoudai no Ukiyo-e korekushon o Jirei to shite [The Rossetti Collection of Ukiyo-e Prints: The Unification of Medievalism and Japanisme in Victorian England]," *Journal of Modern Languages & Cultures* 6 (2011): 113-159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Kume, Kazusa. *Bi to Taishu: Japonisumu to Igirisu no Josei tachi* [The Beautiful and the Public: Japonisme and British Women]. Tokyo: Brucke, 2016.

From 2015 to 2016, the *Aubrey Beardsley and Japan* exhibition was held in Japan, and the catalogue of this exhibition included a section about Ricketts and Japonisme based on an article on Ricketts's from 1985. <sup>28</sup> Kawamura investigates Ricketts's diary and reveals how he built up a part of his Japanese prints collection from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, Kawamura states that Ricketts was inspired by Japanese actress, Sada Yacco, and that Ricketts was asked to design costumes for a production of Wilde's *Salome* by a Japanese company, areas of research that this thesis expands, and not merely as an adjunct to Beardsley.

In 2017, the major *Hokusai and Japonisme* exhibition was held in Tokyo, examining how Hokusai's artworks inspired Western artists in various fields.<sup>29</sup>

Regarding British Japonisme, books by Oliphant, Alcock, Dresser, and Anderson appeared; however, Ricketts's name did not because Hokusai's art stimulated too many artists in various countries to introduce one exhibition.

Furthermore, in 2022, the *Hokusai from the British Museum* exhibition was held in Tokyo, displaying 110 of Hokusai's artworks. Along with Hokusai's art, the exhibition introduced 6 Hokusai collectors in Britain: Anderson, Laurence Binyon,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Kawamura Joichiro, "Biazurī to Rikettsu: Igirisu no Japonisumu [Beardsley and Ricketts: Japonisme in Britain]," in *Biazurī to Nihon* [Beardsley and Japan], exh. cat, ed. Kawamura Joichiro, Stephen Calloway, Ito Nobuko, Urabe Toshiko, and Kirihara Hiroshi (Tokyo: Artis, 2015), 21-31. Kawamura, "Rikettsu and Shanon no Hokusai," 28-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo and Yomiuri Shimbun Culture Promotion Department, ed. *Hokusai to Japonisumu: Hokusai ga Seiyō ni Ataeta Shōgeki* [Hokusai and Japonisme], exh. cat. Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo and Yomiuri Shimbun, 2017.

Franks, Shannon, Arthur Morrison, and Jack Hillier. However, curiously, the exhibition featured Shannon only. Although the exhibition catalogue admitted that Ricketts and Shannon collected together, it emphasised that Shannon bequeathed their Japanese art collection to the British Museum.<sup>30</sup>

Shannon went into a coma following an accident in 1929, and Ricketts, who worried about Shannon's future, decided that he would bequeath their collection.

However, Ricketts passed away in 1931 before Shannon six years later. Based on Ricketts's will, their collection went to the museum in 1937 when Shannon passed away, his name, rather than Ricketts, subsequently attached to the bequest. The importance of Ricketts to the bequest is the subject of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

# Ricketts and Studies on Japonisme in the 21st Century

Japonisme, as we have begun to see, was not just a British phenomenon, and books and exhibitions on Japonisme in various countries beyond began to appear in the 1990s. In 2000, the Society for the Study of Japonisme published an introductory book of Japonisme, *Japonisumu Nyumon* [The Introduction to Japonisme], which reflected the development of studies in the 1990s. *Japonisumu Nyumon* comprehensively contains studies on Japonisme of each country and field: France, Britain, America, Holland,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Suntory Museum of Art and Asahi Shimbun, ed., *Daiei Hakubutsukan Hokusai: Kokunai no Nikuhitsuga no Meihin to Tomoni* [Hokusai from the British Museum: Together with Masterpieces of Painting from Collection in Japan], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Suntory Museum of Art and Asahi Shimbun, 2022), 65.

Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Russia, across the fields of architecture, music, photography, and fashion. In this book, Ricketts was just mentioned as one of British illustrators along with Beardsley as mentioned above. 31 In 2022, as a sequel to Japonisumu Nyumon, Japonisumu o Kangaeru: Nihonbunka Hyosho o Meguru Tasha to Jiko [Japonisme Reconsidered: The Other and the Self in Representations of Japanese Culture] was published, exploring studies on Japonisme. This book contains a chapter on Japanese writer, Noguchi Yonejiro to examine how Japanese people responded to Japonisme, which mentions that Ricketts inspired Noguchi regarding Japanese art.<sup>32</sup> The chapter, however, focuses on Noguchi, and Ricketts plays a supporting role. In addition, there are a number of academic journals dealing with Japonisme, including The Society for the Study of Japonisme: Report (1981-1997), Studies in Japonisme (1998-), and Journal of Japonisme (2016-). However, the main topics of these journals did not centre on Ricketts.

After entering the 21<sup>st</sup> century, studies on Japonisme developed more and more, and studies examining Japonisme in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, appeared: these included Watanabe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Watanabe, "Igirisu: Gosikku Rivaivaru kara Nihonhuuteien made," 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Nakachi Sachi, "Japonisumu kara 'Nihon Shugi' he: Noguchi Yonejiro no Ukiyo-e ron to Ukiyo-e shi o Chushin ni [From Japonisme to 'Japan-ism': Noguchi Yonejiro's Ukiyo-e Argument and Poem]," in *Japonisumu o Kangaeru: Nihonbunka Hyosho o Meguru Tasha to Jiko [Japonisme Reconsidered: The Other and the Self in Representations of Japanese Culture]*, edited by Society for the Study of Japonisme (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Publishing, 2022), 168-169.

Toshio's project from 2007 to 2010, "The Forgotten Japonisme: The Taste for Japanese Art in Britain and the USA, 1920s-1950s" and the Society for the Study of Japonisme's 2017 symposium, "Japonisme in the 20th Century: Its Diffusion and Transformation." Because previous Japonisme studies, especially Japonisme painting studies, tended to pay attention to the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, these projects and symposia aimed to present the importance of Japonisme after the beginning of the 20th century. The project and symposium featured a wide variety of material. Regarding British Japonisme, they explored potter, William Staite Murray; architect and designer, Wells Coates; and woodblock printer, Urushibara Mokuchu.<sup>33</sup> Ricketts was not mentioned. This fact shows that Ricketts remains a marginalised figure in studies on Japonisme in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose contribution still needs to be explored and emphasised, as I do here, contribution to not only studies on British Japonisme but also studies on Japonisme as a whole.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Watanabe Toshio, "Wasurerareta Japonisumu: 1920nendai kara 50nendai he kaketeno Igirisu Amerika ni okeru Nihonshumi o Saguru [The Forgotten Japonisme: The Taste for Japanese Art in Britain and the USA, 1920s-1950s]," Symposium Report, *Studies in Japonisme* 28 (2008): 15-18. Watanabe Toshio, "Forgotten Japonisme," in *La Creación Artistica Como Puente Entre Oriente y Occidente* [Artistic Creation as a Bridge between East and West], ed. Pilar Cabañas and Ana Trujillo (Madrid: Grupo de Investigación Complutense Arte de Asia, 2012), 20-28. Watanabe Toshio, "20seiki Japonisumu o Kangaeru [The 20th Century Japonisme Reconsidered]."

Watanabe Toshio, "20seiki Japonisumu o Kangaeru [The 20<sup>th</sup> Century Japonisme Reconsidered]," Symposium Report, *Studies in Japonisme* 37 Extra Issue (2017): 6-10.

Itabashi Miya, "Dai Niji Sekaitaisen mae Igirisu no Mokuhanga Ribaibaru ni okeru Urushibara Mokuchu [Urushibara Mokuchu in the Woodblock Printmaking Revival in Britain before World War II]," Symposium Report, *Studies in Japonisme* 37 Extra Issue (2017): 23-29.

## Ricketts and Japan: Art Historical Contexts

As we have begun to see, Ricketts's name sometimes appeared in the catalogues of the exhibitions focused on significant art collectors, which intermittently mentioned his relationship with Japan. For example, the 2002 exhibition catalogue, *Nineteenth-Century British and French Art from the Winthrop Collection of the Fogg Art Museum* includes Ricketts's drawings. American Lawyer Grenville L. Winthrop (1864-1943) collected about 3,700 artworks, and bequeathed them to the museum. The Winthrop Collection possessed many 19<sup>th</sup>-century British drawings. The exhibition included the costume designs for *Macbeth* in 1926, and the catalogue pointed out the inspiration of Japanese art on Ricketts's design for the play. The exhibition also displayed Ricketts's book illustrations. The exhibition selected 86 artworks by 18 artists. Among these, Ricketts's works played a key role as representations of the past, the Orient, and mysteriousness.

In addition, Ricketts's work appeared in the exhibition catalogue of *The Matsukata Collection: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey*. <sup>35</sup> This exhibition, which commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo in 2019, illuminated businessman and art collector Matsukata Kojiro (1866-1950)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Kitazaki Chikashi, and Ōya Mina, ed., *Winsuroppu Korekushon: Foggu Bijutsukan Shozou 19 Seiki Igirisu Furansu Kaiga: Musou to Genjitsu no Awai ni* [Nineteenth Century British and French Art from the Winthrop Collection of the Fogg Art Museum: Between Reality and Dreams], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tokyo Shinbun, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Jingaoka Megumi, ed., *Matsukata Korekushon Ten* [The Matsukata Collection: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey], exh. cat. (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2019).

whose collection formed the basis of this museum. Matsukata collected various

European artworks including British art in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the exhibition

displayed Ricketts's colour lithograph *Italia Redenta* (Fig. 2). The exhibition showed

one Ricketts's work, one of the few examples of the collection surviving a fire at the

warehouse storing the collection in London in 1939. As this thesis will examine further,

Matsukata met Ricketts in person in London, leading to a moment of significant Anglo
Japanese cultural exchange.

Literature on Aestheticism, however, frequently overlooked the connection between Ricketts and Japanese art although Ricketts's art already had relations with Japanese art in the 1890s, and designed *The Sphinx* (Fig. 1) in 1894. The exhibition catalogue, *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900* introduced Ricketts thus:

Book illustrator, painter, sculptor and theatre designer who with his partner Charles Haslewood Shannon (1863-1937) founded the art journal *The Dial* featuring their own wood engravings; they went on to set up the Vale Press in 1894. Ricketts produced symbolist paintings and sculpture and designed extensively for the theatre.<sup>36</sup>

Here, Ricketts was examined in the context of domestic art history, and the catalogue did not view the relationship between Ricketts and Japonisme although it had a section

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Stephen Calloway, and Lynn Federle Orr, ed. *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*, exh. cat. (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), 266.

on British Japonisme which mentioned Whistler, Rossetti, Godwin, and Beardsley.

Ricketts's Japonisme remained inconspicuous.

Similarly, during his own lifetime, the scholarship on Ricketts overlooked his interest in Japan. In 1897, Gleeson White paid attention to Ricketts's book design in the article "At the Sign of the Dial: Mr. Ricketts as a Book-Builder." Ricketts's main work was book design in the 1890s, and White primarily regarded Ricketts as an important book designer in Britain.

C. Lewis Hind's 1910 article, "Charles Ricketts: A Commentary on His Activities" concentrated on Ricketts's paintings and sculptures, rather than his Japonisme. Hind described the difficulties in writing about Ricketts: "he is a difficult subject to discuss. [...] Mr. Ricketts has many activities, and his energy is so unquenchable, that he can turn from one to the other, always with zest and zeal." This comment shows that the multi-talented Ricketts proved challenging to define from the early 20th century.

In 1925, Herbert Furst surveyed Ricketts's theatre design in "Charles Ricketts, ARA, and His Stage Work." He mentioned Ricketts's design for *Salome*, an unperformed production in Tokyo, as we shall see, but Furst did not consider Ricketts's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Gleeson White, "At the Sign of the Dial: Mr. Ricketts as a Book-Builder," *Magazine of Art* 20 (1897): 304-309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> C. Lewis Hind, "Charles Ricketts: A Commentary on His Activities," *Studio* 48 (1910): 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Herbert Furst, "Charles Ricketts, ARA, and His Stage Work," *Apollo* 1 (1925): 329-334.

inspiration from Japanese art in this context. The article was published before Ricketts's designs for Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* of 1926, which this thesis considers in some detail.

In the 1930s and the 1940s, literature on Ricketts, which touched upon the connection between the artist and Japan, began to appear, with Ricketts's friend, Gordon Bottomley publishing articles on the artist including his intersecting interest in Japanese art and theatre. Another of Ricketts's friends, Thomas Sturge Moore, however emphasised Ricketts's European, rather than Japanese, sources, when it came to his book illustrations, paintings, statuettes, and theatre designs.

In 1966, Denys Sutton wrote an article, "A Neglected Virtuoso: Charles Ricketts and his Achievements." As Sutton's title suggests, scholarly interest in the artist had faded in the 1960s. The article chronicles the outline of Ricketts's birth, school life, the encounter with Shannon, book design, and the beginnings of the Vale Press. In terms of Japanese art, Sutton introduces the start of Ricketts and Shannon's collection of Japanese art, and the presence of Hokusai's illustration there. Concluding, however, Sutton emphasises Ricketts's minor contribution to English art.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Gordon Bottomley, "The Scenic Designs of Charles Ricketts," *Drama* 10, no.3 (1931): 35. Gordon Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts R.A.," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 16, no.5 (1932): 377-395. Gordon Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts," *Durham University Journal*, June (1940): 169-184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Thomas Sturge Moore, *Charles Ricketts R.A.: Sixty-Five Illustrations* (London: Cassell, 1933).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Denys Sutton, "A Neglected Virtuoso: Charles Ricketts and his Achievements," Apollo 116 (1966): 138-147.

In 1967, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher examined Ricketts's theatre design with a chronological list from 1906 to 1931.<sup>43</sup> He sorted out Ricketts's various theatre works and briefly referred to the relationship between *The Mikado* and Japanese art. In 1970, Michael Brooks investigated Ricketts's book design for Wilde, again briefly touching upon Japanese elements in Ricketts's design.<sup>44</sup>

In the same year, Giles Barber examined book designs by Rossetti and Ricketts in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and suggested Japanese tastes as one of the elements in Ricketts's *Sphinx*.<sup>45</sup> In 1977, Richard Harold Quinn focused on *The Dial*, launched by Ricketts and Shannon.<sup>46</sup> Ricketts wrote an article on Utamaro in *The Dial*, again only briefly mentioned by Quinn.

In 1979, Stephen Calloway integrated various aspects of Ricketts's career into the monograph, *Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator*, which highlighted the artist's decoration and design.<sup>47</sup> While *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement*1860-1900 (2011) did not pay attention to the relationship between Ricketts and Japan,
Calloway pointed to the artist's interiors, book design, stage design, and Japanese art

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," *Theatre Notebook* 22, no. 1 (1967): 6-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Michael Brooks, "Oscar Wilde, Charles Ricketts, and the Art of the Book," *Criticism* 12, no. 4 (1970): 301–15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Giles Barber, "Rossetti, Ricketts, and Some English Publishers' Bindings of the Nineties," *The Library* s5–XXV, no. 4, December (1970): 314-330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Richard Harold Quinn, "Charles Ricketts and *The Dial*," (PhD Thesis. University of Wisconsin, 1977).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Stephen Calloway, *Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

collection. Specifically, the monograph examined Ricketts's costume design including Japanese-styled design, to which I shall return in more detail.

An exhibition, Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon: An Aesthetic

Partnership was held at the Orleans House Gallery in Twickenham, to accompany

Calloway's 1979 monograph, whose catalogue was written by Calloway and Paul

Delaney. This exhibition featured 144 works by Ricketts and Shannon respectively.

Although the catalogue was unillustrated, in the section on Ricketts's theatre design, the catalogue mentioned the relationship between Japan and his design for Salome in 1919 and The Witch Dancer around 1920.

In the same year, 1979, there was another exhibition related to Ricketts, *All for Art: The Ricketts and Shannon Collection* at the Fitzwilliam Museum.<sup>49</sup> The exhibition catalogue was based on an exhibition curated by Joseph Darracott. In 1966, the Fitzwilliam Museum had earlier held a small exhibition to mark the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ricketts's birth, and, at the 1979 exhibition, there were 29 works by Ricketts, Shannon, and their friends, and 232 works from Ricketts and Shannon's collection. The exhibition focused on their collection, including Egyptian and Classical examples, Old Masters, and Oriental art, rather than their own art. The exhibition displayed 20 Japanese prints,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Stephen Calloway and Paul Delaney, *Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon: An Aesthetic Partnership*, exh. cat. (London: Orleans House Gallery, 1979).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Joseph Darracott, *All for Art: The Ricketts and Shannon Collection*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Fitzwilliam Museum, 1979).

including five works by Utamaro and four by Hokusai. 1979 was, then, a noteworthy year, presenting several aspects of the links between Ricketts and Japan, although not exploring them in any depth in more synoptic accounts of the artist's life and work. This thesis focuses specifically on Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese collection, but future scholarship might want to return to the collection in a comparative study of the artists' wider collecting practices.

1980 witnessed the publication of Darracott's monograph, *The World of Charles Ricketts*. <sup>50</sup> This examined Ricketts and Shannon's collection and Oriental art. In the chapter on collecting, Darracott presented information about the bequest of Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection: after Shannon's death in 1937, most of their collection of Japanese prints moved to the British Museum under Shannon's name, as we have begun to see. Moreover, the chapter on Oriental art described the various connections between Ricketts and Japanese art, such as Ricketts's relationship with Binyon who was a curator at the British Museum dealing with Japanese artefacts and his publication of Japanese art criticism. However, although Darracott wrote about Ricketts's interest in Utamaro, Hokusai, and Harunobu, he did not examine the details of Ricketts's article on Japanese art. Furthermore, Darracott mentioned Ricketts's encounter with Japanese people in London, mentioning a single name "Kohitsu." He

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Joseph Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts* (New York, Toronto: Methuen, 1980).

also described Ricketts's preferences for Japanese painter, Ogata Korin. All in all, Darracott's monograph gives useful suggestions about Ricketts's collection and his reception of Japanese art. However, the information about the relationship between Ricketts and Japan remained fragmentary.

In the 1980s, articles on Ricketts's theatre design were noticeable. In 1981, Sybil Rosenfeld made a list of 111 Ricketts's theatre designs in the National Art Collections

Fund which were distributed to museums and galleries in Britain. In 1985, Michael

Barclay examined scenery designed by Ricketts. Barclay presented the scenery of

Salome for its 1919 Japanese production, but did not mention Japanese elements in

Ricketts's stage sets. In the same year, Barclay wrote the exhibition catalogue,

Catalogue of the Works of Charles Ricketts R.A. from the Collection of Gordon

Bottomley with an exhibit list of 51 works including paintings, book illustrations and theatre designs. In 1985, Eric Binnie published a book on Ricketts's theatre design based on his 1979 PhD thesis. He focused on Ricketts's works from 1906 to 1924, and he referred to Japanese tastes in Ricketts's costume for Salome. However, he did not examine Ricketts's successful designs for The Mikado.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Sybil Rosenfeld, "Charles Ricketts's Designs for the Theatre," *Theatre Notebook* 35, no. 1 (1981): 12-17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Michael Barclay, "The Scenic Design of Charles Ricketts," *Apollo* 121 (1985): 184-188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Michael Richard Barclay, *Catalogue of the Works of Charles Ricketts R.A. from the Collection of Gordon Bottomley*, exh. cat. (Stroud: Catalpa Press, Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery, 1985).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Eric Binnie, *The Theatrical designs of Charles Ricketts* (Michigan: UMI Research, 1985).

Delaney's 1990 book, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography* is the latest significant biography of the artist. 55 This focused on Ricketts's personal life, personality, and tastes, based on his and his friends' diaries and letters. In the 13 chapters written in chronological order, Delaney described Japanese taste in Ricketts and Shannon's house, Ricketts's inspiration from book and theatre designs, Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection, and the interaction between Matsukata and Ricketts. This book presented various possibilities regarding the relationship between Ricketts and Japan. However, at the same time, some of the descriptions of Japan in Ricketts's diary and letters which appeared in the book are ambiguous. This shows the necessity to return to the primary sources as well as for the examination of materials about Ricketts from the Japanese side, and from Japanese language sources, two significant revisionary approaches this thesis adopts.

Around the turn of the twenty-first century, studies on Ricketts began to diversify. David Peters Corbett investigated Ricketts from various angles, including his criticism, illustrations, and sexuality. <sup>56</sup> Ricketts's sexuality was also of concern to Matt Cook, in relation to Ricketts and Shannon's interior decoration, and Petra Clark, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> J. G. P. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> David Peters Corbett, "Ekphrasis, history and value: Charles Ricketts's Art Criticism," *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 15, no. 2 (1999): 128-140.

David Peters Corbett, *The World in Paint: Modern Art and Visuality in England, 1848-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

David Peters Corbett, "Oedipus and the Sphinx: Visual Knowledge and Homosociality in the Ricketts Circle," *Visual Culture in Britain* 8, no. 1 (2007): 59-71,139.

focused on *The Dial*.<sup>57</sup> In addition, in 2004, Maureen Watry presented a bibliography of Ricketts's book design and the Vale Press.<sup>58</sup> In 2012, Christina Rozeik examined Ricketts and Shannon's collection of ancient Greek and Roman artefacts at the Fitzwilliam Museum.<sup>59</sup>

To date, then, whilst various articles and books on Ricketts have been published, his Japonisme has not been the main subject. Previous studies have briefly and intermittently indicated the existence of Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese collection, and the inspiration of Japanese art on Ricketts's stage and book design. However, there is no comprehensive study of Ricketts and Japan investigating what kind of Japanese artefacts Ricketts had, how he understood Japanese art, and how he adopted his knowledge of Japanese art in his artworks. Specifically, Ricketts's Japanese art criticism has not been sufficiently examined. Therefore, it is significant to synthesise together his collection, criticism, and artwork, and to clarify his reception of Japanese art.

Furthermore, compared with British Japonisme from the 1860s to the 1880s, the era of Aestheticism, when the first generation of Japonists, the Rossetti brothers and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Matt Cook, "Domestic Passions: Unpacking the Homes of Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts," *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 3 (2012): 618-640.

Petra Clark, "Bitextuality, sexuality, and the male aesthete in *The Dial*: 'not through an orthodox channel'," *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920* 56, no. 1 (2013): 33-50.

Clark also wrote about Ricketts's illustration for magazine, the Woman's World: Petra Clark,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cleverly Drawn': Oscar Wilde, Charles Ricketts, and the Art of the Woman's World," Journal of Victorian Culture 20, no. 3 (2015): 375-400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Maureen M. Watry, *The Vale Press: Charles Ricketts, a Publisher in Earnest* (London: British Library, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Christina Rozeik, "'A Maddening Temptation': The Ricketts and Shannon Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities," *Journal of the History of Collections* 24, no. 3 (2012): 369-378.

Whistler, played an active part, previous studies have not paid much attention to Japonisme at the end of the Victorian era, and during the Edwardian era, First World War, and interwar periods, when Ricketts lived. Therefore, this thesis aims to illuminate how Ricketts developed and expressed British Japonisme as part of a key second generation of Japonists.

#### The Way to Ricketts and Japonisme

This thesis defines Japonists who lived in the period of the International Exhibition of 1862 in London and of 1867 in Paris, such as Alcock, Rossetti, Whistler, and Dresser, as the first generation of Japonists. It also defines Japonists who played an active part in the art world from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and did not experience these international exhibitions in the 1860s, such as Ricketts, Shannon, Binyon, and Beardsley, as the second generation of Japonists. <sup>60</sup> I seek to rediscover Ricketts as a leading Japonist of the second generation from the 1880s to the 1930s, especially in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ricketts covered a broad range of artistic activities inspired by Japanese art, such as collection, criticism, and design. As a result of rethinking Ricketts's Japonisme, my thesis demonstrates that second-generation Japonisme blossomed in London, expressed in a wide range of forms, not only design

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The trend of Japonisme had waned in the period of the World War II, however, Japonisme still continued, and British potter, Bernard Leach (1887-1979) is one of examples of the third generations of Japonists in this period. After the War, the interaction between Japan and other countries were resumed, and the new generations of Japonisme started to bloom, such as in the field of design and animation. For the details, see Watanabe, "Forgotten Japonisme," 20-28.

and theatre, but also art collecting and criticism. At the same time, the bearers of Japonisme were various. For example, Kume paid attention to British middle-class women as important figures in the trend of Japonisme.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the state of interest in Japan diversified as Minami Asuka argued that Japonology, which is to say, Japanese studies, flourished from the end of the 19th century to 1920 in the West.<sup>62</sup> To clarify what kind of people existed in Japonisme, I categorise, for the first time, these Japonist into four types:

- 1. <u>Business Japonist</u>: People, who had visited Japan as diplomats or government advisors from the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, developing an interest in Japanese art through their experience in Japan (e.g., Alcock, Oliphant, Satow, and Francis Brinkley).
- 2. <u>Artistic / Aesthetic Japonist</u>: People inspired by Japanese art and culture. They were mainly artists, and Japonisme studies often feature them (e.g., Rossetti, Whistler, Moore, and Beardsley).
- 3. <u>Collector / Consumer Japonist</u>: People who collected Japanese objects. These were not only people who acquired many artefacts eagerly and professionally, but also people who purchased one Japanese round fan to decorate a fireplace (e.g., Alcock, Satow, Brinkley, Rossetti, Whistler, Beardsley, Anderson, and Bowes).
- 4. <u>Scholarly Japonist</u>: People who dealt with Japanese art as studies, "Japanology." They often had a connection with museums, and contributed to the preservation of Japanese artefacts in Western countries. (e.g., Anderson, Morrison, Binyon, and Edward F. Strange)

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<sup>61</sup> Kume, Bi to Taishu: Japonisumu to Igirisu no Josei tachi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Minami Asuka, *Kokkyo o Koeta Nihon Bijutsu-shi: Japonisumu kara Japonorojī heno Kōryushi 1880-1920* [Crossing the Borders in Japanese Art History: A History of Cultural Exchange in the Era from Japonisme to Japanology 1880-1920] (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2015).

Ricketts was a multi-talented Japonist as a collector, artist, and scholar. To understand his full significance, I have investigated in detail the Ricketts and Shannon Papers in the British Library. These contain Ricketts's diary, letters, postcards, and so on. In the library, there are other related papers: the Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts; the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company Archive; the George Bernard Shaw Papers; the Gordon Bottomley Papers; and the Laurence Binyon Reports. Specifically, the Bottomley Papers include not only letters from Ricketts but albums of photographs of Ricketts's designs which Bottomley made. It was vital to return to the archival sources because the autobiography, *Self-Portrait: Taken from the Letters and Journals of Charles Ricketts*, published in 1939, did not include all of Ricketts's relevant Japonisme materials.<sup>63</sup>

To get to know Ricketts better as a Japonist, I conducted surveys at the British Library to examine papers, articles, and books related to Ricketts. At the National Art Library, I explored books and auction records from while Ricketts was alive. At the V&A Prints and Drawings Room, the V&A Theatre and Performance Archives, and the V&A Reading Room, I looked for materials relating to Ricketts's theatrical art. At the British Museum Japanese Galleries and the British Museum Central Archive, I investigated the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese art collection and official museum

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Charles Ricketts, *Self-Portrait: Taken from the Letters and Journals of Charles Ricketts*, Collected and Compiled by T. Sturge Moore, Edited by Cecil Lewis (London: Peter Davies, 1939).

records related to Ricketts and Binyon. At the Fitzwilliam Museum, I examined their Japanese art collection and Ricketts's theatre design. At the Ashmolean Museum, I explored his theatrical costume design. In addition to these more usual Anglophone sources, at the National Diet Library, Tokyo, I explored literature regarding Noguchi Yonejiro, Matsukata Kojiro, Yashiro Yukio, and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910. At the same time, I analysed all the data for the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese art collection in the British Museum's collection online using Excel.

Developing these researches, Chapter 1 explores how Ricketts and Shannon's

Japanese art collection was established. As Collector Japonists, the two collected

Japanese artefacts together, and shared ideas about how to collect artefacts. First, I

examine how they became interested in Japanese art and started collecting it. In the

early 1890s, they had already purchased several ukiyo-e prints by Kitagawa Utamaro.

They then increased their collection at auctions, such as the sales of the Frederic

Leighton collection in 1896 and Francis Brinkley in 1898. After acquiring sufficient

quality and quantity in their collection, they held an exhibition of drawings by ukiyo-e

artists in Paris in 1909, and Ricketts displayed Hokusai's works at the Century of Art

Exhibition in 1911.

In Chapter 1, I also analyse the contents of their Japanese art collection. After Ricketts and Shannon passed away, their Japanese artefacts were bequeathed to the

British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum, as we have seen. Almost all their Japanese collection went to the British Museum, and at present, the museum houses more than 330 of their collected artworks. The main content of their Japanese collection comprises ukiyo-e prints. I investigate the character of their collection, and reveal Ricketts and Shannon's ability as Japanese art connoisseurs.

In addition, in the first chapter, I explore Ricketts's connection with museums regarding his Japanese art collection. Ricketts was friends with Binyon, as we have briefly noted, who was a curator of Oriental prints and drawings at the British Museum, and Sydney Cockerell, who was a director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. In particular, the relationship between Ricketts and Binyon was close, and Ricketts advised the British Museum about the improvement of its Japanese art collection. Finally, I compare Ricketts and Shannon with other Japanese art collectors at that time in Britain, and I clearly demonstrate Ricketts and Shannon's significant position in the British world of Japanese art collectors.

Chapter 2 explores Ricketts's interactions with Japanese people and his criticism in *The Dial* vol.5 (1897) and *Pages on Art* (1913), to ascertain more about his reception of Japanese art and culture. As a Scholarly Japonist, Ricketts made use of his experience of collecting Japanese artefacts, and extended his activities to Japanese art criticism. First, I pay attention to some of the Japanese people who met Ricketts.

Ricketts had opportunities to interact with several Japanese intellectuals, such as

Kohitsu Ryōnin, Yashiro Yukio, and Noguchi Yonejiro in London, who stimulated his

interest in Japanese art. Using their diaries and books, I clarify what kind of Japanese

knowledge Ricketts gained through interactions with them and how perhaps

surprisingly well they evaluated his insight into Japanese art. In this period, many

Japanese art study books were published by Binyon, Charles Holmes, Arthur Morrison,

and others, demonstrating the increasing interest in collecting Japanese art. The second

generation of Japonisme was the age of collection and research.

In addition, I examine Rickett's most significant 1897 article "Outamaro." In it, Ricketts indicates his awareness of Edmond de Goncourt, who wrote *Outamaro: Le Peintre des Maisons Vertes* in 1891. Ricketts's article is the earliest criticism about Utamaro written by the British author, emphasising the significance of Ricketts as a Japanese art critic. Finally, I consider Ricketts's article about the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London. This was a large-scale exhibition of Japanese artefacts from various periods, as we have begun to understand, and Ricketts's article shows his broad, but particular, knowledge of Japanese art.

Chapter 3 discusses the relationships between Ricketts's artworks and the Japanese art that he collected and criticised, and emphasises further Ricketts's role as a second-generation, British "artistic Japonist." At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,

Ricketts began his career as a stage designer, working on more than 50 productions before his death. 64 The first section of the chapter describes Ricketts's theatre design, focusing on the 1926 revival of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* (1885), which, perhaps unsurprisingly, reveals the strongest inspiration from Japanese art. But Ricketts was also commissioned to design productions of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606) and Wilde's *Salomé* (1893) by a Japanese stage production company. At the same time, Ricketts attended performances by Japanese actress Sada Yacco, and interacted with Japanese dancer Itō Michio in London. In addition, like many in his generation and the generation below him, Ricketts had a great interest in noh plays, evident in his letters with Oswald Sickert and Ricketts's theatre commissions.

In the second section of the chapter, I explore Ricketts's book designs, focusing on his design for Wilde's *The Sphinx* (1894), again the artist's most Japanese book, which was inspired by an earlier Japanophile, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, as we have begun to see. Although Ricketts's book designs, paintings, and sculptures were less inspired by Japanese art than his stage design, I show how the more minor significance of Japan across these genres of Ricketts's work. Taken as a whole, the chapter examines how Ricketts adapted his knowledge of Japanese art and dance to his design as an artistic Japonist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Calloway, Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator, 23.

# Chapter 1

# Forgotten Treasure: The Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection

### The Beginning of Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese Artefact Collection

The two are inseparable; they live together; they collect together. [...] But let me first indulge in an impression of these inseparables seen years ago, long before I knew them. A sale of Japanese prints had been announced, and I Autolycus-like, strolled into the auction-room soon after the dispersal had begun. The prints, a frowzy-looking lot, were tied up in bundles of twenty-five. I bought three of the bundles for a ridiculous price, and was wondering how I should convey the awkward purchase home, when suddenly I was vouchsafed an object-lesson in the method of the true collector. Already I had observed two young men who looked like amateurs in the auction-world. One seemed feverishly active, mentally not physically—he, I learned later, was Charles Ricketts; the other appeared to garb his interest under a look of sweet indifference—he was Charles Shannon. Plainly they knew precisely what they wanted and what they were waiting for; they did not buy the bundles as I had done, as if the prints were apples and one pound weight was as good as another- No, they waited for one particular bundle which, presumably, they had examined beforehand. When it was dumped upon the table, the sweet indifference of Charles Shannon vanished, and Charles Ricketts ineffectually tried to conceal his feverish eagerness. He bid quickly, short, sharp bids, while his companion looked on with anxiously benignant approval. The hammer fell. The feverish Charles seized the bundle and cut the string. His long, quick fingers flitted through the items, picked out one print, and instantaneously the benignant Charles indicated another. The remaining prints were tossed aside, left on the table, the rejected of the collectors, and the twain departed hastily with their two treasures.<sup>1</sup>

Ricketts collected artworks with his life partner, Shannon. Their joint collection included a wide range of art from a range of periods and places, and it consisted of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> C. Lewis Hind, "Charles H. Shannon, Artist and Connoisseur," Studio 46 (1909): 4-6.

ancient Egyptian and Greek arts, the old masters, the Pre-Raphaelites, and Japanese art, as we have begun to see. Their Japanese art collection amounted to more than 300 items. The above passage is an eyewitness report of Ricketts and Shannon bidding for Japanese prints around the early 1900s. At the auction, they already had a clear target, and their bidding was quick, subtle, and effective. Every move they made attracted the eyewitness's considerable attention, but seemed to have passed beneath the attention of most people at the auction. Although Ricketts and Shannon were still relatively young, they already had emerged as collector Japonists.

Ricketts and Shannon developed their shared Japanese art collection together throughout their careers. Their early interest in Japanese art, especially ukiyo-e prints (Japanese woodblock prints), was already active when they were students of wood engraving at the City and Guilds Technical Art School in Lambeth in the early 1880s.<sup>2</sup> In 1888, Ricketts and Shannon moved to the Vale at Chelsea, Whistler's former home. According to their friend, the artist and critic, William Rothenstein, they decorated one of the walls of the Vale with a fan-shaped watercolour by Whistler and Hokusai's artworks, their first treasures.<sup>3</sup> Rothenstein's recollection also reveals that there was a connection in terms of Japonists and Japonisme decorations between Whistler, a pioneer of Japonisme in Britain who, most famously, decorated the Peacock Room in 1876-1877,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Darracott, The World of Charles Ricketts, 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1872-1900* (London: Faber and Faber, 1931), 167.

and Ricketts and Shannon. They respected Whistler; they did not change an apple-green coloured dado and yellow walls designed by the older artist in the Vale.<sup>4</sup>

With the remaining decorations chosen by Whistler, who was a first-generation Japonist, it was a suitable environment for Ricketts and Shannon to develop an interest in Japanese aesthetics. Moreover, Ricketts respected Edmond de Goncourt, who was a representative Japonist in France in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a specialist on ukiyo-e prints, and likely admired and was inspired by Goncourt's house decorated with many Japanese artefacts.<sup>5</sup>

The Vale's decoration with ukiyo-e prints by Hokusai also reveals that Ricketts and Shannon had started to collect Japanese artefacts by the end of the 1880s at the latest. Furthermore, the fact that Rothenstein considered that Ricketts and Shannon treated Hokusai's works as their first treasures indicates that they had a strong attachment to Hokusai from their early days. In addition, Ricketts's memoir of Wilde, who visited the Vale for the first time in 1889, was published in 1932, where he noted that Wilde praised its interior decoration: "What a charming old house you have, and what delightful Japanese prints!" When Ricketts reminisced about the interior of the Vale at that time, he wrote that yellow walls and a few cheap prints by Hokusai gave the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Charles Ricketts (Charles Sturt), "Outamaro," in *The Dial*, No. 5, 1897, 22.

Edmond de Goncourt, *La Maison d'un Artiste* [The House of an Artist], 2 vols (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1881).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Charles Ricketts, Oscar Wilde: Recollections (London: Nonesuch Press, 1932), 33.

room a bright appearance.

Although Ricketts and Shannon were beginners in Japanese art, and Ricketts paid attention to Hokusai in the 1880s, they gradually deepened their knowledge about ukiyo-e prints and developed their interest in various ukiyo-e artists from the 1890s. In 1892, Ricketts and Shannon acquired ukiyo-e prints by Kitagawa Utamaro.<sup>7</sup> This acquisition of Utamaro's prints shows that they might been inspired by Goncourt's book on Utamaro in 1891, Outamaro: Le Peintre des Maisons Vertes. Goncourt, especially his Outamaro provided great inspiration to Ricketts regarding collecting and writing criticism of Japanese art as we shall see in Chapter 1 and 2. Ricketts frequently read books on Japanese art for many years in his life. However, in Ricketts's diaries, books, and articles, he did not write that he was inspired or affected by these books except for Goncourt's, and does not mention that he gained knowledge about Japanese art from specific books or articles by contemporary art critics or Japanophiles. This fact means that Ricketts read books on Japanese art to check the latest information, however, he did not get great inspirations from these books in contrast to Goncourt's. As other routes to acquire knowledge about Japanese art, especially ukiyo-e prints for Ricketts, there is a high probability that he learned them through seeing real Japanese artefacts at auctions

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 4 August 1901, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/3/18, fol. 116r-117r, British Library.

Charles Ricketts's Diary, 15 June 1916, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXIII. 1916, Add MS 58107, fol. 40r, British Library.

and museums. In fact, Ricketts and Shannon often visited auctions from the 1890s, and gained experiences of Japanese art. Then, in the second half of the 1890s, they embarked in earnest on activities as Japanese art collectors. On 16 July 1896, Christie's held a sale of the collection of painter Frederic Leighton, who was vice-president of the Japan Society of London. After his death in January 1896, there were 12 ukiyo-e prints for sale, including prints by Hokusai, Yashima Gakutei, Suzuki Harunobu, Torii Kiyonaga, Chōbunsai Eishi, Totoya Hokkei, and Utagawa Kuniyasu. According to the annotations of the auction catalogue, in the collection of the National Art Library, Ricketts and Shannon won bids for one ukiyo-e print by Harunobu and four by Kiyonaga for three pounds, and five prints by Hokusai for five pounds. <sup>9</sup> These auction results indicate that Ricketts and Shannon focused on artworks by great masters of ukiyo-e, since Harunobu, Kiyonaga, and Hokusai were all ukiyo-e artists who represented the age of the Japanese art world in which they lived. Their taste at this point was relatively canonical. The results also show that the number of ukiyo-e prints of the Ricketts and Shannon collection started to increase steadily.

While they were mainly attracted to ukiyo-e prints, however, famously beloved of the first generation of Japonists, they also bought Japanese paintings. At an auction

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Christie's London, Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Right Hon. Lord Leighton of Stretton, Deceased, Late President of the Royal Academy, D.C.L., LL.D., Comprising an Extensive Collection of Works on the Fine Arts, Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Works on Ornament and Decoration, Lives of Artists, &c.; Also Artists Proof Engravings After the Works of the Late Lord Leighton, Japanese Prints in Colours, Engravings by Old Masters, Etchings by Rembrandt, and a Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, 1896), 25.

on 10 July in the same year, they acquired "A Cock and A Study, by Walanabe" for six pounds. 10 "Walanabe" in the auction catalogue likely refers to Japanese painter Watanabe Seitei, who often painted birds and flowers, especially hens and cocks, because many of Seitei's works appeared on the British art market in the 1890s. 11 Seitei created traditional Japanese-style paintings with elements of Western realism based on his interaction with French painters during his travel to Europe. His paintings, which were mixtures of Japanese and European, and traditional and Modern styles, acquired high praise in the world, and Seitei won several medals from world exhibitions, such as those in Japan, Amsterdam, Chicago, and Paris. As Seitei became popular in Europe and America at the end of the 19th century, Western art markets began to deal in Seitei's artworks, and museums and individual collectors bought them. Again in a comparative mainstream, Ricketts and Shannon wanted to acquire the famed Seitei's works, and their acquisition of them reveals that they had an interest not only in ukiyo-e prints of the Edo era but also in contemporary Japanese art.

Ricketts and Shannon acquired further important Japanese artefacts the following year. On 18 November 1897, they attended Captain Francis Brinkley's sale.

Brinkley, who was a newspaper owner and a collector of Japanese and Chinese art,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Christie's London, Catalogue of the Collection of Old Rhodian, Persian, Anatolian and Hispano-Mauro Pottery, Bronzes and Oriental China, Inlaid Furniture, Persian Prayer Rugs and Costumes, also the Contents of the Studio of the Right Hon. Lord Leighton of Stretton (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, 1896), 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For example, art dealer Thomas Joseph Larkin put 61 of Seitei's works up for sale in 1892, 111 in 1893, and 112 in 1894 at the Japanese Gallery in London.

often sold items from his collection at auctions. <sup>12</sup> Ricketts wrote about the 1897 auction in detail in Shannon's diary: <sup>13</sup>

Acquired Japanese Drawings.

Captain Brinkley Sale. One of the great hauls of our life Hokusai's *Suikoden*<sup>14</sup> Book of drawings and six other volumes of miscellaneous drawings some of the greatest importance – out of the 11 volumes sold we got 7. Out of the 5 best volumes we got four – volume we did not get drifted (Chinese Emperors) to Holme (the ass who edits the "Studio")<sup>15</sup>, 1 to Rothschild, 2 to Rothenstein, Tadema having refused one of these. Prints went for nothing for the most part very damaged – were unable to bid for any because they came before the drawings. Spent £60, had to raise money from all quarters, Holmes for instance lent us £20 in Sale Room. [...]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> James Edward Hoare, "Captain Francis Brinkley (1841-1912): Yatoi, Scholar and Apologist," in *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Vol. 3*, ed. James Edward Hoare (Richmond: Japan Library, 1999), 99-107.

Brinkley, who was from Ireland, joined the Royal Artillery and visited Japan as an aide to the Governor, Sir Richard MacDonnell in 1867. In Japan, he became a gunnery instructor and an English teacher for the Japanese government. In 1880, he purchased a Japanese newspaper company, the *Japan Mail*, and became a newspaper owner and a journalist. He also worked as an overseas correspondent for the London *Times* beginning in 1885. He published *An Unabridged Japanese-English Dictionary* (1896), *Japan and China: Their History, Arts and Literature* (12 volumes, 1901-1904) and *A History of the Japanese People from the Earliest Times to the end of the Meiji Period* (1915). He lived in Japan from 1867 until the end of his life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ricketts and Shannon were close. Adding notes to Shannon's diary by Ricketts who shared art collections with Shannon shows their positive relationship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Suikoden [Tales of the Water Margin] is one of the four greatest Chinese novels written in the Ming dynasty. In the Edo era, Suikoden was imported to Japan, and it became popular among Japanese people in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries because of the spread of Japanese translation and adaptations. In response to the popularity of Suikoden, Hokusai painted many illustrations of it. For more details, see Takashima Toshio, Suikoden to Nihonjin: Edo kara Shōwa made [Suikoden and Japanese people: From the Edo Era to the Shōwa Era]. Tokyo: Taishukan Publishing, 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Charles Holme (1848-1923) was a founder of art design magazine *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Arts* in 1892. *The Studio* usually had a low opinion of Ricketts's artworks, and Ricketts was hostile towards this magazine. It is therefore not difficult to imagine that Holme made a bad impression on Ricketts. In addition, Holme had a connection with Japanese art. He worked with Christopher Dresser in dealing with Eastern artefacts. He stayed in Japan for several months, and he was also a Japanese art collector and one of the founders of the Japan Society, which Ricketts never joined, in 1892. For more details, see Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 62; Julie F Codell, "Holme, Charles (1848–1923), Magazine Editor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, accessed November 18, 2019,

https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33950.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Charles Shannon's Diary, 18 November 1897, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXVI, 1898, Add MS 58110, fol. 5r, British Library.

The journal entry displays Ricketts's discerning excitement about the contents of the auction, as Ricketts and Shannon owed 20 pounds to their friend Charles Holmes, who was a painter and art critic and assisted at the Vale Press, which Ricketts set up in 1894. Previously, Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection mainly consisted of ukiyo-e prints. Whereas many ukiyo-e prints appeared on the art market in Europe, the *Suikoden* book contained many original drawings by Hokusai. Purchasing such drawings was difficult even at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of their rarity. Therefore, Ricketts and Shannon gave high priority to the acquisition of this book to keep the precious artwork at hand, to see real Hokusai figures, to learn how Hokusai drew lines, and to approach the essence of Hokusai's art.

Also worth noting is that this diary entry from 18 November 1897 was written on the page of the first week of January 1898. Hence, the edited book of Ricketts's diaries and letters, *Self-Portrait*, presents the entry in the section on 1898,<sup>17</sup> whereas Brinkley's sale was held in 1897, according to the auction catalogue. In the catalogue in the National Art Library, the section labelled "Drawings. A Series of Ten Albums Containing Black and White and Coloured Drawings by Hokusai" shows the artefacts which Ricketts and Shannon acquired:

26 A book, containing 31 [drawings] of artisans and mythical subjects

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 22.

- 27 A book, containing 34 [drawings] of warriors, landscapes, &c.
- 29 A book, containing 38 [drawings] of figures
- 30 A book, containing 53 [drawings] of landscapes, animals and studies of figures
- 33 A book, containing 22 [drawings] of figures, animals and flowers
- 34 A book, containing 22 [drawings] of Oni and other mythical personages
- 39 A book, containing 53 drawings of the personage of *Suikoden*, by Hokusai<sup>18</sup>

As stated in the above diary entry, Shannon and Ricketts secured seven books, including Hokusai's *Suikoden*. These books of drawings deal with various subjects, from landscapes to figures, animals to artisans, and they were excellent resources with vast amounts of information for Ricketts and Shannon in their study of Eastern art and culture. Importantly, the drawings range more widely than the kind of decorative bric-abrac and studies of female actresses and courtesans that had preoccupied the first generation of Japonists. The character of what the Japonists understood by Japan was changing.

Ricketts and Shannon bequeathed this *Suikoden* to the British Museum in 1937. It is a drawing album in which drawings are attached to mounts decorated with gold leaf. Following a preface with Hokusai's signature and seal, the book contains 53 preparatory drawings for a printed publication. <sup>19</sup> Originally, this book was not for sale, so it contains

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Christie's London, Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese Metal Work, Wood and Ivory Netsukés, Original Drawings by Well Known Japanese Artists, Coloured Wood Block Engravings, Brocades, Vestments and Robes, Formed by Captain F. Brinkley, of Tokyo, Japan (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, 1897), 5-6.

Oni is a Japanese word meaning an ogre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The printed book *Ehon Suikoden* based on this *Suikoden* is in the collection of the British Museum (Museum number: 1979,0305,0.435). For more details, see Timothy Clark, "Ehon Suikoden' Gako

more free and energetic character depictions than his ukiyo-e prints. For example, lively brushwork can be seen on the page depicting a scene in which a strong man, Lu Zhìshēn, defeats a bandit, Zhōu Tōng (Fig. 3) and a female character, the goddess of war, Jiutian Xuannü (Fig. 4). Ricketts was fascinated with Hokusai's expressive portrayal of characters. While talking to Japanese writer Noguchi Yonejiro about the *Suikoden* book, Ricketts praised Hokusai's art: "Look at the power of Hokusai's figure. It is as good as Rembrandt." Rembrandt has been regarded as the great master, and it is clear that the *Suikoden* book gave Ricketts opportunities to pay more attention to Hokusai's artworks and to learn from Hokusai's vivid depictions of body movements. Ricketts's comparison of Japanese art with canonical early modern European art and literature will be a leitmotif of this thesis, as we shall see, suggesting perhaps a Japonist *Renaissance* at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth.

In April 1899, Ricketts and Shannon visited Italy. Before this visit, they made their will as a precaution. In their will, regarding their Hokusai collection, they promised to bequeath it to the British Museum.<sup>21</sup> At that time, the British Museum already had a large Japanese art collection because of the purchase of the Anderson

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Gacho [Preparatory Drawings for the 'Suikoden (Water Margin)'],' in *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu Taikan* [Japanese Art: The Great European Collections], vol. 3, ed. Hirayama Ikuo and Kobayashi Tadashi (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993), 262-264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Noguchi Yonejiro, *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi* [The Six Great Ukiyo-e Artists] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1919), 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 'Michael Field's' Journal, 17 April 1899, 'Michael Field' Journals Vol. XIII. 1899, Add MS 46788, fol. 58v-59r, British Library.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 131.

collection in 1881. For Ricketts and Shannon, their recent acquisition of Hokusai's Suikoden was important, and they considered that the museum was the appropriate place to leave their Hokusai collection.

Ricketts and Shannon continued to collect Japanese artefacts. Ricketts wrote in his diary on 17 July 1900:

> Shannon secured the Outamaros and Harunobus Wisselingh<sup>22</sup> had purchased: the "Mother and Child" by Outamaro is perhaps the most beautiful print we have seen. Thence to furniture-dealer whence the prints had come: secured in all three first-rate Harunobus, ten first-rate Outamaros, one first-rate Hokusai.<sup>23</sup>

"Outamaro" is a French spelling of Utamaro. Ricketts always used "Outamaro" in his diary, inspired by Outamaro: Le Peintre des Maisons Vertes [Utamaro: A Painter of the Pleasure Quarters] (1891), by de Goncourt. Regarding "Mother and Child," Utamaro often depicted this subject; his Mother and Child prints are iconic works among his many portraits of beautiful women, to which we shall return.

Furthermore, Ricketts and Shannon acquired more ukiyo-e prints in the same year, and Ricketts recorded in his diary on 30 October and 12 November:

Margaret F. MacDonald, Grischka Petri, Meg Hausberg, and Joanna Meacock, "Elbert Jan Van Wisselingh, 1848-1912," in James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, A Catalogue Raisonné, University of Glasgow, 2012, accessed November 1, 2019,

<sup>23</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 17 July 1900, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XIV. 1900, Add MS 58098, fol. 45v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Dutch art dealer Elbert Jan Van Wisselingh (1848-1912), from the offices of E. J. Van Wisselingh and Co. in London and Amsterdam. In the 1890s and the 1900s, he often held exhibitions including Ricketts and Shannon's artworks at the Dutch Gallery in London. For more details, see Pamela Fletcher, and Anne Helmreich, ed., The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939 (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), 300-301.

https://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/biog/?nid=WissEjv.

Looked through more of those perfect prints belonging to a German, in this case in the hands of a thief who asked high prices for them. Bought two: one Outamaro, and one Harunobu.<sup>24</sup>

Town with Shannon to see his picture at the show thence to hunt up Haronobu [Harunobu], bought 7 first-rate prints, saw Kakemonos and Screens by Hoitsu, Korin, and Sotatsu.<sup>25</sup>

These entries reveal that Ricketts and Shannon purchased nine ukiyo-e prints one after another for two weeks. Their interest in other fields of Japanese art also developed as they gained contact with artworks by Sakai Hōitsu, Ogata Korin, and Tawaraya Sōtatsu, who were painters of the Rimpa school which created decorative artworks with bold compositions, vivid colours, and gold and silver leaf in the Edo era. Ricketts and Shannon's intoxication with ukiyo-e prints is noticeable, displayed vividly in the diary entry for 4 November: "We gloated over Hokusai."

Ricketts also sometimes failed to acquire Japanese artefacts at auctions. His diary entry for 27 March 1901 describes such an occasion:

Have asked Holmes to bid for Kakemono by Ukiyo Matakei, Sixteenth century, and for two magnificent paintings by Suitoku, Fifteenth century. Got nothing.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 30 October 1900, Add MS 58098, fol.69v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 12 November 1900, Add MS 58098, fol.71v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Rimpa school was started in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and flourished throughout the Edo era. Its art is decorative, and there is usually gold leaf in the background of paintings. Rimpa artists used audacious patterns with natural subjects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 4 November 1900, Add MS 58098, fol. 70r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 27 March 1901, Add MS 88957/3/18, fol. 97r.

This time, Ricketts himself did not attend the auction; instead, he asked his friend to acquire Japanese paintings. Regarding artist names, it is difficult to identify which Japanese arist "Suitoku" is.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, "Ukiyo Matakei" probably means Ukiyo Matabei, whose official name is Iwasa Matabei, who was an ukiyo-e artist at the beginning of the Edo period. American art historian Ernest Fenollosa praised Matabei in his catalogue written in English, *The Masters of Ukioye: A Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School* in 1896, and there is a small probability that Ricketts showed an interest in Matabei through this Fenollosa's work.<sup>30</sup> Ricketts did not express disappointment or frustration with his poor auction result in the diary, perhaps not yet having a strong emotional attachment to Matabei and Suitoku, in contrast to Hokusai and Utamaro. Regarding Suitoku, Ricketts mentioned his works again on 1 April:

To town to bring back Kakemonos by Suitoku and Chinese Bronze. (N.B. The paintings by Suitoku are of the  $17^{th}$  century, they have been given to the British Museum. – C.R. 1913.)<sup>31</sup>

This shows that Ricketts and Shannon already possessed Suitoku's works before 1901.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The name of "Suitoku" slightly resembles a name of Japanese painter, Kano Eitoku. However, Eitoku is a painter in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and this does not match with the description of Ricketts's diary. <sup>30</sup> Ernest Fenollosa, *The Masters of Ukioye: A Complete Historical Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1896), 1-2. Fenollosa also praised Matabei in "Ukiyo-e shi ko," which was an article of an Oriental art journal, *Kokka*, vol. 1, no. 4 in 1890, however, this article was published in Japanese, therefore, Ricketts could not read this article in 1890.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 1 April 1901, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XV. 1901, Add MS 58099, fol. 14v, British Library.

However, Ricketts wrote that his work was created in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which is contradictory to the description "paintings by Suitoku, Fifteenth century" in the entry from 27 March; a characteristic combination of Ricketts's precision and carelessness when it came to Japan, as we shall see.

Moreover, Ricketts later added a note that he had donated Suitoku's paintings to the British Museum, but at present there is no record of this in the museum collection. This also indicates that Ricketts did not mind excluding these Suitoku paintings from his and Shannon's collection, whereas they kept almost all their collection at hand while they were still alive.

By his mid-thirties, Ricketts had become a recognised Japanese art connoisseur.

On 5 August 1901, he was consulted about an acquisition for the British Museum by

Sidney Colvin, who was a keeper of the department of prints and drawings in the

museum:

Up to town, Colvin of the British Museum wishing to consult me on the purchase of some Japanese prints for the Museum; these turned out to be Earnest Heart [Hart] rubbish, flagrant reprints and old tired re-issues of those side-aspects of Jap[anese] art which all Englishmen seem to get hold of: Kuniyoshi, Shighemasa [Shigemasa], obscure followers of Shunsho, — one or two Shunko's tone of late Toyokuni, Yezan [Eizan] and Kounisada [Kunisada]. I fancy the British mind shies at the large lines of Kionaga [Kiyonaga] and Outamaro, and seems insensible to Harunobu and his imitators. Outamaro seems to be collected when he has become Outamaro 2, and Yeshi [Eishi] when he is indistinguishable from his pupils. In about six portfolios there was one tolerable Outamaro, ditto Koriousai [Koryūsai], two

good Shunko's, a small set of actor-heads put down to Shunsho, and one good bridge by Hokusai. I felt some embarrassment in explaining to Colvin, who was obviously taken by Yezan, that the things were all rubbish, that when they were not vile they were re-issues.<sup>32</sup>

Ernest Hart was a British surgeon, medical journalist, and great Japanese art collector. After he passed away, his widow, Alice Hart, sold his collection of Japanese paintings in 1901 and ukiyo-e prints in 1902, totalling about 400 Japanese artworks, to the British Museum.<sup>33</sup> As seen from Ricketts's choice of the word "rubbish," his opinion on Hart's collection was severe in terms of the condition of the ukiyo-e prints. Another reason for Ricketts's bitter criticism in his diary was the difference in taste in Japanese prints between himself and Hart's collection which went to the British Museum. The British Museum Collection Online shows the details of them, and Hart collected various prints by more than 90 ukiyo-e artists, regardless of the artists' fame. In terms of ukiyo-e prints in Hart's collection, the most represented artist is Utagawa Hiroshige, including his series, the Pictorial Guide to Famous Places in the Sixty-odd Provinces, as well as 120 prints.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Ricketts attached importance to ukiyo-e masters, especially Harunobu, Utamaro, and Hokusai. "One good bridge by Hokusai" would mean one of four prints from the series of Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 5 August 1901, Add MS 58099, fol. 41v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> "Mrs Ernest Hart (Biographical details)," British Museum, accessed November 6, 2019, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\_the\_collection\_database/term\_details.aspx?bioId=1 62009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> "Collection Online," British Museum, accessed November 10, 2019, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\_online/search.aspx.

Various Provinces or Under Mannen Bridge at Fukagawa from the series of Thirty-six

Views of Mount Fuji. However, Hart's collection acquired by the British Museum

contained few ukiyo-e prints by these artists.

Ricketts's description in his diary shows that he had his own firm taste and eye for ukiyo-e prints at that point. Moreover, it seems likely that rivalry further motivated Ricketts's low praise for the Hart collection, with institutional recognition by the British Museum. In 1901, Ricketts was still developing his own Japanese art collection, and he did not have as many Japanese objects as Hart although Ricketts became popular as a Japanese art connoisseur. In addition, the spelling of ukiyo-e artists' names in Ricketts's diary differs from the current spelling based on the Hepburn romanisation system. This is because "Shighemasa," "Yezan," "Kounisada," "Kionaga," "Yeshi," and "Koriousai" were the English spelling based on Japanese pronunciation without the Hepburn system, except for "Outamaro," which came from the French spelling, as mentioned above. There was no specific spelling rule concerning Japanese artists' names at that time: the auction catalogue of the Goncourt's Sale in 1897 indicated the absence of a universal convention of orthography for Japanese names, 35 and many auction catalogues used various ways of spelling these names. Therefore, Ricketts sometimes spelt the same artist's name in different ways in his diary – for example, "Harunobu" and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Georges Duchesne and Siegfried Bing, *Collection des Goncourt: Arts de l'Extrême-Orient* [Collection of Goncourt: Arts of the Far East] (Paris: Motteroz, Lib.-Imp, 1897), 272.

"Haronobu."<sup>36</sup> This shows that the European art market was still in the development phase of Japanese art history studies.

The connection between Ricketts and the British Museum was strong; in 1903, he donated artworks from the Ricketts and Shannon collection to the museum. Ricketts wrote in his entry from 24 November: "To British Museum with Hokusai drawing and Tiepolo drawings; they seemed fairly pleased to have them."<sup>37</sup> By mentioning that the staff of the British Museum were pleased, the diary reveals that the museum recognised that the Ricketts and Shannon collection was of high quality. I have identified "Hokusai drawing" as a sketch of a Chinese warrior (Fig. 5) by the Katsushika school (Museum number: 1903,1126,0.1) and "Tiepolo drawings" as three drawings of a landscape and male figures (Fig. 6, 7, 8) by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Museum number: 1903,1126.2, 1903,1126.3, and 1903,1126.4). In the diary, Ricketts indicated his belief that Hokusai himself drew this sketch. However, at present, it is reasonable to assume that the sketch was in fact drawn by a pupil who tried to improve his skill by copying Hokusai's work; the British Museum regards this drawing as an artwork by an unidentified artist of the Hokusai school. Besides, Nagata Seiji argued that most of Hokusai's sketches and drawings had been scattered and burned down in the fire while Hokusai was alive.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 12 November 1900, Add MS 58098, fol.71v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 24 November 1903, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XVII. 1903, Add MS 58101, fol. 63v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Hokusai had more than 200 pupils, and they drew many existing Hokusai style sketches and drawings. Around 1839, most of Hokusai's sketches and drawings were destroyed by the fire. After

Therefore, Hokusai's original artworks, such as his *Suikoden* from the Ricketts and Shannon collection mentioned above, are rare and precious. Furthermore, the combination of Japanese and Italian artworks donated by Ricketts is notable. These artworks seem to be unrelated to each other at first glance because of differences in their periods and places of creation. However, the Hokusai school's sketch and Tiepolo's figure drawings have several points in common. For example, both Hokusai and Tiepolo depicted dynamic body movements and captured an impressive moment from a non-frontal angle. Ricketts could identify these common points and decided to donate the drawings by Hokusai and Tiepolo to the British Museum together.

In 1906, Ricketts wrote the following in his diary: "Shannon bought the two superb Jap[anese] screens Koitsu recommended to us 2 years ago." I consider that "Koitsu" refers to a Japanese connoisseur of painting and calligraphy, Kohitsu Ryōnin. Kohitsu worked at the Art Department of the Tokyo Imperial Museum, and visited London to learn about European art and museums. A Ricketts had a connection with Kohitsu, whom he met several times to discuss Japanese and European art. However,

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this fire, Hokusai stopped keeping his sketches and drawings at hand, instead scattering them by giving them to his pupils. For more details, see Nagata Seiji, *Hokusai to Katsushika-ha no Shita-e* [Sketches of Hokusai and Hokusai School] (Tokyo: Iwasakibijutsusha, 1987), 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 13 February 1906, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XX. 1906, Add MS 58104, fol. 8v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Princess Akiko of Mikasa, "Uiriamu Andāson Korekushon Saiko [Re-examining the Anderson Collection]," *Center for Comparative Japanese Studies Annual Bulletin* 4 (2008): 125.

the length of Kohitsu's stay in London was from December 1901 to July 1903.<sup>41</sup> "2 years ago" means the year of 1904, and Kohitsu had already returned to Japan in this year. Therefore, there are possibilities that Ricketts wrote "2" incorrectly in his diary, or Kohitsu sent Ricketts a letter about the suggestion for purchasing Japanese objects in 1904. Furthermore, as of 1900, Ricketts and Shannon only "saw Kakemonos and Screens by Hoitsu, Korin, and Sotatsu," and they could not acquire them. However, in February 1906, Shannon could finally purchase screens and add them to their collection.

Japanese screens were dealt at a higher price than Japanese prints in art markets. That Ricketts and Shannon were able to purchase large-sized screens shows that their finances were improving. At present, there is only one Japanese screen in museum collections from the Ricketts and Shannon bequest. I believe that the Rimpa style screen, *Hares and Autumn Grasses* depicting 12 hares (Fig. 9), which is currently in the British Museum collection, is the same artwork which Ricketts mentioned in his diary in 1906. Although *Hares and Autumn Grasses* is a six-fold screen, Murashige Yasushi noted that this screen was possibly originally one of a pair of screens, <sup>43</sup> which is consistent with the numbers of screens between *Hares and Autumn Grasses* and "the two screens" in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Michelle Ying Ling Huang, "The Influence of Japanese Expertise on the British Reception of Chinese Painting," in *Beyond Boundaries: East and West Cross-Cultural Encounters*, ed. Michelle Ying Ling Huang (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 12 November 1900, Add MS 58098, fol.71v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Murashige Yasushi, "Nousagi-zu-byobu [Hares]," in *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu Taikan* [Japanese Art: The Great European Collections], vol.1, ed. Hirayama Ikuo and Kobayashi Tadashi (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1992), 216-217. See also Lawrence Smith, Victor Harris and Timothy Clark, *Japanese Art: Masterpieces in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1990), 72-73.

Ricketts's diary description.

# **Exhibiting Japanese Artefacts in London and Paris**

Ricketts's existing diaries in the British Library are from 1900 to 1906, and 1914 to 1918.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to trace Ricketts's actions between 1907 and 1913 and after 1919 using his diary alone. However, exhibition catalogues related to Ricketts still exist in the collection of the National Art Library and the British Library. Based on these catalogues, in this section I explore the development of the Ricketts and Shannon collection around 1910.

In 1909, 20 years after Ricketts and Shannon had started to collect Japanese artefacts, they exhibited their collection to the public in London and Paris. From February to March of the same year, the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers held the Fair Women Exhibition at the New Gallery in London. The society was established in 1898 to promote international art exhibitions. Whistler was the first president of the society, while the president in 1909 was Auguste Rodin. Ricketts and Shannon joined the society as committee members in 1898, and Ricketts was in charge of the exhibition in 1909.

As its name implied, the Fair Women Exhibition mainly consisted of female

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, Add MS 58098-58109, 12 volumes, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Philip Athill, "The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers," *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 982 (1985): 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 124, 234.

portraits in both Eastern and Western art.<sup>47</sup> According to the catalogue in the National Art Library, the Western art sections presented 318 artworks, including Whistler's *Symphony in White, No.3* (1865–1867), John Everett Millais' *The Eve of St Agnes* (1863), Francisco Goya's *Portrait of Donna Maria Martinez del Puga* (1824), Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Madame Chocquet* (1875), Berthe Morisot's *Woman with a Fan* (1876), and John Singer Sargent's *Portrait of the Duchess of Sutherland* (1904) alongside contemporary works by John Lavery, Shannon, and Ricketts.

In addition, there were 88 Japanese artworks. Of these, 82 were lent by

Ricketts and Shannon, while six Utamaro ukiyo-e prints were lent by the American

artist and writer Joseph Pennell who wrote Whistler's biography. This shows that

Ricketts and Shannon had already collected more than 80 Japanese artefacts as of

February 1909. Table 1 provides the details of 82 works from the Ricketts and Shannon

collection. As can be seen, most of the exhibited ukiyo-e prints were by Utamaro, with

35 works. The second most represented artist was Harunobu, with 22 works. The

reason for the large number of ukiyo-e prints by Utamaro is that Ricketts and Shannon

tried to match the exhibition topic, "Fair Women," and chose many prints by the famous

artist of bijin-ga – artworks depicting beautiful women. In contrast, Hokusai painted

many landscapes. Although Kiyonaga was also a bijin-ga artist, only one of his prints

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> "'Fair Women' at the New Gallery," editorial, *Times*, February 23 1909, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Prints and Sculpture in the Exhibition of Fair Women* (London: Ballantyne and Co., 1909).

was displayed at the exhibition because Ricketts and Shannon did not have as many of his ukiyo-e prints.

In addition, the Fair Women Exhibition was also notable because not only did it represent a rare opportunity to see ukiyo-e outside of the British Museum and the V&A, which possessed large-scale ukiyo-e collections, but also because it displayed *bijin-ga* alongside late 19<sup>th</sup>-century modern Anglo-French portraits; a new paradigm of an ukiyo-e exhibition in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Furthermore, the catalogue listed six drawings and two watercolours by

Hokusai, and one painting by the Harunobu school. It categorised two of Hokusai's

works as "watercolour," but when Hokusai was alive, there were no watercolour

paintings in Japan. The technique of watercolour was only introduced at the end of the

Edo era, and it spread among Japanese artists in the Meiji era. Instead, it is possible that

"watercolour" means ink paintings (*suiboku-ga*) using a gradation of ink to contrast

shades. It is also possible that paintings using Japanese colour pigments (*iwa enogu*),

which did not contain oil, were roughly classified as "watercolour." The catalogue did

not include images of exhibits, and it only listed a few titles of Japanese artworks:

## Hokusai

- 27 "The Invention of the Flute" Original Drawing
- 28 "The Bad Conscience" Original Drawing
- 29 Study for "Chinese Princess" Original Drawing
- 30 "Chinese Princess" Original Drawing

Hokkei

31 "Mother and Child" Original Drawing

Harunobu (School of)

59 "The Love Letter" Painting

Hokusai

71 "A Fan" Original Water Colour
 73 "A Fan" Original Water Colour<sup>49</sup>

Compared with the existing Ricketts and Shannon bequest collections in museums, there is no Hokkei drawing depicting a mother and a child and no Harunobu school painting, though there are ukiyo-e prints by Harunobu illustrating letters. Regarding the "water colour" paintings, which were possibly *suiboku-ga*, listed as No. 71 and 73 and titled "A Fan," the Fitzwilliam Museum possesses Still Life (Fig. 10), which is a painting that served to decorate a Japanese round fan. 50 While this is speculation, Still Life matches two descriptors – "A Fan" and "Original Water Colour" – and there is a strong likelihood that No. 71 or 73 refers to it. Furthermore, in the British Museum collection, two sketches, Chinese Woman Seated with Head Resting on Hand, beside a Balustrade (Fig. 11) and Head of a Chinese Woman, Wearing Jewellery (Fig. 12), are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> International Society, A Catalogue of the Pictures, 51, 55-56.

<sup>50</sup> International Society's catalogue and the Fitzwilliam Museum recorded Hokusai as the artist name of *Still Life*. However, it is very likely that *Still Life* was painted by Katsushika Taito, who was a Hokusai's pupil because there is a sign "米華道人" which Taito used as another name at the lower right part of this drawing. "Taito" was previous Hokusai's pseudonym from 1810 to 1820, and Hokusai gave it over Taito in 1820. Taito's painting taste is similar to Hokusai, and it is difficult to distinguish between Taito's and Hokusai's works. For more details, see Edmond de Goncourt, *Hokousai*: *L'art Japonais au XVIIIe Siècle* [Hokusai: Japanese Art in the 18th Century] (Paris: G. Charpentier and E. Fasquelle, 1896), 342; Kazuo Inoue, ed, *Ukiyo-e Shi Den* [Biography of Ukiyo-e Artists] (Tokyo: Watanabe Hangaten, 1931), 117.

similar to the title descriptions of No. 29, *Study for "Chinese Princess"* and No. 30, "*Chinese Princess*," respectively. Ricketts and Shannon believed both artworks were painted by Hokusai, but in fact, their artists were again pupils of Hokusai, as in the case of *Chinese Warrior* (Fig. 5). In particular, *Chinese Woman Seated* was squared in red ink, and Japanese characters were added on the upper end and Japanese numbers on the left side as gradations, for the artist to copy an artwork by Hokusai precisely, marks left by pupils using Hokusai's painting for their practice; Ricketts's desire to understand Hokusai's methods, to get close to the hand of the master, blinded him in this instance.

When the Fair Women Exhibition opened, various newspapers reported on it, mentioning ukiyo-e prints and drawings from the Ricketts and Shannon collection.

These Japanese artworks were displayed on the balcony of the gallery. Although this exhibition was in London, and *The Times* wrote about it, <sup>51</sup> it was also featured in regional newspapers, and it indicates that the exhibition received attention across Britain. *The Western Daily Press Bristol* and *The Manchester Courier* described their impressions as follows:

Not only are Japanese colour prints to be seen there in lovely sequence, but there are some original drawings by Hokusai, Hokkei, and Hokuba, which for inerrancy, flexibility, and purity of line are supreme in this exhibition, as they would be anywhere save in the company of other drawings and nearly all the colour prints are from the collection of Mr Ricketts and Mr Shannon.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> "'Fair Women' at the New Gallery," 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> "The New Gallery 'A Dream of Fair Women'," editorial, *Western Daily Press Bristol*, February 22, 1909, 11.

A collection of Japanese colour prints on the balcony by Utamaro, Hokusai, Harunobu, Yeishi [Eishi], and others, also adds interest to a notable exhibition.<sup>53</sup>

Neither of the newspapers ignored the Japanese artworks, and they reviewed them favourably, even though Japanese artefacts were not exhibited in the main rooms of the gallery, where European artworks were displayed. Moreover, the drawing lines by ukiyo-e artists which fascinated Ricketts also left a strong impression on the reporter. Japanese art traditionally often used paint brushes and black ink to outline painting objects, and the black lines especially are indispensable to depict objects for ukiyo-e arts. Ukiyo-e artists put a strong emphasis on line drawing. For example, Hokusai published many edehon, which were books to show how to draw paintings, and he often demonstrated the drawing lines of figures, animals, and landscapes in his edehon. The drawing lines by ukiyo-e artists are elaborate, and like Hokusai's *Suikoden*, these free and lively lines captured the reviewer's heart. Although this exhibition and the International Society have not received much attention at present, it was a unique attempt to display both Western and Far Eastern objects in the same exhibition at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it is significant that the Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection contributed to cross-cultural elements of the exhibition; crosscultural elements that we shall return to in the next chapter.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> "International Society: Exhibition of Fair Women," editorial, *Manchester Courier*, February 22, 1909, 10.

In the same year, 1909, Ricketts and Shannon's ukiyo-e prints went to Paris for another exhibition. The Paris exhibition's catalogue and newspaper cuttings from the exhibition's review are among Ricketts's papers and diaries in the British Library.

According to the exhibition catalogue, from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, the Galeries L. & P. Rosenberg managed by French art dealers, the Rosenberg family held "The Exhibition of Originals of Hokusai and Hokkei: Collection of MM. Charles Ricketts and Shannon from London." Whereas the Fair Women Exhibition displayed ukiyo-e prints on the balcony, this exhibition showed Japanese drawings as special feature objects. As Kawamura Joichiro mentioned, 55 the catalogue had a note detailing a condition: "This collection being bequeathed by their honourable owners to the British Museum, none of the originals on display is for sale." The organiser of the exhibition wrote about the bequest to the British Museum on another page:

Since the happy owners of the remarkable originals which we have the honour of exhibiting had the great generosity of bequeathing them to their country, we believe that it is our duty, before the "cold tomb" of the British Museum opens to receive these drawings and allow them to be enjoyed by those who do not have the leisure time to visit a museum across the Channel, to show our compatriots, friends of Japan, these remarkable documents of the art of Yamato, and they will appreciate how interesting they are from our exhibition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles par Hok'saï & Hokkeï [Catalogue of Drawings and Watercolours by Hokusai and Hokkei], Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. I. 1909, Add MS 58085, fol. 129r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Kawamura, "Rikettsu and Shanon no Hokusai Korekushon," 28-31.

Kawamura Joichiro, "Biazurī to Rikettsu," 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 130r. I translated from French into English.

of them.<sup>57</sup>

These texts reveal key facts regarding the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection. Firstly, Ricketts and Shannon's will of 1899 to bequeath their Hokusai collection to the British Museum was still effective, and the text clarifies that it is certain that by 1909, Ricketts and Shannon had promised to bequeath their Japanese art collection to the British Museum, an institution where Ricketts had acquaintances as recorded in his diary in 1902, he and Sidney Colvin friends. Moreover, Laurence Binyon, who worked in the department of prints and drawings under Colvin and had great knowledge of Japanese art, was Ricketts and Shannon's close friend. The mutual trust between the museum and Ricketts and Shannon encouraged the promise of the future bequest. In addition, Ricketts and Shannon did not want to scatter their Japanese art collection through auctions after their death like Leighton, Brinkley, Whistler, and Goncourt, the first generation of Japonists. As the second generation of Japonists, they hoped to leave their collection to museums they could trust and, in so doing, contribute to Japanese art studies in Britain and establish their names as collectors of high-quality Japanese artefacts.

Secondly, this exhibition in Paris was the first and last exhibition of their

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 131r. I translated French into English. "Yamato" is the old name of Japan.

collections outside Britain while Ricketts and Shannon were alive.<sup>58</sup> The organiser wrote that opening their Japanese art collection to the public in France was "our duty," and attached the highest importance to their collection, intending to promote the significance of Hokusai and Hokkei's original artworks: the exhibition was not an ukiyo-e prints exhibition, but an original drawings exhibition.

The organiser also introduced the exhibits from the Ricketts and Shannon collection that used to be "the property of Lord Leighton, Ernest Hart, and Dr Anderson." The exhibition review of the newspaper cuttings in the British Library collection also wrote that "Ricketts and Shannon were the owners of these drawings from the collections of Lord Leighton, Ernest Hart, Dr Anderson and Captain Brinkley." As mentioned earlier, Ricketts and Shannon acquired Japanese objects at the auctions of Leighton and Brinkley. Whereas Ricketts had levelled bitter comments concerning the collection Hart bequeathed to the British Museum in 1902, exhibiting objects from the Hart collection shows that a now more level headed Ricketts recognised the considerable contribution of Hart as a Japanese art collector. Ricketts and Shannon would have acquired drawings through one of the Hart sales held in the late

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> After their deaths, their collection was exhibited across the world. For example, in recent years, 13 ukiyo-e prints from the British Museum collection, which was formerly the Ricketts and Shannon collection, have been displayed at the exhibition "Hokusai—Fuji wo Koete—[Hokusai – beyond the Great Wave]" at the Abeno Harukas Art Museum in Osaka, Japan in 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 131r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> "Dessins Japonais," Newspaper Cuttings, Add MS 58085, fol. 137r.

1890s, for example, the auctions at Phillips, Son & Neale in 1896<sup>61</sup> and Christie's in 1898.<sup>62</sup>

"Dr Anderson" is William Anderson who was an English surgeon and Japanese art collector. In 1881, he sold approximately 3,000 Japanese objects to the British Museum, these objects becoming the foundation of its Japanese art collection. Among the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection, there are two objects: *Chinese Warrior* (Fig. 5, Anderson number: 2051) and *Eagle on Rock* (Museum number: 1910,0530,0.3, Anderson number: 1154) with the Anderson number which catalogued Anderson's collection in the British Museum in 1886. This reveals that Ricketts and Shannon also acquired Japanese artefacts from Anderson's collection.

Examining the detailed contents of the exhibition, the catalogue reveals the presence of 39 of Hokusai's works and four of Hokkei's (Appendix 1). On the front page of the catalogue, there is an image of a drawing of a Buddhist figure with arms folded with a glaring face like *Kongōrikishi*<sup>64</sup> which are guardians of Buddhism (Fig. 13), the only image in the catalogue, a sign of the growing prestige of Buddhist art in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Phillips, Son & Neale, *Illustrated Catalogue of the First Portion of the Ernest Hart Collection* (London: Phillips, Son & Neale, 1896).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Christie's London, Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese Metal Work, Ivories, Wood-Carvings, Lacquer, Arms, Porcelain and Drawings by Celebrated Artists of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17th, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries: also Chinese Porcelain, Whole-Coloured and Blue and White, Snuff-Bottles, &c.; Pictures and Drawings by Alma-Tadema, R.A., J. Phillip, R.A., John Swan, A.R.A., Sir John Tenniel, Linley Sambourne, George du Maurier, Aubrey Beardsley, &c., of that Well-Known Orient Expert Ernest Hart, Esq., Deceased (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, 1898).

<sup>63</sup> Princess Akiko of Mikasa, "Uiriamu Andāson Korekushon Saiko,"124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Statues of *Kongōrikishi* are often standing under a temple gate to protect the precincts of a temple in Japan. The oldest *Kongōrikishi* statue in existence in Japan was made in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and it was installed under the gate of Hōryū-ji, Nara.

the West in the period between 1850 and 1950. Although there were other drawings depicting various subjects, for example a beautiful woman and a landscape, the fact that the exhibition organiser selected a manly and religious figure for the front page shows that European people's tastes of Japonisme were diversifying, not only iconic ukiyo-e representation such as feminine prostitutes which the first generation Japonists, Whistler and Rossetti preferred and were inspired with Orientalist elements, but also muscular Buddhism which was a new tide of the second generation Japonists, the Ricketts circle.

As a clue to identify the drawing, there is a painting in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art (Fig. 14) depicting the same figure, and the gallery considers that Hokusai painted it. However, the catalogue image is again squared with ink. Again, Ricketts and Shannon did not realise that the drawing was not Hokusai's artwork in 1909 despite more than 20 years' experience of collecting Japanese objects, indicating the difficulty of distinguishing Hokusai's works from that of his pupils.' A reason for this difficulty was that the number of original drawings by ukiyo-e artists was less than that of ukiyo-e prints at that time in Europe, and the study of these drawings remained comparatively underdeveloped.

Furthermore, it is notable that the exhibition catalogue stated that there are four drawings regarding *Hokusai Manga* in the exhibition:

2. Tiger caught in a waterfall. (Great study published in the Mangwa).

- 4. Creeping tiger. (Sketch for the Mangwa).
- 31. Temple guardian. (Study for a figure of the Mangwa).
- 32. Bronze. (Study for a figure of the Mangwa). 65

In these titles, "Mangwa" means *Hokusai Manga*, which is a 15-volume sketch and drawing collection by Hokusai, the first volume of which was published in 1814. Its publication attracted huge long-term popularity in Japan, and the fifteenth volume was finally printed in 1878 after Hokusai's death. *Hokusai Manga* was not only popular in Japan but also in the West, and it contributed to the spread of Japonisme in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, figures from *Hokusai Manga* inspired Mary Cassatt, Edgar Degas, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. <sup>66</sup> Examining each exhibit regarding *Hokusai Manga*, Kawamura indicated that "Tiger caught in a waterfall" was based on a drawing in the 13th volume of *Hokusai Manga* (Fig. 15). <sup>67</sup> At present, in the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum, there are works that depict a tiger standing under a waterfall (Fig. 16, Fig. 17), and I believe that work from either museum's collection was displayed in the exhibition.

Moreover, although the exhibition catalogue stated that Ricketts and Shannon planned to donate their Japanese art collection to the British Museum, some works displayed in the exhibition are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where its director and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 132r. I translated French into English.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo and Yomiuri Shimbun Culture Promotion Department, ed., *Hokusai to Japonisumu: Hokusai ga Seiyō ni Ataeta Shōgeki* [Hokusai and Japonisme], exh. cat (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo and Yomiuri Shimbun, 2017).

<sup>67</sup> Kawamura, "Biazurī to Rikettsu," 29.

their friend, Sydney Cockerell, worked. Looking for "Creeping tiger. (Sketch for the Mangwa)," there is a drawing depicting a tiger with a strange posture (Fig. 18) and based on *Running Tiger* from volume 13 of *Hokusai Manga* (Fig. 19). This drawing is again not by Hokusai himself but one of his pupils. Compared to *Running Tiger*, the drawing does not illustrate the sense of the tiger's powerful sprint because *Running Tiger* strong wind was not painted on the background. Without this background, the tiger of the drawing looks odd. Therefore, it may be considered appropriate that the writer of the exhibition catalogue described the drawing as "Creeping tiger."

Hokusai Manga depicted various figures and subjects in a lively manner, and the exhibits fascinated newspaper reporters:

One simple fact among a thousand will allow you to understand their nature and significance. In the West, when an artist does a first draft, it's to make a great composition out of it, and to add detail later to the final work. You will see that here, on the other hand, some of these heroic designs have been drawn to be reduced and simplified. A warrior, an animal, a serene, divine figure that could be projected onto the walls of the Sistine Chapel, have become thumbnails on a page from *Mangoua*. And these admirable drawings which will enter the British Museum were meant to be torn up as if they were only one step on the way to something unpretentious!<sup>68</sup>

"Mangoua" means *Hokusai Manga*. The above article referred to the Sistine Chapel, and the reporter considered that Hokusai was as talented as Michelangelo and Botticelli, who decorated the chapel. Furthermore, another article praised the exhibits, and wrote

<sup>68</sup> "La Semaine Artistique," Newspaper Cuttings, Add MS 58085, fol. 136r. I translated French into English.

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about elaborate depiction of *Hokusai Manga*:

In these forty frames, there is first, incomparable beauty, and then precious teachings. It is superfluous to point beauty out to our readers. How could these sketches of warriors, wild beasts, fabulous animals, alternating with heads of incomparable calm and majesty, not strike the attention of any observer with a bit of sensitivity?

As for what they tell us, among other things, these drawings show how spontaneous Japanese art is in its design, but deeply methodical in its study and execution, which ultimately gives everything the appearance of spontaneity.

Thus, some little character of *Mangoua*, before being drawn, required that Hokusai do a big, detailed drawing which would have been worthy of decorating the most glorious walls. In the West, we make a first draft of a drawing so that it can be reproduced much larger on the final surface. Among the Japanese, the opposite happens, and admirable, grandiose drawings are reproduced small and simple on a corner of an album page!<sup>69</sup>

The deference to and appreciation of *Hokusai Manga* reveal that Hokusai was highly regarded as an ukiyo-e master in France. As mentioned above, *Hokusai Manga* was already regarded highly in the West in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Specifically, Japonists in France in the 19<sup>th</sup> century paid attention to *Hokusai Manga*, and appreciated highly its depiction of the casual and humorous daily life of ordinary citizen in Japan. On the other hand, French audiences at the exhibition in 1909 had a high opinion of *Hokusai Manga*'s beauty which drew small figures magnificently and elaborately. There is a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> "Dessins Japonais," Newspaper Cuttings, Add MS 58085, fol. 137r, 138r. I translated French into English.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Mabuchi Akiko, "The Hokusai Phenomenon in Japonisme," in *Hokusai to Japonisumu: Hokusai ga Seiyō ni Ataeta Shōgeki* [Hokusai and Japonisme], exh. cat, ed. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo and Yomiuri Shimbun Culture Promotion Department (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo and Yomiuri Shimbun, 2017), 325-327.

difference in high praise points of *Hokusai Manga* between French people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in 1909. It shows that the exhibition of the Ricketts and Shannon collection brought new viewpoints to France. In other words, it indicates that Anglo-Japonist currents affected French-Japonists' appreciation of Hokusai.

Besides, both articles mentioned warriors, and in fact, the exhibition catalogue lists a work: "17. Meditation warrior leaning on his spear." I identified this work in the British Museum's collection as *Warrior Leaning on a Spear* (Fig. 20), depicting both a man of sturdy build and a minutely detailed illustration of Japanese body armour. Furthermore, related to depicting a strong figure, "13. Shinsi-Shoki killing a demon" is included in the British Museum's collection as *Shoki the Demon Queller, about to Kill a Horned Demon with a Sword* (Fig. 21). There is also another drawing illustrating a god. The catalogue wrote, "30. Hotéi," and the British Museum has *Daikoku Emerging from a Sack* (Fig. 22). *Daikoku* and *Hotei* are figures in Japanese mythology's Seven Gods of Good Fortune. Both are plump male gods and have a sack when they are painted, and *Daikoku* resembles *Hotei*. Therefore, there is a strong possibility that the catalogue writer mistook *Daikoku* for *Hotei*.

The Ricketts and Shannon collection exhibited in Paris included not only figure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 132r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 132r.

*Shoki* is a Chinese god who drives away bad luck, and was believed in by Japanese people since about the 14<sup>th</sup> century. *Shinsi* means the highest degree of the Chinese imperial examination.

drawings but also landscape drawings, and the exhibition catalogue includes "9.

Landscape in the style of Seshiu" and, "10. Fuji seen behind the trunk of a tree" in the Hokusai section. "3" "Seshiu" means Sesshū who was a Japanese Zen Buddhist priest and a master ink wash landscape painter in the 15th century. His artworks are famous for depicting mountains and rivers and, comparing them with Ricketts and Shannon's bequest, there is a landscape painting *Mountain Peaks above the Clouds* (Fig. 23) by a painter of the Hokusai school in the British Museum. Regarding "Fuji seen behind the trunk of a tree," the Fitzwilliam Museum has *Mount Fuji and a Pine Tree* (Fig. 24) by Hokusai with the label on the back noting: "Fitzwilliam Museum Ricketts & Shannon Collection 1933." The title description of this work in the exhibition catalogue is specific, leading to more certainty that the painting in the museum is the work in the catalogue.

Furthermore, although the catalogue has only one illustration, the exhibition review in the newspaper cutting presents three images of artworks cited earlier, including two of Hokusai's works and one of Hokkei's. The two Hokusai works are "Study for Chinese poets" and "Two monsters appearing to a woman." They are currently in the British Museum collection as *Head of a Chinese Woman, Wearing* 

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Catalogue des Dessins et Aquarelles, Add MS 58085, fol. 132r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> "La Semaine Artistique," Newspaper Cuttings, Add MS 58085, fol. 136r.

Jewellery (Fig. 12) and Woman Accosted by a Kappa and an Octopus (Fig. 25). Head of a Chinese Woman was also exhibited in the Fair Women Exhibition, suggesting that this drawing was one of Ricketts and Shannon's favourites. The image of Hokkei's drawing is "Bird study" (Fig. 26). The caption of this drawing states, "Donation Rickets and Shannon." At present, it is not found in museum collections. Therefore, there is a possibility that the drawing was donated to the Galeries L. & P. Rosenberg and lost.

In contrast to Hokusai, the exhibition reviews in the newspaper cuttings did not mention Hokkei specifically, perhaps because Hokkei was a pupil of Hokusai, or the number of Hokkei's works was less than Hokusai's. However, the descriptions of Hokkei's works in the catalogue detailed subjects which Hokusai's works did not depict. This reveals that Ricketts and Shannon demonstrated the variety of the art of Hokusai and the Hokusai school. In this way, this Hokusai and Hokkei exhibition in Paris was a rare showcase in which viewers could see various kinds of Japanese figures and landscapes. Whereas we currently know that the exhibition included artworks by Hokusai school artists, the exhibition displayed only drawings and paintings by ukiyo-e artists relating to Hokusai, and notably, the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection was recognised for its importance by both the overseas gallery and the public, the first sign of the contemporary acclaim accorded to Ricketts's collection in Europe, to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> *Kappa* is a Japanese water sprite appearing in old folk tales. It has a green body with a dish on the

be matched by its acclaim in Japan, as we shall see.

In 1911, Shannon and Ricketts organised the "A Century of Art" exhibition at the Grafton Gallery, where approximately 300 artworks were exhibited. *A Century of Art, 1810-1910* by Ricketts, an explanatory booklet, described the exhibition rooms:

Room 1 showed mainly French painters of the Romantic movement along with John Crome and John Constable; Room 2 included J. M. W. Turner, William Holman Hunt, Millais, Édouard Manet and Whistler; whilst the End Gallery, Drawings and Prints displayed William Blake, Goya, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Turner, Constable, Eugène Delacroix, Puvis de Chavannes, and Hokusai.

In this way, Hokusai's works were exhibited in the company of canonical

Western art, even if Hokusai was the only Eastern artist who appeared in the exhibition.

Ricketts wrote about these artworks, selected by himself and Shannon, in the preface:

In every field of observation in the quality of character behind the work, there have been masters in the nineteenth century, men of volcanic force like Hokusai, Goya, and Turner, of profound feeling like Millet, Rodin, poets and visionaries like Rossetti, Delacroix, and Blake; whole movements have been devoted to the search after beauty, beauty of fact, beauty of emotion and thought, and to the revaluation of the scope of art as the emotional equal of the great literature of our time.<sup>76</sup>

In the above sentences, the artists Ricketts respected, such as Hokusai, Rodin and Rossetti, appeared, and we can see Ricketts regarded elements of beauty and literature

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Charles Ricketts, A Century of Art, 1810-1910 (London: Carfax and Co., 1911), 6.

as significant. However, reviewers did not understand Ricketts's enthusiasm for these artists, and they described the impression of this exhibition as an ordinary retrospective exhibition summarising a century.<sup>77</sup> Focusing on reviews of Hokusai's works, *The Times* wrote a positive comment although it was short: "there are a few fine works here, the great Hokusai, of Japan, drawings of extraordinary vigour, brimming with life."<sup>78</sup>

Regarding the meaning of the exhibition, Delaney described it as Ricketts's answer to Roger Fry's Post-Impressionist Exhibition in 1910, also held in the Grafton Gallery, which showed artworks by Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, and Van Gogh.<sup>79</sup> The artworks Ricketts and Shannon presented in the exhibition were deliberately conservative and aestheticist countermeasures against post-impressionism, which was a radical modern art form although Ricketts did not mention Fry or the Post-Impressionist Exhibition in *A Century of Art*, 1810-1910.

While Cézanne, Gauguin, and Van Gogh, whose works appeared in the Post-Impressionist Exhibition, were inspired by Japanese art, interestingly, Ricketts argued for Hokusai in the context of traditional art lineage with a severe comment on Turner:

It is a common belief that the development of landscape-painting has been the chief achievement of the last hundred years. This is so far true in that no other epoch has equalled it in the constant effort and success achieved in that direction. [...] If we can say no painter has surpassed Turner in technical skill,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Laurence Housman, "The Century of Art Exhibition," *Manchester Guardian*, June 3, 1911, 6.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Art & Artists: A Century of Art," editorial, *Observer*, June 11, 1911, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> "A Century of Art," editorial, *Times*, June 2, 1911, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 263.

we can say also no sculptor has surpassed Rodin in emotional range. Turner's faculties of invention were immense, but as a designer of landscape, he is surpassed by Hokusai, his contemporary, who was also a great figure-draughtsman.<sup>80</sup>

Moreover, Ricketts commented:

The contemporary of Goya and Turner, Hokusai acted not only as an example in his own country but as a stimulus upon the art of Europe. Two of these drawings, Nos. 275, 279, figure in microscopic form in the Mangua. The others are later, and recall something in the art of Signorelli, and even Dürer.<sup>81</sup>

Ricketts pointed out Hokusai's inspiration on European countries, what we call Japonisme and again parallels with artists in the Renaissance period. *A Century of Art, 1810-1910* does not attach a list of artworks in the exhibition, and it is difficult to identify exhibits; however, it is considered that "Nos. 275, 279" depicted figures with great individuality which were displayed at "The Exhibition of Originals of Hokusai and Hokkei" in 1909. Ricketts juxtaposed Hokusai with Signorelli and Dürer. He often compared Hokusai with European masters, as we have begun to see, and this time, he found Signorelli's dynamic figure depiction and Dürer's nature observation echoed in Hokusai's works.

Hokusai was the only Eastern artist in "A Century of Art" exhibition displaying artworks which caught Ricketts's eye, and it shows that he regarded Hokusai highly not only as a curious Japanese artist but a key nineteenth-century artist and an artist having

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Ricketts, A Century of Art, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Ricketts, A Century of Art, 29.

a great influence on European art. In addition, the fact that Ricketts again exhibited Hokusai's drawings reveals that Ricketts attached importance to drawings showing Hokusai's brushwork vividly. Therefore, although the exhibition did not receive high praise at that time, Ricketts, as a collector and connoisseur of Japanese art, was a significant individual in Britain in terms of contribution to the spread of ukiyo-e art.

## The Development of the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection

In 1911 – the same year as "A Century of Art" exhibition – Ricketts inherited £100 from William Llewellyn Hacon, a business supporter of the Vale Press, who had passed away, and Ricketts and Shannon purchased his ukiyo-e prints collection. Regarding the contents of their acquisition, Ricketts wrote that:

Before leaving London, we acquired Hacon's two Delacroix sketches you liked at the Grafton, and his entire collection of Jap[anese] prints, this represents about forty first-rate Harunobus and other desirable prints. We are contemplating a total re-arrangement of our Greek things and require a new chest for the prints. Our set of good Harunobus is now over sixty, which is not bad for practically the rarest and most costly of the print masters.<sup>83</sup>

Harunobu was a key figure for Ricketts and Shannon, and they could not let this great opportunity to acquire so many of Harunobu's works pass them by. While there were more than sixty of Harunobu's prints in the Ricketts and Shannon collection in 1911, at

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<sup>82</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Sydney Cockerell, 17 September 1911, Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. III, Add MS 61715, fol. 116r, British Library. Jap is a discriminatory word; however, Ricketts sometimes used it in his letters and diary.

present, there are fifty of his prints in their bequest to the British Museum. Therefore, most of Harunobu's prints in the existing Ricketts and Shannon collection in the museum are from the Hacon collection, and Ricketts took pride in these prints as top-quality works.

Ukiyo-e art was rich throughout art markets in Britain around 1910. On the title page of the 1910 *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Japanese Colour Prints*Illustrated Books and Original Drawings: The Property of a Well-known Amateur by Sotheby's London, which is housed in the National Art Library, there were newspaper clippings stuck in the page. One of the cuttings, titled "Japanese Prints," wrote that:

Last year the famous Happer sale at Sotheby's of Japanese colour prints vindicated the cult of Western amateurs, and, incidentally, shifted the market from Paris to London. He would have been a rash man five years ago who would have dared to say that in 1910 both Christie's and Sotheby's would be holding two important sales of Japanese prints within five days of each other.

Happer refers to the American ukiyo-e prints collector, John Stewart Happer, alias "Hiroshige Happer" because he was known as an authority of Hiroshige. Sotheby's held big auctions from Happer's Japanese art collection in 1909, and the auctions in April and June offered 708 and 726 items, respectively.<sup>84</sup> These items mainly consisted of

Sotheby's London, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Japanese Colour Prints: The Property of John Stewart Happer* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1909). This is a catalogue for the 14<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> June 1909 auction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Sotheby's London, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Japanese Colour Prints, Illustrated Books and a Few Kakemono: The Property of John Stewart Happer* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1909). This is a catalogue for the 26<sup>th</sup>–29<sup>th</sup> April 1909 auction.

ukiyo-e prints, but there were also hanging scrolls and illustrated books by various ukiyo-e artists. The art market in London was stimulated by this large supply of ukiyo-e art. Japanese art sales, especially of ukiyo-e prints, were frequently held at auction houses from around 1910. For the second-generation Japonists in Britain, prosperity of Japanese art trading in London was an ideal opportunity to collect Japanese artefacts.

At the same time of the influx of ukiyo-e art into Britain, Ricketts and Shannon acquired many Japanese artefacts. The quantity and quality of the Japanese prints in Ricketts and Shannon's collection saw some progress in 1912. In a 1913 letter to Cockerell, Ricketts wrote that: "Our Jap[anese] collection [...] has almost doubled itself in the last year." Twenty-two Japanese artefacts were added to the collection at the Frank Swettenham sale at Sotheby's from 1 to 9 May 1912, and Ricketts boasted of the new acquisitions in a postcard to Cockerell: "Shannon has secured, for a fair price, some four or five very valuable Jap[anese] books by Outamaro and Hokusai." According to the auction catalogue, the details of Japanese books which entered the Ricketts and Shannon collection are as follows:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Sydney Cockerell, 11 August 1913, Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. IV, Add MS 61716, fol. 59r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Frank Swettenham was a British colonial administrator. He was also an amateur watercolour painter and a writer depicting Malaysia. For more details, see H. S. Barlow, "Swettenham, Sir Frank Athelstane (1850-1946), Colonial Administrator," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, accessed November 17, 2019, https://www-oxforddnb-com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36387.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Charles Ricketts's Postcard to Sydney Cockerell, 10 May 1912, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/3/13, fol. 306r, British Library.

- £3 3s 1010 Hokusai (Katsushika): Yehon Kyoka Yama Mata Yama, "Comic Poems Mountains upon Mountains"; First Edition, Yedo, 1804, 3 vol. 60 pp. of illustrations in colours; signed Hokusai
- £2 2s 1011 Hokusai (Katsushika): Yehon Sumidagawa Ryogan Ichiran, "A Synopsis of [the scenery of] the two sides of the Sumida River"; First Edition, Yedo, 1806, 3 vol. in 1, 23 double-page illustrations in colours
- £3 3s 1012 Hokusai (Katsushika): Fugaku Hyakkei, "The Hundred Views of Fuji," vol. II of the First Edition in original covers, known as the "Falcon's feather" edition, published in 1835; also the 3 vol. of what is probably the second edition on rather whiter paper; very fine and sharp impressions, in silk brocade case
- £15 1014 Hokusai (Katsushika): Genroku Kasen Kai-Awase, "Shell game of the Poets of Genroku" (period), a Series of 36 fine Surimono, printed in colours, metal and gauffrage, each print having a small fan-leaf with shells on it; signed Gettchi Rojin I-itsu; in case
- £4 1028 Utamaro (Kitagawa). Shiohi no Tsuto, "Presents of the Ebbtide," a picture book of shells, with the exception of the first and last: Ladies Gathering shells on the sea-shore, and Ladies playing the game Kai Awasi; Yedo, no date, 1 vol. 8 double-page prints in colours, metals and gauffrage; signed Kitagawa Utamaro \*\*\*Although a very pretty book, this must not be regarded as a first edition.
- £18 1030 Utamaro (Kitagawa). Yehon Mushi-Erabi, "Pictures of Selected Insects"; First Edition, Yedo, 1787, 2 vol. in 1, 15 double-page illustrations in colours, mica, and gauffrage; preface by Yadoya Meshimori; published by Tsuta-ya Juzaburo; signed Kitagawa Utamaro
  - the year round by the Umpire," or The Book of the Yoshiwara; First Edition, Yedo, 1804, 2 vol. 19 double-page illustrations in colours; text by Ippensha Ikku; signed Kitagawa-sha Murasaki Utamaro with the assistance of his pupils Kikumaro, Hidemaro and Takemaro<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Sotheby's London, Catalogue of a Large and Important Collection of Japanese Colour Prints, Surimono, and Illustrated Books, the Property of Sir Frank Swettenham, G.C.M.G., 1-9 May 1912 (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1912), 130, 132. The prices of items were annotated in the catalogue, which is stored in the National Art Library.

Hokusai and Utamaro are famous ukiyo-e prints artists; however, they also produced illustrated books - specifically, Hokusai published many illustrated books. His "The Hundred Views of Fuji" (Fugaku Hyakkei) are illustrated books in three volumes published in 1834, 1835, and unknown, after his well-known ukiyo-e print series Thirtysix Views of Mount Fuji were printed between 1830 and 1834. These books demonstrate 102 multiple views of Mount Fuji with bold composition and a rich printing technique. More than 100 of Hokusai's iconic Mount Fuji views fascinated Ricketts and Shannon. Hokusai's most expensive work, which they acquired in this auction, is "Shell game of the Poets of Genroku" (Genroku Kasen Kai-Awase). Its price was £15 in 1912, which was approximately £1,726 in 2019.89 It was categorised as "Books" in the auction catalogue, however, it is a series of *surimono*, which is a made-to-order print usually ordered by comical and satirical poets to hand out to their friends  $(ky\bar{o}ka)$ . In contrast to mass production ukiyo-e prints depicting landscapes and beautiful women, surimono often depicted still lives based on the subject of kyōka with delicate colours, elaborate techniques, and high-grade paper. Therefore, I consider that this high-quality surimono series led to Ricketts's words cited above: "very valuable."

Another valuable artwork, Utamaro's "Pictures of Selected Insects" (*Yehon Mushi-Erabi*), cost £18. This is an illustrated book with *kyōka* and is one of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Bank of England, "Inflation calculator," accessed Apr 1, 2020, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator.

masterpieces. Utamaro used his experience of playing with insects during his childhood, and he painted insects with an observant eye. Ricketts and Shannon already collected Japanese artworks depicting hares, tigers, and birds; therefore, *Yehon Mushi-Erabi* is related to these artworks in terms of Japanese creatures. It reveals that Ricketts and Shannon not only had an interest in Japanese landscapes and figures but also animals and insects, and they paid attention to the various expressions of their favourite artists, such as Hokusai and Utamaro, when they collected Japanese artefacts.

At the Frank Swettenham sale, Ricketts and Shannon also purchased ukiyo-e prints: fourteen Hokusai prints, four Utamaro, one Eishi, and one Harunobu. Many other ukiyo-e artists' prints, including Hiroshige's, came up for this auction; however, they focused on their respected artists. Looking at their acquisitions, there are three important series of Hokusai's ukiyo-e prints. First, three prints from the series of *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces* included *The Kirifuri (falling mist) Fall, The Yoshitsune Horse-washing Fall*, and *Robe Fall (after the name of the Founder of the Temple Todaiji) Oyama, Province of Soshu.* 90 Second, four prints from the series of *Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces* included *The Reflected Bridge of the Moon at Arashiyama, Province of Yamashiro*; *The Spider-web Bridge at Guido[Gyodo] san*; *The Yahagi Bridge of Okazaki, on the Tokaido*; and *The Bridges at the Mouth of the* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Sotheby's, Catalogue of a Large and Important Collection of Japanese Colour Prints, 51.

Aji River, Tempozan, Osaka. Third, one print from the series of One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse included Poem. Comparing these prints with the Ricketts and Shannon bequest in the British Museum, at present, all of them are in the museum collection. Like Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji, the Tour of Waterfalls and Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges are artworks in which Hokusai captured the ultimate beauty of nature's creation with his unusual composition and impressive Prussian blue colour. The series of One Hundred Poems is Hokusai's last ukiyo-e print series from when he was 76 years old, and it is the crystallisation of the last several decades of his landscape and figure artworks. The fact that Ricketts and Shannon acquired these series shows that they recognised these prints were Hokusai's masterpieces, and they had the intention to try to collect prints of Hokusai's important series.

In February 1914, Harunobu's ukiyo-e prints were again added to the Ricketts and Shannon collection. Ricketts wrote about their Harunobu collection:

Shannon has added greatly to our Japanese print department, our Haronobus are now are more numerous and of a higher quality than those belonging to Harmsworth or the British Museum Print Room.<sup>93</sup>

Harmsworth refers to Robert Leicester Harmsworth, who was a British politician,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Sotheby's, Catalogue of a Large and Important Collection of Japanese Colour Prints, 68-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Sotheby's, Catalogue of a Large and Important Collection of Japanese Colour Prints, 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Sydney Cockerell, 2 February 1914, Add MS 61716, fol. 70r.

businessman, and art collector, and he had a fine quality ukiyo-e prints collection which had been exhibited in the V&A. Ricketts had confidence in the number and quality of their collection and compared it to the great ukiyo-e prints collector, Harmsworth, the British Museum and the V&A in having the biggest collection of Harunobu works in Britain. In fact, looking at existing Harunobu prints from the Ricketts and Shannon collection in the British Museum, there are the Eight Views of the Elegant Floating World and Poets of Elegant Four Seasons series, which are Haruonbu's symbolic works depicting lyrical and delicate women. Ricketts's confidence shows that his and Shannon's Japanese art collection was virtually completed at the beginning of 1914. After February 1914, there is no description of collecting Japanese objects in Ricketts's letters and diaries. One of the reasons was that World War I started in July 1914, and it was difficult for them to acquire artworks. There is also a possibility that they were satisfied with their collection at that point.

The Bequest of the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Collection to Museums

According to Ricketts's letters and diaries, Ricketts and Shannon did not make any

further big changes to their Japanese art collection until the late 1920s. In January 1929,

Shannon fell from a ladder when he was hanging a painting in Ricketts and Shannon's

house. This accident caused serious brain damage, and Shannon did not recover.

Although Shannon narrowly escaped death, his condition was unstable, and this difficult

situation affected their precious collection. To cover the cost of Shannon's medical treatment, Ricketts sold miniatures by Fragonard and Isabey and a painting by Hopper. 94

In addition, Ricketts, who thought that this sale was insufficient for Shannon's treatment, gave his executors instructions:

I should like the Greek things and Pre-Raphaelite drawings to be kept to the last. Let Egypt go first, Piero di Cosimo second, and Japan third, and old master drawings fourth. <sup>95</sup>

Setting the priority order of selling their collection would be hard for Ricketts; however, we can find instructions in Ricketts's will to not dispose of the entire collection.

Furthermore, he placed their Japanese collection between Piero di Cosimo and old master drawings. Ricketts had traditional ideas about art; therefore, it is easy to understand that his high priority was Greek, Pre-Raphaelite, old master artworks, and there was an artistic barrier between classical Western art and Far-Eastern art. However, the fact that Japanese artefacts have a higher priority than Piero di Cosimo indicates that their Japanese collection was of adequate quantity and quality to have value to future ages.

On 7<sup>th</sup> October 1931, Ricketts passed away before Shannon's death in 1937.

The *Scotsman* reported the following about Ricketts's will:

94 Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 399.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Letter from Ricketts to F. E. Jackson and T. E. Lowinsky, 16 May 1931, quoted in Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 400.

By his will, dated March 6, 1929, he leaves everything he may die possessed of to Charles Shannon. Should he predecease him then he gives to the British Museum his collection of intaglios and cameos, his collection of Japanese prints and half of drawings by Hokusai, his Japanese screens and Oriental drawings, the wood blocks cut by Charles Shannon and himself, and the vellum copies of the Vale Press; to the Fitzwilliam Museum his collection of Egyptian and Greek antiquities, his collection of drawings, ancient and modern, except drawings by himself and Charles Shannon, his Japanese books, and the other half of the Japanese drawings by Hokusai [...]. The executors are to destroy all his unfinished works, and sell the remainder together with any objects declined by the Public Museums. <sup>96</sup>

In this way, after Shannon's accident in 1929, Ricketts prepared for the future prior to passing away. Focusing on Japanese artefacts, the British Museum obtained most of Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection, and the Fitzwilliam Museum also acquired some drawings by Hokusai and some Japanese books from their collection. As for the reason why all their collection did not go to the British Museum, Cockerell put efforts into enriching the Japanese art collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum when he was a director from 1908 and 1937. He requested the bequest to the museum from Ricketts and Shannon, and the two accepted his request by 1911;<sup>97</sup> Ricketts and Shannon admiring Cockerell's Cambridge collection.

The British Museum Archives has the records regarding the bequeathing of the Ricketts and Shannon collection. After Ricketts's death, Binyon, a representative of the Japanese art section of the British Museum, was involved in dealing with their

96 "Sculptor Leaves over £36,000," editorial, Scotsman, December 21, 1931, 11.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 122.

collection with Ricketts's executors and the official solicitor. The Minutes of Meetings of the British Museum's Trustees dated 11th February 1933 shows the deposit on a loan of Shannon's Japanese prints, drawings, and wood blocks bequeathed from Ricketts to the museum:

> Deposits on Loan: The Ricketts-Shannon Collections, Major and the Misses Linton, Mr. L.A. Lawrence, Mr. H. W. Scarth.—On reports by Mr. Binyon, 3<sup>rd</sup> February, and Mr. Reginald Smith, 4th February, the Trustees accepted with thanks the following deposit on loan, viz., the collections destined by Mr. Charles Shannon to the Museum, comprising—

- (a) The collection of Japanese Prints and Oriental Paintings;
- (b) One half the collection of Japanese Drawings by Hokusai; and
- (c) The wood-blocks cut by Ricketts and Shannon for the Vale Press.

By his will, Mr. Shannon had bequeathed these works, which he had inherited from Mr. Ricketts, to the Museum. Mr. Shannon being now insane, and not expected to recover, Mr. Ricketts' executors, with the approval of the Official Solicitor, proposed to deposit them in the Museum, on the understanding that if at any time during Mr. Shannon's life it should become necessary to realize or otherwise dispose of them, they might be withdrawn.<sup>98</sup>

Two-and-a-half years after Ricketts's death, his and Shannon's Japanese art collection went to the British Museum. At that time, Shannon did not have the ability to maintain their collections because of his accident. The British Museum was one of the few museums collecting and researching Japanese artefacts. In addition, Binyon, also a

<sup>98</sup> British Museum, "Deposits on Loan: The Ricketts-Shannon Collections, Major and the Misses Linton, Mr. L.A. Lawrence, Mr. H. W. Scarth," Minutes of Meetings of the British Museum's *Trustees*, February 11, 1933, c4945.

friend of Ricketts and Shannon, worked in the Prints and Drawings Department of the museum, and he could grasp the Ricketts and Shannon collection without trouble. He also regarded their Japanese art collection highly in his report on 3<sup>rd</sup> February: "The Japanese prints and drawings will form a large and very valuable enrichment to the Museum collection." This report reveals that Binyon was highly active in contributing to the Ricketts and Shannon bequest. Therefore, the British Museum was the appropriate place to deposit a large part of their Japanese art collection.

Another entry in the *Minutes of Meetings* related to their collection was made on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1933. It records the collections of Japanese prints and drawings provisionally accepted on loan by the Trustees:

Loan of Ricketts-Shannon Collection. —Read a report from Mr. Binyon, 4<sup>th</sup> March 1933, on the Ricketts and Shannon collections provisionally accepted on loan by the Trustees. They comprised 292 Japanese woodcuts (Harunobu, Hokusai and Utamaro chiefly); 3 Japanese screen-paintings, 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century; 6 Persian and 5 Indian miniatures; 27 drawings by Hokusai, 7 of his school, a small lacquer-painting by Zeshin and 2 small Chinese paintings; an album of 53 drawings by Hokusai; and 225 woodblocks engraved by Ricketts and Shannon. <sup>100</sup>

This entry describes the details of the contents of Ricketts and Shannon's collection.

Compared with the current British Museum collection from their bequest, there are

<sup>100</sup> British Museum, "Loan of Ricketts-Shannon Collection," *Minutes of Meetings of the British Museum's Trustees*, March 11, 1933, c4953.

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<sup>99</sup> Binyon Report, 3 February 1933, Laurence Binyon Reports, British Museum.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Zeshin" refers to Shibata Zeshin (1807–1891), who was a Japanese painter and lacquer artist.

small differences in the number of items. For example, Minutes of Meetings indicates that there were three, but at present, there is one screen painting in the museum. This screen painting was presented by a body of subscribers as a tribute to Binyon on his retirement in 1933, 101 and it shows that it is not one of "3 Japanese screen-paintings." In his letter, Binyon wrote that the lawyers thought that the screens may have to be sold, <sup>102</sup> and these three screen paintings were sold to supplement Shannon's medical and living costs. Additionally, according to Delaney, all the Japanese woodblock books, such as the illustrated books mentioned above including Utamaro's Pictures of Selected Insects, were sold or put up at auction. 103 Minutes of Meetings also refers to "a report from Mr. Binyon, 4th March 1933," and this report contains more details of ukiyo-e prints and Binyon's comments:

> 292 Japanese woodcuts, including 58 by Harunobu, 101 by Hokusai, and 58 by Utamaro. A few other masters only are represented. Most of the Hokusais are already represented in the Museum but often in impressions printed in a different colouring and sometimes inferior to those in the Ricketts collection. Of the Utamaros, a small number are duplicates of impressions in the Museum; of the Harunbus, only one or two. 104

The breakdown of ukiyo-e prints reflected Ricketts and Shannon's interests in Hokusai, Utamaro, and Harunobu. In the 1930s, the British Museum collected many ukiyo-e

<sup>101</sup> "screen / painting (Hares and Autumn Grasses)," British Museum, accessed April 7, 2020, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\_online/collection\_object\_details.aspx?objectI d=784198&partId=1&searchText=Rinpa+School&page=1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Letter from Binyon to Hill, 14 March 1933, Laurence Binyon Reports, British Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Binyon Report, 4 March 1933, Laurence Binyon Reports, British Museum.

prints by purchase and donation. Compared with the museum collection, Binyon specifically appraised Hokusai's prints from the Ricketts and Shannon collection as high-quality works in terms of colour. The colours of Hokusai's prints in the museum collection might have already had advanced fading when they were acquired because most pigments used in ukiyo-e prints were made with natural materials, and they were quick to fade if collectors were not careful handling them, for example, by avoiding sunlight. On the other hand, Ricketts and Shannon not only selected and purchased well-preserved ukiyo-e prints but they also properly stored them in secure conditions in their "chest for the prints." One of Ricketts's motivations for careful handling was that their collection was the proof of Ricketts and Shannon's sharp eyes for Japanese art, and he wanted them to be remembered as true connoisseurs in the future.

The third entry in *Minutes of Meetings* related to the Ricketts and Shannon collection concerns the exhibition plan of their collection at the British Museum:

Exhibition of Shannon Collection of Japanese Prints.—On a report by Mr. Hobson, 2nd November, the Trustees approved the closing of the present exhibition of Oriental Paintings, and the opening on 28th November (with a Private View on 27th November) of an exhibition of Japanese Prints and Drawings from the collection deposited on loan by the Trustees of Mr. Charles Shannon, together with some recent acquisitions (c. 4958). 106

the British Museum's Trustees, November 11, 1933, c5014.

 <sup>105</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Sydney Cockerell, 17 September 1911, Add MS 61715, fol. 116r. Jap is a discriminatory word; however, Ricketts sometimes used it in his letters and diary.
 106 British Museum, "Exhibition of Shannon Collection of Japanese Prints," *Minutes of Meetings of*

In the same year as their collection was deposited in the museum, the museum decided to hold an exhibition including their Japanese art collection, showing that the museum acknowledged the high artistic value of its Japanese prints and drawings collections.

The *Times* reported on this exhibition on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1933, noting that it comprised about half of the Hokusai drawings, all the prints, and three painted screens from their collection. The *Times* paid attention to Harunobu's delicacy in the use of colour, the grace in Utamaro's portraits of women, and Hokusai's joyous freedom, and gave the exhibition a favourable review. <sup>107</sup>

In 1937, another entry in *Minutes of Meetings* describing the bequest of Ricketts and Shannon's collection appeared:

Charles Shannon Bequest.—Read reports by Mr. Popham, 14th June, and Mr. Hobson, 1st July, that the will of the late Charles Shannon, R.A., had been proved, and that under it the Museum became entitled to the series of Vale Press wood-blocks and to the collections of Japanese colour-prints and Oriental drawings and half the collection of Japanese drawings formed by him and the late Charles Ricketts, R.A., which had been on deposit in the Museum since 1933. 108

Shannon passed away in March of the same year, and their collection was officially bequeathed to the British Museum in July. The entry mentions that the collection bequeathed by Shannon was created by both him and Ricketts. It is notable that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> "Japanese Art: The Charles Shannon Collection," editorial, *Times*, November 29, 1933, 12. <sup>108</sup> British Museum, "Charles Shannon Bequest," *Minutes of Meetings of the British Museum's Trustees*, July 10, 1937, c5385.

museum understood that it was a joint collection, this chapter and thesis re-emphasising Ricketts's role after his disappearance from the historiography of these bequests, as we have seen.

## Analysis of the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection in the British Museum

The Ricketts and Shannon collection bequeathed to the British Museum in 1937 has been maintained to the present day. To clarify the detailed contents, the characteristics of their collection, and its artistic value, I searched Japanese artefacts related to Ricketts and Shannon in the British Museum's collection online, and I created tables and charts based on the data for these artworks in the collection for the analysis.

The online search of the British Museum's collection resulted in 333 Japanese artworks related to Ricketts and Shannon. *Amida Raigo Triad* (museum number 1938,0108,0.1), one of the 333 artworks, was donated by Mr and Mrs Henry Winslow in memory of Charles Ricketts, and its previous owner was "Kawasaki." As a result, it is not considered part of Ricketts and Shannon's collection, although it is telling that they were memorialised through a Japanese image. Additionally, *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* by Hokusai and Yanagawa Shigenobu (museum number 1937,0710,0.267) did not have the "Acquisition name" recorded in the museum's collection online. <sup>109</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> As artists of *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, Hiroshige is the most famous artist. However, Hokusai also made a series called *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*. Shigenobu was Hokusai's

However, two artworks with museum numbers 1937,0710,0.266 and 1937,0710,0.268 were recorded as "Bequeathed by: Charles Hazelwood Shannon." Therefore, I surmise museum number 1937,0710,0.267 was also bequeathed by Shannon. Except for *Amida Raigo Triad*, the following is an analysis of these 332 Japanese artworks from Ricketts and Shannon's collection.

Focusing on the artists in the online collection (Table 2), the most represented in Ricketts and Shannon's collection was Hokusai with 115 artworks. After Hokusai, Utamaro was second with fifty-nine artworks, and Harunobu was third with fifty artworks. Furthermore, there were thirty-three artworks by artists in the Hokusai style. The reason Ricketts and Shannon collected these is, again, their difficulty of judging whether artworks were by Hokusai, and, at the time, they believed that Hokusai painted these thirty-three artworks. Still, the total number of Hokusai's artworks and Hokusai-style artists' artworks is 148, by far the most in Ricketts and Shannon's collection. Moreover, Gakutei, Hokkei, and Ryuryukyo Shinsai, who were included in their collection, were Hokusai's pupils. Like many of their peers and successors, Ricketts and Shannon placed a high priority on collecting Hokusai's art.

Noguchi Yonejiro increased his interest in ukiyo-e prints through interactions with British Japonists, recognising the popularity of ukiyo-e in the West at his stay in

son-in-law, and he contributed several illustrations to Hokusai's *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*.

London in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. <sup>110</sup> In 1919, he published *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi* [The Six Great Ukiyo-e Artists]. He listed Harunobu, Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Tōshūsai Sharaku, Hokusai, and Hiroshige as the six great ukiyo-e artists, and he also wrote about interactions with British Japonists including Ricketts. Noguchi considered Harunobu, Kiyonaga, and Utamaro as masters of beautiful women ukiyo-e, Sharaku as a master of actor ukiyo-e, and Hokusai and Hiroshige as masters of landscape ukiyo-e. Today, people still regard these six as great artists, and exhibitions of them are often held. Regarding these six ukiyo-e artists, however, there is no artwork by Kiyonaga or Sharaku in Ricketts and Shannon's collection. Sharaku is famous as a mysterious artist because he was active for only about ten months from 1794 to 1795, and his ancestry and career have not been revealed. Sharaku created about 140 works in his lifetime, and the British Museum possesses thirty-three. Because of this small number, it would have been difficult for Ricketts and Shannon to purchase Sharaku's artworks during their lifetime. Additionally, the increased interest in Sharaku was later than Hokusai and Utamaro. In fact, it was 1910 in Munich when the first monograph on Sharaku, Sharaku written by Julius Kurth was published, and this monograph was written in German. Therefore, for Ricketts and Shannon, it was difficult to obtain information on Sharaku from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and this might have

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Wada Keiko, "Noguchi Yonejiro no Rondon (11) – Ukiyo-e heno Omaju – [Yone Noguchi in London (11) – His Homage to Ukiyo-e –]," *Osaka Gakuin University Foreign Linguistic and Literary Studies*, no. 44 (2001): 61-81.

been one of reasons why Ricketts and Shannon did not have Sharaku's works. Moreover, Sharaku's main subject was yakusha-e, which means artworks depicting kabuki actors and stages. Specifically, Sharaku often depicted busts of kabuki actors with deformations. Hence, women painted by Sharaku have big noses, thick eyebrows, vivid eyes, and dynamic poses, and they stir powerful impressions. Female kabuki roles have been played by male actors; however, Sharaku's women are more masculine than real kabuki male actors who play beautiful women. This Sharaku characteristic contrasts with the work of Utamaro and Harunobu, which Ricketts and Shannon preferred, and in spite of Ricketts's interest in stage design. In addition, Utamaro and Harunobu's women are elegant and gentle. Therefore, it was easy for Ricketts and Shannon to understand the beauty of Japanese women. Furthermore, Utamaro and Harunobu more frequently depicted women's entire bodies than Sharaku. For Ricketts, this was helpful in designing stage costumes inspired by Japanese culture, such as for *The Mikado* in 1926.

The reason there are no Kiyonaga artworks in Ricketts and Shannon's collection remains a mystery. In fact, they purchased four Kiyonaga prints from Leighton's collection on 16 July 1896 and displayed one Kiyonaga print at the Fair Women Exhibition in 1909, as mentioned above. However, the British Museum does not have these prints, nor does the Fitzwilliam Museum. At present, they are missing. In addition, Ricketts's friend, Binyon, who worked at the British Museum, regarded

Hokusai and Utamaro higher than Kiyonaga.<sup>111</sup> Therefore, there is slight possibility that Binyon's opinion made impression on the lack of Kiyonaga works in the Ricketts and Shannon's collection.

Ricketts and Shannon had a great interest in *bijin-ga* (artworks depicting beautiful women), and they possessed *bijin-ga* by Utamaro, Harunobu, and Eishi. Specifically, Utamaro and Eishi were influenced by Kiyonaga's *bijin-ga* style, which depicts women with beautifully balanced proportions. Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that Ricketts and Shannon did not value Kiyonaga's artworks and sold them while they were alive. Some external factors must have affected the bequest of Ricketts and Shannon's collection.

Looking at the production dates (Table 3), *A Fashionable Representation of the Immortals of Poetry: Picture Book of Waka-no-ura* by Takagi Sadatake was printed in 1734 and the mentioned folding screen by the Rimpa school was painted in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century. Because Ricketts and Shannon possessed many Hokusai prints, there are 110 artworks from the 1830s. Furthermore, there are forty-eight artworks by Harunobu from the 1760s and twenty from the 1790s by Hokusai, Utamaro, and Eishi. However, it is difficult to identify the exact production dates of ukiyo-e prints because there are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Laurence Binyon and J. J. O'Brien Sexton, *Japanese Colour Prints* (London: Ernest Benn, 1923), 190.

Itabashi Miya, "19 Seikimatsu kara 20 Seikishoto Igirisu ni Okeru Ukiyo-e Hanga Kenkyu —Rōrensu Binyon to Edowādo Sutorenji o Chūshin ni [Ukiyo-e Prints Studies from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century —Focusing on Laurence Binyon and Edward F. Strange]," *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu* 169 (2015): 36-37.

various editions of the same prints, and the actual careers of many ukiyo-e artists are still obscure. Therefore, production dates for 132 artworks remain unknown.

Almost all the material in Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection is on paper. Only one drawing by the Hokusai school (1937,0710,0.305) is painted on silk. Regarding techniques in their collection, forty artworks are painted and 292 are woodblock. Furthermore, in terms of object types, the number of prints is 288 including twenty-seven surimono (privately commissioned prints). In addition to prints, there are thirty-one drawings, six paintings, four illustrated print books, one painting album, one hanging scroll, and one folding screen. A large proportion of the collection are woodblock prints. This is because Hokusai, Utamaro, and Harunobu, who mainly produced woodblock prints, were Ricketts and Shannon's favourite artists. Additionally, the number of Japanese woodblock prints in the British market was greater than the number of Japanese paintings. Japanese authorities did not regarded woodblock prints by ukiyo-e artists, who were outside of an authoritative school, as "art," and Japanese merchants exported many prints to foreign countries to earn foreign currency. Specifically, Hokusai passed away in 1849, and he was still popular after his death. Therefore, a significant number of his ukiyo-e prints were dealt and circulated within Japanese and Western art markets throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Compared with the 1860s and 1870s, when Whistler, the Rossetti brothers, and

Leighton collected not only Japanese woodblock prints but Japanese porcelain and folding screens, the price of Japanese artefacts rose because of their popularity during Ricketts and Shannon's period. Therefore, Darracott and Delaney considered that Ricketts and Shannon were unable to afford Japanese high art like folding screens and hanging screens. Instead, they focused on woodblock prints from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which were relatively affordable. 112 Of course, Ricketts could not possess paintings by Korin, whom he admired, 113 because they were important cultural properties, and some of them were considered official Japanese national treasures. Even ordinary Japanese people could not purchase them. Their purchases were influenced by the depictions of unique figures by artists with excellent techniques, or at least those within their price range.

These depictions led to Ricketts's inspiration by Japanese artists, which I explore in Chapter 3.

Japanese publishers often produced ukiyo-e prints as series, and there are several series in the Ricketts and Shannon collection (Table 4). The largest series is forty-eight prints, *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* by Hokusai in the early 1830s. This is the most famous ukiyo-e print series by Hokusai, depicting Mount Fuji from various locations in Japan. It is also a symbolic series, inspiring many Western artists in the context of Japonisme. Although the title indicates thirty-six views, the series contains

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Darracott, The World of Charles Ricketts, 138, 140.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Charles Ricketts, *Pages on Art* (London: Constable and Co., 1913), 180-181.

forty-six different prints. Ricketts and Shannon's collection has forty-five different examples, only missing Gaifu Kaisei (Clear Day with a Southern Breeze), and demonstrates a strong intention to complete this series. Their collection includes Hokusai's representative works, Kanagawa-oki Nami-ura (Under the Wave off Kanagawa), known as The Great Wave, and Sanka hakuu (Sudden Shower beneath the Summit). The British Museum possesses 106 prints of this series, and the series from Ricketts and Shannon's collection accounts for about 45% of the museum collection. Anderson sold about 3000 Japanese artefacts to the British Museum in 1881, however, there was no print from *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* in Anderson's collection. Furthermore, Morrison sold about 2000 ukiyo-e prints to the museum in 1906, 114 and Morrison's collection contains thirty-two prints of *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*. Regarding this Hokusai series, compared with Anderson and Morrison, who were great Japanese collectors and laid the foundation of the Japanese art collection of the British Museum, Ricketts and Shannon collected almost all the prints in the series. Their collection plays an important role in the *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* collection of the museum.

Ricketts and Shannon collected other Hokusai ukiyo-e series. For example,

Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces was produced following Thirty-six Views of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Koyama Noboru, *Tatsujintachi no Daieihakubutsukan* [The British Museum and its Experts] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996), 163.

Mount Fuji. This series consists of eight prints, and Ricketts and Shannon had them all. Like Tour of Waterfalls, Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces is regarded as a Hokusai masterpiece series of landscape ukiyo-e prints. Based on eleven Japanese bridges, Hokusai exercised his imagination and painted fantasy scenery. In Ricketts and Shannon's collection, there are fourteen prints including all eleven series prints. In addition, the Snow, Flower and Moon series, which is the subject of an old Chinese poem, depicts various Japanese seasons; Ricketts and Shannon had all three prints. In this way, they followed a major Hokusai series when Hokusai was in his seventies. They tried to collect all the prints of each series to build a high-quality Japanese art collection, Ricketts and Shannon were evidently collector Japonists.

Like Hokusai, Hiroshige was a master of landscape ukiyo-e. In Britain,

Hiroshige's ukiyo-e inspired Whistler's paintings depicting bridges and rivers, such as

Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge (c.1872–5). Ricketts and Shannon

had eleven prints of The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō (c. 1833-4), which was

Hiroshige's most prominent ukiyo-e series. Hiroshige created about thirty versions of

The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō. The works from Ricketts and Shannon's

collection are from the Hōeidō edition, which was the most popular. Hiroshige was

Hokusai's rival, and they competed in landscape ukiyo-e. Hiroshige's art is more

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ono, *Bi no Koryu*, 114.

naturalistic and informative than Hokusai's. However, Ricketts and Shannon did not collect many prints by Hiroshige in contrast to Hokusai, perhaps because they felt that Hiroshige's works lacked Hokusai's boldness. In addition, compared with Hokusai, Hiroshige, who was more than 30 years younger, began to be appreciated later than Hokusai in general. Therefore, for Ricketts and Shannon, it was easier to get their interest in Hokusai than Hiroshige.

Except for the six great ukiyo-e artists, Ricketts and Shannon possessed thirteen prints of *Twenty-four Generals for the Katsushika Circle* by Gakutei. This series comprises privately commissioned prints, *surimono*. Therefore, Ricketts and Shannon had luxurious versions of ukiyo-e prints of elaborate painting on good-quality Japanese paper.

Overall, the size of Hokusai's ukiyo-e series, which is over eighty prints, overwhelms that of other series in Ricketts and Shannon's collection. Specifically, the influential *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* by Hokusai from their collection is indispensable in terms of the history of British art collectors and Japanese art collections in Britain.

Regarding subjects, because Ricketts and Shannon's collection includes *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*, the number of artworks with the subject of Mount Fuji is the largest at fifty-three works by not only the landscape ukiyo-e artists Hokusai and

Hiroshige, but also the *bijin-ga* artists Harunobu and Utamaro. In the Edo era, the worship of this mountain became popular, and many people climbed it. Hence, Japanese people at that time felt close to the mountain, and ukiyo-e artists often chose this subject. Mount Fuji of ukiyo-e symbolises Hokusai and Japonisme. <sup>116</sup> From the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present day, *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* has remained canonical and popular, Ricketts and Shannon's collection contributing to its canonical status.

After Mount Fuji, the subject of beautiful women is the second most common in their collection, and there are forty-nine artworks. For this subject, Utamaro often depicted courtesans. Goncourt added the subtitle "Le Peintre des Maisons Vertes (A Painter of the Pleasure Quarters)" which refers to a painter of Yoshiwara, the brothel district in Edo city – to his book Utamaro in 1891. Utamaro elaborately painted the beauty of courtesans and their lives in Yoshiwara. Furthermore, while Goncourt featured the subject of mother and child by Utamaro in the book, Ricketts and Shannon had nineteen prints on this subject. Because Ricketts was conscious of Goncourt and wrote an essay about Utamaro in 1897, we can easily imagine that there was a certain influence from Goncourt when Ricketts collected Utamaro's works, with Ricketts and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Christine M. E. Guth, *Hokusai's Great Wave: Biography of a Global Icon* (University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

<sup>117</sup> The literal translation of "Maisons Vertes" is "Green Houses" in English. However, Goncourt translated a Japanese word "Seirō 青楼" to "Maisons Vertes" in French, and the meaning of "Seirō 青楼" is "brothels" in English. For the English translation, I quoted "the Pleasure Quarters" from Tadashi Kobayashi, *Utamaro: Portraits from the Floating World* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982), 67.

Shannon matching Goncourt's interest in beautiful women, and outdoing his interest in maternal figures.

In Ricketts and Shannon's collection, there are two erotic artworks or shunga by Harunobu: Returning Sail at the Towel Rack (Fig. 27) from the series of Eight Fashionable Views of Interiors and Young Man being Seduced by an Older Woman (Fig. 28). The German art critic, Julius Meier-Graefe wrote about *shunga* in 1890's Europe:

> There are but few collectors of these things, as they cannot be exhibited, so they were comparatively cheap ten years ago, and among them the bestpreserved prints are to be found. 118

Although collecting shunga was not a respectable hobby at that time, other artists also collected shunga, such as Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec<sup>119</sup> and Aubrey Beardsley. <sup>120</sup> Specifically, Goncourt had an enthusiasm for *shunga*, and he wrote about it in 1896:

> As I noted in my study on Outamaro every Japanese painter has a body of erotic works, his *shungwa*, his paintings of spring. And I spoke of the erotic painting of the Far East, of the furious, almost angry copulations; the somersaults of rutting pairs, knocking over the folding screen of a bed room; the mingling of bodies which dissolve into one another; sensual excitability of the arms [...] finally, the force, the power of the outline which makes the drawing of a phallus equal to that of the hand in the Louvre Museum

<sup>119</sup> Oshima, Japonisumu: Inshōha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen, 299-301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol. 1, 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> William Rothenstein, Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1872-1900 (London: Faber and Faber, 1931), 134.

Julius Meier-Graefe, Modern Art: A Contribution to a New System of Aesthetics, trans. Florence Simmonds, and George William Chrystal, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), 252.

As artists who possessed shunga, there was Auguste Rodin and John Singer Sargent. For the details of the relationship between the West and shunga, see Ricard Bru, "The Modern West's Discovery of Shunga," in Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art, exh. cat., ed. Timothy Clark, C. Andrew Gerstle, Ishigami Aki, and Yano Akiko (London: British Museum Press, 2013), 478-489.

# attributed to Michelangelo. 121

Goncourt's eagerness would spark Ricketts and Shannon's curiosity. Their hidden interest was revealed in an essay on his memory in London by Noguchi who formed a friendship with them, and who recorded that Shannon "secretly" showed Noguchi *shunga* including work by Utamaro and Hokusai, again purchased from Goncourt's collection. At present, these *shunga* by Utamaro and Hokusai were apparently not bequeathed by Ricketts and Shannon to the British Museum although the museum has a large collection of *shunga* from 1865. There is a possibility that these artworks were sold in secret by their executors because of their explicit content in the 1930s when Ricketts and Shannon died, and on the other hand, Harunobu's two prints remained in their bequest to the museum because their erotic expressions were moderate and lyrical, and they did not depict outrightly sexual scenes.

Furthermore, there are sixteen artworks depicting Japanese historical samurai, such as Watanabe no Tsuna (953–1025) and Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–1189).

Ricketts could not read Japanese, and it is not certain to what extent he understood

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Goncourt, *Hokousaï*, 174. For English translation, I refer to Bru, "The Modern West's Discovery of *Shunga*," 481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Noguchi Yonejiro, Kiri no Rondon [Foggy London] (Tokyo: Genbunsha, 1923), 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> George Witt donated sexually explicit Japanese objects including *shunga* to the British Museum in 1865. A part of *Shunga* with high explicit depictions was kept in the museum's restricted collection, the Secretum, and the museum started to exhibit *Shunga* after the 1970s. For the British Museum and *shunga*, see Stuart Frost, "Secret Museums and Shunga: Sex and Sensitivities," in *Proceedings of the Interpret Europe Conferences in Primošten and Kraków (2014 and 2015)*, ed. Patrick Lehnes, and Stuart Frost (Witzenhausen: Interpret Europe, 2017), 87-88, accessed April 27, 2020. http://www.interpret-europe.net/fileadmin/news-tmp/ie-events/2015/IE\_Proceedings\_2014-2015.pdf.

Japanese history, although, as we shall see, he had an increasingly sophisticated and detailed knowledge of Japanese art history. However, he wrote a review on the Japanese art of Tsuna's and Yoshitsune's periods at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; 124 therefore, it was clear that Ricketts had a basic knowledge of overall Japanese history, which was helpful for collecting Japanese artefacts.

Most artworks were bequeathed to the British Museum in 1937 after Shannon died. The museum's collection online describes 308 artworks as "Bequeathed by: Charles Hazelwood Shannon." The collection online lists about nine artworks as "Bequeathed by: Charles Hazelwood Shannon / Previous owner/ex-collection: Charles Ricketts." Ricketts died in 1931; therefore, the ownership of Ricketts and Shannon's joint art collection went to Shannon. However, the museum's collection online does not differentiate between "Bequeathed by: Charles Hazelwood Shannon" or "Bequeathed by: Charles Hazelwood Shannon / Previous owner/ex-collection: Charles Ricketts."

Furthermore, some artworks have a unique acquisition history. Omu Komachi (Parrot Komachi) by Utamaro was bequeathed by Shannon, and its previous owner was Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889). Kyōsai was a Japanese painter who interacted with the British architect Josiah Conder. There was a connection between Ricketts, Shannon, and Kyōsai through the art collection. Moreover, while Ricketts was alive, he donated one

<sup>124</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 167–186.

hanging scroll and one Harunobu ukiyo-e print in 1910 and 1922 respectively. In the collection online, it is noted that Ricketts donated one painting by the Hokusai school (1903,1126,0.1) in 1881. However, there is a high probability that this is an error because Ricketts was 15 years old in 1881. I suggest that it was actually donated in 1903, based on the museum number.

### Japanese Drawings in the Fitzwilliam Museum

Whereas the British Museum acquired most Japanese artworks of the Ricketts and Shannon collection, the Fitzwilliam Museum inherited their Japanese books and the other half of the Japanese drawings by Hokusai. Although almost no data on Japanese drawings from Ricketts and Shannon's collection appears on the Fitzwilliam Museum Online Collection Explorer, Japanese drawings of their bequest still exist in the museum storehouse. This section inquires about the unknown details and illuminates the significance of these forgotten drawings by ukiyo-e artists based on the examination in the museum study room.

Regarding artworks related to Ricketts, the museum possesses three of his stage designs, two of Edmund Dulac's caricatures, and fifteen Japanese drawings. There is old data about the title and the object number of Japanese drawings in the museum's database from when the museum obtained the collection. Some titles of drawings are incorrect: for example, "Mount Fugi and a Pine Tree" (No. 3954) means Mount Fuji

and a Pine Tree, and "Wild Cat" (No. 3955, 3956, 3971) means Tiger, because most Japanese people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had not seen real tigers, and Japanese painters painted tigers like cats using their imagination based on hearsay.

Moreover, in 1979, as we have seen, the Fitzwilliam Museum exhibited Ricketts and Shannon's collection in the All for Art: the Ricketts and Shannon Collection exhibition. It displayed sixteen ukiyo-e prints and one Japanese drawing from the British Museum and three Japanese drawings from the Fitzwilliam Museum, totalling twenty Japanese objects in the Oriental art section. The catalogue lists three Japanese drawings (Nos. 3698, 3956, and 3968) owned by the museum. 125 However, at present, The Goddess Kwannon by the Utagawa school (No. 3968) (Fig. 29) is not in the museum. Additionally, although the catalogue wrote that this work was produced by the Utagawa school, I believe that it was painted by one of the Hokusai school artists referring to Hokusai's print, Mystical Bird (Karyōbinga) (Fig. 30), which is currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Furthermore, Old Man by the Hokusai school, which appears in an article by Sutton, was not included in the collection that I saw at this time. 126

Looking at fifteen Japanese artworks in the Ricketts and Shannon collection, there are three Hokusai, nine Hokusai-style, and three Utagawa-style drawings. As with

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Darracott, All for Art: the Ricketts and Shannon Collection, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Sutton, "A Neglected Virtuoso: Charles Ricketts and his Achievements," 144.

their Japanese art collection in the British Museum, works of the Hokusai school occupy most of the Fitzwilliam Museum, as Ricketts and Shannon were especially attached to Hokusai. The most noteworthy fact is the existence of three of Hokusai's drawings. There are also four Hokusai drawings in the Ricketts and Shannon collection in the British Museum; therefore, Ricketts and Shannon held at least seven Hokusai drawings.

Focusing on Hokusai's three drawings in the Fitzwilliam Museum individually, first, there is a preparatory drawing of *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* from the series of *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse* (Fig. 31a). Usually, preparatory drawings for woodblock prints were lost when they were printed. However, the series of *One Hundred Poems* was never completed to produce one hundred works to illustrate all poems, and only twenty-seven works were printed. Therefore, preparatory drawings of this series remain. According to Nagata, the provenance of the preparatory drawings of *One Hundred Poems* starts from Hokusai. Hokusai gave a part of them to his pupils and other acquaintances. <sup>127</sup> Peter Morse explored the details of the provenance and stated that Japanese painter Kawanabe Kyōsai, who was also a Hokusai collector, collected sixty drawings, and a square red seal was put on fifty-two existing drawings to indicate the Kyōsai collection. Before Kyōsai's death in 1889, he sold the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Nagata Seiji, "Katsushika Hokusai Nikuhitsu Kanshou 30, 31 [Appreciation Katsushika Hokusai's Original Drawings 30, 31]," *Kobijutsu* 93 (1990): 128.

drawings to Hart through a Japanese art dealer, Hayashi Tadamasa in 1885. 128

On the way to Britain, Hayashi showed the drawings to Goncourt in Paris.

Goncourt wrote in his journal that he saw fifty-seven drawings for the series of *One Hundred Poems*, and these drawings were bought by an Englishman for 25,000 francs. Around 1895, thirty-three drawings of the Hart collection went to Michael Tomkinson, who was a collector in London, whilst some other drawings went to other collectors.

After Hart died in 1898, drawings of the series of *One Hundred Poems* from his collection often came up at auctions, in 1898, 1910, and 1920. The from this provenance, Ricketts and Shannon seem to have acquired *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* at one of these auctions. Looking at the bottom left part of the drawing, there is a square red seal (Fig. 31b). This is the same seal as that which Morse mentioned, and it suggests that *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* from the Ricketts and Shannon collection used to be the Kyōsai collection and the Hart collection. In addition, Utamaro's *Omu Komachi* mentioned above, which was in the Ricketts and Shannon collection, was also derived from the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906) was a Japanese art dealer who mainly worked in Paris. He assisted Louis Gonse to publish *L'Art Japonais* in 1883, and he contributed an article to the May 1886 issue of *Paris Illustré* which featured Japan. In 1900, he was a general commissioner of the Japanese pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. Hayashi was Goncourt's friend, and he provided many important materials related to ukiyo-e artists to Goncourt when Goncourt wrote his books, *Hokusai* and *Outamaro*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Edmond de Goncourt, *Journal; Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire* [Journal; Memoirs of Literary Life], ed. Robert Ricatte, vol.3 (Paris: Fasquelle and Flammarion, 1956), 523.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Peter Morse, *Hokusai: Hyakunin-isshu Uba ga Etoki* [Hokusai: One-Hundred Poets], trans. Takashina Erika (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 20-22.

Kyōsai collection and has a rectangular red seal. Although the shape of the seal is different between *Omu Komachi* and *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa*, it is notable that the artworks from the Kyōsai collection came to Britain, went through the Ricketts and Shannon collection, and reached the British and the Fitzwilliam Museums, respectively. Ricketts and Shannon never met Kyōsai; however, their enthusiasm for ukiyo-e artworks might connect them to Kyōsai.

After the preparatory drawing of *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* was bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Ricketts and Shannon in 1937, it was forgotten for a long time. In the early 1990s, the existence of *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* was rediscovered: when the Japanese edition of *Hokusai: One-Hundred Poets* was published in 1996, its image was added to the book. About sixty years have passed since the Ricketts and Shannon bequest to the museum, and their collection has extended the canon.

The series of *One Hundred Poems* was not famous like the series of *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*. However, as previously mentioned, this series is the last of Hokusai's ukiyo-e prints series, and it embodies the aged Hokusai's accomplished skill and expression. Specifically, *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa*, which Ricketts and Shannon owned, was not a print but a preparatory drawing. The drawing shows Hokusai's black drawing lines infused his craftsmanship. Goncourt described the preparatory drawings

Morea Halmari Harl

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Morse, *Hokusai: Hyakunin-isshu Uba ga Etoki*, 16.

of the series of *One Hundred Poems* as "very interesting" and of "unabashed originality" in 1885. 132 For Ricketts and Shannon, who were engaged in printing and engraving, it was a valuable work in terms of not only the beauty of Japanese art but also the artisanship of print design.

Another drawing by Hokusai that Ricketts and Shannon bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mount Fuji and a Pine Tree (Fig. 24), is an ink painting with colour. They had at least four such works by Hokusai, and there are two in their British Museum bequest, both of which illustrate animals: a cockerel, hen and lion-dog (1937,0710,0.292 and 1937,0710,0.294). These give a different impression to the one previously mentioned drawing in the Fitzwilliam that depict plants and a landscape. Mount Fuji and a Pine Tree depicts a tree dynamically crossing Mount Fuji in the background. Through this work, Ricketts and Shannon would appreciate Hokusai's unique perspective.

In the Ricketts and Shannon bequest, there is also a work whose origins are debatable. Man in the Act of Committing Hari-kiri with a Sword (Fig. 32) is a drawing recorded as Hokusai's by the Fitzwilliam. Its depiction of a man's rugged muscles and toes is similar to L\u00e4 Zh\u00e4sh\u00e4n Defeating Zh\u00fau T\u00fang from Preparatory Drawings for the "Suikoden" (Fig. 3). However, Man in the Act is a single item, and differs from L\u00e4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Goncourt, *Journal*; *Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire*, vol. 3, 523.

Zhìshēn, which is contained in an album with 52 other drawings. In addition, in contrast to Sakyô no dayû Michimasa and Mount Fuji and a Pine Tree, Man in the Act does not have Hokusai's sign and seal. Therefore, Man in the Act may not be Hokusai's work but work by one of his pupils. Again, Ricketts and Shannon believed the drawing was Hokusai's; scholarly Japonisme has continued to develop.

Painters of the Hokusai or Utagawa schools fashioned the 12 other drawings. Hokusai's pupils often copied paintings by their teacher, and, as mentioned previously, Tiger and Waterfall (Fig. 17) and Tiger (Fig. 18) are copies of Tiger (Fig. 15) and Running Tiger (Fig. 19) in volume 13 of Hokusai Manga. As further imitations of Running Tiger by pupils, there are the three Wild Cat drawings (Fig. 33, 34, 35), the outlines of which are based on Running Tiger. Fig. 33 was coloured with vermillion ink, Fig. 34 used red stripes and Fig. 35 was squared with red ink. These versions show the traces of the pupils' painting training, and for Ricketts and Shannon, their similarity made it understandably difficult to distinguish Hokusai's work from that of his school. In addition, Woman Meditatively Drawing a Sword (Fig. 36) is a copy of an illustration of an ancient Japanese hero, Yamatotakeru-no-Mikoto, disguised as a woman in Hokusai's illustration book Ehon Musahi Abumi (Fig. 37). Man Beating or Slaying a Semi-Human Monster with Claws (Fig. 38) is also copied by a pupil of Hokusai based

on Hokusai's hanging scroll, Shōki, the Demon Queller (Fig. 39). 133

No drawings in the Hokusai and Utagawa styles in the Ricketts and Shannon bequest of the Fitzwilliam Museum have Hokusai's sign and seal, and it was not easy for them to ascertain whether these drawings were Hokusai's or not. Nevertheless, the presence of so many drawings suggests that Ricketts and Shannon did not know about the presence of pupils of ukiyo-e artists. Comparing their ukiyo-e drawings collection with their ukiyo-e prints collection, Ricketts and Shannon collected many important ukiyo-e prints by masters, such as Hokusai's series of *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* and Utamaro's series of *Customs of Beauties Around the Clock*; on the other hand, regarding ukiyo-e drawings, they could not find many genuine drawings by ukiyo-e masters.

However, three or four of Hokusai's original drawings are in the Ricketts and Shannon bequest in the Fitzwilliam. This has not been examined sufficiently in contrast to the British Museum, and these drawings had been forgotten until now; my rediscovery provides proof of their enthusiasm in hunting for Hokusai's rarer works.

Japanese Art Collectors in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century

In this chapter, I have been exploring the contents of Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese
art collection. To help develop a sense of the individuality of their collection, in this

 $^{133}$   $Sh\bar{o}ki$  is a god in Chinese folklore. In Japan, people believed that an illustration of  $Sh\bar{o}ki$  would protect them from evil spirits.

section I compare it with other British and French collections associated with them.

In France, there were already several Japanese collectors by the 1860s, as we have seen. Each developed their own collection, and in 1878, French art critic Ernest Chesneau enumerated noticeable Japanese art collectors in France:

The former curator of paintings at the Louvre, Mr. Villot; painters, Manet, Tissot, Fantin-la-Tour, Alphonse Hirsch, Degas, Carolus Duran, Monet; engravers, Bracquemond and Jules Jacquemart; M. Solon from the Sèvres factory; writers, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Champfleury, Philippe Burty, Zola; publisher, Charpentier; business persons, Barbedienne, Christofle, Bouilhet, Falize; travellers, Cernuschi, Duret, Émile Guimet, F. Regamey. 134

Among these collectors, the most influential for Ricketts and Shannon was de Goncourt, as we have seen, whose *Outamaro* and *Hokusai* praised the charm of ukiyo-e prints. The Goncourt brothers were Japanese art collectors at the very early stage of Japonisme in the West. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt had an interest Japanese art from the 1850s, and they started to collect Japanese artefacts together from 1861 at the latest. <sup>135</sup> After Jules' death in 1870, Edmond continued to collect them. In the 1870s and the 1880s, the craze for Japanese art spread across Europe, and, in his novel *Chérie*, published in 1884, Edmond boasted that he was the first person to appreciate the beauty of Japanese art. <sup>136</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Goncourt, *Journal; Mémoires de la Vie Littéraire*, vol. 1, 931. They acquired a Japanese drawing at the Porte Chinoise in Paris on 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1861.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Ernest Chesneau, "Exposition Universelle : Le Japon a Paris," *Gazette des Beaux-arts*, September, 1878, 387.

Oshima, Japonisumu: Inshōha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen, 74-75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Edmond de Goncourt, *Chérie* (Paris: E. Flammarion and E. Fasquelle, 1921), xi-xii.

His pride is similar to Ricketts's, which appeared in his diary entries. For example, in 1901 he criticised the quality of the new Japanese art collection at the British Museum, 137 and both he and Goncourt had self-confidence in believing they were the leading experts of Japanese art in Europe. However, the end of the Goncourt collection was different from that of the Ricketts and Shannon collection, most of the latter bequeathed to museums. Goncourt passed away in 1896, and his entire collection was put up for auction at the Hotel Drouot, Paris the following year. The auction catalogue states that his wish was that:

my drawings, my prints, my trinkets, my books, finally the things of art which made the happiness of my life, do not have the cold grave of a museum, and the stupid glance of the indifferent passers-by, and I ask that they all be scattered under the hammer blow of an auctioneer and that the enjoyment that the acquisition of each of them gave me, be restored, for each of them, to an heir of the same tastes as mine. <sup>138</sup>

In contrast to Ricketts, who was friends with museum workers Binyon and Cockerell,

Goncourt detested the role of museums as places of exhibitions for ordinary citizens and
rejected bequeathing his collection there, no matter how scattered it would be.

Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *Yume Mita Nihon: Edomon do Gonkūru to Hayashi Tadamasa* [Japan Dream: Edmond de Goncourt and Hayashi Tadamasa], trans. Takatō Mako and Miyake Kyōko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2006), 21-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 5 August 1901, Add MS 58099, fol. 41v. I quoted this entry in the previous section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Duchesne and Bing, Collection des Goncourt, two pages back of page I.

The English translation is cited from Arnaud Mignan, "The Edmond de Goncourt Collection of 18th-century Art Sales Catalogues," *The History of Collecting*, April 4, 2020, accessed April 15, 2020, https://medium.com/the-history-of-collecting/the-edmond-de-goncourt-collection-of-18th-century-art-sales-catalogues-49abeee4d58e.

Compared to Ricketts, Goncourt was less concerned with the public, museological legacy of his collection, and more interested in bringing pleasure to fellow, similar private collectors.

Among the objects from the Goncourt Collection of Far Eastern Art, 1,637 came up for auction from 8<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> March 1897. Although the auction title was "Collection of Goncourt: Arts of the Far East," most entries were Japanese objects and the others were Chinese. They consisted mainly of ceramics, lacquer ware, metal ware, netsuke, <sup>139</sup> paintings, ukiyo-e prints, and books. The catalogue housed in the National Art Library has notes concerning the contract prices of each entry, with the ceramics and lacquerware receiving the highest bids. For example, the price of Korin's lacquered box was 3,850 francs. 140 Meanwhile, the price range of ukiyo-e prints was approximately between 20 to 300 francs. The whole sum of bid prices of this six-daylong auction reached 236,589 francs. 141 The Goncourt collection hugely exceeded the Ricketts and Shannon collection in both the quantity and the value of artwork. Unlike de Goncourt, Ricketts and Shannon also did not collect handcrafts. While ceramics and lacquer ware were expensive, netsuke and kozuka<sup>142</sup> in the Goncourt sale were relatively affordable, like ukiyo-e prints. This fact reveals that, in spite of their Arts and Crafts

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> *Netsuke* is a small carved ornament made of wood, ivory or metal. It was worn by men in the Edo era, and they attached it to the cord of a pouch to prevent it from dropping.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Duchesne and Bing, Collection des Goncourt, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Koyama-Richard, Yume Mita Nihon, 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Kozuka is a small knife attached to a Japanese sword.

Movement context, Ricketts and Shannon focused on ukiyo-e art rather than threedimensional art, and artefacts by artists they respected, such as Hokusai and Utamaro, rather than artefacts by unidentified artists.

However, the two collections contained parallels when it came to ukiyo-e.

Ukiyo-e prints by Hokusai and Utamaro were the first and second most numerous in both collections. There were Japanese illustrated books by ukiyo-e artists, including Utamaro's *Pictures of Selected Insects* and Hokusai's *The Hundred Views of Fuji* in the Goncourt collection, which Ricketts and Shannon purchased at the Frank Swettenham Sale in 1912, as mentioned previously; a cross-generational pattern.

In addition, as Darracott pointed out, the collecting life of the Goncourt brothers and Ricketts and Shannon overlapped. Both of them did creative activities, collected artworks jointly, and had a deep knowledge of Japanese art. In addition, Edmond de Goncourt and Ricketts both wrote about Utamaro; a conscious paralleling on Ricketts's part.

In Britain, Ricketts and Shannon's closest parallels were, probably, Whistler and Leighton. He was one of the early Japonists in Britain and a leading collector of Japanese art. He started to collect Japanese artefacts in earnest around 1863

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts*, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Leighton commissioned from Ricketts a drawing when Ricketts was a young artist in his mid-20s in 1891. Leighton was pleased with Ricketts's execution of the pen drawing *Oedipus and the Sphinx*. For more details, see Letters to Ricketts from Frederic Leighton, 1891-1892, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. VI, 1887-1915, Add MS 58090, fol. 6r-10r, British Library; Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 19; Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 46; Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts*, 71-72.

after moving to London from Paris. 145 He purchased them in Britain, France and the Netherlands, at locations such as Dessoye's shop in Paris and at Farmer and Rogers in London, and these artefacts appeared in Whistler's paintings, such as *The Princess from* the Land of Porcelain (La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine) (1863–1865), Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen (1864), and Variations in Flesh Colour and Green - The Balcony (1864–1870; additions 1870–1879). 146 Specifically, in Caprice in Purple and Gold, there are lavish Japanese artworks and a golden folding screen surrounds a woman in a kimono holding an ukiyo-e print. Ono Ayako stated that the prints in this painting might be from Hiroshige's ukiyo-e print series Views of the Sixty-odd Provinces. Whistler was inspired by Hiroshige's prints, and adopted Hiroshige's compositions for his *Nocturnes*. Additionally, there are similarities between beautiful women depicted by Kiyonaga and Eishi and women in several of Whistler's paintings. 147 Although the connection between Whistler and ukiyo-e prints is strong, most of his Japanese art collection was scattered when Whistler went bankrupt in 1879, his belongings auctioned or handed over to his acquaintances. One found that only 16 Japanese objects appeared in the auction catalogues, and among these objects were an earthenware jar, a musical instrument, screens, a panel, bronze candlesticks, a painting scroll, paintings, picture

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Ono, *Bi no Koryu*, 65-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Toshio Watanabe, "Eishi Prints in Whistler's Studio? Eighteenth-Century Japanese Prints in the West before 1870," *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 1005 (1986): 874-880.

books, a cabinet, chairs, a bird cage, a bronzed towel airer and hand screens. 148

Furthermore, as Watanabe Toshio mentioned, it is said that Godwin's collection went to Whistler when he married Godwin's ex-wife Beatrice in 1888, following the architect's death in 1886. 149 This collection has 28 Japanese objects including five ceramics and 18 ukiyo-e prints, and is currently housed in the Hunterian and the British Museum in the Rosalind Birnie Philip bequest. <sup>150</sup> In this bequest, there are eight Kiyonaga, three Hokusai, two Utamaro, and two Hiroshige prints, and one Katsukawa Shunchō and one Utagawa Toyokuni ukiyo-e print. Although it is difficult to grasp the whole picture of Whistler's Japanese art collection because of the small number of objects remaining, we can catch a glimpse of it, containing various kinds of Japanese artefacts from furniture to ukiyo-e prints. These artefacts show that his collection was eclectic, that he did not focus on specific artists, materials or subjects, and contained items of greater value than anything in the more modest Ricketts and Shannon's collection, which mainly contained affordable ukiyo-e prints. They did not purchase anything from Whistler's collection although they lived in the painter's former house in the late 1880s, some of whose interior design choices they maintained, as we have seen.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Sotheby's London, Catalogue of the Decorative Porcelain, Cabinet, Paintings, and Other Works of Art of J. McN. Whistler (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1880),

Baker & Sons, "The White House," Tite Street, Chelsea, A Catalogue of the Remaining Household Furniture (London: Baker & Sons, 1879), quoted in Ono, Bi no Koryu, 71, 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Watanabe, "Eishi Prints in Whistler's Studio?" 877-878.

Ono, Bi no Koryu, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Rosalind Birnie Philip was Whistler's sister-in-law. She bequeathed most of Whistler's collection to the Hunterian and also presented a small part of it to the British Museum.

Like Whistler, Leighton's Japanese art collection was posthumously auctioned and scattered. In the 1896 Leighton auctions, Ricketts and Shannon acquired ukiyo-e prints by Harunobu, Kiyonaga and Hokusai and a study by Seitei. The auction collection also listed other Japanese artefacts: 28 ceramic entries, two panels, two screens and one study for sale on 10<sup>th</sup> July, <sup>151</sup> and 12 entries of ukiyo-e prints and two entries of drawings for sale on 16<sup>th</sup> July. <sup>152</sup>

Compared to Ricketts, Leighton again collected different kinds of Japanese artefacts, such as the gold Japanese folding screen that appeared in his *Mother and Child* (1865). Leighton also owned a relatively large quantity of ceramics including Satsuma ware, Kutani ware, and old Imari ware. Satsuma, Kutani and Imari are traditional ceramics production areas in Japan. The popularity of ceramics in these areas rose through international exhibitions in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Leighton reflected its popularity in his collection. The prices of ceramics in the Goncourt sale were expensive; on the other hand, those in the Leighton sale were affordable, and their price range was between 1 shilling and 6 pence to 12 pounds. In the Leighton sale, ukiyo-e prints were sold from 1 pound and 1 shilling to 5 pounds and 5 shillings, and there was no big difference between the price of ceramics and the ukiyo-e prints. As I mentioned earlier, previous studies insisted that Ricketts and Shannon were unable to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Christie's London, Catalogue of the Contents of the Studio of the Right Hon. Lord Leighton, 27-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Christie's London, Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Right Hon. Lord Leighton, 25.

purchase many ceramics and screens because of their high prices; therefore, they collected ukiyo-e prints, which were reasonable in price. However, looking at the prices of ceramics and ukiyo-e prints in the Leighton sale, it is clear that the main reason why Ricketts and Shannon did not purchase ceramics was not price but taste.

Ricketts respected the artwork of another key mid-century collector, Rossetti, as we have begun to see. <sup>154</sup> Rossetti began acquiring Japanese artefacts around 1860, focusing mainly on ceramics and ukiyo-e prints. <sup>155</sup> These often appeared in his artworks. For example, *The Blue Bower* (1865) depicted a woman playing the *koto*, a Japanese stringed instrument, and *The Beloved* ("*The Bride*") (1865-1866) illustrated a woman in a green *kimono*. <sup>156</sup> In the 1860s, Rossetti vied with other Japonist artists to acquire Japanese objects, and he wrote about it when he visited Dessoye's Japanese shop in Paris in 1864 in a letter to his mother:

I have bought very little—only four Japanese books, and some photographs from the early Italian masters which William will be much interested in. I went to his Japanese shop, but found that all the costumes were being snapped up by a French artist, Tissot, who it seems is doing three Japanese pictures, which the mistress of the shop described to me as the three wonders of the world, evidently in her opinion quite throwing Whistler into the shade. She told me, with a great deal of laughing, about Whistler's consternation at my

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Darracott, The World of Charles Ricketts, 138, 140.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Ricketts was inspired by Rossetti's art, and Ricketts and Shannon collected his artworks, such as *Beatrice denying her Greeting to Dante on the Public Stairs*. For more details, see Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. I, Add MS 61713, fol. 36r, 75r, British Library; Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 35, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Yamaguchi, "Bikutoria-cho no Medievalism to Japanisme no Setten," 116-117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Tanita, Yuibi-Shugi to Japanizumu, 73-74.

collection of china.<sup>157</sup>

Rossetti's ceramics collection was subsequently scattered while Rossetti was alive as his brother William Michael wrote that "the great majority of it was sold off in 1872." On the other hand, with regard to ukiyo-e prints, Yamaguchi Eriko found a painting list of William Michael's house in 1908 including a few ukiyo-e prints purchased by his brother. In the Rossetti ukiyo-e collection, in the list, there was a print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi. However, at present, the ukiyo-e prints in the Rossetti collection remain scattered, their whereabouts still a mystery.

As non-artist Japanese art collectors in Britain, Anderson and Morrison left their great name behind them. As I mentioned, Ricketts and Shannon possessed Japanese artefacts from the Anderson collection. Approximately 3,000 objects from the Anderson collection and 2,000 objects from the Morrison collection are extant in the British Museum Japanese art collection, which has about 29,000 Japanese objects in total. The British Museum collected most Japanese art from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Specifically, regarding ukiyo-e prints, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century several Japanese art collectors donated or sold their ukiyo-e prints collections to the British Museum. In addition to Rickets, Shannon, and Hart, Lawrence Smith

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, *His Family-Letters: With a Memoir* (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895), vol. 2, 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, His Family-Letters, vol. 2, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Yamaguchi, "Bikutoria-cho no Medievalism to Japaisme no Setten," 124-136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Princess Akiko of Mikasa, "Uiriamu Andāson Korekushon Saiko,"123.

enumerated these: Ernest Satow, Morrison, Hickman Bacon, Samuel Tuke, R. N. Shaw, and Oscar Raphael. Except for Ricketts and Shannon, most of these collectors, who had financial power, provided a larger number of ukiyo-e prints to the British Museum. However, none of them worked actively in the fine arts field.

Like Ricketts and Shannon, of course, there were those who were both creators and Japanese art collectors in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as Ricketts's close friends, Rothenstein and English poet, Gordon Bottomley, who mainly collected ukiyo-e artworks. Rothenstein published *Two Drawings by Hok'sai from the Collection of W. Rothenstein* 1910, and he presented his collections, *The Guardian of Heaven* and *A Goblin* in the book. Rothenstein believed that these two drawings were painted by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Lawrence Smith, "Daiei Hakubutsukan no Ukiyoe Hanga [Ukiyo-e Prints in the British Museum]," in *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan [Ukiyo-e Masterpieces in European Collections]*, vol.2, British Museum 2, ed. Narasaki Muneshige (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1988), 16-17. Ernest Satow (1843-1929) was a British diplomat, and he stayed in Japan from 1862 to 1883, and from 1895 to 1900. He donated 8 ukiyo-e prints to the British Museum in 1907, and sold about 90 ukiyo-e prints including 25 prints by Sharaku in 1909. See "Sir Ernest Mason Satow," British Museum, accessed May 6, 2020, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG132825. Hickman Bacon (1855-1945) donated about 460 ukiyo-e prints and Japanese picture books to the British Museum in 1907, 1908 and 1928.

Samuel Tuke (1855-1937) was a member of the Japan Society, and he had been to Japan at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He sold about 310 ukiyo-e prints to the British Museum in 1907, and after his death, his son sold a part of Samuel's Japanese art collection in 1938 and 1939 to the museum. See "Former County Councillor and Magistrate," editorial, *Western Times*, December 3, 1937, 14; "Samuel Tuke," British Museum, accessed May 6, 2020,

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG139059.

R. N. Shaw donated about 110 ukiyo-e prints donated to the British Museum between 1915 and 1955.

Oscar Charles Raphael (1874-1941) was a founder of the Oriental Ceramic Society. He donated his Japanese art collection, such as ceramics, *netsuke* and ukiyo-e prints to the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum like Ricketts and Shannon. He accompanied Binyon on a study visit to the Far-Eastern countries including Japan in 1929. See "Oscar Charles Raphael," British Museum, accessed May 6, 2020, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG62804; R. L. Hobson, and Laurence Binyon, "A Journey to the Far East," *The British Museum Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1930): 34-40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> William Rothenstein, *Two Drawings by Hok'sai from the Collection of W. Rothenstein* (Gloucestershire: Essex House Press, 1910).

Hokusai. Again, however, there is a high possibility that they are Hokusai pupils' works like many drawings in the Ricketts and Shannon collection. *The Guardian of Heaven* also depicted the same subject, a foo dog<sup>163</sup> as *A Chinese Lion-dog crouching by a Rock* (1937,0710,0.300) in the Ricketts and Shannon bequest in the British Museum illustrated a foo dog. Given these similarities, it seems likely that Rothenstein's Japanese art collection activity was influenced by Ricketts and Shannon's collection, or Ricketts advised Rothenstein about Hokusai as a Japanese art connoisseur.

Bottomley collected artworks by contemporary artists including the Pre-Raphaelites and Ricketts, and again formed his Japanese art collection around ukiyo-e art. In Bottomley's Japanese art collection, there were ukiyo-e prints by Katsukawa Shunshō, Utamaro, and Hiroshige. <sup>164</sup> In 1949, after his death, Bottomley's art collection was bequeathed to the Carlisle Museum Art Gallery, his Japanese art collection kept together. Comparing Rothenstein and Bottomley's Japanese art collections with Ricketts and Shannon's, the scale of the latter was bigger than the former.

Through the comparisons of Japanese art collectors, it is clear that Ricketts and Shannon were rare individuals who collected more than 300 Japanese objects consisting mainly of ukiyo-e artworks by Hokusai, Utamaro and Harunobu besides working as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> A foo dog is a mythical lion with curly hair. Its concept was introduced from China to Japan, and Japanese artists often depict it in paintings and sculptures from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Carlisle Museum Art Gallery, *Gordon Bottomley, Poet and Collector: A Selection from the Collection of Emily and Gordon Bottomley, Bequeathed to Carlisle in 1949* (Carlisle: Carlisle City Art Gallery, 1970).

artists and left these objects to the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum. Whilst divided into two, perhaps like the two of them, Ricketts's method of bequest shows that he wanted to leave their Japanese art collection without scattering it, because for Ricketts, the Ricketts and Shannon collection was the fruit of their collection history over several decades, in a sense, it was their joint art production as art connoisseurs and collector Japonists.

### Chapter 2

# "A Good Friend of Japan"? Ricketts and Japanese Cultural Studies

#### Ricketts's Position in the British Art World

Ricketts deepened his knowledge about Japanese art through collecting activities. At the same time, he developed his knowledge of Western art through collecting. From the 1890s, Ricketts and Shannon collected a wide range of artefacts: ancient Greek and Egyptian antiquities, artworks by Rembrandt, Rubens, Watteau, Delacroix, Puvis de Chavennes, Millais, Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, and so on. Ricketts reflected his taste in these collections, and he attached importance to classical art, old masters, symbolists, and the Pre-Raphaelites. Specifically, Ricketts had a strong attachment to Puvis de Chavannes, and Ricketts and Shannon visited him in Paris to ask for suggestions as artists in 1887. Regarding Ricketts's opinion about paintings, he wrote that "my personal belief is that great painting belongs to great artists, and that our best modern technicians are actually our imaginative painters, such as [George Frederic] Watts, Puvis, Burne-Jones, [Paul] Baudry, and Gustave Moreau." In contrast to Ricketts's classical taste, he had a hostile attitude toward post-impressionism including Roger Fry as mentioned in the previous chapter, which he considered as a disease that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Darracott, The World of Charles Ricketts, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 193.

attacked all that was finest in the European tradition of art since the Renaissance.<sup>3</sup>

Ricketts opposed the new tide in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in fact, Ricketts felt that he was a person of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup>

Ricketts developed his knowledge about Western art through writing his books: *The Prado and its Masterpieces* (1903) and *Titian* (1910). Although Ricketts wrote these books with a beautiful touch, he did not achieve commercial success because these books were not sufficiently useful as academic reference books. Ricketts also joined the consultative committee of the *Burlington Magazine*, and contributed articles to the magazine regularly in the 1900s.<sup>5</sup>

As an art connoisseur, Ricketts was regarded highly, and he was nominated to be the director of the National Gallery in London in 1915 although he declined the post. In addition, from 1924, he served as an art adviser of the National Gallery of Canada. As an artist, he became an associate member of the Royal Academy in 1922, and a Royal Academician in 1928. Ricketts, who had an eye for art, also developed his knowledge about art through his trips to foreign countries, such as Spain, Italy, Greece, and Egypt. However, unfortunately, Ricketts had never been to Japan.

Ricketts's Mutual Interaction with Japanese People in Early 20th-Century London

<sup>4</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 142.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 171, 176.

Alas! Japan is very distant, the cost of the ticket there before the war was, I think, 50 pounds. A few months ago, it was, via San Francisco, about 200 pounds. This may be change, that is, become cheaper, but one never knows.<sup>6</sup>

I am in hopes that things may quiet down, but it will be years before travel will be a pleasure and the cost of the everything here and abroad is unbelievable. No, for a long while to come we have dropped any idea of the Far East. Japan or Ceylon may be a delightful experience for the end of our lives. We must be content in smoothing down our expenses and acquiring habits of economy.<sup>7</sup>

Although Ricketts had wanted to visit Japan for a long time as he wrote his thoughts in the above letters in 1919 and 1920, he never travelled there due to the cost. However, early 20<sup>th</sup>-century London was increasingly cosmopolitan, and it provided Ricketts with opportunities to interact with various Japanese people.<sup>8</sup> Through these opportunities, Ricketts learned more about Japanese culture, and gave inspiration to Japanese intellectuals.

Ricketts's diary mentions several Japanese people with whom he interacted and learned more about Japanese culture. Acquaintances from his Japanese circle also wrote about their impressions of him. This section explores those interactions.

In March 1902, Ricketts wrote in his diary about a Japanese connoisseur of painting and calligraphy, Kohitsu, mentioned in Chapter 1 as the person who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Richard Nicolaus Roland Holst, April 1919, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/3/17, fol. 166r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Richard Nicolaus Roland Holst, 1920, Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. VII, Add MS 61719, fol. 74r-75r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The number of Japanese residents in London in 1907 was 353, and in 1919, it became 812. Much more Japanese residents lived in London than Paris and Berlin from 1907 to the beginning of the 1920s. For the details, see Wada Hirofumi et al., *Gengo Toshi, Rondon: 1861-1945* [Linguistic City, London: 1861-1945] (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2009), 12-14.

recommended that Ricketts and Shannon purchase Japanese screens. Ricketts met Kohitsu at the British Museum and became interested in his knowledge of Japanese art. Their interaction continued during Kohitsu's stay in London, and they dined together several times from 1902 to 1903. The published version of Ricketts's diary, *Self-Portrait*, describes an occasion when Kohitsu took Ricketts and Shannon to a Japanese club to have dinner in July 1902:

During the meal a Jap[apanese], I imagined a friend of Kohitsu, came in and out of the room. He spoke fluent French, he then showed us some indifferent lacquer, old mask, etc.; he was a dealer. [...] I asked if one of the masks was dear. Twelve pounds, was the answer. We left. Outside, Kohitsu said: "The mask is not ninth century, it is a forgery: he does not know, I do: I have been to Nara. They are extremely rare, very valuable, enormous, any price! It is a copy made at Nara, where they are now made to take in collectors. They are so well made sometimes that out of ten Japanese collectors nine will think modern mask right, one, not right." I was very much touched by his frankness. <sup>10</sup>

This episode indicates Kohitsu's knowledge, and also how kind of Kohitsu to reassure Ricketts that his is a common mistake even amongst most Japanese people. Kohitsu was a professional with experience working at the Art Department of the Tokyo Imperial Museum and came from a prestigious connoisseurly family. When Ricketts met Kohitsu in 1902, Ricketts's knowledge of Japanese art was still developing, although he had a rich knowledge of ukiyo-e, even if he sometimes made mistakes when it came to the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 26 March 1902, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XVI. 1902, Add MS 58100, fol. 19v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 79-80.

correct attributions of drawings. Regarding old Japanese art, Ricketts was in a position to be taught by Kohitsu.

Ricketts's diary describes the details of their interaction in July 1902. However, the majority of their dining scenes are cut from *Self-Portrait*. Its editors considered these scenes unimportant, although the content reveals much of Ricketts's experience of Japanese cuisine at the club:

We then adjourned to the dining room; a small tray containing bowls, saucers and chopsticks was placed before us, and saké poured out. This is drunk throughout the meal, some small salt fishes, minnows, being used as hors d'oeuvres. These were rather too salty. The saké tastes like pale sherry and water. Then followed a delicate soup, which I thought chicken broth thickened with flour and a little milk: this turned out to be made of a dried fish Hokusai often represents being dropped by Hotei. This was followed by a slice of bream with sweetened mushrooms, flavoured with a wine made from the bean, poured over. This also was excellent. Rice is kept in a bowl throughout, and is treated like bread. Shannon managed his chopsticks perfectly almost at once. I managed them only when talking or when not paying attention. Kohitsu then placed some butter in a pan over a spirit-lamp, added saké and bean wine, then placed small pieces of beef and onion to frizzle in it; this is a new dish, half European, and very good indeed. This was followed by fritters of shrimp, then as dessert, small slices of cucumber rind, aubergine, a species of turnip and radishes in wine vinegar. This is eaten with rice, on which pale tea is poured, which tastes rather like straw. This last preparation seems inconsequent, and somewhat like the improvised dolls' dinner of a child. In this, the rather starchy rice, and the pale tea, I found the raw and watery element I had imagined to be the basis of Japanese cooking. The other dishes were merely very delicate light and palatable cooking.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 30 July 1902, Add MS 58100, fol. 44rv.

Ricketts recorded what and how they ate and drank, with the implication being that he had limited experience of Japanese food. According to his diary, "The saké tastes like pale sherry and water" and "Rice is kept in a bowl throughout, and is treated like bread." He made a cross-cultural comparison to aid understanding. Additionally, he described an ingredient as a fish which reminded him of Hokusai often depicted with Hotei, a characteristic move for Ricketts, who knew Hokusai's works well, as we have seen. Through these interactions with Kohitsu, Ricketts was pleased with him, and noted Kohitsu's contact address in London. 12

Ricketts and Kohitsu maintained a good relationship. In August 1902, Ricketts took Kohitsu to the National Gallery to introduce Western paintings, perhaps in exchange for the pair's earlier Japanese dinner:

Took Kohitsu to the National Gallery to see the water-colour copies of the famous frescoes. He seems insensible to Mantegna or Signorelli, in whom one might have fancied an affinity to some Japanese masters, though he liked, or seemed interested in, the latter's original paintings. He liked quite genuinely the Fra Angelico, and Piero della Francesca seemed to impress him each time, also Pisanello, who I should have thought might have seemed hard and niggled. He was charmed by the copy of the classical painting in the Farnese gardens, he also noticed of his own accord the doubtfulness of most of the Assisi frescoes, given to Giotto. I tried to explain by the copies of frescoes and the pictures in the National, the logical sequence in the Tuscan school. Fra Filippo Lippi pleased him sometimes, Filippino, Botticelli seemed incomprehensible, he liked Benozzo Gozzoli in the Riccardi paintings, and to my surprise, the better Ghirlandaios. We avoided Venice, though I tried the experiment of

<sup>12</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 30 July 1902, Add MS 58100, fol. 45r. Ricketts noted that "Ryonin Kohitsu Esq, 43 Southampton Road, W.C."

Crivelli, whom he found incomprehensible. Simplicity of motive, form, and delicacy of colouring seem to appeal to him readily. Rich colour he thinks unpleasant, I believe, ditto exaggeration of form or action.<sup>13</sup>

In his recollections, Ricketts noted Kohitsu's likes and dislikes amongst more than 10 Renaissance artists, a period of Italian art history that proved paradigmatic for Ricketts, as we have begun to see. Interestingly, Ricketts considered that there was an affinity between Mantegna, Signorelli and great Japanese artists. On the other hand, Kohitsu was fascinated by artworks with "simplicity", finding, by Ricketts's account, similarities with characteristics of Japanese art.

In March 1903, Ricketts and Shannon invited Kohitsu to their house for lunch, and Kohitsu photographed their Greek collection and Tanagras. Ricketts wrote that Kohitsu spent a delightful time in arranging the Greek necklace in a group of pots. <sup>14</sup> In terms of the connections between ancient Greek and Japanese art, painter and Japonist, Menpes, who had been to Japan twice, noted a similarity between the two countries; a parallel also not lost on Albert Moore who fused ancient Greek and Japanese elements in his paintings. <sup>15</sup> Similarly, other British Japonists admired ancient Greece and contemporary Japan because of their remoteness in terms of time and space respectively, and Godwin, Rossetti, and Whistler also created the Greco-Anglo-Japanese style

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 30 July 1902, Add MS 58100, fol. 46v-47r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 11 March 1903, Add MS 58101, fol. 23v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Mortimer Mempes, *Japan: A Record in Colour* (London: A. & C. Black, 1901), 31. Ono, *Bi no Koryu*, 49.

artworks. <sup>16</sup> Additionally, Cyprian Bridge, a Royal Navy officer, compared Japanese clothes to "the short tunic of the women the chiton of the Greeks." <sup>17</sup> Like Menpes, Moore, and Bridge, Kohitsu would find similarities between the two countries, such as the connections shared by *kimono*, tunics, and long garments.

In March 1903, Ricketts's diary reveals that Kohitsu again took Ricketts and Shannon to eat Japanese food:

Dined with Kohitsu who gave us an exquisite dinner, dry "fish soup", O Sirü, raw fish and bean sauce, veal croquettes and cucumber and lobster salad, a most exquisite pale soup made of turbot and small mushrooms called O Simons (or bowl soup, O Echavan), grilled eel, and raw turnip soaked in some preparation. All of these are singularly delicate in taste, served in tiny portions with rice for bread and pale tea for drink. The bean wine sauce they put into almost anything is called O Vaniassa Shos. <sup>18</sup>

The diary indicates Ricketts's interest and surprise. In this entry, Ricketts mentioned several Japanese food names, such as O Sirü. Although it initially proved difficult to identify them, O Simons would refer to *Osuimono*, a clear Japanese soup. Although he seems not to have noticed, Ricketts was eating the same things again, having developed a taste for them this time. In his diary, Ricketts did not describe food in detail except for these Japanese meals in July 1902 and March 1903. Although Ricketts never visited Japan, due to the high cost and his busy schedule, he wanted to absorb Japanese food

<sup>17</sup> Cyprian Bridge, "The Mediterranean of Japan," Fortnightly Review 18 (1875): 205-209. Ono, Bi no Koryu, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Tanita, Yuibi-Shugi to Japanizumu, 96-108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 11 March 1903, Add MS 58101, fol. 24v.

culture through interactions with Kohitsu. These dining scenes represent Ricketts's soft cultural exchange at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as he developed his taste for things Japanese in more than one sense.

In 1914, Ricketts met a Japanese watercolour painter, Makino Yoshio. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, various Japanese people visited Britain, and Makino effectively lived in London for a long time, from 1897 to 1942.<sup>19</sup> Makino represented a new type of Japanese person for Ricketts:

Markino [Makino] the Japanese came with Dulac. His appearance is curiously Italian; he has lived for years in America and Europe, and represents the new type of Japanese who has arrived since the Russo-Japanese war which has cost Japan too much, who is hostile to a great many things in his own country.<sup>20</sup>

1914 marked the passing of more than 40 years since the Edo period ended, and also saw the Taisho era in Japan in the middle of Westernisation. Makino was a rare person who made a living by painting in London. He also published a book of his paintings, *The Colour of London*, in 1907. In contrast to *samurai* in *kimono* in the Edo era who swore loyalty to their lord, Makino wore a Western costume and had a severe opinion on the Japanese government. The diary entry shows Ricketts's observation of the modernisation of Japanese people with whom he interacted in London. In doing so, he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Toyota Municipal Museum of Art, *Yoshio Markino*, exh. cat (Aichi: Toyota Municipal Museum of Art, 2008), 64-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 13 March 1914, Add MS 58105, fol. 15r.

The Russo-Japanese war was from 1904 to 1905.

could get to know them and not idealise them too much. The environment surrounding Ricketts in 1914 differed from that of the first generation of Japonists when Cyprian Bridge wrote "The Mediterranean of Japan" in 1875.

While Ricketts wrote about his impressions of Japanese art, culture and people, Japanese people in London also wrote about Ricketts. Noguchi Yonejiro often wrote about interacting with Ricketts. Noguchi stayed in Britain twice, from 1902 to 1903 and from 1913 to 1914. He met Ricketts during both stays. In 1903, Binyon introduced Ricketts to Noguchi. Binyon first invited Noguchi to his room. Binyon then showed Noguchi his collected poems decorated by Ricketts. This proved to be the first time that Noguchi heard Ricketts's name. After a few days, Binyon took Noguchi to a restaurant near the British Museum to have lunch with Ricketts. Noguchi wrote that Ricketts gave Noguchi the impression that he was a Russian Jew because of his black hair, beard and fast-talking. Initially, Noguchi did not have an especially favourable impression of Ricketts.

However, when Noguchi met Ricketts again in 1914, he began to respect him and emphasised his role as a critic of Japanese art. In *Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki* [The

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Wada Keiko, "Noguchi Yonejiro no Rondon (1) – Shijin Debyu Zenya – [Yone Noguchi in London (1) – Before His Debut –]," *Osaka Gakuin University Foreign Linguistic and Literary Studies*, no. 33 (1996): 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wada Keiko, "Noguchi Yonejiro no Rondon (5) – Daiei Hakubutsukan no Nakamatachi – [Yone Noguchi in London (5) – Friends in the British Museum –]," *Osaka Gakuin University Foreign Linguistic and Literary Studies*, no. 37 (1998): 123-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Noguchi, Kiri no Rondon, 189-190.

Impression of European Artists], which depicted people Noguchi met in Europe, he focused a chapter on Ricketts, "Painter, Mr Ricketts."<sup>24</sup> He wrote that Ricketts spoke eloquently about ukiyo-e artists:

Ricketts is a Japanese art researcher, and his enthusiasm for Japanese art makes him talkative: "Harunobu's elegance is the elegance of a dream of fairy tales. His art is exactly like fairy tales, and it does not have intellect. Utamaro (Ricketts has the perfect delicate hands for a painter, and he imitates how beautiful women depicted by Utamaro stand and take a seat with his hands) is a great painter, however, when admiration at the first time for Utamaro faded away, I cannot tolerate Utamaro's monotony." [...] Ricketts talked: "On the whole, Hokusai is the greatest painter, and probably, he is one of world-class painters. All-Europe was amazed by Hokusai." 25

The fact that Noguchi recorded Ricketts's conversation indicates respect for his knowledge of Japanese art. At the time Noguchi was writing, however, there existed limited criticism of ukiyo-e art, even in Japan, making Ricketts's comparative expertise welcome. Noguchi also mentioned Ricketts in *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi* [The Six Great Ukiyo-e Artists] (1919) and *Nihon no Bijutsu* [Japanese Art] (1920). Interestingly, *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi* describes Noguchi acquiring information on ukiyo-e in London from Ricketts:

In London, Mr Ricketts (I often talk about respected Mr Ricketts's features as an artist and a remarkable critic) told me the beauty of Kitagawa

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Noguchi Yonejiro, *Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki* [The Impression of European Artists] (Tokyo: Hakujitsusha, 1916), 193-198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Noguchi, *Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki*, 194. I translated from Japanese into English.

Utamaro's triptych, *Women Overnight Guests* owned by the British Museum.<sup>26</sup>

Noguchi then visited the museum to see *Women Overnight Guests*, and he understood Ricketts's praise for Utamaro's palette. This episode inspired the introduction of the chapter, *Utamaro*, *the Great Master* in *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi*. Furthermore, Ricketts provided information on the ukiyo-e trends in the West to Noguchi:

Mr Ricketts told me that the popularity of Hokusai has declined, and it is an age of Kiyonaga. In fact, it is difficult for Hokusai's beautiful women, who are tall and stiff, to be popular in the West. Today, it is an age when physical beauty of Kiyonaga's style is valued, and it is necessary to depict women with rich cheeks and sexy attitudes.<sup>27</sup>

Noguchi trusted Ricketts as a source of knowledge. Ricketts often gave Noguchi helpful suggestions, and he aroused Noguchi's curiosity to write about ukiyo-e. In addition, Noguchi drew inspiration from Ricketts's opinions not only on ukiyo-e artists but also on the Rimpa school. Noguchi's books stated that Ricketts saw Ogata Korin's *Waves at Matsushima* at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, to which we shall return, and praised its nobleness. Ricketts's admiration for Korin left a strong impression on Noguchi and again helped him to examine Korin's works. In acknowledgement of Ricketts's opinions, Noguchi wrote "TO CHARLES RICKETTS" in a preface of *Korin*.

Noguchi Yonejiro, Nihon no Bijutsu [Japanese Art] (Tokyo: Daitoukaku, 1920), 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Noguchi, *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi*, 1. I translated from Japanese into English.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Noguchi, *Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi*, 134. I translated from Japanese into English.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Noguchi Yonejiro, *Korin* (London: Elkin Mathews, 1922), 19.

For Noguchi, who published many books on Japanese art, Ricketts proved an indispensable inspiration for further study. Ricketts was in a respectful, quiet position when talking with Kohitsu about Japanese art in 1902, and he did not bring up the topic of Japanese pictorial art in his first encounter with Noguchi in 1903. However, Ricketts acquired more knowledge of Japanese art, which he could confidently discuss with Japanese people by 1914. The fact that Ricketts gave important suggestions to Noguchi indicated the importation of knowledge of Japanese art from a European source, Ricketts, to a Japanese critic, Noguchi.

Ricketts was not only respected as a critic but also as an artist. A prime example of a Japanese person who purchased Ricketts's works and brought them to Japan was a shipowner, Matsukata Kojiro. Ricketts met Matsukata in August 1917, when the latter asked Ricketts and Shannon to exhibit their paintings in Japan.<sup>29</sup>

Matsukata, an art collector, collected more than ten thousand artworks in Europe and was president of a Japanese transportation company, Kawasaki Kisen. He stayed in London to collect British paintings from 25<sup>th</sup> March 1916 to 25<sup>th</sup> November 1917 as part of his European tour.<sup>30</sup> In March 1918, Ricketts recorded that Matsukata bought his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 17 August 1917, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXIV. 1917, Add MS 58108, fol. 40r, British Library.

Ricketts's Diary, 29 August 1917, Add MS 58108, fol. 41v.

Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Minato Noriko, "Matsukata Korekushon no Igirisu Kaiga [British Paintings in the Matsukata Collection]," in *Matsukata Korekushon Ten* [The Matsukata Collection Exhibition], exh. cat, ed. Kobe City Museum (Kobe: Kobe City Museum, 1989), 124.

picture "Holy Women and Angel of the Resurrection." In April 1918, Ricketts wrote in a letter that his painting "The Holy Women," depicting women in yellow and a green landscape, was going to Japan. In 1910, *The Studio* reproduced a coloured illustration of *The Holy Women and the Angel of the Resurrection* (Fig. 40), which bears a similarity to the depiction in the letter.

Becoming acquainted with Matsukata led to a Japanese exhibition of Ricketts's artwork. *The Great European Painting Exhibition* was organised by a Japanese painter, Ishibashi Kazunori, with Frank Brangwyn's help and aimed to raise funds for Belgian people made refugees because of World War I. The exhibition displayed 53 works by 15 artists including Ricketts, Shannon, and Belgian painters, alongside 104 works by Brangwyn.<sup>34</sup> There exists a high possibility that Ricketts's painting was featured in this exhibition because of Brangwyn's relationship with Matsukata. The exhibition took place at the Japanese department store, Mitsukoshi in Tokyo from 1<sup>st</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> June 1918 (Fig. 41).<sup>35</sup> It featured one of Ricketts's paintings, *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 29 March 1918, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXV. 1918, Add MS 58109, fol. 71r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> C. Lewis Hind, "Charles Ricketts: A Commentary on His Activities," Studio 48 (1910): 259-266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Hayashi Michiko, "The International Society of Sculptors Painters & Gravers to Nihonjin Geijutsuka [The International Society of Sculptors Painters & Gravers and Japanese Artists]," *Geiso* 33 (2018): 16.

Hayashi deciphered the names of 15 artists in the exhibition: Édouard Claes, Jules De Bruycker, Léon De Smet, Marcel Jefferys, John Michaux, Jenny Montigny, Maurice Wagemans, Henry Scott Tuke, George Clausen, Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon, Charles Sims, George Storey, James Quinn, Richard Heyworth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Mitsukoshi Gofukuten. "The Great European Painting Exhibition." *Mitsukoshi* 8, no.6 (1918): 8-9. Japanese department stores have had a custom to hold exhibitions since the end of the Meiji period. Mitsukoshi was the first department store in Japan to hold an art exhibition at the own store in 1908.

appeared in *Mitsukoshi*, which was its public relations brochure, at the upper left of Fig. 41. In 1918, Ricketts wrote about the exhibition on a postcard: "I have sold a picture of 'The Wise and Foolish Virgins' in Japan where I had sent it on exhibition."<sup>36</sup> Although Ricketts did not visit Japan in his lifetime, his painting went on display there in front of Japanese viewers.

Other pieces of Ricketts's work also went to Japan. For instance, part of the Matsukata collection which he collected in Europe, *Italia Redenta* (Fig. 2), is in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. *Italia Redenta* formed part of a series of lithographs made by the British War Publicity Bureau. Matsukata purchased this series at an exhibition at the Fine Art Society in July 1917. The 2019 exhibition of the Matsukata collection pointed out that the shipbuilding magnate was conscious of artworks depicting World War I.<sup>37</sup> However, a painting by Ricketts in the Matsukata collection was possibly destroyed by fire at the Pantechnicon warehouse in London in 1939 before its planned transportation to Japan. The painting, Daughter of Herodias, was part of the list found in 2016 by the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.<sup>38</sup>

For the details, see Hirota Takashi, "Meijiki no Hyakkaten Shusai no Bijutsu Hakurankai ni tsuite: Mitsukoshi to Takashimaya o Hikaku shite [Art Exhibitions at Department-stores in Meiji Period: Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya]," Journal of the Japan Society of Design 48 (2006): 47-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Charles Ricketts's Postcard to Thomas Lowinsky, 7 September 1918, Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. VI, Add MS 61718, fol. 126r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Jingaoka, ed. *The Matsukata Collection*, 130, 138, 341.

The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo was founded in 1959 based on the Matsukata

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Kawaguchi Masako, and Jingaoka Megumi, ed, *Matsukata Korekushon: Seiyo Bijutsu Zen-*Sakuhin Dai 1 Kan [The Matsukata Collection: The Complete Works of Western Art, vol. 1] (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2018), 300.

When Matsukata stayed in London, he often collected contemporary works in Britain, including Ricketts's. This situation indicates that Matsukata wanted to introduce the latest British art to Japan. The fact that he went to meet Ricketts and purchased several of his works proved that Ricketts was developing a Japanese reputation at the time.

After his death, Ricketts still had a following among Japanese people. Art historian and critic Yashiro Yukio described Ricketts as "a best friend of Japanese art" in his obituary of Ricketts (Appendix 2).<sup>39</sup> Yashiro accompanied Matsukata on his journey to Europe to collect paintings in Paris and London from 1921. In London, he met Ricketts and Shannon through Binyon, and they became friends.<sup>40</sup> In 1925, Yashiro published *Sandro Botticelli* in London. The book generally received favourable reviews although Roger Fry criticized it because Fry was dissatisfied with its criticism of his friend, Herbert Horne.<sup>41</sup> Ricketts also wrote a review in 1927. While previous studies have not paid much attention to Ricketts's review, probably because two years had already passed since the book was published,<sup>42</sup> in contrast to Fry, Ricketts appreciated

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Yashiro Yukio, "Kaigai Iho Rikketsu Gahaku no Shi [News Abroad: Death of Charles Ricketts, R. A.]", *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, 1 (1932): 20-21.

*Bijutsu Kenkyu* was launched in 1932 by the Art Institute where Yashiro worked as a chief of staff. <sup>40</sup> Yashiro Yukio, *Geijutsu no Patoron* [The Patron of Art] (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1958), 38.

Yashiro Yukio, *Nihon Bijutsu no Onjin-tachi* [Supporters of Japanese Art] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju Shinsha, 1961), 66-67.

Yashiro Yukio, Watashi no Bijutsu Henreki [My Art Experiences] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Roger Fry, "Sandro Botticelli," *Burlington Magazine* 48, no. 277 (1926): 196-200. Inaga Shigemi. *Yashiro Yukio: Bijutsuka ha Jiku o Koete* [Yashiro Yukio: Artist beyond Time and Space] (Kyoto: Minervashobo, 2022), 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Charles Ricketts, "Sandro Botticelli, by Yukio Yashiro," in *The Bibliophile's Almanack for 1927*, edited by Simon Oliver and Harold Child (London: The Fleuron, 1927), 35-38.

Yashiro's unique viewpoint: "with an intimate knowledge of European Art, he has striven to detect the points of contact in the work of this great Florentine wherein the East and West may meet, or seem at one. At times this is stimulating and convincing, at times the strain of this effort is perceptible." Ricketts found an affinity between Mantegna, Signorelli and Japanese masters when Kohitsu took the National Gallery in 1902, and he evidently thereafter felt a sense of closeness toward the comparison of Western and Japanese masters. In *Sandro Botticelli*, Yashiro compared Botticelli with Japanese artists, such as Korin, Utamaro, and Kiyonaga. It was easy for Ricketts to sympathize, as he recognised possible points of contact, historical or spiritual, even if found some of those parallels strained.

At the beginning of his obituary of Ricketts, Yashiro expressed grief over the artist's death:

Charles Ricketts, R.A. passed away in London on 7 October. 44 We sorrow for his death not only because of the loss of a leading painter, critic, theatre designer, and book designer in Britain, but also of a good friend of Japan who appreciated, loved, and collected Japanese art. 45

Yashiro attached importance to Ricketts as a supporter of Japanese art and called him "a good friend of Japan." Yashiro also emphasised that Ricketts believed in the excellence

<sup>44</sup> Ricketts passed away in 1931. Volume 1 of *Bijutsu Kenkyu* was published in January 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Yashiro Yukio, *Sandro Botticelli* (London: Medici Society, 1925), 82, 84, 99-100. Inaga, *Yashiro Yukio*, 95-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Yashiro, "Kaigai Iho Rikketsu Gahaku no Shi", 20-21. I translated from Japanese into English.

of Japanese art, frequently supporting it. Furthermore, Yashiro expressed his gratitude to Ricketts: "It was greatly fortunate for Japanese art that Mr Ricketts always had a good understanding of Japan."46 Yashiro may have shown gratitude because Ricketts continued to regard Japanese art highly even though diplomatic relations between Britain and Japan weakened from the middle of the 1920s, while the popularity of Chinese art rose in Britain in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In his obituary, Yashiro explained Ricketts's works and achievements, recalling that Ricketts and Shannon played leading roles as collectors of ukiyo-e prints. Yashiro ended the obituary by expressing his sorrow for the loss of Ricketts:

> In this way, we mourn the death of Mr Ricketts in various aspects. Those who know Mr Ricketts's witty, cultured conversation will feel sad about a London art world without Mr Ricketts, specifically, in terms of the loss of the best friend of Japanese art.<sup>47</sup>

For Yashiro, the phrase "the best friend of Japanese art" expressed the highest respect for Ricketts. Through learning about and collecting Japanese art, Ricketts became a leading figure of Japanese art in London, whose achievement was admired by the Japanese people he met.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Yashiro, "Kaigai Iho Rikketsu Gahaku no Shi", 21. I translated from Japanese into English.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Yashiro, "Kaigai Iho Rikketsu Gahaku no Shi", 21. I translated from Japanese into English.

## **Japanese Art Studies around Ricketts**

Despite the sustained prosperity of Japanese arts, Japan did not itself have the idea of "Fine Art" until the Edo period. The first appearance of *bijutsu*, a translation for fine art in Japanese, was in 1872, at the beginning of the Meiji period. <sup>48</sup> At the same time, in Japan, there was no systematic study of art history until the Edo period. Therefore, Western people, who wrote works on Japanese art from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, made a perhaps surprisingly significant contribution to the advancement of Japanese art studies, especially studies of ukiyo-e prints and paintings, which Japanese authorities did not regard as high art.

Specifically, Goncourt's *Outamaro* in 1891 is a prime example of a work which was the first monograph of Utamaro. Also, several Japanese art studies books were published in the same period. Similarly, Ricketts's great interest in Japanese pictorial art, especially ukiyo-e prints drove him to write articles on Utamaro and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 in London. The period in which Ricketts lived represented the dawn of Japanese art studies.

Ricketts published his article "Outamaro" in 1897. By 1897, various written works on Japanese pictorial art by the first generation of Japonists had already been published. After the 1850s, British diplomats, such as, Rutherford Alcock and Laurence

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Japanese philosopher, Nishi Amane used *bijutsu* in a lecture in January 1872. In addition, Japanese diplomat, Ōtori Keisuke used it at the arrangements for the Japanese pavilion of the 1873 Vienna World's Fair in February of the same year. For more details, see Mitamura Shunsuke, *Bijutsu kara Āto he* [From Bijutsu to Art] (Tokyo: Hozansha, 1982), 8-10.

The Meiji period was from 1868 to 1912.

Oliphant, who had visited Japan, wrote about Japanese culture and art based on their first-hand experiences in Japan in their books. 49 Although these books look like travelogues, rather than works of art history, they brought interests in Japanese art and culture to Britain. The travelogues did not, however, discuss in detail individual artists.50

William Anderson was, subsequently, a pioneering figure in Britain making progress in Japanese pictorial art studies, who systematised information of long Japanese art history. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Anderson sold about 3,000 Japanese artefacts to the British Museum. Based on these objects, he published a Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum in 1886. In the same year, he also brought out The Pictorial Arts of Japan: With a Brief Historical Sketch of the Associated Arts, and Some Remarks upon the Pictorial Art of the Chinese and Koreans. This illustrated book represented the first comprehensive survey of Japanese art in English from ancient times to the Edo era. The Pictorial Arts of Japan dealt with an enormous number of Japanese artists, and among ukiyo-e artists, it explained and illustrated Hokusai's life and work in detail. However, it did not explore Utamaro in any depth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Alcock, The Capital of the Tycoon.

Rutherford Alcock, Art and Art Industries in Japan (London: Virtue, 1878).

Laurence Oliphant, Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857, '58, '59 (Edinburgh, London: W. Blackwood and sons, 1859).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Mabuchi, "The Hokusai Phenomenon in Japonisme," 324.

After the two books, Anderson focused on engraving, and he published a catalogue of an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club; *Catalogue of Prints and Books, Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan Exhibited in 1888.* In the catalogue, while Anderson praised Hokusai, he gave low praise for prints after 1860.<sup>51</sup> Anderson again wrote about engraving in 1895 in *Japanese Wood Engravings: Their History, Technique, and Characteristics.* In this book, he criticised Utamaro. For example, he described how Utamaro's works possessed a remarkable charm of line, pose, and composition, but suggested that their overall effect was marred by the ungraceful mannerisms perverting the drawing of the faces and limbs.<sup>52</sup>

Anderson again had a high opinion of Hokusai, who he thought represented the dominant influence in the world of artisanal art in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>53</sup> Anderson's books and catalogues were read by many people interested in Japanese art.

Simultaneously, his admiration for Hokusai was spread by these written works. Itabashi Miya argued that Anderson's idea of Hokusai as an artisan, who had not only novel ideas and painting skills but also great originality, was inherited by Binyon and V&A curator, Edward F. Strange, and 'Arts and Crafts' Hokusai perhaps especially welcome

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> William Anderson, *Catalogue of Prints and Books, Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan. Exhibited in 1888* (London: Printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1888), xxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> William Anderson, *Japanese Wood Engravings: Their History, Technique, and Characteristics* (London: Seeley, 1895), 36.

Itabashi, "19 Seikimatsu kara 20 Seikishoto Igirisu ni Okeru Ukiyo-e Hanga Kenkyu," 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Anderson, *Japanese Wood Engravings*, 52.

at the then South Kensington Museum.<sup>54</sup> In this way, Anderson laid a foundation for Japanese pictorial art studies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Like Anderson, Morrison built up a huge Japanese art collection, and wrote a book on Japanese art. Morrison sold about 2,000 ukiyo-e prints collection to the British Museum in 1906. A further 589 Japanese paintings and 33 Chinese paintings from the Morrison collection were donated to the museum in 1913.<sup>55</sup> In addition, Morrison contributed an introduction to a catalogue of an ukiyo-e prints exhibition at the Fine Art Society in 1909, and he introduced an outline of ukiyo-e prints and their terminology for beginners based on his rich knowledge.<sup>56</sup>

In 1911, Morrison's most noteworthy work, *The Painters of Japan*, was published. This two-volume textbook, written for students, describes the history of Japanese painting in detail with beautiful monochrome and coloured illustrations, devoting more than fifty pages to ukiyo-e art.<sup>57</sup> In this, Morrison considered each artist thoroughly in chronological order from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Regarding Utamaro, Morrison regarded him highly as not only a painter of the human figure but also a harmonious colourist.<sup>58</sup> As for Hokusai, Morrison considered that he was a great painter, a specialist in every department, and a breaker of tradition but he was not the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Itabashi, "19 Seikimatsu kara 20 Seikishoto Igirisu ni Okeru Ukiyo-e Hanga Kenkyu," 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Koyama, *Tatsujintachi no Daieihakubutsukan*, 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Arthur Morrison, *Exhibition of Japanese Prints: Illustrated Catalogue*, with Notes and an Introduction (London: Fine Art Society, 1909).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Arthur Morrison, *The Painters of Japan*, vol. 2 (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1911), 18-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Morrison, *The Painters of Japan*, vol. 2, 57.

best colourist.<sup>59</sup> The book was regarded as essential reading on Japanese pictorial art history for about fifty years after its first publication.<sup>60</sup>

In the same period, American art historian, Ernest Fenollosa published books and articles on Japanese art. Fenollosa published a "Review of the Chapter on Painting," in L'Art Japonais, by L. Gonse" in Japan Weekly Mail in 1884 and "Ukiyo-e shi ko" in Kokka in 1890. Whereas Anderson and Morrison regarded Hokusai highly, Fenollosa attached more importance on Japanese paintings in the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi era, and the early Edo era than ukiyo-e prints in the late Edo era. Fenollosa also criticised Japonists in Britain, such as Anderson, and French Japonist, Louis Gonse, for overestimating Hokusai in these articles. In fact, at the early stage of writing on Japanese art in the West from the 1860s to the 1880s, Japonists paid attention to Hokusai. For example, Philippe Burty's Chefs-d'œuvre des arts industriels (1866), James Jackson Jarves's A Glimpse at the Art of Japan (1876), and Gonse's L'Art Japonais (1883) praised Hokusai hugely. 61 Thereafter, Fenollosa gradually changed his views on Hokusai. In Special Exhibitions of the Pictorial Art of Japan and China. No. 1. Hokusai and his School (1893) and The Masters of Ukioye: A Complete Historical

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Morrison, *The Painters of Japan*, vol. 2, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Morrison, The Painters of Japan, vol. 1, v.

Lawrence Smith, "Daiei Hakubutsukan Syūzō Ukiyo-e no Rekishi to Tokushoku [History and Characteristic of Ukiyo-e Prints in the British Museum]." In *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan [Ukiyo-e Masterpieces in European Collections]*, vol.1, British Museum 1, ed. Narasaki Muneshige (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1987), 12.

Koyama Noboru, "Āsā Morison to Nihon [Arthur Morrison and Japan]," *Eigakushi Kenkyu* 1995, no. 27 (1994): 76.

<sup>61</sup> Mabuchi, "The Hokusai Phenomenon in Japonisme," 324-326.

Description of Japanese Paintings and Color Prints of the Genre School (1896), he regarded Hokusai as an important ukiyo-e artist. In addition, Fenollosa enumerated the first-ranked ukiyo-e artists: Matabei, Okumura Masanobu, Harunobu, Kiyonaga, and Hokusai, and especially, he hugely praised Kiyonaga as the central and culminating figure. He also regarded Utamaro as a second-ranked artist, and Hiroshige as a third-ranked artist.<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, Ricketts did not mention these books by Anderson,
Morrison, and Fenollosa, the pioneers of Japanese art studies in his books and diary
although he read books on Japan and Japanese art for many years. 63 It was 1914 before
Ricketts first mentioned Morrison's name, when he wrote about the exhibition of
Japanese and Chinese paintings from the Morrison collection at the British Museum.
Ricketts was asked to review that exhibition by Binyon on 27th April, visiting the show

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Fenollosa, *The Masters of Ukioye*, 115.

Yamaguchi Seiichi, "Fuenorosa Ukiyoe Ron no Suii (1): Shoki no Hokusai Ron [Transitions in Fenollosa's Views on Ukiyo-e (1): The Early Stage of Views on Hokusai]." *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu* 65 (1980): 3-7.

Yamaguchi Seiichi, "Fuenorosa Ukiyoe Ron no Suii (2): *Kokka* Keisai no 'Ukiyo-e shi ko' [Transitions in Fenollosa's Views on Ukiyo-e (2): 'Ukiyo-e shi ko' in *Kokka*]." *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu* 67 (1981): 3-10.

Yamaguchi Seiichi, "Fuenorosa Ukiyoe Ron no Suii (3): Bosuton Bijutsukan ni Okeru 'Hokusai to Sono Ryuha' Ten [Transitions in Fenollosa's Views on Ukiyo-e (3): 'Hokusai and his School' Exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]." *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu* 69 (1981): 14-18. Itabashi, "19 Seikimatsu kara 20 Seikishoto Igirisu ni Okeru Ukiyo-e Hanga Kenkyu," 32-33, 36-37. <sup>63</sup> Ricketts wrote in his diary that "Read books on Japan all day" in 1901, and "Purchase of books on Japanese art" in 1916. For the details see, Charles Ricketts's Diary, 4 August 1901, Add MS 88957/3/18, fol. 116r-117r; Charles Ricketts's Diary, 15 June 1916, Add MS 58107, fol. 40r.

thereafter.<sup>64</sup> Ricketts wrote the review, but revealed his true feelings about the exhibition in his diary:

To the Stein and Morrison Collections for Times article, this I fear is not good. I was given 1200 words to describe the effort of twelve centuries, this is at a rate of 100 words per century and one word a year, besides palaver concerning Stein, Binyon and the opening. I am disappointed with the Chinese statue; this is not for a moment comparable to many Japanese portrait figures. I do not think its ascription to the Tang epoch tenable, it seems to me early Ming. The Morrison collection is most foolishly over-ascribed. The Kanawoka [Kose no Kanaoka] is a copy of a Chinese work, it is contemporary with its inner mount. The Korin screen is a copy. Several of the Kano works are very good, but the ultimate value of the collection will be very problematical, at least as far as authenticity is concerned. I have felt tied and uncomfortable in my article. 65

Ricketts was disappointed at the quality of exhibits, and he had a negative attitude toward writing an article for the exhibition, perhaps acutely aware of Morrison's failure at attributions, given his own earlier errors. The exhibition guide at that time wrote that *Portrait of Michizane in Chinese Dress* was "Attributed to Kanaoka"; however, the guide regarded that *Coloured Stones, Pine Shoot and Berries* and *The Wave-beaten Rock* were by Korin himself. 66 As mentioned in the previous section, Ricketts saw Korin's *Waves at Matsushima* at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, and he had a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 29 April 1914, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXI. 1914, Add MS 58105, fol. 22v, British Library.

Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 194.

<sup>65</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 5 May 1914, Add MS 58105, fol. 25v.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Stein" is Mare Aurel Stein, a collector of Chinese and Central Asian art. The British Museum exhibited the Stein collection and the Morrison collection at the same time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> British Museum, *Guide to an Exhibition of Japanese & Chinese Paintings Principally from the Arthur Morrison Collection* (London: Order of the Trustees, 1914), 9, 12-13.

At present, the British Museum considers that *Coloured Stones, Pine Shoot and Berries* (Museum number: 1913,0501,0.268) is claimed to be by Korin, and *The Wave-beaten Rock* (Museum number: 1913,0501,0.263) is by school or style of Korin.

special attachment to it, therefore, he was able to recognise that *The Wave-beaten Rock*, which was inspired by *Waves at Matsushima*, was not painted by Korin. Although Ricketts praised paintings by the Kano school, he was dissatisfied with the exhibition as a whole. In fact, Timothy Clark pointed out that artworks of the Morrison collection in the Edo period were generally great, however, many artefacts of the collection in the early period were not authentic.<sup>67</sup>

Ricketts tactfully covered up his true feelings in the review article:

We owe to the generosity of Sir Gwynne-Evans the purchase of the Morrison Collection; this is a notable addition to our rich national collection of Chinese and Japanese kakemonos. Several important works add to periods already well represented; others fill gaps in the historical sequence of names and schools. The acquisition of the Morrison Collection would seem to make even more urgent than hitherto the founding of an Oriental Museum in London, or, failing this, a separate Asiatic department in the British Museum, our Asian collection seems hardly in place among the prints and drawings of Europe. The catalogue ascribes No. 2, "Amida descending," to Yeshin Sozu [Eshin Sozu], who worked in the 10<sup>th</sup> century; it is an exquisite thing of a type which, for many reasons, has not so far left the country of its production. To Nobutzane [Fujiwara no Nobuzane] is ascribed the delicate painting No. 5; this name is, in a sense, symbolic of an epoch to which this half-mythical artist if the 13<sup>th</sup> century is known to have belonged; the work could be described as a harmony in white, green, and silver.

The British Museum was already wealthy in important examples of the "Kano" monochrome school of painters, which the Japanese still consider the classic epoch of their painting. A magnificent "Daruma," by Soami, No. 12, and the "Immortal breathing out his Spirit," by Motonobu, No. 16, add materially to

edited by Hirayama Ikuo and Kobayashi Tadashi (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1992), 16.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Timothy Clark, "Andāson to Morison: Nihon Kaiga Korekushon no Korosha [Anderson and Morrison: Persons Credited with Constructing Japanese Paintings Collection at the British Museum]," in *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu Taikan [Japanese Art: The Great European Collections]*, vol.2,

the quality of our national collection. The later phase of the "Kano" School when, with Yeitoku, a new gorgeous style of colour decoration was evolved is still unrepresented, unless it is to be found in the rich screen No. 30, tentatively attributed to Sotatsu. This later master is present with a notable screen, No. 99. To Korin, his pupil, who is one of the most singular personalities in Japanese art can be ascribed the design of the fantastic "Red Rock in a golden Sea," No. 32, and the curious and fascinating kakemono, No. 31, in which the workmanship is more delicate and yet more mordant than in the former example of his style. Among the protagonists of the later realistic school and the renewal of "Genre," known as the "Ukiyoyé," there are several examples. On the whole, however, these masters have triumphed in the making of colour prints more than as painters; as print makers they brought new subject-matter and a new sense of design to the art of their country; it must suffice to say that Yeishi, the great Hokusai, and Hiroshige, are each well represented among many others. But this meagre list of names and numbers cannot convey the power, variety, and range of this notable series of pictures, nor express the importance of the great art of Japan, which can claim the longest unbroken sequence of effort and proved achievement in the modern era, dating, as it does, from the ninth century to to-day.<sup>68</sup>

In the article, Ricketts admitted the importance of the Morrison collection for expanding and improving Japanese art collections in Britain, and at the same time, he mentioned the significance of Japanese art as the long continuous tradition of art. "Sir Gwynne-Evans" is businessman William Gwynne-Evans who donated 589 Japanese paintings and 33 Chinese paintings acquired from Morrison to the British Museum in 1913.<sup>69</sup> In the same year, the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings founded the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings, which was still "sub" department and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> First proof of Ricketts's exhibition review article, May 1914, Add MS 58105, fol. 27r.

This proof was stuck on the page of the week of 7<sup>th</sup> May in Ricketts's diary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> British Museum, Guide to an Exhibition of Japanese & Chinese Paintings Principally from the Arthur Morrison Collection, 3-4.

Clark, "Andāson to Morison: Nihon Kaiga Korekushon no Korosha," 16.

was not "a separate Asiatic department" as Ricketts wrote the above. <sup>70</sup> This acquisition by the museum led to this exhibition in 1914, and Binyon regarded the Morrison collection at the exhibition highly. <sup>71</sup> Although Ricketts wrote severe comments on the Morrison collection in his diary, and had a rare opportunity to criticise the exhibition for a newspaper article, his review was evasive, and it started and finished enumerating names of artists from Eshin Sozu in the 10<sup>th</sup> century to ukiyo-e artists in the Edo era. Specifically, he did not point out that paintings regarded as Korin's work were not authentic. Ricketts understandably took his friend and exhibition curator, Binyon into consideration, and hesitated writing his true impressions of the exhibition. The word count was also constraining. Ricketts understandably felt "tied and uncomfortable."

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, various Japanese art books were published in Britain by British people including Ricketts's circle who were the second generation of Japonists. As representative Japanese art scholars at that time, British Museum curator, Binyon, and V&A curator, Strange published several books. Both were curators who dealt first hand with a wide array of Japanese artefacts. In 1908, Binyon wrote a comprehensive survey of *Painting in the Far East: An Introduction to the History of Pictorial Art in Asia Especially China and Japan*, and selected paintings for a book of Japanese paintings, *Pictures by Japanese Artists*. In *Japanese Art: One Cut in Four* 

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Koyama, Tatsujintachi no Daieihakubutsukan, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Koyama, "Arthur Morrison to Nihon [Arthur Morrison and Japan]," 77.

Colours, 37 Drawings on Superfine Unglazed Art Paper, 20 Tinted Illustrations and 1 Engraving (1909), he emphasised the importance to Japanese art of the Kano school, a traditional painting school, inspired by Chinese precedents. Binyon, who dealt with Oriental art at the British Museum, often wrote about multinational Asian works, and, in 1911, published The Flight of the Dragon: An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Art in China and Japan, Based on Original Sources. This book was a part of the Wisdom of the East series, and Binyon examined Chinese and Japanese painting techniques and theories, such as colour, composition, and perspective. The Art of Asia, published in 1916, was a paper for a joint meeting of the China Society and the Japan Society, where Binyon again discussed the cross-cultural relationship of Asian art including Japanese, Chinese, Persian, and Indian arts. Japanese Colour Prints, co-authored with J. J. O'Brien Sexton in 1923, viewed the history of ukiyo-e in chronological order. The book included two colour illustrations of Harunobu's prints, one colour reproduction of Utamaro's, and one monochrome illustration of Utamaro's, which was in Ricketts and Shannon collection at that time, again suggesting the importance of their collection to the subsequent canonisation of Japanese art in Britain.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Binyon and Sexton, *Japanese Colour Prints*, Plate II, III, XIV, XXXV. At present, these four prints, *Two Girls Drying Cotton Thread* by Harunobu (Museum number: 1937,0710,0.2), *Two Girls on a Veranda* by Harunobu (1937,0710,0.1), *A Young Man Reclining on a Futon within a Mosquito Net and Smoking whilst his Sweetheart Raises the Net and Looks out* by Utamaro (1937,0710,0.87), and *A Woman Standing Outside a Mosquito Net, inside of which a Man is Seated Pipe in Hand* by Utamaro (1937,0710,0.88) are in the British Museum.

Ricketts had been friends with Binyon for about 30 years. However, Ricketts was not inspired by Binyon's views on Japanese art although Binyon was the contemporary leading figure in Japanese art studies in Britain at that time. In fact, Ricketts did not mention the influence of Binyon on his views on Japanese art in his diary entries despite many interactions between the two. For example, Ricketts did not appreciate Toba Sōjō's humorous caricature scroll while Binyon had a high opinion of Toba and regarded Toba as one of the representative Japanese artists in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. 73 Moreover, Ricketts regarded a painter in the Meiji era, Kano Hogai highly; however, Binyon did not attach importance to artists in the Meiji era. 74 On the other hand, between Ricketts's and Binyon's views on Japanese art, there are several similarities. Ricketts was deeply impressed by Korin's screen depicting waves at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, as we shall see.<sup>75</sup> Binyon regarded Korin as "the most Japanese of all the artists of Japan," and he also paid attention to Korin's waves screen. 76 In addition, both Ricketts and Binyon regarded Hokusai and Utamaro highly as mentioned above.<sup>77</sup> Regarding Hokusai, interestingly, both of them compared

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 176.

Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East: An Introduction to the History of Pictorial Art in Asia Especially China and Japan* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), 109-110, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 177-178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 180-181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 73.

Laurence Binyon, *The Flight of the Dragon: An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Art in China and Japan, Based on Original Sources* (London, J. Murray, 1911), 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Binyon and Sexton, *Japanese Colour Prints*, 190.

Itabashi, "19 Seikimatsu kara 20 Seikishoto Igirisu ni Okeru Ukiyo-e Hanga Kenkyu," 36-37.

Hokusai with Rembrandt and Turner. However, Ricketts actively collected Hokusai's ukiyo-e prints series of *Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces* as mentioned in the previous chapter, whereas Binyon did not regard this series highly. In this way, there are similarities and differences between Ricketts's and Binyon's views. The two had their own firm views on Japanese art respectively although there is a slight possibility that Binyon affected Ricketts's views.

Like Binyon, Strange published Japanese Illustrations: A History of the Arts of Wood-cutting and Colour Printing in Japan, which was his first book on ukiyo-e prints in 1897. Strange drew on Anderson's earlier Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum (1886), Japanese Wood Engravings (1895), and Goncourt's Outamaro (1891) and Hokousaï (1896) as works of reference. Specifically, Strange emphasised the importance of Anderson's achievement in the field of Japanese art history. 80 In 1904, Strange published two books on ukiyo-e prints: Japanese Colour Prints and The Colour-Prints of Japan: An Appreciation and History, which developed on his Japanese Illustrations (1897). The latter included a chapter exploring "Influences in European Art," examining Japonisme,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 242, 244-245.

Binyon, The Flight of the Dragon, 41.

Ricketts, A Century of Art, 29.

Noguchi, Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi, 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Binyon and Sexton, *Japanese Colour Prints*, 160-161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Edward F. Strange, *Japanese Illustrations: A History of the Arts of Wood-cutting and Colour Printing in Japan* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1897), xviii-xix.

such as Rossetti's Japanese art collection, as well as Whistler's and Beardsley's artworks, the work of an earlier generation of Japonists.<sup>81</sup> Strange also wrote two more specialized books on ukiyo-e artists: *Hokusai, The Old Man Mad with Painting* (1906), and *The Colour-prints of Hiroshige with 52 Plates Including 16 in Colour* (1925). In addition, as a curator, he played a part in the National Art Library and the V&A's catalogues on Japanese art from 1893.<sup>82</sup>

Ricketts mentioned Binyon and Strange in a dismissive 1917 letter but did not write about their books in detail:

Binyon's catalogue is well-illustrated, it is sold by Longmans & Co. Paternoster Row. I do not know its price and hardly know if it is sufficiently full of pictures to count as a picture book. [...] It is of course on a quite different level to Strange's book, which I consider worthless.<sup>83</sup>

authority of the Board of Education, 1924).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Edward F. Strange, *The Colour-prints of Japan: An Appreciation and History* (London: A. Siegle, 1904), 72-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Department of Science & Art of the Committee of Council on Education, *Japanese Art: I. Japanese Books and Albums of Prints in Colour in the National Art Library South Kensington*, compiled by Edward F. Strange, from translations furnished by Kowaki Genjiro (London: Printed for H.M.S.O., by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893).

Victoria and Albert Museum, *Japanese Colour Prints: Catalogue of Prints of Utagawa Toyokuni I in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, with Three Illustrations*, compiled by Edward F. Strange (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, 1908).

Victoria and Albert Museum, *Japanese Colour-prints: Lent by R. Leicester Harmsworth, Esq., M.P. November 1913 to March 1914 Illustrated*, compiled by Edward F. Strange (London: Printed under the Authority of H.M. Stationery Office, 1913).

Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Japanese Theatre: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Japanese Theatrical Art* (London: Printed under the Authority of H.M. Stationery Office, 1922). Edward F. Strange, *Tools and Materials Illustrating the Japanese Method of Colour-printing: A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection Exhibited in the Museum* (London: Published under the

<sup>83</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Gordon Bottomley, 6 July 1917, Add MS 88957/3/17, fol. 34r.

Like Strange, Binyon was involved with several British Museum catalogues on Japanese art. 84 There is a high probability that "Binyon's catalogue" means *A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, then recently published in 1916. 85 The exhaustive catalogue is a voluminous work of 605 pages with monochrome illustrations, and introduces Japanese and Chinese printings of the museum collection. By contrast, Strange did not publish a comprehensive catalogue of ukiyo-e prints in the V&A with illustrations, perhaps spawning Ricketts's ire.

In the select bibliography of *A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts*, Binyon chose *Hokusai* (1899) by Charles Holmes, who was a painter, art critic, and Ricketts's friend, as a key work on particular masters. <sup>86</sup> Holmes started his career as a critic of Japanese art at Binyon's suggestion, and he wrote his first article "Hiroshige"

com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33953.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> British Museum, Guide to an Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings (Fourth to Nineteenth Century A.D.) in the Print and Drawing Gallery (London: Order of the Trustees, 1910), 5. British Museum, Guide to an Exhibition of Japanese & Chinese Paintings Principally from the Arthur Morrison Collection, 3-4.

British Museum, Guide to an Exhibition of Japanese Colour-Prints (from the End of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century to 1858) (London: Order of the Trustees, 1920), i-vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Laurence Binyon, A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (London: Order of the Trustees, 1916).

On the front page, "Longmans & Co., 39, Paternoster Row" is listed as one of sellers of the catalogue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Binyon, A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts, xlv.

Holmes became a director of the National Portrait Gallery in 1909, and a director of the National Gallery in 1916. For the details, see C. H. C. Baker and Mark Pottle, "Holmes, Sir Charles John (1868–1936), Landscape Painter and Art Critic," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September, 2004, accessed 23 March 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-

for *The Dome* in 1897.<sup>87</sup> Holmes was not a big collector, specialist, or curator of Japanese art in that year. However, he was close to several Japonists in London, including Binyon, Ricketts, and Shannon. It was, therefore, relatively easy for Holmes to enter into the Japonisme field. "Hiroshige" was a rare article that specialised in the painter at that time although the article compared him with Hokusai. The article was, however, comparatively superficial, since there were few previous studies on Hiroshige in the 1890s. Holmes continued to write short articles on Japanese art for *The Dome*, including "Utamaro" (1898) and "Hokusai" (1898). Holmes then published a small book, *Hokusai* (1899) in Binyon's series of *The Artist's Library*, a sign of his respect. By contrast, Ricketts did not mention Holmes's book or articles on Japanese art in either his written works or diary although Ricketts and Holmes had the following conversation in 1901:

Again discussed Constable with Holmes. I insisted that Constable stood at the parting of the ways between old and modern painting. The Barbizon people show greater reliance upon tradition and greater consciousness. The Impressionists owe an overwhelming debt to Hiroshige, with collateral or side influence of the late works of Turner and even Hokusai, though both these latter influences are more in the nature of suggestions. In the character of their works, they belong to a totally different range of feeling and aim. 88

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Charles John Holmes, *Self and Partners, Mostly Self: Being the Reminiscences of C. J. Holmes* (London: Constable, 1936), 186-187.

Binyon said to Holmes: "you know something about Hiroshige. Write an article about him for *The Dome* and make two guineas."

Holmes signed the article "Charles Holmes," and the name was mistaken by Charles Holme, who was a prominent member of the Japan Society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 1 March 1901, Add MS 88957/3/18, fol. 95r.

Ricketts and Holmes perhaps talked frequently about Constable - "Again discussed" because Holmes had also published Constable in The Artist's Library series in the same year. Ricketts argued for the Japonisme of the Impressionists, especially Hiroshige. In addition, Holmes helped Ricketts and Shannon to purchase Japanese artefacts at auctions as mentioned in Chapter 1. Ricketts, then, seemed to have treated Holmes as a friend or colleague rather than an art critic. On the other hand, neither Binyon nor Holmes mentioned Ricketts's article or books on Japanese art in their written works although they used reproductions of the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese art collection, perhaps suggesting they had more respect for him as a collector and connoisseur than a critic, even though Holmes had worked for the Vale Press which Ricketts established in the period he wrote "Outamaro." Binyon, meanwhile, asked Ricketts to review the British Museum exhibition mentioned above, and Holmes praised Ricketts's eye for art.89

Ricketts and Japanese Art Criticism: Crossing Viewpoints from Britain and Japan Although there were important scholarly British Japonists surrounding Ricketts, as we have seen, the Japanese art expert who gave the greatest inspiration to him was Goncourt, as we have begun to understand. Goncourt wrote two important monographs

<sup>89</sup> Holmes, Self and Partners, 314.

Holmes listed Ricketts's abilities: "his [Ricketts's] acute connoisseurship, his ready wit, even his little affectations of manner."

on ukiyo-e artists containing comprehensive catalogues and biographies: Outamaro: Le Peintre des Maisons Vertes [Utamaro: A Painter of the Pleasure Quarters] (1891) and Hokousaï: L'art Japonais au XVIIIe Siècle [Hokusai: Japanese Art in the 18th Century] (1896). Ricketts also admired Goncourt's Journal, and at the beginning of "Outamaro," Ricketts wrote about Goncourt's achievement:<sup>90</sup>

> Efforts have been made abroad that must not be overlooked to understand and class the achievements of Japanese art. If, at the present, there are serious gaps in our knowledge, if much that passes to-day will be set aside to-morrow, modern research has at least brought us thus far. It is now more than thirty years since some coloured prints, rich and strange in tone, excited the attention of a few — among them Edmond de Goncourt. We owe to him the picture of Outamaro in a monograph that places all subsequent admirers in the writer's debt, and from which only generalities and minor inaccuracies may be removed by subsequent research, leaving to him, nevertheless, the first shadowing forth of an artistic personality that is at once definite and elusive, limited yet suggestive, troublesome to the dunce and pedant as the art of Watteau is troublesome.91

The reason why Ricketts picked up on the name of Watteau is that Goncourt had likened Utamaro to Watteau in his 1888 journal. 92 Specifically, Ricketts praised Goncourt for establishing the foundation for research into Utamaro; a newly scholarly ambition in this second generation. In fact, Goncourt's Outamaro was the first monograph on the

90 Robin Holloway's Letter to Charles Ricketts, 7 July 1917, Add MS 88957/3/17, fol. 37r. 91 Ricketts, "Outamaro," 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Goncourt, *Journal*, vol.3, 791.

Brigitte Koyama-Richard, "Kaisetsu: Nihonbijutsu Netsuaisha Edomon do Gonkūru [Commentary: Japanese Art Passionist Edmond de Goncourt]," in Outamaro wrritten by Edmond de Goncourt and translated by Oki Yukiko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 278.

Koyama-Richard, Yume Mita Nihon: Edomon do Gonkūru to Hayashi Tadamasa, 103.

artist in the world. *Outamaro* drew attention from not only Europe but also Japan, and it was reprinted and translated into Japanese several times.<sup>93</sup>

The book is divided into two parts: the first on Utamaro's biography and works; and the second a catalogue of Utamaro with Goncourt's commentary without illustrations. *Outamaro* derived much of its information from a Japanese art dealer, Hayashi Tadamasa, who, as we saw in Chapter 1, both collected and translated Japanese materials, effectively working as Goncourt's co-author. At this stage in his career, Ricketts did not have Japanese people to help him to write on Japanese art, so he relied heavily on Goncourt's *Outamaro*. Later, Ricketts would develop a significant Japanese circle, as we have begun to see.

From around 1888, Utamaro's ukiyo-e prints became popular in Paris. <sup>94</sup> After Goncourt published *Outamaro* in 1891, German-French art dealer, Siegfried Bing, who lived in Paris, contributed an article, "The Art of Utamaro" to *The Studio* in 1894.

Compared with Goncourt's *Outamaro*, "The Art of Utamaro" is a short article, and describes an overview of the beauty of Utamaro's figures. It does not explore Utamaro's works individually. Although *The Studio* was a British magazine for art, Ricketts did not show any interests in Bing's article on Utamaro. The reason of this might be that Ricketts was hostile to *The Studio*, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Oki Yukiko, "Yakusha Atogaki [Afterword by the Translator]," in *Outamaro* wrritten by Edmond de Goncourt and translated by Oki Yukiko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Oshima, Japonisumu: Inshōha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen, 338-339.

Ricketts's essay, "Outamaro" originally appeared in volume 5 of *The Dial* (1897), a magazine edited by Ricketts himself and Shannon. Ricketts, therefore, wrote the article under a pseudonym, "Charles Sturt." This 5-page essay is the first work featuring only Utamato wrriten by the British author. In 1913, the essay was reprinted in Ricketts's book, *Pages on Art*. In the essay, Ricketts again compared Utamaro with several European artists, such as Sandro Botticelli, Martin Schongauer, Matthäus Zasinger, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Memling:

The qualities of Outamaro have stood the test of various manners of approach, and the exercise of that peculiar gift of fascination that is his, has forced itself upon the attention even of those who had entered upon the study of Japan under the spell of its later magnificent realism. The art of Outamaro will win one also from a reactionary mood, due to an over familiarity with the excellent, in a country like Italy, that has had its specious primitives and decadents. We would place Outamaro in a phase of art at once attractive and dangerous, in a phase where, as with Botticelli, an art has refined strangely upon itself, accepting, however, certain signs of fatigue, not, as with the Italian, in technique as from callousness or haste even, but in a tendency towards monotonous trains of thought. In Europe the art of Schongauer with its oversweetness, of Zasinger with its delicacy, would hardly prepare one for the might and passion of a Durer, whose art was influenced by them. So the art of Outamaro does not prepare one for the advent of a Hokusai. It is there that he will seem at once primitive and decadent, but, like Botticelli or Memling, Outamaro escapes at times into charmed spaces, and divines, intermittently perhaps, much that those who came before or after him did not divine, or were unable to achieve. A feeling that with this Japanese a monotonous and even feminine bent of mind mars an infinite refinement in form and colour may lead men of intelligence to suspect him, and with him the eighteenth-century art of Japan.95

<sup>95</sup> Ricketts, "Outamaro," 22.

In a now familiar, comparative European move, Ricketts used the art history of Schongauer, Zasinger, and Durer to explain the relationship between Utamaro and Hokusai. He also argued that Utamaro would fascinate many people in the tide of realism, decadence, and primitivism, recalling the earlier language of Walter Pater's 1873 *The Renaissance*, as he likened Utamaro to Botticelli and Memling. Hence, comparing Japanese art with early medieval and early modern European art was Ricketts's method to define Japanese art. Ricketts, who published European art history books, such as *The Prado and its Masterpieces* (1903) and *Titian* (1910), also had great knowledge of European art, and this method was characteristic of his Japanese art criticism to clarify and highlight Japanese art.

There are further links between Ricketts and Goncourt, with Ricketts employing Gouncourt's French spelling of "Outamaro":

In composition he will affect the half-drowned appearance of things bathed in water, as in the two magnificent triptych prints, *Les Plongeuses* and *Les Porteuses de Sel*, veiling the limbs of his women in the twilight of a wave. It serves his purpose to reduce what might be too definite for him, by means of spangled and translucent materials become playthings in the hands of women, as in one of those magnificent prints where a courtesan passes a veil across her mouth and eyes, or in that design charming with its yellows and greens (now in the Louvre), in which a mother peeps at a child from behind a scarf. With him the green haze of mosquito-nets is used for the shadowing forth, beyond, of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Ricketts became a candidate of a director of the National Gallery in 1915 although he refused taking up the post. For the details, see Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 250-251.

Other British Japonists also compared Japan with Medieval Europe, and Yamaguchi argued that William Burges, Dresser, and Rossetti paid attention to connections between Japan and Medieval Europe. For the details, see Yamaguchi, "Bikutoria-cho no Medievalism to Japaisme no Setten."

half-hidden whiteness of a face, or to make emerge from the shadow a hand or arm with the effect of some flower rising from the water.<sup>97</sup>

Again, sounding like Walter Pater, Ricketts here employs French titles for Utamaro's "Les Plongeuses" and "Les Porteuses de Sel," by which he is referring to images better known in English respectively as Female Divers (Fig. 42, 43) and Brine Carriers (Fig. 44). These works appeared next to each other in the catalogue part of Goncourt's Outamaro, where he praised the exquisite composition of Female Divers. 98

Ricketts also referred to several works without titles to analyse Utamaro's beautiful transparent depiction through a veil, a scarf, and mosquito nets. "A courtesan passes a veil across her mouth and eyes" and "a mother peeps at a child from behind a scarf" are, most likely, *Woman Holding up a Piece of Fabric* (c. 1795-1796) and the left part of Utamaro's triptych print, *Needlework* (c. 1794-1795), respectively. Utamaro also often depicted mosquito nets in his ukiyo-e prints, such as *Mosquito-net*, from the series "Model Young Women Woven in Mist" (c. 1794-1795), and *Women Overnight Guests* (c. 1794-1795), *Mosquito-net for a Baby* (c. 1794-1795).

Regarding Utamaro's women, Ricketts paid attention to mothers and children:

[Utamaro] was a great lover of women, whence curious intuitions, feminine intuitions—often present in men of his stamp—expressed here almost for the

<sup>97</sup> Ricketts, "Outamaro," 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Edmond de Goncourt, *Outamaro: Le Peintre des Maisons Vertes* [Utamaro: A Painter of the Pleasure Quarters] (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1891), 25-28, 205-206. Goncourt enumerated two *Les Plongeuses* [Female Divers] which had different compositions, and Oki put these two reproductions in Edmond de Goncourt, *Outamaro*, trans. Oki Yukiko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 32-34.

first time. Natures like his are not averse to the sight of maternity, and in his rendering of women ministering to the little wants of their children he retains a charm denied to the more grave Italian painters of the Madonna.<sup>99</sup>

Ricketts believed that Utamaro's depiction of mothers and children had a charm. His and Shannon's collection included *A Mother and a Child* by Utamaro; we can now understand better why they purchased it. Furthermore, Ricketts wrote about Utamaro's colour, expressing it beautifully:

Whatever maybe the influences upon the work of Outamaro, his colour-harmonies fulfil his own needs and the exigences of the colour print; to the subject-matter of his immediate forerunners he has brought a gift of analysis, an element of the strange, the exquisite, that mere nothing making for grace. His name conjures up the vision of cloud-like colours, and shapes that have the curve of fountains, upon a world remote yet actual, as it would seem to us, for its newness and for its trivialities even, he has shed that grace as of faded things, the troubled hues of a fresco about to disappear, of a flower dying in the twilight. 100

This shows that Ricketts again considered that Whistlerian colour harmony was one of the important elements of Utamaro's work. In this essay, whereas Ricketts provided an outline of Utamaro, he hardly picked up individual works by the artist. Ricketts did not yet have enough images to hand of Utamaro's works in 1897. Goncourt's *Outamaro* does not contain illustrations, and Ricketts was still developing his Japanese art collection with Shannon in this period. If Ricketts had written an essay about Utamaro

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ricketts, "Outamaro," 25.

<sup>100</sup> Ricketts, "Outamaro," 24.

in the 1920s, it would have differed widely; Japonist scholarship depended on the arts of reproduction as well as first hand access.

Indeed, when Ricketts gave Noguchi *Pages on Art* in the 1910s, Ricketts told him, "Please do not read my article about Utamaro because I am ashamed of my poor argument." Ricketts felt uneasy because Noguchi, who had published books about ukiyo-e prints, might read his book which included chapters about Utamaro. "Outamaro," his old essay of 1897, had evidently dated badly in the midst of a newly stringent modernism increasingly allergic to the decadent 1890s, even though Ricketts had added a few sentences when it was reprinted in *Pages on Art*.

Nevertheless, the tactful Noguchi praised *Pages on Art* for Ricketts's deep insights. Noguchi also specifically cited the part comparing Utamaro with Botticelli, Schongauer, Zasinger, Dürer, and Memling, which I quoted above. For *Pages on Art*, Ricketts added this sentence: "[Utamaro] comes at the end of an epoch, exhausts its subject matter and accumulated experience," and he tried to emphasise Utamaro's greatness as a ukiyo-e artist. However, in spite of Ricketts's scholarly ambitions, Noguchi regarded *Pages on Art* as art criticism, rather than art history, although he praised Ricketts's deep insight and defended his criticism from the accusation that it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Noguchi, Kiri no Rondon, 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Noguchi, Rokudai-Ukiyoeshi, 271-272.

Noguchi, Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki, 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 215.

was just an artist's hobby. Recognising the influence of Pater's "impressions," and perhaps damning Ricketts with faint praise as a limited European critic, Noguchi thought:

Ricketts's Eastern art research is a thorough examination among Westerner's research. Of course, needless to say, Ricketts's research is not historical research but criticism of impressions. 104

In fact, in other parts of "Outamaro," Ricketts again compared Utamaro with ancient Greek art to state Utamaro's great taste in its conclusion:

Among slight things of grace few will be found to equal the grace, the charm that is his; his deftness of hand is no mere slightness of execution; and if in this matter it is a little languid beside the more direct brushwork of some Greek vase painters (at times strangely akin to Japanese workers with the brush), his sense of grace will be found to contain also a latent spark of strength almost wholly denied to the sweet popular figurettes of Tanagra; his conventions retain a franker, swifter sense of truth, for which reason he is sometimes classed as a realist; he also meant no more than to please, but to please a people whose possibilities for the future had not ceased, and, with all his self-consciousness of means, however complex, he represents the subtlety, the complexity of a tradition that is young, and for this reason his results will remain unforeseen and fresh to us.<sup>105</sup>

Again, the comparison with European art was designed to make Utamaro more familiar to Western readers, whilst also making the important claim that Japan had an art history, and was not merely stuck at a single moment of early development.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Noguchi. *Nihon no Bijutsu*, 357, 367-368.

Noguchi, Kiri no Rondon, 188, 193.

<sup>105</sup> Ricketts, "Outamaro," 26.

Whereas Ricketts's "Outamaro" was not regarded as an important academic essay in London, "Outamaro" made a more positive impression in Japan. Noguchi wrote that "I remember that someone translated 'Outamaro' from *Pages on Art* in a magazine of ukiyo-e." That "Someone" was Uemura Eiichi, who translated "Outamaro" from English into Japanese in the magazine, *Ukiyo-e* in 1916, <sup>107</sup> where it is entitled "Utamaro Shōron (1) [The Short Essay of Utamaro (1)]," an incomplete translation. In Japan in the first half of the 1910s, there were not many books and articles on Utamaro in Japanese, therefore, Uemura thought Ricketts was worth translating. However, after 1917, materials on Utamaro increased, and the need for a Japanese translation of Ricketts's "Outamaro" faded.

Pages on Art contains other articles on Japanese art. This book is a collection of art criticism comprising 18 chapters, in which Ricketts also mentioned Japanese prints in chapters about European painters. For example, in the first chapter, about Charles Conder, Ricketts wrote that "Whistler and the print-makers of Japan had discovered the use of certain delicate transitions of tint." In the fifth chapter, about Puvis de Chavannes, Ricketts stated: "there is a more original outlook, something

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Noguchi. Nihon no Bijutsu, 358.

Noguchi, Kiri no Rondon, 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Charles Ricketts, "Outamaro." translated by Uemura Eiichi. *Ukiyo-e* 1, no. 11 (1916): 27-28. Asano Shūgō and Timothy Clark, *Kitagawa Utamaro*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1995), vol. Text, 284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Ricketts, Pages on Art, 8.

hinting at the simplicity of motive which characterises the colour prints of Japan."<sup>109</sup> In this way, Ricketts paid attention to the colour scheme and simple beauty of Japanese prints.

The 15<sup>th</sup> chapter is a short book review of *Three Essays on Oriental Painting* by Taki Seiichi. 110 Taki was a Japanese art historian and chief editor of the Oriental art magazine Kokka. He originally contributed articles from Three Essays on Oriental Painting to Kokka in Japanese from 1905 to 1907, where he explained the characteristics of Japanese painting, Chinese landscape painting, and Indian ink painting. Ricketts read an English version of the book published in 1910, and learned about Eastern art history from the viewpoint of a Japanese art scholar. Specifically, Taki discussed the artistic connection between Japan, China, and India, three areas which interested Ricketts, as we have seen, from the evidence of his broader, cosmopolitan collection. In the review, Ricketts introduced the vital role of Kokka, which spread the knowledge of the masterpieces of Japanese paintings across Europe. Regarding Taki's praise for Korin and Kano Eitoku, Ricketts emphasised Japanese decorative art in the art world: "to me at least, Japan has endowed the world with triumphs of decorative painting for which we have no parallel elsewhere," and it shows that Ricketts regarded

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Japanese art as important. 111

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Taki Seiichi, *Three Essays on Oriental Painting* (London: B. Quaritch, 1910).

<sup>111</sup> Ricketts, Pages on Art, 208.

The most notable chapter, however, is the 13th, "Japanese Painting and Sculpture at the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition." This article describes Ricketts's responses to the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, based on his two newspaper articles in *The* Morning Post in 1910: "Japanese Painting and Sculpture I: The Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush" and "Japanese Painting at Shepherd's Bush II." However, Ricketts did not write the magazine or newspaper title and the date of the articles which he reprinted in Pages on Art, and he just mentioned The Morning Post and The Burlington *Magazine* to thank them for reprinting in the preface. 113

The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 was held in White City, London between 14<sup>th</sup> May and 29<sup>th</sup> October to strengthen the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Over eight million people attended, as we have seen. For the Japanese government, the aims of the exhibition were to claim the right to rank with the world powers and to promote government-manufactured Japanese art history.

In the exhibition, the Japanese art department contained a Retrospective Section and a Modern Section. The Japanese government exhibited about 1,400 works, and it was the first time that 33 Japanese national treasures were exhibited

112 Charles Ricketts, "Japanese Painting and Sculpture I: The Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush," Morning Post, May 31, 1910, 7.

Charles Ricketts, "Japanese Painting at Shepherd's Bush II," Morning Post, June 7, 1910, 5.

<sup>113</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, Preface.

Noguchi mentioned in Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki (1916) that Ricketts introduced Japanese old paintings in the exhibition in *The Post*. He wrote not *The Morning Post* but *The Post*. For the details, see Noguchi, Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki, 196.

simultaneously.<sup>114</sup> This exhibition displayed a wide range of Japanese art, such as paintings, sculptures, craftworks, and architecture, offering Ricketts the chance to discuss various types of Japanese art.

As we have seen, in "Outamaro," Ricketts tended to compare Japanese art with European art when he explained the details of Japanese art from "the point of view of a Western art lover." In the *Pages on Art* version of his review of the 1910 exhibition, he explained his admiration for the Japan-British Exhibition and his own viewpoint at the beginning:

It would be almost impossible to overestimate the importance of the exhibition of Japanese masterpieces of sculpture and painting now on view at the White City, or even do justice to the patriotism and generosity which has made possible the formation of a collection which ranges in date from a time when St. Sophia was still a new building, to the decade in which Mr. Whistler was influenced by Hiroshige. On two former occasions Europe has had the opportunity of studying specimen pieces of the art which the Japanese prize most, Paris being in each case the congenial centre. I am not aware that any country in Europe has ever contemplated a return of the compliment, and that a loan of Western art, including works from the time of Giotto to that of Corot, will ever be held in Tokio [Tokyo]. The outlook which this exhibition presents will therefore not be entirely strange to some art lovers: I must even add that, thanks to the initiative of Sir Sidney Colvin, the British Museum is rich in rare

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Hotta-Lister Ayako, *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East* (Richmond: Japan Library, 1999).

Hotta-Lister Ayako, "The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: The Japanese Organizers," in *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, ed., Ian Nish (Richmond: Japan Library, 1994), 146. Hotta-Lister Ayako and Ian Nish, *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Centenary Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Itabashi Miya, "1910nen Nichieihakurankai no Nihonbijutsu o Meguru Omote to Ura: Kaiga to Hanga heno Hyoka o Chūshin ni ['Official' and 'Unofficial' 'Japanese art' at the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910: the British Views on Japanese Paintings and Prints]," *Odysseus* 16 (2011). Hayashi Michiko, "1910nen Nichieihakurankai no Ryogisei: Kansei Nihonbijutsu to Misemono Kougyo no Aida de [The Ambiguous Representation of the Japan-British Exhibition 1910: Official Japanese Art History and Spectacles]," *Geiso* 30 (2015): 13.

Japanese paintings; but the White City contains some marvellous pieces of sculpture from unimpeachable sources, of which no European collection can give an idea, the Imperial Household Museum, the treasuries of temples, and some princely houses being among the contributors. I would not claim the expert knowledge which could view these rare things in relation to the ideals they express. How many Europeans are possessed of this? How many care to acquire the slightest knowledge of the fascinating thought and heroic history of Japan? I would merely value these works from the point of view of a Western art lover, and beg the reader to peep over my shoulder whilst I read out the labels and try to evoke desultory impressions from past experiences, and from a still more desultory reading of a few Eastern and Western authorities. 115

Ricketts surveyed the importance of this exhibition containing rich Japanese art collections with a comparison with the British Museum, the situation of Japonisme in Europe. Ricketts's language, such as "desultory impressions" and "desultory reading" shows that he still looked with a nineteenth-century eye, the language of Impressionism and Walter Pater. As the introduction of following passages, he emphasised his "Western" viewpoint to consider exhibits and tried to share readers with his "impressions." These words, "Western art lover" and "impressions" modestly emphasise that the article is a subjective judgement rather than an objective analysis. In addition, Ricketts employs his characteristic European comparisons, suggesting that artworks by Cho Densu, who was a painter and a Buddhist priest in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, resembled those of Fra Angelico, and

<sup>115</sup> Ricketts, Pages on Art, 167-168.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Two former occasions" would be the International Exposition of 1867 and the 1900 Paris Exposition.

The Tale of Genji (1008), a classic of medieval Japanese literature was somehow akin to Goethe's Wilhelm Meister (1796). 116

In this article, Ricketts also gave an outline of exhibits in chronological order from a bronze Buddha in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Ricketts was fascinated with paintings by Maruyama Ōkyo and Mori Sosen in the Edo era, but was less enamoured with Toba Sōjō's humorous caricature scroll from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and Kano Motonobu's painting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Specifically, Ricketts described how "before the large triptych by Motonobu I am like the man who disliked *Hamlet*— 'because it was too full of quotations." Ricketts did not find such works sufficiently mystical, failing to stir his imagination because of their humorousness and many quotations. Ricketts also mentioned Hokusai's painting in the exhibition, even though the Japan-British Exhibition did not display ukiyo-e prints. 118

Long before the exhibition, as we have seen, Japanese officials regarded Japanese prints formed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as low-ranking art below old traditional arts. Ricketts noticed this dealing with Hokusai's ukiyo-e prints in Japan, and he pointed out the difference of its evaluation between Europe and Japan. <sup>119</sup> In addition, Ricketts paid attention to a painter in the Meiji era, Kano Hogai, making the more scholarly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 172, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 176.

Ricketts regarded Motonobu's figure painting at the British Museum highly although he had a low opinion of Motonobu's work in the Japan-British Exhibition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Itabashi, "1910nen Nichieihakurankai no Nihonbijutsu o Meguru Omote to Ura," 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 184-186.

connection between the history of Buddhist art in Japan and Hogai's colour painting,

Avalokitesvara as a Merciful Mother (Fig. 45):

I have considered the development of Japanese sculpture and painting under Indian or Indo-Mongol ideals; the stream of thought had poured like a current from some tropical clime, where things are driven into rapid maturity and decay, to a land where the seed carried among the flotsam and jetsam will take root and grow strong under a more bracing sky. The tendency of Indian and Chinese civilisation was constantly to crumble into dust; in Japan it was maintained and transformed by a race forced to temperance and energy by the limits of a land walled in and guarded by its coasts and sea. Of Buddhist art there has been no trace for centuries in India and China. In Japan the tradition is even yet unbroken. I remember a picture of Kwannon by the late Kano Hogai which might be placed next to a masterpiece of the past. 120

Ricketts here praised the continuity of the Japanese tradition, in contrast to both China and India, both in some ways enervated British colonies, arguing that *Avalokitesvara as a Merciful Mother* inherited this great tradition. The painting depicts Kannon dropping holy water on a baby. Hogai trained in painting of the Kano school, and after the training, combined a traditional Western and Japanese painting method, here employing Western-style colour gradations. Like Ricketts, from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were many European people to praise ukiyo-e prints in the Edo era. However, there were few European people to regard artworks in the Meiji era highly. Ricketts was one of few people in Britain to recognise Hogai as a successor of traditional Japanese art in the new era.

<sup>120</sup> Ricketts, Pages on Art, 177-178.

In addition, Ricketts wrote about his interaction with a Japanese friend. The friend was surprised at Ricketts's knowledge about Korin. Ricketts especially praised Korin highly, and regarded him as one of the most notable, incomparable artists in the history of the world. For example, Ricketts discussed Korin's screens in the exhibition, a rare moment in which he discussed an individual artwork in the essay:

Some of [Korin's] works would give a better impression of the general trend of his painting than the two exhibited here. His figure pieces are, I admit, strange to European eyes; with them I am not concerned. The two great screens at the White City show him in a phase where he out-Korins Korin. A grey sea bent into fantastic waves moves silently beneath great golden drifts of cloud with an uncanny force, as if controlled by the spell of some Eastern Prospero; such a sea would leave the dress of Ferdinand unwetted, and become calm at the bidding of Ariel. Huge boulders stand out; they are volcanic in colour, but of a fantastic shape no geologist would care to scan; about them some vivid trees have clambered, that flourish and exult in the brilliant light of this changeless place where a fairy storm rolls on in silence for ever. What I have described suggests possibly an element of tragic splendour; this is not the aspect of the work itself, which is brilliant and almost gay. Am I right in divining something at once impassive yet exultant in the art of Korin? In life he was arrogant, and at times a little fantastic. Some writer has spoken of the tenderness and gaiety of his art; to me it expresses something else — his gaiety is that of buds upon huge trees; I would as soon accuse a torrent of tenderness because delicate flowers nestle by its brink and both these comparisons might be the subject of one of his paintings. 122

Korin's screen, which Ricketts characteristically compares to Shakespeare, here to Prospero, Ferdinand, and Ariel from *The Tempest* (1611), would be *Waves at Matsushima*. Ricketts celebrated Korin's magnificent depiction of nature using

121 Ricketts, Pages on Art, 179-180.

122 Ricketts, Pages on Art, 181-182.

Shakespeare's masterpiece. In the exhibition, *Waves at Matsushima* was exhibited under the title, "Scene of Matsushima" (Fig. 46). 123 In 1910, this screen was owned by Iwasaki Koyata who was the head of the Mitsubishi conglomerate. The screen was destroyed by fire during the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, therefore, the Japan-British Exhibition was a rare opportunity for people in Britain to see Korin's work before it was lost. Figure. 46, the reproduction of *Waves at Matsushima* from the illustrated catalogue of the exhibition is monochrome. However, Ricketts's writing revitalised Korin's depiction of colours and brushwork vividly and decoratively. The section of Korin shows that Ricketts had the strongest attachment to Korin, specifically, *Waves at Matsushima*.

In addition, regarding Korin, Ricketts's contemporaries also had their interest in Korin. Firstly, French Japonist, Louis Gonse regarded Korin highly, and argued that Korin was "the most Japanese of Japanese." Gonse also thought Korin was in the first rank of those who had carried the genius of decoration to the highest pitch in *L'Art Japonais* (1883) and *Le Japon Artistique* (1890) respectively. Gonse's view on Korin inspired other Japonists. <sup>124</sup> While Anderson did not regard Korin's depiction of figures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> The Office of the Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition London 1910* (Tokyo: Shimbi Shoin, 1910), 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Louis Gonse, *L'Art Japonais* [Japanese Art], vol. 1 (Paris: A. Quantin, 1883), 229-235. Louis Gonse, "Kôrin," *Le Japon Artistique* 23 (1890): 133-143.

Tamamushi Satoko, "Korin Kan no Hensen 1815-1915 [Transitions in the Image of Korin 1815-1915]," *Bijutsu Kenkyu* 371 (1999): 1-70.

highly, he cited Gonse's description in *L'Art Japonais* as a warm and comprehensive tribute. <sup>125</sup> In contrast to Anderson, Fenollosa had a high opinion of Korin, and he criticised Anderson's low praise for Korin. <sup>126</sup> Morrison also praised Korin and cited Gonse's view on Korin. <sup>127</sup> Binyon appreciated Korin highly, and described Korin as "perhaps the most Japanese of all the artists of Japan," akin to Gonse's view mentioned above. <sup>128</sup> Compared to these Japonists who wrote about Korin, Ricketts was not so much affected by Gonse's view as other Japonists, even though he was deeply impressed with Korin's screen.

Pages on Art is a collection of essays and articles, and Ricketts's article format was not sufficient to describe in detail each image and object included in the Japan-British Exhibition. To supplement our understanding of his view of the show, we can also consider an article Ricketts wrote about the Japan-British Exhibition for *The Morning Post*. There, the Eurocentric Ricketts described the exhibition as "a Japanese Uffizi," and he discussed painters in various periods from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century including Kose no Kanaoka, Sesshū, Korin, Ōkyo, Sosen, Hokusai, and Kikuchi

Tamamushi Satoko, *Ikitsuzukeru Korin: Imeji to Gensetsu o Hakobu Norimono to Sono Kiseki* [Korin Living on Now: Vehicles, which Carry Images and Remarks, and the Trails], (Tokyo: Yoshikawakobunkan, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> William Anderson, *The Pictorial Arts of Japan: With a Brief Historical Sketch of the Associated Arts, and Some Remarks upon the Pictorial Art of the Chinese and Koreans* (London: L. Lowe, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1886), 66-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, vol. 2 (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912), 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Morrison, *The Painters of Japan*, vol. 2, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 202.

Yōsai. <sup>129</sup> Specifically, Ricketts put emphasis on Kanaoka, a 9<sup>th</sup>-century-painter, and again, Korin, the show allowing a new emphasis on paintings rather than the first generation Japonists' prints.

For example, Ricketts discussed Korin's *Red and White Plum Blossoms* (c. 18<sup>th</sup> century) displayed under the name, *Plum-Trees*:

Korin is here again with a pair of screens, which count among the five or six most admirable and famous of his works; against a golden ground sweeps a conventionalised stream painted in silver now tarnished with age; on each side stand sentinel two gnarled trees which break into blossom. Nothing could surpass the vivid impression conveyed by this work, which evokes the rush of blacked water after rain and the sudden breaking out of spring after a winter storm. <sup>130</sup>

Red and White Plum Blossoms was designated as a Japanese national treasure in 1956.

Nearly fifty years earlier, Ricketts was riveted by Korin's expressiveness with a daring composition which a silver river flowed in the centre of the screen between twisting white and red plum trees with a gold background. Ricketts sympathised with Korin's position not only as a painter but also as an arts and crafts designer, respecting especially Korin's decorative and highly controlled design with gold leaf.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Charles Ricketts, "Japanese Painting at Shepherd's Bush," *Morning Post*. June 9, 1910, 2.

This is Ricketts's third article regarding Japanese artworks at the exhibition for *The Morning Post*. Ricketts wrote this article to the editor of *The Morning Post*, and at the beginning, he reminded that the exhibits introduced in his second article on June 7 were no longer on view due to delay in the publication of his article.

Itabashi, "1910nen Nichieihakurankai no Nihonbijutsu o Meguru Omote to Ura," 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Ricketts, "Japanese Painting at Shepherd's Bush," 2.

Having seen Kanaoka's *Juichimen Kwannon*, meanwhile, Ricketts wrote that Kanaoka equalled Giotto as a great artist. <sup>131</sup> According to Itabashi, Fry and Binyon also regarded old Japanese Buddhist paintings as similar to the early Italian artworks. <sup>132</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 1, Fry held the Post-Impressionist Exhibition in 1910, in the same year as the Japan-British Exhibition, In the following year, Ricketts curated the exhibition, *A Century of Art, 1810-1910*, to oppose and answer Fry's exhibition.

Although Ricketts was an opponent of modernism and post-impressionism, the Japan-British Exhibition revealed a unique opportunity to study various historical Japanese artworks which had previously been difficult to see in Britain as Yashiro pointed out that Ricketts, who had mainly seen ukiyo-e prints until the exhibition. Impressed by these artworks, artists and critics were stimulated at the exhibition in a way different to, and less well known than, Fry's in some ways rival modernism. <sup>133</sup>

Ricketts had been immediately impressed by the Japan-British Exhibition, as he revealed in a letter to Sydney Cockerell soon after the opening of the exhibition:

You must come up to see the Japanese art treasures. I should like to conduct you personally, but this would be impossible before the  $23^{rd}$  at the earliest. We could go there some morning, lunch there, and do the five rooms very comfortably. They have on view specimens of sculpture from the  $7^{th}$  to the  $15^{th}$  century. A portrait statue of the  $13^{th}$  is as fine as sculpture can be. Though the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> The Office of the Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts*, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Itabashi, "1910nen Nichieihakurankai no Nihonbijutsu o Meguru Omote to Ura," 47-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Yashiro Yukio, *Utsukushiki Mono heno Shibo: Yashiro Yukio Bijutsu Ronshu* 2 [Longing for Beautiful Things: Collection of Essays by Yashiro Yukio 2] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), 231-232.

average is high, the department has to be without the Reims or Bargello sculptures which can't be moved. The portrait statue is a specimen of an art which is rivalled only by the Egyptian portrait status in Paris and Cairo. The paintings start with the Japanese Cimabue, every period is represented and, with some three or five exceptions, every great master is there. In some three of four instances, such as the Korin Screen, the Okio waterfall, the specimens are famous masterpieces. The sequence stops with Hiroshige. The Lenders rank from the Mikado, members of the Shogun family, Japanese dukes of Norfolk, Spencer, Pembroke, and the Japanese Sir Hugh Lane. I suspect the Japanese Charles Ricketts, i.e. Kakasu Okakura, of lending under the name of an institution which he governs; Okakura belongs to a nation still highly civilised, despite its machine-guns and paper collars.

[...]

P.S. Though the armour is disappointing, there are some scraps by the great armourers. I wish that I could trot down to Cambridge and deliver lecture on Japanese art, but this is the time that I am tied down to my work for the year. <sup>134</sup>

Here again, Ricketts compared various Japanese figures to more familiar European artists and patrons, such as "the Japanese Cimabue" and "Japanese dukes of Norfolk." He used these comparisons to make Japanese art history easier for his correspondent, the director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cockerell. Ricketts praised Korin's screen again, and wrote frankly about his disappointment at armours because this was a private letter.

For the same reason, Ricketts boldly compared himself to Okakura Kakuzō, who helped Ernest Fenollosa's Japanese art collecting work in the 1880s. Okakura was a founder of the Oriental art magazine *Kokka*, and the first head of the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1890. He also worked for the Asia department of the Museum of Fine Arts,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Sydney Cockerell, 16 May 1910, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/3/16, fol. 77r-78r, British Library.

Boston in the 1900s. This description, "the Japanese Charles Ricketts, i.e. Kakasu Okakura" shows Ricketts's sense of identity as an institutionally powerful Japanese art connoisseur and critic, also suggesting that he was interested in curating a large-scale Japanese art exhibition. In addition, Ricketts's frustrated wish to deliver a lecture on Japanese art means that he had confidence in teaching Japanese art studies as of 1910, emphasising further his status as a scholar Japonist.

Ricketts also compared himself, in this private form, to Noguchi. Noguchi documented Ricketts and Okakura's respect for Hogai's *Avalokitesvara as a Merciful Mother* in "The Art of Hogai", a chapter of *Nihon no Bijutsu*. Noguchi cited Ricketts's text about Hogai in *Pages on Art* mentioned above, and regarded Ricketts and Okakura as great critics in the West and the East respectively, agreeing with their positive estimation. <sup>135</sup> By contrast, Binyon was not fascinated with Hogai. <sup>136</sup> Ricketts was one of a select few individuals who admired Hogai whilst Noguchi was in London, encouraging Noguchi to allude to Ricketts along with Okakura in his book.

Ricketts also talked to Noguchi about his impression on the Japan-British Exhibition:

For me, the exhibition in White City was the first big Japanese art exhibition. I went to the exhibition every day, and I stood in front of works by Tawaraya

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Noguchi, Nihon no Bijutsu, 236-237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Noguchi, Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki, 196.

Sōtatsu and Ogata Korin. Korin's famous folding screen depicting waves is unforgettable. 137

Going to the exhibition daily for about 5 months is the work of a serious scholar, an obsessive. Sōtatsu and Korin's artworks had high value because some of them were designated as Japanese national treasures. Individual art collectors could not purchase these works, and it was a rare opportunity to see them outside Japan. Ricketts was fascinated by their gorgeous folding screens, and Noguchi cited Ricketts's words about Korin:

My imaginary eyes can see many a European painter and critic standing before Korin's screens of sea-waves and rocks at the White City some years ago, of which I spoke before, one of them exclaiming, "This is grand," and the other, "I feel that I am a prince seeing such a picture painted with a prince-like feeling." Among them is Charles Ricketts who is delighted to tell you his impression in the following words: "A grey sea bent into fantastic waves moves silently beneath great golden drifts of clouds with an uncanny force, as if controlled by the spell of some Eastern Prospero; such a sea would leave the dress of Ferdinand unwetted, and become calm at the bidding od Ariel. Huge boulders stand out; they are volcanic in colour, but of a fantastic shape no geologist would care to scan; about them some vivid trees have clambered, that flourish and exult in the brilliant light of this changeless place where a fairy storm rolls on in silence for ever. What I have described suggests possibly an element of tragic splendour; this is not the aspect of the work itself, which is brilliant and almost gay. Am I right in divining something at once impressive yet exultant in the art of Korin?" This is the language rightly spoken. 138

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Noguchi, Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki, 195-196.

Noguchi, Nihon no Bijutsu, 366-367.

Noguchi, Kiri no Rondon, 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Noguchi. Nihon no Bijutsu, 30-33.

Noguchi Yonejiro. Korin to Kenzan [Korin and Kenzan] (Tokyo: Daiichishobo, 1925), 21-23. Noguchi, Korin, 19.

Noguchi Yonejiro, "Korin" in *Books on Ukiyoe and Japanese Arts in English by Yone Noguchi*, vol.1, edited by Inaga Shigemi (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2008), 19.

Noguchi was aware that Ricketts became fascinated by Korin at the exhibition. He dedicated his book, *Korin* in 1922 "TO CHARLES RICKETTS" in the preface, as mentioned in the previous section, and evidently cited the passage we have already analysed from *Pages on Art*. It also shows that Ricketts's interest in Korin stimulated Noguchi to write about Korin, the Westerner's interest in Korin affecting the Japanese.

Whereas Noguchi's *Korin* was written in English, *Nihon no Bijutsu* and *Korin to Kenzan* was written in Japanese. There, however, Noguchi included the same citation.

Compared with *Korin*, the two books include more regarding Ricketts's opinion on Korin:

Korin's art is absolutely the king of art, the magnificent king of art. Korin is one of most refined artists in the world art history. The value of aesthetic and symbolic arts was completely put in order by Korin's hand. The idea of realistic decorative arts reached its peak. [...] Korin appeared as an heir of Sōtatsu and Kōetsu. He refined and distilled realities into a dot of symbols. That is to say that he reduced facts to symbols. Korin did not have an external limit because he was able to turn facts into symbols. This might be a reason that he sometimes regulated realistic art experiences dogmatically. Of course, we must not misunderstand that Korin's art is irresponsible and impulsive art. Except for Korin, there is no artist who can control their own art with conscious perception and arrange their own art with musical sense. In short, Korin's work is marvellous art. We are delighted to be seduced by Korin. Korin was bold, and he was filled with overflowing vitality. Korin's famous screen of waves, which there is in front of me [Ricketts] now, is owned by Baron Iwasaki in Japan. It is the best happiness to possess such a great artwork. 139

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Noguchi. Nihon no Bijutsu, 30-33.

Here, Ricketts develops a more in-depth discussion on Korin than in *Page on Art*. He respected Korin as the king of art, and he considered that Korin was a central figure of aesthetic and symbolic arts. The sentences, "he [Korin] refined and distilled realities into a dot of symbols," "he reduced facts to symbols" and "he was able to turn facts into symbols" suggest that Ricketts regarded Korin like a Symbolism artist, and he connected Korin's art with Symbolism. In fact, Ricketts admired Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau who were French Symbolists, and specifically, Ricketts was inspired by Moreau's works, as we shall see, and suggested that Japonisme was as central to Symbolism as it was to Impressionism and Pre-Raphaelitism, claims substantiated in a number of recent exhibitions. Although again comparing European art with Japanese art, Ricketts's identification of Korin with Symbolism gave a new viewpoint of Korin to Japanese art history.

In the above citation, Ricketts again mentioned "Korin's famous screen of waves." In the Ricketts archive at the British Library, there is a black-and-white photograph of Waves at Matsushima (Fig. 47). 140 However, this photograph shows only the left half of the folding screen. The image of this screen was a different version of Waves at Matsushima exhibited at the Japan-British Exhibition, from the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Fig. 48), which also appears in Binyon's Painting in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Print of the left part of *Waves at Matsushima*, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 29r, British Library.

the far East in 1908.<sup>141</sup> It is the only photograph showing a Japanese painting in the archive on Ricketts in the library, suggesting that he wanted to keep Korin's art at hand.

Ricketts remained fascinated with ukiyo-e prints from the late 19th century, as we see from the article "Outamaro." However, the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 significantly broadened his horizons. Specifically, he immediately developed a strong attachment to Korin. At that time, Westerners, including the Ricketts circle, wrote books on Japanese art. The early 20th century was the time of scholarly Japonists. Ricketts also wrote several articles on Japanese art, their views and significance acknowledged by both Binyon and Noguchi, even if he frequently compared Japanese and European art, and even if he did not publish a specialist monograph on Korin. Ricketts's articles are short, even fragmentary, due to the word limit, and Ricketts, who was a multi-talented artist, did not have enough time to become a data-driven, monograph-writing art historian. In some ways, he remained close to the subjective impressionism of the previous generation, of Goncourt and Pater, explaining why, around the high Modernism of 1910, he remained a marginalised figure. If Ricketts had published a book on Korin, things might have been different in Europe, but his reputation in Japan, as we see from the case of Noguchi, was, perhaps surprisingly, key.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 206.

Kaname Mariko, "The Modernist Landscape of Waves and Wars in Britain: A Comparison Between Vorticist Works and Korin's Screens," *Aesthetics*, no. 22 (2018): 91.

## Chapter 3

## Japonisme in Ricketts's Artworks

Second-Generation Japonisme? Early Signs of Japonisme in Ricketts's Book Design, Painting, and Sculpture

Ricketts's theatrical arts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially his costume design, such as *The Mikado* in 1926, were often inspired by Japanese art. Regarding studies on Japonisme in theatre arts, preceding studies already have discussed many theatrical Japonisme in various countries, for example, Britain, France, and Russia, in recent years. Most of these studies focused on plots of Japonisme plays, and explore how Japonisme plays described Japan in the stories. Specifically, they paid attention to how Japonisme plays, such as *The Geisha* (1896), stereotyped Japanese women as *geisha* girls. In fact, these plays idealised the image of Japanese women in the context of Orientalism, and the Japanese female roles often were obedient and self-sacrificial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hashimoto Yorimitsu, "Chaya no Tenshi: Eikoku Seikimatsu no Operetta 'Geisha' (1896) to sono Rekishiteki Bunmyaku [The Angel in the Tea House: Representations of Victorian Paradise and Playground in *The Geisha* (1896)]," *Studies in Japonisme* 23 (2003): 30-50.

Saito Keiko, "19seikimatsu no Rosia niokeru Japonisumu: Baree 'Mikado no Musume' o Rei ni [Japonisme in Russia in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Based on the Ballet 'The Mikado's Daughter']," *Bulletin of the Graduate Division of Letters, Arts and Sciences of Waseda University* 2 (2014): 193-205.

Kamiyama Akira, ed., *Engeki no Japonisumu* [Japonisme in Theatre Arts], (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2017).

Mabuchi Akiko, *Butai no ueno Japonisumu: Enjirareta Genso no 'Nihon Josei'* [Japonisme on the Stage: Performing Illusional Japanese Women], (Tokyo: NHK Publishing, 2017).

Tawata Shintaryo, "19seiki Seiyo Engeki niokeru Japonizumu: 'Nihon' no Hyosho no Hensen [Japonisme in the Western Theatre in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Transition of Images of 'Japan']," (PhD Thesis, Gakushuin University, 2017).

Galvane Linda, "Success of the Operetta *The Geisha* in Russia," *Studies in Japonisme* 40 (2020): 65-72.

women. At the same time, previous studies considered that the male roles in the Japonisme plays were little more than an addition to the plays.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ricketts had respect for Japanese art in contrast to previous plays' Orientalist views on Japan, and he attached importance on the authenticity of his theatrical design. Ricketts also had an interest in Japanese male actors and masculine designs through his experience to see Japanese male actors and ukiyo-e prints, and his interest reflected his designs for various productions. Therefore, in contrast to previous studies, this chapter features not only Japonisme female fashion but also male fashion and masculine design, a noteworthy point. In addition, there are not sufficient studies on Japonisme in theatrical costumes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, previous studies on costumes for *The Mikado* only explored the costumes of its first performance in 1885.<sup>3</sup> Hence, examining Ricketts's Japonisme costumes for the repeat performance of *The Mikado* in 1926 is vital, as we shall see.

Ricketts's several artworks in other art fields, such as book design and painting also contained Japanese elements. Before Ricketts was involved in theatre design, his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mabuchi Akiko, *Butai no ueno Japonisumu*, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Koyama Katsumi, "The Mikado Costumes as Seen in C. W. Allers, The Mikado: Sketches Behind the Scenes," *Studies in Japonisme* 34 (2014): 56-61.

Komeima Yukiko, and Sasai Kei, "19seiki Kohan no Igirisu Engeki ni Miru Nihon no Fukushoku [Japanese Costumes in British Musical Comedies in the Late 19th Century]," *Journal of the Graduate School of Home Economics and Human Life Science of Japan Women's University* 18 (2012): 161-170.

Komeima Yukiko, "'Mikado' to 'Nihonjinmura' ni Miru Nihon no Fukushoku [Japanese Costumes in *The Mikado* and the Japanese Village]," *Journal of the International Association of Costume* 45 (2014): 4-18.

main work was book design from the 1880s to the 1890s. His first big opportunity as a book designer was an encounter with Wilde. Ricketts and Shannon designed and published the first issue of their own magazine, *The Dial* in 1889, which they sent to Wilde. The magazine stimulated Wilde's interest, and a friendship between Ricketts and Wilde started.<sup>4</sup>

Wilde asked Ricketts to design many of his books, for example, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), *Intentions* (1891), *The House of Pomegranates* (1891), and *The Sphinx* (1894). When it comes to discussions of Wilde's illustrators, Beardsley dominates the scholarship. However, Ricketts dealt with more of Wilde's books than Beardsley even if Beardsley's illustrations for the English translated version *Salome* in 1894 were inspired by the erotic and grotesque aspects of ukiyo-e prints, making them relevant here.<sup>5</sup>

Later, Ricketts asked Noguchi how to produce books in Japan, making it clear that he had an interest in Japanese publishing.<sup>6</sup> Ricketts's greatest inspiration source,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Calloway, *Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator*, 12. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For Beardsley's Japonisme, see Kawamura Joichiro, "Igirisu no Naka no Nihon: Biazurī no 'Japonesuku' [Japan in England -'Japonesque' Beardsley-]," *Hitotsubashi Review* 94, no. 6 (1985):

<sup>842-867;</sup> Kawamura Joichiro, and Rodny Engen, ed. *Biazurī to Seikimatsu* [Beautiful Decadence] (Tokyo: Artis, 1997); Linda Gertner Zatlin, *Beardsley's Japonisme and the Perversion of the Victorian Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Ricketts's friend, painter, and art critic, Charles Holmes considered that Ricketts would be the better choice for *Salome*'s book design than Beardsley. Holmes wrote that "He [Ricketts] certainly understood Wilde's intentions far better than Beardsley, whose Salome is no idolized, wilful princess in a remote Oriental place, but a jaded Cyprian *apache* from a music-hall promenade" in Holmes, *Self and Partners*, 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Noguchi, Kiri no Rondon, 190.

however, was Rossetti, and Delaney pointed out that the design of *A House of Pomegranates* used the Pre-Raphaelite style. Whereas both Ricketts and Wilde were interested in Japanese art, their interests were not directly and strongly connected to their joint book projects, where both were keen to maintain a harmony between book design and story.

Ricketts's book design seems to be far from Japanese art. Nevertheless, there are a few Japanese elements to be found. Previous studies touched upon inspirations from Japan on the cover of *The Sphinx*: Barber noted "highly Japanese vertical lines and sliding doors;" Calloway characterised the binding as "Japanese in inspiration;" whilst Delaney also suggested possible Japanese inspirations. <sup>9</sup> In fact, from the viewpoint of Japonisme, the noticeable point of this book is its cover (Fig. 1).

The atmosphere of the cover is simple and quiet because Ricketts did not use any letters, such as information on the title or the author. He drew straight gold lines, dividing the cover space. Specifically, the long vertical lines and small round knobs recall *fusuma*, a Japanese framed and papered sliding door for a room partition. On the cover, there are several figures. A dove and a bell peek through the upper part of sliding doors, while the Sphinx sits and a female figure holding ivy looks back. On the back

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Calloway, Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator, 15.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Brooks, "Oscar Wilde, Charles Ricketts, and the Art of the Book," 312.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Barber, "Rossetti, Ricketts, and Some English Publishers' Bindings of the Nineties," 329.

Calloway, Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator, 16.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 84.

cover, the figure wearing a cowl shines light at the Sphinx, and the Sphinx again looks back. The poses of the two human figures recall the ancient Greek pottery possessed by Ricketts, as well as Kannon, the Goddess of Mercy. As an example, the left human figure in a cowl recalls Kannon wearing a hood in *Kannon Riding on a Carp* (Fig. 49), from *Hokusai Manga* volume 13, from the Ricketts and Shannon collection. We have noted before the parallels drawn in the period between Japanese and ancient Greek art.

The overall composition of the cover is also asymmetrical. Asymmetry is often used in the composition of Japanese art. Indeed, in 1869 Ernest Chesneau stated that the absence of symmetry was one of the fundamental characteristics of Japanese decorative art. <sup>10</sup> Ricketts's asymmetry is a not disorderly arrangement. The straight lines and small knobs maintain tranquillity. Ricketts himself considered *The Sphinx* his "best work as an illustrator." <sup>11</sup> In addition, The cover of *Recollections* (1932; Fig. 50), the book in which Ricketts recalls Wilde, mirrors *The Sphinx*. Again, the cover is divided by gold lines upon a milky-white background, with standing figures in the foreground, and a figure peeking through a round window in the upper part of the wall. Ricketts evidently had a special fondness for *The Sphinx*.

Ricketts's second turning point as a book designer was the establishment of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ernest Chesneau, L'Art Japonais: Conférence Faite à L'Union Centrale des Beaux-arts Appliqués à L'industrie (Paris : A. Morel, 1869), 11.

Oshima, Japonisumu: Inshōha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen, 114-117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ricketts, Oscar Wilde: Recollections, 38

own Vale Press in 1896 with financial help by William Llewellyn Hacon. Between 1896 and 1903, Ricketts and Shannon, with their friends, Sturge Moore, Lucien Pissarro, and Charles Holmes, published some 40 books. At the Press, Ricketts dealt with designs. He drew illustrations and designed letters.

To date, critics have suggested that the great inspiration of these designs was The Strife of Love, revealed in a Dream by Poliphilus published in 1499.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, in 1904, Ricketts recalled the margins for the Vale books, and mentioned Japanese books:

The mere element of proportion between the body of the type and margins is a necessary and easy element of order and beauty in a book. "The inner margin should be the narrowest, the top somewhat wider, the outside (fore-edge) wider still, and the bottom widest of all." This rule is one sanctioned by practice; where it exists inverted, as it does in Japanese and Persian books, the lower portion of the page, and with it the written or drawn matter, is liable to being soiled and damaged. This rule is of general application and should make sightly, or at any rate decent, a book not intended in the first place to be beautiful. <sup>13</sup>

Ricketts wrote about the difference of margins between the Vale books and Japanese and Persian books. The above quotation again reveals that he was interested in broader Asian culture from Persia across to Japan, and he knew Japanese book designs, even if he did not always apply it to his books.

Kawamura, "Biazurī to Rikettsu," 23-24. Kawamura stated that the frontispiece of *Julia Domna* by Michael Field published by the Vale Press in 1903 and designed by Ricketts was an example inspired by *The Strife of Love, revealed in a Dream by Poliphilus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Calloway, Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Charles Ricketts, A Bibliography of the Books Issued by Hacon & Ricketts (London: C. Ricketts, 1904), x.

Regarding Ricketts's illustrations for the Vale books, Kawamura pointed out that *Psyche in the House* (Fig. 51), an illustration for *De Cupidinis et Psyches Amoribus* published in 1901, revealed a rare case of Ricketts's Japanese taste in his book design. <sup>14</sup> The illustration depicts Psyche opening the window and looking at a sleeping man. She has long hair and wears a *kimono*-like gown. Her appearance looks like Katisha (Fig. 88) who Ricketts subsequently drew for *The Mikado* in 1926.

Looking at other Ricketts's illustrations for books, they were inspired by Rossetti and Moreau. Ricketts's friend, Sturge Moore, who compiled *Self-Portrait*, documented that Rossetti and Moreau were the two of the artists Ricketts most admired. These inspirations, however, sometimes enabled further Japonisme effects, at one remove. For example, *Had Zimri Peace Who Show Slew his Master?* (Fig. 52), an illustration for *Jezebel* in the *Universal Review* in 1889, shows a woman in a dress with many big roundels. Delaney considered that these roundels were inspired by Rossetti. Roundels again appeared in the cover of the first edition of Wilde's *De Profundis* (Fig. 53) designed by Ricketts in 1905. On the front cover, there are three roundels. The two upper examples show a bird escaping through prison bars and a free bird in the sky. The two birds are an obvious metaphor of Wilde's imprisonment and ultimate release. In the lower part, there is a roundel depicting strong high waves and one big star, alluding to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kawamura, "Biazurī to Rikettsu," 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 41.

passage in the text, as Barber and Capelleveen have noted.<sup>17</sup> They also point out that the use of roundels recalled Rossetti.<sup>18</sup> Ricketts himself wrote that Rossetti was one of the most singular and original men in art.<sup>19</sup> He was fond of Rossetti's wood engravings of the 1860s, and around 1890 and 1891, he was specifically absorbed in Rossetti's art.<sup>20</sup>

However, regarding Rossetti's book design, previous studies mentioned the relationship between Rossetti's roundels and Japanese art.<sup>21</sup> Rossetti was, as we have seen, one of the first generation of Japonists in Britain, who collected Japanese ceramics and prints from the 1860s onwards. On the cover of *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865; Fig. 54) by Algernon Charles Swinburne, Rossetti placed four roundels. Watanabe pointed out the Japanese character of these roundels, and Tanita indicated that Rossetti used the Japanese family crest depicting *shuro*, a palm tree, for the overlapped two roundels in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Barber, "Rossetti, Ricketts, and Some English Publishers' Bindings of the Nineties," 329-330. Paul Van Capelleveen, "503. The Designs on the Cover of 'Bibliography of Oscar Wilde' (3)," *Charles Ricketts & Charles Shannon* (blog), March 17, 2021, accessed January 18, 2022, http://charlesricketts.blogspot.com/2021/03/503-designs-on-cover-of-bibliography-of.html. Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis* (London: Methuen and Co., 1905), 120-121 concluded that "Society, as we have constituted it, will have no place for me, has none to offer; but Nature, whose sweet rains fall on unjust and just alike, will have clefts in the rocks where I may hide, and secret valleys in whose silence I may weep undisturbed. She will hang the night with stars so that I may walk abroad in the darkness without stumbling, and send the wind over my footprints so that none may track me to my hurt: she will cleanse me in great waters, and with bitter herbs make me whole."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Paul Van Capelleveen, "505. The Designs on the Cover of 'Bibliography of Oscar Wilde' (5)," *Charles Ricketts & Charles Shannon* (blog), March 31, 2021, accessed January 18, 2022, http://charlesricketts.blogspot.com/2021/03/505-designs-on-cover-of-bibliography-of.html. <sup>19</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 393.

<sup>20</sup> D ... T. W. 11 CCl. 1 D: 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts*, 31.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 28, 36.

Watry, The Vale Press: Charles Ricketts, a Publisher in Earnest, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Barber, "Rossetti, Ricketts, and Some English Publishers' Bindings of the Nineties," 316. Sato and Watanabe, ed., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue*, 20. Tanita, *Yuibi-Shugi to Japanizumu*, 90-95.

the left part.<sup>22</sup> In the lower right part, there is also an anthemion roundel, often depicted in ancient Greek decorations. Robert Schmutzler similarly noted that this design was derived from Japanese lacquer ware and ancient Greek pottery, a now familiar mixture of Japan and Greece.<sup>23</sup> Because of the use of roundels and the white background, Tanita and Capelleveen also note the influence of *Atalanta in Calydon* on Ricketts's *De Profundis*.<sup>24</sup>

There is a similar indirect Japonisme in Ricketts's illustration through Moreau, who not only had an impact on Ricketts's theatrical works, as we shall see, but also his two-dimensional art. Ricketts's *The Great Worm* (1889; Fig. 55a) was an illustration for *The Great Worm* by John Gray, published in the first issue of *The Dial*, edited by Ricketts and Shannon, in 1889. The illustration depicts mountains in the background, a big worm in the middle, and a nude standing woman in the foreground. Ricketts reproduced this illustration as a drawing (Fig. 55b). Calloway pointed out that Gray possessed Moreau's watercolour, *Sappho* (Fig. 56) at that time, with its obvious inspiration for *The Great Worm*.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, *Sappho* had a Japonisme effect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Watanabe Toshio, *High Victorian Japonisme* (Bern, New York: P. Lang, 1991), 204.

Tanita, Yuibi-Shugi to Japanizumu, 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Robert Schmutzler, "The English origins of Art Nouveau", *Architectural Review* 117 (Feb 1955): 110, 115.

Watanabe and Tanita also noted a mixture of Japan and Greece in Atalanta in Calydon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Tanita, Yuibi-Shugi to Japanizumu, 95.

Capelleveen, "505. The Designs on the Cover of 'Bibliography of Oscar Wilde' (5)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Calloway, Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator, 12-13.

Sappho is now the collection of the V&A.

like female figures twisting and turning their bodies there. <sup>26</sup> Right after the International Exposition of 1867 in Paris, Moreau acquired an album of creped prints. Previous studies noted that Sappho's dress in *Sappho* paralleled a pattern of a female figure's *obi* and the colour scheme of *kimono* in one of the prints in this album, *Portrait of Genji Enjyoing the Evening Cool* (1865) by Utagawa Kunisada. <sup>27</sup> Additionally, Oki pointed out that Moreau's depiction of steep cliffs in *Sappho* was inspired by *Hokusai Manga*, a key source text for Ricketts as well, as we have seen. <sup>28</sup>

In fact, Moreau specifically had an interest in Hokusai. In the 1880s, he collected 14 volumes of *Hokusai Manga*.<sup>29</sup> The exhibition of *Hokusai and Japonisme* considered that a cliff in *Hokusai Manga* (Fig. 57) inspired a rocky stretch in Moreau's *Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna* (c. 1876).<sup>30</sup> Looking again at Ricketts's *The Great* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Oki Yukiko, *Gyusutābu Morō: Seikimatsu Pari no Ikyougenso* [Gustave Moreau: Foreign Land Fantasy in Paris at the End of the Century] (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 2019), 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Kunsthaus Zürich, ed., *Gustave Moreau Symboliste*, exh. cat. (Zürich: Kunsthaus Zürich, 1986), 148-149.

Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, ed., *Gustave Moreau 1826-1898*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998), 104.

Oki Yukiko, "Gyusutābu Morō to Ukiyoe Geijutsu [Gustave Moreau and the Art of Ukiyo-e]," *Studies in Japonisme* 34 (2014): 29.

Oki, Gyusutābu Morō: Seikimatsu Pari no Ikyougenso, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Oki, "Gyusutābu Morō to Ukiyoe Geijutsu," 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> National Museum of Western Art and Yomiuri Shimbun, ed., *Hokusai to Japonisumu*, 308. Oki, *Gyusutābu Morō: Seikimatsu Pari no Ikyougenso*, 136.

Hokusai Manga is woodblock printed books in 15 volumes published from 1814 to 1878.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> National Museum of Western Art and Yomiuri Shimbun, ed., *Hokusai to Japonisumu*, 220. Moreau knew Hokusai at the International Exposition. He copied Hokusai's sketches in his sketchbook called *Etudes Orientales*. Kitazaki Chikashi considered that one of sketches of ukiyo-e prints in *Etudes Orientales* was an image source of Moreau's *The Apparition*. For the relationship between *The Apparition* and ukiyo-e prints, see Kitazaki Chikashi, "Shinshutsusuru Bijon —Bān-Jōnzu to Morō no Sakuhin ni Miru Ikon no Hensei [Permeating Vision —The Changing Character of Iconic Elements Seen in the Works of Burne-Jones and Moreau]," in *Winsuroppu Korekushon: Foggu Bijutsukan Shozou 19 Seiki Igirisu Furansu Kaiga: Musou to Genjitsu no Awai ni* [Nineteenth Century British and French Art from the Winthrop Collection of the Fogg Art Museum: Between

Worm, steep cliffs and a twisting female body are common features between Moreau and Ricketts, and thus between Japonisme and Ricketts. In addition, Moreau used vivid colours inspired by ukiyo-e prints in Sappho's red and blue dress, which Ricketts also employed for the mountains in *The Great Worm*. The bright green and blue mountains and blue sky resemble Hiroshige and Hokusai's palette in their landscape prints, and especially, the Prussian blue in Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*. Like the connection between Japonisme, Rossetti, and Ricketts, Japonisme at a second remove also occurred in the relationship between Japonisme, Moreau, and Ricketts's artworks.

Moreau's art also inspired Ricketts's oil paintings, and it made a connection with Japonisme. Ricketts admired the French Symbolist work of Moreau, Puvis de Chavannes, and the Pre-Raphaelites Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones. Ricketts went to art school to learn wood engraving; he did not receive painting training. Therefore, Ricketts made himself the elective apprentice of these respected artists.<sup>31</sup> He considered that great artists were imaginative people who expressed their dramatic vision and deep inner emotion through literary subjects.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, his many paintings depicting tragic

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Reality and Dreams], exh. cat, ed. Kitazaki Chikashi, and Ōya Mina (Tokyo: Tokyo Shinbun, 2002), 44-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. I, Add MS 61713, fol. 75r.

Although Ricketts continued to paint, he realised the limits of his painting ability because he did not have formal training, and he often felt insecure about the gap between the ideal and reality of his painting. Lucian Pissaro, son of Camille Pissaro, described Ricketts not as a painter but as a story teller. This criticism indicates that theatre design was more congenial to Ricketts than painting in terms of narrative skill. For the details, see Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 30; Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts*, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 192-193.

scenes with rich colours were inspired by them, and especially Moreau. Moreau's Japonist steep cliffs recur in Ricketts's oil paintings. For example, cliffs appeared in *Tobias and the Angel* (1902-1905; Fig. 58), *Deposition from the Cross* (c. 1915; Fig. 59), and *Siegfried and the Magic Bird* (c. 1930; Fig. 60). *Montezuma* (c. 1914; Fig. 61), meanwhile, depicts the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Emperor of Mexico wearing a blue and red headdress surrounded by cliffs, recalling again *Sappho*, which depicts her in blue and red dress close to the cliffs. *Montezuma* again reveals Ricketts's second-order Japonisme.

Ricketts's sculpture, however, is more of a marginal case, perhaps because the majority of the artist's encounters with Japan, at least at the start of his career were two-dimensional. Ricketts produced most of his sculptures between 1900 and 1910, their number far fewer than his theatre design, book design, and painting. <sup>33</sup> His sculptures are small, from about 20 to 30 cm. Among them, there are *Mother and Child* (Fig. 62). Ricketts respected Rodin and was inspired by his works. <sup>34</sup> Ricketts also wrote a chapter on Rodin in *Pages on Art* in 1913, and, in 1921, Ricketts's sculpture was characterised as possessing a "certain pittoresque [picturesque] rather than sculpturesque quality" that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ricketts made over 20 sculptures before World War I. For the details, see Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 49.

Calloway, Charles Ricketts Subtle and Fantastic Decorator, 70.

"allie[d Ricketts] to Rodin." Tate points out Rodin's impact on Mother and Child. 36

Rodin made sculptures on this theme from around 1869 to 1885, and specifically, his works with this theme around 1885 depicted affection and intimacy.<sup>37</sup> Ricketts's statuette recalls Rodin's *The Young Mother* (Fig. 63).<sup>38</sup> Although there were Japonisme connections between Ricketts and Moreau, and Ricketts and Rossetti as mentioned the above, it is difficult to find its connection between Ricketts and Rodin. Nevertheless, Rodin collected many Japanese artefacts and ukiyo-e prints, and produced works modelled on a Japanese actress and dancer, Hanako. Around 1890 Rodin was particularly interested in Japanese art, as his sketches reveal, and again around 1895 when he started to collect ukiyo-e prints.<sup>39</sup> This means that in the year of 1869 and 1885 when Rodin made sculptures of a mother and a child, he was not within the orbit of Japonisme. Ricketts's interest in Rodin therefore is not primarily an interest of one second generation Japonist for another. As a result, Ricketts did not mention the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Ricketts, *Pages on Art*, 83-88.

*About Charles Ricketts* by "TIS," June, 1921, pp.94-96, Papers relating to Charles Ricketts, Add MS 88957/5/5, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> "Charles Ricketts, *Mother and Child*," Tate, August 2004, accessed Oct 31, 2018, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/ricketts-mother-and-child-n03188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Monique Laurent, *Rodan* [Rodin] (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1989), 97.

The Rodin Museum has a bronze, Young Mother (c. 1885).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> According to the National Galleries of Scotland, the reason of Rodin's interest on the subject of a mother and a child around 1885 would be the romantic relationship with Camille Claudel and her childbirth. For the details, see National Galleries of Scotland, "Auguste Rodin, *The Young Mother*," National Galleries of Scotland, accessed January 22, 2022, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5371/young-mother.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art and Aichi Prefectural Museum of Art, ed., *Rodan to Nihon* [Rodin and Japan], exh. cat (Tokyo: Contemporary Sculpture Center, 2001), 20, 37, 96, 99, 126, 256-295.

Musée Rodin has 213 Japanese prints collection collected by Rodin, however, there was no ukiyo-e prints depicting a mother and a child among the collection.

relationship between Rodin and Japan in *Pages on Art* in 1913, and he did not note that Hanako was a model for Rodin in his diary when Ricketts saw her onstage in London in 1914, as we have seen.<sup>40</sup> In 1903, when Ricketts met Rodin face to face, Japanese art was not a topic of their conversation.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, Ricketts and Shannon added *A Mother and a Child* by Utamaro to their Japanese Art Collection in 1900, considering it the most beautiful print. <sup>42</sup> As we have begun to see, Japanese print artists, especially Utamaro, often depicted maternal themes in their works. <sup>43</sup> However, there is no sure proof of the link between Ricketts's mother and child and Utamaro's print among Ricketts's diary and letters. Additionally, while mothers and children in Rodin and Ricketts's sculptures are in the nude, mothers and children are in *kimonos* in the nineteen ukiyo-e prints on this subject in the Ricketts and Shannon collection. In Rodin and Ricketts, maternity is a quasi-sacred bond, ukiyo-e prints depicted scenes from daily maternal life with a light touch. Ricketts himself was aware that Utamaro's rendering of mothers ministering to the little wants of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 2 November 1914, Add MS 58105, fol. 55v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 30 October 1900, Add MS 58098, fol.45v.

Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Endo Nozomi et al. ed., *Bosuton Bijutsukan Kareinaru Japonisumu-ten: Inshoha o Miryo shita Nihon no Bi* [Looking East: Western Artists and the Allure of Japan from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston], exh. cat. (Tokyo: NHK and NHK Promotion Inc., 2014), 90-91.

Chiba City Museum of Art, ed., *Japonisumu: Sekai o Miryoushita Ukiyo-e* [Ukiyo-e Viewed through Japonisme], exh. cat. (Chiba: Chiba City Museum of Art, 2022), 227-236.

These two catalogues pointed out that the representation of mothers and children in ukiyo-e prints gave inspirations to an American painter, Mary Cassatt.

children was different from the grave depiction of the Madonna in the West. 44 Ricketts's mother owes more to Rodin than Japan. Nevertheless, given how influential first-generation Japonisme had been in both Britain and France, Japonisme elements were perhaps an already inescapable part of the cosmopolitan visual culture in which Ricketts developed his own art practice.

## Motives of Ricketts's Theatre Design: Experiences of Eclectic Theatre Arts in London

Ricketts was an avid theatre goer before he made his stage designer debut in 1906. His parents were fond of music, and he lived near the Crystal Palace when he was a child. At the Crystal Palace, daily concerts and local operas were held, and Ricketts was in close contact with various kinds of theatrical culture. In his childhood, he liked to visit concerts and operas, and he saw *Don Giovanni* and *Faust*. In Ricketts's youth, he also often went to Wagner, Beethoven, Chopin, and Schumann concerts. Specifically, Ricketts liked Wagner and Chopin, who were Romantic artists. He was fascinated with their opera and music, which appealed to his emotion and sense directly.

In 1900, Ricketts had a new encounter with the theatrical art from Japan, which also appealed to his sense. Japanese actress Sada Yacco left a strong impression on Ricketts, in his first live experience of Japanese theatre, devoting several pages of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ricketts, "Outamaro," 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 1-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 7, 11-13.

diary to his responses. Regarding Yacco (1871-1946), Yacco was a *geisha* when she was young, and after she married Japanese actor Kawakami Otojirō, she became an actress. When she visited Western countries in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ricketts got an opportunity to see her performance. On 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1900, Ricketts also saw Yacco and Kawakami's first performance in London. <sup>47</sup> Kawakami and Yacco travelled widely in Europe and America, from 1899 to 1902, where they were especially popular in Paris, and London. Their popularity derived in part from their realistic movements, and Yacco's fierce emotional expression, which enabled Western audiences to understand the stories. <sup>48</sup>

In contrast, Japanese art expert Kohitsu Ryōnin, who met Ricketts in London, was scornful of Yacco for acting like a European. <sup>49</sup> This noticeable gap in Yacco's reception between Western and Japanese people suggests, from the outset, the hybridity and perhaps comparative superficiality of Ricketts's Japonisme. Ricketts wrote of his excitement about Yacco's acting. He also compared her wild dance to artworks by Hokusai:

Sada Yacco, the actress, is entrancing; curiously natural in her acting, she also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The opening day of Kawakami and Yacco's performance in 1900 was 22<sup>nd</sup> May at the Coronet Theatre. The programs were *Kojima Takanori* [*The Loyalist*], *Geisha and Bushi* [*The Geisha and the Knight*], and *Hidari Jingorō* [*Zingoro*]. For the details, see Uetsuki Keiichiro, and Izuha Takashi, "Sadayakko no Rondon: Kaigaka sareta Sadayakko [Sada Yacco in London: Sada Yacco in Paintings]," *Departmental Bulletin Paper of College of Art, Nihon University* 47 (2008): 84. <sup>48</sup> Inoue Yoshie, *Kawakami Otojirō to Sadayakko II: Sekai o Junen Suru* [Kawakami Otojirō and Sada Yacco II: The World Tour] (Tokyo: Shakaihyoronsha, 2015), 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 79.

at times lapses into vague entranced movements of the eyes —a downward squint— odd, tremulous movements of the mouth, and marionette actions of the arms. Marvellously graceful and elastic in movement, she does, or allows to be done to her, astonishingly violent things. As a dancer she has a wild "eclectic" grace, something of a wave or tiger by Hokusai. In a scene of despair where she runs amuck, she appears dishevelled like a Hokusai ghost, and moves —almost slides— across the stage with an ecstatic face, with eyes revulsed. Her face, lit by flashes of expression, will become pallid and vacant. She dies really gasping for breath and hunted down from within.

Both Shannon and I were actively interested throughout and will see the autumn season when they return.<sup>50</sup>

The above diary shows that every move Yacco made attracted Ricketts's attention. We've already encountered Hokusai's tiger. According to Kawamura, this tiger would be from one of the Brinkley collections that Ricketts bought in 1898 which I discussed in Chapter 1 (Fig. 16, 17), drawings of a wild tiger under the waterfall, which referred to a tiger from *Hokusai Manga*, volume 13.<sup>51</sup>

Additionally, Ricketts regarded Yacco as Hokusai's ghost. In fact, Hokusai depicted ghosts many times. Ghosts appeared in *Hokusai Manga*, volume 10, where the ghosts had disordered long hair. Ricketts recalled these ghosts when he saw Yacco's wild dance. Ricketts also compared Yacco with Hokusai's iconic print, *The Great Wave* from the series of *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*, a version in Ricketts and Shannon's collection, as we have seen. Ricketts's diary characterised Yacco's performance as full of energy, and it is obvious that he found elements in common between Yacco and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 39-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Kawamura, "Biazurī to Rikettsu," 29.

Hokusai in terms of dynamic power. Like Hokusai's art, we can easily understand that Ricketts became deeply absorbed in Yacco after this performance. He went to see her onstage again in 1901. He wrote about the details of the programmes for *Zingoro* and *The Shogun*:

With Shannon to see *Zingaro* [Zingoro] and *The Shogun*, the latter play interesting us hugely. (Hero: Makumoto. Heroine: Sada Yacco. Shogun: Kawakami.) The first act suffers from compression. It is obviously an idyllic scene round the marriage of the hero and the heroine, broken in upon by the tragedy of some thwarted conspiracy. It presented only one or two broken incidents. The next scene, the battle, where the hero escapes only by changing clothes with his servant, presented a series of entrances and exits, speeches and tussles, somewhat on the plan of the last act in *Macbeth*; in this scene Sada Yacco is taken prisoner with all the circumstances of a Hokusai design.<sup>52</sup>

Although he did not understand the Japanese lines, Ricketts enjoyed the experience, and tried to grasp the story in detail based on characters' movements and props. In his writing, like the entry of the year of 1900, he used a word "Hokusai" again to describe the scene, as he strove to record all what he saw in the theatre, his responses veering from claiming some things were "obvious" to an expert like him and vague: "some thwarted conspiracy".

In addition, Ricketts had an opportunity to see other two performances, *The Geisha and the Knight* and *Sairoku*, which was a Japanese version of the trial scene of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596-1597) by the troupe of Kawakami, with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 60-61.

Kawakami playing Sairoku, Shylock, and Yacco playing Osode, Portia respectively.<sup>53</sup> Ricketts wrote his impression on these two performances:

> In the evening we saw Sada Yacco and Kawakami in the trial scene of *The* Merchant of Venice. His Shylock was amazingly barbaric and primaeval in its unmitigated wickedness, and like all ruffians on the Japanese stage, his get-up was splendid. He measures out on the shirt, with black ink, the spot over the heart he means out to cut out. Sada as Portia was Charming. In the "Geisha and the Knight" she acted with the power and subtlety she showed last year at the Coronet, and dance as she was unable to dance at the Criterion, owing to the lack of space. Both Shannon and I watched her with an enthusiastic immobility, with the sense that all this was new to us, as if we had seen it for the first, instead of the third, time.<sup>54</sup>

This time, Ricketts praised Kawakami for his intense acting as Sairoku. Like other entries of his diary, he was caught up in Yacco with "an enthusiastic immobility." Before seeing performances by the Kawakami company, Ricketts, who had not been to Japan, as we have seen, and had not experienced Japanese theatre therefore designed primarily for Japanese audiences, could do nothing but imagine traditional Japanese dramas from ukiyo-e prints and comparisons with Shakespeare, suggesting that he either flattered Japanese theatre through comparison with the most paradigmatic form of British theatre or lazily used the most canonical frame of reference. Through experiences of live performances in 1900 and 1901, especially involving Yacco, Ricketts got to be familiar with Japanese theatre and dance. The popularity of such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Inoue, Kawakami Otojirō to Sadayakko II, 214, 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 12 July 1901, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. I, Add MS 61713, fol. 261r-262r.

performances in London at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century may also have inspired him when it came to thinking about his own theatre design.

Although Yacco left London in 1901, Ricketts saw performances by Japanese actors again in 1914. He went to see Japanese actress Hanako twice. He regarded her highly as an actress, and compared her with Yacco:

Madame Hanako is the height of a child of thirteen, and it is difficult to know where she finds room in her tiny face for expression and feeling. She is accomplished and intelligent and an artist. She lacks the strangeness and magnetism of Sada Yacco. Her acting in the tragic moments was however very good indeed, in the scene when she counts ten gold plates, one of which she discovers is missing, was admirable. When told under the accusation of theft to count again, her acting was even more admirable. Her death scene, when she speaks with her lips but makes no sound, was also admirable, but there was not the spiritual insight of Sada Yacco, the scene of horror in her smiles and caresses, the resistance of all her woman's tenderness to the varied horror of death. Yet the battle of each scene and faculty was perfectly exquisite as a slattern little servant dressed in her mistress's clothes. <sup>55</sup>

Ricketts's impression on Hanako was generally good, however, compared to Yacco, he was not overwhelmed by her performance. The above diary reveals that Ricketts's criteria for evaluating Japanese actors was Yacco's level, and her impact on him was significant. Yacco would also prove to be one of motives for Ricketts to create his own eclectic theatrical works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ricketts's Diary, 2 November 1914, Add MS 58105, fol. 55v. Hanako had also worked as a model for Rodin since 1906.

## Motives of Ricketts's Theatre Design: Interaction with Itō Michio and Oswald Sickert around Noh Plays

Ricketts was just an audience member when he saw Yacco at a theatre between 1900 and 1901. However, he finally acquired opportunities to interact with a Japanese dancer from 1915 to 1916. His name was Itō Michio. Although Itō had originally hoped to become a singer, he changed his course, and he learned contemporary dance in Germany from 1912, from where he was evacuated to England at to the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>56</sup> Ricketts became acquainted with Itō in 1915, mentioning him first in his diary on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1915.<sup>57</sup> The pair became friends, and Itō joined Ricketts and Shannon's gathering every Friday, alongside W.B. Yeats, Ezra Pound, and Edmund Dulac.<sup>58</sup> On the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1915, Ricketts wrote:

Itto [Itō] in Germany. (Itto is a Japanese mime and dancer). Itto was at the Dalcroze School when war was declared, most of the foreigners left after warning, he waited till he thought it better to go to Berlin. He walked part of the way, being short of cash, was arrested once. In Berlin his brother-in-law, who has service in the Embassy, wondered why he had been so long, and would not believe that his warnings to leave Dresden had not reached him. In Berlin, the news that England had entered the war cast a sort of spell upon the town; men hurriedly bought the newspapers, read them beneath streetlamps, and hurried away. He saw a Russian spy being ill-treated and struck at in the streets near Reinhardt's Theatre, and left Berlin three days before Japan entered the contest. Like other Japanese, he travelled in short trips to Holland,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Takeishi Midori, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō [Itō Michio's Dance in the Japanese Style]," *Departmental Bulletin Paper of Tokyo College of Music* 24 (2000): 35-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 19 October 1915, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXII. 1915, Add MS 58106, fol. 53v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Martin Birnbaum, *The Last Romantic: The Story of More Than a Half-Century in the World of Art* (New York: Twayne, 1960), 76.

Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 42.

Carrie J. Preston, *Learning to Kneel: Noh, Modernism, and Journeys in Teaching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 114.

professing to be on short journeys. In the last train, like other civilians he had to stand up whilst the military occupied the seats. Holland was unfriendly, men would ask him in the streets questions which he did not understand, which meant: "When will you Japanese take Java from us?" He speaks of his arrival in England at night as of entering into a sense of peace and security, though he was almost penniless, having outrun his allowance or what remained of it.

The Dalcroze School was a modern dance school in Hellerau, Germany. Ricketts recorded how Itō took refuge from Germany to England at the World War I in 1914, and his diary record shows his great interest in Itō as a cosmopolitan Japanese person. On 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1915, Ricketts mentioned Itō again in his diary:

Itto [Itō] Dance. He called to thank me for my dresses, and spoke intelligently about Japan, her music, poetry and dancing: The terrible weight of tradition, precedence and rule, and the limited movement allowed to dancing in Japan, due to small rooms: The obligato survival of marionette movements in acting because drama began with marionettes: The thousand and one symbolical conventions for emotional expression: That Japanese music was like a single thread, a small melodic movement only; that harmony and concerted mass, as understood in Europe, was unintelligible, that it took him a year to get accustomed to it. He said amusing thing about our acting and opera tradition, our love, as it seemed to him, for vulgarity. He wished to retain Japanese feeling on a broader technical basis, since Japanese dancing and acting were invisible on a European stage. He spoke of his longing in Japan to escape from Japanese traditions, as petty and wooden; that now he saw them in a new light and feared their loss in the senseless and unthinking imitation of Europe. It seems Japan has Futurist artists already.<sup>59</sup>

Ricketts wrote that Itō belatedly realised the importance of tradition of Japanese theatrical arts once he was in Europe. In fact, Itō had studied Western modern dance in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 2 November 1915, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. XXII. 1915, Add MS 58106, fol. 59v, British Library.

Germany, and he was not a professional noh player or kabuki actor, but he showcased four dances that adopted elements of traditional Japanese dance in London in May 1915.<sup>60</sup> Itō, who was conscious of his Japaneseness, and Ricketts, who had a great interest in Japanese theatre, got along well, and Ricketts contributed to Itō's performance as a designer in the same year. At the beginning of the above entry, Itō thanked Ricketts for costumes. "My dresses" referred to a costume designed by Ricketts and Dulac:

Michio Itow is going to give some performance of Noh dancing, in proper costume, next week. That is all that's on in the "awtwoild." Proper Japanese *daimyo* dress reconstructed by Du Lac and Ricketts. Etc. very precious. Itow is one of the few interesting japs [Japanese] I have ever met. They usually seem lacking in intensity.<sup>61</sup>

The above letter is from Pound to James Joyce on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1915. On October 28, November 2 and 9 1915, there were three performances of dance and poems in Kensington which featured Itō, and Itō co-starred with poet/chanter Utchiyama Masirmi and flautist "Mr. Minami" at the performances. <sup>62</sup> According to Takeishi, photographs of the costumes designed by Ricketts and Dulac included the "daimyo dress," documented

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Tōjō Ai, "Rondon no Itō Michio [Itō Michio in London]," *Bulletin Paper of Meiji University Taisho Drama Study Society* 7 (1998): 84-86.

Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 36-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Read, Forrest, ed, *Pound/Joyce; The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce: With Pound's Essays on Joyce* (New York: New Directions, 1967), 58.

Daimyo means a Japanese feudal lord.

Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 44.

Preston, Learning to Kneel, 114, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Preston, *Learning to Kneel*, 116.

in the Daily Mirror on 10<sup>th</sup> January (Fig. 64).<sup>63</sup> The paper reported that Itō performed the fox dance, the priest's dance, and female demon dance at the Margaret Morris Theatre on 8<sup>th</sup> January. 64 In the middle of the photograph is the "daimyo dress" mentioned by Pound. In daimyo dress, Itō wore eboshi, kataginu, kosode, and nagabakama. Eboshi is a long-pointed black hat, kataginu is a sleeveless robe over kosode, kosode is a short-sleeved garment, and nagabakama is long-pleated trousers. These clothes were formal dresses for Japanese feudal lords, daimyo.

The photograph on the right, "Female demon dance", shows Itō, who wore a long-haired wig and demon's horns, striking a frightening pose. This demon's costume also appeared on the lower part of Ricketts's 1916 postcard to Oswald Sickert, the younger brother of painter Walter Sickert (Fig. 65). Ricketts made notes of this costume design around this illustration which the demon is going to attack: "Vampire," "Dress gray crepe Over gray silk. design in sleeves two confronted skulls in dull gold. girdle, deep fringe of cut out felt, in conventional blood pattern."65

The illustration of the postcard is a rough sketch. However, we can see the

<sup>63</sup> Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Daily Mirror, "Oriental Dances: Three Performances at Chelsea," editorial, January 10, 1916, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, "Postcard from Charles Ricketts (Landsdowne House, Holland Park) to Walter Richard Sickert, Undated," Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed December 17, 2018, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1173516/document-ricketts-charles/.

V&A wrote that this postcard was from Ricketts to Walter Sickert. However, it would be Oswald Sickert who Ricketts actively interacted with in 1916. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider that the postcard was sent to Oswald.

Takeishi inferred that Ricketts sent this postcard to Oswald Sickert in March 1916 because Sickert thanked Ricketts for sending sketches in a letter on 3rd April. For the details, see Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 56, and Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 3 April 1916, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. VII, Add MS 58091, fol. 17r, British Library.

details in a watercolour drawing (Fig. 66) in the Ashmolean Museum. 66 On the upper right, there is an inscription: "Witch Dancer" and "Itto." The dancer, holding a long stick, wears a grey *uchikake*, which is a female robe, worn over a white *kosode*, which is a short-sleeved *kimono*. There are gold skulls on the sleeves of *uchikake*, and black skulls on the chest and the knee of *kosode*. On the waistline, there are vivid red fringes like gushing blood. These patterns bring a gothic effect.

A second illustration at the top of the postcard (Fig. 65) would be  $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$ .  $^{67}$   $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$  is an imaginary animal and an elf which likes liquor.  $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$  appears in the noh play " $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$ ". Itō created a dance of  $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$  based on this noh play. In fact, the red long-haired wig on the postcard is same as the noh play's wig. Itō himself wrote about his dances in his memoirs, and it proves that he danced  $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$ : "I am a figure as a Japanese dancer. Therefore, I needed to make the Japanese atmosphere. I wholly did original dances. I performed  $Sh\bar{o}j\bar{o}$  and Kitsune. I also sometimes danced in eboshi and nagabakama."

As the reason why Itō thanked Ricketts for designing his costumes in November 1915, Ricketts paradoxically contributed to Itō's desire for creating authentically Japanese dances. Itō did not choose Japanese costume makers, but

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Calloway and Delaney, Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon: An Aesthetic Partnership, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 46.

Preston, Learning to Kneel, 278-280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Itō, Michio, *Utsukushikunaru Kyōshitsu* [Classroom for Becoming Beautiful] (Tokyo: Houbunkan, 1956), 27-28. I translated Japanese into English. *Kitsune* means a fox.

Ricketts. At the same time, Ricketts felt strongly about his work with Itō, and he sketched in monochrome Itō's dancing scene in which he probably wore a daimyo costume (Fig. 67). The sketch can be found in an album of Gordon Bottomley Papers in the British Library. 69 In the margins, Bottomley wrote: "As this is labelled 'Itto,' it may be a 'personal' scene designed for the Japanese dancer Itō, who worked for Yeats in 1916." In the sketch, Ricketts captured a back shot of Itō dancing dynamically in the centre of the stage with curtains, with characteristic chrysanthemum patterns. Ricketts wanted to leave a record of the rare live Japanese traditional dance, as he never had an opportunity to see kabuki or noh plays in Japan. This sketch was compiled with Ricketts's other principal theatre design works, such as King Lear and Salome which I discuss in the next section, suggesting how significant Ricketts's interactions with Itō were to his later work. Ricketts respected and put emphasis on the tradition of kimono and noh plays, and his costumes sought to look authentic, helping lay the groundwork for the successful reception of noh plays in London.

Furthermore, in the above postcard (Fig. 65), Ricketts wrote that:

My dear Sickert, I can't tell you what real pleasure and excitement your fascinating cards of Japanese actors have given me. I am delighted to realize that a traditional breadth and beauty survives in the dresses, and am most interested in the intelligence and good looks of the people. Uzaemon's looks are exquisite creations in his photos. I enclose two anonymous sketches of two

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ricketts's Sketch of Itō in a personal scene, compiled in 1941, Album of Charles Ricketts's Theatre Set Designs, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/11, fol. 30r, British Library.

dresses I designed and stencilled for a young Japanese who was stranded in London after escaping from Germany.<sup>70</sup>

Oswald Sickert, who stayed at the Central Hotel in Tsukiji, Tokyo at that time, sent many postcards of Japanese actors to Ricketts between 1916 and 1917.<sup>71</sup> Although Ricketts was glad to acquire them, and although many are lost, I found four postcards regarding Japanese theatres in Ricketts's and Shannon's Papers, in Gordon Bottomley's Papers, and in George Bernard Shaw's Papers at the British Library.

Amongst these, there is a postcard, from Ricketts to Bottomley, of kabuki actor Ichimura Uzaemon (Fig. 68), mentioned in the above quotation, posing as Mitsuuji in *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* which was based on a long novel published from 1829 to 1842.<sup>72</sup> Uzaemon sports a simple *kimono* and looks quite sophisticated because the character of Mitsuuji is a handsome man who has both beauty and intelligence. On the backside of this photograph, Ricketts wrote to Bottomley about Uzaemon: "Let this card of the charming Uzaemon stand for the nice things I would like to say." Kabuki has been played by all male actors, hence, Ricketts's kabuki photographs captured male actors. Uzaemon's photograph showed beautiful masculinity, in contrast to the taste in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, "Postcard from Ricketts to Walter Richard Sickert."
Uzaemon is kabuki actor. Ichimura Uzaemon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 16 February 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 8r. Oswald Valentine Sickert (1871-1923) was one of brothers of painter, Walter Sickert. He was a reviewing staff of the *Saturday Review*, and after leaving the *Saturday Review*, he became a salesman for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. As a part of his work for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he visited Japan in 1916. For the details of the Sickert family, see Denys Sutton, *Walter Sickert: a Biography* (London: Michael Joseph, 1976).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ricketts's postcard of Ichimura Uzaemon to Bottomley, c. 1917, Letters from Charles Ricketts, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/1/76, fol. 2v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ricketts's postcard of Ichimura Uzaemon to Bottomley, c. 1917, Add MS 88957/1/76, fol. 2r.

the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when Japonists in Europe often preferred feminine figures from Japan, such as stereotypical representations of *geisha*. Of course, *samurai* is also another stereotype of Japanese representation, however, paying attention to the beauty of masculinity is significant of the new masculine preference in the gendering of Japonisme.

Ricketts's description of Uzaemon's "exquisite appearance" is indicative of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Orientalism. Indeed, according to Grace Lavery, "Exquisite" is the term that people in Britain at that time often used to praise Japanese art aesthetically.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, Ricketts was one of these people sensing the uniqueness and the beauty, which they had never seen, in Japanese traditional art.

Sickert's postcards further stimulated Ricketts, who described the details of each Japanese actor in his letters to Bottomley in the period between 1916 and 1917.

These sought to spread the culture of traditional Japanese theatre arts around his circle of friends:

Sickert's letter, which I enclose, describes Koshiro and his qualities, personal and hereditary. He is admittedly the great actor of the Japanese revival. Sojuro and Baiko seem to share a considerable degree of celebrity, but, I fancy, interest Sickert less than Uzaemon whose photos convey a rare aroma of personality – a delicate personality, plus considerable personal charm and beauty. Sadanji is, I think, present in one card only, he is also popular, not of the actor-class but, according to legend, a Samurai by birth, who has adopted the stage as a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Grace E. Lavery, *Quaint, Exquisite: Victorian Aesthetics and the Idea of Japan* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019), 5, 31.

profession. You will find particulars on most cards, at the back. Kotaro is a dancer more than an actor, he is still very young. If this information is not all on the backs of cards, it is a "resume" of an article on the revival of the native stage tradition in Japan which appeared in a Times supplement devoted to Japan some time ago. From this I gathered that the fashion for European modern drama, Ibsen, Sudermann, Shaw and less valid authors is on the wane. Sadanji, however, won great praise as Shylock.<sup>75</sup>

Koshiro, Sojuro, Baiko, and Sadanji are kabuki actors Matsumoto Koshiro, Sawamura Soujuro, Onoe Baiko, and Ichikawa Sadanji. Sadanji performed not only kabuki but also Western plays, and he played Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* translated to Japanese in Tokyo in 1908. In this letter, Ricketts paid attention to the traditionality of Japanese theatrical arts. The words "revival," "resume," and "tradition" reflected the introverted and retrospective trend during World War I.

In three other postcards in the British Library, there is another kabuki actor postcard, this time from Ricketts to Shaw in 1917, a photograph of Nakamura Kichiemon as Toneri Matsuomaru in *Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami* (1746) (Fig. 69).<sup>76</sup> On the back of this postcard, Ricketts wrote that "it represents 'Kichiyemon' one of the youngest and most popular of the Japanese actors, in a revival there of traditional plays and traditional method of acting which amounts to a national event." *Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami* was based on the real story of Sugawara Michizane's downfall

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 30 August 1916, Add MS 61716, fol. 87r-88r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ricketts's postcard of Nakamura Kichiemon to Shaw, 1917, George Bernard Shaw Papers: Series I. Vol. XLI, Add MS 50548, fol. 69v, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ricketts's postcard of Nakamura Kichiemon to Shaw, 1917, Add MS 50548, fol. 69r.

and tragedy due to the political conflict in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century. In this play, the triplets appeared as important roles, and the role of Matsuomaru was one of the triplets, and a servant of a political enemy of Michizane, Fujiwara Shihei although he was in both Michizane and Shihei's debt. Kichiemon's as Matsuomaru posture, which opened his arms and legs, looks masculine. Kichiemon had more heavy make-up than Uzaemon as Mitsuuji, and it looks strong. He also wore a wild wig and a gorgeous *kimono* with swords, and they had a dignified air. This appearance of Kichiemon condensed Japanese traditional masculinity.

In 1912, Ricketts also sent a postcard with a photograph of a Western play in Japan to Shaw. It depicts a scene of the Japanese translation of *A Doll's House* (1879) by Ibsen, as performed in Tokyo in 1911 (Fig. 70).<sup>78</sup> Shaw was inspired by Ibsen's plays, and so it seems likely that Ricketts knew this postcard would interest him. This photograph shows Europeanised characters and stage settings. It indicates the latest hybrid Japanese theatre world which played both European and Japanese plays.

At the same time, Ricketts possessed postcards picturing noh players. In Ricketts's and Shannon's Papers, there is an unsent postcard with a photograph of Ōe Matasaburo playing an old man, Tooru in the noh play *Tooru* (c. 15c) (Fig. 71).<sup>79</sup>

Matasaburo carries a water basket and wears a *kimono* and an old man mask with a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ricketts's postcard of *A Doll's House* in Japan to Shaw, 7 February 1912, Add MS 50548, fol. 64v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Unused Postcard, c. 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 60r.

small smile, a *warai-jou* noh mask. Compared with above kabuki photographs of Uzaemon and Kichiemon, the mask makes this photograph more tranquil and mysterious. The postcard was a present from Sickert to Ricketts around 1916. noh plays also fascinated Ricketts, and he described his interest in them in his letters to Bottomley:

I am glad you were entranced with the Noh pictures. I often look at them, with constant pleasure.  $^{80}$ 

I shall in the course of a few days send you a typed copy of a most interesting letter, of several pages, from O. Sickert on the "No" or masked hieratic plays of Japan. Yeats has asked for a copy and I shall have two made, it shows a genuine and highly intelligent visualising of the subject by a man who has knowledge of other arts, and other points of view. I feel it may even suggest some sort of insight in the native rendering of the Greek drama other than the operatic one which I hold at present.<sup>81</sup>

The above letters show that Ricketts was deeply and pleasurably preoccupied with noh plays, from the evidence of Sickert's postcards and letters, sharing his fascination with Bottomley and Yeats. Whilst his transliteration of Japanese words is ongoingly idiosyncratic, Ricketts again thought there was a relationship between Greek drama and 14<sup>th</sup>-century noh, a parallel with ancient Greece not uncommon in the period, as we have seen; Sickert replying to Ricketts acknowledging that he said "the idea of the No

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 6 July1917, Add MS 61716, fol. 182r.

<sup>81</sup> Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 11 November 1916, Add MS 61716, fol. 121r.

performance may affect your idea of the performance of a Greek tragedy,"<sup>82</sup> suggesting further the centrality of noh for Ricketts's theatrical creative activities.

Furthermore, "A typed copy of a most interesting letter, of several pages, from O. Sickert" still remains in the British Library. Sickert not only sent many postcards with photographs of Japanese actors to Ricketts, but also reported the details of Japanese theatrical arts, especially noh plays. In addition, Sickert wrote synopsises of noh plays in his long letters, such as *Matsukaze*, *Kantan*, *Miidera*, *Tooru*, *Matsu-mushi*, *Yashima*, *Hashi Benkei* (Benkei on the Bridge), and *Naniwa*, documenting everything that happened on the noh stage. For example, Sickert explained the story line of *Matsukaze* in a clarifying way:

Matsukaze Mr. Tetsunojo Kwanze Murasame Mr. Shigeru Kwanze The Priest Mr. Hiroji Tsuchiya

A Priest enters. He arrives at Suma and taking a pine tree which stands separated from other trees to be telling something, calls up a villager to ask about it. A villager enters. He tells that this is the place where the sister fisher-

<sup>82</sup> Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 15 December 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 57r.

<sup>83</sup> Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 2 Octover 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 32r-39r.

Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 15 December 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 55r-66r. Regarding Sickert's notes of noh plays, Sickert himself wrote in Add MS 58091, fol. 57r that "I had begun to make some note on No plays I had seen. Your letter has encouraged me to go on and send them to you. You must not think, however, that I enjoy No performance to anything like the extent to which I catch on to how wonderful they are. The performance is all a means of delivering very poetical poetry with heightened intensity, and if you don't know the words, you miss the object of the performance. From *Kantan* especially and from *Tooru*, in part, as also from *Miidera*, I got much direct pleasure, because the action happens to tell. But with many others, my pleasure is considerably indirect, except, of course, in the mere existence and motion of the masked and robed figures, which are the most beautiful things created." Sickert made his notes because he was hugely fascinated with noh plays, and also, he got its motivations from Ricketts's letters.

girls, Matsukaze and Murasame, once lived.<sup>84</sup>

This is the beginning of the synopsis of *Matsukaze*. Sickert's explanation took into consideration that Ricketts could not read or understand aurally Japanese, and so explained the underlying plot to him. In the same period, Yeats gave Ricketts *Certain Noble Plays of Japan: From the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, Chosen and Finished by Ezra Pound with an Introduction by William Butler Yeats* (1916). The book was a collection of English translations of noh plays, *Nishikigi, Hagoromo, Kumasaka*, and *Kagekiyo*, based on Fenollosa's posthumous drafts. As we have seen, Yeats also wanted to read Sickert's letter which contained different scenarios of noh plays from *Certain Noble Plays*.

Moreover, Ricketts shared postcards with his other friend, Sydney Cockerell, then a director of the Fitzwilliam Museum:

The No cards arrived many months ago and in the course of a few days will reach you from Cambridge – I have lent them to Cockerell there who has promised to forward them to you. I often see Waley, he did not tell me he had translated *Haku Rakuten*, he often translates the titles upon my Sickert cards, which continue to arrive – the one I send you was a duplicate. 86

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, a part of the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese art collection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 2 Octover 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 38r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> J. G. P. Delaney, "Heirs of the Great Generation: Yeats's Friendship with Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon," *Yeats Annual* 4 (1986): 68.

Ernest Fenollosa, Certain noble plays of Japan: From the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, Chosen and Finished by Ezra Pound with an Introduction by William Butler Yeats (Dundrum: Cuala Press, 1916).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 29 May 1917, Add MS 88957/1/76, fol. 3r. *Haku Rakuten* (c. 1419) is one of noh plays.

was bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum because of their friendship with Cockerell. The above episode about lending noh postcards to Cockerell reveals how keen Ricketts was to share his Japanese artefacts with his friends. In addition, Ricketts had an interaction with "Waley," who was providing translations for him. This was likely Arthur Waley, a member of staff dealing with Japanese and Chinese artefacts at the department of Oriental prints and drawings, the British Museum, and a scholar of Eastern studies. <sup>87</sup> In Ricketts's diary, he wrote that Waley told him the story of a noh play, *Kantan* in November 1916:

Waley told the charming story of one of the No plays. A sage travels to China in search of Wisdom. At an inn he falls asleep whilst they are preparing his soup. In a dream he becomes Emperor and lives a magnificent life, becoming satiated with power till the nothingness of life and honour are forced upon his intellect. He awakens to his soup and decide[s] to return to Japan to become a Buddhist monk, since he has lived his life and found it wanting.<sup>88</sup>

Waley was good at reading classical Japanese, and was also interested in noh plays like Ricketts and Yeats.<sup>89</sup> This diary entry shows Ricketts collected the knowledge of noh plays from his friend around 1916. He shared his materials of noh plays with his friends in Britain, and at the same time, the relationship with his friends provided him with

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> According to Ricketts's diary (Add MS 58107, fol. 15r), he met Waley, Yeats, and Itō in the evening of 11 February 1916, and this is the oldest record about Waley in the diary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Charles Ricketts's Diary, 3 November 1916, Add MS 58107, fol. 68r. Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Waley was good at reading Japanese, on the other hand, Sickert felt a difficulty in learning Japanese. In Sickert's letter to Ricketts, he wrote the importance of learning Japanese for foreigners who stay in Japan and how to start learning Japanese. He also suggested that Waley was an expert of Japanese language. For the details, see Oswald Sickert's letter to Ricketts, 8 August 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 29r.

crucial knowledge, suggesting Japonisme in this period as a significantly collaborative endeavour, the group collectively having enough different skills to make sense of noh.

Waley himself, meanwhile, published *The Nō Plays of Japan*, a collection of English translated noh plays in 1921. The book contains 19 noh scripts including Kantan and Haku Rakuten mentioned in Ricketts's diary and letter. The book's Appendix I, "Modern No Letters from Japan" includes a part of Sickert's letter to Ricketts. Waley wanted to print a fresh voice by Sickert who stayed in Japan, and wrote in the preface that "I include the following extracts from letters written in 1916 by Mr. Oswald Sickert to Mr. Charles Ricketts. The sender and recipient of the letters both authorized me to use them, and for this permission I am deeply grateful."90 Although the letters in the appendix were written by Sickert, the friendship between Ricketts and Waley, and Ricketts and Sickert further reveal Ricketts as a key node in a Modernist Japanese network. Additionally, Waley was 20 years younger than Ricketts. Waley is a generation younger, so Ricketts, as the heir to the Rossetti generation, helped to inform and transform the Japanese theatrical art below him.

In the 1910s, meeting Itō in London and writing to Sickert provided important experiences developing Ricketts's ideas of Japan, inspiring his costume design and understanding of kabuki and noh plays.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Arthur Waley, *The Nō Plays of Japan* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921), 306. Appendix I is from page 306 to 315.

## King Lear, The Forty-Seven Ronins and Salome: Unperformed Productions concerning Japan

Ricketts designed a theatre costume for the first time in July 1904, for the Black Jester, for Yeats. Ricketts started to deal with stage designs in earnest in 1906. The trigger was again Yeats. Ricketts founded the Literary Theatre Society in London with Shannon, and his friends, Sturge Moore, Binyon, William Pye, R. C. Trevelyan, Gwendolyn Bishop, and Florence Farr. The society was modelled on Yeats's Irish Literary Theatre. 92

In 1906, Ricketts's career as a theatre designer began with *Aphrodite Against*Artemis by Sturge Moore, and Salome and A Florentine Tragedy by Wilde, all

productions were for the Literary Theatre Society. 93 After 1906, plays designed by

Ricketts were presented almost every year. Ricketts was a prolific designer, and Cecil

Lewis, the editor of Self-Portrait, documented that Ricketts designed forty drawings for a production in one day. His attitude toward theatrical works was different from his

other works, such as paintings and book designs, and he enjoyed stage designs because he regarded work for the stage as a holiday task. 94

In 1909, Ricketts designed King Lear for Herbert Trench at the Haymarket

<sup>91</sup> Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," 7.

Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 114. <sup>92</sup> Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," 6. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 114.

<sup>93</sup> Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," 21.

<sup>94</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 368-369.

Darracott, The World of Charles Ricketts, 178.

Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 351.

Theatre. Although Ricketts was dissatisfied with its execution, he won high praise for his design from critics, and the production made his name as a stage designer. His design of *King Lear* also drew attention from Japanese people who were interested in theatre arts, and, as a result, in 1911 came an opportunity of working with a Japanese theatre company: for a production of *King Lear* for the New Theatre in Tokyo. In three letters from December 1911 to February 1912, Ricketts documented the production's beginning and his great joy for designing for a Japanese theatre:

The son of the translator of *Hamlet* in Japan wants to consult me about the production of *Lear* in Tokio [Tokyo]. If I had the time, I should like to translate my dresses and scenes into archaic Japanese, contend with their Dolmen age and the temple of Isé. <sup>95</sup>

I have promised to design the dresses and setting for the first performance of Lear in Japanese – Shakespeare is delighted!<sup>96</sup>

But during the last fortnight I have turned to a work which has given me a perfectly fantastic sense of pleasure, namely designing the dresses and setting for the first performance of *King Lear* for the New Theatre at Tokio [Tokyo]. I was approached by the son of the translator of *Hamlet* into Japanese to know if photographs existed of my Haymarket production. Enquiries at the photographer elicited the information that the plates had been destroyed (owing to the play being a failure) so I started re-designing it on simpler lines, and if you can promise me to return the drawings rapidly, I will forward them to you registered to look at, before they go to Japan. The scenery is on too large a scale to send, but I enclose thumbnail sketches of them, and a postcard of the first act of the first performance of "hamlet" in Japanese (please return this to me). Of course, Shakespeare is delighted, *Hamlet* was a great success, it ran three nights. "Lear" is not expected to draw as well. [...] I half hope I

<sup>95</sup> Ricketts's postcard to Sydney Cockerell, 16 December 1911, Add MS 61715, fol. 145r.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Tokio" is an old romanization of Tokyo, and it is used by several non-English countries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Ricketts's letter to Sydney Cockerell, 20 December 1911, Add MS 61715, fol. 142r.

shall be asked to design "Macbeth" and the "Agamemnon" for Japan. If they ask me, I will.<sup>97</sup>

The postcard to Cockerell documented that Ricketts did not intend to use the same costume and stage design as in *King Lear* in 1909. For the Japanese version, he planned to create ambitious designs introducing Japanese culture of the New Stone Age and the Ise Grand Shrine. It would be the height of Ricketts's hybridising art of Shakespeare and ancient Japan. The sentence "Shakespeare is delighted" appeared in not only in the above letters to Cockerell and Bottomley but also in the letter to Dutch painter, Richard Roland Holst. 98 It proved Ricketts's excitement and strong eagerness for the first performance of *King Lear* in Japan. 99

In the letter to Bottomley, Ricketts wrote that he enclosed thumbnail sketches of the scenery. In fact, these sketches were depicted on the back of the letter, and there are four small drawings of the scenery: Lear's Palace, Gloucester's House, the Heath scene, and the Cliff scene (Fig. 72). Compared with his theatre design for *King Lear* in 1909 which still exist in the V&A (Fig. 73), both have similar ancient and mysterious tastes. The design of drawings for the 1911 version is simpler than the 1909, and the roof of Gloucester's House recalls the thatched roof of the Ise Grand Shrine's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Ricketts's letter to Gordon Bottomley, 4 February 1912, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/1/75, fol. 34r, British Library.

<sup>98</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 170-171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> In reality, the Japanese version of *King Lear*, "Yami to Hikari [The Dark and the Light]" adopted by Takayasu Gekko was performed for the first time in Japan in 1902.

architecture, thatching popular in both Britain and Japan. Ricketts also showed an eagerness to design two further productions, *Macbeth* and *Agamemnon* for Japan in the future, and dreamed of achieving a success as a theatre designer in Japan.

Regarding the details of *King Lear* in 1911, most drawings for its design no longer exist. However, there are fragmentary clues in Bottomley's writings:

He executed a marvellous fantasy on them, heightening them with touches and poses and patterns that brought the drawings into relation with the prints of Utamaro and Kiyonaga—expressing them in terms that gave them a Japanese appeal, without destroying the reference to Shakespeare. <sup>100</sup>

Ricketts had an idea to add elements of ukiyo-e prints by Utamaro and Kiyonaga, *bijin-ga* artists, who depicted beautiful women and the alluring world. His design was experimental, transregional, and transhistorical because it included ancient-styled scenery alongside Edo-era elegance. Bottomley, however, thought that Ricketts was the right person to design *King Lear* in Japan as he was a multi-talented artist:

It was a fascinating commission for a man of Ricketts's temperament and many-sidedness: the connoisseur and the trained engraver mobilised eagerly with the painter to help the theatre-designer. Few people can speak of these designs, for few saw them: and in Japan they disappeared years ago. It is an immeasurable loss, for together they constituted a masterpiece: beside the gaunt scenic designs of Stonehenge world there must have been some fifty designs for single costumes. These latter showed an evidently profound knowledge of Japanese theatre-prints, the way in which they were put on the wood, the brilliant tender tones in which they were printed: but beyond that they made abundantly clear everything that needed to be known about the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts R.A.," 391.

constitution of the costume: and, dominating everything else, every costume was worn by its character. The set was an array of comment and understanding applied to every person in the play in turn, and all done in terms of draughtsmanship that remembered Japan's own theatre-portraits, yet expressed the subtitles and idiosyncrasies of Shakespeare's people in a graphic language that their Japanese personators could understand and would vividly apprehend. <sup>101</sup>

The above article was written in 1940 for *Theatre Arts Monthly*, and Bottomley revealed that Ricketts's design for *King Lear* in 1911 was lost in Japan. Bottomley was one of few people who saw it. The designs, which Bottomley praised, included prehistoric scenery with huge stones and fifty costumes. There was also a connection with Utamaro and Kiyonaga, Ricketts creating the costumes with beautiful ukiyo-e colours. Ricketts matched his design with the Japanese theatre and actors, and the design was high quality. However, the production had an unaccountable ending, and never opened in Tokyo.

We can find the reason in a Bottomley letter to Ricketts in 1915 when more than three years had passed since he accepted the request to design *King Lear* in Tokyo:

I often wonder if you heard of what happened to the "Lear" designs you did for Japan. Many of them are still crisp in my memory. I interrogated Noguchi about the theatre for which you did them, and demanded picture post cards like those you shewed me; he never mentioned it, however, so I interrogated him anew when I saw him last winter, and he told me he had enquired and could not hear of or find any such theatre; and when I mentioned Mr. Tsubuchi's name he expressed a deep disbelief in Mr. Tsubuchi and all his works. But there was something in his subtle Oriental glance and innocent expression which made me disbelieve him. I often go over those designs in my mind and long to hear they are not lost; if they are I shall go to Japan to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts," 176.

discover them if I am ever well enough. 102

"Noguchi" is a Japanese writer, Noguchi Yonejiro, who inquired, on Ricketts's behalf, into the background of King Lear in Tokyo. As a result of his investigation, he discovered that the play was never performed, and all things related to this production, such as "the New Theatre" and "The son of the translator of Hamlet in Japan" were suspicious. "Mr. Tsubuchi" was also a doubtful person, however, this name is similar to Japanese novelist, critic, and playwright, Tsubouchi Shoyo (1859-1935). Tsubouchi developed modern literature and plays in Japan. He researched Shakespeare, and translated all Shakespeare's play from English into Japanese. In 1911, Hamlet played at Imperial Theatre in Tokyo under Tsubouchi's direction and translation. There is a slight possibility that Tsubouchi asked Ricketts to design King Lear for improvement on Japanese Shakespeare plays. However, in 1913, Tsubouchi stopped performing plays, and he concentrated on translation of Shakespeare. 103 If "Mr. Tsubuchi" was Tsubouchi, after all, unfortunately, Ricketts had been deceived, and his designs lost in Japan.

In spite of this undoubtedly painful, shaming revelation, Ricketts was still eager to deal with Japanese theatrical arts in 1914:

I may possibly return to the stage this year to mount and dress *The Forty-*

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Gordon Bottomley's letter to Ricketts, Early 1915, Ricketts, Add MS 61716, fol. 219r-220r.
 Ono Masashi, "Tsubouchi Shoyo to Shieikusupia — Teigeki *Hamuretto* o Megutte [Tsubouchi Shoyo and Shakespeare — Focusing on Imperial Theatre *Hamlet*]" in Nihon no Shieikusupia Hyakunen [100 Years of Shakespeare in Japan], ed., Anzai Tetsuo (Tokyo: Aratake Shuppan, 1989), 17-42.

*Seven Ronins*, but this is only in the air. There shall be no pink plum blossom, geishas and paper wisteria, but feudal men and women and, I hope, tragic backgrounds of snow and rock.<sup>104</sup>

Barker is contemplating *The Forty-Seven Ronins*, by Masefield, - a subject I suggested to Binyon about five years ago. I have written to him that, if not too late, I should like to stage it. I should of course forsake all Japo-European Notions of Japan and try to evoke the aspect and character of a remote and feudal Japan with the heraldic dresses of the late Tosa School, Matabe and his following.<sup>105</sup>

In 1915, John Masefield completed *The Faithful*, a three-act tragedy, based on *The Forty-Seven Ronins* (*Chushingura*), a play incorporating various theatrical formats, such as kabuki and *joruri*, that had been popular since the Edo period in Japan. The play deals with a historical incident involving the forty-seven *rōnins*, or masterless *samurai*, and their mission to avenge the death of their master at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. <sup>106</sup> As the precedent for the play based on *Chushingura*, there was *Yamato* produced by Maeda Masana, who was a Japanese government officer of the Universal Exposition, in Paris in 1867. Maeda adapted *Chushingura* into *Yamato* to explain the reality of Japanese chivalry to Western people. *Yamato* was performed only once.

Although it used authentic Japanese costumes and stage sets, the audience could not understand its story sufficiently. <sup>107</sup> Hence, *Yamato* did not achieve success in Paris.

In the Ricketts and Shannon collection bequeathed to the British Museum,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Ricketts's letter, 14 February 1914, Add MS 61716, fol. 76r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ricketts's letter, February 1914, Add MS 61716, fol. 77r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> John Masefield, *The Faithfull* (London: William Heinemann, 1915).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Mabuchi, *Butai no ueno Japonisumu*, 90-99.

there are four ukiyo-e prints depicting kabuki version of *Chushingura* which is called *Kanadehon Chushingura* (1748). One is Utamaro's print portraying Act 7 (1937,0710,0.66), the remaining three are Hokusai's prints representing Act 1, Act 9, and Act 11 (1937,0710,0.200, 1937,0710,0.201, and 1937,0710,0.202). Specifically, in Hokusai's Act 11 (Fig. 74), the last act of this kabuki, *rōnins* in black and white *haori*, Japanese half-length coats, are attacking Kono Moronou's residence to kill Kono as an act of vengeance.

As Ricketts wrote about his imagined stage design in the above, there is no feminine, Japonist cliches of pink plum blossom, *geishas* or paper wisteria, but serious, cold, hard, feudal men with mountains and snow. Ricketts, then, seems to have gotten interested in *The Forty-Seven Ronins* through ukiyo-e prints depicting it, and then suggested its subject to Binyon in 1909, drawing on his knowledge in 1914 as a collector and artistic Japonist.

As further evidence that Ricketts had a special attachment to the story of the forty-seven *rōnins*, Noguchi recorded Ricketts's opinion of the English adaptation:

When I told Mr. Ricketts that Mr. Masefield was writing a play of *Chushingura* [*The Forty-Seven Ronins*], Mr. Ricketts said that there was no writer who was able to write this play properly in the West. He also said: "We can maintain the interest until the scene of the attack by *ronins*, however, the last act of their *hara-kiri* makes Westerners feel unpleasant. Yet, it becomes difficult for audiences to understand the ending if this *hara-kiri* act will be removed. This is

the part which writers struggle to write. 108

Hara-kiri, ritual suicide by cutting one's stomach open with a sword, was performed by the samurai until the Edo era. Likely agreeing with Ricketts, Masefield cut the scene, although he evidently did not agree with the idea that no one in the West could successfully translate Japanese drama, nor with Ricketts's self-assessment as an exception to this rule, in spite of his own ongoing translation and transliteration problems.109

Ricketts imagined a serious setting which included the strict samurai families and monochrome scenery in winter like Hokusai's *Chushingura* in contrast to elegant women in ukiyo-e prints, the former more characteristic, as we have seen, of a more masculine image of Japan in the early 20th century, in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 to 1905. Ricketts had a concrete plan for costumes, and intended to adopt the Tosa school style, a painting school from four centuries earlier, to express a more "authentic" sense of Japan, although one that was 400 years out of date.

However, Ricketts's concrete design plan never embodied, since he himself declined the commission in the end. According to Noguchi, before 1916, Ricketts said that The Mikado and The Geisha had misled London audiences with an erroneous knowledge of Japan, therefore, it was difficult to perform a genuine Japanese-style play,

<sup>108</sup> Noguchi Yonejiro, *Butai no Hitobito* [People in Theatres] (Tokyo: Daiichishobo, 1927), 74-75. I translated Japanese into English.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Noguchi, Butai no Hitobito, 75.

causing him to decline the offers of *The Forty-Seven Ronins* by a producer, Harley Granville-Barker several times. 110 "A kind of convention" would mean unhelpful, stereotypical images of Japan.

The Mikado, which premiered in 1885, and The Geisha, which premiered in 1896, left a strong impression of Japanese girls in gorgeous kimonos on people in London. In contrast to these two plays, The Forty-Seven Ronins shows hara-kiri, and it does not have "pink plum blossom, geishas and paper wisteria." There is a big difference between the two and *The Forty-Seven Ronins*. Ricketts wanted to make *The* Forty-Seven Ronins authentic and serious, as he wrote in his letter. It also shows that Ricketts respected Japanese men and women, and did not have his interest in the stereotypical images of Japan like *geishas*. Therefore, there is a high possibility that Ricketts himself stopped being involved in the production of *The Forty-Seven Ronins* because of two problems, the audience and the authenticity. Ricketts considered that the London audience could not accept *The Forty-Seven Ronins* if it showed too serious scenes, especially hara-kiri, and he could not tolerate The Faithful, the English adaptation of *The Forty-Seven Ronins* by Masefield, without a *hara-kiri* scene. Unfortunately, there was no environment for Ricketts to design his ideal authentic *The* Forty-Seven Ronins in London in 1914. However, Ricketts's attempt to create masculine

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Noguchi Yonejiro, *Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki* [The Impression of European Artists] (Tokyo: Hakujitsusha, 1916), 197.

stage design of *The Forty-Seven Ronins* in contrast to previous stereotypical Japonisme plays with *geishas* indicates the new phase of theatrical Japonisme in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it is a notable experiment.

A further opportunity to create designs related to Japan returned to Ricketts in 1919. The commission came from Shochiku, a Japanese stage production company, to design *Salome*. 111 Ricketts wrote about this in a letter in August 1919:

Of course, I will return to the stage, I am in it now reconstructing *Salome* for a proposed production by the Shōchiku Theatrical Company, Tokyo. This company often employs Uzaemon, but only in Japanese plays, I fear. Curiously enough, years ago I dreamt that Sada Yacco had performed Salome in a Japanese version of the play; that, with strange muttered soliloquies she had descended a staircase haunted by her guilty passion for Herod; that John, a bound prisoner behind a wattle, had made ardent love to her till, in Japanese fashion, she had pushed the wattle back upon him with sudden birdlike cries interrupted by the terrific entrance of Kawakami as Herod with a convulsed mask, feet turned in, in a slow deliberate descent of the stairs, supported by a hesitating Herodias. I saw the dance, rapid, vivid, trance-like, the head thrust over the wattle, and Salome's suicide after a slow muttered speech spoken to space or to the audience she did not see. I fear this is unlike, and the Japanese Salome, whose photo I have seen, wears Maud Allan pearls in her hair. I do not think Uzaemon would consent to do Salome. He is adored by ladies. 112

Like *King Lear* in 1909 and 1911, as Ricketts described "reconstructing," he had designed *Salome* in 1906. He already wrote that he wished that Yacco would play the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Takeishi guesses that Ricketts contracted with kabuki actor, Ichikawa Ennosuke and playwright, Matsui Shouyou as representatives of Shochiku who visited London in 1919. For the details, see Takeishi, "Itō Michio no Nihon-teki Buyō," 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 319.

title role in his *Salome* in the same year. Working with Yacco was his long-held dream, and he had a specific image of Salome by Yacco with Kawakami. Ricketts did not want to cast kabuki actor, Ichimura Uzaemon who worked in Japanese plays. He believed that Yacco was the very person to play Salome, and she would handle the non-Japanese role by expressing emotions with her whole body.

Regarding Ricketts's design for *Salome* in Japan, Bottomley recorded in his memoirs that Ricketts:

He designed *Salome* again in 1919 for a production in Japan by Japanese artists who were organising a scheme for the presentation of great European drama to their countrymen. This set of designs showed his stage-work at its most fortunate heights: the costumes were in a vein of passionate fantasy mingled with a use of decoration deliciously contrived to appeal to the country of Ukiyo-ye, Herodias wearing a robe of black and yellow that suggested not only a tigress but a tigress "burning bright" with searing flame, Herod's rich apparel and black beard and hair being given a sinister touch of unfathomed depravity by a coronal of innocent pink robes in his hair, the Jew's large patterned dresses, beards and pointed high caps marking them off sharply from the Romans: the scene a fragment of a high colonnade against a dark luminous night. But his work on this play was particularly doomed to oblivion. These designs never reached Japan: they went to New York on the way there, and are said to have been lost in the New York Customs. 114

Bottomley's writing shows Ricketts's colourful costumes, and it is different from *Salome* in 1906 which used all-blue costumes. <sup>115</sup> Ricketts' costumes, whilst designed to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Charles Ricketts's postcard, 2 October 1906, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. V. 1906-1913, Add MS 58089, fol. 36r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts R.A." 381.

<sup>115</sup> Ricketts, Pages on Art, 244.

appeal to the Japanese, were not just imitated from Japanese designs, but rather from the Biblical Middle East. As Bottomley wrote, the unlucky Ricketts's designs were lost in New York, however, a painting of the stage design for Salome (Fig. 75) still remains in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

This bluish stage design has a blue background and blue curtains hung from the ceiling with red pillars. There is an exotic atmosphere; however, the design does not focus on a specific country's style. One of few possible Japanese elements is a big circle on the blue curtains and semicircles on the pillars which recall Japanese family crests. On the lower right of the design, we can find the inscription: Salome The Schochiku [Shochiku] Co. Tokio [Tokyo], the inscription proving that this painting was for Salome of the Japanese production.

Furthermore, several costume designs for *Salome* remains in the V&A. Costume designs for Young Syrian (Fig. 76) and Two Priests (Fig. 77) are again exotic cosmopolitan design with big unique patterns. Like Bottomley's description, a costume design for Herodias (Fig. 78) has noticeable black and yellow colours on the gown. This gorgeous gown has a long train, and is similar to uchikake, the Japanese women's gown worn over a kimono. 116 Although Herodias's clothes are kimono like, in the way they wrap an actress's body, her gold head gear is not Japanese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Binnie, The Theatrical designs of Charles Ricketts, 39.

Regarding Herod's costume design, Bottomley possessed its design by Ricketts (Fig. 79) in a photograph album.<sup>117</sup> As Bottomley wrote, the photograph of the costume design shows that Herod wore a robe with big elliptic patterns, and had a long-pointed beard. Although the photograph is monochrome, Bottomley left colourful descriptions of Ricketts's costume design, whose lapis lazuli and turquoise palette evoke central and east Asia:

Herod. Lazuli robe, tomato lining, gold and bl. [black] patts. [patterns]; red and bl. shoes, bl. gown white spots, gold patt. [pattern] green squares, blue and gold panel, purple sash, silv. [silver] armlet, gold cup, silver and turq. [turquoise] clasps to robe, turq. ring, coral necklace, silver turq. ear-rings coral drops. Pink rose wreath.<sup>118</sup>

In the album, there is also a photograph of Ricketts's design for Salome in the scene of Dance of the Seven Veils (Fig. 80). Evoking the seductive dance scene, this costume is revealing, however it keeps its elegance. There are small and big patterns on the costume. Salome wears a head gear, necklaces, bracelets, and anklets. Similar to Herod's robe, Salome's veil depicts big roundel patterns. Bottomley again described Salome's costume:

Salome. Primrose cloak bl. [black] patt. [pattern] red tassels green patches, green and silver skirt, blue fringe, yellow and bl. veil, blue veil, gold frontal silv. [silver] crescents, turq. [turquoise] earrings. Black and silv. trousers and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> The Photograph of Ricketts's Design for Herod, c. 1920s, Charles Ricketts's Work for *Salome* and *The Merchant of Venice*, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 19r, British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Gordon Bottomley, The Memo of *Salome*, Small Drawings, c. 1920s, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 26r.

bodice, gold bosses on breast band, red and silv. necklace, red shoes.

The palette of Salome's dress was far from Japanese. In addition, the exoticness and sensuality of this costume did not appear in traditional Japanese costumes. Compared with Herodias's costume (Fig. 78), Salome's costume is more exotic, and it does not have a design related to *kimono*.

In addition, there is a pencil drawing of a costume design for a dancer which was also possibly for Salome (Fig. 81). The decorative costume seductively emphasises the actress's body line, recalling Salome in *The Apparition* (1876) by Gustave Moreau, a documented source of inspiration for Ricketts, as he himself acknowledged. Regarding the vivid colour scheme and exotic mood in Ricketts's stage design, Ricketts denied the inspiration of the *Ballets Russes* design in 1915 although he was absorbed in the *Ballets Russes* in the 1910s: "the Russian designers owe me nothing. [...] Any chance likeness you may detect lies in common indebtedness to Moreau, or should I say to things initiated and discovered by Moreau." The stage and costume design of the Ballets Russes was exotic and bold, and used bright colours. The Ballets Russes started in Paris in 1909, and fascinated European people including Ricketts. Ricketts often saw its performances enthusiastically, and he had met founder of the Ballets Russes, Sergei Diaghiilev and Russian ballet dancer, Vaslav Nijinski at his house. 120 Despite Ricketts's

<sup>119</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 258-260.

enthusiasm for the *Ballets Russes*, he sharply commented on the *Ballets Russes* designer, Leon Bakst:

Bakst puts too much detail into all he does, uses too many colours, and hardly husbands his resource. The general effect is often confused and even unpleasant, but he has so much invention and fancy that one has to accept him on his own terms, he is a brilliant improvisator and has the qualities of his defects. 121

Compared Bakst's design with Ricketts's, Bakst used more kinds of colours in a single production design than Ricketts. In fact, Bakst's costumes, such as *Cléopâtre* in 1909 and Schéhérazade in 1910, used many bright colours and patterns. Similarly, Ricketts used vivid colours; however, he also created theatre designs with colour unity, for example, designs of the all-blue *Salome* in 1906 and the all-green *Miracle* in 1907. 122 Moreover, in Bakst's design, there was frequent use of Middle Eastern exotic elements and ancient Greek elements. 123 On the other hand, Ricketts attached importance on Japanese art, and he applied not only Western and Middle Eastern elements but also Japanese elements to his theatre design. Hence, Ricketts's wide art knowledge was one of his advantages in stage design.

For Salome, Ricketts evidently had in mind his favourite actress, Yacco, who

<sup>121</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to William Pye, December 1912, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS

<sup>88957/3/11,</sup> fol. 190r, British Library. <sup>122</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Usui Kenji, Robert Bell, National Art Center, Tokyo, and Tokyo Broadcasting System Inc., ed., Miwaku no Kosuchumu: Baree Ryusu [Ballet Russes: The Art of Costume], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tokyo Broadcasting System Inc., 2014), 218.

was not only an actress but also a dancer. One of the reasons why this and the above Salome's designs were not Japanese was that Yacco had danced many Japanese roles, therefore, Ricketts, who already had seen several Yacco's Japanese roles in 1900 and 1901, wanted to create new beautiful costumes, which people had never seen, for her. The fact that Ricketts did not design a stereotyped Japanese-tasted costume like *geishas* for Yacco is a notable point. It shows his serious attitude toward the use of Japonisme elements, and he did not have the Orientalism view on Japanese women. In this way, Ricketts designed stage settings and costumes enthusiastically; however, after the loss of designs at the New York custom, the project of *Salome* in Japan was dropped. Ricketts's dream, with Yacco playing Salome, again disappeared.

Although Ricketts experienced misfortune, in contrast to previous Japonisme plays in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as *The Geisha* and *The Mikado*, his design plans, like his interest in the masculinity of *The Forty-Seven Ronins* and his costume design for Yacco in *Salome* which did not have obvious Japanese elements, were significant signs of the new phase of theatrical Japonisme as Ricketts aimed to design serious and genuine stages when he dealt with Japanese elements. At least when it came to his theatre designs, Ricketts did not have discriminatory Orientalist view on Japan, and he did not reproduce stereotyped Japonisme stage designs.

## The Mikado: Seeking Beauty and Authenticity

All three productions, *King Lear* in 1911, *The Forty-Seven Rōnin* in 1914, and *Salome* in 1919 were not to be finally staged. In spite of Ricketts's misfortune, his theatrical ambitions continued, working on nearly 40 productions from 1906 to 1919, according to the chronological list by Fletcher. Among these productions was a further play design with hidden Japanese elements although it was not a coproduction with a Japanese company, nor a story given a Japanese setting like *King Lear* or *The Forty-Seven Rōnin*. The play was another Shakespeare staple, *The Merchant of Venice*, in a production first performed in 1918.

Ricketts's friend, Penelope Wheeler commissioned him to design three

Shakespeare's plays, and *The Merchant of Venice* was to be performed to British armies
in France; a mid-war production with a tight budget, perhaps not an undue constraint for
a Ricketts who acknowledged that he was "the cheapest dressmaker in London". For
the production, he designed a useful, portable curtain set, saving expenses on scenery.

The costumes, however, were a labour of love, taking four months to stencil. Ricketts's letters and diary do not mention his Japanese inspirations:

I am working hand over hand at dresses for Y.M.C.A. performances at the Front for *Twelfth Night*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merchant of Venice*.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," 21-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," 18.

Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts R.A." 392. These three Shakespeare plays, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Much Ado About Nothing* were played by the company which Lena Ashwell organised.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Furst, "Charles Ricketts, ARA, and his Stage Work," 332.

[...] Shylock is stupendous, and other figures have dresses that recall Giorgione, Carpaccio and Rossetti. [...] I think designs the best I have done. <sup>127</sup>

Whilst Ricketts here explicitly acknowledges a group of European artists, his costume drawings included Japanese elements. Of course, Rossetti depicted women wearing kimonos in his painting. Although there is a possibility that Rossetti's depiction of kimonos might share some underlying ideas, Ricketts's design of The Merchant of Venice employed male kimonos, Rossetti not anticipating Ricketts's interest in Japanese male fashion. Ricketts learned of Japanese male garments through male figures in ukiyo-e prints and male actors of kabuki and noh in photographs, and he put his knowledge to his design works. Ricketts showed his interest in Japanese male fashion, and it indicates a notable new phase of theatrical Japonisme in terms of Ricketts's wide knowledge about traditional Japanese fashion including male kimonos, not merely female kimonos which had been widely known in Europe for centuries. For example, looking at Ricketts's colour drawing of Shylock (Fig. 82) which he singled out in the letter, although the palette is again far from traditionally Japanese, the green lined neck and long-trained trousers are both similar to kamishimo, Edo-period formal costume for the samurai, which combined a broad-shouldered waistcoat, kataginu, and long pleated

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Charles Ricketts's Letter to Bottomley, 25 September 1908, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/3/17, fol. 123r, British Library.

Ricketts also sent a letter about designs of these three Shakespeare plays to Binyon. He wrote that he introduced Giorgione and early Titian elements into costumes, and "Shylock is terrific." For the details, see Charles Ricketts's Letter to Laurence Binyon, September 1918, Ricketts, Shannon and "Michael Field" Transcripts Vol. VI, Add MS 61718, fol. 159r, British Library.

trousers, *nagabakama*. <sup>128</sup> In addition, Shylock's long black hat has the same form as an *eboshi*, the privileged class formal hat. Ricketts's costume for Tubal (Fig. 83) also clearly recalls Japanese male *kimonos*. Bottomley explained Tubal's costume as follows:

Green tunic, blue skirt; top and bottom patches yellow, middle one rosy purple. Sleeves, green leaves, black roots, crimson and blue rings, pale yellow spots, dark oyster lining. D. [dark] brown hair, black cap, primrose veil. 129

Ricketts's drawing of Tubal is more detailed than Shylock's, one of few coloured drawings of *The Merchant of Venice* by Ricketts in existence. "Green tunic" is broader shouldered than Shylock's green lined neck, and the use of colour in Tubal's costume is simpler than Shylock's. Therefore, Tubal's "Green tunic" and "blue skirt" are more similar in style to *kamishimo* than Shylock's. In addition, both Shylock and Tubal wear a black hat, fastened with long ribbons around their foreheads. This resembles a *hikitate eboshi*, a kind of *eboshi*. Tubal and Shylock, friends in the play, both wear *kimonos*, highlighting and orientalising them among other European costumes, perhaps also recalling the 1901 production of *The Merchant of Venice* performed by Kawakami and Yacco, similarly adapted with Japanese elements, as we have seen, with Ricketts paying particular attention to Sairoku, played by Kawakami, Shylock in the English version.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Charles Ricketts, Ricketts's Design for Shylock, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 59r.

Bottomley wrote about this costume "Pale oyster gown, red shoe and veil; green lining neck and sleeves, blue buttons and girdle, brown wallet, auburn hair" in his memo, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 25r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Gordon Bottomley, The Memo of *The Merchant of Venice*, c. 1920s, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 25r.

stage design indicates the significant new phase of Japonisme compared to previous Japonisme depiction of frequent use of female fashion.

In the 1920s, Ricketts continued to provide designs for plays including *The Betrothal* in 1921, *Saint Joan* in 1924, and *Henry VIII* in 1925. It was not until 1926, however, when Ricketts again got an opportunity to design a production strongly related to Japan. That January, Rupert D'Oyly Carte, owner of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, asked Ricketts to design *Utopia Ltd.* Ricketts declined it, but offered instead to design a new production of *The Mikado*, the project being swiftly contracted. <sup>130</sup> Ricketts wrote about his contract in the letter to D'Oyly Carte:

I have read *The Mikado*, my fee for the entire production would be £500, with one condition, namely that every drawing made for it is returned to me after use, I should add that they are usually in a dreadful hole and not worth keeping.<sup>131</sup>

£500 in 1926 was approximately £31,254 in 2020.<sup>132</sup> Ricketts asked D'Oyly Carte to return all his design drawings to him, the product of his bitter experience of losing his earlier designs. Ricketts already a design plan, which he suggested to D'Oyly Carte:

Should you ever contemplate the renovation of *The Gondoliers* in, shall we say *Louis XIV* costume or, better still, *The Mikado* in exquisite 18 cent[ury] Japanese dresses – including the fantastic court dresses – I should be pleased to collaborate. Concerning this last *The Geisha*, *Madame Butterfly* and *The* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Fletcher, "Charles Ricketts and the Theatre," 19-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Charles Ricketts's letter to D'Oyly Carte, 1926, D'Oyly Carte Opera Company: Ricketts, Charles - Correspondence, Add MS 89231/6/235, British Library.

<sup>132</sup> Bank of England, "Inflation calculator."

*Mikado* have created a dreary pink dressing gown style quite unlike anything Japanese and I believe the public would be startled by the novelty of an entirely different presentment.<sup>133</sup>

The Geisha (1896), Madame Butterfly (1904) and The Mikado are Japonisme theatrical plays, and all of them won popularity among Westerners. Ricketts was dissatisfied with costume designs in these plays setting in Japan. As mentioned in the previous section, he considered that these plays gave inauthentic images of Japan to the audience. <sup>134</sup> He respected Japanese culture, and he wanted to improve Japonisme plays through the introduction of greater authenticity of Japanese costumes, for the first redesign of The Mikado since its premiere in 1885. In the same month, January 1926, Ricketts discussed further details including makeup and wigs:

I agree with you that an entirely new aspect should be given to the *Mikado*, the original setting being without character or distinction. To be frank I should not care to undertake it unless it were viewed as a new work requiring beauty, humour and an element of surprise in its appearance.

In our interview you very wisely warned me of the personal limitations of your singers, this however is a case where prejudice and habit would have to be overruled. The ladies <u>must</u> make up very white and alter their eyebrows, the men in the chorus must wear wide breeches and authentic wigs and head dressed, what is more important is that Katisha should wear the long train, huge fan and flowing wig of a court Lady, at least in act 1, in act 2 this might affect the silly little tuns and trickes traditional in the part. <sup>135</sup>

Ricketts evidently desired to reshape *The Mikado* in more authentic and serious

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<sup>133</sup> Ricketts's letter to D'Oyly Carte, 16 January 1926, Add MS 89231/6/235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Noguchi, Ōshū Bundan Insho-ki, 197.

<sup>135</sup> Ricketts's letter to D'Oyly Carte, 27 January 1926, Add MS 89231/6/235.

Japanese ways, more akin to noh drama, perhaps a strange desire for a play designed to be comic. He also made a detailed note for makeup:

"Mikado" ladies. Make-up foundation; combination of No.5. and 1 1/2 or 2, to make light, ivory tone, <u>not too yellow</u>. High placed carmine on cheekbones heightened by No.18 dry rouge after powdering off. Black upward swirling lines at outer corners of eyes.

No eyeshadow to be used, eyelids lightly touched with Carmine 1. Slanting Jap[anese] eyebrows.

Very small mouth (using centre only) made up with Carmine 1.

"Mikado" men. Foundation No.5. Colour (Carmine 1 or 11) placed high on cheekbone.

Same tone for mouth. 136

Ricketts's knowledge of theatrical makeup here, and Japanese historic make-up styles, is noticeable, he knew even foundation numbers. He underlined "not too yellow," perhaps to avoid discriminatory expressions of the supposed colour of Japanese flesh. Surviving photographs confirm that Ricketts got his way. Katisha (Fig. 84) and the court ladies (Fig. 85) applied white foundation on their whole faces, which concealed their real eyebrows following makeup styles in the Edo era in which adult ladies shaved or plucked their eyebrows. "Authentic wigs" were also traditionally Japanese. Again, surviving evidence suggests that Ricketts got his way, since the V&A possesses wigs from the time of *The Mikado*. Ko-Ko's wig (Fig. 86) came complete with a topknot whilst the front part of their hair was shaved in the shape of a half-moon, or *sakayaki*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Charles Ricketts's note, 1926, D'Oyly Carte: Correspondence and Papers Concerning *The Mikado* (1), Add MS 89231/11/32, British Library.

Foundation still remains on this wig's skin, revealing that the male foundation colour was similar to a Japanese skin tone. Katisha's wig (Fig. 87) is a hairstyle for female court nobles and court ladies in the Edo era called *ōsuberakashi*. This wig is heavy because its hairstyle has a long ponytail with *hirabitai* which is a hair ornament for formal dress.<sup>137</sup>

Additionally, as we can see in the photograph (Fig. 84) and the design drawing (Fig. 88), Katisha was dressed in layered *kimonos* called *jūnihitoe*. She wore white, green and purple *kimonos* with circle patterns and a red *nagabakama* (long-pleated trousers), and these costumes made refined colour harmony. Binyon admired Katisha's costume. However, it would have weighed from 10 to 20 kilograms, making it difficult to move. In fact, the Katisha actress hated her costume, and Ricketts needed to remove her *mo*, complete with a picture of a tiger, a train skirt that covered the backside of the lower half of the body. Ricketts painted the tiger inspired by Korin on this *mo*, the year 1926 the Year of the Tiger. He fact, Korin painted a screen, *The Tiger* (Fig. 89) waking toward the lower left side, and the tiger's face looks not only strong but also

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> For the details of dress designs for Japanese female court nobles in the Edo period, see Izutsu Gafū, *Nihon Fukushokushi: Josei-hen* [History of Costume in Japan: Female Garments] (Kyoto: Mitsumura Suiko Shoin, 2015), 156-159, 172-175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Laurence Binyon's letter to Ricketts, 26 September 1926, Add MS 58091, fol. 212r. Binyon wrote that "Katisha was a splendid sort of *Komachi* figure." *Komachi* means beautiful women.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 27 October 1926, 369. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography*, 351.

Persy V Bradshaw, "The New Mikado: Mr. Charles Ricketts's Stage Designs," *Studio* 92 (1926): 419.

cute. 140 Ricketts's tiger in Katisha's costume has a very similar pose and face to Korin's tiger. Looking at Katisha's costume design of Fig. 88, there is a waking tiger in a bamboo forest on the white *mo*, which has disappeared in the photograph (Fig. 84) when *The Mikado* ran; Ricketts's desire for authenticity undercut by the actors' need to move freely.

Other actors also struggled with Ricketts's Japanese costumes. He wrote that Ko-Ko and Pooh-Bah looked paralysed. <sup>141</sup> Compared with female *kimonos*, there are fewer things to wear for male *kimonos*. However, the male actors also felt constrained by their tight *obis*, sashes worn with *kimonos*. Regarding the tightness of *kimonos* in Ricketts's costume design, interestingly, the *haute couture* fashion in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century used elements of *kimonos* as the symbol stimulating the fashion trend to wear loose-fitting clothes in contrast to the former tight corset fashion. Paul Poiret created the "Kimono" coat in 1903, and he introduced a corset-free dress in 1906. Other *haute couture* designers including Mariano Fortuny also designed coats like *uchikake*, which was a Japanese female gown worn over a *kimono*, in the 1910s. In the 1920s, the fashion trend was a straight-lined dress with gentle drapes inspired by *kimonos*, and this

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Korin also painted a tiger in bamboo forests in *The Tiger in Bamboo Forests* (c. 18<sup>th</sup> century), which is the collection of the Kyoto National Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 369.

dress did not tighten waistlines.<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, Ricketts also designed costumes like *uchikake* for Herodias in *Salome* (Fig. 78); however, female costumes for Herodias and Katisha look heavy and tight because of *obis*, many accessories, and layered *kimonos*. As Ricketts mentioned, his male costumes for Ko-Ko and Pooh-Bah were also tight. One of reason why there was a difference of tightness between Ricketts's costume and the *haute couture* fashion although both of them were inspired by *kimonos* is that Ricketts pursued the authentic way to wear *kimonos* while *haute couture* designers selected elements of *kimonos* which matched the loose-fitting fashion trend.

Compared with Katisha's costume, Pooh-Bah's costume is more graceful (Fig. 90). Pooh-Bah, who was the Lord High Everything Else, wore a sword at his side, an *eboshi* (a black hat), golden *kariginu* with folding fans patterns, and a long train, and green and gold trousers, or *sashinuki*. 143

Ricketts's costume again drew on Japanese court clothing, its use of colour creating a luxurious atmosphere. In addition, the Lord High Executioner, Ko-Ko's costume (Fig. 91, 92), which is simpler than Pooh-Bah's, has *eboshi*, *kariginu*-like

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Kyoto Costume Institute ed., *Modo no Japonisumu: Kimono kara Umareta Yutori no Bi* [Japonisme in Fashion: Relaxing Beauty from Kimono], exh. cat. (Kyoto: Kyoto Costume Institute, 1994), 56, 108.

Fukai Akiko, *Japonisumu in Fuasshon: Umi o Watatta Kimono* [Japonisme in Fashion: Kimono Going Abroad] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994), 200-220.

Fukai Akiko, and Suoh Tamami, ed., Fashion: A History from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: The Collection of the Kyoto Costume Institute (Köln: Taschen, 2015), 306, 312.

Fukai Akiko, "Radical Restructure: The Impact of Kimono," in *Kimono: Kyoto to Catwalk*, exh. cat, ed. Anna Jackson (London: V&A Publishing, 2020), 199-201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> For the details of fashion for Japanese male nobles in the Edo period, see Izutsu Gafū, *Nihon Fukushokushi: Dansei-hen* [History of Costume in Japan: Male Garments] (Kyoto: Mitsumura Suiko Shoin, 2015), 179-215.

kimono, and sashinuki. It still remains in the V&A, and looking at the details, there are patterns of axes on the back of the black kimono, alluding to Ko-Ko's job as an executioner. The set of Ko-Ko's costumes also look Japanese. However, there are Western buttons and clasps, which audiences cannot see, around the green waistline of sashinuki, the costumes designed for authenticity, elegance, but also practicality.

Indeed, among the costumes, only the sandals are completely Western, since it was considered difficult for British makers to weave *zouri*, Japanese sandals, from straw or bamboo bark, and since it was tough for actors, who were unfamiliar with Japanese footwear, to perform in them. *Zouri* were, however, less conspicuous an element of Japanese costume, in London, than *kimonos*, so Ricketts may have conceded more easily.

In the V&A, the set of costumes for the Mikado (Fig. 93) also remains. These include pale yellow formal *kimono* accented by red with yellow and green flower patterns, similar to chrysanthemums, related to the Japanese Imperial family. The Mikado's black formal hat is called *kanmuri*, and *oikake*, which are fan shape accessories, are attached around the ears. In reality, *oikake* were hat accessories for military officers of court nobles, so, for the Mikado, they were merely decorative, rather than historically authentic. Looking at the photography of the Mikado (Fig. 85), his *kanmuri* is more formal than *eboshi*, and it gives dignity to this role. The above male

costumes for *The Mikado* clarify that Ricketts closely examined fashion of various ranks of persons from the executioner to the Mikado.

Ricketts designed costumes for not only principals but also ensembles.

Bottomley highly praised *The Mikado*, discussing female chorus members:

The Mikado is, as a stage-picture, one of his greatest achievements; he brought to it, and put into it, an unrivalled knowledge of Japanese art and of the sources of its beauty, and produced something akin to the eighteenth-century masterpieces of Kiyonaga and Utamaro—a setting that is, in fact, too serious and intensive for the light burlesque masterpiece with which it has to run in harness; and that would more fittingly accompany the grave, haughty beauty of some *Samurai* legend. Nevertheless, to see it is an experience to treasure and desire anew; the opening of the first act, all jade and grey, to be suddenly enlivened by the radiant inclusion of butterfly school-girls, and the chorus of white and green and rose bridesmaids in a cherry garden at the opening of the second act seem, in remembrance, the loveliest sights ever seen on a stage—sufficient reason, in fact, for a deaf man to attend a performance of the operetta. 144

All 12 costume designs for female chorus members remain in the V&A, with their different, elegant colours and patterns. According to a breakdown of the female costume cost, Ricketts designed 23 different costumes of female choruses, costing about £350. 145 Bottomley also found elements of Kiyonaga and Utamaro in Ricketts's design, as he had done in the design for *King Lear* in 1911, the chorus girls in *The Mikado* again recalling the beautiful women in ukiyo-e prints so loved by Ricketts. Looking at his

<sup>145</sup> New "Mikado" Ladies' Costumes designed by Charles Ricketts First used Princes Theatre, London, 20 September, 1926, Add MS 89231/11/32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Bottomley, "Charles Ricketts R.A." 394.

<sup>£350</sup> in 1926 was about £21,878 in 2020. For the details, see Bank of England, "Inflation calculator."

costume designs for chorus girls (Fig. 94, 95), from the viewpoint of ukiyo-e prints, girls depicted in the designs strike a familiar pose, twisting their waist and neck and making streamlined body lines, similar to poses of women in ukiyo-e prints, especially bijin-ga. In addition, a girl in a red kimono (Fig. 95) ties an obi vertically. This Heijūrō musubi was popular in the middle of the Edo period among young ladies, as we can see from a Harunobu print (Fig. 96) in Ricketts and Shannon's collection. In this print, a small maid on the right side puts on her obi tightened with Heijūrō musubi. However, Ricketts himself did not mention that The Mikado design was inspired by Kiyonaga and Utamaro:

I can show you two albums of picture post cards of famous Japanese actors, often in fine historical dresses. My collection of Japanese prints is without bearing on the period, circa 1700, to which I incline, owing to its unhackneyed appearance and gaiety of colour, I do not propose pedantic accuracy – this is impossible – but I would wish to convey the fresh, bright, heraldic colour & the modish forms of the screen painters of old Japan. I believe this would enchant the public. 146

If Ricketts referred to his ukiyo-e prints collection, whose artists started their carrier after the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, he also referred to postcards of Japanese actors in *kimonos*, a few of which remain in the British Library. Although there are no postcards of female roles, Ricketts would undoubtedly have possessed related images of various Japanese actors including female roles at that time because he wrote that he had two

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Ricketts's letter to D'Oyly Carte, 27 January 1926, Add MS 89231/6/235.

albums of postcards. Additionally, *Heijūrō musubi* was originated by Murayama Heijūrō who was a male kabuki actor who took female roles, therefore, there would be a postcard of a kabuki actor with *Heijūrō musubi*. Moreover, Ricketts referred to Japanese costumes in the specific period:

The new dresses I have chosen belong to a period—about 1720—when the national costume was especially beautiful. The girls' dresses, in particular, were very bright and gay. Therefore, there is nothing to lose by making the costumes conform to that period. Indeed, the increased artistic effect alone justifies the heave expense.<sup>147</sup>

Ricketts's design target was around 1720 when the quality of *Yuzen*-style dyeing was improving in Japan, allowing Japanese people to depict exquisite colours and patterns on *kimonos*. When it came to *The Mikado*, Ricketts also seems to have referred to Japanese artworks in the British Museum. He saw Hart's Japanese art collection in 1901 when the British Museum asked Ricketts to consult on it for their possible purchase, as mentioned in Chapter 1. In Hart's collection, there are artworks depicting women and *kimonos* around 1720. *Sanjo Kantaro as a Girl Dancing* (Fig. 97) by Okumura Masanobu shows an actor playing a female role dancing in a *kimono*. The actor puts on a hat with flower decorations, called *hanagasa* used for festivals and dances, a similar hat found in Ricketts's costume design for female chorus members (Fig. 94, 95).

Miyagawa Choshun's Courtesan (Fig. 98) wears a complex, harmonious, vivid

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Charles Ricketts, "Why I Redressed *The Mikado*," *Daily Mail*. September 18, 1926.

yellow, red, black, and white *kimono* with colourful chrysanthemums, reeds and fishnet patterns. This is echoed in Ricketts's *kimonos* for chorus girls which have similarly elaborate patterns and colours. The British Museum possesses another Choshun's artworks (Fig. 99) depicting people in *kimonos* with various bright colours, a pair of handscrolls showing scenes of pleasure in Edo from the New Year to the early summer. In the second scroll, people dance in a circle under cherry blossoms. Among the dancers, women put on hats, twist their waists, and raise their arms. The British Museum purchased this artwork in 1881 from Anderson. Ricketts evidently admired this dancing scene, and adopted its expressions for his costume design.

Furthermore, around 1720 in Japan, Ricketts's chosen period, was the moment when *Korin* patterns came into fashion. These are unique designs inspired by Korin's artworks. In the Edo era, illustrated books of *kimono* designs were often published, books featuring *Korin* patterns, such as *Korin*-style water, chrysanthemums, pine trees, and cranes. For example, *Korin*-style Japanese simplified apricot blossoms appear in an illustrated book, *Hiinagata Someiro no Yama* (Fig. 100). In Ricketts's costume designs (Fig. 94, 101), similar Japanese apricot blossoms appear on *kimonos*, specifically, round apricot blossoms on a pale blue *kimono* (Fig. 101). Ricketts, who respected Korin, and painted a tiger inspired by Korin on Katisha's costume, as we have seen, would create designs infused with Korin's taste for chorus members' *kimono*. In this way, Ricketts's

costumes for chorus girls reveal how he used elements of Edo fashion for costumes around 1720. By contrast, Ricketts concentrated on traditional costumes for court nobles, when it came to the designs for the costumes of Katisha, Ko-Ko, and the Mikado. In both costume designs, chorus girls and court nobles, Ricketts maintained the beauty and authenticity supported by his knowledge of Japanese costumes.

There are comparatively few surviving materials relating to the set design of *The Mikado*. The set design for Ko-Ko's Garden (Fig. 102) depicts a red humpback bridge, which has a big curve, willow trees, and a pond. On the stage, there are folding screens and female chorus members posed in the foreground (Fig. 103). This set design with a peaceful and bright atmosphere has a similar composition of Hokusai's *Drum Bridge of Kameido Tenjin Shrine*, from the Ricketts and Shannon Collection (Fig. 104). Both of them feature a humpback bridge as the main topic.

In addition, Hiroshige's *Wisteria at Kameido Tenjin Shrine* depicts a humpback bridge (Fig. 105). 148 Its composition, with wisteria painted in the foreground of the bridge, is even more similar to Ricketts's set design, with willow trees painted in the foreground of the bridge. Whilst this image was not in Ricketts and Shannon's collection, it was part of the British Museum collection from 1906, meaning there is a high likelihood that Ricketts saw it, and he was inspired by Hokusai and Hiroshige's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Claude Monet built a humpback bridge inspired by *Wisteria at Kameido Tenjin Shrine* in his garden in Giverny. Monet painted the bridge and garden in his paintings, such as *The Water-Lily Pond* (1899).

prints.

Furthermore, there is another set design depicting a gate with a green roof and red pillars in the forest covered with snow (Fig. 106). This backdrop was placed behind walls and another gate on the stage (Fig. 107). Compared with the design of Ko-Ko's Garden, this set design is more serious. Its serious atmosphere shares Hokusai's *Kanadehon Chushingura*, *Act 11* (Fig. 74), again from the Ricketts and Shannon collection, as mentioned in the previous section. *Kanadehon Chushingura*, *Act 11* depicts a gate, walls and trees covered with snow, and Ricketts's set design and this Hokusai's print have much in common. Ricketts seems to have introduced elements of *The Forty-Seven Ronins*, which he could not design in the 1910s, into *The Mikado*.

Ricketts poured all his energy into designing *The Mikado*, and he had many promotional interviews before the opening on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1926. Ricketts showed his design drawings to the press, who praised them.<sup>149</sup> However, there were some advanced reviews regarding costume designs which disappointed Ricketts:

Mr. Charles Ricketts, A.R.A., who has designed new scenery and dresses for the Gilbert and Sullivan autumn season to start at the Prince's Theatre on Sept. 20, has provided a species of Oriental "Oxford bags" to be worn by male members of the chorus.<sup>150</sup>

The welcome reopening of the D'Oyly Carte season of Gilbert and Sullivan opera on the 20<sup>th</sup> suggests itself as an opportunity for starting what will be a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 27 October 1926, 369.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> London and China Express, "Miscellaneous," editorial, September 9, 1926, 633.

novel, and might be a most intellectual contest: the casting of these operas with present-day celebrities or notorieties. *The Mikado* is full of possibilities for those with literary leanings to enter a competish for the best description of who Pooh-Bah, for instance, most resembles in the characters who tread the stage of modern life, perhaps very deftly, perhaps with a ponderosity which is simply soul-searing! [...] Hamlet has been done in plus-fours, and Oxford bags used by ineffable young men and Bright Young Persons—so why should not some of Gilbert's heroes and heroines be fitted to modern and actual personalities?<sup>151</sup>

The above articles devote the great attention to *The Mikado*; however, the press wrote as if Western elements would appear in costumes, such as plus-fours and Oxford bags.

Ricketts challenged these misunderstandings in an article for *Daily Mail* on 18<sup>th</sup>

September, revealing his own opinion about *The Mikado*:

The original setting of "The Mikado" contains nothing which it is essential to preserve. The piece was staged in a great hurry at its first appearance, and the dressing of it was given into the hands of a costumier who was told to do the best he could. Little was known at the time about Japanese dress, and the result was a production in which the costumes looked like kimonos. "The Mikado," of course, is not meant to be a true picture of Japanese life. It is a fairy-tale, in which, half the time, Gilbert is laughing at his own country.

Many Japanese resent a parody in which their national dress is made to look like a collection of dressing-gowns. Their Mikado, too, is semi-sacred to them. In the new version the actor playing that part will appear in the costume of a prince of high rank, but without Imperial heraldry. During a visit of the Japanese Heir-Apparent, the Home Secretary objected to the opera because he considered it might give offence. By correcting the costumes, we are making a long overdue gesture of courtesy to a friendly nation.

The Gentlemen of Japan appear now in Court costume, but with fictitious banners and heraldry. Katisha's dress, conforming to the historic mode, is elaborate in the extreme, with sleeves wider than present-day dresses. In my opinion this type of Court dress is one of the most beautiful ever invented.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Tatler, "Picture in the Fire," editorial, September 15, 1926, iv.

Current reports about "Oxford Bags" and "Plus Fours" are entirely erroneous. No European element is being introduced. The breeches referred to are more like divided skirts than trousers, and were in common use thirty years ago. Many of the dresses copied have remained in fashion for centuries—some were used before the Norman Conquest. 152

Ricketts here criticises the first performance design in 1885 for its lack of knowledge of Japanese culture. Looking at the costumes of the original production for the Mikado and for a Japanese Gentleman (Fig. 108, 109), we can see that the original production employed Japanese fabric provided by Liberty. 153 However, against the luxurious fabric and the characters of high rank, these two costumes do not have *hakama*, pleated trousers, and their way of wearing kimonos are too casual, with Ricketts comparing them to "a collection of dressing-gowns." Specifically, a Japanese Gentleman (Fig. 109) tightened an obi on his front, and wore a light blue cloth around his neck to decorate a neckband. Although the fabrics are beautiful, these costumes are far from true Japanese kimonos. By contrast, Ricketts's costumes were more authentic and respectful than the original production's costumes. Therefore, he could not tolerate a groundless rumour which Western items would appear in the repeat performance because it did not respect Japanese tradition and Ricketts's elaborate work which he proudly believed *The Mikado* 

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<sup>152</sup> Ricketts, "Why I Redressed The Mikado."

In 1907, a member of the Japanese imperial family, Prince Fushimi visited London, and the British government banned *The Mikado* during the Prince's visit to avoid harsh criticisms by the Prince. For more details, see Andrew Goodman, "The Fushimi Incident: Theatre Censorship and the Mikado," *Journal of Legal History* 1, no. 3 (1980): 297-302.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Sato Tomoko and Watanabe Toshio, ed., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue*, *1850-1930*, exh. cat. (London: Lund Humphries, 1991), 133.

in 1926 was the best Japanese-style production in England.

In addition, as Ricketts wrote that "Gilbert is laughing at his own country" in the above article, he understood that *The Mikado* itself was a comedy about Britain.

Regarding the costume for the first performance of *The Mikado* in 1885, Tawata

Shintaryo argues that the original production costume design might have been intentionally made to look similar to Tudor British aristocrat's garments so that the audience could understand that the play was a comedy about Britain set in "never-never-Japan." Compared with costumes for the first production, there may be a possibility that Ricketts's enthusiasm for the authentic representation of Japan in his costume design ironically might have given the audience the impression that the story itself was based on Japan. However, D'Oyly Carte wrote that Ricketts's costume distinguished Japanese actual persons from characters in *The Mikado*, and he also emphasised that it was obvious that the storyline of *The Mikado* described Britain:

Mr. Ricketts, who has a great knowledge of Japan, designed the Mikado's dress on the lines of a great noble and particularly avoided any close resemblance to the actual costume worn by the Emperor of Japan.

No doubt you realise that all the characters in *The Mikado* are clearly English and the opera has no relation at all to Japan except in the setting. <sup>155</sup>

Ricketts, who had respect for Japan, avoided close resemblance to an actual costume by an actual person, and D'Oyly Carte did not consider that Ricketts's costume led the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Tawata, "19seiki Seiyo Engeki niokeru Japonizumu," 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> D'Oyly Carte's letter to Mrs. Tweedie, 30 December 1929, Add MS 89231/11/32.

audience to misunderstand real Japan. In fact, he did not use the actual Japanese imperial family crest in his costume design for the Mikado (Fig. 93) although he applied the authentic court nobles garment design to its costume. This fact shows that Ricketts tried to make his costume compatible between the authenticity of his costume design and the characteristics of the story, which was fiction. Ricketts himself did not have any concern or dilemma about the possibility of misunderstandings of actual Japan caused by his design, and looking at reviews of *The Mikado*, theatre critics and reporters also did not mention that Ricketts's costumes led to the misunderstandings.

Contrary to disquieting advance reviews, the opening reviews viewed *The*Mikado in a favourable light. Ricketts expressed his delight in his letter to Bottomley:

In the *Mikado* everything turned out perfectly in execution, the dresses being the most successful I have had so far done. [...] The house on the first night, and the public since, have been enthusiastic. <sup>156</sup>

Ricketts was understandably pleased and relieved, after so much misfortune, finally achieving a great success not only in the field of stage design but also in his long career as an artist. Not everyone was persuaded, however. Bottomley wrote about some audience's opinions on Ricketts's design:

re-dressing of "the Mikado" in eighteenth-century Japanese costume caused considerable controversy among those who hated to see the sacred canon of Gilbert and Sullivan disturbed by so much as the change on a headdress.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 27 October 1926, 368-369.

There was perhaps some reason in this objection, for the very accuracy of Ricketts' costumes, and the delicate beauty of their colour, made them perhaps less suitable to the characters in what is, after all, a burlesque, than the costumes they replaced. The comic quality of "The Mikado" (if any change in the traditional presentation is to be made) is what should be emphasized. 157

Bottomley explained that authenticity of Ricketts's design had the exact opposite effect among fans of Gilbert and Sullivan's works. Even if Ricketts's design was a bit ill-judged and humourless, Ricketts had loyalty to Japanese culture rather than to mid-Victorian Japonisme promoted by Gilbert and Sullivan. However, supporters of Ricketts's design were predominant over objectors at that time:

New ground was broken last night. Instead of the usual rather commonplace costumes and scenery entirely new designs of old Japan were provided by Mr. Charles Ricketts A.R.A., enhancing the value of the production. 158

Nevertheless, despite these outspoken criticisms on the part of a minority, I think the production may be counted a triumph for Mr. Ricketts. The artist had "let himself go" on the costumes of Poo-bah and Katisha, and the rest of the company, very properly, made a semi-subdued background for these resplendent characters. <sup>159</sup>

When the curtain rose on "The Mikado" as re-dressed by Charles Ricketts A.R.A., the audience gasped. There was some tittering. Then a burst of applause made it plain that the Ayes had it.

As a matter of fact, "The Mikado" slipped as easily into his new clothes as "Hamlet" did. 160

<sup>160</sup> ""The Mikado" in His New Clothes. Change that Made Audience Gasp. Triumph for Stage Artist," editorial, *Westminster Gazette*, September 21, 1926, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Bottomley, "The Scenic Designs of Charles Ricketts," 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> ""The Mikado" Again: Old Favourites in a New Guise—Scenery and Costumes Changed," editorial, *Daily Mirror*, September 21, 1926, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> "A Real Triumph," editorial, *Lancashire Evening Post*, September 22, 1926, 4.

In this way, Ricketts's designs, especially of costumes, acquired favourable responses, and the costumes were repeatedly re-used until the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company dissolved in the early 1980s. <sup>161</sup> The design of *The Mikado*, into which Ricketts introduced his knowledge of Japanese art, became his most famous work, as well as a notable Japonisme theatrical work in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1926, Ricketts designed another production, *Macbeth* (1606) which opened in London three months after *The Mikado*. He regretted that he had declined the commission of *Macbeth* in 1911, and he wanted a second chance. <sup>162</sup> As cited above, he had an ambition to be asked to design *Macbeth* for Japan. <sup>163</sup> Whilst he was never approached for such a production, there are several hidden Japanese elements in *Macbeth* like his design of *The Merchant of Venice*.

The designs fuse ancient and exotic worlds, with specific costumes again possessing Japanese elements. For example, the green and white costume for Duncan (Fig. 110) resembles a formal *kimono* style for *samurai*, *kamishimo*, which is an ensemble of a broad-shouldered waistcoat and long pleated trousers, like Shylock's costume (Fig. 82). Whist Duncan's crown is Western, his trailing long white cloak is more Japanese, with the pooled train of a *kimono*. The costume for Lady Macbeth (Fig. 111), meanwhile, includes a wide gold belt, similar to a female *obi*, a sash worn with

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Delaney, Charles Ricketts: A Biography, 352.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Ricketts, Self-Portrait, 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Ricketts's letter to Bottomley, 4 February 1912, Add MS 88957/1/75, fol. 34r.

kimonos.

In both costumes, Ricketts employed Japanese elements to accentuate the high-class atmosphere of his regal characters. In addition, Ricketts might again have nodded back to the performance of *The Shogun* he saw in 1901 performed by Yacco and Kawakami, which reminded him of *Macbeth*. Ricketts's costume design for *Macbeth* was reproduced in *The Observer* in December 1926 (Fig. 112). Ricketts's design is characteristically cosmopolitan, making it difficult for audiences to identify from which period and place these costumes come, the artist's Japonisme, however, again central to the mix.

Ricketts worked as a theatre designer until 1931, the year he passed away, deploying his knowledge of both ukiyo-e prints and Japanese traditional theatre arts, and playing a vital role in early-20<sup>th</sup>-century Japonisme. The prodigious Ricketts produced various kinds of art, specifically, as an artistic Japonist, employing Japanese art most carefully for his theatrical design. He also tried to spread the knowledge of Japanese traditional theatrical arts, kabuki and noh around his art circle in Britain. It is also notable that Ricketts designed authentic Japanese male costumes for various productions and came up with masculine stage sets for *The Forty-Seven Ronins* and *The Mikado* in contrast to stereotypical Japonisme plays in the 19<sup>th</sup> century-Britain along

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> "Mr. Charles Ricketts's Costume for *Macbeth*," editorial, *Observer*, December 19, 1926, 16.

with *geishas*, and he brought the new aspect of Japonisme in theatrical arts. His knowledge of Japanese art and pride as a Japonist bloomed in the design of *The Mikado*. In contrast, his sculptures, paintings, and book designs are less invested.

After much bad luck, Ricketts's design of *The Mikado* brought him success and improved the quality and authenticity of the early-20<sup>th</sup> century British Japonisme.

Interactions between Ricketts's art and Japanese art brought mutual benefit to Ricketts and British Japonisme, and to Japanese performers in London, who had inspired Ricketts and been inspired by him. The Japonisme of Ricketts's paintings and book designs, by contrast, is second hand, as well as second generational, indebted rather than progressive.

#### **Conclusion**

In this thesis, I have explored in unprecedented detail the relationship between Ricketts and Japan, emphasising how the artist was a transitional figure, between nineteenth- and twentieth-century Japonists, and a vital Japonist of the second generation in London. I have regarded Ricketts as a versatile Japonist: a Collector, Scholar, and Artist, who contributed in very significant and long-lasting ways to the British understanding of Japan in multiple media the period from the 1880s to the 1930s, and up to the present day.

Exploring Ricketts and his partner Shannon's art collecting and exhibiting activities, and their bequest of the collection to museums, I have indicated the significance of their Japanese art collection and their uniqueness as Japanese art collectors and connoisseurs in London, and I have clarified the role of Ricketts as a collector Japonist to the extant canon of Japanese art.

Ricketts and Shannon started jointly to collect Japanese artefacts, specifically ukiyo-e prints by Hokusai, Utamaro, and Harunobu in the 1880s, emerging as leading collectors around 1900. At the same time, Ricketts established his reputation as a Japanese art connoisseur. Ricketts and Shannon also exhibited their Japanese art collection in London and Paris, revealing their collection to large, diverse public. In the

end, they collected over 300 Japanese artworks, which they bequeathed to the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum, establishing a British Japanese canon including Hokusai's famous *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* series and *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces* series.

The bequest to the Fitzwilliam Museum also includes less well-known

Japanese drawings: drawings by the Hokusai school artists and Hokusai's precious

preparatory drawing of *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* from the series of *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse*. Japanese and British scholarly

understanding of Japanese art and sense of what constitutes a Japanese canon owes

much, as we have seen, to Ricketts's pioneering legacy.

In addition, I have revealed Ricketts's cultural interaction with Japanese people in London. Although he never travelled to Japan, early 20<sup>th</sup>-century London was a cosmopolitan city, and Ricketts had various opportunities to interact with Japanese intellectuals. For example, Ricketts developed his taste for things Japanese in part from Kohitsu, with whom he dined as well as talked art. In addition, Ricketts sold his painting to Matsukata, who exhibited it in Japan.

Some of Ricketts's Japanese acquaintances and friends subsequently wrote about him, and I have explored, for the first time, books and articles related to Ricketts in Japanese, suggesting a two-way exchange between Britain and Japan, rather than just

the more stereotyped story of the European reception of Japanese art, the standard theme of much European Japonisme studies. Noguchi wrote that he admired Ricketts's strong attachment to Japanese art, especially ukiyo-e prints and Korin. Yashiro penned a poignant obituary to Ricketts, expressing his gratitude to Ricketts for respecting Japanese art.

In these cosmopolitan surroundings, Ricketts's interest in Japanese art developed, and he wrote Japanese art criticism. Japanese art studies in Britain had begun flourishing from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, with works by notable Japanese art scholars, Goncourt, Anderson, Morrison, Binyon, and Strange stimulating Ricketts.

Through an analysis of Ricketts's articles on Utamaro and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, I have revealed the particular character of his Japonisme, his aesthetic subjectivity, and frequent use of comparisons between Japanese and European art, especially ancient and early modern. Again, some Japanese people knew and valued Ricketts's work, and I have paid attention to the existence of the unfinished Japanese translation of Ricketts's *Outamaro* by Uemura.

Unfortunately, Ricketts's Japanese art criticism did not have enough academic credibility, and as a scholarly Japonist, Ricketts did not achieve a great success.

However, his enthusiasm for Korin inspired Noguchi, Ricketts wrote articles on

Utamaro at the very early stage of Japanese studies in Britain, and he documented his

real as well as published views regarding the Japan-British Exhibition, enabling us to detect key differences between his public and private personae.

In addition, the thesis clarifies the active role Ricketts played as an artistic Japonist. He dealt with a wide variety of art forms: theatre design, book design, paintings, and sculpture. Ricketts designed many of Wilde's books, and his design for *The Sphinx* is not only his best book design but his most Japonist. In addition, when it came to his book design and paintings, Ricketts was inspired by Rossetti and Moreau, key first generation Japonists, bequeathing an indirect Japonisme in Ricketts's artworks.

When it came to theatre design, Ricketts was famous but not always successful. In London, he interacted with Japanese dancer Itō, and exchanged letters with Sickert. Itō and Sickert aroused Ricketts's interest in kabuki and noh plays. Ricketts also saw performances by Japanese actress Sada Yacco, which he found tremendously evocative. Through these experiences, Ricketts developed his desire to adopt Japanese art in his theatre design. At first, he attempted to design productions for Japan: King Lear, The Forty-Seven Ronins and Salome. However, these productions were unperformed. Ricketts's theatre designs with Japanese inspirations did, however, finally see the light of day in The Merchant of Venice, The Mikado, and Macbeth. I have examined Japanese elements in each production, specifically, The Mikado, which was Ricketts's great success, and showed the strongest inspiration from Japanese art among his artworks.

Through my examination, I have shown that Ricketts introduced his knowledge and experience of Japanese art into his artworks as an artist, scholar, and collector Japonist, using Japanese art to suggest parallels between ancient Greek and early modern British and Japanese cultures, and seeking, perhaps paradoxically, to employ more serious and genuine Japanese sources for *The Mikado*, rejecting the *kimono geisha* cliches of the first generation of Japonists in favour of something more masculine, philosophical, tragic, and modernist.

Ricketts was like a kaleidoscope because of his versatility. However, in my thesis, I have looked at Ricketts primarily through a lens of Japonisme, and I have demonstrated Ricketts's clear place as a leading Japonist from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Ricketts was the embodiment of the second generation of British Japonisme, one with as much significance, perhaps, as the better-known Pound or Yeats.

My thesis has consistently focused on Ricketts as a Japonist. In my thesis,

Shannon was a key partner for collecting Japanese artefacts with Ricketts jointly. In fact,
when I visited the National Portrait Gallery in London in 2019, the two portraits of
Ricketts and Shannon painted by Shannon were exhibited next to each other. As
mentioned in the introduction, in 2022 the Suntory Museum of Art held an exhibition,

Hokusai from the British Museum which picked up on Shannon as one of notable

Japanese art collectors in Britain. However, at present, Shannon's part in this story remains under-researched. Shannon is also a forgotten artist and Japonist.

There are also other forgotten people of Ricketts's generation whom it would be productive to examine from the viewpoint of British Japonisme. Ricketts's friends, Bottomley and Rothenstein, who I mentioned in Chapter 1, were also important figures who collected Japanese artefacts. In addition, Charles Holmes, who appeared in Chapter 2, published *Hokusai*, and Oswald Sickert, who appeared in Chapter 3, wrote a key joint correspondence with Ricketts. Returning Shannon and other Ricketts's friends to the centre stage would broaden the horizon of British art and Japonisme in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and emphasise the importance of visual artists to complement the more developed scholarship on literary Japonists of this period.

Finally, whilst I have investigated Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese art collection, other parts of their collection require similar analysis, such as their close-related India, Chinese, and Middle-Eastern artefacts. Although the number of these artefacts is fewer, integrating all Ricketts and Shannon's Japanese, ancient Greek, Indian, Chinese, and Middle-Eastern interests into a whole cosmopolitan collection would help both specify the singularity of the Japanese material, and reveal and broader Orientalism of which it was a part.

### **Appendices**

### (Appendix 1)

English Translation of the Catalogue of the Exhibition *Drawings and Watercolours by Hokusai and Hokkei*, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. I. 1909, Add MS 58085, fol. 132-133, British Library.

### **DRAWINGS & WATERCOLORS**

# by HOK'SAÏ

- 1. Study page.
- Tiger caught in a waterfall.(Great study published in the Mangwa).
- 3. Repetition in a small format of the same subject.
- 4. Creeping tiger.
  - (Sketch for the Mangwa).
- 5. Study in colour for the same subject.
- 6. Big sketch for the same subject.
- 7. Study for the same subject.
- 8. Fabulous lion.

(Watercolour).

9. Landscape in the style of Seshiu.

(Watercolour).

10. Fuji seen behind the trunk of a tree.

(Watercolour).

- 11. Cascade.
- 12. Apparition holding a sword.
- 13. Shinsi-Shoki killing a demon.

(Watercolour).

14. Shinsi-Shoki and the demon.

(Watercolour).

- 15. Great study for a legendary figure.
- 16. Legendary figure.

(Watercolour).

- 17. Meditation warrior leaning on his spear.
- 18. Juggler.
- 19. Ito-Soda wins the Monster Cat.
- 20. Two monsters appearing to a woman.

- 21. Yoshitsune and Benkei.
- 22. Yoshitsune giving his share of food to Benkei.
- 23. Sketches of wrestlers.
- 28. Tiger.
- 29. Demon.
- 30. Hotéi.

(Watercolour).

31. Temple guardian.

(Study for a figure of the Mangwa).

32. Bronze.

(Study for a figure of the Mangwa).

- ff. 133
- 33. Warrior on the lookout.
- 34. Study of rat, weasel and peasant.
- 35. Chinese poetry.
- 36. Study for Chinese poets.
- 37. Creeping man.
- 38. Guard.
- 39. Study of a Tengou.
- 40. Chinese half-god.
- 41. Fan.
- 42. Screen.
- 43. Study of a legendary lion.

# **DRAWINGS & WATERCOLORS**

by HOKKEÏ

- 24. Page of comic figures.
- 25. Mother and child.
- 26. Page of musicians' cats.
- 27. Bird study.

(Watercolour).

(Appendix 2)

English Translation of "Kaigai Iho Rikketsu Gahaku no Shi [News Abroad: Death of Charles Ricketts, R. A.]"

Yashiro Yukio (1890-1975) was an art historian and art critic, perhaps most relevant in this context as the author of *Sandro Botticelli* (London, 1925), which was criticized by Roger Fry. Yukio accompanied Matsukata Kojiro's on his journey to Europe to collect paintings in Paris and London from 1921. In London, he met Ricketts and Shannon through Laurence Binyon, and they became friends. *Bijutsu Kenkyu* was launched in 1932 by the Art Institute where Yashiro worked as a chief of staff.

Yashiro, Yukio. "Kaigai Iho Rikketsu Gahaku no Shi [News Abroad: Death of Charles Ricketts, R. A.]", *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, 1 (1932): 20-21.

### The Death of the Great Painter, Mr. Ricketts

Charles Ricketts, R.A. passed away in London on 7<sup>th</sup> October.<sup>2</sup> We sorrow for his death not only because of a loss of a leading painter, critic, theatre designer, and book designer in Britain, but also of a good friend of Japan who appreciated, loved, and collected Japanese art. When the Japan-British Exhibition took place in London in the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of Meiji,<sup>3</sup> Japan sent, amongst others, to the exhibition Masaki,<sup>4</sup> who is now

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Yukio Yashiro, Geijutsu no Patoron [The Patron of Art] (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1958), 38.

Yukio Yashiro, *Nihon Bijutsu no Onjin-tachi* [Supporters of Japanese Art] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju Shinsha, 1961), 66-67.

Yukio Yashiro, Watashi no Bijutsu Henreki [My Art Experiences] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ricketts passed away in 1931. Volume 1 of *Bijutsu Kenkyu* was published in January 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The 43rd year of Meiji is 1910.

the head of Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Mizoguchi, and the chief of the art section of the Tokyo Imperial Museum. Looking back on it now, Japan took surprisingly many important old artefacts to Britain. Mr. Ricketts was one of the visitors who was deeply impressed by Japanese art at that time. After that, he consistently believed in the excellence of Japanese art, and he frequently wrote and talked in support of it. In recent years, Chinese art is in fashion in the West, and this trend drove Japanese art into a tight corner. However, Mr. Ricketts maintained Japanese art's superiority even while he was fully aware of Chinese art's excellence. As a painter, Mr. Ricketts was a member of the Royal Academy of Arts, and, as an art critic, had such a reputation that he was a strong candidate to become director of the National Gallery in his later years. It was, greatly fortunate for Japanese art that Mr. Ricketts always had a good understanding of Japan humbly. I think that we, Japanese people, should be grateful to Mr. Ricketts.

Mr. Ricketts produced great paintings using subjects of tragic literature.

However, he was more famous as a theatrical designer than as a painter. A prime example of his theatre design works is his costume and scenery design for Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan* (1923), and regarding this, there is a splendid publication of an edition deluxe.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, it is certain that Mr. Ricketts was a master of book and

<sup>4</sup> Masaki Naohiko was the 5<sup>th</sup> head of Tokyo School of Fine Arts from 1901 to 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mizoguchi Teijiro was the chief of the art section of the Tokyo Imperial Museum from 1915 to his death in 1945.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bernard Shaw, *Saint Joan: A Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue* (London: Constable & Co, 1924).

type design as his works at the Ballantyne Press were equally matched with William Morris's Kelmscott Press briefly. Also, I recommend *Pages on Art* and *Titian* by Mr. Ricketts to people who wish to understand his art criticism.

Mr. Ricketts had a close relationship with Mr. Charles Shannon, who, from a young age, was a great painter in Britain as a Royal Academician. They always lived together in a house, and it is well known in British painting circles that there was a period which they lived in Whistler's former house. French painter, Jacques-Émile Blanche depicted and put side by side Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Shannon in one portrait.<sup>7</sup> Both Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Shannon were eccentric persons. They remained bachelors throughout their life, and they enjoyed jointly collecting old artefacts. Their last house was Townsend House, which was architecturally impressive, their big studio and museum. In Europe, they were also leading collectors of Egyptian and Greek masterpieces and first-class sketches by Raphael and other Renaissance artists. They were also leading collectors of ukiyo-e prints in Japan, especially, ukiyo-e prints by Harunobu, Utamaro, Hokusai, and Hiroshige, and many picture books. Additionally, they had a folding screen from the Momoyama era, and so on. 8 I am worried about where these rich art collections are going from now on.

In this way, we mourn the death of Mr. Ricketts in various aspects. Those who

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Jacques-Émile Blanche, *Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts*, 1904, Oil on canvas, 92.1 x 73 cm, Tate, London, Bequeathed by Charles Shannon in 1937

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Momoyama era is from the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Japan.

know Mr. Ricketts's witty, cultured conversation will feel sad about a London art world without Mr. Ricketts, specifically, in terms of the loss of the best friend of Japanese art.

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# **Tables**

(Table 1) Details of eighty-two works from the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection at the Fair Women Exhibition in 1909

Ukiyo-e Print	Artist Name	Number
	Kitagawa Utamaro	33
	Suzuki Harunobu	22
	Katsukawa Shunshō	8
	Chōbunsai Eishi	3
	Isoda Koryūsai	2
	Kitagawa Utamaro the Second	2
	Katsushika Hokusai	1
	Torii Kiyonaga	1
	Yashima Gakutei	1
	Subtotal	73
Drawing	Katsushika Hokusai	4
	Teisai Hokuba	1
	Totoya Hokkei	1
	Subtotal	6
Watercolour [Ink Painting]	Katsushika Hokusai	2
	Subtotal	2
Painting	Harunobu School	1
	Subtotal	1
	Total	82

(Table 2) The number of artists in the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection at the British Museum

Artist Name	
Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎) (1760-1849)	
Kitagawa Utamaro (喜多川歌麿) (1753-1806)	
Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信) (1725-1770)	
School of/style of: Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎)	33
Utagawa Hiroshige (歌川広重) (1797-1858)	27
Yashima Gakutei (八島岳亭) (1786?-1868)	14
Chobunsai Eishi (鳥文斎栄之) (1756-1829)	9
Unknown	5
After: Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信)	3
Totoya Hokkei (魚屋北溪) (1780-1850)	3
Isoda Koryusai (磯田湖龍齋) (1735-1790?)	2
Attributed to: Katsushika Hokusai	
Kitagawa Utamaro II (Unknown)	
Kondo Katsunobu (近藤勝信) (Unknown)	
Ochiai Yoshiiku (落合芳幾) (1833-1904)	1
Ryuryukyo Shinsai (柳々居辰斎) (Unknown)	1
School of/style of: Oguri Sotan (小栗宗湛) (1413-1481)	1
School of/style of: Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信)	1
Shiba Kokan (司馬江漢) (1747-1818)	
Shibata Zeshin (柴田是眞) (1807-1891)	
Takagi Sadatake (高木貞武) (Unknown)	
Takashima Chiharu (高島千春) (1777-1859)	
Torii Kiyoshige (鳥居清重) (Unknown)	
Total	332

(Table 3) Production dates of artists in the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection at the British Museum

Date	
1730s	1
1760s	48
1790s	20
1800s	8
1810s	5
1820s	3
1830s	110
1850s	3
1860s	2
Unknown	132
Total	332

(Table 4) Series of ukiyo-e prints in the Ricketts and Shannon Japanese Art Collection at the British Museum

Title (Series)	
Fugaku sanjurokkei (Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji)	
Shokoku meikyo kiran (Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces)	
Katsushika Nijushi-Sho (Twenty-four Generals for the Katsushika Circle)	13
Tokaido Gojusan-tsugi no uchi (The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō )	
Shokoku taki-meguri (Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces)	8
Fuzoku bijin tokei (Customs of Beauties Around the Clock)	7
Hyakunin isshu uba ga etoki	6
Tokaido gojusan-tsugi (Fifty-three Stations on the Tokaido)	
Toto Meisho	4
Kanadehon Chushingura (The Forty-seven Loyal Retainers)	3
Kyoto Meisho no uchi	3
Sekkagetsu (Snow, Flower and Moon)	3
Fujin Tewaza Juni-Ko	2
Furyu Ko-Dakara Awase	2
Mu-Tamagawa	2
Seiro juni toki tsuzuki	2
Toshi Gafu no uchi	2
Wakana Hatsu-isho	
Total	332

# Illustrations



(Fig. 1) Charles Ricketts, *Cover of The Sphinx*, 1894, Vellum blocked in gold, 22.2 x 17.4 cm, Nicholas Frankel, OpenStax CNX, http://cnx.org/contents/87c5a178-1aff-467c-9231-3a8979b83519@2.1.



(Fig. 2)
Charles Ricketts, *Italia Redenta* from The Great War: Britain's Efforts and Ideals, 1917, Colour lithograph on paper, 77.9 x 52.2 cm, G.2017-0115 [M2683], National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, From Jingaoka Megumi, ed. *Matsukata Korekushon Ten* [The Matsukata Collection: A One-Hundred-Year Odyssey], exh. cat. (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2019), p138.



(Fig. 3) Katsushika Hokusai, *Lŭ Zhìshēn defeating Zhōu Tōng from Preparatory Drawings for the "Suikoden (Water Margin)"*, c.1828, Album, Ink on paper, 24.7 x 17.3 cm, 1937,0710,0.285, British Museum.



(Fig. 4) Katsushika Hokusai, *Jiutian Xuannü from Preparatory Drawings for the* "*Suikoden (Water Margin)*", c.1828, Album, Ink on paper, 24.7 x 17.3 cm, 1937,0710,0.285, British Museum.



(Fig. 5) Hokusai School, *Chinese Warrior*, 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, Ink and black and red on paper, 1903,1126,0.1, British Museum.



(Fig. 6) Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Upper storey of the Scuderia (Stables) of the Villa Valmarana outside Vicenza*, 1757, Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 10 x 23.2 cm, 1903,1126.2, British Museum.



(Fig. 7) Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Soldier Standing on a Cloud, Seen from Below*, c.1753-1762, Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, 21.6 x 17.1 cm, 1903,1126.3, British Museum.



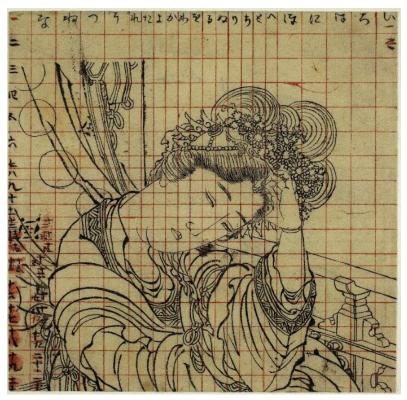
(Fig. 8) Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Male Figure Standing on a Cloud, Seen from Behind and Below*, c.1753-1762, Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, 21.9 x 17.4 cm, 1903,1126.4, British Museum.



(Fig. 9) Rimpa Scool, *Hares and Autumn Grasses*, 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century, Six-fold screen, colour gold leaf on paper, 153.7 x 331.3 cm, 1933,0929,0.3, British Museum.



(Fig. 10) Katsushika Taito, *Still Life*, 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, Ink and colours on paper, 3945, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 11) Hokusai School, *Chinese Woman Seated with Head Resting on Hand, beside a Balustrade*, Ink on paper, squared in red, 11.7 x 12 cm, 1937,0710,0.304, British Museum.



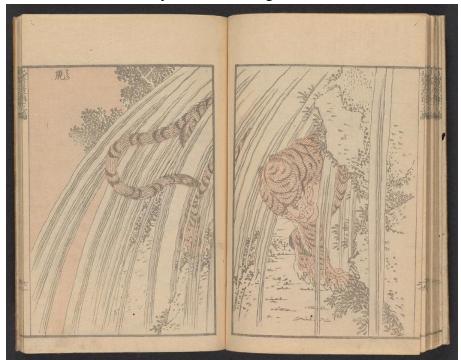
(Fig. 12) Hokusai School, *Head of a Chinese Woman, Wearing Jewellery*, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ink on paper, 26.4 x 22.5 cm, 1937,0710,0.303, British Museum.



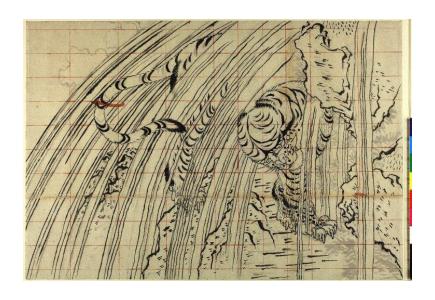
(Fig. 13) Front Page of *Catalogue of Drawings and Watercolours by Hokusai and Hokkei*, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. I. 1909, Add MS 58085, fol. 129r, © British Library Board.



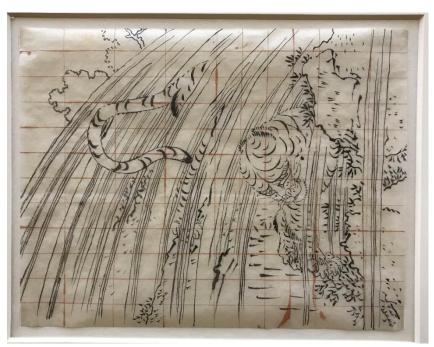
(Fig. 14) Katsushika Hokusai, *Buddhist Figure*, Ink and colour on paper, 38.3 x 26.8 cm, F1904.216, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



(Fig. 15)
Katsushika Hokusai, *Tiger* from *Hokusai Manga*, vol.13, 1849, Internet Archive (Smithsonian Libraries), https://archive.org/details/denshinkaishuhov13katsa/page/43.



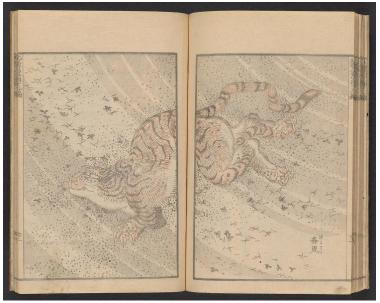
(Fig. 16) Hokusai School, *Tiger beneath a Waterfall*, Ink on paper, squared in red, 47.6 x 32.6 cm, 1937,0710,0.301, British Museum.



(Fig. 17) Hokusai School, *Tiger and Waterfall*, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ink on paper, squared in red, 3697, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 18) Hokusai School, *Tiger*, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ink on paper, squared in red, 3698, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 19)
Katsushika Hokusai, *Running Tiger* from *Hokusai Manga*, vol.13, 1849, Internet Archive (Smithsonian Libraries),

https://archive.org/details/denshinkaishuhov13katsa/page/43.



(Fig. 20) Hokusai School, *Warrior Leaning on a Spear*, Ink on paper, 36.8 x 26.8 cm, 1937,0710,0.317, British Museum.



(Fig. 21) Hokusai School, *Shoki the Demon Queller about to Kill a Horned Demon with a Sword*, Ink and colour on paper, 51.7 x 34.2 cm, 1937,0710,0.309, British Museum.



(Fig. 22) Hokusai School, *Daikoku Emerging from a Sack*, Ink and colour on paper, 18 x 26 cm, 1937,0710,0.320, British Museum.



(Fig. 23) Hokusai School, *Mountain Peaks above the Clouds*, Ink and colour on paper, 47 x 31 cm, 1937,0710,0.297, British Museum.



(Fig. 24) Katsushika Hokusai, *Mount Fuji and a Pine Tree*, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ink and colours on paper, 3954, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 25) Hokusai School, *Woman Accosted by a Kappa and an Octopus*, Ink and red and black on paper, 27 x 49.6 cm, 1937,0710,0.307, British Museum.



(Fig. 26) Totoya Hokkei, *Bird Study* from "La Semaine Artistique," Newspaper Cuttings, Ricketts and Shannon Papers Vol. I. 1909, Add MS 58085, fol. 136r, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 27) Suzuki Harunobu, *Returning Sail at the Towel Rack* from the series of *Eight Fashionable Views of Interiors*, c.1768, Woodblock print; ink and colour on paper, 20.4 x 27.9 cm, 1937,0710,0.41, British Museum.



(Fig. 28) Suzuki Harunobu, *Young Man being Seduced by an Older Woman*, 1765-1770, Woodblock print; ink and colour on paper, 20.3 x 31.2 cm, 1937,0710,0.8, British Museum.





(Fig. 29, Left side) Hokusai School, *The Goddess Kwannon*, Black ink, 20.7 x19 cm, 3968, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge from *All for Art: the Ricketts and Shannon Collection*, Plate 43.

(Fig. 30, Right side) Katsushika Hokusai, *Mystical Bird (Karyōbinga)*, 1820–33, Polychrome woodblock print (surimono); ink and colour on paper, 21.7 x 17.9 cm, JP1868, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





(Fig. 31a, Left side) Katsushika Hokusai, *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa* from the series of *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets, Explained by the Nurse*, c. 1835, Ink on paper, PD.3942-1937, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.

(Fig. 31b, Right side) Seal with red ink, Bottom left part of *Sakyô no dayû Michimasa*, Unidentified inscription.



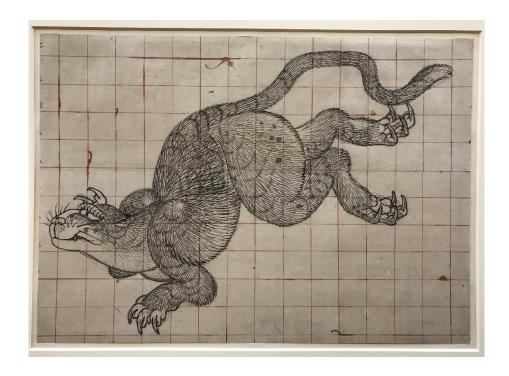
(Fig. 32) Katsushika Hokusai or Hokusai School, *Man in the Act of Committing Hari-kiri with a Sword*, Ink on paper, 33.5 x 23 cm, 3965, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 33) Hokusai School, *Wild Cat*, Ink and colours on paper, 23.2 x 51.9 cm, 3956, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 34) Hokusai School, *Wild Cat*, Ink and colours on paper, 32.5 x 50.7 cm, 3955, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 35) Hokusai School, *Wild Cat*, Ink on paper, squared in red, 33.3 x 47 cm, 3971, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 36) Hokusai School, Woman Meditatively Drawing a Sword, Ink on paper, 19 x 13.5 cm, 3975, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 37) Katsushika Hokusai, *Yamatotakeru-no-Mikoto Disguises Himself as a Woman, and Beats a Bandit* from *Ehon Musashi Abuimi*, 1836, Internet Archive (Smithsonian Libraries), https://archive.org/details/ehonmusashiabum00kats/page/3.



(Fig. 38) Hokusai School,

Man Beating or Slaying a SemiHuman Monster with Claws,
Ink and colours on paper, 51.8 x
33.1 cm, 3981, Fitzwilliam
Museum, Cambridge,
Photographed by author.



(Fig. 39) Katsushika Hokusai, *Shōki, the Demon Queller*, 1790, Hanging scroll; ink and colour on silk, 32.4 x 57.2 cm, 14.76.44, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. \*This is a monochrome image.



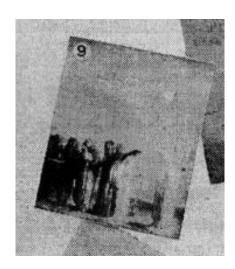
(Fig. 40) Charles Ricketts, The Holy Women and the Angel of the Resurrection from C Lewis Hind, "Charles Ricketts: A Commentary on His Activities," Studio 39 (1910): lxxx.

(Fig. 41) Mitsukoshi Gofukuten. "The Great European Painting Exhibition." *Mitsukoshi* 8, no.6 (1918): 8-9.



The works which showed in the above pages of Mitsukoshi are as follows:

- 1. Jenny Montigny, Kensington Park, Oil painting
- 2. Édouard Claes, Refuge from Belgium, Etching
- 3. Édouard Claes, *Trendy Shop*, Watercolour
- 4. Jules De Bruycker, Trench, Etching
- 5. Marcel Jefferys, Butterfly, Watercolour
- 6. Léon De Smet, Chestnut, Oil painting
- 7. Charles Shannon, Three Sisters, Oil painting
- 8. Richard Heyworth, Teignmouth under the Moon, Oil painting
- 9. Charles Ricketts, The Wise and Foolish Virgins, Oil painting
- 10. George Clausen, Plain, Waterclour
- 11. George Storey, Patient Faithful Woman, Griselda, Oil painting
- 12. Charles Sims, Landscape, Watercolour



Upper left part of Fig. 41

9. Charles Ricketts, *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*, Oil painting



(Fig. 42) Kitagawa Utamaro, *Abalone Fisher-girls on the Rocks*, c. 1754-1806, Colour woodblock-printed triptych, 1910,0611,0.23.1-3, British Museum.



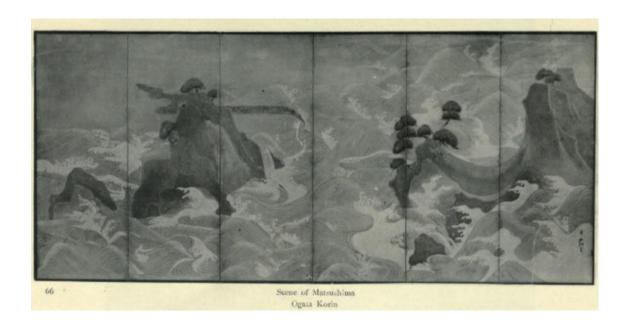
(Fig. 43) Kitagawa Utamaro, *Abalone Divers*, c. 1788-1790, Colour woodblock-printed triptych, 1912,0416,0.221, British Museum.



(Fig. 44) Kitagawa Utamaro, *The Dance of the Beach Maidens (Brine Carriers)*, Early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Colour woodblock-printed triptych, 38.7 x 74.9 cm, JP1683, Metropolitan Museum, New York.



(Fig. 45) Kano Hogai, *Avalokitesvara as a Merciful Mother*, 1888, Colour on silk, 195.8 x 86.1 cm, The University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts.



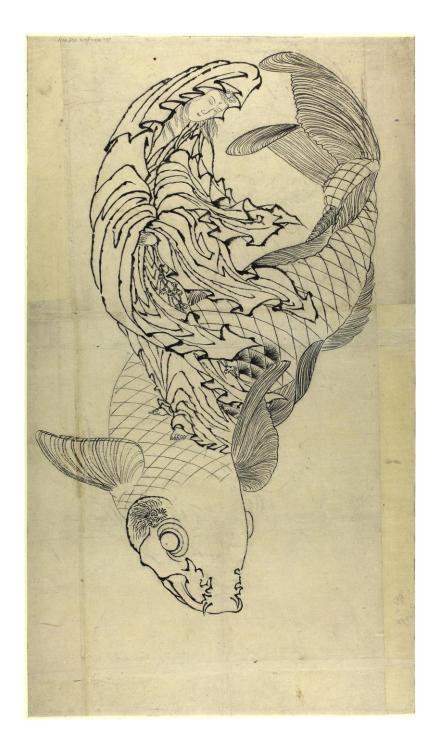
(Fig. 46) Ogata Korin, *Waves at Matsushima* (*Scene of Matsushima*), 18<sup>th</sup> century, Pair of six-panel screens, From the Office of the Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition London 1910* (Tokyo: Shimbi Shoin, 1910), Picture No. 66.



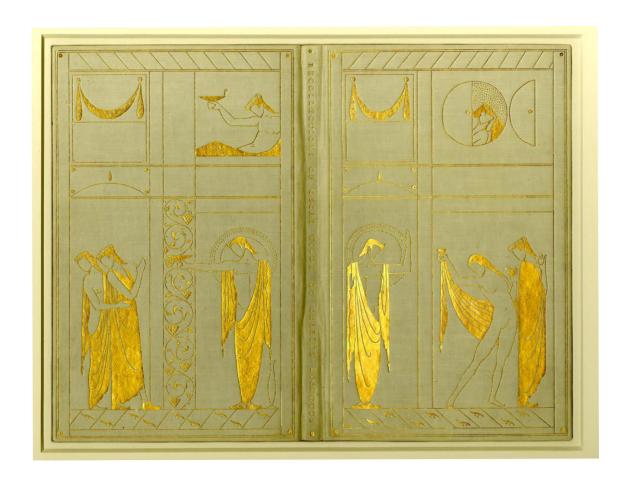
(Fig. 47) Print of the left part of *Waves at Matsushima*, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 29r, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 48) Ogata Korin, *Waves at Matsushima*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, Six-panel folding screen; ink, colour and gold on paper, 150.2 x 367.8 cm, 11.4584, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



(Fig. 49) Hokusai School, *Kannon Riding on a Carp*, Ink on paper, 63.5 x 36.2 cm, 1937,0710,0.296, British Museum.



(Fig. 50) Charles Ricketts, *Cover of Recollections*, 1932, Gold-tooled cream cloth book binding, 25.9 x 33.3 cm, 1962,0809.34, British Museum.



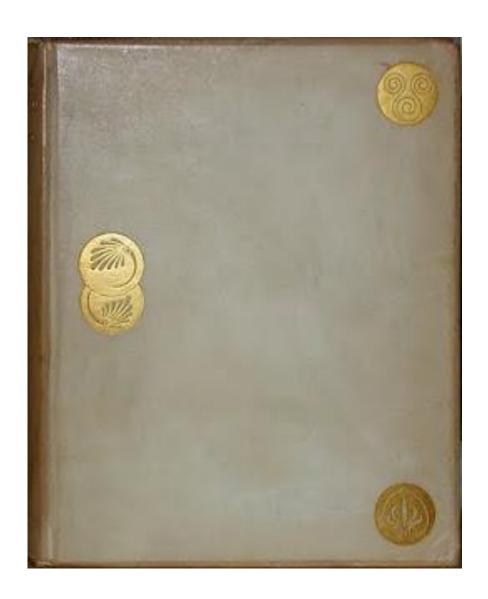
(Fig. 51) Charles Ricketts, *Psyche in the House*, Illustration for *De Cupidinis et Psyches Amoribus*, Vale Press, 1901, Woodcut on thin translucent paper, 9.1 x 8.4 cm, 1913,0814.41, British Museum.



(Fig. 52) Charles Ricketts, *Had Zimri Peace Who Show Slew his Master?*, Illustration for *Jezebel* in *Universal Review*, vol. 4, August 1889.



(Fig. 53) Charles Ricketts, *Cover of De Profundis*, 1905, Original limp vellum covers, https://library-artstor-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/asset/ARTSTOR\_103\_41822001083771.



(Fig. 54) Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Cover of Atalanta in Calydon*, 1865. http://rossettian.blogspot.com/2012/12/rossetti-and-red-thread.html.



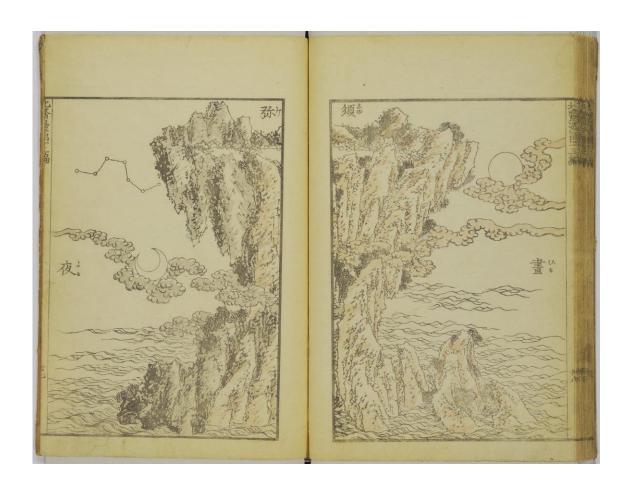
(Fig. 55a) Designed by Charles Ricketts, Executed by M. and N. Hanhart, *Illustration to The Great Worm* in *The Dial*, No. 1, 1889, Lithograph, https://archive.org/details/dial\_01/pag e/n13/mode/2up.



(Fig. 55b) Charles Ricketts, Reproduction of *The Great Worm*, c. 1889, Watercolour and bodycolour, touched with gold, 19.6 x 13.4 cm, 1946,0209.35, British Museum.



(Fig. 56) Gustave Moreau, Sappho, 1871-1872, Watercolour, 18.4 x 12.4 cm, P.11-1934, V&A, London.



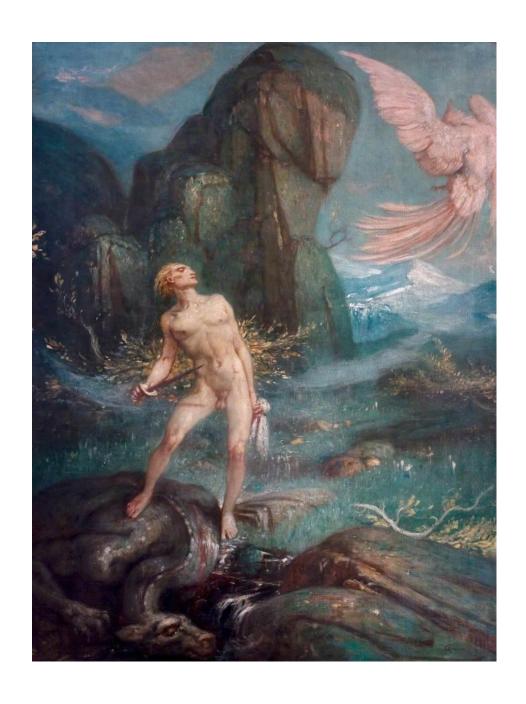
(Fig. 57)
Katsushika Hokusai, *Mount Meru during the Daytime and the Night* from *Hokusai Manga*, vol. 13, 1849, Woodblock printed book, https://www.dh-jac.net/db1/books/results1280.php?f1=Ebi1201&f12=1&enter=portal&lang=ja&skip=2 9&-max=1&enter=portal&lang=ja.



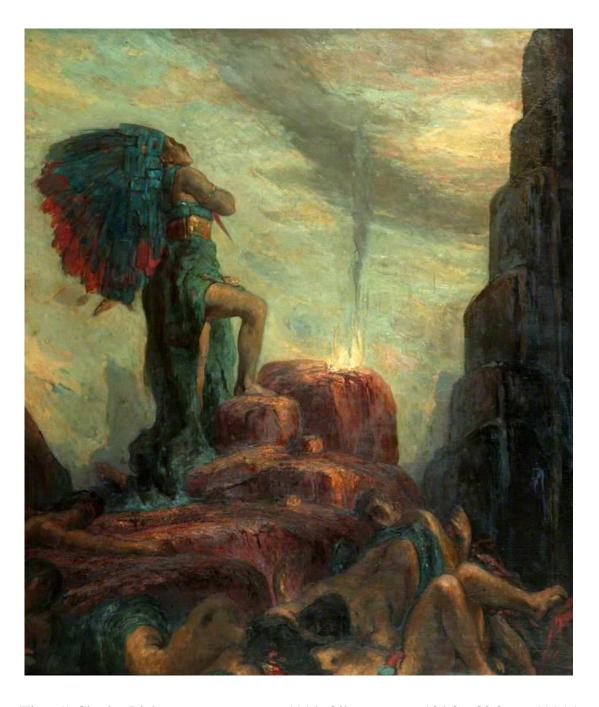
(Fig. 58) Charles Ricketts, *Tobias and the Angel*, 1902-1905, Oil on canvas, 47.7 x 58.5 cm, 1914P245, Birmingham Museums Trust.



(Fig. 59) Charles Ricketts,  $Deposition\ from\ the\ Cross$ , c. 1915, Oil on canvas, 71.1 x 57.1 cm, N03325, Tate.



(Fig. 60) Charles Ricketts, Siegfried and the Magic Bird, c. 1930, Oil on canvas,  $117 \times 90 \, \text{cm}$ , VA.1962.0014, Herbert Art Gallery & Museum.



(Fig. 61) Charles Ricketts, *Montezuma*, c. 1914, Oil on canvas, 104.0 x 88.8 cm, 1915.1, Manchester Art Gallery.



(Fig. 62) Charles Ricketts, *Mother and Child*, c.1905-10, Bronze on wooden base, 22.9 x  $8.9 \times 12.1 \, \text{cm}$ , N03188, Tate.



(Fig. 63) Auguste Rodin, *The Young Mother*, 1885, Marble,  $60.96 \times 48.26 \times 30.48 \text{ cm}$ , NG 2290, National Galleries of Scotland.



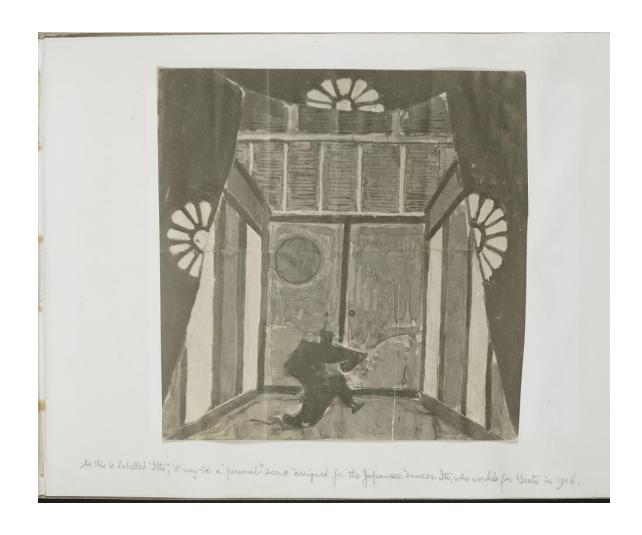
(Fig. 64) *Daily Mirror*. "Oriental Dances: Three Performances at Chelsea." January 10, 1916, 16.



(Fig. 65) Charles Ricketts, Postcard from Charles Ricketts to Oswald Sickert, 1916, Ink, pencil and watercolour on card, S.5170-1995, S.5171-1995, S.5172-1995, V&A, London.



(Fig. 66) Charles Ricketts, *Costume Design*, Watercolour over graphite on off-white card, 37.5 x 26.8 cm, WA1933.15, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 67) Charles Ricketts, *Sketch of Itō*, Compiled in 1941, Album of Charles Ricketts's Theatre Set Designs, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/11, fol. 30r, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 68) Postcard of Ichimura Uzaemon as Mitsuuji, MS88957/1/76, 2v, © British Library Board.



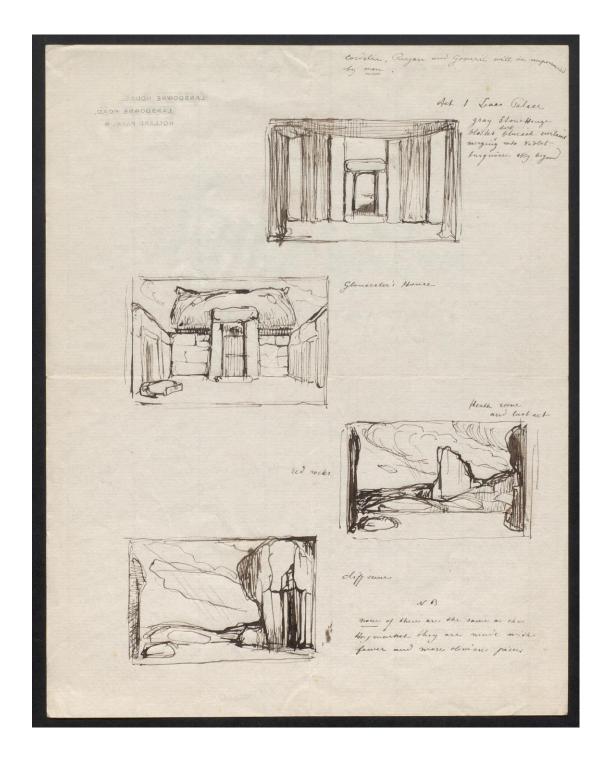
(Fig. 69) Postcard of Nakamura Kichiemon as Toneri Matsuomaru, 1917, George Bernard Shaw Papers, Add MS 50548, fol. 69v, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 70) Postcard of *A Doll's House* in Tokyo in 1911, 7 February 1912, George Bernard Shaw Papers, Add MS 50548, fol. 64v, © British Library Board.

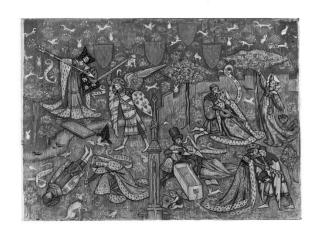


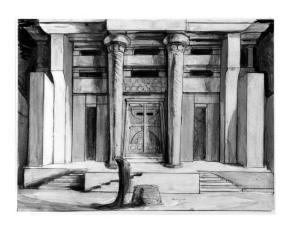
(Fig. 71) Unused Postcard of Ōe Matasaburo, c. 1916, Add MS 58091, fol. 60r, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 72) Sketches for the Scenery of *King Lear* from Charles Ricketts's Letter to Gordon Bottomley, 4 February 1912, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/1/75, fol. 34v, © British Library Board.









(Fig. 73) Charles Ricketts, Theatre Design for *King Lear*, 1909, Watercolour, 32.4 x 38.7cm, E.950-1933, V&A, London.



(Fig. 74) Katsushika Hokusai, *Kanadehon Chushingura*, *Act 11*, c.1806, Woodblock print, 1937,0710,0.202, British Museum.



(Fig. 75) Charles Ricketts, Stage Setting for *Salome*, Watercolour and bodycolour with black chalk over graphite on paper, laid down, 21.0 x 39.6 cm, 1646, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Lower right of (Fig. 75) Ink; Salome The Schochiku Co. Tokio



(Fig. 76) Charles Ricketts, Costume Design for Young Syrian in *Salome*, 1920, Watercolour, 10.50 x 8.50 cm, E.954-1933, V&A, London.



(Fig. 77) Charles Ricketts, Costume Design for Two Priests in *Salome*, 1920, Watercolour, 15.12 x 9.37 cm, E.955-1933, V&A, London.



(Fig. 78) Charles Ricketts, Costume Design for Herodias in *Salome*, 1920, Watercolour, 14.75 x 20.75 cm, E.953-1933, V&A, London.



(Fig. 79) *The Photograph of Ricketts's Design for Herod*, c. 1920s, Charles Ricketts's Work for *Salome* and *The Merchant of Venice*, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 19r, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 80) The Photograph of Ricketts's Design for Salome in Dance of the Seven Veils, c. 1920s, Charles Ricketts's Work for Salome and The Merchant of Venice, Gordon Bottomley Papers, Add MS 88957/5/9, fol. 19r, © British Library Board.



(Fig. 81) Charles Ricketts, *Costume Design for a Dancer*, possibly for *Salome*, 1920, Pencil, 12.12 x 9.25 cm, E.1024-1933, V&A, London.



(Fig. 82) Charles Ricketts, *Costume*Design for Shylock, Charles
Ricketts's Work for Salome and The

Merchant of Venice, Gordon
Bottomley Papers, Add MS

88957/5/9, fol. 59r, © British Library
Board.



(Fig. 83) Charles Ricketts, *Costume Design for Tubal in "The Merchant of Venice"* 1918, Watercolour and graphite on paper, 38.7 x 27.9 cm, N04687, Tate.



(Fig. 84) Katisha from *Illustrated London News*, "'The Mikado' Re-Dressed Principals in Ricketts Costumes," editorial, October 9, 1926, 647.



(Fig. 85) The Mikado and His Attendants from *Illustrated London News*, "'The Mikado' Re-Dressed Principals in Ricketts Costumes," editorial, October 9, 1926, 647.



(Fig. 86) Charles Ricketts
(Designer) and Wig Creations Ltd
(Maker), Wig for Ko-Ko in *The Mikado*, 1926 (Designed) Mid20th Century (Made), Human hair
on mesh netting, S.260-1985,
V&A, London, Photographed by
author.





(Fig. 87) Charles Ricketts (Designer) and Wig Creations Ltd (Maker), Wig for Katisha in *The Mikado*, 1926 (Designed) Mid-20th Century (Made), Human hair on mesh netting, S.261-1985, V&A, London, Photographed by author.





(Fig. 88) Charles Ricketts, Costume design for Katisha in *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour and gouache over pencil on card, S.2429-2015, V&A, London.



(Fig. 89) Ogata Korin, *The Tiger*, c. 18<sup>th</sup> century, MOA Museum of Art, Shizuoka, https://twitter.com/moa\_museum/status/1477573129648377857.

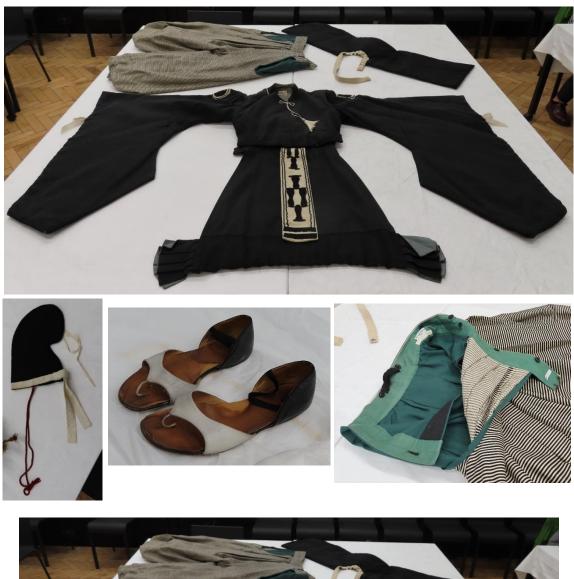


(Fig. 90) Charles Ricketts, Costume design for *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour, 50.7~x~73.8~cm, E.965-1933, V&A, London.

The leftmost character is Pooh-Bah.



(Fig. 91) Illustration of Characters from Pamphlet of *The Mikado*, Gilbert and Sullivan Archive, https://www.gsarchive.net/carte/1926/index.html. The lower left character is Ko-Ko.





(Fig. 92) Charles Ricketts (Designer), Set of Costumes for Ko-Ko in *The Mikado*, 1926, S.326-1985, V&A, London, Photographed by author.



(Fig. 93) Charles Ricketts (Designer), Set of Costumes for The Mikado in *The Mikado*, 1926, S.325-1985, V&A, London.



(Fig. 94) Charles Ricketts, Costume design for an unidentified female chorus member in *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour and gouache over pencil on paper, S.2416-2015, V&A, London.



(Fig. 95) Charles Ricketts, Costume design for an unidentified female chorus member in *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour and gouache over pencil on card, S.2417-2015, V&A, London.



(Fig. 96) Suzuki Harunobu, *Lady* with Parasol Walking out
Accompanied by Small Maid, c.
1765-1770, Woodblock print; ink
and colour on paper, 1922,0211,0.1,
British Museum.



(Fig. 97) Okumura Masanobu, *Sanjo Kantaro as a Girl Dancing*, c. 1686-1764, Woodblock print; urushi-e on paper, 1902,0212,0.164, British Museum.



(Fig. 98) Miyagawa Choshun, *Courtesan*, c. 1716-1744, Hanging scroll; ink, colour and gold on paper, 74.0 x 32.9 cm, 1901,0516,0.26, British Museum.





(Fig. 99) Miyagawa Choshun, *Scenes of Pleasure in Edo*, c. 1716-1736, Pair of handscrolls; ink, colour and gold on paper, 40.1 x 510.0 cm (each), 1881,1210,0.1707-1708, British Museum.



Dancing scene in the second scroll of (Fig. 99)



(Fig. 100) *Korin* Ume [*Korin*-style Japanese Apricot Blossoms] from *Hiinagata Someiro no Yama*, 1732, 1979,0305,0.74.1, British Museum.



(Fig. 101) Charles Ricketts, Costume design for an unidentified female chorus member in *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour and gouache over pencil on card, S.2419-2015, V&A, London.



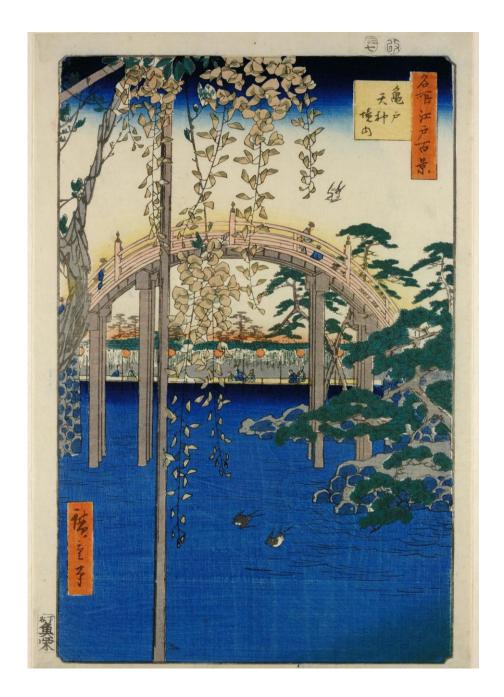
(Fig. 102) Charles Ricketts (Designer) and A. Bonheur (Copyist), Set design for Ko-Ko's Garden in Act 11 of *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour, bodycolour and pencil on paper, S.176-1992, V&A, London.



(Fig. 103) Photograph of the Scene of Ko-Ko's Garden of *The Mikado* from Souvenir of Rupert D'Oyly Carte's Season of Gilbert and Sullivan Operas: Illustrating the New Dresses Designed by Charles Ricketts, A.R.A. for *The Mikado*, Gilbert and Sullivan Archive, https://www.gsarchive.net/carte/1926/index.html.



(Fig. 104) Katsushika Hokusai, *Drum Bridge of Kameido Tenjin Shrine* from the series of *Wondrous Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces*, c. 1834, Woodblock print; ink and colour on paper, 1937,0710,0.186, British Museum.



(Fig. 105) Utagawa Hiroshige, *Wisteria at Kameido Tenjin Shrine* from the series of *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1856, Woodblock print; ink and colour on paper, 1906,1220,0.665, British Museum.



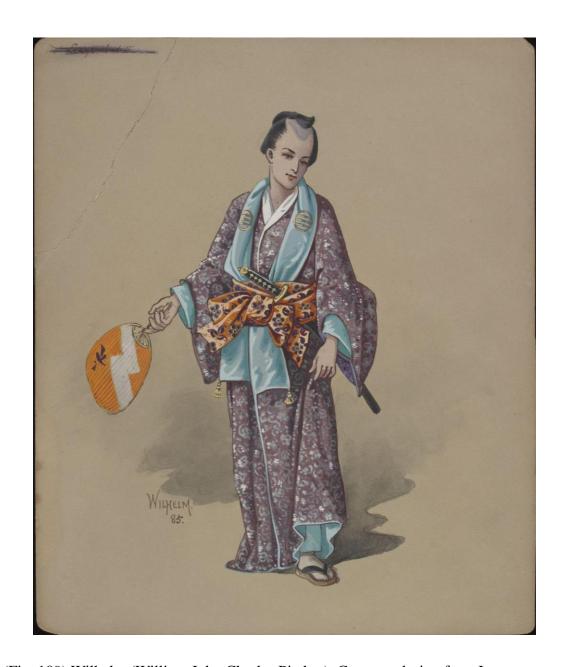
(Fig. 106) Charles Ricketts (Designer) and A. Bonheur (Copyist), Copy of a Design for the Back-drop for the Set in Act I of *The Mikado*, 1926, Watercolour and pencil on paper, S.4032-2015, V&A, London.



(Fig. 107) Photograph of the Scene of Act I of *The Mikado* from Souvenir of Rupert D'Oyly Carte's Season of Gilbert and Sullivan Operas: Illustrating the New Dresses Designed by Charles Ricketts, A.R.A. for *The Mikado*, Gilbert and Sullivan Archive, https://www.gsarchive.net/carte/1926/index.html.



(Fig. 108) Wilhelm (William John Charles Pitcher), Costume design for the Mikado in *The Mikado*, 1885, Gouache on board, 22.8 x 19.0 cm, S.83-1991, V&A, London.



(Fig. 109) Wilhelm (William John Charles Pitcher), Costume design for a Japanese Gentleman in *The Mikado*, 1885, Gouache and watercolour on board, 22.8 x 18.8 cm, S.90-1991, V&A, London.



(Fig. 110) Charles Ricketts, *Three Figures from "Macbeth": Duncan, Malcolm, and Donalbain*, c. 1926, Watercolour, black chalk, and graphite on cream wove paper, 50.9 x 35.7 cm, 1943.487, Fogg Art Museum, Massachusetts.



(Fig. 111) Charles Ricketts, *Lady Macbeth*, c. 1926, Watercolour, black chalk, and graphite on cream wove paper, 50.7 x 35.5 cm, 1943.486, Fogg Art Museum, Massachusetts.



(Fig. 112) "Mr. Charles Ricketts's Costume for "Macbeth"," Observer, Dec 19, 1926, 16.