JOHN LA FARGE
AND THE RECOVERY OF THE SACRED

EDITED BY JEFFERY HOWE
McMULLEN MUSEUM OF ART, BOSTON COLLEGE

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This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *John La Farge and the Recovery of the Sacred* at the McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, September 1–December 13, 2015. Organized by the McMullen Museum and curated by Jeffery Howe, *John La Farge and the Recovery of the Sacred* has been underwritten by Boston College, the Patrons of the McMullen Museum, Alison and William Vareika, and Jane and Gerard Gaughan. Additional support has been provided by the Newton College Class of 1975.

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Front: John La Farge (1835–1910), *St. John the Evangelist, Christ Preaching, St. Paul*, 1889. Opalescent leaded glass, 99 x 31 in. (each), McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika in honor of William P. Leahy, SJ, J. Donald Monan, SJ, William B. Neenan, SJ, and in memory of John La Farge, SJ, 2013.58.1–3.

Back: John La Farge (1835–1910), *Great Statue of Amida Buddha at Kamakura, Known as the Daibutsu, from the Priest's Garden*, 1887. Watercolor and gouache on paper, 19.3 x 12.5 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of the family of Maria L. Hoyt, 1966, 66.143.

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For
William and
Alison Vareika

Preface

A magnificent gift from Boston College alumnus William Vareika and his wife Alison in 2013 of three monumental stained glass windows representing St. John the Evangelist, Christ Preaching, and St. Paul (plate 4) by John La Farge inspired the scholarship in this publication and the exhibition it accompanies. We owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Jeffery Howe, a distinguished scholar of nineteenth-century art and architecture and a professor of art history at Boston College, who conceived the idea to focus an interdisciplinary inquiry around La Farge's lifelong efforts to visualize the sacred. To that end, he enlisted theologian David Cave, historian of Asian art Cecelia Levin, American historian James M. O'Toole, art historian of medieval and modern stained glass Virginia C. Raguin, and conservator of stained glass Roberto Rosa, to join the dialogue and contribute research and essays.

Howe worked closely with William Vareika to identify relevant works by La Farge and to obtain loans from private and public collections. Having been moved by La Farge's murals and glass while meditating in Trinity Church as a sophomore at Boston College, Vareika went on to pursue an independent study on the artist during his senior year. Since that time, he and his wife Alison have become the foremost dealers in the artist's work, opening William Vareika Fine Arts in Newport in 1987. They have discovered and catalogued hundreds of La Farge's works, fourteen of which comprised earlier gifts to the McMullen, and they spearheaded campaigns to preserve, restore, and relocate his stained glass and paintings in churches in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Their most recent gift to Boston College represents just one of these.

Originally created by La Farge in 1889 for the All Souls Unitarian Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts and transferred in the 1920s to what is now the Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst from which they were purchased, the triptych of windows was presented to the McMullen in honor of Boston College Jesuit Fathers William P. Leahy, J. Donald Monan, and William B. Neenan and in memory of the artist's son, also a Jesuit, Father John La Farge (1880–1963), beloved by many for his activism against racism and antisemitism. Thanks to the contributions of generous donors, during the past two years the windows have been cleaned and restored by Roberto Rosa and his fellow conservators at Serpentino Stained Glass Studio. They will have their permanent home in the atrium of Boston College's new McMullen Museum at 2101 Commonwealth Avenue when it is completed in 2016. Two life-size paintings (plate 20) by the artist will form part of an installation in a permanent La Farge room on the first floor of the new building.

At the McMullen Museum, Assistant Director Diana Larsen has designed the galleries to evoke the windows' original installation and to tell the story of La Farge's journey to represent sacred spaces and objects. Assistant Director John McCoy designed this book and the exhibition's graphics to resonate with those from La Farge's era. He chose the typeface Desdemona for the display text, which—aside from being an elegant nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts face—originated in Boston. Manager of

Publications and Exhibitions Kate Shugert organized loans, oversaw the publication of this volume, and copyedited its texts and those on the walls of the exhibition with great discernment.

At Boston College, undergraduate research fellows Clare Haugh, Keith Lebel, Christine Spindler, and Emma Walsh assisted Howe with research and editing. Christopher Soldt photographed many of the works appearing in the Plates section of this catalogue. Anastos Chiavaras and Rose Breen provided guidance regarding insurance. James Husson, Catherine Concannon, Mary Lou Crane, Susan Fonseca, Patricia Kelleher, and Beth McDermott aided with funding.

To accompany the exhibition, Howe created an interactive website, *John La Farge: Stained Glass in New England; A Digital Guide* (http://library.bc.edu/lafargeglass/). This complex project received indispensable help from University Librarian Thomas Wall and his staff. In particular, Anna Kijas and Patrick Goncalves assisted with the design and implementation of the website. Undergraduate research fellow Jean Bower helped with editing and data entry.

Much of this exhibition has been drawn from the riches of private collections and institutions in the United States. For assistance in identifying and obtaining these loans we thank friends and colleagues: Judith F. Dolkart and James M. Sousa (Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy); Alexandria and Michael Altman (Michael Altman Fine Art and Advisory Services); Anne Collins Goodyear, Frank H. Goodyear, Elizabeth Carpenter, and Joachim Homann (Bowdoin College Museum of Art); Thomas Padon, Sara Hesdon Buehler, and Virginia H. O'Hara (Brandywine River Museum); the Fine family; Oliver La Farge Hamill; Thomas W. Lentz, Maureen Donovan, Deborah Martin Kao, Francine Flynn, Ethan Lasser, and Carrie Van Horn (Harvard Art Museums); Paul Miller, Karen LaFrance, and Andrew Long (La Farge Restoration Fund, Newport Congregational Church); Thomas P. Campbell, Emily Foss, Thayer Tolles, and Sylvia Yount (Metropolitan Museum of Art); Allen Michaan (Michaan's Auctions); John W. Smith, Tara Emsley, Jan Howard, and Maureen O'Brien (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design); Matthew Teitelbaum, Elliot Bostwick Davis, Nonie Gadsden, Erica Hirshler, Meghan Melvin, Janet Moore, and Patrick Murphy (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Douglas Hyland and Stacy Cerullo (New Britain Museum of American Art); Norah Diedrich, Tara Ecenarro, and Nancy Whipple Grinnell (Newport Art Museum); Elizabeth Broun, Paula Binari, and Virginia Mecklenburg (Smithsonian American Art Museum); Alison, William, Christian, and Hope Vareika and Donna Maytum (William Vareika Fine Arts); and Matthias Waschek, Nancy Burns, and Matthew Manninen (Worcester Art Museum).

The McMullen could not have envisioned such a comprehensive exhibition were it not for the continued generosity of the administration of Boston College and the McMullen family. We especially thank Jacqueline McMullen, President William P. Leahy, SJ; Provost David Quigley; Chancellor J. Donald Monan, SJ; Vice-Provost Patricia DeLeeuw; Dean of Arts and Sciences Gregory Kalscheur, and Director of the Institute for Liberal Arts Mary Crane. Major support for the exhibition was provided by the Patrons of the McMullen Museum, chaired by C. Michael Daley, Alison and William Vareika, and Jane and Gerard Gaughan. Additional support came from the Newton College Class of 1975.

Finally, we reiterate our appreciation to William and Alison Vareika, to whom we dedicate this book, and without whose commitment to preserving the artistic legacy of John La Farge and generosity to Boston College, this project simply would not be.

Nancy Netzer
Director and Professor of Art History

Introduction

Jeffery Howe

John La Farge and the Recovery of the Sacred brings a new light to the stained glass and paintings of one of America's finest and most complex artists, John La Farge (1835–1910). Occasioned by the magnificent gift and completion of the restoration of three large opalescent leaded glass windows to the McMullen Museum of Art, this exhibition examines La Farge's lifelong efforts to visualize the sacred in myriad forms. Most outstandingly shown in his stained glass and ecclesiastical paintings, the exhibition will demonstrate how this quest is manifest equally in the artist's representations of nature and still life and in his stunningly imaginative book illustrations. The exhibition will also explore how his trips to Japan and the South Seas in 1886 and 1890–91 reinforced and expanded the multicultural frame of La Farge's spiritual inquiry. Negotiating the boundaries between realism and symbolism, La Farge is always innovative and intriguing.

John Frederick Louis Joseph La Farge was born in New York City in 1835 to a family of French émigrés who had become very successful in America. La Farge was educated in Jesuit schools, studying at Fordham and graduating in 1853 from Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg, Maryland.[1] He studied law, and in 1855 received a master's degree from Mount Saint Mary's. The legal profession did not appeal to him, however, and for a twenty-first birthday present, he began his art training with a year in Europe where he entered the atelier of Thomas Couture. He visited France, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland before returning to New York where he rented a studio in the new Tenth Street Studio Building.[2] In 1858 he moved to Newport, Rhode Island to study with William Morris Hunt (1824–79).

1.1. Théodore Géricault (1791–1824), *The Race of the Barbieri Horses*, 1817. Oil on canvas, 17.7 x 23.6 in., Louvre, Paris, RF 2042.

Here he met Henry James (1843–1916) and his brother William (1841–1910), who were also studying with Hunt. He also met Margaret Mason Perry (1839–1925), who was to become his wife.

His earliest works show his admiration for the French romantic artists; he copied Théodore Géricault's *The Race of the Barbieri Horses* of 1817 in a drawing made in 1854 (plate 1; fig. 1.1). Focusing on the powerful figure who strains to hold the horse in check before the start of the tumultuous race, La Farge highlights the incredible tension between reason and barely controlled passion that is inherent in this work. He made his drawing from a print of Géricault's painting, which accounts for the image being reversed.[3] His focus is tighter, to better emphasize the heroic musculature of the figure and the horse

that threatens to break away from him. It is the kind of image that would appeal to a young artist who came of age during the romantic era. The horse embodies the powerful, sublime force of nature, and perhaps metaphorically the raw power of the imagination that can carry one away. As he learned more about the romantics, La Farge came to admire Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) above all, and often wrote about him.[4] La Farge praised Delacroix for being able to extract lessons even from artists quite different from himself in temperament.[5] When possible, La Farge studied the drawings of artists he admired because he felt that they offered a more direct expression of the artist's intention and process than their finished paintings.[6]

La Farge was described by those who knew him as intellectual and characterized by subtle complications of thought. His friend Henry Adams compared La Farge's mind to the opalescent glass he used in his windows: "In conversation La Farge's mind was opaline with infinite shades and refractions of light, and with color toned down to the finest gradations."[7] His biographer, Royal Cortissoz, described his conversational style as elegant and complicated: "La Farge was a past master of the parenthesis and he hated to let go of his collateral lines of thought."[8] A close friend, the painter Elihu Vedder (1836–1923), attributed La Farge's complicated writing style to his attempt to "express shades of thought so delicate that they seem to render words almost useless. Therefore his words seem to hover about a thought as butterflies hover about the perfume of a flower."[9] His youngest son, John La Farge, SJ (1880–1963), emphasized the philosophical, if unsystematic, nature of his mind: "The term 'philosopher' if applied to La Farge is not a mere metaphor for an habitually reflective mind. It is true that he 'abjured,' or, more correctly, never thought of placing his philosophic ideas in a systematic form, for he was essentially discursive and 'occasional,' in writing as well as reading, yet there was a clear logical structure beneath the casual form."[10] La Farge relied on intuition to enliven his logic and his art. La Farge declared that the artist was: "not a reasoner but a seer….It is because he can escape from the rule of his intelligence, can become a being that does not judge, can become as a little child, no longer see things through ideas, but merely feel the agitation of a love, an unexplainable passion. As if he felt the breath that animates the world behind a covering of what we call realities."[11] La Farge concluded by paraphrasing the familiar quote of St. Paul: "Reality, now vaguely seen in this world of appearances….For us, we see but as in a mirror darkly."[12] He acknowledged his shortcomings, and stressed his conviction that "I do not believe…that it is possible for us, even in art, to be perfect" as a fundamental point of disagreement with the art critic John Ruskin in a long essay "Ruskin, Art and Truth" in 1900.[13]

To express these thoughts and perceptions, La Farge would deeply explore both the materials and subjects of art. There was a new focus on processes of art-making in the second half of the nineteenth century, and it affected both academic painting and its modernist rivals such as impressionism, and decisively shaped the Arts and Crafts movement which sought to revive traditional techniques and forms. New technologies were transforming the art movements of the day, including the development of paint in tubes, which made outdoor landscape painting much easier. New glass techniques were also being developed, with La Farge as a leading inventor. His discoveries led to a rivalry with Louis Comfort Tiffany, which will be discussed in my essay "The Light of Memory: John La Farge and Stained Glass."

This was also an era of upheaval in the arts, with emerging modernist artistic movements, from realism to symbolism, challenging academic dogma. La Farge came of age in the era when romanticism was still a leading avant-garde style, and as a young man witnessed the rise of realism, led by the brash and charismatic French painter Gustave Courbet.[14] In England, the Pre-Raphaelites sought to revitalize British painting with a blend of romantic themes and a near photographic realism. Symbolist art and literature began to develop in France in the 1860s with the painter Gustave Moreau and the poet Charles Baudelaire. The cosmopolitan La Farge was aware of these new directions. His early painting style shows affinities with that of Courbet, and his illustrations parallel those of the Pre-Raphaelites. This was an era of strongly individual styles, and La Farge does not fit neatly into any general movement or stylistic label. He shares many affinities with the European symbolist movement, a connection which Diane Johnson has recently explored. This link will be further explored in my essay as well as in those of David Cave and Virginia C. Raguin in this volume.[15]

La Farge was unusually thoughtful about the nature of representation and our understanding of a work of art. He noted, "the enormous difference between the representation, even incomplete, through the thing itself, and the representation by a name for it," and emphasized that "art begins where language ceases, and the impressions that we receive, and the manners through which we render them, are in themselves so subtle that no one yet has been able to analyze more than a certain exterior or part of the mechanism of sensation and of representation."[16] The mystery of art became a metaphor for the mystery of the meaning of

life itself.

American artists and architects were searching for a usable past, from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the colonial revival. They were inventing traditions for the new age and society. There was a great wave of church building in the second half of the century, mostly medieval revival structures. These provided a perfect frame for stained glass, and as in the Middle Ages, most windows were commissioned as memorials to beloved family members or notable members of the community. Although cloaked in medieval form, the union of art and architecture was the beginning of the American Renaissance, as buildings were consciously shaped as works of art. Although it sometimes led to anxieties about the superiority of European art, the lack of tradition in America seemed like a positive factor to some Europeans. The European entrepreneur of art nouveau, Siegfried Bing, quoted Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's poem on America (1827):

> America, you've got it better
> Than our old continent.
> You have no ruined castles
> And no basalt.
> You are not inwardly troubled,
> In modern times,
> By useless memories
> And futile strife.[17]

In 1867, the young Henry James celebrated the rich opportunity which American artists had before them:

> I think that to be an American is an excellent preparation for culture….We have exquisite qualities as a race, and it seems to me that we are ahead of the European races in the fact that more than either of them we can deal freely with forms of civilization not our own, can pick and choose and assimilate and in short (aesthetically &c) claim our property wherever we find it. To have no national stamp has hitherto been a regret and a drawback, but I think it not unlikely that American writers may yet indicate that a vast intellectual fusion and synthesis of the various National tendencies of the world is the condition of more important achievements than any we have seen.[18]

John La Farge, with his cosmopolitan background and American upbringing, was perfectly suited to bridge the gap between European and American traditions. Virginia C. Raguin's essay "John La Farge: Innovation in an International Setting" illuminates his synthesis of European and American artistic and religious culture. The integration of art into daily life was a goal of the genteel tradition, wherein art was valued as a social and spiritual agent.[19]

La Farge as a Religious Artist

> I would say that in our plastic arts, these needs are as the needs of the soul, and echoes of the laws of the universe, seen and unseen, cadences of the ancient music of spheres.... For the arrangement of line and balances and spaces which meet these underlying needs are indeed the points through which we recognize the answer to our natural love and sensitiveness for order.[20]

All of La Farge's early biographers stressed his spiritual qualities. James Jackson Jarves in his influential book of art criticism *The Art-Idea* (1864) described La Farge as: "a profound artist of deep religious feeling, of a tone inclining to spiritual melancholy, and, of a rare and peculiar sensibility….These qualities are rare and remarkable anywhere, but particularly so in America. He evokes the essences of things, draws out their soul-life, endowing them with an almost superhuman consciousness. The solemn splendor and interpenetrative power of his free, unconventional manner, with its spiritual suggestiveness of hues, seize upon the imagination and bind it firmly to his art."[21] In 1881, George Lathrop declared that "the inspiration of religious art was in him from the first."[22] Royal Cortissoz quoted La Farge's son, who said that the artist "died in the possession of a lively Christian faith—and it was the faith of his fathers."[23]

In 1860 La Farge married Margaret Mason Perry, granddaughter of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, a hero of the War of 1812, and her great-uncle was the Commodore Matthew Perry who had opened Japan for world trade in 1853. She was also the great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin. His Catholic faith was important enough to La Farge that he encouraged Margaret to convert to Catholicism. Despite the resistance of her family, she was baptized by Fr. Isaac Thomas Hecker, founder of the Paulist order after their marriage.[24] Helene Barbara Weinberg quotes La Farge's letters to her before their marriage which provide evidence of his tenacious faith; one focuses explicitly on his Catholicism:

> I am sure that we are much nearer in our religious opinions than many would think and as long as you can believe that (according to the Christian meaning)—souls can be saved

> in Catholicity—you have granted enough for the present. I should be happier to see you a Catholic, you know, but only because I am a doubter and I can only see *that church or none*, but according to all Catholic meaning you cannot enter it without *full faith*—it is *not*, love,...a charitable and religious association to which one can belong as well as to half a dozen others—like most protestant sects. I do not want to preach though. I merely said this, my own dear Margaret, in answer to what you so sweetly said "that you would not be *half a Catholic*," that "you must be sincere in your belief." There is not need of your not being so, nor does the Catholic idea allow of anything else.[25]

La Farge's son, the noted Jesuit, John La Farge, SJ, suggested that his interest in art and particularly Asian art was fostered by his Jesuit instructors.[26] Although La Farge's son had little contact with his father until he was an adult, he based his conclusion on conversations they had in 1904.[27]

Living with La Farge was difficult; he often put his art before his family obligations. He was also terrible with managing money. His first bankruptcy came in 1864, when he was forced to flee his creditors and move to Roxbury, Massachusetts to recoup his finances. Later, he was arrested for grand larceny in 1885 for absconding with his own designs from a failed decorative arts firm. His son Bancel, who worked with him on stained glass projects, sued him in 1903, and he died deeply in debt in 1910.[28] La Farge's long affair with his attractive assistant, Mary Whitney, must have been discouraging to Margaret. La Farge was a most imperfect father, who yet retained the affections of his children thanks to his wife's forbearance. His son, John La Farge, SJ, candidly admitted that his father allowed his professional calling to overshadow his family and religious commitments:

1.2. John La Farge, *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, Rev. Samuel P. Parker Memorial Window, 1884. Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, Stockbridge.

> But the double absorption of La Farge's life were more at times than human nature could well bear; and it is to this circumstance, rather than to any lack of profound religious and moral conviction or lack of strength of will—for his will was singularly tenacious—that the confusion and perplexity in his life's conduct, the irritability and the downright unreasonableness, which made La Farge at times anything but comforting to those most nearly associated with him, may honestly be ascribed.…"That's your father's way," was my mother's unfailing explanation of all that seemed most inexplicable in his conduct. And I know of none truer.[29]

Historian James M. O'Toole highlights the important achievements of La Farge, SJ in his essay in this volume, "The Other John La Farge."

La Farge's biographer Royal Cortissoz noted that La Farge described himself as "religiously attuned," but cautioned that "he was indisposed to make much of the details of worship.…He could not have been a bigot if he had tried. His respect for the beliefs of others was illimitable."[30] Indeed, La Farge respected a wide range of beliefs, even unbelief, and rejected simplistic efforts to explain art as a product of its time and social environment. He particularly took issue with Max Nordau's lengthy and notorious diatribe against modern art, music, and literature entitled *Degeneration* (1892). Nordau declared that the conditions of modern life and individual moral failings had led the arts into a state of decadence, and that nearly all artists were mentally disturbed, especially those with any interest in mysticism. La Farge was scathing about the narrowness of Nordau's argument: "If, however, like Mr. Nordau he has some personal dislike of the Trinity and considers that a belief in this mysterious doctrine indicates a necessary decadence, he passes into the ranks of the theological partisans.…Unbelief in a personal God is a very old phase of thought and goes on in brilliant cases through all ages."[31]

Citing the case of an agnostic at the time of Dante, La Farge insists that there is always diversity of beliefs in every era, and that free will refutes the arguments of reductionist historians: "The opposite sects of a Ruskin or a Lombroso, at bottom, join in trying to represent man as merely the product of the time and place suitable to their definition."[32] La Farge insisted on the complexity and subjectivity of life, and the value of individual expression.[33]

John La Farge, SJ, highlighted the role of La Farge's religious art as an imperfect escape from the materialist culture that surrounded him: "His Catholic *ideas* were a refuge from the non-Catholic commercialized atmosphere to which fate, or Providence, had assigned him. But it was an imperfect refuge. His decorative art

would undoubtedly have reflected more of life's force and drama, less of studio draperies and landscapes, if it could have been executed amidst the warmth and inspiration of a Catholic culture."[34] His early biographer, Cecilia Waern, linked his turn to religious painting to the circumstances of his recent marriage and the stresses of war: "Dreams of the possibility of realizing his conceptions of religious painting began to occupy his mind. This was the period of the civil war."[35] Whatever the true state of La Farge's devotions, his education and training left him well prepared to execute some of the most interesting religious paintings and stained glass of his era.

1.3. John La Farge, *Portrait of William James*, c. 1859. Oil on cardboard, 28.9 x 24.8 in., National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC, NPG.91.6.

The Virgin and St. John the Evangelist at the Foot of the Cross

La Farge's first decorative projects for a liturgical setting ended in failure. In 1860, he started a large altarpiece of *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* for Fr. Isaac Thomas Hecker, founder of the Paulist Fathers. The painting was finished in 1863, but never used. It was later damaged in his studio, and has been lost. There are reflections of it in drawings and a later stained glass window in Saint Paul's Episcopal Church in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (fig. 1.2). This large painting (eight by five ft.) was described by La Farge as "the most important canvas I have painted."[36] The painting was first exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, and later it was on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1880–81. It was also shown at the Königlichen Glaspalaste in Munich in 1883 before being sold to Harry Payne Whitney in 1884. It was later damaged and has since disappeared.

Another commission for a Catholic church that also went awry was for an altarpiece intended for the Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter in Barclay Street, New York City. *The Virgin and St. John the Evangelist at the Foot of the Cross* (plate 20) are two large panels that were intended to flank a central panel of the Crucifixion, making a traditional triptych. La Farge worked on the project for two years, beginning in 1862, but they were rejected by the rector, and the central panel of the Crucifixion was never completed. Despite the negative response from the church, La Farge considered these key works in his development. Cecilia Waern called them "among the most important of the artist's work."[37]

The triptych format and the tall thin shape of these panels link them to fifteenth-century models, such as the altarpieces of the Sienese artist Sassetta.[38] The fact that they are painted on wooden panels also links them to the Quattrocento, before painting on canvas became common. In 1878 La Farge expressed his intentions in notes for an auction of his works: "These panels are treated as part of a great decorative 'ensemble,' and are painted first of all to that effect and meaning,—of course with the hope that the dramatic intention, and religious feeling have not thereby been weakened. The figures of John and Mary represent them as listening to [the] words [of the text John 19:25–27]. They are also meant to typify Humanity and the Church."[39] There are also homey touches that bring the sacred figures back to modern America to make them even more relevant to his audience. The landscape in the background is the shoreline of the Second Beach near the artist's home in Newport, Rhode Island. The head of Mary is modeled on his wife, Margaret Perry La Farge, and the head of St. John is modeled on his friend, William James (plate 21; fig. 1.3). Drawings for the Madonna and St. John can be found in sketchbooks preserved at Yale University, as well as sketches for the never completed central panel of the crucifixion (figs. 1.4–6).

1.4. John La Farge, *Madonna*, 1862. Graphite on paper, 4.3 x 2.6 in., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 2005.64.5, 22v.

1.5. John La Farge, *Crucifixion*, c. 1862. Graphite on paper, 6.3 x 3.4 in., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 2005.64.7, 23r.

1.6. John La Farge, *St. John the Evangelist*, 1862. Graphite on paper, 4.3 x 2.6 in., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 2005.64.5, 23r.

These two panels were exhibited in 1863 at New York's National Academy of Design, and featured in the 1878 exhibition and sale of his works at the Peirce and Company gallery in Boston.[40] They were bought back by the artist at that sale, but finally sold in 1884

to William Collins Whitney for his residence in Old Westbury, Long Island. The architect Stanford White persuaded Whitney to acquire them. Whitney later installed the panels on the grand staircase of his mansion at 871 Fifth Avenue in New York along with other paintings and tapestries in 1901 (figs. 1.7–8). The house, originally built in 1884 and bought by Whitney in 1895, was extensively remodeled by Stanford White between 1896 and 1902 for a cost estimated at four million dollars.[41] After his death in 1904, Whitney's estate sold the mansion and most of its contents to James Henry Smith, a Wall Street stockbroker. The two panels remained on the grand staircase as part of the sale. Smith died in 1907 on a trip to Japan, and the house was purchased in 1910 by William C. Whitney's son, Harry Payne Whitney, who wanted to keep his father's art collection intact.[42] The mansion was demolished in 1945, but the panels had already left the building. In 1931 Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney donated them to the new Whitney Museum of American Art. The details of the provenance of these paintings is quite complicated. James Yarnall has provided the most complete account.[43] In 1950, when the museum decided to sharpen its focus on twentieth-century American art, the panels were sold to Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, who hung them in his home in Trujillo, Spain. In 1983, they were acquired by Whitney's decorator, Duarte Pinto Coelho. They remained in his collection until his death in 2010, and were discovered at a Christie's sale in England by William Vareika (BC '74).[44]

1.7. The William C. Whitney house, 871 Fifth Avenue, New York, c. 1901.

1.8. Staircase in the William C. Whitney house; the La Farge panel of St. John is visible to the right of the tapestry.

The failure of the commission weighed on La Farge, who must have wondered why they were rejected. They were well-painted and had the sincerity and style of Pre-Raphaelite religious paintings, but still failed to impress the rector of St. Peter's. Henry Austin in 1893 cast La Farge in the role of the misunderstood pioneer, an artist ahead of his time. It was a familiar trope in nineteenth-century art criticism:

> John LaFarge's [*sic*] pictures failed thirty years ago for the very reason that they succeed today....LaFarge was a generation in advance of the American mind. Consequently these remarkable paintings, which were done, not on canvas, but on large panels of wood, fell flat. Executed with the same depth and richness of color which one can find in his later decorative figure-painting, the St. John and the Madonna are radiant examples of this painter's intense appreciation of that poetic quality, that miraculous mixture of seen and unseen elements, which the Christian religion preeminently possesses. It is not difficult to understand, as we study LaFarge's work in this range, why nearly all the profoundest achievements in Art must remain Catholic or, at least, must be more than tinged with the essence of that religion which, from its earliest date, has crowned and hallowed Art so constantly.[45]

Ironically, La Farge had much more success with Protestant churches than Catholic ones. Nearly all of La Farge's commissions for church murals or stained glass windows were for Protestant, mostly Episcopalian, churches. James Yarnall notes that the few commissions La Farge received from Catholic churches were through his mother's relatives.[46] There is even an Episcopal prayer for La Farge, Ralph Adams Cram, and Richard Upjohn particularly suited for the dedication of a church:

> Gracious God, we offer thanks for the vision of Ralph Adams Cram, John LaFarge [*sic*] and Richard Upjohn, whose harmonious revival of the Gothic enriched our churches with a sacramental understanding of reality in the face of secular materialism; and we pray that we may honor thy gifts of the beauty of holiness given through them, for the glory of Jesus Christ; who livest and reignest with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, in glory everlasting. Amen.[47]

The subject of religion and the arts has once again become a focus for scholars such as Sally M. Promey, Kathleen Pyne, David Morgan, and John Davis, who

have published important studies on this topic.[48]

Praised for its color and its composition, La Farge's oil painting *The Three Wise Men* of 1878 is one of his most important religious pictures (plate 14). It shows the three Magi pausing on their trip out of the East on their way to Bethlehem, and the sacred story is naturalized. The landscape behind them is the arc of the coast at Second Beach in Newport, where La Farge had lived so long. Light is the chief protagonist in this picture; the glow emanating from the left corner leads the Magi onward to witness the birth of Christ. Before being translated into an oil painting, this composition had been published as *The Wise Men out of the East* in the *Riverside Magazine for Young People* in 1868.

La Farge's first major decorative commission was for Trinity Church, Boston; the project featured large paintings of saints and prophets as well as ornamental patterns (fig. 1.9). The architect of Trinity, Henry Hobson Richardson (1838–86), intended the church interior to be a richly decorated "color church" from the beginning and in 1876 asked John La Farge to create and execute a decorative scheme for it.[49] The interior decoration featured Richardson's favorite Pompeiian red, gold, blue, green colors, with figures painted in encaustic (a wax-based pigment) and tempera paint for the walls. The iconography was worked out with Rev. Phillips Brooks, and included only positive images of faith and mission; there are no gloomy Last Judgments or Crucifixions. The Catholic La Farge included a painting of the Madonna and Child in the tower, small and almost hidden in the top of the tower, but nevertheless unusual for a Protestant church (fig. 1.10).[50]

1.9. John La Farge, *Isaiah*, 1877. Trinity Church, Boston.

1.10. John La Farge, *Madonna and Child*, 1877. Trinity Church, Boston.

A painting of the biblical story of *The Visit of Nicodemus to Christ* (John 3:1–16) was added to the south wall of the nave of Trinity Church about 1880, matched by a painting of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* on the opposite wall. These are conversion narratives, suitable for a church with a charismatic preacher. The figure of the Pharisee, Nicodemus, may have resonated with the successful businessmen and civic leaders that were the heart of this congregation. The text includes some of the most well-known verses spoken by Christ, including the call to be born again, and the phrase "God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten son" (John 3:16). The story of Nicodemus was repeated by La Farge in several versions, including oil paintings and watercolors (plates 15–17).

Today, La Farge is most well known for his opalescent leaded glass, or stained glass windows. A number of these will be discussed in another essay in this catalogue, and many more are available on the web resource created in connection with this exhibition, *John La Farge: Stained Glass in New England; A Digital Guide* (http://library.bc.edu/lafargeglass/).

Three important stained glass windows were donated to the McMullen Museum from William Vareika and his wife Alison (plate 4). Vareika has long been a champion of La Farge, and has saved a number of windows from dispersal, including a group of windows now installed in a new chapel designed by Robert A. M. Stern at Salve Regina University in Newport. The gift to Boston College was presented in 2013 in commemoration of the one hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the university.

The restoration of these windows will be discussed in a technical essay by Roberto Rosa, of Serpentino Stained Glass Studio, in this catalogue. David Cave illuminates the theological meanings of light in La Farge's stained glass windows in his essay "The Deeds of Light."

Finding God in All Things

After the debacle of his early religious commissions, La Farge turned to landscape painting as a more viable career move. Landscape painting was experiencing a vital resurgence in France with the Barbizon school and early impressionists, in England with the Pre-Raphaelites, and in America with the flourishing Hudson River School. La Farge's training in France and with William Morris Hunt in Rhode Island gave him the skills needed to fully exploit his talents with color. In 1865 he moved back to Newport on the aptly named Paradise Avenue. Nature was seen as a restorative force, and for some, tinged with a transcendental

beauty, following the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. James Jackson Jarves described his landscapes as the reflection of Christian theology: "His landscapes are gems of imaginative suggestion and delicate, vital treatment, not pantheistic in sentiment, although the soul of nature breathes in them. They interpret nature to us as sentient, sensible, not sensuous, but spiritually beautiful,—the Christian idea of one God manifest in the universe, contrasted with the Pagan invention of gods many."[51]

La Farge himself acknowledged that he found a spiritual conviction in the landscape paintings of the Barbizon artists, particularly Jean-Francois Millet. Scholars and members of the general public agreed with him. In 1893, La Farge quoted Dr. Wilhelm von Bode, the director of the Berlin Museums, who "was telling me, this autumn, of his constant sense of Millet's religious turn of mind in the noble drawings of plants and flowers, which with other more clearly stated expressions of moral attitude, hang in Mr. Quincy Shaw's wonderful collection."[52] In his own watercolors and oil paintings, La Farge caught the contemplative side of nature. His large oil painting *Paradise Valley* of 1866–68 was one of his most widely praised landscapes, both in America and in Europe (fig. 1.11).[53] Despite his recent financial troubles, he must have felt he was on the right path.

La Farge stated that his goal was to capture nature in an everyday moment to test his skills as an artist and his knowledge of color:

> My programme was to paint from nature a portrait, and yet to make distinctly a work of art which should remain as a type of the sort of subject I undertook, a subject both novel and absolutely "everydayish." I therefore had to choose a special moment of the day and a special kind of weather at a special time of the year, when I could count upon the same effect being repeated.[54]

1.11. John La Farge, *Paradise Valley*, 1866–68. Oil on canvas, 32.6 x 42 in., Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago, 1996.92.

1.12. X-ray of *Paradise Valley* revealing pentimento of Madonna and Child.

1.13. John La Farge, *Mother and Child*, c. 1888. Watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper, 7 x 7 in., private collection.

Taking into account his own subjectivity, La Farge sought to make his painting match the scale of his vision: "I also took as a problem the question of the actual size of my painting as covering the surface which I really saw at a distance, which would be represented by the first appearance of the picture. A student of optics will understand."[55]

His goal was to create a perfect reproduction of his perception of the landscape: "Nature, meaning in this case the landscape we look at, looks as if it had done itself and not been done by an artist." To accomplish this, he found that he needed to return to the scene often to capture just the right light effects; Royal Cortissoz notes that: "He built himself a little hut among the rocks, where he would leave his picture, going back day after day so as to get as far as possible the same light."[56] Independently, La Farge developed a technique of painting in the open air that paralleled that of the French impressionist Claude Monet in the emphasis on painting directly before the motif and representing the atmosphere through a careful study of light and color. Ironically, this most naturalistic landscape also bears the traces of an earlier religious painting; Helene Barbara Weinberg reported that there is a large pentimento of a Madonna and Child composition beneath the surface of *Paradise Valley* (fig. 1.12).[57] This composition is known today through a watercolor of a mother and child; the models are clearly his wife Margaret and their young son Bancel (fig. 1.13).[58]

Ten years later, the subtle washes of the watercolor *Paradise Farm and Nelson's Pond* (plate 77), show his skill with the watercolor

medium, and his ability to create a harmonious, meditative image of the trees and rocks dissolving together. The dissolution of solid forms into veils of color in these watercolors reveals the artist's emphasis on his subjective perception.

Landscape painting rose to new prominence in the nineteenth century. Romantic artists and writers found that the sublime vastness of nature made a perfect correlative to the spiritual experience of feeling one's ego meld in a union with a higher power.[59] Realists and symbolists built on this practice. Landscape was a potent example of the artifice of representation as well as a record of empirical observations. Viewers could interpret them according to their subjective experience. Even the sunlit landscapes of Claude Monet could be interpreted as a grim meditation on the inadequacy of human capabilities, by those inclined to pessimism. A remarkable pamphlet was published by a female scientist writing under the pseudonym of Celen Sabbrin on the occasion of the first large-scale exhibition of impressionist paintings in New York in 1886.[60] She focused primarily on the works of Monet, seeing in them cold mathematical precision and fatalistic despair:

> "A Landscape at Giverny," is an expression of hopelessness, of the unattainableness of absolute truth, and a confirmation of science's teachings, in the ultimate uselessness of human effort. To the appreciative such a picture would be unbearable as a constant companion; though it is the crowning effort of Monet's genius, and proclaims him the philosopher of the impressionist school.
>
> The mathematical principles are fully expressed in this picture, and vivify the thought that geometry is soulless, and that natural forces are relentless and pitiless.…The heart weakens and the soul is faint at what she sees. It is the end of the struggle of the human race; all work and thought have been of no avail; the fight is over and inorganic forces proclaim their victory. The scene is a striking reality. Nature is indifferent, and her aspects are meaningless, for what indications of the unavoidable end come from seeing that gay flowered field? It is a mockery, and that mind which has once felt the depth of the thoughts expressed in this painting, can only seek safety in forgetfulness. Monet does not offer any solution to the result to which his pictures lead. He is occupied in giving expression to the most serious truths of our life. He is recording the chronicles of modern thought.[61]

1.14. John La Farge, *Agathon to Erosanthe*, 1861. Oil on canvas, 23 x 13 in., Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, 2013.178.

Her symbolist interpretations of Monet's works were well received in European art circles, although they had less impact in America. Celen Sabbrin found that her dark reflections on painting and nature drove her to give up the study of art and even science for a time, and she turned to religious meditation to regain her equilibrium.[62] La Farge's friend and fellow artist, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, was given to similar gloomy speculations, colored by the anxieties provoked by a modern scientific worldview: "After all, we are like lots of microscopical microbes on this infinitesimal ball in space.…The principal thought in my life is that we are on a planet going no one knows where, probably to something higher (on the Darwinian principle of evolution); that whatever it is, the passage is terribly sad and tragic."[63]

Still Life—Vanitas in the Modern World

La Farge's flower paintings were particularly successful; many still see them as his finest works. Some were painted as technical exercises, as he sought to master color and composition.[64] There were others with a different focus; he pointed to "certain ones in which I tried to give something more than a study or a handsome arrangement. Some few were paintings of the water lily [plates 85–87], which has, as you know, always appealed to the sense of something of a meaning—a mysterious appeal such as comes to us from certain arrangements of notes of music."[65] The parallel he drew between music and color and the mysterious beauty of the water lily suggest a familiarity with the theory of correspondences, which was developed by the Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg and later echoed by the French poet Charles Baudelaire. La Farge's contemporary, the painter George Inness, was deeply influenced by Swedenborg.[66] William James may also have been influenced by Swedenborg's doctrines. Baudelaire was a friend of La Farge's cousin, Paul de Saint-Victor, with whom La Farge stayed in Paris in 1856–57. He is reported to have introduced La Farge to the poet.[67] In 1857 Baudelaire published

the poem "Correspondences" which contained many of the aesthetic principles of the later symbolists. It was part of his sensational volume *Les Fleurs du Mal*, which anticipated many themes of the decadent movement and symbolism. As Jarves observed, La Farge's flower paintings use the artistic media to evoke mental states: "by a few daring, luminous sweeps of his brush he creates the universal flower, the type of its highest possibilities of beauty and meaning, using color not as fact, but as moods of feeling and imagination, having the force of passion without its taint."[68]

The mystic association of water lilies and supernatural realities is underscored by La Farge's drawing of a fairy hovering behind a water lily, an illustration created for the 1873 book *Songs from the Old Dramatists* (plate 54A).

Some of his flower paintings are rich with symbolic meaning, particularly a pair of memorial wreaths that he painted in the 1860s. The votive picture *Agathon to Erosanthe* of 1861 is simultaneously a memorial and a gift offering (fig. 1.14). The Greek title evokes the character Agathon in Plato's *Symposium*, a text replete with observations on the philosophy of love.[69]

Flowers. Blue Iris, with Trunk of Dead Apple-Tree in the Background, Newport (1871; plate 92) is one of John La Farge's most beautiful and experimental nature studies. The delicate beauty of La Farge's *Flowers* is also related to his love of Japanese art. The exquisite blue flowers in the shady foreground contrast sharply with the light trunk of the dead apple tree, denuded of its bark. Cycles of life are implied in this juxtaposition of spring flowers and dead tree.

1.15. Édouard Manet, *Silentium*, 1862–63. Etching on paper, 8 x 6.3 in., Detroit Institute of Arts, 31.329.

1.16. Fernand Khnopff, *Silence*, 1890. Pastel on paper, 34.6 x 17.4 in., Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, 4844.

Illustrations to Fire the Imagination

In a series of paintings and black and white prints based on literary sources, La Farge gave free rein to his imagination. These imaginative compositions fed his later works.[70] The great poet laureate of Britain, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, inspired many artists in the nineteenth century. La Farge owned a copy of the 1857 Moxon edition of Tennyson's works. It was illustrated by leading members of the Pre-Raphaelites, whom La Farge met on a trip to England in 1857. La Farge's oil painting *Lady of Shalott* of c. 1862 was inspired by Tennyson's poem of the same name (plate 49). It portrays one of the favorite subjects of the romantic era—the dying lady. The poem depicts the unrequited love the Lady of Shalott felt for Sir Lancelot, who was unfortunately in love with Guinevere, the wife of King Arthur. When the Lady of Shalott realized how futile her situation was, she broke down and set off in a barge to die. The boat is shown floating down the river toward Camelot, where Lancelot sees her as if a tragic apparition. The poem reads:

And at the closing of the day
She loosed the chain, and down she lay;
The broad stream bore her far away.
. . . . . .
A gleaming shape she floated by,
Dead-pale between the houses high,
Silent into Camelot.

The twilight setting is Nelson's Pond near Paradise Valley in Newport, where La Farge spent much time. The lady's face is that of his wife, Margaret Perry La Farge (plate 50).

Tennyson was the inspiration for another series of illustrations in 1864 when La Farge illustrated his popular book *Enoch Arden*. Some are realistic images of the castaway, while others are more symbolic. The illustration "Enoch Alone" depicts the solitary castaway in despair, clutching his head with his hands (plate 53F). The pathos of this scene is even stronger in the associated watercolor (plate 52). He is seated on a beach that resembles the coast near Newport. In "Enoch's Supplication" the desperate survivor is shown on his knees upon his return to England (plate 53H). He is visited by Christ—a scene that is not in the text—La Farge added the figure of the Savior on his own. George Lathrop was deeply moved by the artist's innovation: "What a pathos the artist has added by introducing the figure of the Saviour, bending to reach with his hand that of the broken-hearted man who has fallen upon the earth in prayer!…What a sacred thrill it sends through the imagination!"[71]

The final scene illustrated by La Farge is "The Seal of Silence" (plate 53I), in which an angel swears Enoch to secrecy about his return to England, so he will not

disturb the tranquility of his wife, who made a new life for herself when he was thought to be lost. Silence is the guardian of secrets and mysteries. It is also essential to spiritual contemplation. In silence one becomes aware of one's own consciousness, and of time and events which flow around one's still center. La Farge's angel stands as the guardian of the door to the expansion of the mind and spirit, a portal that opens with the cessation of earthly desires and distractions. The French author Honoré de Balzac was another of La Farge's favorite writers, and he introduced Henry James to his writings. In his 1835 novel *Seraphita*, Balzac proclaims: "Silence and meditation are efficacious means of entering on this road; God always reveals Himself to the solitary and contemplative man."[72] Even in the mid-nineteenth century, silence was becoming a rare commodity. The din of modern life would eventually be cited as a contributor to modern nervous disorders, or neurasthenia. The call to silence was a long-standing feature of religious devotion, but also a reaction against the onslaught of modern urban life. Although he is usually thought of as the champion of modernism, Édouard Manet (1832–83) created a number of religious pictures in the 1860s, including the etching *Silentium* (fig. 1.15). The "*Obermystiker*" of Brussels, Fernand Khnopff (1858–1921), depicted his sister in a white robe and long gloves adjuring the viewer to silence and reflection (fig. 1.16).[73]

1.17. John La Farge, "The Legend of the Veronica Kerchief," in *Christine: A Troubadour's Song, and Other Poems*, George H. Miles (New York: Lawrence Kehoe, 1866), 102.

To render silence visible is to utilize the concept of synesthesia, the evocation of one sense by another. The desire to fuse the arts, to break down the categorical distinctions between the various media, was paramount in the second half of the nineteenth century. Baudelaire's seminal poem "Correspondences," and the towering example of Richard Wagner's operas set the tone to a large extent for the art of the symbolists.

The success of the *Enoch Arden* illustrations helped La Farge win an even larger commission for up to one hundred drawings for the *Riverside Magazine for Young People*, founded in 1867 by Hurd and Houghton under the editorial direction of Horace Scudder. In the end, only six drawings were published in the magazine as wood engravings. By a stroke of fortune, we have five of these in the exhibition, and their original woodblocks (plates 55–59). The subjects were taken from the tales of the *Arabian Nights*, or European folk tales. As La Farge told his biographer, "What I proposed to the mag was a series of fantasies, imaginary representations in certain cases, or fairly accurate representations of historical incidents, which were fairly doubtful or of such poetic nature as to pass easily into Fairyland."[74] The illustration and its watercolor for the story of *Bishop Hatto and the Rats* is a tense work of horror and retribution, worthy of Edgar Allan Poe (plates 59–60).[75] Several of these drawings were shown to the British Pre-Raphaelite Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and his praise meant a great deal to La Farge at this stage of his career, as La Farge frequently noted.

Although the creation of graven images is forbidden in the Ten Commandments, the legend of St. Veronica's veil or kerchief provided a theme for one of the most effective counterarguments in the Middle Ages. According to the legend, Veronica wiped the brow of Christ as he passed by on his final procession to be crucified, and a miraculous image remained on the cloth.[76] This relic was regarded as the true image, the *vera icon*, of Christ. There are many painted versions of the story in medieval and later art, and the parallel with photography in the transfer of the divine image to the cloth is inescapable. The radiant power of the image of Christ on Veronica's kerchief was depicted by La Farge in 1866 in an illustration for George H. Miles's long poem, *Christine: A Troubadour's Song* (fig. 1.17). The Christian maid holds the Veronica kerchief before her, causing the hostile wizard warrior to turn away.

A more exotic and macabre image is found in La Farge's illustration for Henry James's short story *The Turn of the Screw*, which was serialized in *Collier's Weekly* from January 27 to April 16, 1898 with an ornate and eerie headpiece by La Farge (plate 61). This is the tale of a haunting; La Farge's triptych captures the ghostly atmosphere well.[77] He shows the nurse and her young charge standing together, flanked by two Asian dragons. If one looks closely, it becomes apparent that the nurse inexplicably has two right hands—one holds the boy's shoulder, and another caresses his hair. Ghost stories presume a belief in an afterlife, a kind of folk counterpart of traditional religious beliefs.

Mythological and Secular Subjects with a Spiritual Theme

John La Farge was a learned and cosmopolitan man; his imagination roamed throughout the literary storehouses of the nineteenth century—medieval

legends, folk tales, Bible stories, Oriental fantasies, and classical mythology. He drew and painted fabulous creatures like the mythical centaurs of ancient Greece (plates 38–39). The centaur, which combines a human torso with a horse's body, emblematizes the duality of rationality and animal passions which characterize humans. Centaurs veer between acts of nobility and unbridled lust in Greek myth. The battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs was legendary in early Greece; the struggle between a human tribe and the centaurs came to signify the conflict between civilized and unbridled behavior; as such, it is depicted on the Parthenon in ancient Athens. La Farge's scene is more elegiac.

One of *Aesop's Fables* inspired *The Shepherd and the Sea*, an image of an earth-bound shepherd and his dog spellbound by the sight of a mermaid rising from the water (plate 44). The image is repeated in a watercolor and an engraving (plates 43, 54C). In a world disenchanted by materialism, the theme of the humble shepherd discovering a mermaid embodies the magic of a realm where gods and mythic creatures walked on earth.

La Farge also depicted classical allegorical figures, such as *The Muse of Painting* of 1870 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, or the allegory of Fortune that he created for Henry Clay Frick's office building in Pittsburgh.[78] *The Muse of Painting* symbolizes the dual sources of inspiration for the artist—nature and the imagination (plate 40). The muse sits in a Newport landscape with closed eyes, wearing a classical garment and a crown of laurel. She holds a tablet in her hand, but for the moment heeds only her inner vision, perhaps reflecting on the lush nature which frames her with flowers and a hanging Virginia creeper vine. The rock in the distance behind her is Bishop Berkeley's rock, also known as the Hanging Rock, near Newport. It is named for the idealist philosopher Bishop George Berkeley (1685–1753), who lived near Newport from 1728 to 1731 before returning to London.

One of La Farge's Orientalist fantasies, *The Serpent Charmer, Study in Yellow Tone* of 1864 (plate 41) depicts a seated musician wearing a turban and red robe seated under a tree. He plays his stringed instrument to charm a dimly visible serpent that rises in the background. This quiet solitary musician is a meditative study on the power of music and an exploration of color tonality. It is a simple study, but a forerunner to the more bumptious exoticism of Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Snake Charmer* of c. 1879, which has become an icon of Western Orientalism (fig. 1.18).[79]

1.18. Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), *Snake Charmer*, c. 1879. Oil on canvas, 32.4 x 47.6 in., Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, 1955.51.

1.19. Martin Milmore (1844–83), *Sphinx*, 1872. Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge.

The closely cropped view of the swans in La Farge's c. 1865 watercolor (plate 42) is influenced by Japanese art and European mythologies. Swans are among the most important images of the European symbolist movement. These graceful birds appear in Greek, Norse, and Celtic mythology, with a variety of connotations, often involving a metamorphosis.[80] They were a favorite emblem of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, the subject of poems by French authors Charles Baudelaire and Stéphane Mallarmé, and the focus of Tchaikovsky's ballet *Swan Lake* (1876).

For Baudelaire, the swan was an image of exile and memory of old Paris which was undergoing a radical transformation under the direction of Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann. His poem "The Swan" in *Les Fleurs du Mal* contrasts the image of the changing city with the purity of the swan. The modernization of the urban environment led to nostalgia and a sense of loss: "Paris changes; but my melancholy is unmoving."[81] The swan was also a symbol of exile for Stéphane Mallarmé; his poem, "Le Vierge, le vivace…" (1885) uses the symbolic image of a swan frozen in ice as a metaphor for creative frustration and negative capability.[82]

Swans were native to both North America and Europe; like the water lily, La Farge may have seen them as part of a common culture of nature and art.

During the last year of the Civil War, La Farge made a small painting of a sphinx, one of the most complex symbolic figures of the late nineteenth century (plate 37). La Farge was not called to serve in the Civil War due to his extreme myopia. This sphinx was intended to illustrate the poem "The Sphinx" by Ralph Waldo Emerson. The poem was published in 1841 in the magazine the *Dial*, and reprinted in 1847 in Emerson's *Poems*. The sphinx is described as an emblem of mystery, brooding drowsily over the world:

The Sphinx is drowsy,
Her wings are furled:
Her ear is heavy,
She broods on the world.
"Who'll tell me my secret,
The ages have kept?—
I awaited the seer
While they slumbered and slept:—

The sphinx is inescapably linked to themes of death and a promise of the afterlife, through the association with ancient Egypt.[83] It seemed only fitting to use the sphinx as a memorial to the dead Union soldiers after the Civil War, as seen in Martin Milmore's granite sculpture in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 1.19).

Another literary source for La Farge's mysterious sphinx may have been the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. Edward Fitzgerald published the first volume of his translations of the eleventh-century Persian poet in 1859. This became one of the most famous books of poetry in the nineteenth century, and was notably illustrated by La Farge's friend, Elihu Vedder, in a lavish folio edition in 1884 (fig. 1.20).[84] Vedder had previously depicted an old man interrogating a colossal sphinx buried in the sands of Egypt in *The Questioner of the Sphinx*, an oil painting of 1863 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The context of the Civil War made the mysteries of life and death profoundly relevant.

1.20. Elihu Vedder, illustration in *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1884), v. 55–58.

1.21. John La Farge, *Athens*, 1898. Oil on canvas, 108 x 240 in., Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, 1893.35.

1.22. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red*, c. 1869. Oil and wax crayon on canvas, 15.6 x 14 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 60.1158.

Perfectly suiting his capitalist clients, La Farge created a stained glass window of the classical goddess of Fortune for Henry Clay Frick's new office building in Pittsburgh, designed by Daniel H. Burnham. La Farge's window was completed between 1900 and 1902. Framed between two elegant Corinthian pillars, the goddess with flowing gown stands astride a wheel symbolic of fate as she soars above the visitors in the lobby, as is seen in the pencil sketch for this window (plate 46). It is a fitting symbol of Frick's business success. Henry Adams has suggested that La Farge may have been having some fun with this commission, seeing the depiction of the goddess Fortune as an ironic image of a "giddy, disheveled, voluptuous strumpet,"[85] balanced precariously on her wheel. In later life, John La Farge was renowned for his mural paintings. His achievements at Trinity Church in Boston and the Church of the Ascension in New York in 1887 solidified his reputation, and he was named the second president of the American Mural Society. Among his most important late murals are a depiction of ancient Athens for the new art building at Bowdoin College in 1898 (fig. 1.21), and a series of murals for the Supreme Court chambers at the Minnesota State Capitol in St. Paul in 1903–05. These murals are discussed by Cecelia Levin her essay "In Search of Nirvana," including the mural *The Recording of Precedents* (fig. 3.16). At Bowdoin, his mural was flanked by similar ones by Elihu Vedder, Abbot Thayer, and Kenyon Cox.

Japonisme—La Farge and Asian Art and Eastern Religion

John La Farge was a pioneer in the study of Japanese art, and was asked as early as 1870 to contribute an essay on the subject for Raphael Pumpelly's book *Across America and Asia*.[86] He traveled to Japan with his close friend Henry Adams in 1886, and explored Samoa, Tahiti, and the South Seas with Adams in 1890 and 1891. La Farge lectured and published on Hokusai, and published an edition of his letters from Japan in 1897.[87] His interest in Asian art and Eastern religion is the subject of Cecelia Levin's essay in this catalogue.

A searing personal tragedy for Henry Adams was one of the motivations for his trip to Japan with La Farge. In 1885 his wife Clover Adams had committed suicide. Her grave was first marked with a simple headstone, but after their trip he and La Farge worked with the sculptor Augus-

tus Saint-Gaudens to create a memorial for her (fig. 3.11).[88] Adams wanted a figure that would embody a sense of the Buddhist concept of Nirvana, a release from the cycles of life and death, desire and pain. La Farge suggested that the sculptor model his work on the Japanese goddess Kuwannon, a goddess of compassion.[89] He had seen images of this figure on their travels, and had made several paintings of her (plate 71). Ernest Fenollosa showed him a particularly impressive version in Kyoto. According to Fenollosa, "Mr. La Farge, devout Catholic as he is, could hardly restrain a bending of the head as he muttered, 'Raphael.' Indeed, the Mokkei Kwannon challenges deliberate comparison with the sweetest mother type of the great Umbrian."[90]

Although the goal of Buddhism was escape from suffering and desire, this was not easily achieved. The turmoil of the real world and its potential horrors is shown in one of La Farge's watercolors entitled *The Strange Thing Little Kiosai Saw in the River* of 1897 (plate 68). It was part of a series of "Fantasies on Oriental Themes."[91] La Farge had lectured on the Japanese painter Kiosai (1831–89) at the Architectural League in New York in 1893, and also on Hokusai at the Century Club in 1896.

There is a somewhat amusing tale behind the watercolor *Musicians in Ceremonial Costume*, which reflects some of the awkwardness of a Westerner's encounter with Asian culture (plate 69). While in Japan, La Farge and Henry Adams stayed in the house of a Japanese monk who became a good friend. However, one time while he was out, La Farge hired two geishas from the town to come and pose for him in their traditional costumes, playing music and dancing. La Farge enjoyed the slightly scandalous joke of having two such entertainers in the house of an ascetic priest.[92] There is a drawing of the priest in the Addison Gallery of American Art in Andover, Massachusetts (plate 66), and his house is shown in a watercolor from a private collection (plate 64). *Musicians in Ceremonial Costume* records this incident, and reflects the artist's keen interest in Japanese traditional culture and the role of the arts, even if at the expense of religious decorum. The accurate details of this watercolor reflect La Farge's direct experience, so different from the imagined works of James McNeill Whistler (fig. 1.22). Despite his great love of Japanese art, Whistler never traveled there. As La Farge noted, the geishas were ambiguous figures of artifice and desire, performing for the gaze of the Western males who only partly understood their role.

One of the great character types of the late nineteenth century was the aesthete, the sophisticated devotee of literature, music, and art for art's sake. We meet this figure in Joris-Karl Huysmans's seminal novel of the symbolist movement, *A Rebours* (*Against Nature*, 1884), and embodied in such personages as Oscar Wilde. The aesthete, with accompanying overtones of decadence, was less commonly found in America, but present even in New York and Boston.[93] The aesthete as type also existed in Japan and China, and La Farge's late watercolor, *The Aesthete*, depicts such a figure (plate 70). It is one of the last of his series of "Fantasies on Oriental Themes." The scholar/aesthete reclines reading a book, contemplating nature and art through a painted screen that simulates a real landscape. Ambiguities of art and illusion are raised here, as the panoramic painting replaces nature. La Farge attached a plaque with a poem by the French author Louis Bouilhet:

> La Paix descend sur tout chose,
> Mon esprit calme se repose
> Dans l'équilibre du milieu.[94]

The figure has escaped into a private realm of undisturbed beauty; peace has descended on all. Such escape was the goal of many American collectors, as well as the decadent hero of Huysmans's *Against Nature*. One can easily see this aesthete as a self-portrait by La Farge, humorously depicting an important facet of his character, reflecting on the beauties of art and nature, and pondering the enigmas of existence.

1 The best recent biography of John La Farge is by James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge, a Biographical and Critical Study* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012). See also his *John La Farge in Paradise: The Painter and His Muse*, exh. cat. (Newport: William Vareika Fine Arts Ltd., 1995). The most recent monograph is Katie Kresser, *The Art and Thought of John La Farge: Picturing Authenticity in Gilded Age America* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013). Still indispensable is Helene Barbara Weinberg, *The Decorative Work of John La Farge* (New York: Garland, 1977). Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge: A Memoir and a Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911) and Cecilia Waern, *John La Farge, Artist and Writer* (New York: Macmillan, 1896) are solid biographies by people who knew the artist and had early access to his autobiographical materials.

2 See Garnett McCoy, "Visits, Parties, and Cars in the Hall: The Tenth Street Studio Building and Its Inmates in the Nineteenth Century," *Archives of American Art Journal* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1966): 1–8.

3 Henry A. La Farge, "The Early Drawings of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 9: "The most probable source was Eugène Le Roux's lithograph of Géricault's version of the *Barbieri Horses* in the Marcille Collection, published in *Les Artistes anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1851)."

4 John La Farge, *The Higher Life in Art: A Series of Lectures on the Barbizon School of France, Inaugurating the Scammon Course at the Art Institute of Chicago* (New York: McClure, 1908). Also, John La Farge, "Delacroix," in *Ramblings Among Art Centres,* ed. F. Hopkinson Smith and John C. Van Dycke (Philadelphia: Booklovers Library, 1901), 57–65.

5 John La Farge, *Considerations on Painting: Lectures Given in the Year 1893 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 151. La Farge wrote: "Much, for instance, of Delacroix's power of expressing melancholy and romantic feeling comes from his having admired, even against his will, what may be called the robustious healthiness of Rubens, and from having actually studied out the Fleming's material means, which seem usually so joyous and so unfitted for the Byronic, new anxieties of this century, distracted by the loss of old faiths, disturbed by the apparition of new necessities of inquiry."

6 La Farge: "If I copied the painting for which the drawing had been made I could only copy the surface, without knowing how the master had made this result. But I knew that in the master's drawings and studies for a given work I met him intimately, saw into his mind, and learned his intentions and his character, and what was great and what was deficient." Quoted in Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 93–94.

7 Henry Adams, quoted in Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 20. See also Henry Adams, "The Mind of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Henry Adams et al., exh. cat. (New York: Abbeville, 1987), 11–78; also Julie L. Sloan, and James L. Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind: The Stained Glass of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 24, no. 1–2 (1992): 4–43.

8 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 15–16.

9 Elihu Vedder, *The Digressions of V.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), 260.

10 John La Farge, SJ, "The Mind of John La Farge," *Catholic World* 140 (Mar. 1935): 704.

11 John La Farge, "Concerning Painters Who Would Express Themselves in Words," *Scribner's Magazine* 26, no. 2 (Aug. 1899): 256.

12 Ibid.

13 John La Farge, "Ruskin, Art and Truth," *International Monthly* 2 (Nov. 1900): 510–35; quote from 515. Ruskin had championed first J. M. W. Turner and then the English Pre-Raphaelites as exemplars of the scrupulous fidelity to nature that he required for art.

14 See Jeffery Howe, ed., *Courbet: Mapping Realism*, exh. cat. (Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2013).

15 Diane Chalmers Johnson, *American Symbolist Art: Nineteenth-Century "Poets in Paint"; Washington Allston, John La Farge, William Rimmer, George Inness, and Albert Pinkham Ryder* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2004).

16 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 118–19.

17 My translation. The Goethe quotation is found in Samuel Bing, "Artistic America," in *Artistic America, Tiffany Glass, and Art Nouveau*, trans. Benita Eisler and intro. Robert Koch (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 186. Originally published as *La culture artistique en Amerique* in 1896. Bing, or Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), was later known as Samuel Bing. In 1895 he opened the shop "La Maison de l'Art Nouveau" in Paris which gave the movement its name. The original poem is found in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Klassiker, 1987), 739–41. Here is the original text: "Amerika, du hast es besser Als unser Kontinent, der alte, Hast keine verfallenen Schlösser Und keine Basalte. Dich stört nicht im Innern, Zu lebendiger Zeit, Unnützes Erinnern Und vergeblicher Streit."

18 Henry James, letter to Thomas Sergeant Perry, Cambridge, Sept. 20, 1867; quoted in Leon Edel, ed., *Selected Letters of Henry James* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955), 22–23, and quoted in Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 434.

19 The term "genteel tradition" is originally from George Santayana, "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy," in *Winds of Doctrine* (London: Dent, 1913), 186–215. Richard Guy Wilson, "Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance," *Winterthur Portfolio* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 69–87, notes that the term "refer[s] to the complex of ideas that placed great emphasis on craftsmanship, a search for the ideal, and a belief in beauty and the ideal of striving to create a high culture that would keep the forces of barbarism at bay," 74.

20 John La Farge, *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (New York: Century, 1897), 145.

21 James Jackson Jarves, *The Art-Idea: Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture in America*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865), 224–25.

22 George Parsons Lathrop, "John La Farge," *Scribner's Monthly* 21, no. 4 (Feb. 1881): 503.

23 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 259.

24 Mary La Farge and James L. Yarnall, "Nurturing Art and Family: The Newport Life of Margaret Mason Perry La Farge," *Newport History* 67 (Autumn 1995): 54–105.

25 Letter from La Farge to Margaret Perry, Feb. 20, 1860, La Farge Papers, New York Historical Society. Quoted in Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 43.

26 La Farge, SJ, "The Mind of La Farge," 701: "At St. John's College, Fordham, his interest in art and in the Orient was stimulated by his acquaintance with Father William Monroe, S.J., whose curios and reminiscences delighted him."

27 Ibid., 704.

28 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 119–20.

29 La Farge, SJ, "The Mind of La Farge," 709–10.

30 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 258: "La Farge's mind was, in his own

phrase, 'religiously attuned.' The fact is writ large across his work. It was by a kind of inner spiritual right that he entered the innumerable churches he decorated. He labored therein much after the manner of the medieval craftsman, the craftsman of an age of faith. I say this, too, with a full realization of the fact that not all of the edifices he embellished, by any means, belonged to his own communion. But like his old grandmother, Madame Binsse de Saint-Victor, he was indisposed to make much of the details of worship. For him belief and cleanliness of soul were the main things. He could not have been a bigot if he had tried. His respect for the beliefs of others was illimitable."

31 John La Farge, "Art and Artists," *International Monthly* 4 (Sept. 1901): 475–76.

32 Ibid.

33 La Farge, "Ruskin, Art and Truth," 517: "Man is quite as important as mountains and clouds, in the story of humanity, and the expression of his sentiment or feeling or appreciation of any kind, through art, is as surely a function of nature as the cataract or the snowflake."

34 La Farge, SJ, "The Mind of La Farge," 708.

35 Waern, *John La Farge*, 16. See also Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 42.

36 Henry A. La Farge, "John La Farge and the 1878 Auction of His Works," *American Art Journal* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 26–29.

37 Waern, *John La Farge*, 18: "A Madonna and a St. John, parts of a large triptych painted for a Catholic church in New York, though not accepted for this position, are among the most important of the artist's work. Painted only four or five years after the artist's first efforts to express his ideas of colour in a personal method of painting, they already show a remarkable sense of harmony, with richness and depth of colour equal to his later work." Later, she states: "The two figures of *A Madonna* and *St. John,* still in the artist's possession, were parts of a large triptych begun in 1862–63 for the altar of a Catholic church. These pictures, though not accepted for the positions for which they were intended, are among the most beautiful and important of the artist's paintings" (ibid., 29).

38 See for instance Sassetta's (Stefano di Giovanni's) *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints*, 1437–44, in the Louvre, Paris.

39 Quoted by Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 48–49.

40 See La Farge, "1878 Auction," 4–34.

41 Michael Henry Adams, "The Most Palatial House in New York: Stanford White's William Collins Whitney Residence!," *Mr. Michael Henry Adams' Style & Taste* (blog), Jan. 24, 2013, http://mrmhadams.typepad.com/blog/2013/01/the-most-palatial-house-in-new-york-stanford-whites-william-collins-whitney-residence.html.

42 An auction of all the contents of the house had been planned for January 1910, and a lavish catalogue produced, but Harry Payne Whitney purchased the house and its contents before the sale was held. The catalogue was published as *The Palatial Mansion of the Late James Henry Smith and Its Exceedingly Rare and Costly Artistic Furnishings and Embellishments* (New York: American Art Association, 1910).

43 In an e-mail sent to William Vareika on August 30, 2012, James Yarnall summarized the chain of ownership of the panels: They were commissioned by Reverend William Quinn, New York, 1863–before 1878; sale, Peirce and Co., Boston, Nov. 1878 (2nd day, 19–20), bought by John La Farge, who kept them between 1878 and 1884; sale, Ortgies and Co., New York, Apr. 17, 1884 (no. 36); purchase, William Collins Whitney, New York, 1884–d. 1904; estate of William Collins Whitney, New York, 1904; purchased by James Henry Smith, New York, 1904–d. 1907; estate of James Henry Smith, New York, 1907–10; purchased by Harry Payne Whitney, 1910–d. 1930; his wife, Mrs. Harry Payne (Gertrude Vanderbilt) Whitney, New York, 1930–31; gift to the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1931–50; with Knoedler and Co., New York, 1950; purchase, Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, New York, 1950. In 1983, they were acquired by Duarte Pinto Coelho, and in 2010 sold at Christie's before being donated to Boston College in 2016.

44 Kelly Compton, "Home Again: A Dealer Repatriates Two American Icons," *Fine Art Connoisseur* (Mar.–Apr. 2012): 56–67. Also available online at: http://www.vareikafinearts.com/presspdfs/FACA_April12.pdf.

45 Henry Austin, "In American Studios: John La Farge," *Donahoe's Magazine* 29, no. 6 (June 1893): 708.

46 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 115–16: "Only a few of La Farge's ecclesiastical memorials were for Catholic churches, but this was by no means his fault. In the nineteenth century, even though Catholic congregations often hired only Catholic architects to design their churches, they generally imported European stained glass, primarily from Munich. Some critics could not understand this American Catholic preference for 'inferior' European products over the 'finer glass windows' of La Farge, himself a Catholic. Regardless, any commissions from Catholic churches came to La Farge only through his mother's relatives, who were powerful supporters of northeastern Catholic institutions. Meanwhile, most glass patrons were Episcopalian, the religion commonly embraced by the wealthiest and socially most prominent Americans during the Gilded Age."

47 "Ralph Adams Cram, Richard Upjohn, and John LaFarge," *Lectionary*, last modified Oct. 20, 2012, http://satucket.com/lectionary/cram_upjohn_lafarge.htm.

48 See particularly Sally M. Promey, "The 'Return' of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (Sept. 2003): 581–603. Her book on Sargent's murals in the Boston Public Library is also important: *Painting Religion in Public: John Singer Sargent's "Triumph of Religion" at the Boston Public Library* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1999). Kathleen Pyne provides important insights into the religious and cultural context of the post-Civil War era in *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1996). A broad survey is found in David Morgan, *Protestants and Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Production* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999). Of particular interest is the essay by John Davis, "Catholic Envy: The Visual Culture of Protestant Desire," in *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, ed. David Morgan and Sally M. Promey (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2001), 105–28. See also Davis's book *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996). Another important study is Kathleen Curran, "The Romanesque Revival, Mural Painting, and Protestant Patronage in America," *Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 693–722. Still worthwhile is Joshua C. Taylor, "The Religious Impulse in American Art," in *Papers in American Art*, ed. John C. Milley (Mapleshade: Edinburgh Press, 1976), 113–32

49 Virginia C. Raguin, "Decorator: John La Farge," in *The Makers of Trinity Church in the City of Boston*, ed. James F. O'Gorman (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 118–37.

50 Douglass Shand-Tucci, "American Aristocracy: Gods of Copley Square: Centerpiece 7," *Open Letters Monthly*, Apr. 1, 2013, http://www.openlettersmonthly.com/american-aristocracy-gods-of-copley-square-centerpiece-7/.

51 Jarves, *Art-Idea*, 225.

52 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 244.

53 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 74–75.

54 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 129–30.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., 129.

57 Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 37: "A fascinating symbol of the concurrency of La Farge interests in the real and the ideal is the presence of one of his most realist landscapes, Paradise Valley, of a large pentimento depicting a Madonna and Child. This detail was noted by Henry A. La Farge, confirmed during x-ray examination of the painting at the Fogg Art Museum, and called to the author's attention in a conversation on February 4, 1972." The x-ray photograph pictured here was made in April 2006 by Frank Zuccari, conservator at the Art Institute of Chicago, for the Terra Foundation. See http://www.terraamericanart.org/what-we-offer/our-art-collection/conservation-notes-x-ray-of-john-la-farges-paradise-valley/.

58 Yarnall, *La Farge in Paradise*, 102; the watercolor *Mother and Child* and an earlier x-ray of the underpainting is illustrated on 105.

59 See M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Evolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971). The theme of "Religion after the Age of Reason" is a section of the exhibition *The Critique of Reason: Romantic Art, 1760–1860* at the Yale University Art Gallery and Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, March 6–July 26, 2015.

60 Michael Leja, "Monet's Modernity in New York in 1886," *American Art* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 50–79.

61 This picture, the *Field of Poppies at Giverny*, 1885 is now at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. The quote is from Celen Sabbrin (Helen Abbott Michael), *Science and Philosophy in Art* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell, 1886), 18–19.

62 Leja, "Monet's Modernity," 76, quotes Sabbrin's account of this period: "Some of the Impressionist paintings especially emphasized the pitilessness of natural forces or of Nature where all human interests were lost to view. It was as if the universe were a huge scientific demonstration, with feeling, mental response, and all that goes to form religion eliminated. It was the inevitable onward march of the physical life of the world, as each aeon brought it nearer and nearer to cold, death, and annihilation.

"Such thoughts may have been due to an overwrought, sensitive mental organization, but it was all very real, and even the sun-light shining on the green trees and grass brought with it a suggestion of the steel-blue light that astronomers tell us prevails beyond this earth's atmosphere. To break the spell of this mood, I gave up the study of the Impressionist paintings at the time, and even the study of the physical sciences became so painful to me that I felt obliged to discontinue it and find relief in literature, poetry, and whatever else suggested sentiency. It happened to be Holy Week, and often in the late afternoon, I would drive to some church and sit there in meditation in the deepening twilight under the spell of the solitary altar lamp, symbolical of everlasting light, and the slowly-fading colors of the stained-glass windows, as one by one they settled into the common tone of the early evening dusk."

63 Letter from Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Rose Standish Nichols, quoted by Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life*, 3.

64 Kathleen A. Foster, "The Still Life Paintings of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 11, no. 3 (July 1979): 4–37.

65 Quoted in Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 136.

66 See Sally M. Promey, "The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church," *American Art Journal* 26, no. 1–2 (1994): 44–65. Also, Eugene Taylor, "The Interior Landscape: George Inness and William James on Art from a Swedenborgian Point of View," *Archives of American Art Journal* 37, no. 1–2 (1997): 2–10.

67 According to Henry A. La Farge, it was through Paul de Saint-Victor that La Farge "met Charles Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, the de Goncourt brothers, the literary critic Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, the painter Théodore Chassériau and other Parisian celebrities of the day" ("Early Drawings of La Farge," 10).

68 Jarves, *Art-Idea*, 226.

69 Scott A. Shields, "Memorable Wreaths: Love, Death, and the Classical Text in La Farge's *Agathon to Erosanthe* and *Wreath of Flowers*," *American Art* 11, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 82–105.

70 Helene Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge: The Relation of His Illustrations to His Ideal Art," *American Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (May 1973): 54–73.

71 Lathrop, "John La Farge," 505.

72 Honoré de Balzac, *Seraphita*, intro. Paul Allen (1895; Blauvelt: Steinerbooks, 1976), 29–30.

73 See Jeffery Howe, "The Realm of the Mind: Memories and Silence," chap. 5 in *The Symbolist Art of Fernand Khnopff* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Research Press, 1982), 75–91. Khnopff was called the *Obermystiker* of Brussels by the Viennese critic Ludwig Hevesi, *Acht Jahre Sezession* (Vienna: Carl Konegen, 1906), 30.

74 Weinberg, "La Farge: His Illustrations," 67.

75 James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge's *Bishop Hatto and the Rats* and *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* in the Chicago Sketchbook," *Master Drawings* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 115–44.

76 Gertrude Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art: Vol. 2*, trans. Janet Seligman (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), 78–79.

77 See Peter G. Beidler, ed., *The "Collier's Weekly" Version of Henry James's "The Turn of the Screw" as It First Appeared in Serial Format in 1898* (Seattle: Coffeetown Press, 2010).

78 Elizabeth Luther Cary, "*The Muse of Painting* by John La Farge," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 4, no. 12 (Dec. 1909): 220–21. The Frick commission is less studied, but see Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 242.

79 Gérôme's painting was reproduced for the cover of Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979). See also Scott Allan and Mary Morton, eds., *Reconsidering Gérôme* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010).

80 Jeffery Howe, "The Sphinx and Other Egyptian Motifs in the Art of Fernand Khnopff,"*Arts Magazine* 54, no. 4 (Dec. 1979): 158–69.

81 Zeus seduced the mortal Leda by taking on the shape of a swan, and in *Swan Lake* a maiden is transformed into a swan.

82 My translation. "Paris change! mais rien dans ma mélancholie n'a bougé." Charles Baudelaire, "Le cygne," in *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et De Broise, 1857).

83 Harold J. Smith, "The Bird and the Mirror: A Reading of Mallarmé's 'Le Vierge, le vivace...,'" *French Review* 63, no. 1 (Oct. 1989): 57–65.

84 Regina Soria et al., *Perceptions and Evocations: The Art of Elihu Vedder* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 126–49.

85 Adams, "The Mind of La Farge," 66.

86 John La Farge, "An Essay on Japanese Art," in *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China*, Raphael Pumpelly (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1870), 195–202. See also Henry Adams, "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*," *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (Sept. 1985): 449–85.

87 John La Farge, *Hokusai: A Talk about Hokusai, the Japanese Painter, at the Century Club, March 28, 1896* (New York: William C. Martin, 1897). Also, La Farge, *Letters from Japan*. See James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge and Henry Adams in Japan," *American Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (1989): 40–77; and James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge and Henry Adams in the South Seas," *American Art Journal* 20, no. 1 (1988): 51–109.

88 Cynthia J. Mills, "Casting Shadows: The *Adams Memorial* and Its Doubles," *American Art* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 2–25.

89 See Levin, "In Search of Nirvana," 49n46 on the variant spellings of Kuwannon.

90 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 169.

91 Ibid., 222.

92 La Farge described the event in *Letters from Japan*, 190: "They are the *hetairai* of the old Greeks—and sometimes they are all that that name implies. But no one has the right to assume it from their profession, any more than that all liberties are bordered by possible license. The two who consented to pose for me, at the same price and no more than I should have paid them had I called them in to entertain me and my guests with singing and dancing, were, the one a town, the other a country 'girl'; and little by little they showed the difference, at first very slight to a foreigner, by all the many little things which obtain everywhere….It was a source of quiet amusement for me to see them posture, in what they call their dances, in the very room of our landlord the priest's house, where I have so often watched him sitting while his pupil bent over his writing, an antique picture, like so many Eastern scenes of the ideal of contemplative monastic study. But our little priest is away, on service at the temple of Iyemitsu, and his house is kept for him in his absence by some devout lady parishioner, who lent us the apartment more convenient than ours, and who undoubtedly shared in the amusement herself. And I asked myself if there had been a secret ceremony of purification afterwards."

93 David Weir, *Decadent Culture in the United States: Art and Literature Against the American Grain, 1890–1926* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 21–85.

94 "Peace descends on all things, / My calm spirit reposes / In equilibrium." Louis Bouilhet, "La Paix des neiges," in *Dernières chansons* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1872), 261–64.

The Other John La Farge

James M. O'Toole

Those who appreciate the artist and his work might be surprised to learn that there was someone else who prominently bore the name John La Farge (fig. 2.1). To many ordinary American Catholics in the middle of the twentieth century, however, it would perhaps have been an equal surprise to discover that another person shared the name of a well-known Jesuit priest, writer, and social activist. The two were, of course, father and son. Their lives traveled along very different paths, but they were equally accomplished in their own professions. In remembering the painter, illustrator, and decorative artist, it is also worthwhile to recall the life of his son, a meaningful life with far reaching effects.

2.1. Father John La Farge, SJ, c. 1960.

The "other John La Farge" was born at his family's home in Newport, Rhode Island, on February 13, 1880, the last of nine children, seven of whom survived. An older brother had already been named John, but since he was always called Bancel, a family name, the father's name was considered to be still available, and the new baby was christened with it. Educated in local schools, the youngster displayed no artistic ability whatsoever—"when it came to any drawing or painting," he recalled in later life, "I was quite hopeless"[1]—though he was something of a prodigy at the piano and subsequently the organ. As an adult, he claimed to have decided on a career in the priesthood as early as age twelve, and this may very well have been true. Among Catholics of all social classes at the time, elites no less than immigrants, giving a son to the priesthood was considered a noble thing for a family to do, and youngest sons in particular were often nudged in that direction. La Farge's mother, a convert to Catholicism at her marriage, may have encouraged his vocation; his father, who blew hot and cold in matters of religion, probably exercised no influence one way or another. First, however, after completing high school, young John enrolled at Harvard. While there he encountered prominent members of the faculty, including the philosopher George Santayana—the pupil found him generally "hostile"[2] and forbidding—and the pioneer psychologist William James, an old friend of his father. (During this time, he also came to know Father Thomas Gasson, SJ, the future president of Boston College, who was then laying plans to move that institution to an expansive new campus in Chestnut Hill.[3]) On his graduation with the class of 1901, the young man set out for Europe, enrolling as a theology student at the Jesuits' venerable university at Innsbruck in Austria (fig. 2.2). Completing his studies there, he was

ordained to the priesthood four years later, apparently destined to serve as a parish priest in his native Rhode Island. By then, however, he had decided to join the Jesuit order himself, and he wanted no delay in taking that step: "when God calls you," he said, "it is safer to walk fast."[4] Thus, he returned to America and entered the Jesuit seminary of Saint Andrew-on-Hudson, just outside Poughkeepsie, New York.[5]

The usual course pursued by those wishing to become a member of the religious community that had been founded by Saint Ignatius Loyola in the aftermath of the Reformation was a long one. Since La Farge was already an ordained priest, however, his formation as a Jesuit was more truncated and free-form. During the two-year novitiate, for instance, normally a period of strict separation from the outside world, he left the seminary regularly to say Mass and provide other services at a nearby mental hospital and at West Point. He was sent for one semester to teach freshmen at Canisius College in Buffalo, an assignment at which he seems to have been somewhat less than successful. "Teaching was a bewildering task," he said afterward, "since I had never had any experience"[6] at it. After only a single term, he was transferred to a similar assignment at Loyola College in Baltimore. He liked that better—"I began to thaw out,"[7] he joked—but that too was only a brief stop. He returned to New York to "review" the theology and philosophy he had already studied so extensively, while at the same time performing pastoral duties with the indigent and prisoners confined on Blackwell's Island in New York City. His presence there also made it possible for him to preside at the funeral of his father, who died on November 14, 1910.[8]

2.2. John La Farge at the University of Innsbruck, c. 1901.

2.3. Father John La Farge, SJ with his mother, Margaret Perry La Farge and sister, Margaret Angela La Farge at 10 Sunnyside Place, Newport, c. 1906.

The assignment that came to him a year later proved decisive in shaping his future life and career: a posting to Maryland, where for the better part of fifteen years he served in the Jesuit parishes there. The spiritual sons of Ignatius had come to Maryland with the first English settlers in the 1630s. They had extensive farms and land holdings in Saint Mary's County, a long peninsula bounded by the Chesapeake Bay on one side and the mouth of the Potomac River on the other. The land itself testified to Jesuit connections, with the original settlement called Saint Inigoes, a version of the name Ignatius. Three centuries later, the area was still rural and agricultural. This required La Farge, based at a little church in the county seat of Leonardtown, to travel regularly around a wide circuit, giving him, he thought, "a real taste of the missionary life."[9] He said Mass, baptized children, heard confessions, and provided the other sacraments, both to those who could and those who could not regularly attend one of the several small chapels scattered across the landscape. The chief hardship he felt was the "separation from intellectual companionship,"[10] but he found the pastoral work absorbing and rewarding. It gave him, he told his sister (fig. 2.3), "what in many ways I needed most, an intimate, practical knowledge..." of real people, "especially the humbler sort, of their daily lives, their economic conditions, their joys and sorrows and temptations, their business relations."[11]

Most significantly of all, the work brought him into direct involvement in the lives of African Americans. Until then, he said, using the common term of the era, "the only Negroes with whom I had come in contact in a priestly way were in the municipal hospitals of Blackwells [*sic*] Island."[12] Now, he met black farmers and laborers and their families, some (though by no means all) of whom had been Catholics for generations; many were, in fact, descendants of slaves that the Jesuits themselves had owned before the Civil War. As in the rest of the South and the border states, the iron laws of Jim Crow segregation applied in Maryland, firmly established in churches no less than everywhere else in society. Some outlying chapels had entirely black congregations but, where a church was racially mixed, black parishioners had to sit in the back pews; they even had to wait until all the white parishioners had received Communion at Mass before they themselves could approach the altar

rail for that purpose. Blacks, he said, rightly resented "any attitude on the part of white co-religionists which would seize upon the establishment of 'special works'"—that is, segregated facilities—"as an excuse for excluding them from places of worship attended by the whites."[13] La Farge and his fellow priests had to conform to general social practice, though he always insisted that his black parishioners were "as entitled to the same degree of spiritual ministration as the whites."[14] Working within the constraints of the law, he concentrated on serving this portion of his people, and in the process became one of the most insistent voices in Catholic America calling for the promotion of racial justice. Many white Catholics were disposed unconsciously to think that African Americans, overwhelmingly members of Protestant churches, were not "their problem," but La Farge assumed a leading role in reminding them of their responsibilities to blacks.

By 1917, he had opened a school for black children who otherwise lacked one, recruiting an order of sisters to teach in it. A few years later, he established what he called the Cardinal Gibbons Institute, named for the recently deceased James Gibbons, who had been the archbishop of Baltimore and first among equals in the American Catholic hierarchy. This was a residential school that provided industrial training for blacks, patterned after the famous Tuskegee Institute of Booker T. Washington; its faculty and staff were all African Americans. La Farge traveled regularly to New York and other places in the North to raise money for its support. Despite some early success—the Knights of Columbus contributed $35,000 to help put up its building—the institution quickly fell into debt and closed after only a decade. Even so, La Farge thought, "it worked as a powerful instrument with which to awaken the dormant consciences of the Catholic public,"[15] and it was a "seed ground for the development of the Catholic interracial movement in the United States."[16] He also became actively involved with an organization called the Federated Colored Catholics, established in 1924 by a layman named Thomas Wyatt Turner. A native of the very Maryland counties where La Farge now labored, Turner had earned a doctorate in biology at Cornell and taught at Howard University in Washington, DC. His organization, though it was short-lived, held annual meetings of black Catholic leaders from around the country and served to keep racial issues on the church's agenda.[17]

In August of 1926, La Farge was reassigned to New York, where he joined the editorial staff of *America*, a weekly journal produced by the Jesuits for a broad lay readership. He would continue to be associated with the magazine (still published today) for the rest of his life, serving as executive editor in the 1940s and 1950s. This bigger platform gave him the opportunity to preach the gospel of interracial justice to a wider audience. In 1934, he took the lead in forming a Catholic Interracial Council, first in Manhattan and later in cities around the country. Six hundred people, black and white, crowded into the organizational meeting in Town Hall (normally a venue for concerts), pledging to work together "to promote in every practicable way relations between the races based on Christian principles."[18] Membership was overwhelmingly white, but the group's simple program of getting blacks and whites to meet and talk together was unusual at the time and laid important groundwork for the participation of Catholics in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The interracial councils were also a spur for similar efforts, with college-age students especially eager to work across racial lines. The students at five Catholic colleges (four of them for whites, one for blacks) in New Orleans, for instance, organized regular joint religious and social activities, sometimes to the horror of their parents. La Farge was the spirit hovering over all these waters, and he provided the movement's basic text with his book, *Interracial Justice*, published in 1937. Other titles followed, including *The Race Question and the Negro: A Study of the Catholic Doctrine on Interracial Justice* (1943) and *No Postponement: U.S. Moral Leadership and the Problem of Racial Minorities* (1950).[19]

The publication of *Interracial Justice*, just as the world had begun to slip away into a destructive war, presented La Farge with an unusual opportunity. Traveling in Europe in the spring and summer of 1938, in part so he could report first-hand for *America* on deteriorating conditions in Germany and Italy, he received an unexpected summons to a meeting with Pope Pius XI. Pius had been an unlikely choice for pope at his election in 1922, having spent much of his career as head of the Vatican Library, but he was a shrewd diplomat and a formidable personal presence. His hobby (mountain climbing) had given him inner as well as outer toughness, traits that were widely recognized: when he died, Mussolini would exclaim, "At last, that stubborn old man is dead."[20] As the Nazis consolidated their hold on power north of the Alps, Pius wrote a letter to the Catholic population of Germany, denouncing the "idolatrous cult" that advanced "the myth of race and blood,"[21] and he insisted that the letter be read publicly (and in German) from every pulpit in the country on Palm Sunday. He had become increasingly troubled by the overt antisemitism of the regime, and he determined next to issue an extended public denunciation. Because La Farge had a reputation for opposition to any form of "racialism," the American seemed the right person to draft a formal encyclical

letter, one of the most forceful statements a pope could make on any subject. In June, the two met privately at the papal retreat outside Rome—Hitler came to visit Mussolini that summer and Pius left for his vacation early, saying that the Roman air had suddenly gone bad—and, conversing in French, the pope asked the Jesuit to draft the document for him. La Farge was flattered that the pope had apparently read *Interracial Justice* carefully, but at first he demurred. The pope insisted, telling him to say in the encyclical "just what you would say if you yourself were pope."[22]

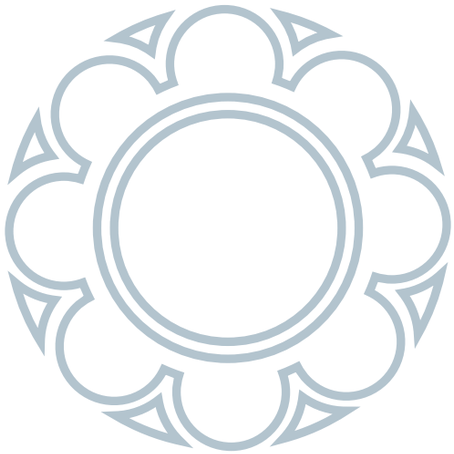
For the next several months, La Farge worked on the document, retreating for this purpose to the more agreeable climate, both meteorologically and politically, of Paris. If anyone back in America wondered why he was not returning home, he wrote a friend, "you can say I am working on a possible second edition of my book….That is generally true,"[23] he concluded slyly. (The work had a personal cost, leaving La Farge unable to preside at the funeral of his brother Bancel, who died in Connecticut that August.) By the end of the summer, the draft was complete. Like all such encyclicals, it would be known by its Latin opening words: *Humani Generis Unitas*—"the unity of the human race." That unity stood, in La Farge's vision, as a refutation of all efforts to set one group of people against another. Any theory "which makes a distinction between higher and lower races," he wrote, was particularly odious, since it "ignores the bond of unity"[24] that was the common heritage of humanity. When directed particularly against Jews, the "flagrant denial of human rights"[25] could only be condemned. "One naturally wonders...," he went on, if the "advocates of so-called racial purity"—any reader of the document would know exactly who was meant here—were in reality merely advancing "...a clever slogan to move the masses"[26] for other purposes, such as conquest and war. In Germany, Jews were wrongly "denied legal protection against violence and robbery, exposed to every form of insult and public degradation," and this meant that they were "...treated as criminals, though they have scrupulously obeyed the law of their native land."[27] Even those who had fought and died for their country in the First World War were now considered "traitors and branded as outlaws by the very fact of their parentage."[28] If issued, the encyclical would stand as an unequivocal denunciation of Hitler and his plans for the Holocaust.

Sadly, La Farge's bold document was never published. Finally returning to New York in early October, he had submitted the draft encyclical through the regular Vatican channels. There, it stalled: Pius would not see it until the end of the following January. By then, events were spinning out of control. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had met with Hitler outside Munich and agreed to let the dictator seize part of Czechoslovakia in exchange for "peace in our time"; general war was less than a year away. Meanwhile, the health of the pope, age eighty-one, began a precipitous decline. He struggled visibly through public appearances, though some of these seemed part of a general plan related to the projected encyclical. He addressed the Pontifical Academy of Sciences just before Christmas, for example, having inducted as members several Jewish scientists who had recently been fired from Italian universities by Mussolini. But on February 10, 1939 he died, and the idea of a resounding papal denunciation of racism and antisemitism died with him.[29]

Since his assignment from the pope had been a secret one, La Farge could tell no one but his closest friends what his role in the effort had been. Only after his death would the full dimensions of his work become clear.[30] In the meantime, he returned to his work for interracial justice in the United States, and he threw himself into other causes as well. Remembering the plight of farmers from his time in Maryland, he became a backer of the Catholic Rural Life Conference, an Iowa-based group that promoted the interests of Catholics who lived not in cities but on farms. He similarly became involved in a growing Liturgical Movement. At a time when the traditional Latin Mass was still the norm, with lay people reduced to the role of silent spectators at the weekly liturgies they attended, some priests began to experiment with new forms of lay participation in Mass. A part of this was an effort to recover the riches of liturgical music and, given his own musical abilities, La Farge was particularly interested in this aspect of the movement. Soon, he and others were promoting what was called the Dialogue Mass, a service in which the entire congregation (not just the altar boys) recited the responses to the priest's prayers during Mass, sometimes in English translation. But it was always the interracial work that claimed his first attention. Books and articles flowed steadily from his pen and, though increasingly hobbled by ill health, he continued to fight for the cause. In 1943, he had organized a small interfaith rally in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington in "support of racial justice and the unity of all citizens."[31] Exactly twenty years later at the age of eighty-three, he returned to the very same spot for the March on Washington organized by Martin Luther King Jr.[32] He was not on the roster of speakers that day, but the many Catholic priests, sisters, and lay people who were part of the throng on August 28, 1963 would probably never have been there without his lifetime of work.

La Farge died that November 24, his death over-

shadowed by the assassination of President John Kennedy just two days before. Boston's Cardinal Richard Cushing, having presided at the president's funeral, flew to New York to perform a similar service for the Jesuit, whom he had met for the first time forty years earlier. Amid La Farge's many activities, Cushing said in his remembrance at the Mass, he was always a calming influence, "never disturbed, never upset, always reaching the root and core of every discussion and calmly, intelligently coming forth with a common denominator."[33] La Farge may well have carried with him to the grave disappointment that his stirring words had not been formally voiced by the pope in the encyclical that never was. But countless other people had heard and heeded those calls for racial justice, and the country was slowly moving toward realizing them by the time of his death. Not as well known today as he was then, John La Farge, SJ's life and accomplishments are certainly worth commemorating, no less than those of his famous father.



1 John La Farge, SJ, *The Manner is Ordinary* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), 46.

2 "From what I heard of his conversations with other students, I had reason to surmise he was as hostile to the Catholic faith, and indeed Christian thought, as any dyed-in-the-wool bigot or utilitarian" (ibid., 62).

3 Ibid., 59–60.

4 Ibid., 126.

5 For details of La Farge's early life, see Robert A. Hecht, *An Unordinary Man: A Life of Father John La Farge, S.J.* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1996), chaps. 1–3.

6 La Farge, SJ, *Manner is Ordinary*, 141.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 142.

9 Letter to Margaret La Farge, Nov. 1, 1917, quoted in Hecht, *Unordinary Man*, 87.

10 La Farge, SJ, *Manner is Ordinary*, 158.

11 Letter to Margaret La Farge, Nov. 1, 1917, quoted in Hecht, *Unordinary Man*, 87.

12 La Farge, SJ, *Manner is Ordinary*, 157–58.

13 Ibid., 194.

14 Ibid., 183.

15 Ibid., 215.

16 Ibid., 216.

17 See also Hecht, *Unordinary Man*, chap. 6. On Turner and the sometimes contentious history of the Federated Colored Catholics, see Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad, 1995), 214–29; see also David W. Southern, *John La Farge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism, 1911–1963* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1996).

18 Martin Adam Zielinski quoted in Southern, *John La Farge*, 183.

19 See the account of the origins of the Catholic Interracial Council in Hecht, *Unordinary Man*, 147–48. On the efforts of college students, see R. Bentley Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947–1956* (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 2005).

20 Quoted in Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997), 261.

21 Ibid.

22 Quoted in Peter Eisner, *The Pope's Last Crusade: How an American Jesuit Helped Pope Pius XI's Campaign to Stop Hitler* (New York: William Morrow, 2013), 60–61. La Farge's own, circumspect account of the meeting is in *Manner is Ordinary*, 272–75. For a fuller narrative, see *Pope's Last Crusade*, 55–61.

23 Quoted in Eisner, *Pope's Last Crusade*, 82.

24 Quoted in ibid., 239. Excerpts of La Farge's draft are published in *Pope's Last Crusade*, 237–43. Only a handful of copies exist; one of them is in the papers of Edward Stanton, SJ, in the Burns Library of Boston College. This document is not to be confused with a later papal encyclical, also called *Humani Generis*; that letter was issued by Pope Pius XII in 1950 and dealt mostly with fine points of theology.

25 Ibid., 243.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 260–61, describes a kind of losing race against time by the pope to have La Farge's encyclical published. Eisner, *Pope's Last Crusade*, 170–71, suggests that, for a variety of reasons, the Superior General of the Jesuits, Wlodimir Ledóchowski, deliberately delayed transmitting the draft to the pope.

30 For his later career, see Hecht, *Unordinary Man*, chaps. 13–15.

31 Quoted in John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996), 69.

32 Ibid., 154.

33 Cushing's "personal appreciation" of La Farge is quoted in Hecht, *Unordinary Man*, 254.

In Search of Nirvana

Cecelia Levin

In late June 1886 a conspicuous railway car arrived in Omaha, Nebraska carrying only two occupants—the artist John La Farge (1835–1910) and his traveling companion, Henry Brooks Adams (1838–1918). They were en route to San Francisco—from there they were to board a steamer ship to Yokohama, Japan. La Farge was concerned that a local reporter meeting the train suspected they were traveling for some clandestine business reason related to the railway's expansion. When questioned, he "beamed through his spectacles" that they were "in search of Nirvana." The reporter quickly retorted, "Are you not rather late in the season?"[1]

This particular moment in time and space represented a unique crossroad: the juxtaposition of myriad recent phenomena—of both personal and global magnitude—with avenues of rich experiences and creativity still to spring forth. It also launched the synchronicity between five individuals who contributed to an American Renaissance in Gilded Age Boston through inspirational forces from the other side of the world, while kindling a kaleidoscope of personages, dynamics, and events. As a result, a novel path for the "preservation of the past" was forged.

Of all the areas of the United States, the New England region celebrates the earliest and most enduring partnerships with Asia. It was only a little more than a decade after the American colonies fought for and gained their independence that the first merchant ship left for "The East." In India and China, American traders fostered commercial ties that helped to launch America's first economy and fuel this nation's earliest industries, particularly the textile mills of Massachusetts. The cities of Salem and Boston—the major outlets for Asian foreign goods—particularly prospered and flourished, and local family dynasties were founded upon the financial rewards of this trade. They were also the first collectors of Asian artifacts in this country.

The nineteenth-century clipper ships that traveled to Asia exchanged more than commercial goods. Those merchants who made the journey were the first Americans to be exposed to the lands of the East—the stories and objects they brought back ignited an interest among Boston's intellectual circles in Asian traditions, ideals, and forms. The differing outlooks of its philosophies and views of man's relationship to the divine fused into the foundation of Transcendentalism, an early nineteenth-century philosophical movement unique to the Boston area that was founded upon freethinking, individualism, self-reliance, and the importance of education. Asia's philosophical systems were simultaneously introduced from Europe, for there the first translations of Buddhist texts and stories into European languages were undertaken in the mid-1840s. These held an appeal not just for philosophers, but also for such creative figures as the composer Richard Wagner.[2]

The Transcendentalists were thereby able to learn about—and embrace—the teachings of both Buddhism and Hinduism while exploring the fundamentals of yoga and medita-

tion. The *Bhagavad Gita* was revered by Ralph Waldo Emerson; Henry David Thoreau translated part of the renowned Buddhist text, the *Lotus Sutra*, from French into English. The Transcendentalist magazine the *Dial*—edited by Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson—brought the philosophies of Asia into the studies and libraries of New England intelligentsia. An even wider audience was reached after 1879, when the British author Sir Edwin Arnold published a very successful rendition of the life of the Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, which became the first bestseller on a Buddhist theme in the United States.[3] Those New Englanders who were attracted to Buddhism and other Asian religions viewed themselves as spiritually bereft, yet socially liberal. Moreover, these philosophical systems were encouraging to followers of both genders, and their influences resonate in the lives and writings of Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson as equally as those of Margaret Fuller and Louisa May Alcott. After the Civil War, the next generation of spiritual seekers began to travel directly to their inspirational sources and toured the sacred sites of South Asia, China, and Japan.

While John La Farge may have been familiar with the writings of the Transcendentalist league, his initial quest for Nirvana was an aesthetic one founded upon his passion for Japanese art. It began in his childhood, when he accompanied his father on a business trip to New York and visited a dealer of Asian art objects along the way. As a child of six or seven, he was captivated by the paintings of exotic themes and figures on porcelain, so much so that he was compelled to slip one of the objects into his pocket. The culpable artist remembered this incident for the remainder of his days.[4] As a youth La Farge was also enamored with books that recounted stories of faraway places, including Japan.

His first exposure to Japanese prints—the artistic form that was to have the greatest impact on his creative future—was during the 1850s. It may have occurred during the time he spent in Paris between 1856 and 1858 when he lived with his cousin Paul de Saint-Victor (1827–81), the renowned author and art critic. This relative appears to have been familiar with the material and may have been a collector. Encounters with Japanese prints during his Parisian sojourn could have also come through visits to art dealers.[5] It also appears that during this period La Farge began to build his own collection of Japanese art.[6]

To this day, John La Farge is regarded as the first Western artist to recognize the beauty and inherent power of Japanese art and incorporate it into his own creative expressions. His earliest experimentation began through the inclusion of Japanese objects and motifs—such as Asian flowers and lacquer trays—in his compositions, but he subsequently turned to employing Japanese materials for his paintings, like thin Japanese paper, rice paper, and mulberry vellum.[7] He greatly admired these for their delicacy, and they endured as his favored media throughout the following decades of his artistic career. His experimentation with Japanese materials also comprised painting on wood panels with gold and silver leaf.[8]

La Farge was then emboldened to explore the aesthetics and methods of depiction that he recognized in Japanese art, and these were incorporated into his practice. Asymmetrical compositions with pictorial elements illogically cropped—a common characteristic of Japanese prints—flattened picture planes, the simplification of forms, high horizons, and a reading of perspective that accentuates verticality rather than spatial depth of field all began to echo in his works. His landscapes came to display the painterly equivalent of cinematic high and low angle shots. By the late 1860s, La Farge added figures in Japanese dress into his visual vocabulary while expanding his artistic methods through the use of Japanese brushes. The latter sparked a change of style that featured flat washes and a great spontaneity of line—these characteristics reverberated well with the seascapes of New England. However, La Farge's later writings exalt the Japanese artists' sensitivity toward color and their approach to design above all other elements. The latter he perceived as a "balancing of equal gravities, not of equal surfaces,"[9] one that merged "decoration and pictorial art."[10] Ultimately, La Farge created an artistic statement that was purely eclectic, successfully incorporating Japanese elements and techniques while remaining faithful to the Western artistic tradition. The intent was never to relate an exotica or *Japonisme*. Further, considering La Farge's artistic exploration, Henry Adams aptly observes, "Combining Japanese and Western techniques, however, required a careful reassessment of the conventions of Western painting."[11]

La Farge's connections with Japanese art and culture gained a greater immediacy after his move to Newport in 1859. There he met Margaret Mason Perry (1839–1925), a grandniece of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858).[12] They married the next year, and he attempted to form a trading company with his wife's brother with the goal of importing Japanese prints and "bric-brac." The plan collapsed during the Civil War. As his family grew, the artist began to spend more of his time in New York where he traveled in a circle that included Raphael Pumpelly (1837–1923), a geologist and explorer who had lived and worked in Asia for several years. In 1867 Pumpelly

returned from Japan with hundreds of old Japanese prints, much to the delight of the artist, and as their friendship evolved he came to appreciate La Farge's sensitivity to Japanese art. When Pumpelly prepared the memoirs of his travels, La Farge was invited to contribute. "An Essay on Japanese Art," published in Pumpelly's *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China* in 1870, was a pioneering effort, and designates the artist as the first American to pen an analysis of Japanese artistic aesthetics. The esteem he demonstrates for his subject—as well as his intuitive insights—shines through in the following passage:

> To Eastern directness, fullness, and splendor, the Japanese add a sobriety, a simplicity, a love of subdued harmonies and imperceptible gradations, and what may be called an intellectual refinement akin to something in the Western mind. If we wish, their works can be for us a store-house as ample and as valuable in its way as the treasures of form left to us by the Greeks. For the Japanese, no combinations of colors have been improbable, and their solutions of such as are put aside by Western knowledge recall the very arrangements of Nature.[13]

3.1. Henry Adams at Beverly Farms, photographed by Clover Adams, 1883. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 50.71.

While La Farge transformed himself as a fine artist and embarked on his initial written appraisal of Japanese art during the 1860s, an even more dramatic shift was taking place in the homeland of the arts he greatly admired. The opening up of Japan to America, as a result of Commodore Perry's 1853 arrival and the trade treaty signed between the two nations the following year, were major catalysts to the ending of Japan's *sakoku* (isolationist policy) and the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868). The succeeding Meiji period (1868–1912) steered a restoration of centralized power under the new Meiji emperor, accompanied by an espousing of Western life modes and innovations, particularly in the areas of the sciences and technology. This ebullient modernization of Japan has been simultaneously viewed as its rapid westernization—a phenomenon shrouded with both positive and negative connotations. Along with the introduction of locomotive trains, a telegraph system, and Western styles of architecture, the movement known as *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment) promoted the wearing of Western fashion and pursuing of Western ideals. American scholars and teachers were warmly invited to the "Land of the Rising Sun" to serve as instructors of Western sciences and philosophies in newly established universities. While the Meiji Reformation resulted in much advancement, it proved particularly detrimental to its traditional arts. The *daimyo* (feudal lords) and *samurai* families were "encouraged" to turn over all their holdings to the emperor, and the sacred arts of Japan and cultural heirlooms received little recognition or protection. An economic upheaval also forced the formerly favored classes, as well as the Buddhist temples and monasteries, to sell off their possessions. Likewise, artists of traditional forms of expression lost their patrons and sought other occupations.

Yet, while Japan faced west and enthusiastically embraced many of the benefits of Western civilization, the opened dialogue also fueled an interest in the Land of the Rising Sun in America. The 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia led to "Japanomania." Visitors to the exhibition were captivated by the Japanese pavilion, bazaar, and gardens and came to appreciate the same beauty that La Farge had recognized in Japanese art. In their eyes, the understated, elegant, and intuitively sensitive design of Japanese art was a stark contrast to the excessiveness of Victorian-era style.[14] Naturally, La Farge was among the many attendees. Later that summer Henry Hobson Richardson extended a major commission to the artist—the creation of stained glass windows for Boston's Trinity Church—that would employ his layering of opalescent glass method.

Almost a decade later, La Farge found himself in quite a reversal of circumstances. As a result of his own lack of business acumen, compounded by a lawsuit with Louis Tiffany—who also conceived a formula for opalescent stained glass—La Farge was arrested for the theft of important documents from the offices of the La Farge Decorative Art Company, a firm now under control of his partner. By the end of October 1885, his design business was dissolved and the artist was bankrupted.[15]

It was amid these calamities that La Farge was approached by his friend and colleague Henry Brooks Adams and invited to accompany him on a trip to Japan. Adams, the grandson and great-grandson of American presidents, was a member of one of America's most significant political and intellectual families of the nineteenth century (fig. 3.1). Never seeking a political career himself, he was celebrated as a historian, novelist, and essayist. Adams's path crossed with La Farge while both men were teaching at Harvard University in 1872, shortly before his marriage to Marian "Clover" Hooper (1843–85)—a member of one of Boston's many families made prosperous through commercial whaling and China trade. The Adamses' later move to Washington, DC found them among a highly influential group of friends that included American presidents and the earliest Japanese diplomats posted in this country, including Baron Ryūichi Kuki (1852–1931). They began to build their own collection of Japanese art and were encouraged by the baron to visit his homeland. Henry was especially keen on the proposal because of his growing interest in Buddhism and his special desire to see the temples at Nikko. However, everything was suspended on a Sunday morning in December 1885 when Adams returned home to discover that Clover had ingested a fatal dose of potassium cyanide—a substance that she used in her photographic practice.[16]

3.2. William Sturgis Bigelow, 1880s.

As a new year commenced, the lives of both La Farge and Adams were dramatically fractured and in need of rebuilding. It was to Japan that they turned to heal their emotional wounds and for each to find a new path forward. Both also hoped to stimulate revelations that would lead to the completion of their creatively blocked projects. In the case of La Farge, it was his commission to paint a mural for the Church of the Ascension, neighboring his New York City studio on East Tenth Street where he was now living most of the time. While he was able to create preliminary sketches of the image of the ascending Christ in the company of angels while witnessed by his disciples below, the challenge of creating an authentic Judean landscape left him uneasy. La Farge believed that somehow the model for the mural's landscape could be found in Japan. Adams persevered through his grief, and days after Clover's death he moved into the new home that Henry Hobson Richardson designed for them on H Street. A memorial sculpture had been commissioned from Augustus Saint-Gaudens—La Farge's former assistant from the Trinity Church project—for his wife's gravesite at Rock Creek Cemetery. Adams was aware that it would, in time, be his final resting place as well. For this emblematic sculpture he was leaning toward an image of the Buddha, perhaps as much for his academic interest in the religion founded by this spiritual leader as for his desire to be released from his own personal suffering. To many, Adams claimed that he was going to Japan to "buy *kakimonos* [*sic*] for my gaunt walls."[17] To others he confessed that Europe was "full of ghosts."[18] Adams's invitation to La Farge included the underwriting of the artist's expenses, including any works of art that he purchased there. They mutually agreed not to undertake any preparatory readings—both wanted to be spontaneous to the experiences that awaited them.[19] At that milestone moment in Omaha, they arrived in an especially lavish "Director's Coach" that Adams's brother Charles—head of the Union Pacific Railroad—offered for their travels, thereby igniting the speculations of the quick-witted reporter.

On July 2, 1886, La Farge finally arrived in the land that had captivated his imagination for decades. Both he and Adams were both initially struck by how much their first sighting resembled Japanese prints. At the landing dock in Yokohama they were met by William Sturgis Bigelow (1850–1926) (fig. 3.2). Bigelow was a rare individual—as equally comfortable in the formal kimono he wore to greet La Farge and Adams's arrival as he was wearing Charvet haberdashery. He was once described as a Buddhist who "emanated a peaceful radiance mingled with a faint suggestion of toilet water."[20] Moreover, Bigelow was Clover Adams's favorite cousin. The grandson of Jacob Bigelow (1787–1879), the physician, botanist, and professor of applied sciences at Harvard who founded Mount Auburn Cemetery, and son of Henry Jacob Bigelow (1818–90), a surgeon at Massachusetts General Hospital and professor at Harvard Medical School, his lineage would suggest that he was destined to pursue a different path. After graduating from Harvard with a medical degree in 1874, Bigelow went to Europe for five years, culminating with the study of bacteriology with Louis Pasteur in Paris. He brought back to Boston the newest research in this area; then personally established and funded one of America's premier laboratories in this field. However, the influences of his family's maternal side may have been equally profound. The suicide of his mother when

he was three years old—an event that shadowed him throughout his life—left the child among a doting entourage of aunts and grandmothers, all Mayflower descendants, who raised him in the best of Boston Brahmin traditions. Bigelow's aunts, including Clover's mother, were acquaintances of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry James, as well as followers of Margaret Fuller's "Conversations"; their writings appeared in the *Dial*.[21] Undoubtedly the young Bigelow was as equally surrounded by the open-minded intellectualism of the Transcendentalists as he was by the clinical world of the sciences.

Similar to La Farge, Bigelow may have initially connected with Japanese art during his time in Europe. However, as had been the case for many in the milieu of Boston Brahmins, his initiation to the country of Japan was through the lectures of Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925). Morse had been a student of malacology at Harvard. His travels to Japan were not a search for Nirvana, but for a Japanese brachiopod, and he joined the "Great Wave" of American specialists and scholars who were recruited to introduce the sciences to Meiji-era Japan. Morse is credited with pioneering the study of marine biology, zoology, and archaeology through his teachings at Tokyo Imperial University as well as his organization of Japan's first museum of natural history. During his stay in Japan he traveled around the country collecting unique examples of various ceramic wares—this art form appealed to him most due to its affinities with shells.[22] Upon his return to America in 1889, Morse was appointed as the director of the Peabody Academy of Sciences (now the Peabody Essex Museum) in Salem, a position he held until 1914. Among his many activities, he welcomed the opportunity to introduce Americans to Japan through his Lowell Institute Lectures. Bigelow was an attendee, as was Mrs. Jack Gardner (Isabella Stewart Gardner, 1840–1924), who was enticed into adding Japan to her around-the-world itinerary in 1883 and began to acquire her own collection of Japanese art (fig. 3.3). William Sturgis Bigelow had long recognized that medicine was not his life's passion, and in 1882 he accompanied Morse on one of his returning trips to Japan. The former doctor remained there for the next seven years.

3.3. John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), *Portrait of Isabella Stewart Gardner*, 1888. Oil on canvas, 74.8 x 31.5 in., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P30w1.

3.4. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, 1890.

Shortly after La Farge and Adams's arrival in Yokohama, Bigelow took them to Tokyo to meet Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853–1908) (fig. 3.4). Fenollosa's father was a musician from Malaga, Spain who had settled in Salem and married one of his American students, a daughter of an East India ship owner. After graduating from Harvard in 1874, Morse recommended him to Tokyo Imperial University as an instructor for Western political economy and philosophy, and he served in this capacity from 1878 until 1886. However, despite his talents in the realms of music and philosophy—and under Morse's influence—Fenollosa gravitated to the arts of Japan. He believed that these best embodied the Japanese spirit. Once he discovered that there were no written materials to foster his understanding of the subject, he approached artists of still-extant traditional lineages and requested that they serve as his instructors.[23] During the Japanese summers, Fenollosa and his wife, Elizabeth Millett Fenollosa, a painter and sculptress, relocated to Nikko where many foreigners retreated to enjoy the cooler climate that the mountains provided. Here the remembrances of the ornate architecture of the Tokugawa shogunate are nestled amid the mountain slopes, including the mausoleums of the Tokugawa shoguns Ieyasu and Iemitsu.

By the time Bigelow met Fenollosa, he was an established authority on Japanese art. In his correspondence he describes him as "a genius & the Japs themselves say, the best critic in Japan. I have certainly never met a man anywhere who knew a school of art so well as he knows Jap. painting and painters for the past 1200 years. And Chinese and Korean as well, as far as they relate to Japan."[24] Bigelow boasted that Fenollosa was able to identify fakes that passed by Japanese art authorities, and under his expert guidance, he began to amass an extraordinary assemblage of Japanese art. The goal of

this collecting activity was not one of personal acquisition—Fenollosa, Morse, and Bigelow all shared a profound concern for Japan's loss of its artistic legacy.[25] Between their efforts, they acquired more than 65,000 objects that became the basis of the Japanese art collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—still the finest outside of Japan today.[26] Subsequently, in 1884, Fenollosa approached the government of Japan and voiced the need to preserve its cultural heritage. As a result, the National Treasure system was established, requiring the registration of all cultural treasures and prohibiting their export. Fenollosa was placed in charge of the inventory. Further, as an advocate for the protection of Japan's ancient temples and shrines, Fenollosa and Bigelow traveled throughout the region documenting monuments and sacred objects—Bigelow with his camera and Fenollosa through his sketches. The innovative actions of Bigelow, Fenollosa, and Morse in preserving an artistic culture that had lost much of its relevancy to its country of origin must have been perceived as a novel and dramatic step to late nineteenth-century Americans, and may be regarded a pioneering model that endures in today's climate of cultural preservation.

3.5. Okakura Tenshin's photograph in Isabella Stewart Gardner's guest book for 1905–07.

Fenollosa and Bigelow were attracted to more than Japanese visual culture—they sought the study of Buddhism to enlighten their spiritual lives. During the years they resided in Japan they studied the Tendai sect of Buddhism with Sakurai Keitoku Ajari (1834–89) at the Hōmyōin Temple in Ōtsu on Lake Biwa. On September 21, 1885 they received the Five Precepts—the formal initiation into Buddhist lay life and practice—and adopted the Buddhist names Gesshin (Bigelow) and Taishin (Fenollosa). Despite their ordination into an ancient and highly ritualized form of Esoteric Buddhism, these earliest American Buddhists saw the religion through the lens of New England individualism and the standpoint of Transcendentalism. They embraced the commonalities. In his correspondence with Reverend Phillip Brooks (1835–93), the rector of Trinity Church in Boston, Bigelow explained,

> As far as I have got, Buddhist philosophy is a sort of Spiritual Pantheism—Emerson, almost exactly. (Or so Mr. McVicar said, N.E. Transcendentalism, which I promptly hunted up, & which seems to be Emerson diluted.) Buddhist morals are—Love your neighbor better than yourself.[27]

Further, he writes Brooks that he envisions the relationship of God to man as "every great man in recorded history has been telling the world at the top of his voice, 'the Kingdom of God is within you,'—& the thing is to get it out—or what is the same thing, to get it up where consciousness can get hold of it."[28]

By the time La Farge and Adams arrived in Japan, Fenollosa had received the official appointment of "Commissioner of Fine Arts for the Empire," while Bigelow had settled into a life of spiritual calm. The two new visitors were anxious to begin their shopping spree—only to discover that Fenollosa, Bigelow, and Morse's acquisition frenzies left behind only the less stellar material, and these were often at unreasonable prices.[29] Adams's letters from the beginning of his travels are scattered with disappointments. He lamented that his hosts, Bigelow and Fenollosa, "cling like misers to their miserable hoards"[30] and were negative in their critique of his potential purchases. Fenollosa was a "tyrant" for dismissing the work of the Tokugawa period highlighted by its Japanese prints and *ukiyo-e* paintings, and proselytized instead the greatness of the Buddhist painting and sculptural traditions of Japan's earlier epochs.[31] His initial disillusionment extended to the country itself—both he and La Farge had observed that Japan "possesses one pervasive, universal, substantive smell,—an oily, sickish, slightly fetid odor,—which underlies all things."[32] To the greatly admired Mrs. Cameron he wrote:

> If you can live on boiled rice or stewed eels, or bad, oily, fresh tea; or in houses without partitions or walls except of paper; or in cities absolutely undrained, and with only surface wells for drinking water; or if you can sit on your heels all through five hours at the theatre, and can touch the floor with your forehead when I call upon you; and say *Hei* and *Ha* at stated intervals, you will do very well in Japan.[33]

The outbreak of a cholera epidemic forced La Farge and Adams to retreat to Nikko, where a small house

was rented for them and they were under the watchful eye of the Fenollosas and Bigelow. The house had a large garden facing the temple complexes, culminating with a backdrop of mountains. During their month-long stay they were able connect with an entirely different Japan, and fell into a rhythm. La Farge sketched while Adams took up reading Dante's *Inferno*. It was a partnership of opposites—Adams, the more proper and analytical; La Farge the more mercurial, originative, and embracing of all that Japan had to offer. Yet Adams grew more and more receptive to Japanese life, acknowledging that "Japan has the single advantage of being a lazy place. One feels no impulse to exert oneself; and Buddhist contemplation of the infinite seems the only natural mode of life."[34] In the fulfillment of his wish to visit Nikko, he was not disappointed, commenting, "When you reflect that the old Shoguns spent twelve or fourteen millions of dollars on this remote mountain valley, you can understand that Louis Quatorze and Versailles are not much of a show compared to Nikko."[35]

Their time at Nikko was punctuated by excursions to temples, including a pack horse trip to Yumato organized by Mrs. Fenollosa.[36] Their hostess took them on myriad trips to waterfalls—much to the dismay of Adams who found them endlessly redundant. These cascading waters are prolific during Nikko's rainy season. Meanwhile, to keep their guests content, Fenollosa and Bigelow arranged for agents from Tokyo to bring art objects for the pair to consider for purchase.

3.6. John La Farge, *Mountain in Fog, From Our Garden, Nikko*, 1886. Watercolor on paper, 10.9 x 8.3 in., private collection.

Adams and La Farge both underwent a metamorphosis at Nikko, and as Christopher Benfey accurately observes, their friendship catalyzed "exchanges that would transform Adams into a more visual and less analytical writer...and La Farge into a writer of style and panache."[37] During that summer, Adams became more attuned with the visual, not only in terms of the vistas, monuments, and works of art he observed, but also through honing his practice of photography. Using Bigelow's camera, Adams captured his experiences, connecting with a medium that awakened new creativity as well as evoked heartbreaking connotations. La Farge, on the other hand, produced very little in the way of major artworks—he complained of indigestion of information and overstimulation—but he completed two-thirds of the essays that were to comprise *An Artist's Letters from Japan*, a literary travelogue that subsequently helped to bring back his reputation and spotlight him as an insightful author.[38]

Even more so than his camaraderie with Adams, La Farge's new friendship with Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913) proved to be instrumental and transformative.[39] Okakura (fig. 3.5) was born into a samurai family, one of the many "recommended" to take up a new occupation toward the end of the Tokugawa shogunate. Fortunately, the Okakura silk store in Yokohama prospered, and Kakuzō studied at a school run by American Christian missionaries, enabling him to become fluent in English. In his later childhood he was sent to live at a Buddhist temple, which provided him with a strong foundation in the religion's principles as well as knowledge of the classical literature, painting, and calligraphy of East Asia. Okakura then received a scholarship to study at Tokyo Imperial University where Fenollosa was his instructor for Western philosophy.[40] This led to him becoming Fenollosa's interpreter and translator, joining him on his excursions to ancient temple sites while deepening his knowledge of Japanese art. In addition to working alongside Fenollosa for the Imperial Ministry of Fine Arts, Okakura joined his former teacher and Bigelow in taking the Five Precepts at Hōmyōin, adopting the Buddhist name Sesshin.

During that summer, La Farge became Okakura's disciple in the study of Japanese philosophy, religion, and art. He came to appreciate the spirituality of landscape, and understand the Buddhist principle of form versus formlessness. Through his young Japanese mentor he was indoctrinated into Daoism—a religion virtually unknown in America at that time. This ancient Chinese philosophy encouraged a harmony with *Dao* (the path or way) and a synchronistic relationship between man, nature, and the divine. As a spiritual path that underscores simplicity, spontaneity, and *wu wei* (action through non-action), it was one to which La Farge's character could innately respond, and in his later *Letters from Japan*, he would

devote a special essay entitled "Tao: The Way" that conveyed his impressions on the relationship between Daoism and art.[41] In turn, La Farge initiated Okakura into the ways of the Boston Brahmin and the rules for maneuvering in the world of Gilded Age America. This proved to be essential to his future mission.

In contrast to Adams's intolerance of the many visits to waterfalls that speckled the Nikko region, La Farge was fascinated by this natural phenomenon. Okakura taught him about their Buddhist significance as an emblem of the ever-flowing continuity and rhythm of life.[42] Challenged by Okakura's tutelage, La Farge was able to arrive at his own definition of Buddhism. Similar to the contemporaneous American standpoint, Nirvana was related to the freedom of one's spirit rather than cessation of one's life and belief in the reincarnated soul. Yet La Farge appears to have blended in Daoist principles so that his perspective takes on greater shades of a pantheistic character. He wrote:

> Has not Çakyamuni said that all living beings possess the nature of Buddha, that is to say, the absolute nature. Thus the absolute and all things will be identical, inseparable views of the same existence. This nature will be both essence and force, and appearance and manner. The wind whistling through the trees, the river breaking over its rocks, the movements of man and his voice,—or, indeed, his silence,—are the expression of the great mysteries of body, of word, and of thought. These mysteries are understood of the Buddha, but evolution, cultivated by the "true word," or doctrine, will allow man, whose mysteries are like the mysteries of the Buddhas, to become like unto them. The future depends on the present and on the past. Changes and transformations are only a "play of cause and effect, since spirit and matter are one in absolute nature, which in its essence can neither be born nor be dissolved."[43]

Whether it was Okakura's teachings on Buddhism and Daoism—or his own evolving religio-philosophical views—or the more immediate inspiration provided by the tranquility of his temporary abode and the natural beauty of his surroundings, La Farge's watercolor *Mountain in Fog, From Our Garden, Nikko*, is an homage to these ideals as well as to his Nikko sojourn (fig. 3.6). Painted while still in Japan, it is more than a mere remembrance. More than any other of his works relating to that Japanese summer, this watercolor tends to the East, and reflects a millennium of classical landscape painting traditions as practiced by the artists of East Asia. Nature predominates; it envelops the temple. Despite its compositional centrality—repeated by the mountaintops in the distance—the viewer is led on a voyage along a winding path of pictorial elements that journeys through three realms—a foreground, mid-ground, and background. These progress vertically upward to mountains obscured by mist—an often-repeated convention in East Asian landscape painting. The powerful diagonal energies are uniquely Japanese, and La Farge has successfully employed variations of wet and dry brushwork in a manner emulating the *bunjinga* (literati) school of Japanese painting. The jewel-like depiction of color, however, is La Farge's own trademark.

3.7. John La Farge, *The Great Statue of Amida Buddha at Kamakura*, c. 1887. Watercolor over graphite on paper, 15.9 x 19.4 in., Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1979.7.70.

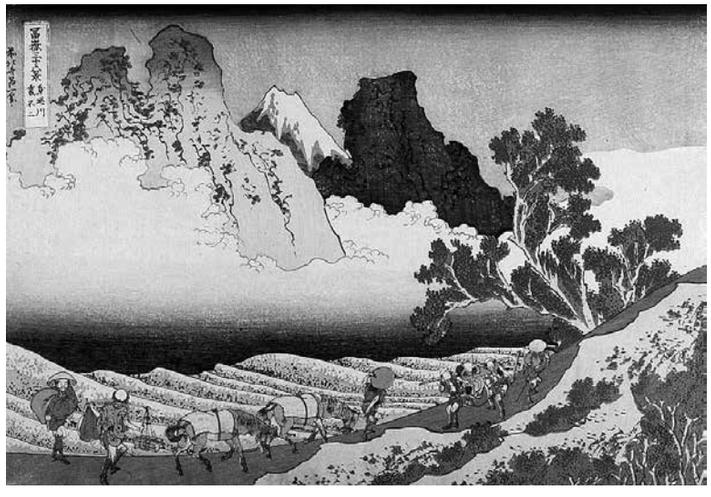
The prolonged stay at Nikko shortened the amount of time that La Farge and Adams had to visit their ideal destinations: Kamakura, Kyoto, and Mount Fuji. Arriving before the majesty of *Daibutsu*, the approximately forty-four-foot tall bronze image of the Buddha at Kamakura cast in 1252,[44] La Farge found it to be the most successful figure in the world, even surpassing the sphinx of ancient Egypt. He encouraged Adams to use it as a model for Clover's memorial sculpture. As La Farge related the experience: "We took many photographs from new points of view, and we even removed the thatch of a penthouse so as to get nearer and under the statue to the side; and I painted also, more to get the curious gray and violet tone of the bronze than to make a faithful drawing, for that seemed impossible in the approaching afternoon."[45]

The finalized impressions of their visit are pictorially captured in La Farge's *The Great Statue of Amida Buddha at Kamakura, Known as the Daibutsu, from the Priest's Garden* (plate 67). Painted after La Farge's return to New York in 1887, the colossal sculpture

is observed from a dramatic low angle that emphasizes both its height and impressive stateliness. The thatched roof, as described by La Farge, is faithfully rendered at the center of the composition, accompanied by a stone lantern. The strong correspondence between his written record and pictorial recounting suggests that the artist closely followed one of Adams's photographs.

A second watercolor of the *Daibutsu* at Kamakura (fig. 3.7) attests to Henry Adams's photographic efforts to capture this image from a variety of viewpoints, and demonstrates La Farge's talents at creating multiple interpretations. This rendition follows a more Japanese mode and recreates La Farge's intended goal of conveying the Buddha in contemplation of nature. Despite the image's placement as the locus of the composition, La Farge accentuates the elements of nature, which are related through flattened forms, with trees and hills assigned to segmented compositional sections. It was as if La Farge was unintentionally creating a Buddhist *mandala* (ritual diagram of the cosmos) with the power of the natural landscape radiating from the cosmic deity.

3.8. Muqi/Mokkei (c. 1210–69), Crane, Guanyin/Kannon, and Gibbon from a series of hanging scrolls, mid-13th century. Ink and color on silk, 68.2 x 39.1 in. (each), Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.



3.9. Katsushika Hokusai, *Mi nobu-gawa ura Fuji* [Back view of Fuji from the Minobu River] from *Fugaku Sanjūrokkei*, c. 1831. Woodblock print; ink and color on paper, 9.9 x 14.5 in., Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, 1933.4.2694.

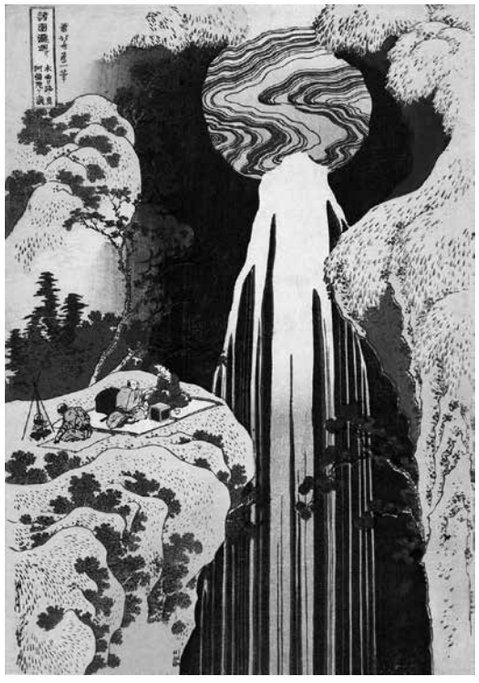
Once in Kyoto, Fenollosa took La Farge to the Buddhist monastery of Daitoku-ji to see the paintings of Muqi (Mokkei), and it was here that artist was struck by the image of Kannon (fig. 3.8). As Fenollosa later recounts: "In 1886 I took our own John La Farge to Daitoku-ji to see this work. The old priest was delighted to have it specially brought out for such a sage. Mr. LaFarge, [*sic*] devout Catholic as he is, could hardly restrain a bending of the head as he muttered, 'Raphael.' Indeed the Mokkei Kwannon challenges deliberate comparison with the sweetest types of the Great Umbrian."[46]

Kannon is the universal savior associated with Japanese Buddhism and is regarded as the embodiment of compassion. Over the centuries since its earliest inception, it had taken on many manifestations and undergone various transformations. Since the beginning of contact between the West and the countries of Asia, especially primed through the introduction of Christianity and presence of Jesuit missionaries, the deity underwent a gender change and adopted the characteristics of those equally imbued with compassion—the *magna mater* and the Madonna. It is with this cultural footprint that La Farge views the image at Daitoku-ji, and writes:

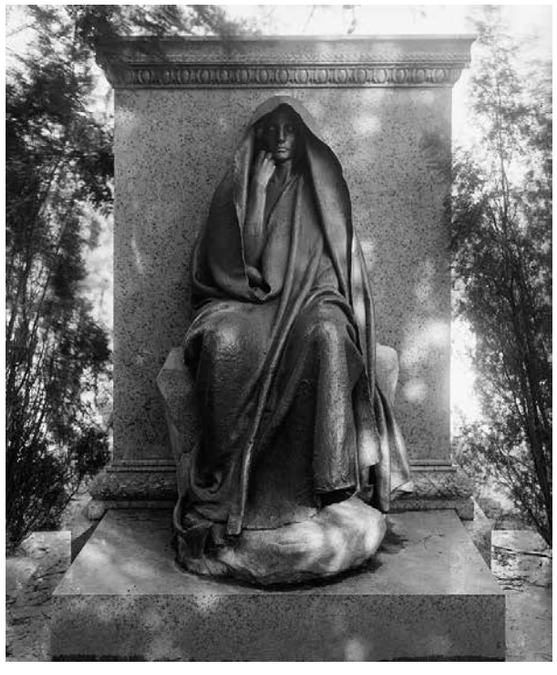
> Of all the images that I see so often, the one that touches me most—partly, perhaps because of the Eternal feminine—is that of the incarnation that is called Kuwanon, when shown absorbed in the meditations of Nirvana. You have seen her in pictures, seated by some waterfall, and I am continually reminded of her by the beautiful scenes about us, of which the waterfall is the note and the charm. Were it not that I hate sightseeing, I should have made pilgrimages, like the good Japanese, to all the celebrated ones which are about.[47]

The imagery of a meditating Kannon, in juxtaposition with a waterfall, was the pictorial apex of the religious and philosophical lessons that La Farge received in Japan and resonated with his expanded worldview. In addition to his 1886 copy of a painting of Kannon beside a waterfall by one of Fenollosa's favored artists, Maruyama Okyo (1733–95), La Farge subsequently created two different versions of this theme—as an oil painting and as a watercolor (plate 71). In both instances the water-

falls carry as much weight as the deity, expressive of the sacred powers of both elements. La Farge's Kannon is of this world, and resembles a Victorian-era Buddhist acolyte—a spiritual seeker on the level of Sister Nivedita of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda order.[48] His Kannon is rendered with a substantiality that anchors her to the world of La Farge rather than the ethereal realm of Buddhist transcendence. It was the artist's intent to place the theme in a westernized context so that it would resonate with American viewers.[49] Borrowing the imagery of the divine from the Eastern perspective to express the Western conceptualization of the "eternal feminine" may not have been singular to the artistic practice of La Farge. While John Singer Sargent's 1888 portrait of Isabella Stewart Gardner (fig. 3.3) is often compared to his rendering of Madame Pierre Gautreau, or Madame X, there are elements in his interpretation of this great art patroness—a traveler to Asia and admirer of its cultures and philosophies—that may be linked to this sphere of influence. Gardner is shown as a serene, statuesque, and iconic figure, similar to many ancient Japanese Buddhist deities of wood or bronze. Her image is enshrouded in the patterning of a bronze-hued wallpaper, possibly designed by Sargent as a visual pun for the gilt *mandorlas* embellished by spiraling floral and flame motifs that are traditionally placed behind these divine sculptures.



3.10. Katsushika Hokusai, *Kisoji no oku Amida-ga-taki* [The Amida Falls in the far reaches of the Kisokaidô Road] from *Shokoku taki meguri*, c. 1832. Woodblock print; ink and color on paper, 15.1 x 10.2 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, 11.17545.



3.11. Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907), *Adams Memorial*, 1891. Bronze, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, DC.

With only a week left in Japan, La Farge and Adams took off on the Tōkaidō in order to visit Mount Fuji.[50] While Adams's impressions of Japan had improved after visits to the temples of Kyoto, Uji, and Nara, it was his climb up Mount Fuji where he experienced a true epiphany, where he felt surrounded by the divine and came the closest to Nirvana.

La Farge received his spiritual groundings from Okakura, but it was Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) who served as his artistic mentor. Despite the grumblings of his hosts regarding the art of the Tokugawa era, La Farge could not be dissuaded in his admiration of this extraordinarily prolific artist. His renowned woodblock print series *Fugaku Sanjūrokkei* [Thirty-six views of Mount Fuji] must have been ever-present in La Farge's mind during his visit to the sacred mountain (fig. 3.9).[51] In his series, Hokusai portrayed Fuji through a variety of unusual viewpoints and manipulated its stature so that it might be employed as the major force in a "landscape portrait" as equally as it could appear as a "visual afterthought" amongst scenes of daily life or monumental vistas. La Farge must have recognized Hokusai's compositional virtuosity, for they repercuss in his interpretations of *Daibutsu*. Moreover, due to its subject matter, it can be with little doubt that La Farge was introduced to Hokusai's woodblock series *Shokoku taki meguri* [A tour of waterfalls in various provinces], and that its imagery was considerably inspirational to the artist (fig. 3.10).[52] In both of these pictorial anthologies Hokusai makes liberal use of what was then a new synthetic pigment known as Prussian blue; it subsequently—and enthusiastically—invaded La Farge's own palette.[53]

In late September, La Farge went on to Europe, while Adams returned to America in the company of the Fenollosas, Bigelow, and Okakura. Fenollosa traveled as a Japanese official charged with the study of Western art education in the hope that it could be adapted in Japan. The bereaved historian returned to Washington and began to study Chinese every day while decorating his new home with the objects he acquired during his trip.[54] As a result of his discussions with La Farge during their Japanese journey, Adams was ready to make a

final decision about the sculptural figure for Clover's memorial—it was to be a personification of silence and repose. While Adams was abroad, Saint-Gaudens reviewed the sculptures of Michelangelo for a possible prototype, but it was Okakura who encouraged Adams to turn eastward—to the idealization of compassion, Kannon. The robed figure, with a large shawl covering both its head and body, reverberates with the qualities of the Japanese Kannon.[55] It is the embodiment of the qualities Henry Adams desired. It carries no gender—only the essence of stillness, endless sleep, and spiritual release—and watches over the Adamses' gravesite today (fig. 3.11).[56]

3.12. John La Farge, *The Ascension of Our Lord*, 1886–88. Encaustic on canvas, 330 x 432 in., Church of the Ascension, New York.

Upon his return to New York, La Farge still struggled with the ideal interpretation for his Ascension mural (fig. 3.12). Reflecting upon Adams's sketch of Mount Fuji, as well as his own watercolor of the mountain as realized from nearby Fujigawa (Fuji River), he grasped the solution by recreating this particular viewpoint of Fuji as an archetypal mountainscape. Executed through a series of flat, abstract planes characteristic of Japanese artistic modes, it duplicates the upward slant of the mountain as captured in Adams and La Farge's visual records. Undoubtedly Hokusai's approach to the theme of Mount Fuji was also an impetus.

The creative dilemma still unresolved was how to conjure an ethereal, or floating, quality for the ascending Christ, as well as those awaiting him in his heavenly domain. La Farge was originally considering modeling these figures after posed circus performers,[57] but during a visit by Okakura to his studio, his mentor and friend set him in the direction of early Japanese paintings of Buddhist deities. It was in the *raigo* paintings of the Heian and Kamakura periods (796–1233)—meditational compositions in which the Amida Buddha welcomes the merited devotees to his Heaven of the Western Paradise—that La Farge found a comparable vision of transcendence (fig. 3.13). Both the essence of the Buddha and his array of heavenly hosts were successfully translated into the imagery La Farge needed to evoke Christ's ascent.

3.13. *Descent of the Amida Buddha: Raigo*, c. 1300s. Ink, color, and gold on silk, 105.9 x 44.6 in., Cleveland Museum of Art, 1953.123.

La Farge did not require an animus for the other creative projects that sprang forth from his travels in Japan. The photographs taken by Adams, alongside La Farge's onsite charcoal and watercolor sketches, were diligently transformed into paintings in his New York studio. The 1887 watercolor *Musicians in Ceremonial Costume* (plate 69), modeled after a photograph of two geishas who agreed to pose at the home of their Japanese landlord Priest Suzuki while he was away at Iyemitsu Temple performing a religious ritual, exemplifies La Farge's transfiguration of his original sources. Irrespective of the models and environs, the end result is aligned to La Farge's other figurative work—Western in its visual language and style, with a strong sense of three-dimensionality enforced by the diagonals of the folding screen and the angle of the *shamisen* held by the musician. The approach is furthered by La Farge's attention to light and shadow and heavy modeling of the kimono folds. A similar fidelity to Western traditions is seen in La Farge's handling of the *Portrait of a Priest at the Temple of Iyemitsu, Nikko* (plate 66). Its subject is rendered through a full range of tonalities of sepia washes while the meditative gaze of the subject—more internalized than descriptive—is reflective of a "psychological realism" unfounded in the Japanese artistic tradition.

Of all his work evolving from his experiences in Japan, La Farge's travelogue *An Artist's Letters from Japan* sets itself apart.[58] Travelogues were a successful genre in late nineteenth-century America, and readers were drawn to La Farge's insights on a wide array of topics related to this still relatively unknown country. They must have been intrigued by observations such as, "The Japanese sensitiveness to the beauties of the outside world is something much more delicate and complex and contemplative, and at the same time more natural than ours have ever been."[59] His writings were published as a series of articles in the *Century Magazine* between 1890 and 1893 by his friend, the poet and editor Richard Watson Gilder (1844–1909), who then encouraged La Farge to expand the material and publish it as

a book. The illustrations culled for the volume were from his post-travel phase of 1887 through 1890, and selected from monochromatic works—such as sepia washes or ink or charcoal drawings—so that they could be facilely converted into black and white publication engravings. La Farge included two dedications in *Letters from Japan*—one to Adams, and one to Okakura. To the latter he wrote:

> And you too, Okakura San: I wish to put your name before these notes, written at the time when I first met you, because the memories of your talks are connected with my liking of your country and of its story, and because for a time you were Japan to me. I hope, too, that some thoughts of yours will be detected in what I write, as a stream runs through grass—hidden, perhaps, but always there. We are separated by many things besides distance, but you know that the blossoms scattered by the waters of the torrent shall meet at its end.[60]

3.14. John La Farge, *The Recording of Precedents: Confucius and His Pupils Collate and Transcribe Documents in Their Favorite Grove; Color Study for Mural, Supreme Court Room, Minnesota State Capitol, Saint Paul*, 1903. Gouache, watercolor, gum arabic, and graphite on paper, 7 x 10.6 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 67.55.168.

A hiatus from work was taken in 1890 and 1891, when La Farge accompanied Henry Adams on a trip to the South Seas.[61] Their itinerary included Hawaii, Samoa, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Fiji, Australia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).[62] The trip gave birth to another dimension of La Farge's thematic repertory, as evidenced by the painting *Sketch of Maua, Apia. One of Our Boat Crew*, 1891 (plate 72).[63] This work of art shares many affinities with La Farge's approach to his Japanese themes. To La Farge and Adams, this later odyssey did not equal the transformative experiences they encountered in Japan. As Adams wrote, "we see Japan everywhere, but it is Japan without the fun."[64] Yet Adams's travels with La Farge proved once again to be a personal journey to a greater self-understanding. It was on the return voyage that he penned his one and only poem "Buddha and Brahma," a narrative emblematic of Adams's own conflict between worldly renunciation and desire.[65] It also presented him with an opportunity to cultivate a greater appreciation of his travel partner, and a reversal of the dynamics gleaned from earlier writings and perceptions is discovered:

> My love of inaccuracy, and want of memory drive La Farge half mad. He is—don't laugh!—phenomenally accurate and precise. No one will believe me, but I tell what I know, when I say that he is as systematic, exact and conventional as he thinks he is. The world altogether misunderstands us both. He is practical; I am loose minded, and looser still in my management of affairs. He is to be implicitly believed wherever facts are in question; I am invariably mistaken.[66]

3.15. Henry Adams's photograph of his Nikko garden, 1886. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 40.194.

In the years that followed, La Farge continued to pursue Japanese affinities in his creative agenda, a direction that was fueled equally by the popularity of his travelogue and commercial successes as it was by his recognition as an authority on the subject and the introduction of new influences.[67] In the late 1890s he produced an imaginative series of twenty-five watercolor narratives that were later exhibited under the title "Fantasies on Oriental Themes." The subject matter was drawn from Asian mythology, folk stories, and history.[68] The watercolor and gouache paintings *The Strange Thing Little Kiosai Saw in the River* (1897; plate 68) and *The Aesthete* (1898; plate 70) are components of this series and linked to time-honored Japanese leitmotifs. *The Aesthete* pays tribute to the Asian literati, and this contemplative figure studying an ancient text while surrounded by attributes that could perhaps be autobiographical of La Farge, or a self-idealization. The attention he lavishes on the stream of smoke rising from a small incense burner brings to mind his fascination with waterfalls, and evokes similar connotations of life's fleeting moments and inevitabilities. The beveled angles of the veranda, the division of the picture plane into a series of semi-abstract shapes, and the flattened spatiality

are by now ongoing traits absorbed from Japanese prints, as is the irregular cropping of the composition through the interloping overhang of the roof, which slices the top of the pictorial field. Once again, the brilliant colorations are uniquely La Farge—a contribution from his experiences with stained glass window design. *The Strange Thing Little Kiosai Saw in the River* serves as La Farge's homage to Japanese ghost stories, infused with tales of avenged murder victims and transformations of the deceased into supernatural spirits and animals.

In addition to a resurgence of La Farge's career in the 1890s, this decade was also marked by a strengthening of his friendships with his former Japanese hosts. With the passing of Sakurai Keitoku Ajari, Bigelow returned to Boston in 1889. Though losing his spiritual advisor, he never lost his resolve to follow the path of Buddhism. He continued to support the traditional arts in the Land of the Rising Sun through his sponsorship of the Nihon Bijutsuin (Japan Fine Arts Academy) founded by Okakura. It was now time, however, to bring the mission that he, Fenollosa, and Okakura so successfully achieved homeward, and nurture an appreciation of the Japanese traditional arts and culture among the American people.

3.16. John La Farge, *The Recording of Precedents: Confucius and His Disciples*, 1903–05. Encaustic on canvas, 156 x 324 in., Supreme Court Room, State Capitol, St. Paul.

Interspersed with his involvement with the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston were Bigelow's travels. He replaced La Farge as Henry Adams's traveling partner and—having vanquished the earlier ghosts—his cousin-through-marriage accompanied Bigelow on a series of European tours to monuments and museums, the Universal Exposition in Paris, and musical performances in numerous European cities. Among their spiritual pilgrimages—common to many Boston Brahmins of this era—was Bayreuth, where they attended performances of Wagner's operas. By this time, Bigelow's search for Nirvana included the famous Croatian opera singer, Milka Ternina (1863–1941).

After receiving the Order of the Mirror by the Meiji emperor in recognition of his contributions to the preservation of traditional Japanese culture, Fenollosa returned to Boston as the first curator of Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts. He held this position until 1895. In addition to cataloguing the collection that he assembled for the museum, he used his position to explore further his commitment to art education. During his tenure, he organized a series of exhibitions on themes including Hokusai's prints, the treasures of Daitoku-ji, Tokugawa screen paintings, and the collection of the Parisian dealer S. Bing—thereby igniting an appreciation of Japanese art among Bostonian audiences.[69]

After the turn of the new century, in 1903, La Farge was to undertake a commission that represented his last foray into mural painting. It was also, in many ways, to serve as the culmination of his connections to—and reverence for—Japan. The architect Cass Gilbert had invited the artist to design a series of four murals for the Supreme Court Room in the State Capitol in St. Paul, Minnesota. The prescribed theme was to be emblematic of "justice," and La Farge chose to dedicate each of the four lunettes to underscoring a significant milestone. In this sequence, known as *The Recording of Precedents*, La Farge selected portrayals of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments on Mt. Sinai, Socrates, and Count Raymond of Toulouse. The fourth composition depicts Confucius and his disciples in a bamboo grove. A black ink sketch of his garden at Nikko served as the inspiration for the background and, expectedly, a waterfall is a prominent feature in this landscape. A subsequent phase in the artist's conceptualization of the mural is evidenced in a gouache and watercolor study from 1903 entitled *The Recording of Precedents* (fig. 3.14). In this lunette-shaped composition La Farge emulates the revered Chinese pictorial theme of scholars collating the classics. Behind the characters is a garden landscape that centers on a vibrant cascading waterfall. Augmenting his own sketches may have been a photograph of a garden at Nikko, and even more specifically, one that was in all probability taken by Adams's hand (fig. 3.15).[70] Strong compositional affinities are to be found between this photographic rendering and the painted versions, particularly the bifurcation of the background by the descending waterfall and the pond into which it pools dominating the midsection of each work. It appears as if La Farge then reconceived the foreground so that it could serve as a stage where the actors could portray their noble activities. In regard to other descriptive elements, the Supreme Court Room mural is relatively faithful to the earlier painted study, except that the *koto* in the forefront has now been repositioned to the left. This pictorial ingredient was essential to La Farge's theme of the "Laws of Aesthetics" and fosters

La Farge's interpretation of the Confucian ideal of music as metaphor for "social harmony" (fig. 3.16). In finding an ideal model for his image of Confucius, he turned to his friend Okakura, who was, coincidentally, a virtuoso *koto* player. Royal Cortissoz, who recorded La Farge's memoirs shortly before the artist's death, relates further details on the artist's intent, among which is the use of a Confucian quote that doubles as a reference to artistic practice: "Confucius is reading from a scroll and on this La Farge got Okakura to help him inscribe in Chinese characters one of the Sage's sayings, 'First the white, and then the color on top.' He loved to talk about Confucius, whom he had found as interesting as a novel when he was studying him with Okakura's help."[71]

By the time of the inauguration of La Farge's *Recording of Precedents*, his model for Confucius had arrived in Boston. The advent of a new century found Okakura traveling throughout Asia, promoting the belief of "Asia is One"; at the same time he was able to expand his intellectual circles as well as his expertise in the Asian artistic expressions found beyond Japan.[72] In 1904, Bigelow arranged for Okakura's appointment as an advisor to the Chinese and Japanese Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[73] Over the years Okakura had honed the ways to convey most effectively his message to the West; his new posture in America also presented the means and personal network. In his first of three books, *The Ideals of the East*, he described his challenge: "Any history of Japanese art-ideals is, then, almost an impossibility, as long as the Western world remains so unaware of the varied environment and interrelated social phenomena into which that art is set, as it were a jewel."[74] Through this work and his subsequent writings, his curatorial efforts, and his lectures, Americans came to understand the East on its own terms.[75]

3.17. William Sturgis Bigelow's grave at Hōmyōin Temple, Ōtsu.

It was La Farge who introduced Okakura to his greatest champion, Isabella Stewart Gardner, whose newly constructed palazzo on the Fenway housed her eclectic art collection, including the Asian artworks acquired during her travels. Prior to Okakura's first trip to Boston, La Farge corresponded with Gardner:

> I should like to add to any knowledge you may have of him my statement that he is the most intelligent critic of art, and I might also say of everything, that I know. His very great learning in certain ways is balanced by his perception of the uselessness of much that he knows. I think that he is one of the very few persons whom you should not miss enjoying.[76]

Among the means that Okakura used to achieve an American reverence of Japanese aesthetics was *chanoyu* (tea ceremony). He believed that this ritual was "Our Art of Life" and a "Cup of Humanity." The selection of this theme was also a wise strategy, for the activity of drinking tea naturally held some appeal to proper ladies of Gilded Age Boston. Okakura successfully used *chanoyu* as a window onto the majesty of Asia's cultural and philosophical traditions and as a vehicle for their promotion. Behind his efforts was Gardner, who organized tea ceremonies in her home, presided over by the new object of her adulation. In the years to follow, Okakura and Gardner's relationship blossomed into a loving and enduring friendship, and she acknowledged how profoundly he altered her worldview and character. After his death, his tea ceremony utensils were installed in a special area in her home. Even while Okakura's reputation in the United States expanded, he remained steadfast to one of his earliest American mentors. In 1906, when he published his third book in English, *The Book of Tea*, a simple dedication was inscribed, "To John La Farge, Sensei."[77]

Another ongoing advocate for Okakura and their shared mission was Bigelow. While he continued to watch over his art collection and its transfer to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bigelow's passion for Japan—and his belief that it warranted greater recognition in America—turned to the political arena. The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, which highlighted Japan's potential global role, fueled this new direction. It was also due to Bigelow's longtime friendship with Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). During Roosevelt's presidency (1901–09), Bigelow encouraged his now-presidential colleague to regard Asia's significance, and went as far as appealing to his athleticism by coming to the White House to teach him *jujitsu*. In 1909, in acknowledgment of his extraordinary commitment to Japan, Bigelow was awarded the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, Third Class—the highest Jap-

anese honor bestowed on a civilian—by Emperor Mutsuhito. The former doctor also fostered his relationship to Buddhism. After his appointment as a lecturer in Buddhist doctrine at Harvard in 1908, he presented a series of lectures at Harvard Divinity School on "Buddhism and Immortality."[78] In his bequest, a fund was left to the university for the advancement of Buddhist studies, for he emphatically believed that the more Buddhism is taught at Harvard, the better.

In May of 1911, a year after La Farge's death, Henry Adams received a copy of *John La Farge: A Memoir and a Study*. He wrote Cortissoz, and expressed his appreciation of the inclusion of a photograph of the artist that had been taken by Clover.[79] He then offered the following reflections on La Farge:

> I was always brutally telling him he was living an illusion; he imagined a public and a posterity that did not exist; he was tearing himself to pieces for a society that had disappeared centuries ago, and would never appear again; and that we were a little knot of a few dozen people, who talked about each other, and might as well burn up all we had done, when we should take our departure….Really he worked only for the grade of a great artist among the great artists of the world of the past. He wanted to be compared with Delacroix and Hokusai. On that point I was totally with him. We could both of us live, and for,—the past, with infinite satisfaction; where we parted was living in the present. I really suffered to see him working to create an audience in order that he might please it. The double task passes any endurance.[80]

In La Farge's dedication to Henry Adams in his *Letters from Japan*, he wrote: "If only we found Nirvana—but he was right to warn us that we were late in this season of the world."[81] When La Farge penned these words, he was intuitively aware of his rapidly evolving world—his search for Nirvana was a quest to have it come to a halt. Both the "silence and stillness" that he and Adams sought had given way to endless sensations—auditory and otherwise—from all directions. The present was quickly becoming the past. To La Farge, Adams, Okakura, Fenollosa, and Bigelow, their desire to preserve the past may have been, in part, a reluctance to accept the new. Fenollosa died in 1908; La Farge in 1910. By 1913, the year of Okakura's passing, the world witnessed Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* and Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. A novel creative language had been born that would have been foreign to La Farge.

After World War I, the only remaining member of the original quintet was William Sturgis Bigelow. When he died in 1926, in accordance with his final request, his remains were cremated; in keeping with his dualistic nature, half of the ashes were interred in the Sturgis family plot at Mount Auburn Cemetery, the other half were buried in the sacral enclosure of Miidera at Hōmyōin alongside those of Fenollosa (fig. 3.17).

There were times when La Farge blamed his "want of success" on his prescient appreciation of Japanese art before all others.[82] This hind-sighted reflection may have blinded him to the extraordinary contributions he made in tandem with William Sturgis Bigelow, Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, Okakura Tenshin, Henry Brooks Adams—as well as Edward Sylvester Morse—to the transformation of cultural and artistic life in Gilded Age America. It was through their valiant achievements and commitment to the greater understanding, promotion, and preservation of a culture that was not their own that America's was enriched. In this alliance, La Farge's role in the "recovery of the sacred" was the most creative, for through his brush and pen he embedded and preserved the past.

1 John La Farge, *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (1897; London: Kegan Paul International, 2000), 175.

2 Probably the most influential volume was *L'Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien* by Eugène Burnouf (1801–52), published in 1844. Burnouf's pupil, the American Edward Elbridge Salisbury (1814–1901) became the first instructor of Sanskrit in this country at Yale University in the 1840s.

3 It is estimated that Arnold's book had between a half-million and a million readers and went through eighty different editions. Thomas A. Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844–1912: Victorian Culture and Limits of Dissent* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1992), 46. This bestseller became the basis of the epic silent film, *Prem Sanyas*, an Indo-German co-production that premiered in 1925 and was released in the United States in 1928.

4 Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge: A Memoir and a Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 54.

5 La Farge wrote the well-known French art dealer S. Bing in January 1894, expressing a retrospective view, "I began my artistic studies...with no intention of becoming a painter. I was led to form very early an admirative appreciation of what between 1856 and 1859 we were able to know about Japanese art." Henry Adams, "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*," *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (Sept. 1985): 452. Note: the author of this article, who is currently a professor of American art at Case Western University, should not be confused with the historian Henry Brooks Adams, a major subject of this current chapter.

6 In the catalogue of the 1909 sale of Japanese prints from the La Farge collection it is recorded that he owned seventy prints by Hiroshige—including a triptych—and that an additional collection of thirty-five works by this same artist were imported from Japan around 1860. Adams, "La Farge's Discovery," 456n38. For a listing of Japanese prints and books on Asian subjects owned by John La Farge, see Appendices I and II of Adams's study (482–84).

7 Two works by La Farge painted in 1862 and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—*Study of Sea, near Red Springs, L. I.* (11.2853) and *Study of Cloud Form, Newport* (11.2845)—exemplify his works on Japanese paper.

8 La Farge's painting *A Grey Day, Newport*, also executed in 1862 and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (35.1167), employs these media.

9 John La Farge, "An Essay on Japanese Art," in *Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Years' Journey around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China*, Raphael Pumpelly (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1870), 197.

10 Ibid., 200.

11 Adams, "La Farge's Discovery," 468.

12 It is most improbable that La Farge ever met Commodore Perry, as he passed away the year before the artist's arrival in Newport. However, he may have learned more about Perry's experiences in Japan, and had access to notes and memorabilia, through family members.

13 La Farge, "Japanese Art," 196.

14 The architect Richard Morris Hunt was among the visitors to the Japanese garden and bazaar at the Exhibition. He was greatly taken by the quality of Japanese craftsmanship and considered it a good lesson for the slipshod joiners of the Western world.

15 In the years leading up to these events, La Farge's early collection of Japanese art objects were sold to cover his financial problems via auctions in 1875, 1879, and 1880. These totaled over 1500 lots. James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge and Henry Adams in Japan," *American Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (1989): 43.

16 The life of Clover Adams and her talents as a photographer have been excellently conveyed by Natalie Dykstra in the volume *Clover Adams: A Gilded and Heartbreaking Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012).

17 A *kakemono* is a traditional Japanese hanging scroll painting that can alternatively be rolled up for storage or transport. Letter to John Hay, Jan. 22, 1886 in Henry Adams, *The Letters of Henry Adams, Volume 3: 1886–1892*, ed. J. C. Levenson, Ernest Samuels, Charles Vandersee, and Viola Hopkins Winner (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1982), 3–4.

18 Letter to Charles Milnes Gaskell, Apr. 25, 1886 (ibid., 8).

19 Adams kept a very accurate tally. In total, the money "lent" to John La Farge was $470.77, exclusive of the steamer crossing. Yarnall, "La Farge and Adams in Japan," 138.

20 Margaret Terry Chanler, *Autumn in the Valley* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1936), 151.

21 It is also believed that Bigelow's mother, Susan Sturgis Bigelow, may have sent examples of her poetry to Ralph Waldo Emerson.

22 Morse was appointed the Keeper of Pottery at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1890 and his collection is among the museum's holdings of Japanese art.

23 Prominent among his teachers were Sumiyoshi Hirotaka and Kanō Yeitoki. Fenollosa was adopted into the Kanō family and took on name Kanō Yeitan (Endless Seeking).

24 Letter to Cabot Lodge, Sept. 30, 1883. Akiko Murakata, "Selected Letters of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow" (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1971), 67.

25 Morse opined, "Many of the fine things of Japanese art are now on the market, like those we are buying. It is like the life-blood of Japan seeping from a hidden wound. They do not know how sad it is to let their beautiful treasures leave the country." Van Wyck Brooks, *Fenollosa and His Circle: With Other Essays in Biography* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962), 24.

26 Credit must also be given to the surgeon, philanthropist, and avid yachtsman Charles Goddard Weld (1857–1911) of Brookline, Massachusetts. In 1886—the same year as La Farge and Adams's Japanese sojourn—Weld attempted to sail around the world. His goal was thwarted when his yacht caught fire in Yokohama and he too became an extended guest of his Bostonian friends Bigelow and Fenollosa. While in Japan, Fenollosa arranged to sell Weld his collection of Japanese art on the condition that he would ultimately bequeath it to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It resides there today, known as the "Fenollosa-Weld Collection."

27 William N. McVickar (1843–1910) was the Bishop of Pennsylvania who traveled to Japan with Reverend Brooks; together they visited Bigelow in Nikko. Letter to Reverend Brooks, Aug. 19, 1889. Murakata, "Selected Letters," 82–83.

28 Ibid.

29 In Bigelow's letter to John Cabot Lodge dated September 30, 1883—almost three years prior to La Farge and Adams's arrival—he observed how the Japanese art market has already boomed since the Meiji Restoration due to the selling off of family heirlooms by impoverished samurai and noblemen as well as the Japanese "mania" for foreign goods. He complained, "In those days you could have swapped a beaver hat for a gold lacquer box anywhere." Bigelow remarks that the best lacquer ware had already doubled and tripled in price in the past three years, as they are acquired by foreigners,

and porcelains and bronzes are following suit. He also claimed that Fenollosa started a boom in the Japanese painting market that escalated the prices four or five times over the past year (ibid., 66–67).

30 Letter to John Hay, Aug. 22, 1886. Henry Adams, *Selected Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. and intro. Newton Arvin (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951), 97.

31 His irritation with Fenollosa went as far for him to write, "He has joined a Buddhist sect. I was myself a Buddhist when I left America, but he has converted me to Calvinism with leanings towards the Methodists" (ibid.). Conversely, La Farge found himself in accord with Fenollosa's viewpoint, claiming that the Tokugawa monuments were "something of show and decadence, of luxury and want of morals" and further, they "lacked any sense of real antiquity." La Farge, *Letters from Japan*, 87.

32 Letter to John Hay, July 9, 1886. Adams, *Letters of Henry Adams, Vol. 3*, 14–15.

33 Letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Cameron, Aug. 13, 1886 (ibid., 30).

34 Letter to Theodore F. Dwight, Aug. 10, 1886 (ibid., 29).

35 Letter to John Hay, July 24, 1886 (ibid., 24).

36 A small town with a hot spring near Lake Yunoko. Nearby Yumato is the Buddhist temple of Onsenji with its hot spring bath.

37 Christopher E. G. Benfey, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan* (New York: Random House, 2003), 129.

38 It is believed his artistic output during that summer in Japan included thirty watercolors, two oil paintings, and a series of drawings. Yarnall notes that in some instances it is difficult to discern whether these works were actually executed in Japan or upon his return. Yarnall, "La Farge and Adams in Japan," 48.

39 Also known as Okakura Tenshin, the name that he preferred.

40 While attending the University in Tokyo, he also studied painting with the well-known *bunjinga* (literati style) female painter Seiko Okuhara (1837–1913).

41 *Tao* is an alternative, and earlier, spelling for *Dao*. The latter is now more commonly used.

42 Waterfalls are also vital to Japan's native Shinto traditions where they are equally symbolic of the fluidity of life and the abolishment of boundaries. They are also revered for their purifying powers. Many followers of Shintoism perform *taki shugyō*, a ritual purification undertaken by standing underneath waterfalls. This practice is part of *kannagara no ōmichi*, "the way of the gods," a popular reference to Shintoism during the Meiji period.

43 La Farge, *Letters from Japan*, 173–74.

44 By the time La Farge and Adams visited this colossal sculpture, its housing had been destroyed twice by tidal waves and it stood as an independent image open to the environment.

45 La Farge, *Letters from Japan*, 226.

46 Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: Volume 2* (1912; New York: Dover, 1963), 50. In the era of La Farge the alternative spellings of *Kwannon*, *Kuwanon*, and *Kuwannon* appear. Kannon is familiar to many as *Guanyin* or *Kuan Yin* in Chinese Buddhism.

47 La Farge, *Letters from Japan*, 175–76.

48 Sister Nivedita (born Margaret Elizabeth Noble, 1867–1911) became a disciple of Swami Vivekananda and moved to India in 1898 where she undertook the *brahmacharya* initiation (vow of celibacy). She was involved in the Indian nationalist movement and crusaded for the education of girls. Sister Nivedita met Okakura during a trip to Japan and encouraged his 1902 visit to India. They developed a strong bond and she continued to be one of his great promoters.

49 La Farge may have regretted these westernized images, for in 1909 he wrote to Gustav Kobbé, a music critic of the era, "I must have quite a number for the subject, the Kwannon—some of which are worth sharing—others I am almost ashamed of." Yarnall, "La Farge and Adams in Japan," 170.

50 Literally, "The East Sea Road," the Tōkaidō, which connected Tokyo with Kyoto, was one of the five main travel routes of the Tokugawa period.

51 Produced between 1826 and 1833, La Farge refers to this series in his discussion of Hokusai in *An Artist's Letters from Japan*. La Farge could have also been familiar with Hokusai's later work *Fugaku hyakkei* [One hundred views of Mount Fuji], a woodblock printed book published in 1835. This volume is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1997.811.1–2.

52 Dated to 1832 or 1833. In addition to the works from this series in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, there is a set in the John Chandler Bancroft Collection at the Worcester Art Museum.

53 Also known as German blue. In Japanese it was referred to as *bero ai*, or "Berlin color."

54 In total, Adams and La Farge spent $7,500 on art purchases in Japan—quite a sizable amount at that time.

55 La Farge introduced Saint-Gaudens to a scroll painting of Kannon by the sixteenth-century artist Kanō Motonobu that is part of the Fenollosa-Weld Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (11.4267). This image played a major role in the conception and design of the memorial figure. Further, in a scrapbook discovered by Saint-Gaudens's son, Homer, there is an ink sketch of the sculptor's prototype for the figure surrounded by the words "Adams.", "Buddha.", "Mental Repose.", and "Calm reflection in contrast with the violence or force in nature." Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Volume 1*, ed. Homer Saint-Gaudens (New York: Century, 1913), 362.

56 The *Adams Memorial* has been erroneously associated with the title *Grief*, after Mark Twain's impression of the sculpture as an embodiment of all human grief. However, in a letter to Richard Watson Gilder on October 14, 1896, Adams wrote, "The whole meaning and feeling of the figure is in its universality and anonymity. My own name for it is 'The Peace of God.' La Farge would call it 'Kwannon.'" Henry Adams, *The Letters of Henry Adams, Volume 6: 1906–1918*, ed. J. C. Levenson, Ernest Samuels, Charles Vandersee, and Viola Hopkins Winner (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1988), 430. Several years later, Saint-Gaudens was known to have referred to is as *The Mystery of the Hereafter*. Saint-Gaudens, *Reminiscences*, 362.

57 A technique employed by Edgar Degas.

58 La Farge was acutely aware that his travelogue might lead to greater marketability of his work. He subsequently exhibited and successfully sold many of his artworks as he simultaneous prepared and published his writings. Starting in 1887, his Japanese sketches were exhibited and sold at the Century Club, the American Society of Painters in Watercolor, the New York Water Color Club, and the Union Club League, among others. They were also incorporated into exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia and the Chase Gallery, as well as the Museum of Fine Arts and St. Botolph's Club in Boston.

59 La Farge, *Letters from Japan*, 31.

60 Ibid., ix.

61 It was Adams's original intent to go to China, but he was concerned about his safety due to the current political environment.

62 The two travelers departed Tahiti the week before Paul Gauguin's arrival in June 1891.

63 For further on La Farge and Adams's South Seas travel and La Farge's artistic results, see Elisabeth Hodermarsky, ed., *John La Farge's Second Paradise: Voyages in the South Seas, 1890–1891*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2010).

64 Letter to Elizabeth Cameron, Aug. 26, 1891. Adams, *Letters of Henry Adams, Vol. 3*, 536.

65 The motivation for the poem came after Adams's visit to the sacred Buddhist site of Anuradhapura in Ceylon. It was written aboard ship while returning home with John La Farge and was not disclosed until he forwarded it to his close friend John Hay via a letter dated April 26, 1895. It was subsequently published in the *Yale Law Review* in October 1915. By the end of the narrative, Adams hints at his personal decision to continue along the path of worldly existence—as personified by the character of the Rajah—rather than seek the renunciation of all desires associated with the teachings of the Buddha. Undoubtedly at the heart of his decision was his long-enduring infatuation with Elizabeth Sherman Cameron (1860–1944), wife of Senator James Donald Cameron of Ohio. The emotions underlying his conflicted state are expressed in the poem through such lines as: "But we, who cannot fly the world, must seek / To live two separate lives; one, in the world / Which we must ever seem to treat as real; / The other in ourselves, behind a veil / Not to be raised without disturbing both."

66 Letter to Elizabeth Cameron, June 4, 1891. Adams, *Letters of Henry Adams, Vol. 3*, 485.

67 In 1893, La Farge was invited to give a series of lectures at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Subsequently published as *Considerations on Painting: Lectures Given in the Year 1893 at the Metropolitan Museum of New York* by Macmillan in 1896, it contains several observations on the subject of Japanese art and favorable comparisons with high points in Western art history.

68 Yarnall suggests that these may have developed from two lectures that La Farge presented on Japanese artists. In June 1893 he spoke at the Architectural League of New York on the Japanese artist Kiosai (1831–89). Hokusai was the subject of a Century Club lecture in March 1896. Yarnall, "La Farge and Adams in Japan," 222.

69 In 1893, the artist Arthur Wesley Dow approached Fenollosa regarding his interest in Japanese prints. Both shared a commitment to art education, and under Fenollosa's mentorship, Dow became knowledgeable about Japanese art. He was appointed as an assistant curator in the department. Dow's later publications on art education are regarded as innovative contributions and he is considered an American pioneer in this field. Upon moving to New York he taught at the Pratt Institute, the Art Students League, and Columbia University's Teachers College. Among his celebrated students were Max Weber and Georgia O'Keeffe.

70 Adams assembled an album of 161 albumen photographs of Japan. A small number were taken directly by him; others by were by unknown hands. Also among the compilation were commercial photographs he either purchased or acquired during his Japanese travels. More than a quarter of the collection captures images of Nikko. The photographs are now part of the Henry Adams Photographs in the Massachusetts Historical Society; the album was unbound in 2002.

71 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 181. La Farge painted a second version of this tribute to the contributions of the East and his mentor in the Clarence M. Mitchell Jr. Courthouse in Baltimore, Maryland in 1906–07. Conceived as a series of six works on the theme of ancient lawgivers, this later portrayal depicts Confucius/Okakura sitting in Western fashion while playing the *koto*.

72 On his visit to India in 1902, Okakura was introduced to members of the Bengali intellectual circle who were igniting India's first independence movement. In Calcutta he was guest of the Tagore family at Jorasanko, where he forged a friendship with the great literary figure Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). Okakura's introduction of Chinese and Japanese ink brush painting styles encouraged an exploration of East Asian artistic idioms among several contemporaneous Bengali artists, including members of the Tagore family. While in India, Okakura also began a close friendship with Swami Vivekananda, founder of the Ramakrishna Mission.

73 In 1902, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston took on its current name, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In the subsequent year, the Japanese Department was renamed the Chinese and Japanese Department to acknowledge the expanded directions of the collection's growth.

74 Kakuzō Okakura, *The Ideals of the East, with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1904), 10.

75 A high point of Okakura's celebrity was his lecture at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. He appealed, "our greatest hope is in the very vitality of art itself, which enabled it to thrive in spite of the various adversities which it encountered in the part. A grim pride animates us in facing the enormous odds which modern society has raised against us. At present day we feel ourselves to be sole guardians of the art inheritance of Asia. The battle must be fought out to the very last." Okakura's speech was published in the *Quarterly Review* under the title "Modern Art from a Japanese Point of View" in July 1905, enabling even more Americans to learn of his campaign to preserve Japanese traditional art. Yasuko Horioka, *The Life of Kakuzō: Author of the Book of Tea* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1963), 58.

76 Letter from John La Farge to Isabella Stewart Gardner dated Mar. 22, 1904. Victoria Weston, *East Meets West: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Okakura Kakuzō*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1992), 20.

77 The Japanese title *sensei* can refer to "teacher" or as a means to express respect to someone who has achieved a high level of mastery in an art form.

78 These were later published as *Buddhism and Immortality* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908).

79 Letter to Royal Cortissoz, May 11, 1911. Adams, *Letters of Henry Adams, Vol. 6*, 442–43.

80 Ibid., 443.

81 La Farge, *Letters from Japan*, vii.

82 Details of a letter to Richard Watson Gilder dated 1878. Adams, "La Farge's Discovery," 453.

The Light of Memory:
John La Farge and Stained Glass

Jeffery Howe

John La Farge was widely recognized as the artist most responsible for recreating the art of stained glass through his novel use of opalescent leaded glass. At the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889 La Farge was awarded a medal and the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. The jury citation lauded him as: "The great innovator, the inventor of opaline glass. He has created in all its details an art unknown before, an entirely new industry, and in a country without tradition, he will begin one."[1] Siegfried Bing, who coined the term Art Nouveau, and generally favored La Farge's rival Louis Comfort Tiffany, commended La Farge's window of *Christ in Majesty* for Trinity Church: "All marveled at the large stained-glass window, whose astonishing brilliance surpassed, in its magic, anything of its kind created in modern times."[2]

The reinvention of the medieval craft of stained glass was central to La Farge's effort to visualize spiritual beauty through art. The McMullen Museum triptych (plate 4) is a magnificent example of his technique. Beautifully restored by Roberto Rosa and his fellow conservators at Serpentino Stained Glass Studio, these windows recover the sacred, once again revealing La Farge's talent at its best. La Farge understood that a stained glass window is a complex example of the interplay between the work of art as a material object, the image perceived by the viewer, and its cultural significance. The image produced by the translucent medium is simultaneously a solid piece of handicraft and an immaterial vision of colored light. John La Farge's artistic practice and theoretical writings encompass not only the history of art and the technical aspects of art-making, but also present a cogent argument for the viewer's role in completing the work of art. This essay will examine La Farge's stained glass in relation to his aesthetic theories, the history of stained glass and its interpretation, and the context of American and European art, particularly the European symbolist movement.

La Farge was fascinated with the manner in which we perceive works of art, and repeatedly insisted that works were founded on suggestion and memory, themes most fully developed in his series of lectures at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1893, and published under the title *Considerations on Painting*. La Farge compared works of art to hieroglyphs, which evoke in us "certain images of memory."[3] Marks made by the artist need to be interpreted by the viewer, who uses his or her memories to complete the image: "We make the illusion ourselves:—The painting has nothing for us but what we can co-ordinate of our memories."[4]

He re-emphasized the point: "The illusion suggested by the artist's work is directed by him, but mostly made by us."[5] This surprisingly modern attitude toward the viewer's role in the perception of a work of art was rooted in the past, particularly the Renaissance and

romantic eras. Hieroglyphs had intrigued Leon Battista Alberti and Albrecht Dürer, and both invented their own hieroglyphic designs.[6] La Farge paraphrased Eugène Delacroix on the communicative role of art: "'Painting,' says Delacroix...'is an art in which we use the picture of a reality as a bridge to something beyond it. For our imagination, of course, is an arrangement of our memories—just as our sight is. We see through our memory.'"[7] Delacroix endorsed the parallel between the work of art and a hieroglyph: "These figures, these objects, which seem the thing itself to a certain part of your intelligent being are like a solid bridge on which imagination supports itself to penetrate to the mysterious and profound sensation for which the forms are, so to speak, the hieroglyph."[8] The deciphering of the hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion in the early nineteenth century led to renewed interest in hieroglyphs as a model for sign theory, and American writers Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Edgar Allan Poe found that even nature could be interpreted using a hieroglyphic model.[9]

The emphasis on the work of art as a hieroglyph is also found in the European symbolist movement of the late nineteenth century.[10] The symbolist movement is widely varied in its visual forms, and the essential unity of the style is to be found in aesthetic principles, such as those identified by G.-Albert Aurier in 1891 in a key article in the *Mercure de France*. Symbolist art, he argued, should be dedicated to expressing ideas through forms which are the "sign of an idea perceived by the subject."[11] In Gustave Kahn's terms, the goal is to "objectify the subjective."[12] This is very general, however, and Reinhold Heller has sharpened the definition by calling attention to the symbolists' emphasis on the essential relationship between the material structure of the work of art and the content embodied in it.[13] La Farge's writings and works exemplify both these criteria.

Memory was a key theme in the symbolist era, and La Farge's focus on it links him to the European movement.[14] Memory provided the basis for the links in Baudelaire's poem "Correspondences,"[15] and Michael Fried has identified memory as one of the fundamental bases of the aesthetic program of both Charles Baudelaire and Édouard Manet.[16] Fried notes that Baudelaire associated memory and musicality, a link also stressed by La Farge.[17] Baudelaire also held Delacroix in the highest esteem. According to Baudelaire, the artist's chief focus was memory: "For Eugène Delacroix, nature is a vast dictionary whose leaves he turns and consults with a sure and searching eye; and his painting, which issues above all from the memory [*du souvenir*], speaks above all to the memory [*au souvenir*]."[18] In a commemorative essay, Baudelaire wrote: "Delacroix is the most suggestive of all painters… [his] works...recall to the memory feelings and poetic thoughts that we already knew but that we believed were buried forever in the night of the past."[19] Fried astutely links this emphasis on memory to the broad pictorial tradition of artists borrowing from other artists. This was a mainstay of academic practice, and a contested topic at the time of the rise of modernism.[20] Imitation of the old masters could be due to a sincere attempt to continue a tradition, a lack of imagination, or an attempt at subversion. La Farge's frequent recreation of past works of art in his stained glass windows has led to confusion about his intentions and even his authenticity as an artist.

4.1. Fernand Khnopff, *Memories*, 1889. Pastel on paper, 50 x 78.7 in., Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, 3528.

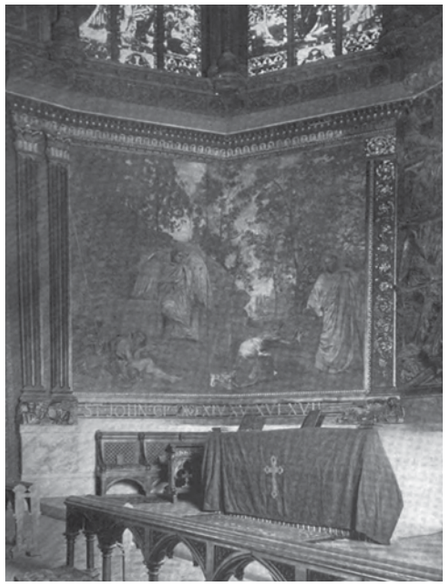
Modernity brought new concepts of the nature of perception and the new understanding of time and duration in the visual arts. *Memories* (fig. 4.1) a work by the Belgian symbolist artist Fernand Khnopff (1858–1921), depicts Khnopff's sister Marguerite seven times. In all but one instance she holds a lawn tennis racket, a symbol of modernity.[21] The image is a montage based on Khnopff's photographs of Marguerite.[22] The scene amalgamates different moments, fracturing the flow of normal time, and creating a dream-like effect.[23] *Memories* was exhibited at the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris, where it was awarded a second-class medal. It is quite possible that it was seen there by La Farge, who was awarded high honors for his stained glass windows.

Khnopff may have been drawn to this sequential use of photographic imagery by the chronophotographs of Eadweard Muybridge, published as early as 1878 in periodicals, and more extensively by the University of Pennsylvania in 1887. La Farge was keenly interested in photography from his early years in school,[24] and he was a subscriber to the first edition of Muybridge's photographs, which forced artists to reconsider the traditional artistic conventions of rendering motion.[25]

Memory is often paradoxically linked to simultaneity. Paul Gauguin praised painting for its ability to synthesize different moments in time, and present them in an instant. He wrote: "Painting is the most beautiful of all the arts, all the sensations are summarized in it, looking at it everybody can create a novel,

according as his imagination prompts him, at one glance he can have his soul overwhelmed by profound remembrances; with no effort of the memory everything is summarized in one single instant."[26] Memory is a key principle of Gauguin's concept of synthetist art, which often echoes stained glass with its thick outlines. His early symbolist paintings, and those of his associates in Brittany in 1887, are often compared to the cloisonné technique.[27]

La Farge's focus on the relationship between the work of art as a physical object, the symbolic meaning that it conveyed, and the role of the viewer in interpreting and completing it, has intriguing parallels with the semiotic theories of his contemporary, the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). They were acquainted through their mutual friends William James (1842–1910) and Clarence King (1842–1901).[28] Both Peirce and La Farge assign a key role to the viewer, who must interpret the work of art based on his or her experience. A work of art is not complete until it is interpreted by the viewer. As La Farge wrote about the Japanese artist Hokusai: "all forms of art are merely varieties of language—the signs of meanings, not the things themselves—and require two factors almost to exist, the person addressing and the person who is addressed."[29] This quotation is from a lecture he gave on Hokusai at the Century Club in New York, reminding us that La Farge was one of the earliest artists in America and Europe to discover Japanese art.[30] He anticipates modern reception theory in his stress on the role of the viewer in completing the work of art. Charles Sanders Peirce described a similar dynamic relationship between the viewer and the understanding of the meaning of the artistic sign.[31]



4.2. St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, New York. Photograph in *New England Magazine* 12, no. 2 (Apr. 1895): 137.

The relationship between La Farge and Peirce requires more research, but it is intriguing to speculate on the possibility of mutual influence in their aesthetic theories. Details of Peirce's interest in the arts are scarce; in fact, the art historian Michael Leja concludes that his interest in the arts was "minimal."[32] However, on April 24, 1892, Peirce apparently had a mystical experience with La Farge's art in St. Thomas's Episcopal Church in New York City (fig. 4.2). La Farge had decorated the chancel of this church in 1877 with murals of a *Noli me tangere* scene among others, and had even painted over the existing stained glass to improve the light on his murals.[33] In a draft of a letter to the rector of St. Thomas, Rev. John Wesley Brown, Peirce wrote he felt drawn by God to take Communion when he entered the church. "I have never before been mystical," he wrote, "but now I am."[34]

La Farge noted that the subjectivity of the artist's memories was matched by the equally subjective memories of the viewer who interpreted the work of art. Marks made on the canvas (or shapes formed in the window) are based on the memories of the artist, and completed by the viewer according to his or her own memories:

> Each artist sees in his own way, through memories of what he has been, and of what he has liked; even when he says to himself, in assertive moments, that "that is the way the thing looked," we shall come to perceive, perhaps, why it is, that this faceting of truth must be so,—how the perpetual Maia, the illusion and enchantment of appearances, plays for each of us a new part, sings for us a new personal song.[35]

If all artistic images, and even all that our senses can perceive, is illusion, then the search for absolute truth is problematic. Newport, Rhode Island was not only La Farge's home from 1859 to 1874, it had been the home of Bishop George Berkeley, the eighteenth-century philosopher who first denied the existence of a distinction between reality and sensation. La Farge several times painted sites associated with the philosopher. It was in Newport also that La Farge met Henry and William James. Intriguingly, all three went on to explore a new vision of reality—one based on an awareness of the ambiguities of perception.[36]

These ambiguities are delightfully presented in a *trompe l'œil* curtain window from 1882–84 (plate 36). This beautiful window is unique in La Farge's career. It is both abstract and strikingly realistic, as the artist has created the effect of drapes closed over clear windows, with blue sky visible overhead. It incorporates all of La Farge's technical innovations in stained glass, most notably the milky opalescent glass and wrinkled glass. Designed for the house of Thomas Ellwood Grover in Canton, Massachusetts, it has a matching panel in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.[37] These flanked two hollyhock windows in a decorative scheme that artfully played with layers of realism and illusion.

The paradoxes of authenticity and artistic representation were explored by La Farge's friend Henry James in his short story "The Real Thing."[38] This tale of an artist's problems in finding models who could best impersonate aristocratic subjects—real aristocrats or professional models from the lower class—was surely informed by the author's experience studying art with William Morris Hunt (1824–79) in 1859–60 in Newport. His fellow students were his brother, William James, and John La Farge. In France, these issues were brought to the edge of parody in the first symbolist novel, the ironic *A Rebours* (*Against Nature*, 1884) by Joris-Karl Huysmans.[39]

The nineteenth century was an era strongly colored by memory and nostalgia, as well as unprecedented scientific invention and social and cultural change. In the face of such dramatic changes, the relationship between past and present was increasingly problematic. The Civil War had rocked assumptions about the founding principles of the country. There was a great hunger for authenticity and truthfulness, but many aspects of modern culture, from advertising to politics, seemed to be ever more based on simulation and deception. Miles Orvell has described the cultural challenges to the American sense of authenticity in *The Real Thing: Image and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940*. The most recent book on La Farge, *The Art and Thought of John La Farge: Picturing Authenticity in Gilded Age America*, by Katie Kresser has underscored the importance of these challenges for La Farge and other artists.[40]

4.3. Albert Robida, "Telephonoscope," in *Le Vingtième Siècle: La vie électrique* (Paris: La Librarie Illustrée, 1883).

La Farge commenced his career as an artist when the realist movement was the latest style. Photography had developed a new and exciting kind of painting with light, as the film captured an image of the subject when the shutter was pressed and the scene recorded on light-sensitive film. Although the era of virtual reality was still over one hundred years in the future, some dreamed that creating a simulacrum of far-off reality was soon to be possible, inspired by the marvelous inventions of Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas Edison. Simulations were confused with and even preferred to reality in the futuristic novel *The Future Eve* (1886) by Villiers de l'Isle Adam, and the decadent hero of Huysmans's novel *Against Nature* found that a simulated trip to London was far more comfortable and just as satisfying as a real journey.[41] The science fiction fantasy of the French illustrator Albert Robida (1848–1926) predicted the coming of television, with captivating images dancing across a glassy screen (fig. 4.3). In America, the flurry of inventions from Edison and Bell promised to bring this dream within reach of the masses. Images could bring either escapism or transcendence. The late nineteenth century saw the emergence of a society focused on spectacle, from the modern city traversed by voyeuristic *flâneurs* such as Édouard Manet and Edgar Degas, to the new world of global tourism, exemplified by John La Farge and Henry Adams. La Farge's watercolor *The Aesthete* evokes paradoxes of art and illusion, as the scholar/aesthete contemplates nature and art through a painted screen, which simulates a real landscape (plate 70). His 1881 fire screen depicting *Moon over Clouds* similarly evokes landscape as art in the medium of opalescent leaded glass (plate 62). How to reconcile this new world of spectacle and sign theory with traditional art forms was a challenge for La Farge and other artists in stained glass.

The History of Stained Glass and Its Interpretation

The use of colored glass in windows has a very long history. La Farge traced it far back in ancient literary sources in an article for Russell Sturgis's encyclopedic *Dictionary of Architecture* in 1902.[42] There are a few surviving Byzantine and early medieval examples, but the greatest development in stained glass accompanied the new Gothic style in the twelfth century. According to La Farge and many others, "twelfth century glass in Western Europe is at once a perfect model of its kind, and...an example and a lesson for all artists."[43] He admired the craftsmanship and mastery of color and design of medieval windows, but never tried to imitate their archaic style. Instead, he created an updated style with a strong influence from the Renaissance.

The medieval world interpreted the meanings of a cathedral and stained glass in a complex, hierarchical manner. In La Farge's era, a more open interpretation based on personal memories and aesthetics emerged, but in both cases the experience of stained glass provided an idealized vision and a distraction from the cares of daily life.

The Gothic cathedral has often been described as creating a transcendent vision, an experience of heavenly beauty and perfection. Abbot Suger, who oversaw the early development of the Gothic style at the church of St. Denis in Paris in 1144, famously described the ecstatic experience brought about by the beauty of liturgical art, which seemed to transport him to a higher world.[44] The stained glass of the church depicts images of light and color that suggest celestial visions to the pious viewer. Umberto Eco notes that Suger's account reflects a genuine aesthetic experience which provokes or is co-existent with mystical joy. The physical material of the work of art embodies a complex web of ideas relating the natural to the supernatural: "And the power of God."[45]

Glass as a material has a special place in religious art. Light colored by glass is analogous to spirituality because it is immaterial, and yet can be seen. The glass window literally touches the heavens, and partakes of its essence. In addition, the process of smelting glass from silica sand is a metamorphosis that parallels the purification of the soul, base matter transformed into beautiful clarity. It is a powerful metaphor, as David Cave explains in his essay in this catalogue.[46]

Medieval theology based much of its theory of symbols on analogies, and by analogy light was thought to be the element that was closest to the nature of God. Light is pure, it is life-giving, it is untouchable, and it is everywhere. Materials were thought to be more noble the more they partook of the nature of light, which explains Suger's love of stained glass and gems. The elements that seem most filled with light were thought to be the closest to the divine spirit.[47] The Bible also lent support for the identification of God with light, describing the deity as "the light of the world." One of the most complete ensembles of stained glass from this era is at Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, where the diaphanous walls glow with a rich and transcendent beauty, despite the passage of time (fig. 4.4).[48]

In the twentieth century, art historians formulated elaborate interpretive structures to explicate the meaning of the Gothic cathedral with a complex and erudite symbolic interpretation. Although the complexity of these interpretative structures has been questioned, the power of these monuments to fascinate scholars as well as the general viewer is clear.[49] The Gothic cathedral was built and experienced as a symbolic image of heaven, as a vision of the heavenly Jerusalem. There was a strong desire in the Middle Ages to be granted a vision of divine reality; in *The Gothic Cathedral*, Otto von Simson observed that "In the religious life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the desire to behold sacred reality with bodily eyes appears as a dominant motif."[50] Art could provide a vision of heaven. Von Simson notes that the text of Revelation 21:2–5 was read at the dedication of cathedrals; this text underscores the identification of the cathedral with heaven:

4.4. Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1243–48.

4.5. John La Farge, *Vision of St. John: Ieposolyma, the New Jerusalem*, 1884. Trinity Church, Boston.

> And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.
>
> And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

John La Farge chose this text as the subject of one his most impressive windows in Trinity Church, Boston, the window of *Ieposolyma, the New Jerusalem* of 1884 (fig. 4.5). It was a memorial window for George Nixon Black (1814–80), and is a jewel-like creation of what La Farge called mosaic glass, with many small pieces of colored glass. The architecture behind the female figure is inspired by early Christian designs.

The aesthetic principles of Gothic architecture and the accompanying stained glass reflect a worldview that believes that the beauties of the world are the creation of God and are to be appreciated as a sign of divine will. Properly understood, earthly beauties can lead one upward, like the steps on a ladder, to an appreciation of the higher divine beauty. This Neoplatonic doctrine provided a rationale for an appreciation of both nature and art, refuting the criticism that expensive works of art were a distraction for the pious and an unnecessary use of funds better saved for the poor.[51]

The Gothic cathedral combines various textual codes and beautifully symbolic images of light to create a richly textured representation of the city of heaven.[52] The modern interpretative systems advocated by La Farge and Charles Sanders Peirce are more subjective and dynamic. In any case, viewing stained glass windows in the late nineteenth century was not the same experience as it had been in the Middle Ages, when such windows were said to be an educational "Bible for the illiterate." A new sensual aesthetic became the norm, and La Farge provided richly colored windows of subtle shadings and textural surfaces never before seen. Art and religion came together in the late nineteenth century, and the experience of art was often compared to a religious experience. This was part of the cultural tradition in Europe, but had been less welcomed in America, where influences of Puritanism and a focus on economic practicality resisted the sensuous allure of art.[53]

La Farge's writings on religious art reveal his broad knowledge of art history and general familiarity with Catholic theology.[54] A friend and early biographer, Royal Cortissoz, recounted La Farge's exchanges with Christina Rossetti, the renowned poet and sister of the Pre-Raphaelite painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Christina's religiosity was well known, and La Farge apparently impressed her with his knowledge of theology, telling her things she did not know about Roman Catholicism.[55] The theological use of analogies with light and the inspirational power of beauty would have seemed quite familiar to him, and consistent with his practice as an artist. Like Rossetti, he represents the pursuit of beauty as a goal not inconsistent with spiritual themes.

4.6. John La Farge, *Madonna*, 1890–91. Our Lady of Mercy Chapel, Salve Regina University, Newport.

As much as he admired the Pre-Raphaelites, La Farge never shared their disdain for the sensuality and idealized naturalism of the Renaissance artist Raphael. Indeed, he was very sympathetic to the Italian artist's reconciliation of earthly beauty and spiritual perfection, which he attributed to Raphael's synthesis of paganism and Christianity.[56] He marveled that he found prints of Raphael's works "even in Cannibal Land" in the South Seas, and transposed Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* into stained glass for a private chapel for the Caldwell sisters of Newport (fig. 4.6).[57] These windows were later sold and installed in a convent in Fall River, Massachusetts. When this convent was torn down in 2004, these windows were rescued by William Vareika and installed in a new chapel at Salve Regina University in Newport in 2010.[58] La Farge worked to revive the art of stained glass, and at the same time build on the traditional ideals of art to bring about an American Renaissance.

La Farge sought to create a combination of colored glass and painted glass that allowed for a more nuanced realism than could be found in Gothic glass, yet with the same intensity of color. To do this, he would have to reinvigorate the tradition of stained glass, which had waned since the Middle Ages.

By the eighteenth century, interest in stained glass had almost disappeared. The anticlerical attitudes of the Enlightenment and French Revolution led to the neglect and destruction of medieval churches. Much stained glass was taken out and replaced with clear glass. By 1800, the art of making stained glass had died out even in France.[59] Stained glass had come to be of interest only to antiquarians, but was revalued by the Gothic Revival. Early pioneers of the Gothic Revival in England included Horace Walpole, who decorated his fanciful home Strawberry Hill with a "vast cargo" of antique stained glass imported from the continent.[60] The growing Gothic Revival in France and England encouraged new appreciation for this art form. The medieval revival spread to America, and was in high gear by the middle of the century.

The passion for medievalism in nineteenth-century Europe led to efforts to preserve and restore surviving monuments of the Middle Ages.[61] In France, Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc restored windows at St. Denis, Sainte-Chapelle, and Notre-Dame in Paris between 1845 and 1856, and rebuilt the castles at Pierrefonds and Carcassonne.[62] In 1868 he published an influential essay, "Vitrail," on stained glass in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*. In England, the ardent Gothic Revivalist and Catholic convert, Augustus W. N. Pugin strenuously advocated for the revival of medieval architecture and a restoration of faith. His designs for the restored Houses of Parliament and his book *Contrasts* (1836) were highly influential in propagating the Gothic Revival. The contemporaneous High Church movement in England and the United States encouraged use of stained glass in new buildings. Restoration and replacement of windows in old buildings was more controversial, however. William Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, and refused to design windows to be installed in

old buildings, explaining: "We are thus driven into this course by the necessity we feel of keeping ourselves clear in future from any appearance of participation in the so-called restoration of ancient buildings, which, in ALL cases where more is done than repairs necessary for keeping out of wind and weather, means really nothing but vulgarization, falsification, and destruction."[63]

There were no old Gothic churches in America, of course, but the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival provided a frame for stained glass. The first history of the Gothic Revival written in America was John Henry Hopkins's 1836 *Essay on Gothic Architecture*. Hopkins recognized the important role that stained glass played in Gothic architecture, but acknowledged that this was not yet practical in America because of the cost and lack of craftsmen. He suggested that inexpensive substitutes for stained glass could be used instead. Hopkins wrote that: "A very beautiful effect may be produced at a small expense, by transparencies painted on linen or muslin, in the Gothic style, and fixed inside the windows."[64] Commercial products were produced to imitate stained glass for the aspiring middle classes; examples were advertised in the *Decorator and Furnisher* in 1886 (fig. 4.7).[65] Stained glass of the sort that La Farge designed was very much a luxury good, however.

The first stained glass windows created for an American church were made by William Jay Bolton for Trinity Church in Brooklyn in 1845–47.[66] Bolton called for a new style appropriate for the age: "We cannot go back to the 13th or 14th centuries for anything, and we need not."[67] The challenge, which John La Farge accepted, was to develop a modern art of stained glass.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4.7. Advertisements for stained glass substitutes from *Decorator and Furnisher* 7, no. 4 (Jan. 1886): 130, 132.

THE STAINED GLASS OF JOHN LA FARGE

John La Farge first saw medieval stained glass in 1856–57 when he traveled in Europe, visiting cathedrals in France and Belgium.[68] His interest was heightened by his renewed contact with the English Pre-Raphaelites in 1873, particularly Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones and William Morris.[69] Practical considerations led La Farge to stained glass as well; a financial crash and depression in 1873 made it very difficult for him to sell his paintings. Stained glass commissions seemed to offer a more stable financial path, which was appealing to a man who always had trouble with money.[70]

Dissatisfied with his first experiments, La Farge embarked on an intensive study of the materials and techniques of stained glass.[71] To obtain a wider range of colors, La Farge carefully chose the glass that he would use, expressing frustration that European suppliers often held back their best glass and would not export it to America.[72] He pressed manufacturers to provide higher quality glass and glass with a wider range of qualities to create his windows. He sought the widest range of tones and colors to allow shading as well as pure colors: "The shadows of things are also colors, and in such a material as glass, which gives a full intensity of lights, and which allows one, in fact, to paint with light, the proper gradation and representation of shading is by other colors of glass to represent the shadows."[73]

To obtain even more subtlety, he layered one plate of glass over another. This allowed him to modify his coloristic effects: "Plating, i.e., superposing one color upon another, so as to increase its depth or richness; to modify its transparency, or to change its tone; as for instance, when we plate a color with its complementary color, or a variation of that complementary."[74] La Farge would add layer upon layer of glass to get just the right color and luminosity he sought, sometimes up to five or seven layers. His windows at times look like a 3-D contour map, with rich colors built up in high planes.

La Farge first experimented with painting on glass as early as 1860, in the form of drawings on glass to illustrate poems by Robert Browning. These were intended to serve as negatives for prints on light-sensitive paper, a technique he called *cliché verre*. They have great interest as independent works, however, with the shadowy image emerging from the light. One of these is a darkly romantic drawing of a knight on horseback titled *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came* (plate 47).

As previously mentioned, La Farge's first essay in stained glass was a window intended for the new Memorial Hall at Harvard University, commissioned by the class of 1844. The window was finished in June of 1875, but rejected by the class representatives due to the high cost.[75] The subject was the representation of a medieval knight, the Chevalier Bayard. La

Farge's design was based on an armored figure in the Castelfranco Madonna by Giorgione. The window was designed by La Farge and executed by Donald MacDonald (1843–1900), a glazier with the Boston firm of William J. McPherson (1821–1900).[76] Although the work was rejected, the McPherson firm exhibited it at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition without crediting La Farge as the designer. La Farge had not wanted to exhibit it as he considered it an incomplete effort, and "little more than a botch."[77] Both European and American critics saw the promise of a new direction for stained glass in this early work, however. The window is lost, demolished by La Farge who was dissatisfied with it, but there is a photograph of a sketch for it at the Boston Public Library.[78]

Despite the frustration of the canceled project for the Chevalier Bayard window, and the subsequent collapse of negotiations for two windows depicting Sir Philip Sydney and the ancient Greek statesman Epaminondas as memorials for the class of 1857, La Farge accepted a commission from the class of 1860 for a *Battle Window* comprised of two lancets for Memorial Hall at Harvard University. The *Battle Window* was one of La Farge's most important, and problematic, early commissions.[79] He created the window in his New York studio in 1879, and one lancet was installed, but La Farge was dissatisfied with the effect and had it removed at his own expense.[80] He remade the window with his new skills in opalescent glass, and it was installed in June of 1882 (fig. 4.8). La Farge used a wide variety of materials for his windows; he reminisced that in the *Battle Window* he: "Used almost every variety of glass that could serve, and even metal, stones, such as amethysts, and the like,...streaked glass, the glass of several colors blended, and a glass wrinkled in to forms, as well as glass...blown in to forms. I also painted the glass very much and...so...this window is an epitome of all the varieties of glass that I have seen used before or since."[81] La Farge filled the two lancets with one unified composition, disregarding the terms of the commission that called for single figures in each lancet.

4.8. John La Farge, *Battle Window*, 1881. Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge.

4.9. H. H. Richardson, Trinity Church, Boston, 1872–77.

4.10. H. H. Richardson, Trinity Church, Boston, 1872–77.

Early Fame in Boston: Trinity Church, Boston

Trinity Church in Boston was the home of one of the largest and most powerful Episcopalian congregations. The building of Trinity Church in Copley Square was a major artistic cultural achievement in post-Civil War Boston. The church was designed by the greatest architect of the day, Henry Hobson Richardson (1838–86), and constructed between 1872 and 1877 on the new land created by the filling of the Back Bay (fig. 4.9). The style is Richardson's distinctive modern interpretation of French and Spanish Romanesque sources, and it was immediately hailed as a landmark in American architecture. In 1885, a poll of the readership of the *American Architect and Building News* declared it the finest building in the United States.[82] It is a perfect example of the principles advocated in John Ruskin's highly influential *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). These were as much moral principles as artistic guides, and Trinity Church embodies them all: Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience. The Lamp of Memory was particularly relevant to La Farge, in that Ruskin defined architecture as the material form of the cultural memory of a society.

Although the style is a variant of Romanesque,

which is not known for large windows of stained glass, Richardson made the interior as expansive as possible (fig. 4.10) and opened the walls with large windows for stained glass. It should be noted that the chancel was renovated in the 1930s by Charles Maginnis and Timothy Walsh, architects who created the master plan for Boston College. The glittering gold decoration and the current placement of the pulpit are not the original design.

This, La Farge's first major decorative commission, was accomplished under difficult conditions and at great speed. To keep costs down and to hasten completion for the congregation which had lost their old church in the great Boston fire of November 1872, La Farge was obliged to finish the painting of the interior while the construction scaffolding was still in place, and so had only a few months to finish all the painting.[83] Royal Cortissoz quoted La Farge's description of the difficulties of finishing this demanding project:

> Painting Trinity Church, my kindly assistants had always to help me up the 30-foot ladder on to the great scaffoldings….This did not prevent my painting on the wall, slung on a narrow board sixty feet above the floor of the church, with one arm passed around a rope and holding my palette, while the other was passed around the other rope, and I painted on my last figure, eighteen feet high, which had to be finished the next morning at 7 o'clock. I painted five hours that night in that way, and painted for twenty-one hours out of the twenty-four. For a sick man, you can see that the strain was well met, and many times since I have had to go through this physical strain of painting a big picture on the wall from the scaffoldings.[84]

4.11. John La Farge, *Christ in Majesty*, 1883. Trinity Church, Boston.

4.12. John La Farge, chancel window, 1896. Church of St. Paul the Apostle, New York.

James Yarnall has suggested that to facilitate the process, La Farge may have used projected lantern slides as guides for his murals.[85] La Farge was an amateur photographer, and used photographs to serve as guides for his works. He posed models and photographed them, and had a vast collection of photographs of European paintings and sculptures for reference guides. At times he delivered illustrated slide lectures on his travels and works.[86]

La Farge's first stained glass window for Trinity Church in Boston is one of his finest (fig. 4.11). It is a stunning portrayal of *Christ in Majesty* that was designed to face Phillips Brooks and inspire him as he preached from the pulpit. The central window of Christ with a halo and book is flanked by two windows showing simple Byzantine columns. They are based on sixth-century columns such as those at the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Istanbul (506–13, now known as the "Little Hagia Sophia"), and may represent "pillars of the church," which could be either saints or doctrines. The background of all three windows features brilliant blue round nuggets of glass, or cabochons. As noted earlier, Siegfried Bing declared that this window's "astonishing brilliance surpassed, in its magic, anything of its kind created in modern times."[87] The figure of Christ provided the model for the central window of *Christ Preaching* at Boston College (plate 4).

An Echo in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle

La Farge repeated the Byzantine columns in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in New York in 1896 (fig. 4.12). They were praised by William Laurel Harris as "second to none in the world" as works in color.[88]

The Missionary Society of Saint Paul the Apos-

tle was incorporated in 1858. Father Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819–88), founder of the Paulist order, was a close friend of La Farge. He converted La Farge's wife, Margaret Mason Perry La Farge to Catholicism. This church was planned to be a monument to faith and religious art, and a bold statement for a Catholic church. A later director of the project noted that this was the one of the first Catholic churches in the United States to employ large numbers of American artists and skilled craftsmen to create an artistic environment.[89]

The high altar was designed by Stanford White in 1888–90, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907) contributed relief sculptures. La Farge executed murals and windows for the church, consulting on the design as early as 1875.[90] He painted the ceiling deep blue, spangled with stars in 1885.[91] Planned figural windows for the chancel were designed in 1895–97, but repeated delays on the part of the artist led to the withdrawal of the commission.[92]

William Laurel Harris, who completed the interior design of the church in the early twentieth century, wrote of Hecker's hopes for the recovery of the sacred in American Catholic church architecture: "For three centuries the clergy and the artists have been separated by an impassable chasm, a chasm which opened amid the social, political and religious upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And it is for us a patriotic wish and a laudable desire to bridge this chasm over until Art and Religion can once more walk hand in hand."[93]

Fourteen large (twenty-seven by twelve ft.) windows in the clerestory represent abstract jeweled crosses. Double lancet windows with paired crosses alternate with triple lancets with a single cross in the center. They were designed by John La Farge and his son Christopher Grant La Farge in 1887–88 (fig. 4.13). The simplicity of these medieval designs kept expenses down and created a powerful meditative atmosphere.

4.13. John La Farge and Christopher Grant La Farge, clerestory window, 1888. Church of St. Paul the Apostle, New York.

4.14. John La Farge, abstract windows, 1880. Newport Congregational Church.

The Discovery of Opalescent Glass

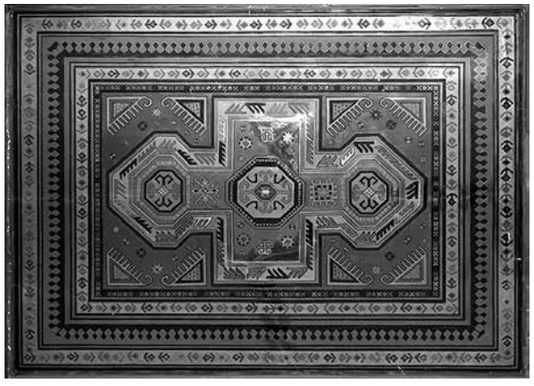
La Farge's greatest technical innovation was the use of opalescent glass. While bedridden to recover from an illness contracted during the decoration of Trinity Church in Boston in 1877, La Farge noticed the effect of sunlight passing through an opalescent glass container of tooth powder. This opalescent glass was an industrial product used for vases, bottles, and other commercial containers.[94] This cheap container suggested a new material for the artist to use which "could simulate marble, velvet, or jewels."[95]

Opalescent media was the subject of study by Ogden Rood (1831–1902), a leading authority on color theory at Columbia University, who attributed the subtle and variable color effects to "the interference of light, which is brought about by fine particles" in the liquid or solid medium.[96] La Farge began to use it in his early experiments in stained glass in 1877. He recalled:

> It was at this time that opal glass, then made in this country and used for the imitation of porcelain, but often so badly made as to be more than translucent, suggested to me a means of meeting the defects of thinness of texture, and of flatness of color, and of securing a permanent recall of the necessary complementary color. The deficient pieces, which were translucent, exhibited that peculiar effect of two contrasting colors, which we call opaline. The making of such glass seems to have been known for an indefinite period, though I cannot remember, as Mr. Tiffany seems to, that this glass had been used before in window work….The material seemed to be the proper basis for a fair venture into the use of free color in windows, even when it was used only in small patches, alongside of the English glass, whose flatness was relieved by the opal's suggestion of complementary color: that mysterious quality it has of showing

> a golden yellow, associated with a violet; a pink flush brought out on a ground of green.[97]

La Farge applied for a patent for his discovery in November of 1879, and it was granted on February 24, 1880. Some months later, Louis Comfort Tiffany also patented a similar innovation.[98] This, and other business disagreements, led to bitter rivalry between La Farge and Tiffany, who had earlier been friendly collaborators.[99] There was much talk of lawsuits, but it seems to have been settled out of court. The *New York Times* reported in 1881 that "The patent suit in regard to priority of certain stained glass which was threatened between Messrs. La Farge and Tiffany is reported as settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Mr. La Farge holds the patent."[100] Nonetheless, the antagonism continued.[101]



4.15. John La Farge, ceiling painting, 1880. Newport Congregational Church.

From Cairo to Newport: La Farge and the Middle East

In the late nineteenth century, colonialism was at its peak and there was considerable interest in Islamic art for its antiquity and exoticism.[102] As early as 1856, Owen Jones's influential compendium *The Grammar of Ornament* included many Islamic designs.[103] La Farge, like Tiffany who actually traveled to North Africa and Egypt in 1870, was an admirer of Islamic art. When he received a commission in 1879 to completely decorate the Newport Congregational Church for a congregation that stipulated that the artist use no figurative or traditionally Christian designs, he turned to Islamic sources for his inspiration. Cecilia Waern noted in 1896 that he made his designs: "Paying great attention to a local feeling which opposed ecclesiastical adornments; so that the artistic problem there carried out was that of giving a church effect without recalling any traditional motives or symbolism."[104]

La Farge created twenty abstract decorative windows that used patterns and colors inspired by churches in Cairo (fig. 4.14). On the ceilings over the galleries, he painted copies of a Kazakh carpet that he had purchased in Boston (plate 32; fig. 4.15).[105] The abstract patterns of Islamic art revealed a deep sense of order for La Farge: "This...plan, which...[is] a sort of grammatical analysis, gives us the Moorish geometric decoration, [and]...a design; that is to say, in the original meaning of the word design, an intention, a purpose, a human arrangement of the present for the future."[106]

Basing his design on the colors of an Islamic carpet also had practical advantages, as it provided a clear model for his assistants, who had varied artistic talents: "All my men were new, ordinary country workmen. One I find has a good eye for color, while my foreman has no idea of color at all. By taking actually a carpet, the arrangement of which seems to suit the case, I, teaching my man to mix the colors after my methods, get him to judge of the success of different tones by their resemblance to the copy."[107]

4.16. John La Farge, skylight, 1882. Ames-Webster Mansion, Boston.

4.17. Skylight (detail of fig. 4.16).

Abstract geometric patterns revealed a deep sense of order for La Farge, and even his ostensibly secular decorative projects represent an intricate sense of design that has spiritual connotations. A good example is the skylight he created for the new mansion built by Frederick Lothrop Ames in the Back Bay of Boston in 1882 (fig. 4.16). The center panel represents Aurora, the goddess of the dawn bringing light to the world, inspired by a painting by Guido Reni in the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi in Rome (1613). The side panels weave symmetrical patterns of leafy shapes that are punctuated with glowing multi-colored cabochons (fig. 4.17). These mandala-like windows are beautiful works of the glass-maker's art, but need the illumination of the sun to fully come to life. In his appreciation for the spiritual implications of abstract design, La Farge is in harmony with Frank Lloyd Wright who described the "spell-power" of geometry in an important early essay on Japanese prints:

> Geometry is the grammar, so to speak of the

form. It is its architectural principle. But there is a psychic correlation between the geometry of form and our associated ideas which constitutes its symbolic value. There resides a certain "spell-power" in any geometric form which seems more or less a mystery, and is, as we say, the soul of the thing...certain geometric forms have come to symbolize for us and potently to suggest certain human ideas, moods and sentiments—as for instance: the circle, infinity; the triangle, structural unity; the spire, aspiration; the spiral, organic process; the square, integrity.[108]

4.18. John La Farge, *St. Barnabas and the Virgin*, Rev. Barnabas Bates Memorial Window, 1880–81. Channing Memorial Church, Newport.

Like La Farge, Wright was an enthusiastic admirer of Japanese art. Artists, architects, and art historians were revaluing the concepts of decorative arts in the second half of the nineteenth century. Alois Riegl's first publications, *Altorientalische Teppiche* (*Antique Oriental Carpets*, 1891) and *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (*Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, 1893) opened new paths to conceptualize the role of ornament design.[109]

Memorials in Glass

As in the Middle Ages, one of the chief functions of stained glass was to serve as a memorial for an individual, either a family member or a noted member of the community. This provided a mechanism for funding these expensive works of art. The use of religious subjects served as a sign of the subject's piety, and hopes for eternal life.

4.20. John La Farge, *Abraham and an Angel*, President James Abram Garfield Memorial Window, 1882. Thompson Memorial Chapel, Williams College, Williamstown.

4.19. *The Virgin* (detail).

Channing Memorial Church, Newport, Rhode Island

La Farge's first ecclesiastical memorial commission was for two windows in the Channing Memorial Church in Newport, Rhode Island. The architect of the church was Elbridge Boyden (1810–98) from Worcester, Massachusetts, who created a spacious interior in this English Gothic-style church, with ample space for glass. These windows were commissioned in 1879 and dedicated in 1881.[110] The Rev. Barnabas Bates Window (fig. 4.18) is found in a side wall near the apse of the Gothic Revival church. There is also a fine window of the same date depicting *Christ Leading the Soul through the Valley of the Shadow of Death*, the Richard and Alice Baker Memorial Window, in the front façade of the church.

Although little known today, Rev. Barnabas Bates was celebrated as the "father of cheap postage," an honorific derived from his activities as an occasional postmaster and advocate for a standardized national rate of cheap postage as a matter of economic justice and opportunity. Bates succeeded in securing a cheap land postage rate of three cents in 1851, and was still campaigning on behalf of cheap overseas postage at the time of his death in 1853.[111] The window was given by his daughter and depicts his patron saint, Barnabas, and the Virgin Mary, who was the daughter's patron saint. This is a notable example of a privately funded work of art in a public space. Thomas Gaffield,

4.21. *Abraham and an Angel* (detail).

4.22. *Abraham and an Angel* (detail).

a glass chemist from Boston who attended the dedication of the window commented that "it is so expensive, as the windows are made up of so many little pieces that I do not think any but very rich people or societies will indulge in the luxury of its use."[112] The window captures the features and achievements of Rev. Bates. St. Barnabas has the face of Rev. Bates, while the Virgin has features of Mary Whitney, La Farge's studio assistant and mistress (fig. 4.19). The representation of sacred figures with the faces of beloved mortals has a long tradition in art, from the Renaissance painter Fra Filippo Lippi, who depicted his lover Lucrezia as the Madonna holding their son Filippino Lippi (later a painter himself) to Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Rossetti often cast the women who incarnated his ideal of beauty as the blessed Beatrice, the Madonna, or the pagan goddess of love, Astarte. It is fairly common for stained glass windows to bear the features of friends of the artist.[113] La Farge wrote that artists in any time could not but paint from their experience: "The religious feeling of the religious painters of the past had no other means of expression than the faces of the people they saw about them."[114]

4.23. John La Farge, *The Presentation of the Virgin*, Julia Appleton McKim Memorial Window, 1888. Trinity Church, Boston.

4.24. Titian (1490–1576), *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1534–38. Oil on canvas, 135.8 x 305.1 in., Accademia, Venice.

THE PRESIDENT JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD MEMORIAL WINDOW

Civic memory is enshrined in La Farge's commemorative window for James Abram Garfield (1831–81), the second American president to be assassinated. Garfield served only four months before being shot by a disgruntled Federal job seeker; he was attacked in a train station in Washington, DC, while waiting to depart for a speaking engagement at Williams College, his alma mater. This is one of La Farge's most complex window designs—perhaps too complex; it was commissioned for the Williams College Chapel and dedicated in 1882 (fig. 4.20). The window was first installed in the Stone Chapel (1859) across the street and moved to the new Thompson Memorial Chapel in 1905. This was a period of considerable disarray in La Farge's professional affairs.[115] Despite some reservations about the heaviness of the figures, a critic for the *New York Times* admitted in 1882 that it is "to Mr. La Farge more than any other is due the eminence that we now hold...in the manufacture of stained glass." The article continued, "it needs no great strain of fancy to see in the small and great glass work by La Farge...the same range of emotions that reach one through the ears while listening to music by great masters."[116]

The top portion of La Farge's window shows an angel pointing to the Promised Land for the aged Abraham (fig. 4.21). Below, is a highly detailed painting on glass for the portrait of President Garfield and a long text panel (fig. 4.22).[117] Portions of the window are extremely beautiful, such as the wing of the angel and the drapery of the figures, but the composition as a whole seems somewhat disjointed. The window is now flanked with thin lancets of modern design added when the window was reinstalled in 1905.

4.25. Lute player (detail of fig. 4.23).

THE JULIA AMORY APPLETON MCKIM MEMORIAL WINDOW, TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON

One of La Farge's most beautiful memorial windows is that which he created for his friend, the architect Charles Follen McKim for Trinity Church in Boston (fig. 4.23). McKim commissioned it as a memorial to his young wife, Julia Amory Appleton (1859–87), who died in childbirth. La Farge finished it in only five months, and it was installed in the nave of the church in 1888. There is a watercolor study for this window in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (plate 8); it is signed with La Farge's name in Japanese characters, a seal designed for him in 1894 by his studio assistant

Awoki.[118] The window depicts a young girl climbing the steps of a temple, symbolizing the entry of Julia McKim into heaven. The figure is adapted from Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin* in the Accademia, Venice (fig. 4.24). The artist extracted the small figure of the Virgin ascending the steps to the temple, and made it the center of his composition. Titian's work was reportedly a favorite painting of Julia McKim.[119] At the bottom of the window, is the image of a musician playing a lute, who is reminiscent of figures in other Venetian Renaissance paintings (fig. 4.25). There is a large encaustic cartoon for this figure at the Worcester Art Museum (plate 9).

In 1885, La Farge added a large window for the Parish House of Trinity Church in Boston. It depicts the Wise Virgin, from the parable of Christ (Matthew 25) which praised her and her sisters for their prudence in keeping their lamps filled with oil in anticipation of the coming of their bridegrooms. It is a widely recognized allegory for the need to be prepared for the Last Judgment. The window was dedicated to the memory of Gertrude Parker. An impressive full-size encaustic cartoon for this window survives (plate 10). Such a large-scale model is unusual; most of La Farge's sketches for stained glass are smaller watercolors, which were translated into glass by La Farge and his assistants.

4.26. J. Williams Beal, All Souls Unitarian Church, Roxbury, 1889 (now the Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church).

4.27–28. Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst meetinghouse (formerly Unity Church).

The McMullen Museum Triptych

The windows now at the McMullen Museum of Art represent Christ Preaching, flanked by St. John and St. Paul (plate 4). Together they exemplify the gospel of Christ, and its dissemination to the Jews and Gentiles. St. John represented the mission to the Jews, and St. Paul was known for preaching to the Gentiles.

This triptych was created for the All Souls Unitarian Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts in 1889, the same year La Farge was awarded the French Legion of Honor for his contribution to the art of stained glass. These windows remained in this church until 1923 (fig. 4.26), when they were removed when the congregation merged with the First Church of Roxbury. It is now the home of the Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church. The windows were transferred to Unity Church in Amherst, Massachusetts (now the meetinghouse of the Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst) in 1925, and remained there until 2012 when they were removed to allow expansion of the meetinghouse building (figs. 4.27–28).[120]

These are also memorial windows. The one depicting Jesus is dedicated to the memory of the Rev. Charles James Bowen; it was paid for with funds collected from friends of the Roxbury parish. Born in Rhode Island in 1827, Bowen served Unitarian churches in Massachusetts and Maryland, and also as chaplain in an army hospital during the Civil War. He was minister of Mt. Pleasant Church in Roxbury from 1865 until his death in 1870 at forty-two. All Souls Unitarian Church was the continuation of Mt. Pleasant Church.

4.29. *Beau Dieu*, trumeau sculpture, Amiens Cathedral, 1220–70.

The figure of Christ is very similar to the window on the west façade of Trinity Church in Boston from 1883 (fig. 4.11). Unlike the figure in Trinity Church, however, this image of Christ has no halo, in consideration of the Unitarian clients who avoided such overt symbolism of divinity. Both figures are modeled on the statue of Christ known as the "Beau Dieu" (handsome God) at Amiens Cathedral in France (fig. 4.29). Although it has been suggested that Rev. Phillips Brooks proposed the use of the Beau Dieu for La Farge's design, Virginia C. Raguin notes that this figure of Christ was one of the staple images for Christ in the nineteenth century.[121]

The top panel has the text from John 13:35: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love to one another." Christ uttered these words after the Last Supper, saying "a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you." There is a watercolor study for this window in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (plate 5).

The faces, hands, and feet of all three figures are painted onto the glass (fig. 4.30). This part of the project was often assigned to Juliette Hanson, one of La Farge's key employees.[122] La Farge mentions that in his practice only the "flesh" of a window was commonly painted with enamel on glass, which was then fired to bind the pigment: "With us painting was dispensed with, and the work became a form of translucent mosaic held together by lead instead of cement. Only the heads, hands, faces—what the trade calls flesh—still continued to be painted, especially because with them expression, and element of design and not of color, would always be the principal aim."[123] Blue cabochons surround the figures. Although a few of these were missing, they have been restored (fig. 4.31). Roberto Rosa's essay in this catalogue discusses the complex steps of the restoration process.

The window depicting John the Evangelist was commissioned by Mary Elizabeth Meredith in memory of her parents. The top panel is inscribed with a phrase from the ancient hymn *Te Deum laudamus* ("Thee, O God, we praise"): "Make them to be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting." This traditional hymn is used in Catholic as well as Protestant liturgies. The message is appropriate for the dedication to the memory of family members, and the bottom panel reads: "In loving memory of Walter Farnsworth B. 1798 D. 1881 and his wife Elizabeth Loring Young 1804–1878 by their daughter Mary Elizabeth Meredith."

4.30. John La Farge, detail of *Christ Preaching*, 1889 (pre-restoration).

4.31. William Vareika, Diana Larsen, Stephen Connors, Mary Nardone, and Roberto Rosa at Serpentino Studio, June 2014. A portion of the figure of Christ is under restoration.

4.32. Louis Comfort Tiffany, *St. Cecilia*, 1887. Trinity Church, Buffalo.

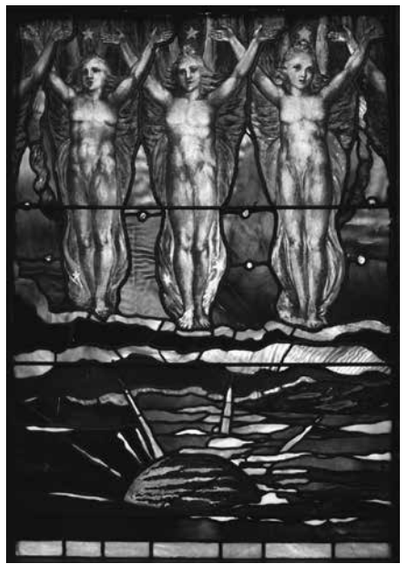
The model for St. John was Mary Whitney, John La Farge's long-time mistress and one of his favorite models until 1892, when she left New York to care for her aged parents. She starts to appear in windows in the early 1880s. There are fine watercolor studies for this window in a private collection and at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (plates 6–7). John, the beloved disciple, was often depicted with feminine features, from Leonardo da Vinci's famous *Last Supper* (1495) onward.

In contrast to the gentler image of St. John, the St. Paul window depicts a militant saint, standing erect with a long sword in his hand. The panel at the top of the window contains the inscription from 2 Timothy 4.7: "I have finished my course. I have kept the faith." The preceding line reads "I have fought a good fight," which explains the presence of the sword. The following line contains the promise of resurrection: "Henceforth there is laid up for a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." The Gospel of John and Epistles of Paul were frequently depicted by La Farge, in both paintings and memorial windows. The bottom panel contains the dedication: "In affectionate memory of Leonard Ware 1805–1888 and his wife Sarah Ann Minns 1816–1884 by their children."

Both the figures of St. John and St. Paul are based on those in Raphael's painting of *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia* of c. 1515 (fig. 5.28).[124] Raphael's painting was copied in stained glass by Louis Comfort Tiffany in 1887 for a window in Trinity Church, Buffalo (fig. 4.32). La Farge was to create some of his finest windows for this church beginning in 1889, and it is not unlikely that Tiffany's use of the Raphael image stimulated La Farge to borrow aspects of it himself for the windows now at Boston

College. Tiffany reversed Raphael's composition, suggesting that he was working from a print rather than a photograph of the painting. La Farge also uses this reversed orientation of St. Paul.

The conjunction of these three figures is not random; they are united in a timeless grouping known as a "sacred conversation," based on precedents in Renaissance art. La Farge wrote: "Perhaps the most celebrated of the ideal arrangements that we know under the name of Sacred Conversations is Raphael's Saint Cecilia. With the 'Madonnas' whom he has represented in the meaning of the Great Lady Patroness surrounded by a court of worshippers, or beings influenced by her, the Madonna and the Child are so immeasurably important that we do not at once classify these great paintings as belonging to the simpler idea of a meeting of people *outside of Time*."[125] This dislocation of time brings us back to the symbolist mystery of conjoined moments seen in Khnopff's *Memories* of 1889 (fig. 4.1). Unlike Khnopff's modernist image, La Farge sought to imaginatively enter into the past through the imitation of traditional art, a kind of spiritual act of devotional repetition. As with Raphael himself, and other Renaissance artists who emulated antiquity, and baroque artists such as P. P. Rubens who imitated both classical and Renaissance artists, La Farge is creating a representation of a representation.[126] In his oil paintings such as *Paradise Valley* (fig. 1.11) he sought to imitate nature itself through a careful study of light and color. In his stained glass windows, La Farge often reproduced classic works of art. His imitations were motivated by a desire to represent major cultural artifacts for the audience in the United States who did not have easy access to the originals, or even good copies in many cases. Spreading the artistic culture that he was privileged to know so well was one of his chief goals. As early as 1885, Anna Bowman Dodd perceived



4.33. John La Farge, *When the Morning Stars Sang Together and All the Sons of God Shouted for Joy*, c. 1884–85. Opalescent leaded glass, 34.5 x 24.4 in., Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, 1943.1080.A.

4.34. William Blake, "When the Morning Stars All Sang Together," in *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (London: Gowans and Gray, 1825).

4.35. William Ware and Henry Van Brunt, Christ Church, Lincoln, 1883–84.

the idealistic and didactic intent of La Farge's decorative work.

He believes he is doing more for his Art, his country, his fellow man by leading the people through a love for color and illuminated figures to a right appreciation of the true principles and aims of Art, than he could by producing serious easel pictures; that here is a medium Americans of the nineteenth century can understand; that in a new country...where churches and large buildings are springing up on every side, here is the artist's opportunity to sow the good seed, to teach the people, the common people, by means of the most beautiful color and fine decoration, the alphabet of Art.[127]

Yet even a faithful transcription of another work of art into another medium creates a dramatically new effect, and reinterprets and recontextualizes the work. La Farge made two stained glass windows based on William Blake's symbolic design for "When the Morning Stars All Sang Together" in his version of *The Book of Job*—itself a strikingly original reinterpretation of the Bible text. These windows add an entirely new dimension to Blake's visionary design (figs. 4.33–34).[128]

Art as Performance: Interpreting the Score (or Script) Written by Another

La Farge recognized the self-referential quality of the work of art reproduced in stained glass; it is an imitation of someone else's imitation of real figures, one more step removed from the real thing, but retaining a power in abstraction. In fact, La Farge felt that viewing works of art, and entering into them through the imagination, allows one to retrace and to share in the artist's creative

process: "We are able to live in the world that he has made, and to enjoy it, and...enjoyment is another form of creation, and taste is a form, perhaps, of genius."[129]

Many of La Farge's windows were created for churches that were built in a variety of medieval revival styles, which provided a sense of continuity and familiar forms to the parishioners. Repetition and tradition is at the heart of the Mass, which is a symbolic reenactment of the sacrament. This did not prevent the architects from creating original buildings, however—H. H. Richardson's Trinity Church is an outstanding example. William Ware and Henry Van Brunt, who also designed Memorial Hall at Harvard, provided La Farge with a suitable structure for his original interpretation of Renaissance art in Christ Church, Episcopal in Lincoln, Rhode Island (fig. 4.35).

La Farge created three large windows representing a Christian knight, a Madonna and Child, and a Venetian banker in c. 1883–84, as memorial windows for the Lonsdale Company Stockholders, who were major economic powers in Rhode Island and owned mills in this district known as Lonsdale (fig. 4.36). In 1883, the stockholders were John Carter Brown, Moses Brown Ives, Robert H. Ives, and Charlotte R. Goddard. The Christian knight recalls La Farge's earliest design in stained glass in 1876. The Madonna is quite naturalistic, and is dedicated to Charlotte R. Goddard. The figure of the Venetian banker is puzzling—what is a banker doing in a sacred conversation with a Christian knight and the Madonna? It is as if he photobombed the chancel of the church, inserting himself into the holy company. He is richly dressed, and appears to be examining a coin in his hand—hardly the image of a saint (fig. 4.37). La Farge seems to have modeled the figure on a Venetian nobleman such as Francesco Franceschini, as painted by Paolo Veronese (fig. 4.38). In Venetian art, there are numerous precedents for including patrons in sacred settings;

4.36. John La Farge, *Christian Knight, Madonna and Child, Venetian Banker*, Lonsdale Company Stockholders Memorial Windows. Christ Church, Lincoln, c. 1883–84.

4.37. *Venetian Banker* (detail).

4.38. Paolo Veronese (1528–88), *Portrait of Francesco Franceschini*, 1551. Oil on canvas, 74.6 x 53.1 in., Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, SN81.

4.39. Domenico Tintoretto (1560–1635), *Resurrection and Three Avogadri*, 1576. Oil on canvas, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.

Tintoretto included three lawyers in a painting of the Resurrection of Jesus in the Ducal Palace in Venice (fig. 4.39).

The Renaissance artist was honoring the patrons with a privileged position as spectators of the Resurrection, and they look on with open-armed admiration. La Farge's windows represent the virtues of defending the faith, the family, and business interests. I do not believe he was being ironic, but realistic. Rejecting an over-romanticized view of the artist's moral purity, La Farge recognized that bankers faced the same task of maintaining their integrity while living in the material world: "The artist or the monk is no more extraordinary in his self-protection against the world, as a matter of common-sense, than the bank cashier who sits within railings, or a bank president who can only be seen between such an hour and such an hour."[130] The Venetian banker also exemplifies a pride in national identity that La Farge could share. He wrote: "Venice to us is a name of the past; but the idea of the glory of a State exists for us as it did for her citizens and artists."[131]

Even in his own time, however, some of La Farge's own friends worried that his erudition and imitative program worked against his reputation.[132] Henry Adams shared his concerns with Royal Cortissoz: "I was always brutally telling him that he was living in illusion; that he imagined a public and a posterity which did not exist; that he was tearing himself to pieces for a society that had disappeared centuries ago, and would never appear again….I really suffered to see him working to create an audience in order that he might please it."[133]

The merger of art and life was one of the goals of the Arts and Crafts and aesthetic movements. This is exemplified by La Farge's transformation of a utilitarian object such as the fire screen *Moon over Clouds* into a work of art (plate 62). It is equally true of the stained glass windows La Farge created for residences, such as the *Hollyhocks* and *Red Peony* windows

in our exhibition (plates 90–91). Earthly beauty was a constant reminder of spiritual and even moral perfection.

La Farge and Nineteenth-Century Color Theory

In La Farge's understanding of vision, color and light are primary: "What we see first is not form, but lights, colours; colours that contrast, and colours that are broken or mixed. The sensation of coloured space or extent leads for the painter to that of a solid image, and his work of art is what has been called an equation of light."[134]

La Farge and his friend John Chandler Bancroft began studying optics and color theory in 1863.[135] Cecilia Waern explained that Bancroft, like La Farge, "had felt the fascination of colour analysis. Since the discovery of the spectroscope the laws and composition of light have been made accessible even to laymen, but thirty-three years ago this was not the case: such knowledge could come only from personal study and artistic insight."[136]

La Farge recognized the need for stained glass artists to compensate for challenges springing from working with light rather than pigment. Even the primary colors used in creating with colored light are different than those involved with pigments. The primary colors for pigments are red, yellow, and blue, while the primary colors of light are red, green, and blue-violet. Sir Isaac Newton had discovered the spectrum of colors by experimenting with prisms, when he divided white light into its component colors. He also found that recombining colored lights resulted in white light being restored. This is called the additive mixture of color, since colored lights are added back together. Pigments have their distinct colors because they reflect only a certain portion of the spectrum, absorbing all other colors. That is, red is red because it subtracts all the other wavelengths of the spectrum, likewise with blue and yellow. David Cave discusses these issues in his essay "The Deeds of Light" in this volume. The subtractive mixture of color is the traditional practice of painters; La Farge observed that the "art of painting... is the representation of colored appearances that we see about us by colored surfaces, which we make by applying opaque colors to wall or canvas."[137]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the goal of creating color on canvas through an additive, or optical, mixture, inspired many artists. The art theorist Charles Blanc (1813–82) wrote of a possible means to create an optical mixture by juxtaposing small touches of pigments on canvas: "Two colors in juxtaposition or superposed in such or such proportions, that is to say according to the extent each shall occupy, will form a third color that our eye will perceive at a distance, without having been written by weaver or painter. This third color is a resultant that the artist foresaw and which is born of optical mixture."[138] This became the basis of the pointillist technique of the neo-impressionists Georges Seurat and Paul Signac, who employed very small dots of paint over the surface of their works that would be simultaneously perceived by the viewer. Interestingly, La Farge compared the technique of the impressionists and *pointillistes* to the dots and contrasts of his own medium of wood engraving in his book *Considerations on Painting*.[139]

The proper use of complementary colors, pairs of colors that intensify each other when juxtaposed, was essential to an effective use of color in stained glass. La Farge cited Michel Eugène Chevreul (1786–1889), who criticized earlier nineteenth-century medieval revival designers for ignoring this principle: "Chevreul, the eminent scientist, called the attention of the architects and designers for glass to the main principles of medieval work somewhere in the thirties [1830s]. He explained that they had not understood the questions of the material as affecting colour and light, and that they paid no attention to the use of the complementary colours, which were one of the most important of the ancient factors in use of colour."[140]

Chevreul (fig. 6.2) was the most influential French writer on color during the nineteenth century. From his work as a chemist for the Gobelins tapestry company, he wrote over two hundred articles on color.[141] La Farge discovered Chevreul's famous treatise, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (1839; fig. 6.3) while studying with Thomas Couture in Paris in 1857, if not earlier, and it led him to reject the conventions of academic art in favor of a coloristic approach modeled on the practice of Eugène Delacroix.[142]

La Farge was known as a master colorist in both painting and stained glass; a contemporary described his studio as being like a conservatory:

> Those who knew him were drawn to his work shop as people go to see color and beauty in a conservatory in winter days. We think of him at present as concerned with great spreads of color in stained glass windows, without crediting this preliminary apprenticeship to contrasts and effects in brilliant bits of flower painting. He delighted in juggling with the magic colors: with lake and crimson overlaying blues and vermilions, and with the darks of all colors warmed and enriched by glazings of blue and green and purple;—it was simply flower

painting, but a development and education of a color sense which has accented every work of his after artistic life.[143]

La Farge noted problems that confronted the stained glass artist, which were also discussed by nineteenth-century color theorists:

> The artist who uses a piece of blue glass, for instance, where the painter in oil uses a touch or more of blue paint, will find his piece of blue glass change its size and shape at a distance, as the opaque color would not. If he uses other colors, their shapes and sizes, their distinctness and their tones, are all modified by distance. Naturally too, placed alongside of each other, they not only change in themselves, but they change the appearance of their neighbors. This effect is owing to radiation.[144]

La Farge is here following the lead of Viollet-le-Duc, who emphasized the problematic overpowering nature of blue glass in windows in his highly influential analysis of French Gothic stained glass windows in his 1868 essay "Vitrail."[145]

4.40. John La Farge, *Rebecca at the Well*, Ellen Shepherd Brooks Memorial Window, 1885. Grace Episcopal Church, Medford.

4.41–43. Details of "broken jewels," plate layers, and glass showing striations and bubbles from *Rebecca at the Well.*

Stained glass has the advantage of allowing the artist to literally paint with light, and use an additive mixture of color, as La Farge stated in 1893: "Glass… allows one, in fact, to paint with light."[146] The noted American scientist, Ogden Rood, who was referenced by La Farge in his lectures published as *Considerations on Painting*,[147] noted the advantages of painting with light: "The worker in glass has at his disposal a much more extensive scale of light and shade than the painter in oils or water-colours. Owing to this fact it is possible to produce on glass, paintings which, in range of illumination, almost rival Nature. The intensity and purity of the tints which can thus be produced by direct transmission are far in advance of what can be obtained by the method of reflection."[148]

Color Music

La Farge wrote in 1893: "The grave and splendid music, if I may so say, of windows of the early mediaeval period, was never surpassed nor equaled."[149] The relationship of art and music was further discussed by La Farge: "There is in each competent artist a sort of unconscious automatic mathematician, who, like the harmonist in music, the colourist in painting, resolves in his way the problem of sight or sound which the scientist puts into an equation….Nature, the world of the eye, is always singing to the painter. The notes of the prism continue indefinitely, and the painter, or he who has his temperament, sees at every moment in the world about him the absolute harmony which the other arts obtain by effort. This is why the record of nature is the painter's manner of expression."[150] In this, La Farge harmonizes with Walter Pater, who famously declared in 1873 that "all Art aspires constantly to the condition of music."[151] As with his American contemporary, James McNeill Whistler, La Farge exemplifies the aesthetic movement with his emphasis on the parallels of artistic and musical harmony.[152]

This parallel was already asserted by Isaac Newton in 1704, who matched a color wheel to musical notes in his *Opticks*. Charles Blanc proposed that color, like sound, was essentially a vibration: "Not only is vibration a quality inherent in colors, but it is extremely probable that colors themselves are nothing but the different vibrations of light."[153]

The interest in the parallels of color and music is one bridge between the art of the late nineteenth century and the abstract art movements of the twentieth century. La Farge mused on this parallel in 1893: "In certain great painters—…I am thinking of Titian, of Veronese, of Rubens, of Delacroix—the arrangement of colour has a similar effect in the painting to the arrangement of notes in music; it is an arrangement of voluntary repetition of harmonizing which is not hidden behind the apparent mere representation of

the fact. All the more, then, does it affect the mind, by suggesting, as music does, a certain direction of our feelings."[154]

Correlations between color and musical tones have fascinated musicians and philosophers for centuries. In the 1860s, the noted German scientist H. L. F. von Helmholtz even drew up a concordance of matching colors and sounds, René Ghil and other symbolist poets tried to match the vowels to musical notes, and mechanically oriented musicians tried to build instruments that could simultaneously play notes and project colors.[155] Such synesthetic researches had particular relevance for artists seeking a new style in the 1880s, such as Georges Seurat and Paul Signac.[156] The study of "color-music" and the understanding of the connection between sensation and emotion were primary goals of scientists and philosophers who sought to define a "psychophysical aesthetic," to use the terminology of Charles Henry. La Farge was aware of the efforts of Charles Henry, who influenced Seurat and Signac, although he was skeptical of Henry's rigorous system.[157] The psychology of color was also investigated at this time. The physician Jean-Martin Charcot and his clinicians at the Salpêtrière clinic tested hypnotized patients to see if specific gestures and emotional reactions could be provoked by colors.[158]

4.44. John La Farge, *The Old Philosopher*, 1880–82. Thomas Crane Memorial Library, Quincy.

4.45. *The Old Philosopher* (detail).

La Farge was renowned for his skill with color, and details of many of his windows could be compared to music. To cite only one, the window of *Rebecca at the Well* of 1885, a memorial to Ellen Shepherd Brooks in Grace Episcopal Church in Medford, Massachusetts, is rich with coloristic subtleties (figs. 4.40–43). This English Gothic-style church was an early work by Henry Hobson Richardson, built between 1867 and 1869.

La Farge found contrasts of density and transparency fascinating, and exploited these effects in many of his windows, which glow with jewel-like color and richly veiled tones.[159] His luminous windows parallel, and in some ways surpass, the revolutionary paintings of the French impressionists and neo-impressionists.[160]

Drawing with the Leads

A stained glass window is not only a design in colored glass, but also incorporates a linear design of the leading that holds the glass pieces together. These heavy lines make a linear pattern that go beyond serving as a simple frame for the glass to being a dynamic design element that outlines and clarifies the design. Artists such as La Farge and Tiffany made the heavy lines of the leading an essential aesthetic feature of their stained glass. La Farge boasted: "The idea of drawing with the leads…was in itself an extreme novelty."[161]

The dark lines of the leading that holds the glass together thus complement the design. This new use of the leading was recognized as an important innovation as early as 1881 in a notice on the contributions of La Farge and Tiffany in "American Progress in the Manufacture of Stained Glass" in *Scribner's Monthly*.[162] The role of the lead lines is based on the traditional craft technique of physically assembling the window. This outlining has roots in the medieval origin of stained glass, but also has parallels in the linear design of Japanese prints, which were so important to both La Farge and Tiffany.

The overall frame of a window or, in fact, any work of art was a sign of its essential artificiality and status as a product of intentional design, for nature itself knows no frames. As La Farge wrote: "The frame decides the question, for there is no frame in Nature. The moment that you begin to set your picture or your study on a square piece of paper, and with relation to that square piece of paper, you have decided already an artistic conventional formula, because if we carried out logically what we see we should not have a square result."[163] The work of art is always an artifact, and La Farge was keenly aware of the importance of the craft of making art, especially in glass.

La Farge quoted his rival, Louis Comfort Tiffany, in a detailed description of the physical technique of making a stained glass window, from the drawing to the cutting of glass, to the final assembly.[164] It goes without saying that this is essentially a collaborative process. An 1889 article in *Popular Mechanics* illustrated some of the steps involved in creating a stained

glass window, with informative photographs.[165]

At times, however, La Farge tried to avoid the use of lead lines altogether with a painstaking cloisonné technique, with the pieces of glass fused together with melted foil between them. His first successful effort was for a window depicting *The Old Philosopher* for the Thomas Crane Memorial Library in Quincy, Massachusetts, designed by Henry Hobson Richardson (figs. 4.44–45). The figure of the philosopher is modeled on an ivory diptych from the sixth century in the cathedral museum in Monza, Italy. La Farge owned a plaster cast of this sculpture, and a photograph of it as well (fig. 5.27).[166] There are seven pieces of glass in the ear alone and a total of about a thousand pieces in the overall window. Mary Gay Humphreys praised it in 1883:

> The most wonderful work in glass yet done by Mr. La Farge is the head of an old man reading, in the Crane Library, at Quincy, Mass. One thousand pieces are used in this by actual count, and as many more uncounted, the greater number so small that they had to be handled with pincers. These pieces were united by nine fusings, each at a certain risk. This piece of glass is undoubtedly unique, and its proper place would be in some great museum. On some points not carefully guarded a little paint was required to satisfy minute criticism. But the work demonstrates a hitherto unknown possibility of art in glass.[167]

James Yarnall notes that "La Farge considered this his most successful effort in producing pictorial glass without using paint. The cloisonné process, however, turned out to be too expensive and taxing for the artist to use routinely."[168]

La Farge continually experimented with new approaches to making stained glass. Improved quality of glass and better techniques of craftsmanship brought a new freedom of design: "With these improvements came widening and narrowing of leads, shaping the leads into irregular forms, so as to imitate the touch of the brush or the different widths of lines. Moreover, the infinite variety of modulations of the opal glass allowed a degree of light and shade for each piece which not only gave modeling, but also increased the depth sufficiently to allow the darker spaces to melt softly into the harsh lead line."[169]

4.46. John La Farge, *The Sealing of the Twelve Tribes*, Anna Margaret van Dalfsen Sherman and Gertrude van Dalfsen Memorial Window, 1889. Trinity Church, Buffalo.

4.47. John La Farge, *The Good Samaritan*, Dr. Thomas Rochester Memorial Window, 1889. Trinity Church, Buffalo.

In 1883, John La Farge was granted a patent for a method of joining pieces of glass in a window without using the traditional lead bars and flanges, using instead a "light metal frame-work made in the form of the design."[170] Added support for the stained glass window was to be provided by thin sheets of glass on one or both sides of the picture (see Appendix). This second patent seems to have gone unnoticed in previous scholarship, and shows La Farge's drive to explore new technical processes to help him create ever more subtle effects.

In 1889, La Farge was recognized by the French government as the chief modern innovator in stained glass. *The Sealing of the Twelve Tribes* (fig. 4.46), intended for Trinity Church in Buffalo, New York, was shown with twenty other examples of La Farge's glasswork in the section of the official catalogue entitled "Artistic Stained Glass." La Farge was awarded a first-class medal and the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. Being of French descent, La Farge regarded this as the highest honor of his career.[171] La Farge may have sold some windows to European museums, although these have not been traced. It was also reported that the French government tried to buy *The Sealing of the Twelve Tribes*, but the original patron would not sell.[172] Indeed, the patron was reluctant to have it travel to Paris, and even offered to increase the price if were to be sent directly to Buffalo, but La Farge insisted, using a jocular nickname for Buffalo: "This design pleases me. It seems to me one of my happiest, and unless I can send it to Paris I could not consent to build this window for you at any price. Because, you see, I shall feel it was almost lost in your church in Bufland. I want to show it in Paris where it would be seen and judged by men who have given their lives to knowing something about art...the men who know most about pictures and sculpture and glass in all the modern world."[173]

The Sealing of the Twelve Tribes was commissioned by Charlotte Sherman van Rensselaer Watson in memory of her mother Anna Margaret van Dalfsen Sherman and her aunt, Gertrude van Dalfsen. The scene depicts an event in the Book of Revelation 7:2–8 where an angel marked

144,000 true believers with a seal to keep them safe during the final destruction. Only four figures are used to represent this scene in La Farge's window—two souls ascending to heaven, and below them, an angel touches the forehead of a woman to "seal" her. The figure of the angel was based on Bancel La Farge, and the woman has the features of Mary Whitney. The faces were painted by Juliet Hanson, and the window was crafted by Thomas Wright, one of La Farge's favorite glass workers. La Farge gladly acknowledged his contribution; the base panel of the window was inscribed "John La Farge with help of Thomas Wright."[174]

The commission for Trinity Church in Buffalo ultimately included twelve large stained glass windows, including a suite of eleven lancets in the chancel. One window in the north wall of the nave depicts the story of the Good Samaritan, a memorial for Dr. Thomas Rochester (fig. 4.47). This window looks like two lancets with the figures spilling over from one window to another. The window was actually made without a center mullion, but a wood frame was added to match the other windows. This frame overlaps and obscures the men and the donkey. Two scenes at the bottom show charitable acts. A watercolor sketch for this window in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows that La Farge conceived of the windows as a continuous narrative which spanned two lancets (plate 13).

4.48. John La Farge, *The Resurrection*, Colonel Henry Coffin Nevins Memorial Window, 1893–94; installed 1895. First Church Congregational, Methuen.

By the 1890s, La Farge was able to achieve a superb amount of control and illusionism with his stained glass windows. A large window for the First Church, Congregational in Methuen, Massachusetts incorporated at least eight thousand pieces of glass (fig. 4.48). It depicts the Resurrection, and was a memorial dedicated to Colonel Henry Coffin Nevins. It was created from 1893 to 1894, and installed in 1895. La Farge commented on the challenge this work presented:

> In a large window which I am completing this coming week, and which is some eleven feet high by seventeen feet wide, I have been obliged to spend a great deal of time in designing the shapes of the many thousands of pieces of glass of which it is composed. The design of the lead-lines alone represent a good many weeks [of work] for they haven't only to fit the anatomy, if I may so say, of the figures and their dresses, the forms of variations of clouds, etc. but they must also fit very exactly the thousands of modulations of color which I make in my color design,—the two patterns must fit completely, one into the other, and at the same time the sense of a study of abstract line must be strongly felt even as when in the great part of the window it is felt in a depth of color. The number of pieces of glass confined within these leads must in this window be at least eight thousands.[175]

James Yarnall has compared these later works to the illusionism of contemporary European academic painting, and they do have a fluid elegance in their drawing and modeling.[176]

The Edwin Booth Memorial Window

In 1895, John La Farge was commissioned to make a memorial window for Edwin Booth (1833–93), the most famous Shakespearean actor of his era (fig. 4.49). He was also the older brother of John Wilkes Booth (1838–65), the man who assassinated Abraham Lincoln. Between 1879 and 1883, Edwin Booth developed a notable summer cottage in the Paradise Valley region of Newport where John La Farge had also lived.[177]

The Booth Memorial Window was commissioned by an association of actors for the Church of the Transfiguration in New York. This church, long popular with actors, is also known as "The Little Church around the Corner" (fig. 4.50).

The design for the window is based on an earlier unused illustration for *Dramatis Personae*, a collection of poems by Robert Browning (fig. 4.51).[178] The image of an actor contemplating a theatrical mask was very appropriate for this memorial. La Farge made no attempt to render the features of the actor, however. La Farge explained the meaning of his design in a letter to Russell Sturgis which was printed in the *Evening Post*:

> I had wished, and the committee with me, that our memorial might be specially an actor's memorial, suitable, of course, to a church. The desire to represent Mr. Booth we put aside. I preferred a treatment or choice of subject which might bring up or bring in association

the ideas of a life beyond the grave; and I thought I had found this solution by the representation of an actor looking at his mask. The subject had the advantage of being a classical one, and of recalling the religious meaning connected with the mask—the person, as Jeremy Taylor calls it. You know, of course, that our word "person," as shown by this reference, means a mask—the part we play on this stage—our character—the station in life to which it has pleased God to call us. A celebrated actor himself has repeated the commonplace statement that all the world's a stage.

I placed behind my actor, attired in Græco-Roman costume, the curtain or the veil behind which we retire; and in the architectural framework behind him I tried again to recall the association of the stage with religion by a little altar. The stage, as you know, in all lands, was first connected with mysteries, and the name for the early mediæval acting is again mystery....

In the base of the window, as at first designed, I had placed an ornamental grouping of the emblems which connect the Greek stage with the Greek religious mysteries—the veil, the emblematic foliage, the sacred table and vessels, and the mask which represented again the life in this world over which we have only a partial control. The committee, however decided that they would devote the entire lower part of the window to the quotation from "Hamlet" which runs:—

"As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing,
A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast ta'en with equal thanks."
("Hamlet," iii, 2.)

This quotation had been used by Mr. Booth in a letter to a friend, in which he spoke of a desire of having it placed upon his tomb.[179]

4.49. John La Farge, *Actor Contemplating a Mask*, Edwin Booth Memorial Window, 1897–98. The Church of the Transfiguration, New York.

4.50. The Church of the Transfiguration, New York.

ORIGINAL DESIGN ADAPTED FOR BOOTH MEMORIAL WINDOW

4.51. John La Farge, "Original Design Adapted for Booth Memorial Window," *Critic* 33 (July–Dec. 1898): 63.

La Farge's religious tendencies are clearly expressed here, in a learned exposition of masks and identity, and Greek and medieval mystery plays. Although the incorporation of the quotation from Hamlet forced La Farge to change his design, it was used at the express wish of Booth. The lower dedication panel reads: "To the glory of God and in loving memory of Edwin Booth. This window has been placed here by the players, 1898."

THE ART AND CRAFT OF STAINED GLASS

In La Farge's opinion, the weakness of his contemporary British and European glass makers was due to the separation of design and craft. The artist often made only the preliminary drawings, and left the creation of the windows to a specialist workshop. In contrast, he felt that the artist should be intimately involved with all stages of the creation of a stained glass window.[180] The development and training of highly skilled artisans was also a priority for him.[181] He was fortunate to have a loyal group of skilled assistants such as Thomas Wright, John Calvin, Juliet Hanson, and Mary Whitney. Later his son, Bancel La Farge, also played a large role in his production.

He underscored the importance of this by repeating a complaint from Burne-Jones, who was not satisfied with the execution of his designs by even the best of British firms.[182] La Farge's insistence on participating in all phases of the design and execution of a stained glass window was another difference between him and Tiffany, who often left almost everything to his assistants, including the design. La Farge remained rooted in a traditional craftsman mode, while Tiffany established a large corporate enterprise.

La Farge had tried to build a com-

pany on a similar scale, but success eluded him. Mary Gay Humphreys reported in 1883 that: "The artist [La Farge] is now a manufacturer, and controls one of the largest establishments of the kind in this country. He employs thirty workmen in glass alone, and his commodious workrooms are stocked with myriad shades and tints, the results of experiments in producing old and introducing new varieties."[183] John La Farge was a skilled and insightful artist, but a poor businessman. Although he was from a wealthy background, he had difficulty managing money. His greatest financial and business blunder occurred in 1884, when he was charged with grand larceny for stealing his own designs from the La Farge Decorative Art Company, which he had established to handle the increasing number of commissions he was receiving.[184]

4.52. John La Farge, *The Angel of Help*, Helen Angier Ames Memorial Window, c. 1882–87. Unity Church, North Easton.

One casualty of this dispute with his partners was *The Angel of Help*, the Helen Angier Ames Memorial Window at Unity Church in North Easton, Massachusetts (fig. 4.52). The window was first commissioned in 1882 by Frederick Lothrop Ames as a memorial for his sister, Helen Angier Ames. La Farge's legal troubles with Tiffany and his own firm led to the suspension of the commission. After the legal charges were dismissed in 1885, Frederick Lothrop Ames re-hired La Farge and the window was finished in 1887. It is one of his finest works, utilizing a wide variety of glass and an elegant allegorical design. In the upper tier of the window, adoring angels support a bejeweled casket. Below, the Angel of Help offers comfort to two figures labeled Need and Sorrow (fig. 4.53). Sorrow, shrouded in blue, sits in a throne with sphinxes on the arms. The Angel of Help and most of the hovering angels supporting the casket in the air bear the features of Mary Whitney, La Farge's assistant and mistress. La Farge's watercolor studies for this project are jewel-like in their color (plates 11–12).

4.53. *The Angel of Help* (detail with Need [l] and Sorrow [r]).

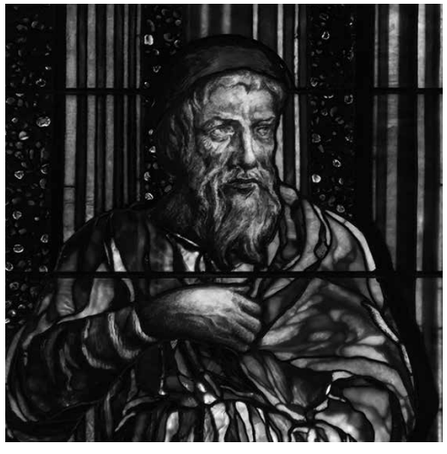
This small church contains a second large window by La Farge, the Wisdom window. Cousins Oakes Ames and Winthrop Ames commissioned the window in 1901 in memory of their grandfather, Congressman Oakes Ames, and their fathers, Governor Oliver Ames, and Oakes Angier Ames (fig. 4.54). The central figure of Wisdom, seated on an elevated throne in an elaborate classical architectural setting, is flanked at the left by an old philosopher who resembles Leonardo da Vinci, and a young soldier at the right. This figure is reminiscent of his first essay in stained glass, the ill-fated commission of 1875 for the window in Memorial Hall at Harvard. A simple inscription that runs around the sides and across the top of the window is taken from Proverbs 3:15–17: "Wisdom is more precious than rubies, and all the things that thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand and in her left hand riches and honour. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." These two figures are both derived from Italian Renaissance sources. The aged philosopher thus represents the "length of days" (fig. 4.55) and the warrior stands for "riches and honour."

La Farge's favorite glass artisans, Thomas Wright and John Calvin, had left his Decorative Art Company not long after it had been founded. Thus they escaped the chaos of La Farge's legal troubles. They formed their own Decorative Stained Glass Company and continued to assist in the creation of most of La Farge's windows. La Farge explained: "Ever since I was obliged to give up my former establishment in 1884, at which time I had partners, I have had all my work done by a firm consisting of my two best workmen, than whom there are not better workers in glass in the world. I have my own rooms and reserve stock of my own, and these men serve me both as foremen, and as suppliers of such number of men as I may need."[185] James Yarnall notes that the new company of Wright and Calvin produced high quality windows for other artists as well, which has led to some confusion in attributions.[186] Although he oversaw every aspect of the artistic process of creating a stained glass window, La Farge was essentially a director of his team of skilled artisans. He collaborated with them in the way that an architect worked with his builders, and a sculptor such as Auguste Rodin collaborated with his assistants and technicians. The role of such an artist is to create the

ideas and designs, and to ensure consistent quality. La Farge admired Rodin for his deep understanding of art and nature, and the use of forms in art as a sort of language.[187]

The colored glass used by La Farge was praised by the British academic artist, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema in 1892, discussing a window created for him in 1886. It is now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 6.15). Alma-Tadema praised it for resembling "cut jewels…[and for being] like a lot of beautifully-coloured butterflies flying through the room."[188] At this same meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a rival glass maker, Henry Holiday of London, criticized La Farge's technique for being overly dependent on the accidents of the glass makers. In his view, La Farge was limited in control over his final work by the kinds of glass he was able to find. Holiday's own more conventional technique featured much more direct painting on glass, which reduces the likelihood of unplanned effects.[189]

4.54. John La Farge, *Figures of Wisdom*, Oakes Ames, Oliver Ames, and Oakes Angier Ames Memorial Window, 1901. Unity Church, North Easton.



4.55. *Figures of Wisdom* (detail of philosopher).

Counter-balancing Holiday's criticism, however, was praise from an unexpected source—the kaiser of Germany. La Farge's secretary, Miss Barnes, reported that Alma-Tadema told her on a visit to London that the kaiser had visited his studio, and "that the one thing he envied him and would like to carry away was the window by La Farge that he possessed."[190]

In contrast to the more tight-laced British artist Holiday, La Farge embraced the role of chance in aspects of his art. Speaking of his flower still lifes, he said: "Instead of arranging my subject, which is the usual studio way, I had it placed for me by chance, with any background and any light, leaving, for instance, the choice of flowers and vase to the servant girl or groom or anyone. Or else I copied the corner of the breakfast table as it happened to be."[191] This apparent nonchalance regarding the accidental arrangement of subjects is contradicted by the careful, even mathematical, composition of his final works which are carefully designed and balanced within the frame. As he said, he sought a "subtle conciliation of symmetry and chance."[192]

4.56. Anders Zorn, *Augustus Saint Gaudens II*, 1897. Etching on paper, 5.3 x 7.9 in., Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 4.2.r.161.

An openness to chance effects was a feature of modernism that would become ever more important in the twentieth century, but was present even in the late nineteenth century. In 1894 the Swedish playwright August Strindberg published "The New Arts, or the Role of Chance in Artistic Creation," an extraordinary essay that celebrates the effects of chance and called on artists to collaborate with chance.[193] Experimental artists such as the impressionists explored the limits of control with their loose brushstrokes, and Edvard Munch allowed accidents to mark and shape his paintings. In the twentieth century, Dada and surrealist artists made chance a major focus of their art.[194]

Every stained glass artist has to cede some control to outside forces. As Holiday noted, the effect of a stained glass window depends on the quality of glass chosen by the artist, his skill in laying out the design and assembling it, and even the quality of light from hour to hour and season to season. Viewing stained glass is a changeable experience; the window will look different in different weather, seasons, and times of day. A window never looks quite the same twice. This variability plays off the permanence of the materials, and the (usually) permanent installation in a building, and makes the work almost come to life. La Farge wrote that "it may be said that to reproduce life is to reproduce the fluctuation of the movement of light."[195] Only in a museum setting can one reliably see a window displayed to its best advantage every time with well-designed backlighting, even if the experience is not quite the same as seeing it with natural light. Now seen with perfect lighting and benefiting from skillful restoration, the McMullen Museum triptych can be seen in its full splendor. We are also fortunate to have a wonderful collection of stained glass by other artists in the windows of our campus buildings such as Gasson Hall and Bapst

Library, so that we can savor both experiences, the controlled museum setting and that of natural light.

Space does not allow for discussing or even reproducing more than a handful of the opalescent windows created by John La Farge. Many more are to be found in churches and museums. A wider selection may be seen on a web resource created for this exhibition, *John La Farge: Stained Glass in New England; A Digital Guide* (http://library.bc.edu/lafargeglass/).

The Modernist versus the Revivalist

La Farge was very much a man of his era; he embraced the modern even as he revived aspects of the past. One of the defining features of life in the nineteenth century was a new relationship to nature, inspired by modern science and transcendental philosophy. Eastern religions played a role as well. The certitudes of medieval philosophy could not dispel the doubts which characterize the modernist frame of mind. The beauty of art, as with the beauty of nature, can either transport the viewer into a sense of oneness with the world, or a contemplation of the insignificance of humans in the face of the sublime vastness of the universe. La Farge, in an elegiac mood quoted a sculptor friend, probably Augustus Saint-Gaudens, on the place of humans in the universe:

> Not so long ago, I was speaking to a sculptor whose beautiful work is touched by a certain elegance which approaches sadness. We were admiring a beautiful female model; and as he described with the enthusiasm of the artist, some particular delicate subtlety of form that he proposed to embody at some future day, I noticed an expression in his face which made me ask him, "What else are you thinking of?"
>
> "Of the fact," he said, "that all this that I am doing and others are doing is but the labour of little insects,—little living points upon this small speck of dirt, rolling in illimitable space, which we call the earth, and which is destined to perish unperceived in the multitude of worlds."[196]

Saint-Gaudens, who had collaborated with La Farge on numerous projects, including the Buddhist-inspired memorial for Henry Adams's late wife, Clover (fig. 3.11), was given to melancholia. In 1897 the Swedish artist Anders Zorn (1860–1920) made a portrait etching of him with a resting model in the background which could well illustrate La Farge's remarks (fig. 4.56). Saint-Gaudens confessed that he was preoccupied with thoughts of the death of a fellow artist when this portrait was made.[197] Modern science provides a vast new scale for the universe, and offers new challenges to one's sense of self in this confrontation with the infinite.

The many memorial windows created by La Farge offer poignant examples of hope and memory enduring against mortality. The glowing light of his windows flicker with the progress of the sun, an ever changing pattern of light and dark which recurs every day, and yet is never exactly repeated. With images based on century-old themes, there is a union of art and nature perfectly suited to the contemplation of time and the enigmas of existence.

John La Farge embodies many of the contradictions and aspirations of his age—a deep respect for tradition juxtaposed with a modernist drive to experiment with materials and to explore space and time, roaming across global cultures and past eras. His restless and probing intellect led him to experiment with artistic styles as diverse as romanticism, realism, revivalism, and symbolism. He was one of the most interesting examples of the aesthetic movement of the late nineteenth century, and his art is a unique bridge between European, Asian, Islamic, and American cultures. The spiritual shines through in his ecclesiastical, memorial, and decorative stained glass windows.

1 Quoted in James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge, a Biographical and Critical Study* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 160–61.

2 Samuel Bing, "Artistic America," in *Artistic America, Tiffany Glass, and Art Nouveau*, trans. Benita Eisler and intro. Robert Koch (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 132.

3 John La Farge, *Considerations on Painting: Lectures Given in the Year 1893 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 101.

4 Ibid., 59.

5 Ibid., 125.

6 See Erik Iversen, "Hieroglyphic Studies of the Renaissance," *Burlington Magazine* (Jan. 1958): 15–21 and his *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1961). Older sources include K. Giehlow, "Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 32, no. 1 (1911) and Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance: Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1923).

7 John La Farge, "On Painting," *New England Magazine* 38 (Apr. 1908): 230.

8 Eugène Delacroix, *Journal*, trans. Walter Pach (New York: Viking, 1972), 336.

9 John T. Irwin, *American Hieroglyphics: The Symbol of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics in the American Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 11 and *passim*.

10 Diane Chalmers Johnson, *American Symbolist Art: Nineteenth-Century "Poets in Paint"; Washington Allston, John La Farge, William Rimmer, George Inness, and Albert Pinkham Ryder* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2004).

11 G.-Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin," *Mercure de France* 2 (Mar. 1891): 159–64, also in Herschel Chipp, ed., *Theories of Modern Art*, trans. Herschel Chipp and H. R. Rookmaaker (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1968), 92. Aurier outlined the criteria for symbolist art, which should be: "1. *Idéist*, for its unique ideal will be the expression of the Idea. 2. *Symbolist*, for it will express this idea by means of forms. 3. *Synthetist*, for it will present these forms, these signs, according to a method which is generally understandable. 4. *Subjective*, for the object will never be considered as an object but as the sign of an idea perceived by the subject. 5....*Decorative*—for decorative painting in its proper sense, as the Egyptians and, very probably, the Greeks and the Primitives understood it, is nothing other than a manifestation of art at once subjective, synthetic, symbolic, and ideist."

12 Kahn proposed that symbolist artists or writers look inward for their subject matter: "The essential aim of our art is to objectify the subjective (the externalization of the Idea) instead of subjectifying the objective (nature seen through a temperament)." "Réponse des Symbolistes," *L'Événement* (Sept. 28, 1886).

13 Reinhold Heller, "Concerning Symbolism and the Structure of Surface," *Art Journal* 45, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 143–56.

14 Two key works by Stéphane Mallarmé, *L'Après midi d'un faune* and *Prose pour des Esseintes*, both commence with evocations of the power of memory. See Wallace Fowlie, *Mallarmé* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953), 168, 210.

15 Judd D. Hubert, "Symbolism, Correspondence and Memory," *Yale French Studies* 9 (1952): 46–55.

16 Michael Fried, "Painting Memories: On the Containment of the Past in Baudelaire and Manet," *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 3 (Mar. 1984): 510–42.

17 Ibid., 513.

18 Ibid., 512.

19 Charles Baudelaire, "L'œuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix," in *Curiosités esthétiques*, translated and quoted by Fried, "Painting Memories," 535.

20 Fried, "Painting Memories," 516–22.

21 Frederik Leen notes that "When the work was created in 1889, tennis on a grass playing field was still a young sport and the *Lawn Tennis Association* had just been established the year before in London." *Fernand Khnopff*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, 2004), 122. Six photographic studies for the poses still exist in the Archives de l'Art Contemporain in Brussels; one for each figure except the woman in white at the extreme left.

22 Khnopff and photography have been the subject of considerable study. See Charles de Maeyer, "Fernand Khnopff et ses modèles," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 13, no.1–2 (1964): 43–56. More recently, Dorothy Kosinski discussed this work in "Marguerite, the Priestess of the Artist's Realm," in *The Artist and the Camera: Degas to Picasso*, ed. Dorothy Kosinski, exh. cat. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1999).

23 The visionary aspect of these six images corresponds to Khnopff's idealist philosophy, well summarized by Francine-Claire Legrand: "His whole attitude to photography, as well as his regard for the living model was the result of his philosophic inclinations. Like Schopenhauer he was convinced that the world as we see it, is nothing but a state of the consciousness, a collection of sensations, a 'representation' and not a reality. By endeavouring to set down what he had seen after conceiving it, he tended to emphasize the unreality of reality, or its arbitrary and individual character as a day-dream." Francine-Claire Legrand, *Symbolism in Belgium*, trans. Alastair Kennedy (Brussels: Laconti, 1972), 75–76.

24 See James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge's *Portrait of the Painter* and the Use of Photography in His Work," *American Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (Winter 1986): 4–20. Also James L. Yarnall, "New Insights on John La Farge and Photography," *American Art Journal* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 52–79.

25 An image of a spinning wheel or a running horse depend on memory and imagination to create the illusion of motion. See Michael Leja, *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2004), 67–71.

26 Paul Gauguin, quoted by H. R. Rookmaaker, *Gauguin and 19th Century Art Theory* (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1972), 321.

27 Cloisonnism and the new French painting was much discussed in 1887; see John Rewald, *Post-Impressionism: From Van Gogh to Gauguin*, 2nd ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1962), 193ff.

28 Charles Sanders Peirce is recognized as one of the leading pioneers of modern semiotics, the study of meaning. The details of the relationship between La Farge and Peirce need further study, but they shared a long acquaintance. La Farge, King, and Peirce took Thanksgiving dinner together in 1889 at the Century Club, New York. Nathan Houser et al., ed., *Writings of Charles S. Peirce: A Chronological Edition; Volume 6, 1886–1890* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2000), lxxi.

29 John La Farge, *Great Masters* (New York: McClure, Philips, 1903), 219. This line is misprinted in its earlier publication in John La Farge, *Hokusai: A Talk about Hokusai, the Japanese Painter, at the*

Century Club, March 28, 1896 (New York: William C. Martin, 1897), 3, as: "all forms of art are merely varieties of language and are the signs of meanings—are not the things themselves, and require two factors almost to exist, the person addressed [*sic*] and the person who is addressed."

30 Henry Adams, "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*," *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (Sept. 1985): 449–85.

31 Peirce's major work, which was never finished, was to have been titled *A System of Logic, Considered as Semiotic*. See Joseph Brent, *Charles Sanders Peirce: A Life*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1998). Also Albert Atkin, "Peirce's Theory of Semiotics," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Summer 2013), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/peirce-semiotics/.

32 Michael Leja, "Peirce, Visuality, and Art," *Representations*, no. 72 (Autumn 2000): 97. "In contrast to other members of his social class, such as his friends William and Henry James, Peirce's interest in art was minimal."

33 Helene Barbara Weinberg, "La Farge's Eclectic Idealism in Three New York City Churches," *Winterthur Portfolio* 10 (1975): 207. "For Saint Thomas, limited by the presence of stained glass already in place, he produced a successful, if makeshift, remedy. He obtained permission to paint over the windows in the chancel in order to integrate them with his decorative scheme. While retaining their linear design, he tempered light, neutralized tints, and altered obtrusive details, creating a 'noble, deep, rich, mellow' impression." This church burned in 1905, and La Farge's decorations were lost.

34 Peirce unexpectedly found himself drawn to take Communion in a Catholic church on that morning: "I wandered about, not knowing where to find a regular episcopal church, in which I was confirmed; but I finally came to St. Thomas. I had several times been in it on the weekdays to look at the chancel. I therefore saw nothing new to me. But this time,—I was not thinking of St. Thomas and his doubts, either,—no sooner had I got into the church than I seem to receive the direct permission of the Master to come. Still, I said to myself, I must not go to the communion without further reflection! I must go home & duly prepare myself before I venture. But when the instant came, I found myself carried up to the altar rail, almost without my own volition." Houser et al., *Writings of Charles S. Peirce*, lxxvi; I am grateful to Prof. Richard Atkins for bringing this to my attention.

35 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 128.

36 See Henry Adams, "William James, Henry James, John La Farge, and the Foundations of Radical Empiricism," *American Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 60–67.

37 Information credited to James L. Yarnall on the museum label.

38 Henry James, "The Real Thing," in *The Real Thing and Other Stories* (London: Macmillan, 1893). La Farge was the model for the main character in Henry James's short story, "A Landscape Painter," *Atlantic Monthly* 17 (Feb. 1866): 182–202.

39 Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Against Nature*, trans. Robert Baldick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959). In this novel, the decadent protagonist Des Esseintes prefers a world of illusion and art to the materialism and superficiality of the real world.

40 Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Image and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989). Katie Kresser, *The Art and Thought of John La Farge: Picturing Authenticity in Gilded Age America* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 147–48.

41 Villiers de l'Isle Adam, *The Future Eve*, in *The Decadent Reader*, ed. Asti Hustvedt (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 522–750.

42 John La Farge, "Window, Part III," in *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building*, ed. Russell Sturgis, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 1067–91.

43 John La Farge, *The American Art of Glass: To Be Read in Connection with Mr. Louis C. Tiffany's Paper in the July Number of the "Forum," 1893* (New York: J. J. Little, 1893), 3.

44 Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1946), 63, 65. "Thus, when—out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God—the loveliness of the many-colored gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, as it were, in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that, by the grace of God, I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world..."

45 Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1986), 15.

46 Herbert L. Kessler has recently summarized the medieval aesthetics of glass in art as an exemplar of typological interpretation; see his "'They Preach Not by Speaking Out Loud But by Signifying': Vitreous Arts as Typology," *Gesta* 51, no. 1 (2012): 55–70. Kessler notes that "The worked glass and stone thus embody the notion of material elevation in the very metamorphosis of physical matter into simulated jewels and gold" (59).

47 Suger took much of his theology from texts which he believed were written by St. Denis, patron saint of his abbey. These were actually written by a later writer known as the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite; see Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*.

48 The term "diaphanous wall" was first used by Hans Jantzen to describe the transparency of Gothic architecture; see his *High Gothic* (New York: Pantheon, 1962), 73.

49 Key points of this idealized interpretation were developed by art historians such as Emile Mâle, Georges Duby, Erwin Panofsky, and Otto von Simson. They built on earlier antiquarian studies and nineteenth-century interpretations of the medieval world. However, Conrad Rudolph argues that the symbolic scheme was in fact much more straightforward; see his "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4 (Dec. 2011): 399–422.

50 Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York: Pantheon, 1956), 8.

51 In this way the church challenged heresies which asserted that the world of creation was evil; see Georges Duby, *The Age of the Cathedrals* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press), 150–51.

52 In 1913, Emile Mâle explained that the significance of a particular event could be interpreted in terms of its *historical*, or literal meaning, its *allegorical* meaning, its *tropological* meaning, or its *anagogical* meaning. For instance, the historical, or literal meaning of Jerusalem was as a real town visited by pilgrims; its allegorical meaning was as a symbol of the Church; its tropological meaning was as a symbol of the Christian soul; and its anagogical meaning was as a symbol of the heavenly Jerusalem. See Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image* (1913; New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 139.

53 Sensual beauty was a powerful metaphor for spiritual beauty, and it had always been an important aspect of the Catholic tradition. See Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolution-*

ary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1996), 51.

54 See particularly La Farge, *Considerations on Painting* and his *The Gospel Story in Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1913).

55 Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge: A Memoir and a Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 259. Cortissoz concluded: "His intellect might range, but his soul was set upon a rock. And, moreover, from his religious inheritance, from the training of his childhood and youth, he never wandered. In his generation, more perhaps than in our own, the church played its part from day to day in a man's life. It was not separated in his thoughts from his other interests but was intertwined with them and affected their development."

56 La Farge, *Great Masters*, 87–88. "The scenes of the Old Testament and those of the New are still in our minds tinged with the classical feeling—semi-pagan—which Raphael chose to clothe them in. I say semi-pagan, to fall in a little with conventional arrangements of thought. The necessary weakness of our grasp of ideas obliges us to catalogue and divide things that really melt one into the other. Of course Paganism, that is to say the habits of the world before Christianity, in the civilization of Greece and Rome, melted into and affected the New Dispensation. Even the forms of the Church are indissolubly connected with those of a Pagan era; as the words of new thought are those of a previous one; as the forms of Greek art were used at once for Christian Types. On this firm foundation is based the naturalness of Raphael's success."

57 Ibid., 71–72. "Every one knows something about him, every one has seen something by him. I have seen his Madonnas even in the huts of Cannibal Land. And to make this universal appreciation still more extraordinary, we have the strange fact that any cheap copy of some creation of his which appeals most distinctly to the feeling is sufficient to tell us: here is a separate creation, dependent upon something in it, so that its actual form may be insufficient, but its life persists far into the merest suggestion of what the original was. Such is the extraordinary life belonging to many of his invented people—a life such as belongs to some few statues of the Greeks."

58 James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge's Windows for the Caldwell Sisters of Newport," *Rhode Island History* 64, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 31–47.

59 Elizabeth Carson Pastan, "Restoring the Stained Glass of Troyes Cathedral: The Ambiguous Legacy of Viollet-le-Duc," *Gesta* 29, no. 2 (1990): 156.

60 Michael Peover, "Horace Walpole's Use of Stained Glass at Strawberry Hill," *British Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 22–29.

61 Virginia C. Raguin, "Revivals, Revivalists, and Architectural Stained Glass," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 3 (Sept. 1990): 310–29.

62 James R. Johnson, "The Stained Glass Theories of Viollet-le-Duc," *Art Bulletin* 45, no. 2 (June 1963): 121–34. Elizabeth Carson Pastan cast a critical eye on the theories and practice of Viollet-le-Duc in her article "Restoring the Stained Glass of Troyes Cathedral," 155–66. She notes, however, that "Even today, his observations about color tend to be upheld by practicing glass painters, even if they are dismissed by scientists" (159).

63 William Morris, quoted by D. O'Connor in *William Morris and the Middle Ages*, exh. cat. (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, 1984), 45. Quoted in Raguin, "Architectural Stained Glass," 328.

64 Willene B. Clark, "America's First Stained Glass: William Jay Bolton's Windows at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York," *American Art Journal* 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1979): 32.

65 I first discovered this advertisement in Virginia C. Raguin's *Glory in Glass: Stained Glass in the United States; Origins, Variety and Preservation*, exh. cat. (New York: American Bible Society, 1998), 94. This catalogue provides a wide ranging survey of stained glass in America.

66 Clark, "America's First Stained Glass," 32–53.

67 William Jay Bolton, quoted in ibid., 38–39.

68 James L. Yarnall, "Adventures of a Young Antiquarian: John La Farge's *Wanderjahr* in Europe, 1856–1857," *American Art Journal,* 30, no. 1–2 (1999): 102–32. In Brussels, La Farge met the British artist Henry Le Strange, who introduced him to painting with encaustic media. Le Strange had painted the ceiling of Ely Cathedral with this technique, and La Farge was to use it in Trinity Church, Boston in 1877.

69 Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind: The Stained Glass of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 24, no. 1–2 (1992): 5.

70 He told Royal Cortissoz about his beginnings in stained glass work: "They flowed, he said, from very practical causes. Sometime in the seventies, when he was just back from England, he found that he could not sell his pictures….He was making practically nothing out of his pictures, and so he was much interested when his friend Van Brunt, of the firm of architects, Ware and Van Brunt, proposed his doing one of the windows for Memorial Hall at Harvard….Well, living amongst the pre-Raphaelites and seeing all their enthusiasm over stained glass he was in the very vein to execute Van Brunt's commission. But he could not satisfy himself, and when the window was finished he would not allow it to be put up; he forthwith destroyed it." Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 185–87.

71 He analyzed the types of colored glass used in stained glass windows, which incorporate a wide range of technologies: "When I speak of glass simply, I mean glass colored in the mass, and I state whether it is painted upon with enamel color or not. Glass which is colored in its body while molten is called pot-metal; and it is to this division especially that the words stained glass are inaccurately applied in ordinary phrase. The expression, stained glass, which is used for all kinds of colored glass, when used exactly, is of extremely limited application. It refers to a transparent color which is fastened to the surface of glass by the action of heat. It will be well for the inexperienced reader to remember that painted glass means glass that has had paints made of enamels fused to the surface of the glass by means of heat, whether that glass be colored in its substance or relatively white." La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 2.

72 Ibid., 11.

73 Ibid., 7.

74 Ibid., 12–13.

75 Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge and the Stained-Glass Windows in Memorial Hall at Harvard University," *Antiques* 141, no. 4 (Apr. 1992): 644.

76 Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 36n14.

77 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 13.

78 Matthew P. Bowman, "John La Farge's Stained Glass Windows at the Thomas Crane Memorial Library: *Old Philosopher, Alpha, and Omega*" (master's thesis, University of Connecticut, 2014), 21, http://digitalcommons.uconn.edu/gs_theses/562.

79 Julie L. Sloan, "The Restoration of Stained-Glass Windows at Memorial Hall, Harvard University: A Case Study," *APT Bulletin* 26, no. 2–3 (1995): 62–67.

80 Sloan and Yarnall, "Stained-Glass Windows in Memorial Hall," 647.

81 John La Farge, "Reply to Mr. Bing of Paris," unpublished manuscript, Jan. 1894, 9. Quoted in Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 13.

82 "The Ten Best Buildings in the United States," *American Architect and Building News* 17 (June 13, 1885): 282.

83 Helene Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge and the Decoration of Trinity Church, Boston," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 4 (Dec. 1974): 323–53.

84 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 32.

85 See Yarnall, "La Farge's *Portrait of the Painter*," 15: "Photography seems to have also served a particularly useful purpose when La Farge's interest turned to decorative art during the 1870s. For Trinity Church, Boston, in 1876, La Farge and his assistants used lantern slides to enlarge photographs of drawings into cartoons, and perhaps even to paint directly over projected images on the wall. For example, as La Farge noted in a letter to one of his assistants, the young Augustus Saint-Gaudens: 'Mr. Millet is going to try the enlargement on the wall or rather on paper, with the machine to throw up the image to full size.'"

86 A note in the *Critic* 26–27, no. 679 (1896): 150, reports that La Farge gave a lecture at the Century Club on a day in the South Seas, illustrated with lantern slides.

87 Bing, "Artistic America," 32.

88 Ibid.

89 William Laurel Harris, "The Decoration of the Paulist Church," *Art and Progress* 2, no. 6 (Apr. 1911): 171.

90 Helene Barbara Weinberg, "The Work of John La Farge in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle," *American Art Journal* 6, no. 1 (May 1974): 20–21. See also James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge: Watercolors and Drawings*, exh. cat. (Yonkers: Hudson River Museum of Westchester, 1990), 65.

91 Weinberg, "La Farge in the Church of St. Paul," 23.

92 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 210.

93 Harris, "Decoration of the Paulist Church," 174.

94 Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 4–43.

95 Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge's Patent for the American Opalescent Window," *Journal of Stained Glass* 28 (2004): 31.

96 Ogden N. Rood, *Modern Chromatics* (1879; New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973), 55.

97 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 13.

98 Sloan and Yarnall, "John La Farge's Patent," 31–45.

99 Julie L. Sloan, "The Rivalry between Louis Comfort Tiffany and John La Farge," *Nineteenth Century* 17 (Autumn 1997): 27–34.

100 "Art Notes," *New York Times* (Oct. 30, 1881): 14.

101 Sloan and Yarnall, "John La Farge's Patent," 40–41.

102 Francesca Vanke, "Arabesques: North Africa, Arabia, and Europe," in *Art Nouveau, 1890–1914*, ed. Paul Greenhalgh, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2000), 114–25.

103 Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856; London: B. Quaritch, 1868).

104 Cecilia Waern, *John La Farge, Artist and Writer* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 40.

105 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 219–20.

106 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting,* 213–14.

107 M. G. H. [Mary Gay Humphreys], "Talks with Decorators; John La Farge on the Re-Decoration of the 'Meeting House,'" *Art Amateur* 17, no. 1 (June 1887): 16–18. See also Helene Barbara Weinberg, *The Decorative Work of John La Farge* (New York: Garland, 1977): 202.

108 Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Japanese Print (1912)," in *Frank Lloyd Wright: Collected Writings; Volume 1, 1894–1930*, ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 117.

109 See Claude Cernuschi, "Adolf Loos, Alois Riegl, and the Debate on Ornament in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna," in *Cosmophilia: Islamic Art from the David Collection, Copenhagen*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, exh. cat. (Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2006), 45–56.

110 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 115.

111 Barnabas Bates, *A Brief Statement of the Exertions of the Friends of Cheap Postage in the City of New York: The Obstacles Encountered in Effecting the Present Reduction of Postage* (New York: W. C. Bryant, 1848).

112 Sloan and Yarnall, "John La Farge's Patent," 38.

113 In Harvard's Memorial Hall, the Chevalier Bayard window in the transept, a tribute to Martin Brimmer, shows Bayard with the features of Brimmer, and the figures of Bernard of Clairvaux and Godfrey of Bouillon in a nearby window have the faces of Phillips Brooks (preacher) and William Channing Barlow (soldier), the highest ranking Harvard soldier in the Civil War. See Virginia C. Raguin in *American Paintings at Harvard: Volume 2*, ed. Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., Kimberly Orcutt, and Virginia Anderson (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museum; New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2008), 359–60, 446–48, nos. 389 and 471.

114 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 119.

115 Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 17, summarize the unfortunate developments: "By 1881, burgeoning commissions demanded the expansion of his workshop. To provide working capital, he had to take on a partner in late 1882. A year later, financial problems forced him to take on two more partners and form the La Farge Decorative Art Company. By 1884, disputes with his partners over artistic control had erupted into personal and professional acrimony, ultimately leading to his arrest in May, 1885, on charges of grand larceny. Although the charges ultimately were dismissed, this incident 'created a decided scandal in both social and art circles and became the general topic of conversation whenever or wherever artists or connoisseurs met.' The scandal rocked La Farge's career, costing him many important commissions."

116 "A Garfield Memorial Window," *New York Times* (June 25, 1882): 7.

117 The text reads: "James Abram Garfield twentieth president of the United States, born November 19th, 1831, died September 9th, 1881. In memory of his services to the country,—a scholar, a soldier and statesman, and in token of the universal love and sympathy called forth by his protracted suffering and untimely death, this window was placed in the chapel of his Alma Mater by his friend, Cyrus W. Field."

118 La Farge met Rioza Awoki on his trip to Japan, and Awoki returned with him to the United States to work in his studio. He transliter-

ated La Farge's name into Japanese and designed this seal about 1894; see Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 147.

119 Ibid., 158–59. La Farge worried that he had rushed the window. Writing to Henry Adams, he hedged: "I could not see the window together before sending it—so that that also is a great chance. I know that certain things in it are just contrary to what I drew or made out, but it was too late to alter."

120 As William Vareika explained in 2013: "'I learned of the availability of the Boston College windows last fall,' says Vareika. 'We bought them from the Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst, Massachusetts, where they had hung in their church since the 1920s. The Amherst Society voted to sell the windows for four reasons: the Christian symbolism was determined to be inappropriate for Unitarianism; the windows needed costly restoration; church building expansion was required and funds were required for construction; and the only place to expand the building was through the wall where the windows were installed.'" "A Homecoming for La Farge," *American Fine Art Magazine* 11 (Sept.–Oct. 2013): 105–6, http://www.vareikafinearts.com/presspdfs/JLF.magazine.pdf.

121 Raguin, "Decorator: John La Farge," 129.

122 "The Story of Our La Farge Stained Glass Window," Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst, http://www.uusocietyamherst.org/OurSociety/AboutUsWiki/tabid/124/Default.aspx?topic=The+story+of+our+La+Farge+stained+glass+window.

123 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 14.

124 I thank Virginia C. Raguin for reminding me of this work.

125 John La Farge, *One Hundred Masterpieces* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, 1913), 247.

126 See Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art," *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (June 1982): 229–47, esp. 239. Also Richard Shiff, "Representation, Copying, and the Technique of Originality," *New Literary History* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1984): 333–63.

127 Anna Bowman Dodd, "John La Farge," *Art Journal*, n.s. (1885): 264; quoted by Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 435.

128 These two windows reproducing Blake's design were commissioned by Judge William G. Peckham of Trenton, New Jersey.

129 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 50–51.

130 John La Farge, "Art and Artists," *International Monthly* 4 (July–Dec. 1901): 486. La Farge continues, repudiating the Italian physician Cesare Lombroso's simplistic linking of artists and madness: "Neither of these last would be able to carry out his work in a street-car for instance. This is what vitiates the sincerity of the observations of a Lombroso when, for example, he points out as a proof of insanity that St. Francis left his family, that is to say his father,—his father's business,—to become a missionary. It was a bad thing, perhaps, for that special firm which might have flourished, (or might have gone down) if St. Francis had continued in business. But we, that is to say mankind, would certainly prefer the influence of St. Francis in his time, and in all others, to the perpetuation of his father's business for a short number of perhaps unsuccessful years. St. Francis, of course, comes as near insanity as any of the prophets of old, and it is probably nothing but his extraordinary common-sense and miraculous tact, apart from the grace of God, that saved him. But why is he queerer for Lombroso than such and such a doctor who, having a family, exposes himself to the contacts of disease or dies a martyr at his post for the benefit of others?"

131 Ibid., 489.

132 Helene Barbara Weinberg cites Frank Jewett Mather, who was normally very supportive of La Farge: "In his art the scholarly and retrospective cast of his mind was possibly a limited good. It may have been more valuable to us, as a link with the past, an induction to the study of the great styles, than it was to him. With his range of memories it was inevitable that the appeal of other men's art should be as strong as that of nature itself. He retained, then, despite great gifts as a colorist and master of monumental design, a sort of eclectic quality which may make against the permanency of his fame. It is possible that he was greater as a man and a pervading influence than as a painter." Frank Jewett Mather, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 5 (Dec. 1910): 284; quoted in Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 440.

133 Letter from Henry Adams to Royal Cortissoz of May 12, 1911; the letter is reproduced in Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Letters of Henry Adams, 1892–1918* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938), 56–57. Quoted in Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 435.

134 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 179.

135 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 62.

136 Waern, *John La Farge*, 21.

137 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 7.

138 Charles Blanc, *Grammar of Painting and Engraving*, trans. Kate N. Doggett (1867; Chicago: S. C. Griggs, 1889), 162.

139 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 110: "This, by the bye, is one of the systems used by some of the latest modern painters,—impressionists, *pointillistes*, etc. Photographed for that purpose, their placing of colour side by side resembles the mechanism of engraving on wood, which may have given the first idea."

140 La Farge, "Window, Part III," 1090. La Farge elaborated for Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 87: "The churches brought me to the knowledge of ancient glass and I was able to use, for understanding it, what I had read in the writings of the illustrious Chevreul. He had explained more especially, years before, the points of ancient work in glass and then he had written, as you know, and perhaps was writing, on the optical views of color. This reading determined, I suppose, more than anything else, the direction which my painting took some years afterward, when I began to paint. People like myself were laughed at in those days, even by scientific men. Later, of course, the question was to become one of the most important in the work of the modern Frenchmen. Much later I was to use these principles and theories when I took to working in glass, and I am still surprised that no one that I know of has worked in the same way therein."

141 Johnson, "Theories of Viollet-le-Duc," 130.

142 Waern, *John La Farge*, 12, quotes La Farge: "My youthful intolerance required the relations of color for shadow and for light to be based on some scheme of color-light that should allow oppositions and gradations representing the effects of the different directions and intensities of light in nature, and I already became much interested in the question of the effect of the complementary colors."

143 C. K. Wheeler, 1900, quoted in Kathleen A. Foster, "The Still Life Paintings of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 11, no. 3 (July 1979): 10.

144 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 4.

145 James R. Johnson challenged Viollet-le-Duc's theories. Upon testing the French author's assertions with first hand observations of medieval windows and a custom-made replica with varying amounts of red and blue glass, he found that Viollet-le-Duc had significantly overstated the effect of irradiation: "Certainly his views concerning the distinctive irradiating power of blue, without qualification

as to brightness or any other determining factors, have no basis in accepted scientific theory—then or now" ("Theories of Viollet-le-Duc," 127).

146 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 7.

147 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 187.

148 Rood, *Modern Chromatics*, 16.

149 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 5.

150 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 130.

151 Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry; The 1893 Text*, ed. and trans. Donald L. Hill (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1980), 106.

152 Ron Johnson, "Whistler's Musical Modes: Symbolist Symphonies," *Arts Magazine* 55, no. 8 (Apr. 1981): 164–81.

153 Blanc, *Grammar of Painting and Engraving*, 164.

154 Quoted in Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 223–24.

155 Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz (1821–94), *Treatise on Physiological Optics* (1867), 237, quoted in Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Recollections and Impressions of Whistler* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1908), 195–96. Eddy tried to lay a scientific foundation for James McNeill Whistler's harmonies of color, see especially 186–200. Early examples of color organs are shown in A. Wallace Rimington, *Colour-Music: The Art of Mobile Colour* (London: Hutchinson, 1912).

156 The relationship of color to mathematics as well as music was a concern of Georges Seurat and the neo-impressionists. See Robert Herbert, ed., *Georges Seurat, 1859–1891*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 391–93, discusses Charles Henry's contribution to neo-impressionist theory.

157 La Farge, "Art and Artists," 476: "Even if, occasionally, such useful lessons as those of Mr. Henry (the French scientist) excuse certain exaggerations, they will be balanced by other scientific considerations that will justify other views equally special."

158 Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1989), 84–85.

159 Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 15.

160 An opinion shared by Henry Adams, "The Mind of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Henry Adams et al., exh. cat. (New York: Abbeville, 1987), 44.

161 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 12.

162 "The World's Work—American Progress in the Manufacture of Stained Glass," *Scribner's Monthly* 21 (Jan. 1881): 486. The writer notes: "In the new system, the leads are treated as parts of the picture. For instance, in a piece of foliage the lead represents the twigs and stems, and is made thick and rough to indicate the wood, or in representing drapery it follows the seams of the fabric, and is gilded. This roughening and gilding produces a new effect not before obtained in stained glass. Seen at night, with a light inside the window, stained glass is usually a confused mass of lines, representing nothing. In the new method, the leads actually represent the outlines of the picture, while the gilding heightens the effect, and the window has an increased decorative value. Besides this, the lead is made of varying thickness, to give character to the lines of the picture, a shaded or softened line being secured by making the lead much wider on the outside of the window, thus overlapping the glass and casting a shadow dimly seen through the window. The lead is also made in very delicate lines, and treated as part of the design, whether supporting the glass or not."

163 John La Farge, *The Higher Life in Art: A Series of Lectures on the Barbizon School of France, Inaugurating the Scammon Course at the Art Institute of Chicago* (New York: McClure, 1908), 175.

164 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 7–8. "Mr. Tiffany's description of the way in which a window is made to-day would almost do for that of any period, except for one or two details: 'The form and shape of the window having been chosen, the artist prepares his color sketch, in order to get his composition for the cartoon and the scheme of color for the glass.' We have no pieces of paper preserved giving us the sort of color sketch that the medieval artist made. If he did not make one, he must have carried it pretty well in his head.…'When the cartoon is completed, two transfers are made on paper, just as an embroideress makes a transfer from her pattern to the linen. One of these transfers is kept as a guide for the artist'—workman rather—'who leads the glass together; the other is divided into patterns, the divisions following the places of the lead lines as the cartoon indicates.' That is to say that, as in medieval times, a drawing or cartoon has to have the lead lines distinctly indicated.…'These divided pieces are then arranged upon a glass easel which is placed against the light. The artist, having previously selected the glass required, or caused it to be made under his supervision, chooses a piece of glass for, we will say, the sleeve of a garment, first removing from the easel the paper pattern, so that he may pass the glass between himself and the light, over the opening left by the removal of the paper. Having found the proper piece, the glazier marks that portion of the sheet that is to be cut, places the paper pattern upon it, following the edges with a diamond, thereby cutting the glass to the form desired.' Before the invention of the diamond, in medieval times, the glass was cut with a hot iron. In a good deal of simple work, and in much of the work that the English do, an indication of color is made on the cartoon, or on another drawing, by the mere use of a letter or number. 'When this piece of glass corresponds exactly with the template'—or pattern—'it is placed upon the glass easel, and held in position with wax, taking the place of the paper pattern. This is continued until the entire window is cut and placed upon the easel. From time to time the artist may see reason to modify or change the original color scheme, or even from the drawing in the cartoon, as he may find pieces of glass which give better effects, in his judgment, than that indicated in either the sketch or the cartoon. At times also, as I have said before, he may resort to plating to secure a particular shade or tint.' Plating means the superposition of one piece of glass upon another of the same shape, so as to vary its color or its depth, or the variations of modeling. Afterwards all these pieces of glass are joined by a lead ribbon with flanges. The leads are secured later to iron bars and armatures, by which the window is kept in place in the opening of the window."

165 C. Hanford Henderson, "Glass-Making: II. The History of a Picture-Window," *Popular Science Monthly* 35 (May 1889), http://www.stainedglasscanada.ca/MakingaTiffanyWindow1889.htm.

166 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 130n49.

167 Mary Gay Humphreys, "John La Farge, Artist and Decorator," *Art Amateur* 9, no. 1 (June 1883): 13–14.

168 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 103. This cloisonné technique was also used for the peacock window now at the Worcester Art Museum. This window took sixteen years to complete, from 1892 to 1908. The highly experimental window was purchased directly from the artist by the museum. The peacock motif was typical of the aesthetic movement in the late nineteenth century, and was ultimately inspired by Japanese art. The tall vertical format recalls Japanese *kakemono* scrolls.

169 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 14.

170 John La Farge. Manufacture of Colored-Glass Windows. US Patent 274,948, filed Jan. 23, 1882, and issued Apr. 3, 1883 (see Appendix).

171 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 160–61.

172 Ibid., 158–59.

173 La Farge, quoted in Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 398.

174 The signatures for the Wisdom window are reproduced in Robin Neely, "Two American Masterpieces: La Farge Windows in North Easton, Massachusetts," *Stained Glass Quarterly* 102, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 45.

175 La Farge, "Reply to Mr. Bing," 12–13. Quoted in Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 20–24.

176 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 158–59. "With a reliable supply of glass, La Farge focused on exploring enhanced illusionism, including the bravura *trompe-l'oeil* effects of contemporary European Salon painting. This was a natural progression given the 'highly pictorial' nature and classical subject matter of academic art at the time. This transition away from an eclectic pictorial glass style utilizing textured glasses and jewels to a more classical style emphasizing uniform closed surfaces conformed to a taste for sedate Beaux Arts architecture that came into vogue by the 1890s."

177 See James L. Yarnall, "Edwin Booth's Life in Paradise," *Newport History* 68, no. 3 (1997): 112–36.

178 The 1864 drawing is reproduced in George Parsons Lathrop, "John La Farge," *Scribner's Monthly* 21 (Feb. 1881): 504.

179 Quoted in "The Edwin Booth Memorial Window," *Critic* 33 (July–Aug. 1898): 61–63.

180 La Farge, *American Art of Glass,* 15–16.

181 Ibid., 21.

182 La Farge, "Window, Part III," 1090: "Some remarkable men have devoted some effort to the art; but those efforts have been limited by the separation of the draughtsmen from the executants in the glass, so that the most famous of these, Burne-Jones, complained to the writer of this article, in 1873, that his designs assumed a commercial shape when translated into glass, though made through the firm of a sympathetic manufacturer and a very intelligent designer himself, Mr. Morris."

183 Humphreys, "La Farge, Artist and Decorator," 13.

184 Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 17.

185 La Farge, "Reply to Mr. Bing of Paris," quoted in Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 19.

186 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 159: "Joined by two partners and several key assistants, Wright and Calvin set up shop on West 4th Street just off Washington Square. The company produced windows for many designers, including partners in the firm. As a result, windows by other artists after 1885 often share technical features and glasses with windows by La Farge, leading to attribution disputes."

187 John La Farge, "Two Recent Works by Rodin," *Scribner's Magazine* 23, no. 1 (Jan. 1898): 125–28.

188 "Proceedings 2, 2nd February 1892," *Royal Institute of British Architects Journal* (Feb. 25, 1892): 183. The subtitle of this portion of the proceedings is "Discussion: Mr. Alma Tadema." Quoted in Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 19.

189 Holiday repeated his remarks in his book *Stained Glass as an Art* (London: Macmillan, 1896), 159–63.

190 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 37.

191 John La Farge, quoted in ibid., 116.

192 Waern, *John La Farge*, 79.

193 August Strindberg, "The New Arts, or the Role of Chance in Artistic Creation," in *Inferno, Alone and Other Writings*, ed. Evert Sprinchorn (New York: Anchor Books, 1968), 98–104.

194 For the critical role of chance in Dada and surrealism, see Harriet Ann Watts, *Chance: A Perspective on Dada* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980).

195 La Farge, *Considerations on Painting*, 194.

196 Ibid., 245–46.

197 Augustus Saint-Gaudens, letter to Rose Nichols, Feb. 17, 1897, quoted in Augustus Saint-Gaudens, *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Volume 2*, ed. Homer Saint-Gaudens (New York: Century, 1913), 11–21: "Of course the one thing on my mind, the terrible specter that looms up, is poor Bion's death; night and day, at all moments, it comes over me like a wave that overwhelms me, and it takes away all heart that I may have in anything. Today, however, I have had a kind of sad feeling of companionship with him that seems to bring him to me, in working over the head of the flying figure of the Shaw….At the Twenty-seventh Street studio I've finished the nude of Sherman, and next week I begin to put clothes on him, and that, too, is progressing rapidly. Zorn, the Swedish artist, was with me all day Sunday, making an etching of me while the model rested; it is an admirable thing and I will send you a copy of it."

John La Farge:
Innovation in an International Setting

Virginia C. Raguin

John La Farge was complex, progressive, and at the same time highly eclectic. His deep contributions in the fields of mural painting and stained glass are integrated into his broad intelligence and his devotion to the *longue durée* of continental art, far in advance of his American colleagues. All art is political. It is invariably a visible language that expresses social cohesion—a statement of values. La Farge's pioneering work in mural decoration and in stained glass had its origins in Boston. In 1877 he produced the interior decorative scheme for Trinity Church, and in 1883 installed the west window *Christ in Majesty* (fig. 4.11), the first truly public statement of the wide-ranging possibility of opalescent glass for figural modeling and decorative brilliance. The window brought a rare, site-specific comment from Siegfried Bing, visiting America in 1893 to survey for France the state of the arts at the World's Columbian Exposition: "All marveled at the large stained glass window whose astonishing brilliance surpassed in its magic, anything of its kind created in modern times."[1] La Farge's intense admiration for the monuments of the past encourages an evocation of early Christian stone inlay and mosaic in the window. In these endeavors, La Farge was substantially alone. Despite his capacities for friendship and the admiration he inspired from the cultural elite of his day, his religion and European heritage made him an anomaly. That difference may have been a catalyst for his independent vision.

The Un-Irish Boston Catholic

John La Farge was born March 31, 1835, in New York City, the son of John Frederick La Farge and Louisa Binsse de Saint-Victor, French émigrés. He was not the typical Boston or New York Irish Catholic of his time. The country was in the throes of profound national stress; it faced the challenge of integrating waves of recent immigrants from Eastern Europe, Italy, Ireland, and China, as well as the African-American population in the wake of the divisive Civil War. Threats were perceived to what were believed to be American values even among some of the most progressive thinkers of the time. In 1869 the authors of *The American Woman's Home*, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Catharine Beecher, would write about domestic help. They feared "all the unreasoning heats and prejudices of the Celtic blood" exhibited in the newly arrived "daughters of Erin."[2] Tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Boston had often become acrimonious, resulting in the 1834 burning of an Ursuline convent in Charlestown, the "Know-Nothing" movement, and the Hannah Corcoran riots of 1853.[3]

In the nineteenth century, as now, Catholics were not a monolithic group. In 1869, when the Beecher sisters published their book, La Farge, at the age of thirty-four, was elected a member of the National Academy

of Design and was a part of the preliminary discussions on the creation of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[4] The social divisions between the elite establishment Catholic and the economically distressed immigrant can be seen much earlier, exemplified by Bishop Cheverus, aristocrat and refugee from France's revolution. Jean-Louis Anne Magdelaine Lefebvre de Cheverus, later known as John Cheverus, first emigrated to England in 1792, and then relocated to the New World, settling in Boston in 1796.[5] He moved in circles where it was normative to have one's portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart.[6] The Cathedral of the Holy Cross on Franklin Street was built after plans donated by the noted Federal-style architect Charles Bulfinch, who had designed Faneuil Hall, the State House, and many of Boston's premier buildings of the time. The church's Federal lines assimilated Catholics into a New England landscape. To this contemporary style, Bulfinch added an aura of continental Baroque through a modest cupola flanked by consoles that hid the slope of the roof. The unprecedented stylistic quote was undoubtedly homage to an architectural tradition associated with the "Romanist" faith.[7] Another prominent clergyman was Rev. James Fitton, born in Boston in 1805, representative of an English recusant tradition. His father came from Preston in Lancashire, an area of England's Midlands that remained Catholic even after the Reformation.

5.1. Edgar Degas (1834–1919), *Crucifixion* (after Mantegna), c. 1861. Oil on canvas, 27.2 x 36.4 in., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, 934-6-1.

Throughout the nineteenth century, however, institutional allegiances divided Catholic and Protestant Americans, especially in the spheres of education and the arts. Attendance at Harvard University was rare for Catholics.[8] Charles William Eliot, president of Harvard from 1869 to 1903, was vocally dismissive of universities "still in the medieval period" as he characterized the reliance on Jesuit tradition in the *Ratio Studiorum* of institutions such as Boston College.[9] Even when conducted in a civilized manner, the conflict gave rise to a generally accepted pattern of segregation of Catholic and "native" elements of the population, as demonstrated by the proscriptive movement against Roman Catholic school committee members and teachers in Boston toward the end of the century. Artists were sensitive to these feelings, and assurances sent by La Farge to Augustus Saint-Gaudens during their collaboration in the decoration of the chancel of St. Thomas Church, New York, deserve quoting:

> Do not take much stock in what Dr. Morgan thinks suitable for the figures unless you yourself approve of what he says. He has, as you remember, a fear that they will be too Catholic. There is no danger. There is no such thing as the Protestant in art. All you need do is not to make any aureoles around their heads. Any medieval sculpture or renaissance (not a late one), or painting of the early time (Italian) give the type that will be needed to be neither high nor low church.[10]

Europe: More than the Grand Tour

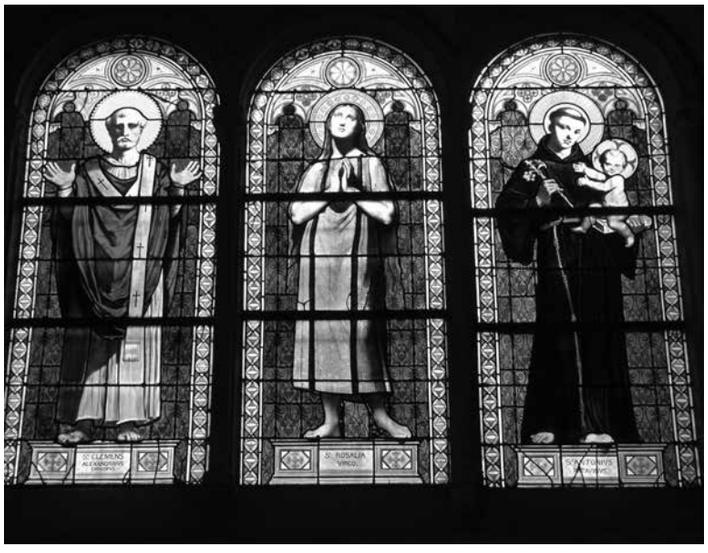
As different as he was from many Americans, La Farge was profoundly at home in France. Unlike other elite Americans, he was bilingual by birth, and via his mother's family, already European. Henry Adams remarked that La Farge was "un-American" to the extent that the writer questioned whether he could make "his art intelligible to Americans."[11] Our contemporary cultural advantages can often rob us of an ability to look back at highly restrictive times in our history. The limits of American artistic culture in the mid-nineteenth century were profound. Institutions such as New York's Metropolitan Museum or Boston's Museum of Fine Arts were yet to be even imagined. Europe, however, provided the visitor, whether casual tourist or passionate student, treasures of millennia housed in Rome's Vatican since the early sixteenth century, London's British Museum (since 1753), Florence's Uffizi (since 1756), and Paris's Louvre (since 1793).[12] This was La Farge's patrimony.

Travel to study in Europe at the age of twenty-one was, naturally, de rigueur. The road to artistic success for any serious student of the time began with the experience of copying Old Masters in situ. Indeed, even beginning students began their classes by drawing from plaster casts. La Farge's study year of 1856–57 coin-

cided with the itinerary of Edgar Degas, born in 1834, a year before La Farge. As a teenager Degas began making copies in the Louvre. By 1855, he met the aging Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) and then enrolled in the École des Beaux-Arts, studying with an Ingres follower, Louis Lamothe. In 1856, the same year as La Farge's arrival in Europe, Degas began his study tour of Italy, where, for three years, he assiduously copied Renaissance masters as diverse as Mantegna, Titian, Michelangelo, and Raphael (fig. 5.1).[13]

When he arrived in Paris, as Jeffery Howe has pointed out, La Farge had been welcomed into a cultivated circle of artists, writers, and critics through his influential cousin Paul de Saint-Victor.[14] His keen intelligence and extremely wide ranging interests were renowned among his circle.[15] We should have some confidence that La Farge was aware of all that was transpiring of contemporary artistic significance in Europe, especially in the monumental arts.

He spoke poignantly about the dominance of English glazing studios when he completed his murals for Trinity; he certainly had seen French as well as German work, either in Europe or in multiple installations in the United States. The construction of La Farge's own painterly windows has much to do with the styles that he might have admired but did not wish to emulate from Europe. A review of the difference enables us to understand the context of his commissions.



5.2. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Saints Clement, Rosalia, and Anthony of Padua*, 1843. Notre-Dame-de-Compassion, Paris.

France's Windows and the Heritage of the Past

Given France's extraordinary wealth of twelfth- and thirteenth-century stained glass, the revival of the craft, as it was experienced throughout Europe in the early nineteenth century, was deeply linked to restoration. The decision to restore rather than replace followed the transformation of the French political structure through the conservative monarchy of Louis Philippe in the 1830s. The Orléanist monarchy was anxious to bolster its legitimacy by establishing its links to the Capetians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who had first welded the diverse provinces of France into a unified state. Louis Philippe supported the exploration of stained glass technique by the Sèvres Company and installed windows by the studio in the royal chapel at Dreux between 1843 and 1845. The strangely eloquent mingling of classical and Gothic systems in its sculpture and glazing programs was intended to evoke the heritage of the monarchy. Designed by Ingres, the dominant classicist painter, a series of windows shows the patron saints of the royal family. St. Philip appears with the facial traits of Louis Philippe, the queen as St. Amélie, and Ferdinand, the Duke of Orléans (the heir), as St. Ferdinand.[16] In 1843, Ingres designed the windows for what was then known as the chapel of St. Ferdinand (fig. 5.2), built to honor the site of the accidental death of the heir in 1842. The small chapel in Paris's seventeenth arrondissement, now Notre-Dame-de-Compassion, suggests a jewel box with rounded arms of almost similar dimensions. The building's patrons were comfortable with an amalgam of eclectic inspiration. Its shape evokes the sixth-century Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna; its decorative elements are reminiscent of Byzantine, Gothic, classical, and Renaissance forms. Like Dreux, the building honors the patron saints of the royal family. The Sèvres manufacture of these costly and complex enamel paintings on glass was brought to a close with the revolution of 1848, which forced the king to abdicate, and the death in 1847 of Alexandre Brongniart, the engineer most responsible for perfecting the enamel techniques and the company's director since 1800.

The monarchy encouraged restoration campaigns in all of the major religious monuments, both to repair old glass and to augment fragmentary windows with new panels. In 1830 the service of the Monuments historiques was founded and in 1834, the Société française d'archéologie. In 1833–35 a campaign to restore Saint-Denis's glass, including the replacement of the panels taken out by Alexandre Lenoir (1762–1839), was underway. These windows and those of numerous other churches in the Parisian region had been gathered in a romantic ensemble from 1799 to 1816 in a museum of French historic monuments, directed

by Lenoir, that had been formed by the revolutionary government and continued under Napoleon. Etienne Thèvenot (1797–1862) repaired the windows of the cathedrals of Bourges and, with Emile Thibaud (1810–96), the windows of the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand.[17] Both glass painters publicized their work by books about what they had come to see as "true" methods of Gothic Revival work. They indicate in general comments and in specific plans for restoration of Clermont-Ferrand that they felt capable of producing windows in specific period styles.[18]

The most important event, however, was the creation in 1839 of the first modern window in a meticulously researched and publicly accepted medieval style, the *Passion* window of the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris (figs. 5.3–4). The design was based on the as-yet unrestored windows of the Sainte-Chapelle. It represented the collaborative efforts of the supervising architect, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus (1807–57); Adolphe Napoléon Didron (1806–67), editor of the *Annales archéologiques* and founder of the Didron atelier, who provided the iconography; Louis Charles Auguste Steinheil (1814–85), designer and cartooner; and M. E. F. Reboulleau, a chemist and author of a manual on glass painting,[19] who fabricated the work. In an article for the *Annales* of 1844, Lassus stressed that this commission proved that the contemporary glass painter was capable of reaching the quality of the art of the past, "for one reproduced for the new window, or more accurately for the renewal of the example of ancient glass, the same armature, context, and dimensions."[20]

Didron, Lassus, and architect/author Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79) were joined around 1841 by an unusually adept but unfortunately short-lived glass painter, Henri Gérente (1814–49). Gérente's knowledge of iconography and medieval draftsmanship made

5.3. Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus, Adolphe Napoléon Didron, and Louis Charles Auguste Steinheil, *Passion of Christ*, 1839. Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.

5.4. Medallion of the *Crowning of Thorns* (detail of fig. 5.3).

5.5. Louis Charles Auguste Steinheil, designer; Eugène Oudinot Studio, fabricator, *St. Stephen before Judges*, 1863. Notre-Dame, Paris.

him appear to his architect patrons as the hope for a rebirth of the medieval aesthetic. In his 1844 essay in the *Annales archéologiques*, Didron described the *Life of the Virgin* window for Le Mans as the finest window he had ever seen, especially in contrast to the Renaissance enamel painting of the Sèvres atelier or contemporary German work (to be discussed below). He still had reservations, however, regretting that Gérente had emulated too closely the courtly style of 1280–1300 rather than the more vigorous style of the early thirteenth century. By 1848, Gérente was designing windows in an earlier style, close to the forms of the Sainte-Chapelle, as evident in the panels he made for the cathedral in Ely, England. He even employed paint in a matte effect to suggest the patination acquired by age in genuine medieval glass.[21] In 1849 the studio was awarded the landmark American commission of glazing the apse windows of St. James the Less in Philadelphia.[22] The Gérente style—at least the effort to emulate the High Gothic—continued through the nineteenth century. In the 1860s, new windows were installed in Notre-Dame of Paris, in general emulating the early thirteenth century, the era of the cathedral's construction.[23] The firm of Eugène Oudinot used the cartoons of Steinheil for the window of St. Stephen, dated 1863 (fig. 5.5). A series of successive rectangular medallions are framed by pointed double arches whether the scene is of an exterior or interior event. The figures in clear colors of green, red, murrey, and beige, interact as silhouetted forms against a uniform deep blue background. Modeling is confined to linear swaths that outline contours of facial features and drapery folds.

The popularity of the Gothic Revival or the *vitrail archéologique* was met by equal interest in the *vitrail tableau*, or picture window.[24] Ultimately this expression was far closer to the artistic choice of La Farge, an amalgam of eclectic prece-

dents, deeply influenced by France's prevailing academic tradition of painting. Charles Maréchal de Metz (1802–84), a master glass painter from Lorraine achieved a long-lasting success. He was a former pupil of Delacroix, an artist deeply admired by La Farge, and headed one of the most technically proficient stained glass studios of the time, adept at engraving and the use of enamel paints with great subtlety. His aisle windows of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, 1844, present three-dimensional figures against a deeply colored tapestry background surround by a light-color grisaille frame of large naturalistic leaves (fig. 5.6). The church is in a neo-classical style and the windows harmonize with the architecture in scale and in style.[25] Maréchal's enterprise, begun in 1837, flourished for thirty years before it was taken over by Charles Champigneulle; it is estimated to have produced 12,000 windows in 1,600 buildings. The *vitrail tableau*, as used by Maréchal, remained highly popular throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. In 1847, for example, Maréchal would install *vitrail tableau* windows in the nave of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, quite distinct from the Gothic Revival of the apse, discussed above.

5.6. Charles Maréchal de Metz, *Salvador Mundi*, 1844. Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Paris.

5.7. François-Christian Gau, architect, north nave, 1846–57. Sainte-Clotilde, Paris.

Even churches in a Gothic style often mixed the concept of the historical-revival and the pictorial style. Sainte-Clotilde (fig. 5.7) was the first church built in Paris entirely in Neo-Gothic, its construction extending from 1846 to 1857.[26]

Its windows were the products of a number of major firms, resulting in a mingling of various styles.[27] Those of the nave present male and female figures designed to reinforce the legal and moral continuity of Christian France through its monarchs and early saints. The window of *Saints Christine and Paul* (figs. 5.8–9) shows St. Christine, a virgin martyr of the third century and the hermit St. Paul. Installed in 1854, it was designed by P. Jourdy and executed by Antoine Lusson and Édouard Bourdon (le Mans).[28] The figures are framed in a Gothic niche, with a deeply colored Damascene background. The modeling uses a soft tonal wash enabling gradual modulation of transition from light to dark. The figure is expressively three-dimensional, especially evident in the powerful structure of the hermit's head and his long, flowing beard. The windows in Saint-Clotilde's apsidal chapels, designed by Nicolas-Auguste Hesse (1795–1869), were fabricated by Laurent (died 1892) and Gsell (1814–1904) and display an even stronger pictorial mode than those of the nave.

5.8. P. Jourdy, designer; Antoine Lusson and Édouard Bourdon, fabricators, *Saint Christine*, 1854. Sainte-Clotilde, Paris.

An image of the death of Joseph (fig. 5.10), a subject which had become recently popular in Catholic art, shows Christ's foster father lying diagonally on a bed, Mary kneeling close to the foreground on the right while the boy Jesus is further away, on the opposite side of the bed. The bed itself casts a shadow on the floor while the drapery is modeled in soft, volumetric folds.

In Paris, La Farge was familiar with the mid-century redecoration of St. Eustache. The building was constructed from 1532 to 1637, bridging late medieval and Renaissance forms. In 1856 the chapel of the Virgin (fig. 5.11) received three monumental murals by one of the pillars of the French academic world, Thomas Couture (1815–79). La Farge had enrolled for a short time in Couture's studio. The altar held a sculpture by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–85). Couture's surrounding lunette-shaped paintings present, in the center, the Virgin as Mother of the Savior, to the left, as Star of the Sea, and to the right, as Consoler of the Afflicted. There were conflicted reactions, complaints that the figures were too common, looking like contemporary Parisians, but at the same time admiration for Couture's color and technical execution.[29]

The chapel's windows complement Couture's academic style. Designed by Hesse, they were executed by the well-known Clermont-Ferrand studio of Etienne Thèvenot.[30] The four-light window of the Annunciation (fig. 5.12) in the

center shows Mary and Gabriel flanked by two solidly sculpted angels, each holding a text from the Hail Mary. The academically modeled figures establish three-dimensional presence against classicizing architecture and muted grisaille. The composition *The Ascension of Our Lord* that John La Farge painted for the Church of the Ascension, New York, exhibits many similarities (fig. 3.12).[31] Accomplished between 1886 and 1888, the American painting evokes the same pyramidal composition and three dimensional figures in a limited special plane. Weinberg's deep perspectives on *The Ascension* deserve quoting in full:

> La Farge's borrowings from the past seem to have resulted from an imaginative and fluid, rather than a programmatic eclecticism. Thus it is not surprising to find his stylistic expediency served by combining motifs from Venetian and Roman High Renaissance painting, by then fusing them with a quotation from Couture, and finally by juxtaposing the resulting figural composite from the Western tradition with an Oriental setting.[32]

France's decisions about appropriate style are associated with the influence of the Nazarene movement that had become so dominant in Germany. Steinheil, who had designed in a pure Gothic Revival style for Notre-Dame in 1863 (fig. 5.5) produced a dramatically different window of the Crucifixion (fig. 5.13) for the church of Saint-Roch in 1875.[33]

It is unknown if on later visits to France La Farge may have seen it, but its limpid simplicity and smoothly rendered figures certainly parallel Germany's Nazarene-inspired work as well as recall the legacy of Ingres. Saint-Roch is an aggressively Baroque building in the center of Paris, constructed between 1653 and 1740. Its lavish décor and well-lit open space made it a magnet for visits and services. A significant mural showing the *Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch* (fig. 5.14) by Théodore Chassériau was installed in 1853; La Farge was deeply impressed by the artist and he visited his studio during his first trip to Paris in April 1856.[34] It is inconceivable that La Farge did not see it, and at the same time he would have seen an 1816 window, showing a highly realistic image of the Crucifixion against uncolored glass by Morteleque (fig. 5.15).[35]

5.9. P. Jourdy, designer; Antoine Lusson and Édouard Bourdon, fabricators, *Saint Paul*, 1854. Sainte-Clotilde, Paris.

5.10. Nicolas-Auguste Hesse, designer; Laurent and Gsell, fabricators, *Death of St. Joseph*, 1855. Sainte-Clotilde, Paris.

5.11. Thomas Couture, Chapel of the Virgin, 1856. St. Eustache, Paris.

Germany and the Nazarenes

La Farge's familiarity with the stained glass of France and Italy, although the Italian Renaissance glass was known to him more through prints than personal experience, should not be taken as evidence that he was unaware of developments of glazing in Germany. Indeed, Germany, or rather the Kingdom of Bavaria and the Rhine Province (of Prussia) as they were known before unification, were considered touchstones in the European community for the revitalization of monumental art via government support. La Farge also visited Augsburg, Munich, and Regensburg on his first trip to Europe in 1856.[36] The Bavarian/Rhenish style of glass painting, perhaps more than that of any other European country, was a part of contemporaneous trends in painting, in turn expressive of new ideas of religious purpose and nationalism. The artistic mood of the early years of the nineteenth century was deeply motivated by a renewed sense of the greatness of the Germanic past and a sense of collective purpose in the face of the French hegemony, so clearly evidenced by the Napoleonic conquests. Goethe's 1772 essay, *Von deutscher Baukunst*, was an early manifestation of a desire to see a national ethnic character in "Germanic" art of the medieval world.[37] Nuremberg's 1828 ceremony celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of Albrecht Dürer's death, attended by representatives from all German-speaking territories, took on the character of a national revival.[38] Ludwig of Bavaria's vigorous support of the liturgical arts, especially that of glass painting, must be seen in relationship to this general reevaluation of a medieval past as a high point of German artistic, religious, and political power. As first announced in Goethe's seminal essay, the medieval art most frequently cited was the art of the fourteenth

through the early sixteenth century. Thus Dürer and his contemporaries were characterized as the last great flowering of the Middle Ages.

This view animated the development of the Nazarene school of painting, the most significant influence for German nineteenth-century glass.[39] Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869) set the movement's philosophy by founding a Brotherhood of St. Luke and moving with followers into a secularized monastery on the outskirts of Rome in 1810.[40] In 1841, no less a proponent of the Gothic, Augustus W. N. Pugin would write of him as "the great Overbeck, that prince of Christian painters" stating that all who are "interested in the revival of Catholic art should possess engravings" of his works.[41] The Nazarenes produced images melding Catholic religious sentiment with a Raphaelesque air of idealism and sweetness; they favored glowing colors, Renaissance figural types, and smoothly polished surfaces, as exemplified by Overbeck's *Italia and Germania*, 1828 (fig. 5.16). The work fuses the deeply felt religious sentiment of the North with the Renaissance forms of the South. Above all, the Nazarenes were imbued with the concept that moral teaching was the essential purpose of art. Heinrich Hess, who would later become prominent in the design of frescoes and glass painting, was part of the first generation of artists grouped around Overbeck. Peter Cornelius and Wilhelm Schadow were to reorganize the study of oil painting at the Academy in Düsseldorf in 1826, and Hess became the artistic manager of the Königlichen Glasmalereianstalt (Royal Bavarian Glass Painting Manufactory) in Munich in 1837.[42]

That the Nazarene painting style was able to be translated on glass was facilitated by the technical experiments of Sigmund Frank. Frank began as a porcelain painter but around 1810 started to produce paintings on glass after antique sculpture and Renaissance prints, such as Dürer's *Last Supper* and Goltzius's *Circumcision*.[43] In 1818 the young prince Ludwig of Bavaria secured Frank's appointment as painter for the royal porcelain establishments in Munich, where he developed sophisticated enamel colors.[44] One of the first commissions directed by Hess with Frank's new techniques was the glazing of Regensburg Cathedral in the purported style of the building. Seven windows were made between 1826 and 1829. Two were exhibited in Munich before installation, a window of the life of St. Stephen and another containing a scene of St. Beno converting the Slavs. The cartoons and fabrication of the figural images were by Christian Ruben, among others, and the architectural ornament by Max E. Ainmiller.[45] In these areas the greatest influence was the late fifteenth-century style exemplified by the windows now associated with the Strasbourg Workshop Cooperative.[46] An image of the *Virgin with the Lily*, now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, shows the same richly draped figure under an elaborate architectural framework that was to be the most commonly employed motif for nineteenth-century window designs.[47] In 1828 the west wall of Regensburg Cathedral received stained glass, now lost, but recorded in an oil sketch of the cathedral by Max. E. Ainmiller.[48]

Probably the most influential commission was that for the nineteenth-century windows for Our Lady of Help in the new suburb of Au outside Munich. The church was designed by Ohlmüller in a fifteenth-century style and the glass produced under Hess's direction, in what was believed to be a complementary mode, between 1834 and 1843. All the costs for the windows were borne by King Ludwig of Bavaria. Two folio publications, one of black and white and later another of chromolithograph plates, made the windows of Au accessible to a broad European audience.[49] Although brilliant in color, the windows allowed a high degree of light to enter the building. The elaborate architectural frames were based on the intertwining of organic and architectural forms, like those produced

5.12. Nicolas-Auguste Hesse, designer; Etienne Thèvenot, fabricator, *Annunciation Flanked by Angels*, c. 1856. St. Eustache, Paris.

5.13. Louis Charles Auguste Steinheil, designer; C. Riquier, fabricator, *Crucifixion*, 1875. Saint-Roch, Paris.

5.14. Théodore Chassériau (1819–56), *Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch*, 1853. Saint-Roch, Paris.

four centuries earlier. The brilliant color and detailed draftsmanship were also found in the medieval prototypes, but the actual figures and the three-dimensional settings were far more indebted to Italianate models. The German windows were the touchstone against which both French and English manufacturers measured their progress.[50]

The Au commission was followed in 1844 by the windows on the south side of Cologne Cathedral, the completion of which impacted revival styles in both architecture and stained glass. Although the choir had been finished in 1322 and the north nave by 1560, the façade was a truncated stump and the south nave, transept, towers, and radiating chapels had been left unfinished. A national and religious effort to complete the cathedral was supported by the art collectors Melchior and Sulpice Boisserée, the scholar/journalist Joseph Görres (1776–1848), and the lawyer/politician August Reichensperger. Rebuilding began in 1823 and the dedication took place in 1880.[51]

All of the windows in Cologne Cathedral's south nave testify to Bavarian royal largesse via the Königlichen Glasmalereianstalt; the inscription on the dedicatory shield for the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 5.17) reads *Ludovicus I Bavariae rex donator Anno Domini 1846*. Exemplifying the brilliance of the so-called Munich style, the window's complex figural composition extends over all four lancets. The clustered figures are framed by a lavish, three-dimensional canopy housing standing figures. In the base, four Major Prophets are framed as if they are statues in shallow niches. The silhouetting of the figure against Damascene ground and the subtle balance of color increases the impact of the meticulous painting. Glowing colors infusing soft drapery folds further transform the windows into ethereal visions. These windows were deeply associated with spiritual purpose, a direction vital to La Farge, as explored throughout this volume. A window of 1856 in Cologne's south transept honors Joseph Görres with the inscription naming him "noble defender of the Catholic faith in Germany." The two-lancet window shows Görres in typical medieval format, kneeling before the Virgin and Child while St. Joseph, his patron saint, stands behind him. Below this image are the great medieval defenders of the faith for Germany, St. Boniface and the Emperor Charlemagne.[52]

5.15. Morteleque, *Crucifixion*, 1816. Saint-Roch, Paris.

5.16. Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia and Germania*, 1828. Oil on canvas, 37.2 x 41.2 in., Neue Pinakothek, Munich, WAF 755 (acquired by King Ludwig I in 1832).

5.17. Königlichen Glasmalereianstalt, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1846, south nave. Cologne Cathedral.

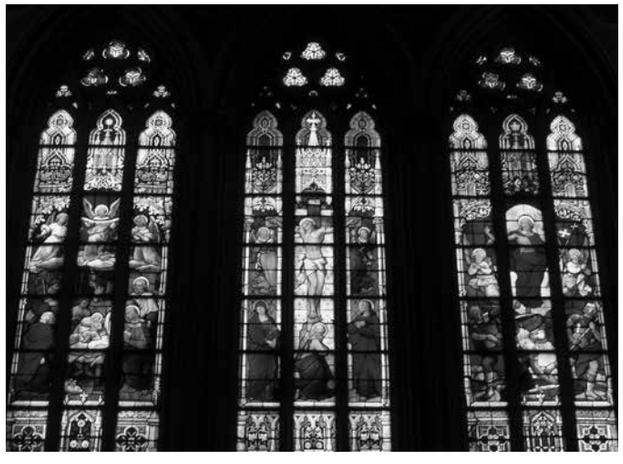
A *Stoning of St. Stephen* of magisterial composition fills another window in the south aisle (fig. 5.18). The youthful, tonsured saint, clad in red deacon's vestments, forms a sloping diagonal as he falls to the ground. Two Jewish elders stand above him, their arms raised to cast stones, eloquent in their determination to exact vengeance on the apostate. Their powerful physiques, even that of the older man in yellow robes, attest to a designer highly trained in the academic tradition. To the left and right, old age and youth turn to view the scene. On the left, the bald man in purple, and to right the fair-haired boy in red, form pendants to the action. The enamel-like coloring and polished modeling of three-dimensional contours so characteristic of Nazarene oil painting are here invigorated by the intensity of color as experienced in transmitted light.

One of the earliest examples of Bavarian stained glass in America appears to have been the result of an ethnic Irish bishop of Buffalo visiting Europe and making a personal selection. This was a time-honored pattern of decision making in the architectural arts. Twenty years later, Phillips Brooks would visit the London studio of Clayton and Bell to select windows for the chancel of Trinity Church, Boston. St. Joseph's Cathedral in Buffalo was designed by Patrick C. Keely (1816–96), the architect who would produce huge numbers of Catholic churches in the Northeast. The construction of the Gothic-style building began in 1851 and the dedication took place in 1855.[53] The first bishop of the "frontier" diocese of Buffalo, John Timon, engaged Keely and also visited King Ludwig of Bavaria in 1854–55.[54] He acquired from the then deposed king the three sanctuary windows of the *Nativity*, *Crucifixion*, and *Resurrection*.

The windows were designed by Josef Scherer, a highly accomplished and prolific designer of glass, established by 1829 in Munich and closely allied with the Boisserée brothers and with the newly formed Königlichen Glasmalereianstalt.[55] He often collaborated with his brothers Alois, Leo, and Sebastian, and produced work for the Frauenkirche and St. Peter's in Munich, as well as Stuttgart and Landshut. The windows for Buffalo had won first prize in the Munich Exposition in 1854, possibly an encouragement for Scherer's opening his own studio in Munich the same year. Visually the windows are extremely close in style to the "Bavarians" of the south aisle of Cologne Cathedral (1842–48). The windows in Buffalo (fig. 5.19) show the same organization of a single dominant figural scene across all lancet subdivisions. The same color harmonies of ocher, royal blue, lavender, emerald green, and burgundy dominate the image and are set against the white and gold architectural surround. The figural types are absolutely identical. Raphael-inspired figures of nobility and sweetness operate in a dignified tableau. The large groups of actors create the three dimensional space framed by the Gothic architectural forms. At the upper portions of the window lacy spires occupy the termination of the trefoil lancets.

Windows installed by the Thomas and John Morgan Studio of New York brought the Nazarene style to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston. Construction of the building went on between 1868 and 1876; documentary evidence suggests that the chancel windows, now destroyed, were in place by 1876. A nave window designed by an unidentified German studio showing the *Doubting Thomas* (fig. 5.20) is inscribed with the date of 1876. Similar to the Cologne composition of thirty years earlier, the scene extends across the three lancets. The figures' dramatic interaction takes place in resolutely three-dimensional space framed by far more abstracted ornament. A majestic rounded arch is flanked by pillars topped with conical towers enhanced by gold accents. Lavish fronds in yellow, blue, and green decorate the arch, complementing the vertical fronds on either side of the golden pediment, all silhouetted against a pink and blue checkered background. Analysis of the cathedral's windows and comparison with the firm's later work suggest that the Morgan Studio employed, among others, German-trained craftspersons and/or foreign subcontractors who could work in different styles. Such imports, often never acknowledged, were plentiful.

5.18. Königlichen Glasmalereianstalt, *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 1846, south nave. Cologne Cathedral.



5.19. Josef Scherer, designer, *Nativity, Crucifixion, Resurrection*, 1854. St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo.

5.20. Thomas and John Morgan Studio, installers, *Doubting Thomas*, 1876. Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston.

Nazarene paintings, widely disseminated in prints of a wide range of sizes and quality, deeply influenced the entire production of German windows of the time.[56] The Mayer of Munich Studio, still in operation, was one of the most prolific purveyors of windows to the United States. It retains early design books containing numerous printed images from the Nazarenes, especially Overbeck, as well as photographs of the full-scale cartoons developed from the prints. A reflection of these years can be found in publications by the studios themselves, such as the volume commemorating the forty years of business by the Tyrolese Art Glass Company (Tiroler Glasmalerei Anstalt), Innsbruck, by Josef Fischer.[57] The 1894 text reveals the studio's own ideas of its flagship commissions. A special section was devoted to windows installed in the United States; one of the firm's largest commissions was for the cathedral of Hartford, Connecticut built by Patrick C.

Keely, now lost to fire.[58] The Hartford window of *Christ Calming the Sea*, installed in 1888, was illustrated. At this time the diocese extended from Hartford south through Rhode Island. Thus numerous churches in Providence received windows by the Tiroler Glasmalerei Anstalt, most significantly the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul in 1886, the product of the studio's chief designer, Franz Pernlochner (1847–95). Fortunately the studio's books are still extant, and indicate the working methods. Dimensions of the window openings, organization of subject matter, and specific directions were often supplemented with photographs of the building.

Pernlochner designed a complete program of windows for Saint John's Church in Bangor, Maine. Built by Fr. Johannes Bapst, SJ between 1855 and 1856, the church displays three windows in the chancel: the *Resurrected Christ* flanked by the *Virgin Mary* and *John the Evangelist*. Installed as the building was completed, they are arguably by an American firm, very possibly Henry Sharp of New York, a favored studio of the architect Richard Upjohn.[59] Between 1886 and 1888, the remaining twenty windows were commissioned from the Tiroler Glasmalerei Anstalt.[60] Each window is a tall, elongated lancet beginning with a lower base of paired arches that frame a variety of stylized flowers. Approximately one third of the window is reserved for the figural depiction. The transept contains six windows of biblical narrative starting with the *Annunciation* (fig. 5.21) and ending with the scene of the *Holy Family in Nazareth*. The twelve windows of the nave are dedicated to Christ's ministry, suffering, and resurrection, ending with scenes of his *Giving the Keys to St. Peter* and *St. Paul Arriving in Rome*. Two additional windows show inspirational saints, St. Edward the Confessor in his act of charity giving his ring to a beggar and St. Margaret Mary Alacoque's vision of the Sacred Heart. Crowning the scenes is a complex canopy of lacy, superimposed arches and Gothic towers silhouetted against a grisaille ground of pale blue quatrefoils laid on a beige ground. The figural areas display dense hues of turquoise, emerald, and scarlet. Great sweeps of drapery carry the eye through the drama of the events.

5.21. Franz Pernlochner, *Annunciation*, 1886–88. Saint John's Church, Bangor.

The window depicting *St. Paul Arriving in Rome* (fig. 5.22) evokes the consummate draftsmanship and power of Cologne's *Stoning of St. Stephen* (fig. 5.18). The saint, in chains, confronts the populace and the classical architecture of Rome on the shore. The moment is described in the Acts of the Apostles 28:14–16:

> And so we came to Rome. And the brothers there, when they heard about us, came as far as the Forum of Appius and Three Taverns to meet us. On seeing them, Paul thanked God and took courage. And when we came into Rome, Paul was allowed to stay by himself, with the soldier who guarded him.

Paul's left arm is extended in greeting, drawing attention to the complex folds of his ocher robe with its gray-blue lining. The decorative prow of the ship with its dolphin accent frames the saint on the left, while a muscular sailor, holding the landing rope appears on the right.

The limited number of La Farge's windows among Catholic clients needs serious reevaluation. Any categorization of these windows as "inferior imports" is untenable. Rather, historians need to be aware of Catholic funding structures and the near-universal demand for complex pictorial imagery to further doctrinal and devotional agendas. The influence of continental studios actually increased in the last quarter of the century, a phenomenon that kept pace with the growth and economic strength of Roman Catholic immigration. These newly enfranchised patrons favored studios in Munich and Innsbruck for both expertise in pious iconography and a reassuring verisimilitude in style. Imagery was influenced by Schnorr von Carolsfeld's woodcut Bible illustrations and paintings by Heinrich Hofmann (1824–1911) and Bernhard Plockhorst (1825–1907). They were, and still are, ubiquitous in global Christian culture. During the century other studios flourished, in particular Franz Mayer, F. X. Zettler, and Gustav

Van Treeck in Munich. In the United States the style was embodied by the Von Gerichten Studio of Columbus, Ohio and that of Emil Frei of St. Louis. Frei later opened a Munich branch. Important works on canvas by the Nazarenes are now exhibited in Munich's Neue Pinakothek (as well as American museums), but the windows that prolonged this style can be found by the thousands in churches across the United States.

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Harvard University's Memorial Hall and Boston's Trinity Church were commissions that profoundly changed American glazing practices.[61] The pattern of commissions for both edifices demonstrates that quality glazing before 1880 was synonymous with European imports. In 1877, indeed, when the final selection of studios for Trinity's windows was under debate, Henry James published his novel, *The American*, in which a naïve and sincere American businessman, Christopher Newman, attempts to "achieve" culture as he has achieved financial success, by acquisition. The acquisition of a European wife in the person of the aristocratic Claire de Cintré proves more difficult than the acquisition of simple wealth. Newman's failure, however, is more apparent than real, for he achieves a superiority of purpose in rejecting the European behavior patterns that had conspired against him and his intended bride.

The failure of La Farge to achieve his ideal glazing program for Trinity Church, and the presence of the European product in so prestigious a place served as a catalyst for the emergence of a distinctly American tradition in the 1880s. There was no question that the construction of Trinity Church in the recently reclaimed land of the Back Bay of Boston would be a landmark of American architecture (figs. 4.9–10). H. H. Richardson designed the building after Romanesque models in France and Spain.[62] He had known La Farge for six years when he received the commission to design Trinity in 1872. It is highly probable that Richardson discussed ideas about the decorating of the interior at this early date. The two men were in contact, assuredly, since La Farge appears to have suggested to the architect the model of the tower of Salamanca cathedral for Trinity's crossing, and he provided photographs.[63]

5.22. Franz Pernlochner, *St. Paul Arriving in Rome*, 1886–88. Saint John's Church, Bangor.

5.23. Samuel West, tower windows, 1876. Trinity Church, Boston.

La Farge had been known chiefly as a painter of portraits, still lifes, and landscapes. He was obligated to collaborate with other artists, however, for such a large scale project. The colleagues included Augustus Saint-Gaudens, George Willoughby Maynard, Francis David Millet, and Francis Lathrop. Like La Farge, Millet and Lathrop were later to design stained glass. The result of this effort has been viewed by contemporary and later critics as a major statement of monumental painting.[64] Above the great arches of the crossing are bust-length images of angels with scrolls. Six monumental figures of apostles and prophets stand in the spandrels above the crossing piers. The nave houses two majestic compositions, the *Visit of Nicodemus to Christ* on the south wall, and *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* on the north.[65]

La Farge had hopes for a muted, grisaille glazing to better illuminate his murals. He commissioned from Samuel West the fish-scale patterned windows in the tower (fig. 5.23), after concern about the jarring effect that an inappropriate color selection might impose on the interior. He also designed a grisaille window and installed it in a vain effort to convince the building committee to abandon its plans for imagery in the glass.[66] The vestry, however, voted to seek donors for figural windows and La Farge's window was removed. Installed by the spring of 1879, the windows were by the French and English firms of Cottier & Co., Clayton & Bell, Burlison & Grylls, Henry Holiday (then designing for Powell & Sons), and Eugène Oudinot.[67] This must have been a severe disappointment to La Farge who felt that he had completed the work at great

financial and physical strain. His 1894 recollection of the context was that "the English glass stainers were also convinced, and had persuaded the architects and persons of influence that I was incapable of making anything of value [in glass]."[68]

La Farge's correspondence and his earliest biographers attest to a search for new methods of window design consonant with painterly expression.[69] He was the artist of choice for the glazing of Harvard's Memorial Hall, by the architects Ware and Van Brunt, completed between 1870 and 1876. The class of 1844 had asked the artist to design a window on the theme of Christopher Columbus and the Chevalier Bayard for which they projected a cost of $1,000.[70] During the winter of 1874–75, La Farge executed some sort of sketch of Bayard which was approved by the class.[71] La Farge's experimentations with techniques of plating, however, pushed the price to more than twice the projected sum and the project was abandoned. The class of 1844 did eventually acquire a window due to the fortuitous visit of A. C. Baldwin, a class member, to London where he presented the project to Henry Holiday and Powell & Sons.[72]

He brought with him a sketch after the sample provided by the architects Ware and Van Brunt for a two-lancet design.[73] In one of the lancets was Chaucer. Holiday, it seems, was particularly fond of Dante and presumably suggested the companion figure.[74] The *Dante and Chaucer* window by Holiday was installed in 1879, as was the window of *Sir Philip Sidney and Epaminondas* for the class of 1857, fabricated by Cottier & Co. with a branch in New York and familiar from the Trinity Church commissions of 1878.[75] A year later Holiday provided another pair, *Columbus and Blake*.[76]

Thus, the crucial era for La Farge's development came at a time when Holiday's work deprived the artist of commissions in two of the most prestigious programs of the decade, Trinity and Harvard. In addition, Holiday's *Saint Paul* and *Christ amid the Children* (fig. 5.24) were in direct competition for attention with his Trinity murals, and were set in the north nave, precisely where La Farge had set his grisaille panels as a demonstration of the superiority of a non-figural design.[77] A wood engraving of the north nave showing La Farge's grisaille, executed by West appears in Roger Riordan's 1881 seminal articles, "American Stained Glass," in *American Art Review* (fig. 5.25). Riordan's opinion, which undoubtedly echoed La Farge's sentiments, castigates the imported windows of the chancel:

> The failure of the other windows, in the modern English style, to harmonize with the mural decorations, was what caused Mr. La Farge seriously to turn his attention to the making of stained glass, and the first fruit of this was the strikingly successful window in question [the destroyed grisaille], the only one in the church which is in keeping with the general scheme.[78]

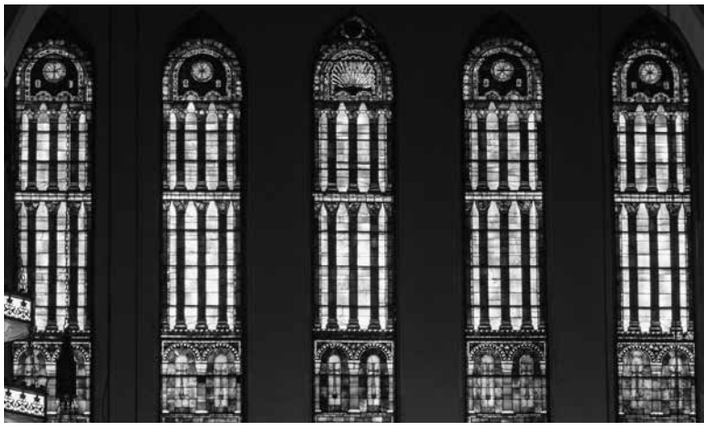
Private commissions for lavish townhouses, however, allowed La Farge to pursue his artistic vision. La Farge's first successful figural commission in this glass were allegorical panels showing *The Fruits of Commerce* and *Hospitality/Prosperity* for the William H. Vanderbilt House in New York, installed in 1881.[79] The artist exploited the effects of his new opalescent glass to simulate the fall of draperies rather than apply paint to a uniformly colored cathedral glass. He stressed a pyramidal Renaissance composition with muted tonalities. After the Vanderbilt commission, La Farge altered his work to favor more brilliant hues and the impact of isolated figures against highly contrasting backgrounds. The redesign of 306 Dartmouth Street for Frederick Lothrop Ames in 1882 included a lavish wood panel reception hall. Stained glass panels by La Farge once graced the stair landing, and the entire area was lit by a skylight with La Farge's glass over a mural cycle on the theme of the emperor and lawgiver Justinian by the French academic painter Benjamin Constant (fig. 4.16).[80]

By 1881 La Farge felt confident enough about the new processes that he had his recently installed *Bat-*

5.24. Henry Holiday, *Christ amid the Children*, 1878–79, north nave. Trinity Church, Boston.

5.25. Engraving of the north nave of Trinity Church, Boston showing the grisaille panel designed by La Farge and fabricated by Samuel West.

tle Window (fig. 4.8) removed from Memorial Hall at his own expense and returned to his studio in Union Square, New York where he reworked it using pot metal, opalescent glass, and plating.[81] This must have entailed considerable financial outlay, but the artist was convinced that the potential clients seeing the differences between his work and the traditional window would see its value and justify the greater costs, especially for future Harvard classes. The reaction to the window was quite positive. An article in the *Newport Daily News* described the window "now almost complete. As seen at Mr. La Farge's atelier, it is of exceptional beauty….The style of the work and its artistic treatment recalls the Italian school during the last half-century. It is allegorical, but only in a limited sense." The writer speaks of the quality of the glass; mentioning the shield "which glistens with metallic steel lustres." He added a lengthy explanation of plating and the irregular surface producing "striking effects."[82] La Farge later explained: "I also painted the glass very much and carefully in certain places so that in a rough way this window is an epitome of all the varieties of glass that I have seen used before or since."[83] The new *Battle Window* was installed presumably in the fall of 1882.



5.26. John La Farge, façade windows, 1885. Church of St. Paul the Apostle, New York.

La Farge's Catholic Patron: Isaac Thomas Hecker

As discussed by Jeffery Howe in this volume, La Farge was a close friend and admirer of Fr. Isaac Thomas Hecker, founder of the Mission Society of St. Paul the Apostle.[84] The order, incorporated in 1858, was a response to urban concerns, ministering to both the spiritual and material needs of Catholics but with a primary mission of reaching out to non-Catholic America. Hence it is not surprising that Fr. Hecker was the catechist responsible for the conversion of La Farge's wife to Roman Catholicism. Howe notes in the introduction to the catalogue that La Farge finished a large scale painting of *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* in 1863, apparently for an altar for the first Paulist chapel which was never installed.[85] The relationship between La Farge and Hecker, however, remained a productive one. Later, La Farge would be deeply involved in the planning and decoration of the new church.

The appropriate style for a new church was of deep concern to Hecker. He attended the First Vatican Council and visited Italian churches while in Europe during 1869 and 1870.[86] He made notes on his trip, stating that the "Idea of our own Church has been before my mind….Why should we not have the same faith shaped into stone in our own land? But our wants differ from those which build these church [*sic*]. [Our] church [is] a preaching church. We can take a style which best fits our wants, and adapt it to them, and not sacrifice our necessities to architecture."[87]

The construction of the Church of St. Paul the Apostle was subject to delays caused by both financial and personal commitment. Hecker was again in Europe during 1873–75, and Fr. Augustine F. Hewit and Fr. Alfred Young were in charge. During the summer of 1874 they engaged Jeremiah O'Rourke, the architect of St. Mary's Church in Wharton, New Jersey. Hewit wrote to Hecker that O'Rourke had given them plans for a church "in the early plain Gothic style." Hecker's correspondence, however, reveals that the estimated cost of the building, $500,000, was a subject of controversy. St. Mary's in Wharton, completed by the architect a year earlier, had been constructed for about $50,000.[88] Although considerably larger, St. Paul's apparently had been planned by O'Rourke as a more lavish edifice.

Review of the correspondence and the evidence of construction supports the claim that Hecker's commitment to Italian early Christian forms, stressing broad "preaching" spaces as well as costs, conditioned the transformation of St. Paul's from O'Rourke's Gothic conception. Upon his return in mid-October 1875, Hecker reviewed the project and turned to La Farge for advice. By Easter, O'Rourke had drawn up new plans. After a hiatus of four years, due to the general depressed economic climate, construction began in the summer of 1879 and the building was substantially complete by the beginning of 1885. A drawing of the church "as it will appear when completed" was published in the *Journal of the Paulist Fair*, November 26, 1882. This plan appears to be the church as originally conceived by O'Rourke: twin towers with pointed spires and a large rose window, over a single entrance, with a pointed gable. A drawing of the church in the process of construction, published in November 1884, shows a more compact

profile of the early Christian basilica. In place of the Gothic rose are the five great lancets dominating the façade. La Farge's glass is now brilliantly displayed in these openings (fig. 5.26)

Throughout the decorative embellishment of the building, early Christian references appear as a constant model. The critic Charles H. Dorr noted the influence of the architect Stanford White and the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, as well as La Farge, in Hecker's development of the plans. He attributed to White the suggestion of widening the column intervals marking the side aisles, creating a greater sense of mass, and evoking, as labeled by Dorr, the "Roman basilica type." La Farge's painting of the nave vault in a deep blue with gold stars evokes early Christian mosaic programs such as that of Galla Placidia.[89] The stars were positioned to represent the midnight sky on January 25, 1885, the day of the church's dedication. The plan for the starry ceiling was mapped by the Rev. George M. Searle, CSP, an astronomer of international fame, who was ordained in 1871. Hecker selected White to design the high altar, the church's visual and spiritual focus, after Roman models. Dorr described the altar as dominating "the whole interior of the church, and which is worthy of comparison with Santa Maria Maggiore and St. Paul Beyond the Walls in Rome."[90]

The central window on the theme of Mary as Queen of the Angels by Cox, Sons, Buckley, and Company, London, had been installed by the dedication of 1885. To the sides were windows depicting the four archangels, completed in 1887 by the Franz Mayer Studio of Munich and installed in the summer of 1888, before White had completed the high altar. La Farge was called to provide windows for the nave and façade, responding to Hecker's desire for light entering from above and also his admiration for early Christian forms.[91] Fourteen clerestory windows in the nave display great jeweled crosses (fig. 4.13) reminiscent of early Christian art, such as the cross that represents the transfigured Christ in the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, dedicated 549.[92] The pattern is ornamental, but varied through the alternation of single and paired crosses, corresponding to changes in the tracery designed by La Farge. Encouraged to minimize costs, La Farge's designs prioritize geometric forms that facilitate replication. Renouncing nothing of monumental splendor and simplicity, they were produced for the reasonable sum of only $650 each.[93]

The church, happily, retains a substantially intact program of glazing. Weinberg explains that in the mid-1890s La Farge received the task of integrating the entire chancel into a harmonious design. The most egregious clash was the stylistic incompatibility of the Victorian pictorial narrative in the windows and the simple, eloquent geometry of the great altar. He proposed the removal of all the chancel windows, and plans appear to have been made to relocate the windows to St. Bridget's church in Parma, Ohio. Ornamental designs were to be installed in the side lights and a new central lancet was to carry the theme of Mary, Queen of Heaven. This plan may have been scaled back to proceed in stages, replacing two side lights and some painting of the interior first. The side windows show fictive architecture against nuggets of brilliant blue glass. A curving lunette over three rounded arches is supported by early Christian columns (fig. 4.12). The window thus echoes the rounded forms, surface sheen, and elegant columnar construction of the altar. The chancel program, as projected by the artist, would certainly have rivaled the stunning architectural framing of *Christ in Majesty* in the west window of Trinity Church, Boston (fig. 4.11).

5.27. Diptych fragment with Archangel Michael, c. 525–550. Ivory, 16.4 x 5.6 in., British Museum, London, OA.9999.

Early Christian art was particularly important to La Farge. As noted many times, his architectural forms in the windows at Trinity and North Easton, Massachusetts evoke patterns found at Ravenna in both architecture and mosaic. In addition, the technique used by La Farge to render drapery seems dependent on early Christian drapery patterns known to him through ivories in London, Paris, Monza, and Rome. La Farge owned a number of reproductions of early ivories, including the superb image of an archangel now in the British Museum (fig. 5.27), probably carved in Constantinople during the first half of the sixth century. The replicas appear to have been actual size copies.[94]

The complex eclecticism of this era impressed critics of the time, such as Riordan who observed that practically "all our designers" were employing "endless combinations" of abstract ornamentation and geometric designs of medieval, Arab, Japanese, and Renaissance traditions.[95] Van Brunt, one of the architects of Memorial Hall, Harvard, praised the artistic context of Trinity Church, Boston, where "the painter had no reason to yield anything of his freedom to archaeological conventions; he was left at liberty to follow the same spirit of intelligent eclecticism which had guided the architect."[96]

St. Paul the Apostle was the single commission secured by La Farge for an (almost) complete Catholic glazing program. One is compelled to reflect on what might Trinity have been with its nave clerestory in non-figural glass. La Farge's plan would have provided a strong, but modulated light to the upper parts of the nave, revealing the murals and merging the space with the broad transept illuminated by the tower. In this writer's opinion, that might have been better. The economics of church decoration however, had changed; in a democratic society with multiple voices, the building and embellishment of sites of worship produced new systems of representation. The participation of the laity, and the vying for commemorative prominence had become essential aspects of patronage. Thus, for good or ill, windows not only were funded by individuals but frequently, especially in Protestant circles, the commissioner enjoyed the ability to designate the maker. Thus La Farge received commissions at Trinity for the window in the south nave honoring Julia Appleton McKim (*The Presentation of the Virgin*), and in the north transept, for those honoring George Bixon Black and Marianne Black (*Celestial Jerusalem*) and Mary Love Boott Welch (*Resurrection*).

Far different was the situation for Catholics whose relatively recently formed congregations enjoyed a less comfortable economic base. Routinely, the clergy were forced to adopt a strategy of staged campaigns for building and for decoration. Quite often the building itself, and possibly chancel windows, were funded by the first generation of parishioners; glazing would be relegated to the next campaign. At St. John's in Bangor, Maine, an American studio installed three windows of the chancel with the building of the church in 1865. The rest waited until 1888 and the Tyrolese commission, as discussed above. In general, the diocese more or less employed favored studios, those who had gained a familiarity with the devotional as well as architectural needs of the buildings. It was extremely rare that laity could insist on a preference for a commission.

5.28. Raphael (1483–1520), *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia*, c. 1515. Oil transferred from panel to canvas, 84 x 54 in., Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.

5.29. F. X. Zettler, *St. Cecilia*, c. 1888. St. Cecilia Motherhouse Oratory, Nashville.

Eclectic Inspiration and the Replication of Models

La Farge felt a deeply rooted sense of communal obligation; art was meant to express the sentiments shared by a community. The artist's vocation, served by talent and practice, was to create material expression that drew viewers into meditating on what was intangible and transcending. Accomplishing this in the New World was very much tied to the dissemination of a canon of images across diverse populations. Cheaper forms of printing in the nineteenth century, in particular steel and wood engraving, and the advent of photography, greatly facilitated familiarity. Great masters of the past could be seen by all, presented in schools as staple elements of religious or moral instruction. The illustrated book and framed print also played a major role in the development of the canon of great art propagated across a broad spectrum from the Newport millionaire's mansion to the village Sunday school. Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*, 1513, for example, was carried as the frontispiece for Salomon Reinach's *Apollo* (1907), a seminal survey of art text; the exact same image is the frontispiece for Rev. Henri Didon's *Jesus Christ, The Savior's Person, Mission, and Spirit* (1891). Such works were the inspiration of the monumental arts of altarpieces, wall paintings, and stained glass for houses of worship. For the church-going public, the private experience of reading and viewing was repeated in community experience. In this era which strove to forge a common culture that would solidify all levels of society, these images on glass, canvas, or paper expressed shared values.

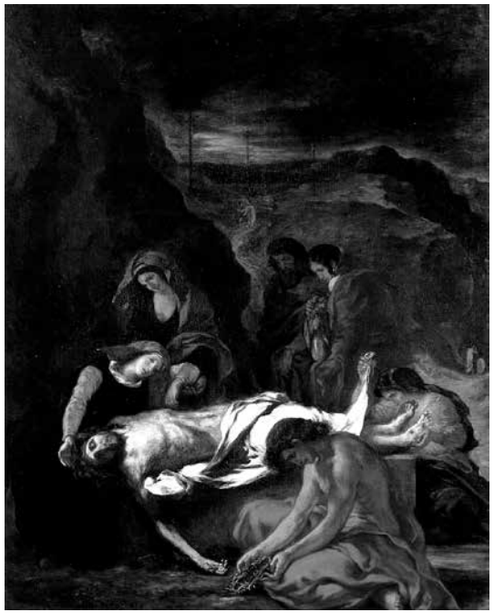
The importance of the replica is exemplified in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The institution was founded after the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London.

This was the first of the Universal Expositions that characterized the last half of the nineteenth century. Housed in the great Crystal Palace (fig. 6.11), a vast hall of glass and steel designed by Sir Joseph Paxton, the enterprise displayed manufactured goods from around the word. In 1852, with surplus funds from the Exhibition, twelve acres of land were purchased in South Kensington to house the collection of what was then called the Department of Practical Art. The guiding principle was to apply art to industry, expecting that contemporary artisans and the public could find inspiration from the art of the past.

Not only original works of furniture, textiles, metalwork, tableware, and monumental sculpture, but replicas of unique objects from other sites were acquired:

> Beauty and decorative attraction is perhaps the chief characteristic of the exhibits….With this object in view, the museum possesses numerous reproductions of famous art treasures: casts, facsimiles, and electrotypes, some of them so well contrived as to be almost indistinguishable from the originals.[97]

Today the Victoria and Albert Museum is one of the rare institutions still displaying its great hall of casts, where Trajan's Column, Celtic crosses, and the Portal of Glory from St. James of Compostela cluster within easy proximity.



5.30. Eugène Delacroix, *The Lamentation*, 1848. Oil on canvas, 64 x 52 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 96.21.

La Farge used *The Presentation of the Virgin* to honor Julia Appleton McKim in Trinity Church, Boston (figs. 4.23, 4.25). Donated in 1888 by her husband, Charles Follen McKim, of McKim, Mead, and White, the prestigious firm responsible the Boston Public Library, and her sister Alice, the window was certainly not a second-hand idea. Rather, the image taken from the painting by Titian, 1534–38 now in the Accademia, Venice (fig. 4.24), is part of an iconography of praise of virtue and hope of eternal life. The Latin inscription is brilliantly evocative of the concept of light: *Nitet vitro distincta praeclara Virginis Beatae facies, a Titiano prius depicta Conjugi dilectae Simillima cujus haec Recordatio lucet* ("Shines in glass the distinct and well-known face of the Blessed Virgin as first painted by Titian, and most resembling the beloved wife in whose memory this record shines"). Indeed, the Virgin is welcomed into the house of God. La Farge only visited Italy in 1894 and so used a print source, very possibly one that already abstracted the image of the Virgin from the large painting. We return to La Farge's statement cited at the beginning of this essay: "Any medieval sculpture or renaissance (not a late one), or painting of the early time (Italian) give the type [of image] that will be needed to be neither high nor low church." He believed that the continuity of great art expressed the durability of religion. References to the *longue durée* were essential.

Aiding in the communication of models for the era were books published by the Düsseldorf Society for the Propagation of Good Religious Pictures. They enjoyed wide dissemination. English-language editions contained steel engravings often the size of holy picture cards used for place markers in devotional books or personalized with prayers and individual names for First Communions and funerals. Great master paintings appeared in full detail, such as Raphael's *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia*, c. 1515 (fig. 5.28), as Howe explains, providing the models for La Farge's John and Paul in the All Souls Unitarian Church window of 1889 (plate 4), now at the McMullen Museum of Art.[98] A wide variety of studios used the Renaissance model, from the American opalescent of Tiffany Studios for Trinity Church, Buffalo in 1887 (fig. 4.32) to the European "Munich Studio" work of F. X. Zettler of about 1888 for the St. Cecilia Motherhouse Oratory, Nashville (fig. 5.29).

Raphael's *St. Michael Conquering Satan*, 1518 is the basis for the chancel window of 1893 in St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Charleston, South Carolina. Built 1752–56, the church has long been considered one of the most elegant buildings of the American colonies. Tiffany exhibited the window in New York during the summer of 1893.[99]

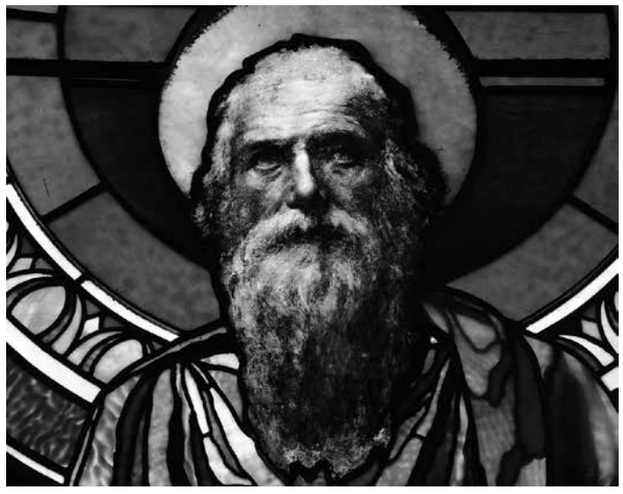
Nineteenth-century religious paintings also entered this universal canon. Replications, for example, of the *Christ and the Doctors* (Heinrich Hofmann), *The Good Shepherd* (Bernhard Plockhorst), or *The Light of the World* of 1856 also known as *Christ Knocking at the Door* (William Holman Hunt, 1827–1910), crowded churches as well as illustrated literature of this time. These images were more than religious in the narrow sense.[100] Rather, they established and propagated social values such as the virtues of compassion, the dutiful child, the solicitous parent, and the value of the individual. Fortunately some institutions still

retain their artistic, inspirational programs in glass. The Memorial Chapel of Stanford University installed over sixty windows between 1899 and 1903 by the J. & R. Lamb Studio. Jane Stanford, wife of the governor and the project's patron, planned the designs modeled on time-honored paintings of the life of Christ. They were conceived as a memorial to her husband, and a tribute as well to their son who had died in adolescence. Prints by Plockhorst, Hofmann, Hunt, and Gustave Doré (1832–83), among others, were transformed into complex, opalescent windows of pulsating color. Doré's *Dream of Pilate's Wife*, for example, was greatly enhanced by the opalescent gloom of spectral faces behind the robes of the angel as Pilate's wife descends the stairs.

5.31. *Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch* (detail of fig. 5.14).

France Redux and the Great Models

When La Farge began his quest for a pictorial window that would retain the expressiveness of oil painting, he was inspired by his memory of French large-scale painting, especially that of mural decoration. He greatly admired Eugène Delacroix for his sense of drama and intense energy created through color.[101] In 1851, only four years before La Farge's arrival, Delacroix's *Apollo Slaying the Dragon* was unveiled in what is now known as the Galerie d'Apollon at the Musée du Louvre. Arguably the most important commission of his life, the painting came between Delacroix's decoration of the library of the Palais Bourbon in 1847 and the Salon de la Paix at the former Hôtel de Ville, complete in 1854 and destroyed by fire in 1871. All of these sites would have been of interest to La Farge. Of long historic importance, the Louvre's gallery was reconstructed by the architect Louis Le Vau for Louis XIV. The decoration, never completed, was entrusted to Charles Le Brun, a leading figure in seventeenth-century French art. Delacroix retained the subject matter envisioned by Le Brun, but radically transformed it from praise of the monarch to an allegory of the triumph of reason over ignorance. At the same time, the story taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* presents Apollo, inspiration of the Muses, as the personification of art triumphant.



5.32. John La Farge, *St. Paul*, 1900–10. Judson Memorial Church, New York.

Although modernist art criticism has stressed Delacroix's importance to the impressionists as a pioneer of color and form, he was still very much a man of his time. These monumental, corporate commissions, frequently associated with religious or historical themes were a constant aspect in his oeuvre.[102] He was deeply involved with the subject matter and placement of art, to witness the artist's *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* for the chapel of the angels at St. Sulpice. *The Lamentation*, painted in 1848 (fig. 5.30), evokes both the public drama and personal sorrow of the story of Christ's sacrifice. Both the subject and the circumstances of the work's acquisition attest to the deep commitment to religious experience of the later nineteenth century. The painting was one of the first actually bought, not acquired via donation, for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It was purchased to honor the memory of Martin Brimmer, founding director of the museum (and prominent member of Trinity Church) who had died that year. A subscription allowed its acquisition from the Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris.[103]

A detail of Chassériau's *Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch* of 1853 from St. Roch (fig. 5.31) gives us a sense of the manipulation of color and values in France's murals that so entranced La Farge. The flickering of muted greens, reds, and tans across the torso of the Ethiopian emerge again in the transitions of hues found in opalescent glass. See especially the windows from Trinity Church in Buffalo, described by Jeffery Howe.[104] The faces and other flesh areas in La Farge's work continue in vitreous paint the impression produced by oil. These techniques appear with vivid freshness in La Farge's work in Judson Memorial Church, New York.[105] Designed by Stanford White, the church displays La Farge's

glass throughout, including a series of six majestic figures framed by Renaissance architecture on the east and non-figural skylights. The architecture, with its references to Lombard Romanesque, Renaissance, and classical forms is as eclectic as the windows, in which the artist referenced the colors and textures of the sculpted marble and stone. The windows were executed over time, from 1892 to 1915; the last was installed five years after the artist's death. The image of St. George was fabricated after La Farge's designs by Thomas Wright, the glass painter who had produced most of La Farge's later work. Close inspection of the face of St. Paul (fig. 5.32) from the north wall of the choir allows us to see not only the application of tones from russet to black in varying intensities, but the intricate modeling through scratch marks to achieve the sense of light flickering over the form. The result suggests an introspective, world-weary figure, deeply aware of his mission. Is this a spiritual self-portrait of the artist himself?

1 Samuel Bing, "Artistic America," in *Artistic America, Tiffany Glass, and Art Nouveau*, trans. Benita Eisler and intro. Robert Koch (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 132. Originally published as *La culture artistique en Amerique* in 1896.

2 "In this country, our democratic institutions have removed the superincumbent pressure which in the Old World confines the servants to a regular orbit. They come here feeling that this is somehow a land of liberty, and with very dim and confused notions of what liberty is. They are very extensively the raw, untrained Irish peasantry, and the wonder is, that, with all the unreasoning heats and prejudices of the Celtic blood, all the necessary ignorance and rawness, there should be the measure of comfort and success there is in our domestic arrangements." Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, ed. and intro. Nicole Tonkovich (1869; Hartford: Harriet Beecher Stowe Center; New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2002), 232.

3 Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790–1880: A Study in Acculturation* (1959; Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1979), esp. 178–206; William Byrne et al., *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, 2 vols. (Boston: Hurd and Everts, 1899), 1:50–68, 76–80; Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of Its Development, 1604–1943*, 3 vols. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1944), 1:178–265, 679–703.

4 Linnea H. Wren, "John La Farge: Aesthetician and Critic," in *John La Farge*, Henry Adams et al., exh. cat. (New York: Abbeville, 1987), 241.

5 J. Huen-Dubourg, *The Life of Cardinal Cheverus, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and Formerly Bishop of Boston in Massachusetts*, trans. E. Steward (Boston: James Munroe, 1839), 39–150; Annabelle Melville, *Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus, 1768–1836* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1958); Thomas H. O'Connor, ed., *Two Centuries of Faith: The Influence of Catholicism on Boston, 1808–2008* (New York: Crossroad, 2009), esp. James M. O'Toole, "Boston's Catholics and Their Bishops: A Comparative View," chap. 9.

6 Stuart painted his portrait in 1823 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.9), just before Cheverus departed to serve as bishop of Montaubon, France. The painting was commissioned by an Episcopalian, Mary Babcock Gore, the wife of John Gore, a prominent merchant. She also ordered a portrait of Rev. John S. J. Gardiner, the rector of Trinity Church, her own congregation. Both men were arguably the leading clergy in the city.

7 Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (1969; Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1998), 161–64, figs. 78 and 79. Not only did Bulfinch give the plans without fee to his friend Cheverus, but of the $16,153 raised, $3,433 came from Protestants, including John Adams, the second president of the United States. Charles A. Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen* (New York: DaCapo, 1968), 125–29.

8 An issue very much tied to social class. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 417.

9 James M. O'Toole, "Class Warfare," *Boston College Magazine* (Winter 2012). Beginning in 1893, a major controversy arose with Harvard excluding Boston College and other Catholic schools from a select list of those whose degrees qualified students for entrance to Harvard Law School.

10 Letter of Sept. 15, 1877 in Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed., *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 2 vols. (New York: Century, 1913), 1:191. The works were lost when the church was destroyed by fire in 1905.

11 Henry Adams in Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge: A Memoir and a*

Study (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 212.

12 Europe was essential for the formation of American artists from Jonathan Trumbull onward. Thomas Cole was one of the first landscape artists to seek the Grand Tour. In 1829 he left New York for an itinerary that included London and Rome, returning again in 1848 to visit Sicily. See Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760–1914*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992).

13 Theodore Reff, *Degas: The Artist's Mind* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976) and "Copyists at the Louvre, 1850–1870," *Art Bulletin* 46, no. 4 (Dec. 1964): 552–59.

14 See Howe, "Introduction," 17. Paul Binsse, Comte de Saint-Victor (1827–81), democratizing his name to Paul Saint-Victor, wrote prolifically for Parisian journals from 1851 until his death. See also Henry A. La Farge, "The Early Drawings of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 9–10.

15 See especially Henry Adams, "The Mind of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 11–77.

16 Jacques Foucart, *Ingres: Les cartons des vitraux des collections du Louvre*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002). See multiple images and explanation at the Patrimoine Histoire website: http://www.patrimoine-histoire.fr/Patrimoine/Dreux/Dreux-Chapelle-Royale.htm#Vitraux.

17 Etienne Thévenot, *Recherches historiques sur la cathédrale, suivies d'un plan de restauration de ses vitraux* (Clermont-Ferrand: Thibaud-Landriot, 1836) and Émile Thibaud, *Notions historiques sur les vitraux anciens et modernes et sur l'art de la peinture vitrifiée* (Clermont-Ferrand: Thibaud-Landriot, 1838).

18 Virginia C. Raguin, "Revivals, Revivalists, and Architectural Stained Glass," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 3 (Sept. 1990): 310–29.

19 M. E. F. Reboulleau, *Nouveau manuel complet de la peinture sur verre, sur porcelaine et sur émail* (Paris: Roret, 1844).

20 Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus, "Peinture sur verre," *Annales archéologiques* 1 (1844): 17.

21 Henri Gérente's death in 1849 at the age of thirty-six momentarily stopped work in the studio before his brother Alfred Gérente (1821–68), a sculptor, could reorganize. The restoration of the Sainte-Chapelle had then gone to Antoine Lusson of Le Mans (d. 1853), the runner-up in the competition of 1847. See obituary for Henry Gérente in *Ecclesiologist* 10 (1849): 97–101.

22 *Ecclesiologist* 9 (1849): 351. See discussion of the glass in Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840–1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1968), 106–7. The vestry minutes of September 9, 1850 note, "Thanks of vestry be presented to Henry Farnum Esq. for his very beautiful and appropriate present of an East window." I thank Jean Farnsworth for this information.

23 *Les Vitraux de Paris, de la Région Parisienne, de la Picardie, et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978), 31. Édouard Didron (1836–1902), the nephew of Adolphe Napoléon Didron, was also one of the painters; his work was very popular though the end of the century.

24 Jean Taralon, "De la révolution à 1920," in *Le vitrail français*, Marcel Aubert et al. (Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1958), 273–92; Catherine Brisac and Chantal Bouchon, "Le vitrail au XIX^{e} siècle: État des travaux et bibliographie," *Revue de l'art* 17 (1986): 25–38; Chantal Bouchon, Catherine Brisac, Nadine-Josette Chaline, and Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Ces églises au XIX^{e} siècle* (Amiens: Encrage, 1993); Jean-François Luneau, "Vitrail archéologique, vitrail-tableau: Chronique bibliographique," *Revue de l'art* 124 (1999): 74; Martine Callias Bey, "Les édifices néogothiques parisiens et leurs verrières: églises et chapelles catholiques," *In Situ: Revue des patrimoines* 11 (2009): 2–37.

25 The décor of the church highlights academic style: the frieze extending around the church above the columns is by Hippolyte Flandrin; in 1885–89 Adolph Bouguereau would paint the Lady Chapel.

26 The architect François-Christian Gau (1790–1853), a naturalized French native of Cologne, would unquestionably have been aware of the completion of that city's thirteenth-century cathedral in a Neo-Gothic style.

27 Chantal Bouchon, Catherine Brisac, and Jeanne Vinsot, *Les vitraux de la basilique Sainte-Clotilde à Paris* (Paris: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie du VII^{e} arrondissement de Paris, 1987).

28 Catherine Brisac and Didier Alliou, "La peinture sur verre au XIX^{e} siècle dans la Sarthe," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 93 (1986): 389–94.

29 Albert Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 230–61. It was the artist's sole major religious undertaking.

30 Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, vol. 7 (Paris: Éditions Gründ, 1999), s.v. "Hesse."

31 Also noted by Helene Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge: Pioneer of the American Mural Movement," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 177–78, fig. 131. See also Katie Kresser, *The Art and Thought of John La Farge: Picturing Authenticity in Gilded Age America* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 88–89.

32 Weinberg, "La Farge: Pioneer," 178.

33 The window was signed by C. Riquier, glass painter, as well at Steinheil as designer.

34 James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge, a Biographical and Critical Study* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 26.

35 Taralon, "De la révolution à 1920," 273–74, fig. 209.

36 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 38–41.

37 W. D. Robson-Scott, *The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany: A Chapter in the History of Taste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), esp. 76–95. I am grateful to Kathryn Brush, University of Western Ontario, for suggesting this and other references to German "Historismus."

38 W. Hartmann, *Der historische Festzug: Seine Entstehung und Entwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Studien zur Kunst des 19. neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1976), 23, 129.

39 Elgin Vaassen, *Bilder auf Glas: Glasgemälde zwischen 1780 und 1870* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1997) presents the most comprehensive study of the subject to date.

40 Keith Andrews, *The Nazarenes: A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 163–91; Klaus Gallwitz, ed., *Die Nazarener in Rom: Ein deutscher Künstlerbund der Romantik*, exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel, 1981); and most recently, Cordula Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). For Nazarene influence on French religious art see Michael Paul Driskel, *Representing Belief: Religion, Art, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1992), 65–82.

41 Augustus W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts; or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Similar Buildings of the Present Day* (1841; London: Leicester Univ. Press, 1973), 18.

42 For images produced by this circle showing royal patronage, see Johannes Erichsen and Michael Henker, "*Vorwärts, vorwärts sollst du schauen": Geschichte, Politik und Kunst unter Ludwig I*, exh. cat. (Munich: Regensburg Pustet, 1986), 97–101. For designs by Hess, see panels of St. Michael and the Immaculate Conception, Catholic church of Breitbrunn am Chiemsee, Monica Böning, ed., *Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, exh. cat. (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1993), 126–28, nos. 38/1 and 38/2. For the Düsseldorf school of painting, see Irene Markovitz, *Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule*, exh. cat. (Düsseldorf: Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1979) and Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *The Düsseldorf School of Painting and Its International Influence, 1819–1918*, exh. cat. (Düsseldorf: Museum Kunstpalast, 2011).

43 See examples taken from sarcophagi (1810) and Goltzius's *Circumcision* (1826) in the Franz Mayer'sche Hofkunstanstalt collection in Munich, reproduced in Böning, *Glasmalerei*, 58–63, nos. 5/1, 5/2.

44 Elgin Vaassen, "Die ersten Fenster für den regensburger Dom aus der königlichen Glasmalereianstalt, Gründung König Ludwigs 1, aus dem Jahr 1828," in *Diversarum Artium Studia: Beiträge zu Kunstwissenschaft, Kunsttechnologie und ihren Randgebieten; Festschrift für Heinz Roosen-Runge zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), 166; Böning, *Glasmalerei*, 19.

45 Edmond Lévy, *Histoire de la peinture sur verre en Europe et particulièrement en Belgique* (Brussels: Tircher, 1860), 227–29.

46 Earlier the style was interpreted as the work of a single master, Peter Hemmel von Andlau as presented by Paul Frankl, *Peter Hemmel, Glasmaler von Andlau* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956) and Hans Wentzel, *Meisterwerke der Glasmalerei* (Berlin: Wentzel, 1954), 63–71. The new hypothesis argues that the style was developed by a group of workers sharing commissions and cartoons: Hartmut Scholz, "Monumental Stained Glass in Southern Germany in the Age of Dürer," in *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein*, ed. Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 17–22.

47 Originally from the Nonnberg church in Salzburg, about 1481, inv. no. Kg 34:27. Wentzel *Meisterwerke der Glasmalerei*, fig. 213; Frankl, *Peter Hemmel*, 92–93, figs. 152–53. The nineteenth-century glass painters also made exact copies of windows of the Strasbourg Cooperative, for example after the Virgin and Child from the Jesse Tree window in the church of St. Lorenz in Nuremburg: Böning, *Glasmalerei*, 94–97, nos. 22–23.

48 Vaassen, "Die ersten Fenster."

49 Franz Xaver Eggert, *Die Glasgemälde in der neuerbauten Mariahilf-Kirche in der Vorstadt Au, München: Ein Geschenk seiner Majestat des Königs Ludwigs I von Bayern* (Munich: Schreiner, 1845); black and white edition, *Abbildungen der Glasgemälde in der Pfarrkirche der Vorstadt Au, München*, also Lévy, *Histoire de la peinture sur verre en Europe*, 234–35; Erichsen and Henker, "*Vorwärts, vorwärts sollst du schauen,"* 260–61, nos. 396–98; Böning, *Glasmalerei*, 48–51, 116–21, nos. 1, 33–35.

50 The black and white copy of Eggert's work on the church at Au currently at the Victoria and Albert Museum's library was owned by the English glass painter Thomas Willement.

51 Arnold Wolff, *The Cologne Cathedral* (Cologne: Kölner Dom, 1999), 20–24.

52 Elgin Vaassen and Peter van Treeck, "Das Görresfenster im Kölner Dom," *Kölner Domblatt* 46 (1981): 21–62.

53 Francis R. Kowsky, *Buffalo Architecture: A Guide* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 72, no. 22.

54 *St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo, New York* (undated pamphlet). I am grateful to Eckhard Bernstein, College of the Holy Cross, for bringing this building to my attention.

55 I am grateful to Elgin Vaassen for this information. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 36 (1893): 772–73, windows by Scherer for Buffalo, Boston, and St. Vincent Archabbey in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. See also Friedrich von Boetticher, *Malerwerke des 19. Jahrhunderts: Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Friedrich von Boetticher, 1901), 542: "3. Drei grosse Fenster 'Geburt,' 'Kreuzigung' u. 'Auferstehung' für eine Kirche zu Buffalo im Staate New-York....5. 'Der heil. Georg' u. 'die heil. Therese' für eine Kapelle in New-York." For further examples of Scherer's works see Elgin Vaassen in Böning, *Glasmalerei*, 132–37, nos. 41–43. Scherer also made copies of the Cologne's Boisserée brothers' collection of paintings in stained glass: a Holbein *Madonna* in 1837, Memling's *Salvator Mundi* in 1839, Raphael's *Madonna Tempi* in 1840 and *Belle Jardinière* in 1848, as well as works by Lucas van Leyden and Guido Reni.

56 Ludwig Gierse, ed. *Religiöse Graphik der Düsseldorfer Nazarener*, exh. cat. (Düsseldorf: Düsseldorfer Stadtwerke, 1982); Walter Schulten, ed. *Religiöse Graphik aus der Zeit des Kölner Dombaus, 1842–1880*, exh. cat. (Cologne: Diözesan-Museum, 1980).

57 *Die Tiroler Glasmalerei, 1886–93: Bericht über die Thätigkeit des Hauses* (Innsbruck: Die Tiroler Glasmalerei, 1894), now available in reprint. See also for the Zettler studio of Munich, Josef L. Fischer, *Vierzig Jahre Glasmalkunst: Festschrift der Kgl. bayerischen Hofglasmalerei F. X. Zettler, zum Gedächtnis ihres vierzigjährigen Bestehens* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1910).

58 A description of the original glazing is given in Byrne, *History of the Catholic Church*, 2:201–2, ill. 199.

59 Jennifer Lee Cadero-Gillette, "Henry E. Sharp in Pre-Opalescent America," *Stained Glass Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 130–36.

60 Frans Jozef van Beeck, *Meditations in Glass: The Stained Glass Windows of St. John's Church, Bangor, Maine* (Bangor: St. John's Roman Catholic Church, 1981).

61 This appeared to be the opinion of contemporaries: "As everyone is aware, it (stained glass) has already been extensively used in all sorts of public buildings in this country. Perhaps the best known examples are the La Farge windows in Trinity Church, Boston, and in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, Mass." Roger Riordan, "The Use of Stained Glass," *Art Amateur* 12, no. 6 (May 1885): 132.

62 See James F. O'Gorman, *H. H. Richardson: Architectural Forms in an American Society* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987), 55–69 for Trinity Church, and 143–59 for a chronological bibliography.

63 Weinberg, "La Farge: Pioneer," 165; Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., "Richardson and Trinity Church: The Evolution of a Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 27, no. 4 (Dec. 1968): 291; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (1936; Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 139. Phillips Brooks, rector of Trinity, traveled in the Auvergne in 1874, presumably to explore the French Romanesque models behinds Trinity's design. Alexander V. G. Allen, *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*, vol. 2 (New York: Dutton, 1901), 255.

64 Weinberg, "La Farge: Pioneer," 162–93. She treats La Farge's commissions for St. Thomas's Church, Church of the Incarnation, Church of the Ascension, Brick Presbyterian Church, Church of St. Paul the Apostle, Cornelius Vanderbilt II House, Whitelaw Reid House (all of New York City); the Walker Art Building, Bowdoin Col-

lege, Brunswick, Maine; the Minnesota State Capitol, St. Paul; the United Congregational Church, Newport, Rhode Island, and others.

65 In 1883–85, La Farge used the design of *Christ and Nicodemus* for stained glass for the Church of the Ascension in New York.

66 Helene Barbara Weinberg, *The Decorative Work of John La Farge* (New York: Garland, 1977), 107–8, 343–44, fig. 253. This image shows the interior north nave wall with grisaille glass window. Weinberg's remains the most detailed account of La Farge's stained glass work, including telling quotes from the artist's papers. For a comparable situation of the architect's original plans partially controverted by the insistence of the congregation on figural designs, see the essays on decorative work at St. Bartholomew's Church in New York City: Christine Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988), 142–52. The architect, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, had planned for geometric designs, not figures, in mosaics and windows. In 1927, and after the architect's death, the vestry altered the program. In 1917, however, there had already been demands by the parishioners for stained glass throughout the church.

67 Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 343–44; Bettina A. Norton, ed., *Trinity Church: The Story of an Episcopal Parish in the City of Boston* (Boston: Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, 1978). For the English studios see Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1980), 76–77, 79–80 and Elizabeth Morris, *Stained and Decorative Glass* (New York: Exeter Books, 1988), 40–61.

68 La Farge wrote "none of us is supposed to have been paid even our living expenses." Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 143–44. For comments on the English glass stainers see manuscript report of 1894 by La Farge for S. Bing, La Farge Family Papers (MS 24), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

69 Cecilia Waern, *John La Farge, Artist and Writer* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 50–56 quotes from La Farge's report to S. Bing about his experiments. During his 1872 stay in Europe La Farge saw the work of the Pre-Raphaelites. He named Ford Maddox Brown, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones, but commented that the artists "had come to the end of their rope and that their work in glass had ceased improving" (50). See also Cortissoz, *John La Farge.*

70 Secretary's Report Class Notes, Harvard University Archives HUD 244 505; Mason Hammond, *The Stained Glass Windows of Memorial Hall, Harvard University* (Cambridge: Mason Hammond, 1978), 59–60, 64; Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 339–43. See, for the Harvard's glazing, Virginia C. Raguin, "Dante and Chaucer," in *American Paintings at Harvard: Volume 2*, ed. Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., Kimberly Orcutt, and Virginia Anderson (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museum; New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2008), 142–43.

71 Helene Barbara Weinberg, "The Early Stained Glass Work of John La Farge (1835–1910)," *Stained Glass* 67, no. 2 (1972): 5–7, figs. 1–2; Henry Adams, "The Stained Glass of John La Farge," *American Art Review* 2 (July–Aug. 1975): 56, ill.; Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, figs. 250–52; Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge and the Stained-Glass Windows in Memorial Hall at Harvard University," *Antiques* 141, no. 4 (Apr. 1992): fig. 1; Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind: The Stained Glass of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 24, no. 1–2 (1992): 5–7, fig. 2.

72 Harvard University Archives HUD 244 505 Class of 1844: Class Fund and Class Window.

73 Architects' drawing in Harvard University Archives: Memorial Hall VA I. 15. 25PF.

74 Holiday's painting *Beatrice Denies Dante Her Salutation* (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) was one of his best known works. See Peter Cormack, *Henry Holiday, 1839–1927*, exh. cat. (London: William Morris Gallery, 1989), 14, no. 77.

75 Cottier & Co., originally from Glasgow, then London, had opened a productive branch office in New York in 1873. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "A New Renaissance: Stained Glass in the Aesthetic Period" and "Daniel Cotter," in *In Pursuit of Beauty*, ed. Doreen Bolger Burke, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 177–80, 414–16; Virginia C. Raguin, "Sir Philip Sidney and Epaminondas" and "Dante and Chaucer," in *American Paintings at Harvard*, ed. Stebbins Jr., Orcutt, and Anderson, 74–75 and 142–43.

76 Virginia C. Raguin, "Columbus and Blake," in *American Paintings at Harvard*, ed. Stebbins Jr., Orcutt, and Anderson, 143–44.

77 Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, fig. 253. Contrast the 1877 disposition of the wall and the present one in Adams, "The Mind of La Farge," fig. 24. The modern color illustration of the north nave and west walls of Trinity distorts the visibility of the murals through massive illumination of the interior. See also Cormack, *Henry Holiday*, for overview of Holiday. See also Howe, "Light of Memory," 61 for discussion of the La Farge's non-figural series of windows of 1879 that support his interior decoration of the Newport Congregational Church.

78 Roger Riordan, "American Stained Glass: Third and Concluding Article," *American Art Review* 2, no. 2 (June 1881): 7. Waern, *John La Farge*, 33–36, quotes La Farge's address to architects in 1892 where he described the difficulties of Trinity's mural decoration. She then comments, much like Riordan, on the window choices, describing the French glass as "garish and vulgar and English glass of mediocre quality," 37.

79 Now in the Biltmore House, Asheville, North Carolina. See Henry A. La Farge, "Painting with Colored Light: The Stained Glass of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 199–200, figs. 146–47 and Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 268–72, figs. 206–10.

80 Bainbridge Bunting, *Houses of Boston's Back Bay: An Architectural History, 1840–1917* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 260–65, figs. 170–72. Two windows from the west wall of the great hall on the ground floor of peacocks and peonies are now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum (Cave, "Deeds of Light," fig. 6.14). Two windows from the staircase landing, *Hollyhocks* and *Flowering Cherry Tree and Peony*, are now in the St. Louis Art Museum. Henry A. La Farge, James L. Yarnall, and Mary A. La Farge, "Current Locations of John La Farge's Decorative Works," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 254. Other panels are also extant in several locations. I am grateful to James Yarnall for assistance with this issue. See also James L. Yarnall, "Souvenirs of Splendor: John La Farge and the Patronage of Cornelius Vanderbilt II," *American Art Journal* 26, no. 1–2 (1994): 66–105 for discussion of another installation of sculpture, embroidery, furniture, wall coverings, and stained glass, including skylights and transom lights of eclectic inspiration.

81 "Stained Glass," *Critic* 1 (Sept. 10, 1881): 249–50, where the author urges Harvard to employ La Farge for all the remaining windows, or if the work needs to be divided to also employ "Messers L. C. Tiffany & Co." Despite the obvious qualities of the window, the continuous design across the lancets was in specific violation of Ware and Van Brunt's plan for independently designed lancets. La Farge's other windows in the Hall, *Virgil and Homer* (1883) and *Cornelia and Her Sons* (1891), followed the injunction more closely. See also Sloan and Yarnall, "Stained-Glass Windows in Memorial Hall," 642–43, 647–48, 650, pl. 3; and Sloan and Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind," 11–14, 19, 24.

82 "A Harvard Memorial Window from the *New York Times*," *Newport Daily News* (June 5, 1882): 3; see also Mary Gay Humphreys, "John La Farge, Artist and Decorator," *Art Amateur* 9, no. 1 (June 1883): 13.

83 An 1894 report to S. Bing quoted by Waern, *John La Farge*, 54.

84 Howe, "Light of Memory," 60.

85 Howe, "Introduction," 13.

86 Vincent F. Holden, CSP, *The Yankee Paul: Isaac Thomas Hecker* (Milwaukee: Brace, 1958), on the career of Hecker and the founding of the Paulist order.

87 From the Paulist Fathers' archives quoted by Helene Barbara Weinberg, "The Work of John La Farge in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle," *American Art Journal* 6, no. 1 (May 1974): 18–19.

88 Ibid., 19.

89 Dated about 430–50, John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997), 107–11, fig. 63.

90 Charles H. Dorr, "A Study in Church Decoration: The Paulist Fathers Church in New York City and Notes on the Work of W. L. Harris," *Architectural Record* 33, no. 3 (Mar. 1913): 188.

91 Weinberg, "La Farge in the Church of St. Paul," 18–34; *Decorative Work of La Farge*, esp. 211–39.

92 Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 136–38, figs. 82–83.

93 Weinberg, "La Farge in the Church of St. Paul," 24–25; "La Farge's Eclectic Idealism in Three New York City Churches," *Winterthur Portfolio* 10 (1975): 222–24. The church notes that the windows were finished with the aid of La Farge's son, Christopher Grant La Farge. "Tour Church of Saint Paul the Apostle" (New York: Church of Saint Paul the Apostle, n.d.), 13.

94 *Catalogue of the Art Property and Other Objects Belonging to the Estate of the Late John La Farge, N. A.* (New York: American Art Galleries, Mar. 29–31, 1911), nos. 277–82, 294. See ivory diptych from Monza as model for La Farge's *The Old Philosopher* in the Crane Memorial Library, Quincy, Massachusetts (figs. 4.44–45): Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 372–73, figs. 275–77. British Museum OA.9999: Ernst Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art* (1940; Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1964), 23–24, pl. 8. The ivory was well known at the turn of the century and included in Walter Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1901), reissued as *Art in the Early Church* (1947; New York: Pantheon, 1969), 170, pl. 105a. For museum copies of ivories see R. Aaron Rottner in *Medieval Art in America: Patterns of Collecting, 1800–1940*, ed. Elizabeth Bradford, exh. cat. (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1996), 102–5, nos. 20–25.

95 Riordan, "American Stained Glass," 62.

96 Henry Van Brunt, "The New Dispensation of Monumental Art: The Decoration of Trinity Church in Boston and of the New Assembly Chamber at Albany," *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (1879): 635.

97 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s. v. "Victoria and Albert Museum."

98 Howe, "Light of Memory," 65–66.

99 Virginia C. Raguin and Nigel Johnson in *Glory in Glass: Stained Glass in the United States; Origins, Variety, and Preservation*, exh. cat. (New York: American Bible Society, 1998), 217–23.

100 See Virginia C. Raguin, *Stained Glass from Its Origins to the Present* (New York: Abrams, 2003), 26–32.

101 Elisabeth A. Fraser, *Delacroix, Art, and Patrimony in Post-Revolutionary France* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004).

102 Joyce Carol Polistena, *The Religious Paintings of Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863): The Initiator of the Style of Modern Religious Art* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2008).

103 Oil on canvas, 64 x 52 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 96.21. The price was 1400 francs.

104 Howe, "Light of Memory," 71–72.

105 Weinberg, *Decorative Work of La Farge*, 410–13, figs. 310–21.

The Deeds of Light:
John La Farge and the Articulation of Nature's Light and of the Sacred through Stained Glass

David Cave

I must admit that when I think of stained glass windows I have conflicting impressions. On the one hand, I am awed by their beauty, their lustrous power, their complex designs and artistry. Their vibrancy and roster of colors amaze me. They leave me marveling with scarcely the words to describe what I see and feel at that moment. Certainly there are stained glass windows that are not so powerful. I do not speak of the many versions of colored glass we see in modest settings. I do not include these as stained glass windows. Put before me, though, the windows of Notre Dame and of the Washington National Cathedral or of Trinity Church, Boston, in the full light of day, and I will be in their thrall.

6.1. Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), *Avery Coonley Playhouse: Triptych Window*, 1912. Glass, zinc, 86.3 x 28 x 2 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 67.231.1–3.

On the other hand, when I think of stained glass windows, I regard them as museum pieces, as relics; the word anachronism comes to mind. In his deliciously provocative book, *The Circle*, about our Internet and iPhone age, Dave Eggers describes the secretive office of the CEO of an Internet company (it could be Google or Facebook) as like a mini-museum, of dated curiosities and décor. There are leather-bound, round-spined books, antique world globes, mosaics from the Byzantine era, accountants' green reading lights, and, among these, stained glass windows depicting countless angels arranged in rings. These windows are as much nostalgic items as are the globes of lost nations.[1] I know there are stained glass windows of abstract designs made today that, like those of medieval cathedrals, call up splendid viewing experiences.[2] In his day, Frank Lloyd Wright criticized the "tendency toward realism of form in window glass," preferring windows of austere design reminiscent of modernist buildings of "slender steel construction and expressing

the nature of that construction" (fig. 6.1).[3] Still, however modern the design, it is hard to shake the perception that stained glass windows are of the period of grand cathedrals and mahogany-wainscoted mansions, displaying images of saints, biblical figures, and chivalric nobles, built by guilds of medieval craftsmen of feudal and patrician days far in the past. Though commoners may stand within their glow, stained glass windows do not belong to the commoner's purse, even if from many a purse they were funded.

It is not simply because they are associated with bygone days and with ways of living not my own that I fail to appreciate stained glass windows as much as I should. It is also because as an architectural element—they are windows after all—they easily blend with the architecture, which, as a whole, I tend to remember more. As windows they are often placed high up, in some strategic space so as to capture the most light possible throughout the day. In being so placed, they become too impersonal, too aloof, too up there, too apart from the real world. Moreover, because they get wrapped into the larger architectural whole, the artist of the windows gets overshadowed by the architect. Unlike paintings or sculpture, stained glass windows are rarely, in the public's mind at least, attributed to an individual talent. I would be hard pressed to name an artist in stained glass, other than Tiffany, but not necessarily as Louis Comfort Tiffany. Beyond that I could identify no other.[4] Even the name Tiffany came into common parlance as much for his domestic furnishings—think lampshades—as for his windows.[5] Individual artists and craftsmen are not associated with stained glass in the same way as Rubens, Rembrandt, Van Gogh, or Picasso are with painting, and as Palladio, Sir Christopher Wren, I. M. Pei, and Frank Gehry are with architecture. Sadly, it would not surprise me too much if someone thought stained glass windows were made from a high-class hobby kit rather than by an artist and a team of skilled craftsmen at great cost and labor.

So when I was invited to write an essay for an upcoming exhibition at the McMullen Museum on the American nineteenth-century stained glass artist John La Farge (1835–1910), I, not being an art historian, was intrigued enough to take on the assignment but ignorant of the artist and only so interested in stained glass windows. Since coming to know La Farge—whose body of work, along with that of the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the architects H. H. Richardson, Charles McKim, and Stanford White, "utterly transform[ed] the face of public art in America,"[6] according to the art critic Robert Hughes—I have come to regard stained glass differently and to respect enormously La Farge's manifold talent, his art, his innovativeness, his creativity, and his expansive vision, a vision that I characterize as exhibiting a dynamic aesthetic naturalism. By this I mean, one sees in his paintings and in his stained glass a restless search to capture the vibrancy of nature through art, specifically through the sublime effects of its light as we see and experience it in the world, and in *our* particular world, not as it might exist in some idealistic state or place. And inasmuch as we speak of light, we speak of color.

When La Farge transitioned in his career to stained glass, which channels exterior light through a roster of exuberant colors, he was able to pursue his fascination with light by experimenting with the ability of glass to display light in all its wonder. As an artist, La Farge was clearly of his period, of the nineteenth-century aesthetic movement, that held to the beautification of all things through art and artistic flourish, and to shaping, via art, the moral, religious, and attitudinal character of a nation reforming itself after the rending and travail of the Civil War. But to keep La Farge to his period merely because of his subject matter and style is to fail to see the phenomenon of his glass and of its progressive, innovative, and intellectually compelling quality, fit for our age. This essay, therefore, is not solely a study of his understanding and use of light and color. It is also a reflection on the phenomenological qualities of his stained glass that renders them as more than particular windows that occupy particular architectural spaces but as *windows*—double entendre intended—through which to perceive the world.

To see what I mean and have come to appreciate, it helps to stand back a moment and reflect on the character of stained glass and on the experience it sets up via natural light.

The "Deeds of Light"

When I arise each morning, I look out my window to get an indication of the day before me, whether sun, clouds, or rain is in the forecast. I will not just get a sense of the emerging day but will observe the trees, plants, flowers, grass, and buildings outside my window, and how they change throughout the seasons. On this particular Sunday in spring, I note our condominium's blooming cherry trees, with their delicate pinkish-white flowers, their leaves in various shades of emerging green, and their deep mustard-colored bark with patches of light-green velvety algae. The grass, patchy brown in spots, has its own inconsistencies and mixtures of hues, as gravel and asphalt flecks, from the sidewalk and driveway, pepper it with black and gray confetti. The sun, striking the buildings of our complex, an 1875 High Victorian Gothic Revival

structure, casts sharp, rounded, and both wide and finely narrow shadows across garden and drive. The bluish-green tarnish of the copper gutters show varying hues and tones of green, depending on the amount of light striking the metal where lingering water, from the previous evening's shower, coats the gutter with a fine reflecting film. Looking skyward, I see puffy, cotton-ball white clouds, with a penumbra of gray from retained moisture for a later shower, illumined by the morning sun, filtering through. If I were to stay by my window as the day progressed, the hues everywhere would become less intense, more muted, and the sky would refract orange and red as the ozone absorbs from view the blue-green light waves of the sun, giving the sky its fiery coloration.[7]

What I see as I look outside my window of twelve mini-pictures framed by the window's mullions are the "deeds of light," as the poet-scientist and color theorist, Goethe, described the effects of nature's light when seen by the unfiltered eye. Goethe studied light in opposition to the way Newton studied it, when, in 1666, he guided a beam of light into a darkened room and through a glass prism to reveal the colors of the spectrum within light, displaying red at one end and violet at the other. Newton thereupon guided the spectrum of colors through a second glass prism, an inverted one, to show the colors coalescing back to white light. Said Newton, "Hence therefore it comes to pass, that Whiteness is the usual colour of Light; for, Light is a confused aggregate of Rays indued [*sic*] with all sorts of Colors, as they are promiscuously darted from the various parts of luminous bodies."[8] Newton demonstrated the property of light not as we, the viewer, see and experience it, but by analyzing, through experiments, how light is constituted and functions.

Goethe, contrarily, believed light should be studied by how we see it expressing itself, not in a sealed-off room and through a medium but in its context and directly, much in the way we understand a person's character by how she acts in real-life settings. Comparing the viewing of light to the study of human nature, Goethe said: "In reality, any attempt to express the inner nature of a thing is fruitless. What we perceive are effects, and a complete record of these effects ought to encompass this inner nature. We labor in vain to describe a person's character, but when we draw together his actions, his deeds, a picture of his character will emerge. Colors are the *deeds of light*, what it does and what it endures. In this sense we can expect them to tell us something about light. Although it is true that colors and light are intimately related to one another, we must consider both as belonging to all nature. Through them nature in its entirety seeks to manifest itself, in this case to the sense of sight, to the eye."[9] In short, says Goethe, we understand light by how light acts. And so with color.

But what if I could *not* look out my window? What if the window before me was made not for viewing out of or for viewing in, made not so much for the passage of light as for the capturing of it? Such is the character and purpose of stained glass windows. Unlike transparent glass, stained glass windows are not made to reveal what is outside and what is in. What they do reveal are great variations and intensities of color that arrest our senses and point, through religious, mythological, literary, historical, familial, and artistic imagery, to that which is beyond the confines of their space. Stained glass windows are meant to celebrate light and the imagination, albeit temperamentally since the vicissitudes of clouds, shadows, and the arc of the day's light modify their brilliance.

For millennia, humans have been fascinated with the invasion of light into our dwellings, for sight and for mood, and with its filter, glass. Glass has been used for windows as far back as 100 CE and colored glass since 700. But stained glass windows, of the kind with which we are familiar, flowered in the twelfth century, specifically in 1144, when Abbot Suger, of the monastery of St. Denis, charged to restore his abbey church, sought to lift worshipers' sights and spirits through the use of colored windows, whose vivid colors he referred to as "gems." Suger said, "Thus sometimes when, because of my delight in the beauty of the house of God, the multicolor loveliness of the gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation, transporting me from material to immaterial things, has persuaded me to examine the diversity of holy virtues, then I seem to see myself exiting on some level, as it were, beyond our earthly one, neither completely the slime of the earth nor completely in the purity of heaven. By the gift of God I can be transported in an anagogical manner from this inferior level to that superior one."[10]

Suger's belief that the perception of light and of color in these windows can transport the viewer "from material to immaterial things" and "from this inferior level to that superior one," reflects his turn to Neoplatonism, which held that Truth lies beyond the material world, and it is through aids to our senses (as in stained glass, music, etc.) interpreted symbolically that we perceive and experience this Truth. In contrast to this Platonic view of light, the Aristotelian view holds that light leads us not to the divine separate from nature, but to nature itself, where the divine is lodged. To be illumined, to come into the light, therefore, was for Aristotle to see nature more clearly and wonderfully; whereas for Plato it was to see beyond it, to where the True wonder really lies.[11]

Ever since Suger, stained glass windows have inspired the visual imagination and staged theaters of light and color for the devout, for the wealthy, for the powerful, and for the tourist—proving that they serve not just religious and aesthetic ends but political and commercial ones as well.[12]

Stained glass windows do more than glorify light and color, though. They serve didactic and promotional purposes as well. They are "artifacts"—artistic documents of material culture. By means of their images, symbols, designs, and narratives, of religious and non-religious natures, they reflect a period's artistic expressions, purvey a culture's heritage, and extol certain values and worldviews. In short, they are a type of advertising, a form of publicity. They are cartoons (doubly understood, for the drawing from which the glass is made is called a "cartoon"). They advertise and promote the Christian story (and that of other religious groups; Jewish temples make great use of stained glass, more aniconic than iconic[13]), they memorialize the martyred and the departed,[14] they bespeak the virtues of the church, of the king, of the God of the king, and of the kingdom, and, when in homes as heraldic glass (the coat of arms), they display the status of the family and of its pedigreed lineage to all passersby. As translucent images they offer "multidimensional" and "multisensory" aesthetic rewards for distinct purposes and for the titillation of the senses, turning, to quote the Roman poet, Lucretius, "all that's inside [as] gay and flooded with beauty when it has caught the light."[15] Nevertheless, however much they may instruct and promote, stained glass windows fundamentally and unequivocally articulate light. Easel paintings assuredly match and exceed the designs on the glass and may provide a more sophisticated and nuanced version of light—think of Vermeer and Turner—but they cannot match the sheer visceral and kinetic power of light from the best of stained glass.[16]

As an art form, stained glass windows are for public viewing. Yet, they are not for everyone, by which I mean, they only reach a select audience, specifically those on the interior side of the window.[17] Those on the outside only see the silhouette of the design, as if looking at the flip side of a Hollywood stage prop. When a window has an acrylic backing to protect it against the elements and malicious intent,[18] the details of the window disappear entirely. This unidirectional quality of stained glass means the viewing of it has social implications: only those of the in-group, on the right side of the issue as it were,[19] fully benefit. This inward rather than outward-facing quality, and, because of this, its capacity to constrain and manage attention, makes stained glass particularly effective for influencing the feel and meaning of an interior space. The illumination of its subjects and designs from outside gives the images a certain transcendent quality, as if they are floating above the filth and humdrumness of daily life, leading the viewer to turn his mind inward from the cares of the day or to imagine worlds and possibilities beyond, or both. Stained glass windows, in short, inspire us to see beyond. They infuse us with a range of feelings and emotions, from the sublime, to the exalted, to the quieter and more contemplative. Combined, their didactic, social, perceptual, visual, and emotive qualities all serve to set up spaces and moments of symbolic significance, moral weight, and transformative potential. In effect, they create sacred spaces.

Now by sacred I do not necessarily mean religious, as in to believe in deities or espouse a particular doctrine. Rather, by sacred I mean that, a) to which we give excessive value and attention, b) are willing to defend and to discriminate in how it is used, and, c) on entering the space or in being attached to it, either physically or imaginatively, it puts us in a special place: we feel and act differently there. If these characteristics define what is meant by sacred space, then stained glass windows certainly lend themselves to shaping sacred spaces.[20]

For instance, by their very nature, stained glass windows are far more costly, complex, and delicate than clear, translucent, purely functional windows. The extent of the craftsmanship, the manufacture of colored glass, the glazes, the leaded cames, the architecture required to accept them, the cost of the artist employed, all make them objects of great expense and labor, exhibiting, therefore, an excessiveness far beyond your typical window. To even come close today to construct a La Farge window would cost between $2,000–5,000 per square foot and could require up to ten to fifteen pieces of glass per square inch! Most choice windows today have that many pieces of glass per square foot.[21] That the space using stained glass windows is discriminating also goes without much debate. From the choice of the architect, of the artist, of the people for whom the space is constructed, to the kind of activities that are to take place therein, either actual or suggested, means the space defined by such windows is not for any and all types of thought or behavior. Many a stained glass window has been removed from a church because they no longer fit the belief system of the congregation or are too costly to maintain and repair (to restore a set of stained glass windows by Sarah Wyman Whitman, who was strongly influenced by La Farge,[22] at First Parish Unitarian Universalist in Brookline, Massachusetts costs $350,000[23]). The Protestant iconoclastic movement, beginning in the year 1522, destroyed stained glass

windows, and all other forms of ecclesiastical imagery, for their association with the Catholic Church.[24] And the very stained glass windows of John La Farge that were donated to the McMullen Museum (plate 4), had been removed from the Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst, Massachusetts because, among other reasons, they were too clearly Christian, which, being a triptych of St. John, Jesus, and St. Paul, did not reflect the rationalist pluralism of Unitarian Univeralism.[25] And, finally, because stained glass windows create an intense viewing and emotive experience, they elicit feelings and emotions qualitatively different from clear, transparent windows generally. Even though aesthetic emotions are not incompatible with and share in the same "neural reference space" as basic, everyday emotions (fear, anger, disgust, happiness, etc.), they tend to be more complex, sublime, subtle, "more felt than acted upon," more "subject to savoring" than those of our ordinary life, says Gabrielle Starr on the neuroscience of aesthetic experience.[26] Moreover, as the historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, says, noting experiences of light across religious traditions, "the experience of the Light radically changes the ontological condition of the subject."[27] He adds,

> It is important to stress that whatever the nature and intensity of an experience of the Light, it always evolves into a religious experience.…[it] bring[s] a man out of his worldly Universe or historical situation, and project[s] him into a Universe different in quality, an entirely different world, transcendent and holy. The structure of this holy and transcendent Universe varies according to a man's culture and religion.[28]

6.2. C. Cook (after Maurir), *Professor Chevreul*. Engraving on paper, 6.1 x 4.7 in., Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Spaces, then, illumined by stained glass, shape our experience therein because of the intent (by the artist and architect) to define that experience by means of the strategic use of light and of color. Indeed, as Claire Nesbitt states in her essay "Experiencing the Light," "One of the most important factors in shaping the experience of worship was the manipulation of the light inside churches"[29] via glazed and colored window glass. To the point, she argues, that "the stained glass from Constantinople can be seen as an extension of the Byzantine repertoire of iconographic media in churches. What we are seeing could be the remains of 'icons in glass.'"[30]

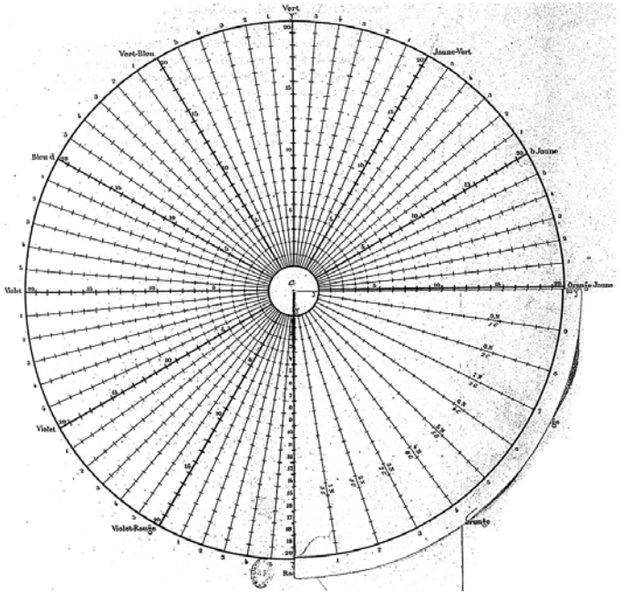
So when we move to the stained glass work of John La Farge, whose decorative glass is an extension of his artistry as a painter, we see an artist and a craftsman who sets up spaces to see and experience the world in which we live in a way that is visually nuanced, dynamic, naturalistic, and realistic. To view a La Farge window is to see as much philosophy as art.

John La Farge and the Articulation of Nature's Light

John La Farge was born into wealth in New York in 1835 to French émigré parents. His father, John Frederick (1779–1858), made his fortune in international shipping and real estate. From youth, La Farge was a precocious and consummate student, reading in French and English and devouring books across disciplines, from the sciences, to language, to literature, to the arts. He was educated in Catholic schools and at Mount Saint Mary's College in Maryland and became exposed to Christian, classical, and literary iconography. He started his education preparing himself for law—his father's choice, not his—but would quickly turn to art as his vocation. Except for drawing realistic sketches and taking painting lessons from his maternal grandmother in his youth and studying watercoloring techniques after college, he never became a formally trained artist. Martin Brimmer (1829–96), the first director of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, called La Farge a "half-trained man of genius."[31] After La Farge earned his law degree, his father paid for a Wanderjahr of study in Europe (1856–57) for his twenty-first birthday. While in Europe La Farge studied briefly in the atelier of the artist Thomas Couture (1815–79) and soaked up the art of the Pre-Raphaelites (members of which he would meet personally in 1873) and of the French realists, such as Gustave Courbet (1819–77) and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867), and of the color work of Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863).[32] He also visited galleries and cathedrals in Paris, Brittany, Belgium, and Denmark, sketching landscapes, buildings, and monuments, and copying the great masters, like Rembrandt and Rubens. For his theoretical work,

he read *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs*, 1839, by the color theorist Michel Eugène Chevreul (1786–1889), who took a scientific, empirical approach to color perception (fig. 6.2).[33]

Chevreul, a prominent chemist, first took an interest in color theory when a textile dye maker asked him how to augment the richness, variety, and permanence of his fabrics' colors and to figure out why certain colors seemed to change when placed next to each other. Chevreul followed in a line of color theorists from Newton, who first discovered the color properties of white light,[34] to Goethe, who rejected the too-reductionist approach of Newton for a more subjective study of color. Chevreul accepted the findings of Newton but also understood, like Goethe, that color is best understood by observing it in nature, *en plein air*, that is, in context.[35]



6.3. Michel Eugène Chevreul, "Construction chromatique Hémisphérique," in *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1839), fig. 13.

6.4. John La Farge, *The Last Valley—Paradise Rocks*, 1866–68. Oil on canvas, 32.8 x 42.3 in., National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 2000.144.1.

Chevreul's contribution to color theory was his observation of the simultaneous contrast of colors. Each color has its own distinct wavelength within white light, and each wavelength of color has within it a band of wavelengths of differing hues. So the color we see, that refracts to our eye, is the more predominant color, or wavelength, from among the band of refracting hues. When we see the color blue, for example, blue only comprises, say, 60 percent of the wavelength band that hits our retina. The other 40 percent is made up of other colors, like violet and green. When a color refracts off a surface (be it a flower, a canvas, a vase, or glass), the color that we see is the color that is refracting the most intensely. As such, there is technically no pure color, no pure red, or blue, or green, or yellow. There is red-orange, on the brighter side of red, because the orange wavelength is prominent, and there is red-violet, on the darker side, with violet being the more prominent. The same variation in color can be said for yellow (there is green-yellow and orange-yellow) and blue (there is blue-green and blue-violet). Therefore, it is unhelpful, even misleading, to say that there are three primary colors, red, yellow, and blue. It is more accurate to say, then, that there are six colors, for each color has a two-sided color mixture, one more bright and one more dark (fig. 6.3).[36]

Aware of the composite nature of colors, Chevreul noted that when colors are placed alongside of each other they affect each other, such that, depending upon the amount of light and the angle in which viewed, they modulate from more bright to more dark or less dark to less bright, giving the viewer a perception of change and of movement. There is a simultaneous contrasting of colors. La Farge would draw upon Chevreul's optics when, later in life, he designed his stained glass windows. Writes La Farge, "The churches [that he saw on his European trip] brought me to the knowledge of ancient glass and I was able to use, for understanding it, what I had read in the writings of the illustrious Chevreul."[37]

La Farge had to return from his European trip early when he received news that his father had died unexpectedly, leaving him a vast inheritance. No longer under the watch of his father, and with the financial freedom to do as he pleased, La Farge returned to New York to pursue his interest in painting. Shortly after he arrived, he met the prominent architect Richard Morris Hunt (1827–95) who, on learning of La Farge's artistic talent, directed La Farge to contact his brother, William Morris Hunt (1824–79), a former pupil of Couture and a proponent of the Barbizon realism school. Hunt was setting up a studio and taking on students in Newport, Rhode Island. Without waiting, La Farge moved in 1859 to Newport, where he would spend the next fourteen years developing his skill as an artist and studying the effects of light and of color.

A place of "expansive farmlands, rolling hills, jutting cliffs, a dramatic coastline with barren stretches of dune grass and sparkling acres of beach sand,"[38] Newport was an ideal location for La Farge to train his eye in depicting nature and its "deeds of light." Through oils, numerous freehand sketches, and use of watercolors, La Farge painted Newport's natural beauty throughout the seasons and its changing light at specific locations over the course of the day. He painted portraits and religious scenes with Newport's natural landmarks in the background, such as of Puddingstone Ledge as a backdrop of a triptych for St. Peter's Catholic Church in New York City. For Mary, the mother of Jesus, he drew the likeness of his wife, Margaret, and for St. John, he used his friend, William James (plate 20). The work was never completed; the central panel, of the cross, was not finished. To use nature as backdrop, and not just nature in general but specific locations, and to use as subjects friends and relatives, was characteristic of a group of painters that called itself the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Coming together in 1849, the Pre-Raphaelites sought to oppose traditional "notions of beauty and artistic decorum"[39] and depict truth in nature as it realistically shows itself to us, down to a broken reed in a marsh at which the artist stood, for instance.[40]

6.5. John La Farge, *Snow Storm*, 1865. Oil on panel, 16.5 x 12 in., High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 2006.63.

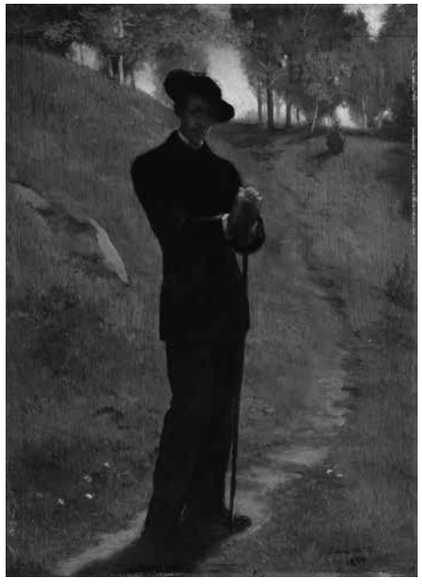
6.6. John La Farge, *Flowers on a Window Ledge*, c. 1861. Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in., National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 2014.79.25.

Painting and studying nature *en plein air*, as Chevreul advised, was standard practice for La Farge. He painted *Paradise Valley* (1866–68), located at the southeastern most tip of Rhode Island, in full mid-day sun, giving the valley a golden, monochrome glow, without shadows (fig. 1.11). To catch variations in color and tone at different times of the day, he painted the setting sun as it lit upon a rocky, promontory, valley, *The Last Valley—Paradise Rocks* (fig. 6.4) with the valley portion of the painting in shade and the upper part of the promontory in warm, late afternoon sun, thereby showing a bold contrast of dark and light. A similar painting of a massive rock, Bishop Berkeley's rock, named after Reverend George Berkeley, the father of the philosophy of immaterialism, painted in "broad patches of color dominated by green and brown tonalities,"[41] showed the influence of Courbet and of the popular Barbizon style. But La Farge was only realistic and detailed to a degree. His bifurcated and broadly stroked painting of Bishop Berkeley's rock was not so realistic in detail that one could distinguish the two nondescript halves of the painting, leading one critic to say that on flipping the painting around one could get the same effect.[42] Instead of realistic precision, what La Farge was seeking was not to replicate nature but to capture its ambient, atmospheric light. As another example, he studied the white, hazy light of a snowstorm as the snow blanketed a field, *Snow Storm* (fig. 6.5), or, in another painting, as it fell on a lonely, saltbox, wooden house.

La Farge studied variations in light at one location over the course of the day and the effect of incoming and ambient light on his still lifes. For a still life, he would take a single, cut, white flower with its stem and lay it in a bowl on a window sill, arranged as if the flower had been placed there by chance, as seen in his *Flowers on a Window Ledge* (fig. 6.6), and notice how the flower and the vase were lit by the outside, midday sun. His floral pieces are some of his best work, showing the influence of Japanese art, of the single specimen: simple, plain, and delicate. In each still life one sees how the play of light affects the coloration and the intensity, the softness or hardness, of the subject. La Farge sought to bring out the essential principles of art, drawing on his innate talent, trying not to copy or be reliant upon others' methods, but to be authentic, objective.[43] "There I wished to apply principles of light and color of which I had learned a little. I wished my studies from nature to indicate something of this, to be free from *recipes*, as far as possible, and to indicate very carefully, in every part, the exact time of day and circumstances of light,"

said La Farge.[44]

While this way to view light was certainly romantic, outdoors, and unmediated, La Farge did not overly dramatize the role of light in his paintings—as John Constable, in his *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* (1829–34), does with highly luminous, billowy clouds, in which light and nature take on a divine and moral valuation.[45] La Farge's landscapes, rather, are more sober, more tranquil, more contemplative, holding in balance "air and light and space."[46] He wanted to capture humans' harmonization with nature, to see nature as nourishing. Just as his friend Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer of Central and Prospect Parks in New York, of the Emerald Necklace in Boston, and of countless other urban parks and gardens, La Farge believed that we enrich and humanize the soul when we are within nature. This presence in nature, however, does not imply, as Diane Johnson says, that he shared "the Transcendentalist's ideal of the human soul's glorious merging with nature."[47] La Farge was too much the realist for that.



6.7. John La Farge, *Portrait of the Painter*, 1859. Oil on panel, 16.1 x 11.5 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 34.134.

6.8. John La Farge posing for *Portrait of the Painter*, 1859.

Even though one sees the realism of Courbet in La Farge, La Farge's realism was not as dogmatic as that of Courbet, who once said he could not paint an angel because he had never seen one.[48] There was too much of the Catholic piety in La Farge and of the idealism of the soul's correspondence with a greater universe for him not to resort to religious iconography—seen most prolifically in his stained glass windows.[49] Nevertheless, even with his extensive use of religious and mythological iconography, La Farge remained earthly grounded. His subjects never quite rise to transcendent loftiness and escapism. Even in his large mural, *The Ascension of Our Lord* (1886–88; fig. 3.12), modeled after Titian's, for the Church of the Ascension in New York City, of Christ rising to the heavens in a pinkish, cloudy glow as onlookers below look up from an open field of green and brown treeless hills and mountains, the scene still comes across as naturalistic and this-worldly (particularly since the mountain depicted was patterned after Mount Fuji, which La Farge had seen on his trip to Japan, in 1886), despite its divine subject.[50]

There is an early self-portrait of La Farge, *Portrait of the Painter* (fig. 6.7), looking dapper, haughty, standing outdoors along an ascending natural dirt path that rises up a small hill and crests, pausing on his way up and looking to us, weight and hand resting on a walking stick, as if in mid-journey, as if he is declaring himself to us and to the art world into which he was moving. This self-portrait, based on a photograph of himself in his studio from the same year (fig. 6.8), similarly dressed and poised, points us not just to his own pilgrimage but to that of every person who must travel through the natural world. La Farge was too much the cosmopolitan, though, to believe that humans belonged more to nature than to the city. He was not the outdoor naturalist, a back-to-nature romantic. We do not see the wildness and brutality of nature in his work as we see in John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark* (1778) or in George Stubbs's *A Lion Attacking a Horse* (fig. 6.9), each of which suggests the tenuousness of humans before the forces of nature. La Farge acknowledges the importance that nature plays in our lives, for succor and inspiration. But he also depicts our separateness, our remove from it, such that the mind and the imagination are not tied to it. We see nature as if through a window, "carefully observed."[51] The through-a-window perspective would follow through to La Farge's stained glass windows, which, clearly as windows, framed figured and abstracted representations of nature.

This through-a-window perspective symbolizes a correspondence between the world and its light outside with our world and its light inside, a correspondence between the deeds of humans and the deeds of nature, implying, more spiritually, an analogous relation between the aspirations of the human soul and that of the material, emotional sensations of the human body, as La Farge phrased it.[52] His still life *Flowers on a Window Ledge* (fig. 6.6) and sketching *From the Studio at Grayledge Farm* (c. 1867), to take two examples, show clearly this through-a-window

perspective. In these cases we actually see the window frames. Other works, such as his quietly moody *Snow Storm* (fig. 6.5), look as if he might have stuck his head out the window to observe the gently swirling snowstorm, a way of seeing that his earlier contemporary John Mallord William Turner (1775–1851) practiced when he purportedly stuck his head out of the Exeter express for nine minutes during a rainstorm to capture the misty steam and light of a speeding train for *Rain, Steam, and Speed—The Great Western Railway* (fig. 6.10).[53] Turner, having read Goethe's *Theory of Colors*, which had been recently translated into English, is another who sought to depict the deeds of light through direct observation.[54] Like Turner, La Farge has us look through windows and stick our neck out for getting a closer look. In framing our vision this way, as if through a window, La Farge connects to the Renaissance tradition in art that equated the viewing of pictures with the viewing of the world outside.[55] To see through a window means that however authentically we may depict nature, our depictions and our perceptions remain subjective, a matter of interpretation and artifice, like a beautifully manicured Japanese garden of immaculately choreographed viewpoints.

6.9. George Stubbs (1724–1806), *A Lion Attacking a Horse*, 1762. Oil on canvas, 96 x 131 in., Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, B1977.14.71.

6.10. J. M. W. Turner, *Rain, Steam, and Speed—The Great Western Railway*, 1844. Oil on canvas, 36 x 40 in., National Gallery, London, NG538.

La Farge understood this dialectic in Japanese art between nature and culture. His paintings of the singular flower, his landscapes with high horizons, and his free-hand streamlined sketchings show this influence of Japanese aesthetics. On a trip to Japan with Henry Adams, in 1886, La Farge relished what he saw in Japanese art and in the country's vistas. He painted reclining and sitting Buddhas, and, later, back in the United States, he would incorporate a semblance of Mount Fuji into the backdrop of *The Ascension of Our Lord*.[56] La Farge's incorporation of Japanese aesthetics and perspective into his art made him, among modern scholars, "the first western artist to attempt to assimilate Japanese principles of design in his work,"[57] an accomplishment often attributed to James A. McNeill Whistler (1834–1903).

La Farge's approach to nature followed a particular strand in nineteenth-century American culture: the search through nature for spiritual, intellectual, literary, and artistic inspiration. Because of America's rapid and expanding urbanism and industrialization, people began to feel alienated from nature. At the same time they looked to it for its seemingly inexhaustible resources—its rivers, lakes, forests, fields, mountains—to support the country's rapid growth. People had a "passion for nature,"[58] says Rochelle Johnson, a scholar of American environmental studies. But this passion remained shallow. People did not go the extra step to study and understand nature and know it in its particulars. As Thoreau phrased it for the times, "There is plenty of genial love of nature, but not so much of Nature herself."[59] Instead, they saw nature not for itself but as a metaphor, a metaphor for progress, for refinement, and for reason, associated with the picturesque landscapes of Thomas Cole, the design movement of Andrew Jackson Downing, and the Transcendentalist literature of Ralph Waldo Emerson, respectively. As metaphor, nature was viewed as an idea, a sophisticated idea, surely, but not as a material extension of our life as human beings. This distancing from the actual stuff of nature led to an "aesthetics of alienation," where people claimed to value the beauty of nature but not its materiality. In time, this alienation of the ideal from the actual led art and literature to become separated from environmental ethics and natural science, says Johnson.[60]

La Farge's study of nature *en plein air* as if through-a-window exhibits, to some degree, this "aesthetic of alienation," for he continues to maintain a strong sense of the frame and of the artist's field of vision.[61] As mentioned, La Farge had a romantic view of nature, as virgin, hospitable, nourishing, but he did not over-ro-

manticize it—as his teacher William Morris Hunt did, nor did he depict it as a cornucopia of endless bounty, as Thomas Cole did, nor as wild, dangerous, and brutish, like Copley or Stubbs. So while he valued nature in general, he did not neglect in studying it closely and in depicting it geographically accurate. La Farge holds in tension a dualistic stance toward nature: he is attentive to it but at a remove from it; he is a naturalist, getting the geography right, while also a romantic; he does not seek a detailed replication of nature but does try to capture the right atmosphere of light and color. In his stained glass windows he would depict classically religious narratives and ideal human virtues but at the same time, through the kinds and styles of glass he used, he would shape our perception of these narratives and ideals through illusion and make our interpretation of them, thereby, less straightforward. La Farge puts the viewer in an ambiguous posture toward nature and toward reality.

It is telling that his landscapes are without people, without signs of human engagement, except for those cases when he poses a person framed by a natural background or when he painted the natives of Samoa and of Fiji as they frolicked in the river or danced in grassy openings, seen when he traveled to these exotic locales with his friend, Henry Adams,[62] or when he painted mythological figures, who are not of this world anyway, in sylvan settings. Even when there is a picture of a house, a human structure, the house looks unoccupied. It is as if La Farge, in leaving the frame empty of people, wants to keep the viewer off balance. He seems to be finding his own way in the symbolist space between romanticism and the ideal and naturalism and the real as the country itself was moving within that tension. There is a dialectic in La Farge as he holds in balance the absence of humans in his paintings, showing nature unmolested, in its pure, spiritual state, and the presence of humans, off stage, who were there or are there, looking through a window, to frame and interpret the nature now seen and painted. La Farge's use of the emerging technology of photography[63] to study nature and to capture the "deeds of light" (photography means to "write in light")—as when he drew upon a photograph of himself in his studio to paint his portrait and, with the assistance of his photographer friend, Maurice Stadtfeld, took a photo of Second Beach, in Middletown, Rhode Island (c. 1863)—are examples of this dialectic, of being removed from nature yet of it, of seeing nature unfiltered yet having it filtered through a human lens. When La Farge moves to a more technological and mediating form of art in stained glass, we see the symbolist aesthetic become even more pronounced, since stained glass intermixes natural light with human-made material, glass. In sum, La Farge shows a romanticized scientific naturalism, and, artistically, a dynamic aesthetic naturalism.

On the death of his father, La Farge assumed a sizable inheritance. Too much the aesthete and perfectionist of art-for-art's sake[64] to maintain the discipline required to manage his fortune, La Farge had, within five years of coming into his money, squandered his inheritance and tested the patience of his creditors. He sunk to the point of losing his house in Newport in 1864, and fled with his family and all he could carry in the dead of night, leaving behind unpaid servants and ill will. He would spend a year in Roxbury, Massachusetts before returning to Newport to a "golden era" of vigorous production in a range of media, according to the La Farge scholar and biographer James Yarnall.[65] Though his industry and genius sustained him many a time, as did friends, La Farge never fully became financially secure. Even the La Farge Decorative Art Company he founded, a potential source of ongoing income, fell into bankruptcy.[66] So when La Farge moved into the medium of stained glass, at the age of forty, from easel painting, he did it not solely for artistic reasons, says his friend and biographer Royal Cortissoz,[67] but for financial ones as well. His easel paintings were not bringing the income he needed, and the allure of working in glass, a more lucrative art anyway, and in great demand in nineteenth-century America, made work in stained glass an obvious artistic expression for him to pursue.

La Farge was not an unknown when he came into the world of stained glass. He had already achieved fame as a muralist (starting with those he painted for Trinity Church, Boston), as a painter of landscapes and still lifes, and as an illustrator in wood engravings. Despite his early fame, it was his work in stained glass, however, that set him apart and established his reputation as the most innovative artist in stained glass since the Middle Ages.[68] In stained glass he merged all of his talents and brought to a point a life given to the study of light, of color, and of nature, conjoining the artificial with the natural. Whistler could just as well have been referring to La Farge when he said, on equating the work of the artist to that of a composer, "Nature contains the elements in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful—as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he brings forth from chaos glorious harmony."[69] On his account, La Farge chose the color and form of glass to bring harmony out of the disparate elements of his life and to give new expression to his artistic and broadly spiritual sensibilities.

The art of stained glass was not new to La Farge. He had been exposed to it early in his artistic education and had seen its splendors in the cathedrals of Europe during his Wanderjahr abroad. His first foray into serious stained glass work came in 1874–75 when the architectural firm of Ware and Van Brunt asked him to design the *Battle Window* for Harvard University's Memorial Hall. Mid-nineteenth century was a good time to enter the arena of stained glass art. "The nineteenth century was the era of public glass," says Isobel Armstrong.[70] The manufacture and design of glass was a developing skill and only practiced among a few major craftsmen. The American historian Daniel Boorstin regarded glass making at this time as an aristocratic craft.[71] Most glass was still blown by human breath until, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it became more frequently machine produced.[72] Among types of glass, clear, translucent glass was prized, for transparence meant transcendence to Enlightenment thinkers.[73] The Great Exhibition in London in 1851 celebrated glass on a grand scale, with the huge, 956,000-square-foot Crystal Palace (fig. 6.11), a technological and engineering wonder of such size that it held under its canopy large, spreading, mature trees and an exquisite twenty-seven-foot tall glass fountain right in the center, emblematic of progress, of modernity, and of a culture of "mass transparency."[74] To the Victorian era, glass signified purity and civilization. Out of dirt, out of the impure, of sand and potash, came purity, clarity, delicacy, refinement, a move from nature to culture—and as glass, so the Victorians thought, so should our moral development progress. Stained glass, ironically, repudiated translucency and the transparence of crystal.[75] It redirected the achievement of enlightenment and of virtue through human reason toward achieving them through religion, piety, and inspiration instead, evident in the iconographic messages of stained glass. Moreover, whereas transparent glass allows those from within to see outside to the civic and public sphere, stained glass, because of its non-transparency and unidirectional focus, keeps our attention turned inward and around a set-apart community. Stained glass flaunts this duplicity of attracting while pushing away.[76]

6.11. J. McNeven, *The Transept from the Grand Entrance*, 1851. Color lithograph, 12.4 x 18.5 in., Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 19627.

In the allegory of Plato's cave, those on the inside looking at the wall only know what is real by the shadows projected on the wall from the light of the glowing fire behind them. But should they turn around they would in fact see what is real.[77] With stained glass, however, those inside can only see, and forever only see, the filter of the real, the illusion and semblance of the real. They only see artificial depictions of nature's light, however vivid and powerful these depictions may be. Because one cannot see past the stained glass, one cannot see actual human forms and the actual deeds of the sun's light. Stained glass, therefore, furthers an "aesthetic of alienation." Though, as a medium, it allows the entry of light, it, simultaneously, is a barrier that cuts people off from seeing nature outside to imagining it instead. Stained glass mediates and interprets.

From the Protestant Reformation until the nineteenth century, stained glass production had been a diminished and neglected art. The Reformation had rejected all things papal and high church. With the rise of public and Victorian religiosity, urbanism, finance, and industry came a renewed interest in the building of churches and the importance of images to represent wealth, piety, collective labor, and sophistication.[78] Stained glass windows arose everywhere, not just in churches but in banks, stately homes, government buildings, and town halls. Into this confluence of interlocking factors entered La Farge. He was innovative, hardworking, independent in character, practiced in various artistic media, versed in religious, literary, and mythological iconography, possessed a refined sensibility to nature, and was a long-time student of light and of color. Not to mention he was financially strapped. He could use the money.

Now when we speak of La Farge as an artist in stained glass, we need to clarify what we mean by the term "stained" glass. By stained glass La Farge did not mean merely transparent, colored glass, which he referred to simply as "glass," but glass "to which a transparent color…is fastened to the surface…by the action of heat."[79] This manner of applying color via the "action of heat" is the process of *staining* glass,

which, as a way to color glass, came into practice in the fourteenth century through its introduction by Muslim artisans, says the stained glass historian Virginia C. Raguin.[80] To actually *stain* glass involves applying an opaque silver oxide to the back of the glass then firing the glass, during which time the silver oxides migrate into and remain suspended in the glass. Once the firing is complete, and the glass has cooled, any stain remaining on the glass is removed by abrasion or through the use of hydrochloric acid, giving the glass its streaks and translucent silver or golden tarnish.[81]

In the mid-seventeenth century, because of changing tastes and the profusion of stained glass, glass painters turned to using enamel paints that, like stains, were "fused to the surface of the glass by means of heat."[82] Windows, the panes of glass, became essentially canvases. Great skill is required in the use of enamels since one has to know how to mix the enamels to get the best colorized effect and still allow for the capture and transmittal of light. Although these enamel-based paintings on glass can be highly elaborate, they are not innovative in the use of glass, their artistry is minimal, and the play of light coming through the glass is predictable. Moreover, at the time of La Farge, the quality of the glass itself, much of it made in England and France, had not advanced beyond how it had been made for centuries.[83] So when La Farge started to work on his first commission, the *Battle Window* of Harvard's Memorial Hall (fig. 4.8), using the imported English glass available, he found it inadequate to exhibit the variations in light and color he was after. It was not long into the project that he got so displeased with it, calling it a "botch,"[84] that he, like God in Genesis, destroyed what he had wrought and commenced anew, only to complete it in 1882, eight years later, during which time he had made two windows, in 1879 and 1880, for the Derby and Marquand families. Only this time, when he completed the *Battle Window*, he used the type of glass for which he became known: opalescent glass.

6.12. John La Farge, *The Angel at the Tomb*, Benjamin Crane Memorial Window, 1890. Crane Memorial Library, Quincy.

It was through opalescent glass, as well as through plating, the layering of glass, and his creative use of the leaded cames that La Farge would affect an illusionism to his subjects and a way of looking at the world. La Farge was a visionary in his use of stained, decorative glass for shaping perception. He saw new ways in which stained glass could influence how we perceive and feel within a space and interpret the spiritual message and experience therein. Scholars of vision and of perception speak of how through the use of line and color (as well as through taste, touch, smell, and sound) we construct vision. Vision, says cognitive scientists Donald Hoffman and David Marr, is not a given. It is constructed.[85] If so, then opalescent glass, to take one medium, makes use of what is called "subjective contouring"[86] to shape our view of things. Through color and line, it gives the illusion of depth and of movement, as well as of touch and of sound and, conceivably, even of smell and taste (given that what we see influences how we might smell and taste).

La Farge had discovered opalescent glass while convalescing from an illness. Recuperating in bed one day, he saw the sun's light hit upon a porcelain-looking glass (sometimes referred to as "milk" glass for its milky look) toiletry item (probably for tooth powder[87]) that gave the glass's color a vivid yet soft and variegated glow. This revelation inspired him to use this glass for decorative purposes, which had not been done before. In 1879 he sought a patent for his insight and to ensure that he got first credit—not an unwarranted concern: Louis Tiffany was equally claiming first credit, though he had received the idea of using opalescent glass for decorative purposes from La Farge. By late 1881 opal glass was already regarded as "America's unique contribution to the [stained glass] medium."[88] Because it is made from a mixture of chemicals and from different colors of molten glass, opalescent windows are not technically *stained* glass. Its special qualities come from within the glass itself, not from a stain without.

If, as the neuroscientist Eric Kandel says, "our perception of color in the real world…is complex and depends...largely on context,"[89] then the striated, sinuous, wispy, milky qualities of the varying hues and tones of opalescent glass make it especially appropriate for representing the complexity and manifold refractions of light as seen in nature. As La Farge phrased it in his patent application, through the use of opalescent glass "I may gain great advantage as to realistic representation of natural objects, as, for instance, the clouding of a blue sky with more or less

intensity of a white cloud." And also, "I am enabled [in this] by checking or graduating the amount of light in this way, to gain effects as to depth, softness, and modulation of color which has not been before gained by the use of colored glass alone, and windows made in accordance with my invention may, by the use of opal or translucent or colored glass, be made to show a variety of shades of color not gained by transparent glass."[90]

6.13. John La Farge, *The Fish and Flowering Branch*, c. 1890. Opalescent leaded glass, 26.3 x 26.5 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 69.1224.

Once, while I was sitting in a park in Brookline, Massachusetts, on a fine summer June day at around seven p.m., as the sun began to descend, the sky covered by grayish-white, passing clouds, approaching each other from two different directions, east and west, like sliding doors, and as the sun shone through and around them, illuminating them like lit cotton balls, I said to my wife, "that image is just like a La Farge opalescent window. He'd capture that image in glass." La Farge would appreciate hearing that visual correspondence: "if one could tell what is painted from nature and what is art I should feel that the aim of my work had not been reached,"[91] as he said in an auction catalogue of his works. Indeed, La Farge saw that opalescent glass enabled him to paint his subjects in glass and to capture, in his windows, light as seen in its context, in nature, in all its subtlety as the "deeds of light."

6.14. John La Farge, *Peacocks and Peonies*, 1882. Opalescent leaded glass, 112 x 51.3 x 6.5 in. (each, framed), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC, 1936.12.1–2.

A quality of opalescent glass that gives it its special character is that it has within itself, using Chevreul's concept and term, the simultaneous contrast of colors. Says La Farge of the glass, "The material seemed to be the proper basis for a fair venture into the use of free colour in windows, even when it was used only in small patches, alongside of the English [i.e., pot metal] glass, whose flatness was relieved by the opal's suggestion of complementary colour—that mysterious quality it has of showing a golden yellow, associated with violet; a pink flush brought out on a ground of green….Moreover, the infinite variety of modulations of [tone in] the opal glass allowed a degree of light and shade for each piece."[92] The glass's contrasting wavelengths of light give the glass a look of motion, of vibrancy, an aesthetic experience of movement. His window *The Angel at the Tomb* (fig. 6.12), in the Crane Memorial Library in Quincy, Massachusetts, of an angel floating among variously blue clouds, captures well the range of hues of blue one often finds in the sky just before or after a storm. Looking at this window I could visualize not only such a sky but could hear its rumbling and the thunder within the clouds prompted by the just-opened tomb, there depicted in a vibrant golden glow, at the lower right of the window. The swirling blues in the clouds created a synaesthetic effect of color and sound.[93]

La Farge, in effect, used opalescent glass to "paint" in glass. Unlike stained glass windows, whose subjects were painted on with enamel or stain, La Farge depicted his subjects—angels, human figures, columns, trees, flowers—as paintings *in* glass. Whenever he needs to resort to depicting human flesh—faces, arms, hands, and feet—he paints these in actual paint, and life-like, not like the idealistic or representative faces we see in medieval glass figures. With opalescent glass, people's robes (and everyone is in a robe) acquire a drapery effect and architectural elements, columns and buildings, take on the look of marble or stone. For other effects of color and of light, and for framing his windows, he made use of all types of glass, from jewel-like

roughly cut pieces, to fine shavings of glass, to large, globular chunks of glass, to pieces from bottles, to the layering of glass, called plating.

Even though La Farge could render in artificial form the variableness of light as seen outside, in context, using opal and various types of glass, that does not mean La Farge was going for a realistic depiction of his subjects. His depictions of any natural forms in his glass, like a mountain, would be anything but realistic in color. While not quite abstract in form, they were abstract in coloration. It was not precise realism he was going for, as it was a mood, an ambience, a way to feel about the subject he was representing, a form of impressionism. La Farge's glass embodied a naturalism through aesthetics. He did not simply want to exalt light and color, but to have us sense something, and that something varied depending upon what he was designing in his glass.

6.15. John La Farge, *Peonies Blown in the Wind*, 1886. Opalescent leaded glass, 59.2 x 40.4 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 13.2802.

Along with opalescent glass, it was as much through plating that La Farge could display the multisensory effect of nature's light and its illusory effects, giving him another means by which to articulate the perception of nature in nineteenth-century American art.[94] The plating of different levels of clear or colored glass means to superimpose "one piece of glass upon another of the same shape, so as to vary [the glass's] color or its depth."[95] As light passes through a piece or pane of glass of, say, the color blue, the refracted blue light enters the retina where electrical-chemical signals are activated and travel to the brain to register the light as blue. When glass is plated that same refracted blue light passes through an additional layer of glass but at a slightly diminished level of intensity. With each successive layer of glass the intensity of the blue wavelength passing through is lessened even more, rendering the blue light that does get through, that refracts to our eye, darker.[96] Some portions of a La Farge window are so heavily plated they literally bring the passage of light to a halt. If the plate of glass is of a complementary color, of a color across the color wheel, say yellow, the blue light, in this case, coming through would get mixed with the green portion in the yellow glass and refract as green to our eyes.[97]

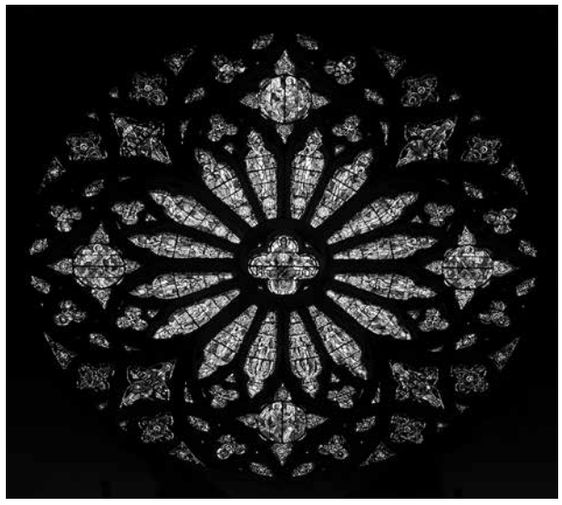
It takes great skill to match colors. If the wrong colors are plated or are put too closely together the resulting effect could lead not to a desired color but to gray or black instead, which happens when all colors get absorbed and no single color refracts to the eye.[98] Plating can be done not only with clear or colored glass but with wavy or rippled glass as well, which gives an illusion of movement or of bent light—as we see in La Farge's *The Fish and Flowering Branch* (fig. 6.13), a circular stained glass window of Japanese influence that shows a koi swimming just below the surface of the water such that, because of plating, it looks as if the fish is literally in water and that the light is bending as it enters and illumines the fish. Louis Tiffany, a former collaborator and later rival of La Farge, who built upon La Farge's invention of using opalescent glass for decorative purposes, used opalescent glass and plating to great commercial success, until the period of opalescent glass's artistry began to wane, around 1920. Then the romantic, naturalistic, Renaissance art of the nineteenth century gave way to art deco and abstractionism and, under the Arts and Crafts expression of the Gothic art movement, stained glass reverted to the look of the Middle Ages, articulated most famously in the stained glass work of the American Charles Connick (1875–1945).

La Farge broke from traditional stained glass practices not only in his use of opal glass and plating but through his creative use of the leading, which holds the pieces of glass in place and links them together. La Farge literally sculpted and sketched his designs with lead, following upon what he was doing in his early years in Newport when, through endless pencil and graphite sketchings, he drew nature's lines. Other stained glass artists used black enamel or stain to give outline and detail to their subjects. La Farge used lead to do the same. He took what the Europeans regarded as an "ugly necessity" and made it into "the principal element of decorative beauty,"[99] as he phrased it. His *Peacock and Peonies* windows (fig. 6.14) are marvelous examples of his use of leading to draw his images. The plumage of the peacocks' tails of numerous pieces of rounded, oval-shaped, green glass, tucked within circular lead patterns for the eyelets of the tails' designs, are veritable drawings and sculptures in glass and lead. La Farge's biographer, Royal Cortissoz, regarded the peacock windows as La Farge's greatest masterpiece among his stained glass works,

comparing them to "oriental rugs," to the "antiques of the Alhambra," or to "ordinary fireworks." Cortissoz spoke of the windows as more than windows, but as something sui generis, as a work without equal, that exists "in and for itself."[100]

Another one of La Farge's noted sculpted windows is his *Peonies Blown in the Wind* (fig. 6.15), which shows red peonies withstanding the gale of a strong wind, bending, swaying but resistant, demonstrating, as it were, the resilience of beauty and of virtue, real and metaphorical, against the storms of darkness. The peonies and their leaves and stems, bending as if near to being uprooted, exhibit an "imagery of motion,"[101] the drama of nature in glass.

Artistically, La Farge's romanticized, Victorian, at times maudlin depiction of religious, literary, and mythological subjects, made him an artist of his period. To see his works now is to feel their outdatedness. We would be forgiven if we saw his glass as anachronistic, passé. But that would sell La Farge far too short. The originality and experimentalism he brought to his glass, including the introduction of opalescent glass and increased layered plating for the enhancement of color and the play of light, combined with his innovative use of leading, created a dynamic and sophisticated aesthetic experience. Failing to see the phenomenon of his glass for the subject matter he displayed is to underappreciate what his glass reveals to us. To make this point more starkly and, further, to speak of two different ways to articulate the sacred, I wish to contrast the windows of La Farge with those of Charles Connick, the prolific Arts and Crafts, Gothic Revival artist whose windows grace some of our nation's greatest monuments.



6.16. Charles Connick, *Saint John the Divine,* Great Rose Window, 1933. St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York.

6.17. Charles Connick, *Life of King Arthur*, c. 1928. Princeton Chapel, Princeton University.

Born in Pennsylvania, reared in Pittsburgh, and setting his studio in Boston in 1913, Charles Connick was one the greatest American stained glass designers of the twentieth century. Some of his most notable installations include the rose window in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City (fig. 6.16), the Heinz Memorial Chapel at the University of Pittsburgh, and the windows of Princeton University's chapel (fig. 6.17). His glass exemplifies the Gothic Revival style, of the American Crafts movement, inspired by the English glass craftsman Christopher Whall (1849–1924), in the way that it sought to recapture the powerful effusion of light of medieval stained glass windows.[102]

Connick's approach to stained glass was shaped by his visits to the cathedrals in England and France and by his reading of the theoretical writings on color, architecture, and stained glass of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), the great nineteenth-century medieval architectural theorist and rationalist.[103] When Connick saw the majestic windows of Chartres in 1910, which "formed an active community of color and light... that justified and glorified the craft [of stained glass] beyond all [his] dreams," he began to take seriously the craft of designing stained glass.[104] The writings of Viollet-le-Duc enabled him, he said, to see that the "art of stained glass need never have been lost."[105] He regarded Viollet-le-Duc's essay, "Vitrail," translated into English at that point, as "the only effort ever made to set forth in logical fashion the active glassiness of glass.…[Viollet-le-Duc] evolved theories and rules of color, light and optics that…were working hypotheses in twelfth century shops."[106] Viollet-le-Duc believed that stained glass windows should firstly be what they are meant to be architecturally, that is, as *windows*, and only secondarily as pictorial art.[107] If as windows, then they should allow light to enter in full force. To achieve this effect, Connick put colored glass against white, slightly silver-stained, grisaille glass. And to allow in even more light he pockmarked his deeply colored glass with "tiny transparent spots...to keep great areas of color-in-glass alive in light, throughout ancient windows." Contrary to the luminescent quality of medieval glass, opalescent glass, said Connick, "became more opaque and more solid until all activity of light was stopped as with a blanket."[108]

It is no surprise, then, that Connick had a clear distaste for opalescent glass and for plating, both of which he felt dampened the inflow of light and diminished its transformative power. Though he admired La Farge as

an artist, he felt La Farge went astray when he tried to capture a color's richness by using opal glass and when he approached stained glass as he would a canvas rather than as a window, demonstrating, thereby, a contentious distinction among stained glass craftsman in the nineteenth century, where the perspective of the painter was often pitted against that of the architect.[109] Connick believed light should come into the room in full splendor and draw the viewer upward, almost as if in listening to a symphony, which, as a powerful blast of music, is how he—as well as Viollet-le-Duc—first experienced the potential of stained glass to transform the worship and viewing experience.

Connick's windows, therefore, eschew opalescence and plating. Though his color palette is wide, and he constantly experimented in how he could enhance his range of colors, as noted in his manifesto for stained glass, *Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft*, he, nevertheless, kept the colors in his windows consistently uniform, homogeneous, and bold. If La Farge's windows capture the Goethian "deeds of light," as light is seen in context in nature, variegatedly hued and mixed, Connick's follow the Newtonian, reductive view of light and color, whereby we see light in its clean, abstract, solid form. La Farge, we can extrapolate, represents the more subjective Goethian worldview and Connick the more objective Newtonian. Both were students of modern optics, but they differed in how they translated the science to their glass.

Connick is partially right in his assessment of La Farge's windows: that by prizing the pictorial over the luminescent capacity of stained glass, La Farge failed to do justice to light, and, therefore, to color. Some of La Farge's windows do indeed impede the passage of light, such as his *Ieposolyma, New Jerusalem* (1884; fig. 4.5) and *Resurrection* (1902) windows, both in Trinity Church, Boston. The artistry is there but the luminous punch is not. But La Farge was not going for brilliance. A La Farge window is not meant to be like a medieval stained glass window, which is often colorfully and brilliantly assertive and of very busy, complex, and densely populated designs. La Farge's windows, it must not be forgotten, must be seen fundamentally as paintings, as an art to be studied, as works of a master artist experimenting in glass, in color, and in various types of illusory effects. La Farge's windows are meant to stir less the bolder emotions than they are to stir the imagination and the quieter, more subtle, contemplative emotions. His warmer and darker colors feel closer to us than the colder and lighter colors of Connick.[110] To look at a La Farge window is to see art as its own end. In Connick, one gets more of the craftsman, who is less given to stretching the limits of the medium than to fine tuning and recapturing older, surer ways, the "as it was." Connick was a renovator, a restorer of a style. La Farge was the visionary. Arthur Danto, the art theorist and critic, could say, drawing on Kant's distinctions, that La Farge had "spirit," a creative power. His windows are the product of an unlearned, non-rule-bound artist of genius. Whereas Connick had "taste." His windows are beautiful, yes, attractive, true, but not innovatively inspired. They do not exhibit genius.[111]

It is not that La Farge's windows do not reveal a sophisticated craftsmanship. Their craftsmanship is of a delicate, fragile nature.[112] It is as if La Farge was less concerned that they last for hundreds of years as he was that they be works of fine art, as impressions of a mood, as shapers of perspective, in other words, that they give us a way to think about the world and, in so thinking, in how to feel and act in it. His windows are philosophically didactic. La Farge wanted us to see religion in a certain way, to understand spirituality in a certain way, to feel in a certain way. What we can actually perceive of what La Farge intended (what we interpret) and how much we are able to perceive what he intended, given our contextual conditioning (and given how our brain and mind work), grows fainter the further we are from his time and his original inspiration. But what we do end up perceiving and feeling about them is, by this distancing, nevertheless distinctive and creatively interesting. The conjoining of the two perceptions—that of the artist and that of viewer—replicates a kind of plating effect, whereby with each historical remove from the artist's original creation different perceptions get layered over each other such that the original intention of the artist faintly gets through, if at all (as a deconstructionist reading would hold), to the point that it gets smothered or distorted, as plating is apt to do to color.[113] Still, it is this very plating effect and perspective that introduces new shades of meaning and ways to read and visualize creative works.

The opalescent effect of La Farge's glass pertains to the way the worldview and circumstances of the artist swirls around and intermixes with the worldview and circumstances that we, the viewers, have and bring to the art. This intermingling conversation, between artist and viewer—and to look at art is itself a conversation between artist and viewer, as Siri Hustvedt writes[114]—where each informs the other, like the M. C. Escher *Drawing Hands* lithograph (1948)—creates a type of opalescent experience when looking at La Farge's windows. Opalescence and plating, therefore, become metaphors for the act of perception itself.[115]

Perception, says the cognitive scientist Alvin Noe, involves just this kind of moving about and endless

adjusting to what it takes to read the outside world. Our brain, says Noe, does not form its images of the world by taking a mental snapshot of the details of the world that our eyes take in and then calling them forth when needed. Rather, the brain relies on the physical world to be the repository of the details. When we need to draw on these details to form our views, our brain simply goes back to the physical world to add and adjust to what it initially took in. This mental—and, more comprehensively, as Merleau-Ponty describes the act of perceiving, bodily[116]—consultation with the world implies, as opalescent glass and plating show, that perceiving is not a fixed, clearly intuited, unmediated act. We always have to revise what we see, what our senses take in. Medieval glass windows, contrarily, and those of Connick, suggest fixity, the just-so of how (the church says) things are.

Opalescent perception, if I may categorize the perception this way, can be characterized, therefore, as relativistic and conditional, as both-and. When we apply this perception to La Farge's stained glass we perceive that his glass draws forward a mixture of responses and feelings: we are awed by his artistry yet we are uninspired by his religious and melodramatic subjects; we are captivated by the way light is refracted in a range of hues and tones within a single window yet lament that even within this same window light is muffled and colors flattened; we are impressed with his abstractionism in color, his creative illusions, and his innovative use of the raw materials—glass and lead—yet we must admit that the conservatism and predictability of his style kept him from opening to the newly artistic directions of his day and, thereby, dated and minimized him. La Farge's longtime friend and interpreter, Henry Adams, summarizes the paradox within La Farge and his art, and, therefore, his and its conditionality, when he writes,

> Brilliant, uneven, intellectually challenging, La Farge had one of the greatest creative minds in nineteenth-century American art. It would be a mistake, however, to overrate his actual achievement. The issue is not simply the uneven technical standard of La Farge's work, the frequent marring of this artistic performance by poor draftsmanship and other indications of carelessness, incompetence, or haste. It lies also in the outmoded ideals to which he clung. At some basic level La Farge failed to recognize that contradictions were not fully compatible with conventional didactic expressions of moral platitudes and religious dogmas. In the end, La Farge's effort to accommodate himself to tradition was a failure. It was the rebels against tradition, the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, who established a viable artistic language for the future.[117]

La Farge's windows of diverse artistic influences—Renaissance, romanticism, realism, Asian, Islamic—depict a particular aesthetics as well as a particular set of largely Catholic religious sensibilities. When taken together, and evident in certain examples, his works exhibit an irony and a humanism, however weighty or revered the subject matter, by the fact that his subjects are overtly religious, confessional, and pietistic, yet there was little piety behind them and abided to no singular confession. It is not whether La Farge was restoring the sacred, which he was, but which type of sacred?

. . . and of the Sacred through Stained Glass

Certainly La Farge's Catholicity and humanistic Christianity are evident in his windows, favoring angels, biblical figures, and religious themes, and yet of subjects with the faces of acquaintances (William James; wife, Margaret; and, mistress, Mary) in naturalistic settings and observing simple morality. His images are certainly conservative and traditional, reflecting a Victorian, classical, romantic orientation but not without a little tongue-in-cheek. Yet his use of opalescent glass and of plating suggest more to his subjects. They reflect more a worldview than a confessional orientation.

Take, for instance, as representative of his work, his stained glass triptych of St. John, Christ, and St. Paul (plate 4). These three lancets, each depicting a single full-length figure, with Jesus in the center, and St. John to his right and St. Paul to his left, alludes to other windows and paintings of La Farge, including the standing, singular figure of his self-portrait outdoors (fig. 6.7), and the uncompleted triptych of Mary and St. John in separate panels (plate 20) at the crucifixion (the non-completed portion). It most specifically references the triptych of *Christ in Majesty* (1883) at Trinity Church, Boston, with the distinction that the Christ figure at Trinity Church wears a halo and is flanked not by other figures but by aniconic lancet windows of blue globules surrounding a centered Byzantine column (fig. 4.11). While his figures in the McMullen Museum triptych are saintly and serious, they are not imposing. They do not intimidate, but invite. His figures, as all of his figures, do not show themselves as members of a group, of a community, but as solitaries, much like how he made his way through life, easily attaching and detaching himself to

people, places, and things. A photo of La Farge, cigar in hand, with an opened book on his lap, pensively looking down with his mind elsewhere, demonstrates this solitary, melancholy air about him, which is felt in all of his work (fig. 6.18). He seems to say that through art we cultivate our soul and that our only company is with self and with nature; La Farge turns inward. The artistic and architectural media of stained glass and of triptychs serve to reinforce this interiorizing aspect of his work and art, because of stained glass's unidirectional quality and because of the folding-in aspect of a triptych, which, as altars, were made, in their construction and narrative, to turn inward, toward a central, explanatory panel. Triptychs become miniature sacred spaces.

The triptych depicting St. John, Christ, and St. Paul, reflects La Farge's Catholic upbringing and spirituality, a spirituality that is not triumphalist and heavenly but reserved, interiorized, not of cosmic, abstract, and grand conceptions of God—you do not see a La Farge Michelangelo-like God—but of a more human conception of the divine, as of one amongst us, in the flesh. Given that La Farge's figures are generally not portrayed in the medieval fashion of cookie-cutter, two-dimensional, idealistic-looking humans but rather are painted realistically and often with the countenance of people he actually knew, his figures possess character, personality. St. John as the adoring disciple, looks upward, beyond the Jesus figure next to him, as if to the Jesus hanging on the cross (John, according to scripture, was the only disciple to be at the crucifixion of Jesus). His face has a feminine appearance.[118] Indeed, it is the face of La Farge's mistress at the time, Mary Lawrence Whitney, whose face appeared in many of La Farge's paintings.[119] The masculine and the feminine, here fused, emphasize John's humanness and a religio-humanistic, androgynous expression to La Farge's art. St. Paul, stern looking, fixated, with one foot cantilevered to the right, as if he is ready to set off on one of his missionary trips, has the look of unwavering commitment and courage, ready to take the sword—symbolizing the "sword of the spirit" (Ephesians 6:17), that he as a preacher of the gospel message must carry—bar what comes, which, for him, meant going to his eventual martyrdom in Rome by beheading. The Christ figure, as an illuminating and illumined figure, without a halo, finger raised and cradling a book, presumably the Bible, is modeled after Christ as teacher or as Pantocrator.[120] As one who instructs or judges, he can, when depicted here in stained glass, with light hitting upon and passing through him, be interpreted in two ways: as Christ the "light unto the world" and as Christ the revealer of the light within creation and all humanity. According to the Johannine tradition, of the Gospel of John, Jesus is the light unto the world. Whereas, in the non-canonical Gospel of Thomas, Jesus is the revealer of the light within us all. The former, the orthodox view that won out in the canonization of the Christian tradition, exalts the divine, transcendent nature of Jesus and of his message; the latter attends to the divine in all humanity, to the salvific light in all of us.[121] Because of stained glass's translucence, which both captures and filters light, each interpretation is appropriate.

The figures, though human, have, because of the light coming upon and through them, a transcendent quality. Each is set among blue glass globules that, when luminous, suggest stars, as if John, Jesus, and Paul are suspended in the heavenly cosmos, reflecting their ahistorical, transcendent, mythological import for all times and places.

6.18. John La Farge, c. 1891.

While La Farge's subject matter, from a religious perspective, is more explicitly Christian than of any other religious tradition, his art and his use of opalescent glass and of plating exhibit an Eastern sensibility as well, a sensibility he had gathered from his early Jesuit education, his travels to Europe, his exposure to Japanese art, from friendships, and from trips with Henry Adams to Japan and later Tahiti and the Samoan islands. This sensibility is found in his paintings of Buddhist statues and of people in meditation. His paintings *Kuwannon Meditating on Human Life* (1887–1908) and *Meditation of Kuwannon* (c. 1886; plate 71) show a meditative spirituality and his nature paintings an Eastern philosophy, as in *Fisherman (Sunlight)* (c. 1888). The influence of Asian aesthetics on La Farge's artistry has been well attested,[122] in subject matter, in style, and in the creation of illusion—the world we see is not the real world, or rather, it is when seen in the right way. La Farge referred to his Eastern influence and interest when he reflected on his conversations with the Japanese philosopher Okakura Kakuzō, the author of *The Book of Tea* (1906), an apologetic for Eastern spiritual and aesthetic sensibilities, "During that summer [of 1888, when Okakura

was in New York] my friend Okakura spent a great deal of time with me and I could paint, and then, in the intervals, we could talk about spiritual manifestations and all that beautiful wonderland which they have; that is to say, the Buddhists, where again the spiritual bodies take form and disappear again, and the edges of the real and the imaginary melt."[123] La Farge's *The Fish and Flowering Branch* (fig. 6.13) is a good example of this illusion of light and of perception, in which the fish appears to swim underwater and the light, entering the water, is seen to bend. La Farge's stained glass work overall shows a kinetic energy, in the fact that, as windows, their luminosity changes with the rise and setting of the sun, but also in the swirling and in the bending of light through opalescent and plated glass. Moreover, in the larger sense, as the restoration of his windows makes clear, the fragility of his windows and in the dirtying of the stained glass and in the buckling and sagging of the lead over time (what would not so readily happen with easel paintings), all of this—from the light, to the glass, to the lead—communicates transience, the Buddhist philosophy of impermanence.

Particularly through opalescent and plated glass but also through the other ways as well, La Farge, in short, does not depict a static universe, as Connick and medievalist-styled glass makers do, however vibrant their colors and powerful the radiated light. La Farge exhibits a more postmodern, Buddhist aesthetic, of illusion, shifting light, and of the variableness of perception. Though his subjects are traditional, and appear to reflect an enchanted universe[124]—of spirits and divine powers—the medium in which they are set and through which they are depicted keeps them from being fixed, predictable, flat—in essence, keeps them interesting. It is this general dynamism and turbulence in his glass that makes La Farge's stained glass provocative, spiritually sophisticated, and more philosophically relevant to our secular age of a disenchanted universe than do the windows of Connick. In effect, stained glass windows, in Christian theology, and as designed by La Farge using Christian, mythological, literary, and natural and stylistic subjects, hold in harmonious tension the transcendent and the immanent, an enchanted and a disenchanted universe. With stained glass pointing to the glory of God's light, revealing it to us in full color, while also being, as works of art, a physical creation of the human imagination, they, in themselves, symbolize an incarnational theology—of the divine operating through human agency, through human creativity. And, as for La Farge, his windows exhibit a universe infused with spirit, with vitality, even if they are sometimes subdued and melodramatic.

John La Farge was a protean artist, almost exclusively self-taught, introspective, yet keenly observant of and conversant with the world and nature about him. He had a spiritual core, more informed by the Christian story and its symbols and theology than by any other singular tradition. But his spiritual sensibilities went beyond a confession to only one creed. He felt a connection to and had an understanding of deeper and broader movements of the spirit, movements that, when shorn of religious texts and iconography, were harmonious with nature, a nature not of might and energy—of the nature in which Job questioned God—but of a nature at rest, nourishing, stabilizing, symbolizing a state he sought for himself. When La Farge turned to stained glass, he carried with him his inherited religious imagery but would not—could not—just put it to glass, onto yet another artistic medium. He, rather, sought to communicate his Christian and mythological iconography within a broader religious, philosophical perspective of illusion, of movement, of change, of indeterminacy, and of multifacetedness, via the play of light and its articulation in varying hues and colors. In short, unlike the medieval stained glass artisans and their followers like Charles Connick, La Farge was not seeking to prop up any church, institution, or particular tradition. Instead he put us, the viewers, and the Christian story he was still indebted to, onto a broader, unconfined humanistic, naturalistic, and aesthetic plane, where the transcendent is made immanent. La Farge did not quite escape his influences. He did not risk upsetting his tranquil interior worldview. He did, though, give us a hint of a wider complex vision through his innovation and experimentation in glass. He showed us, and through his glass, that he is of two minds in the articulation of the sacred.

It would be ungracious of me not to thank upfront William Vareika. His life-long passion for the art of John La Farge and, from out of this passion, his generosity to Boston College of works from this great master, is why the McMullen Museum is hosting an exhibition on La Farge at this time in the first place. In addition, William was most gracious and generous to me when I visited him in Newport, Rhode Island, and he gave me a many-times-more than a nickel-tour of La Farge's Newport and left me with a volume and a number of printed materials on both the artist and his town for my use in the writing of this essay. I would also like to thank David Fitch and, at Boston College, Jeffery Howe, for their close reading of an earlier draft of this paper and for their valuable comments and editorial corrections and Sheila Hussey for her comments and quotes on the effect of stained glass for shaping sacred spaces.

1 Dave Eggers, *The Circle* (New York: Vantage Books, 2013), 26.

2 Virginia C. Raguin, *Stained Glass from Its Origins to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 18.

3 James Cross Giblin, *Let There Be Light: A Book about Windows* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1988), 101. See also Xavier Barral i Altet, *Stained Glass: Masterpieces of the Modern Era*, ed. Andrés Gamboa (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007).

4 When I gave a first reading of this paper at the Cincinnati Literary Club on October 13, 2014, several members mentioned to me afterward that I should not forget the stained glass of Marc Chagall, of whose works many were familiar. So, he, at least, is one other name that has currency amongst the public fascinated with stained glass.

5 Tiffany in his day was trying to assure that it would be him who would take the credit, rather than La Farge, for advancing the artistry of stained glass via the use of opalescent glass. Read about the legal wrangling in Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge's Patent for the American Opalescent Window," *Journal of Stained Glass* 28 (2004): 31–45.

6 Robert Hughes, *Nothing if Not Critical: Selected Essays on Art and Artists* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1990), 106. Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer of some of America's greatest parks and a friend of La Farge, should also be included in this pantheon.

7 David K. Lynch and William Livingston, *Color and Light in Nature*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 31.

8 Ann Breslin and Alex Montwill, *Let There Be Light: The Story of Light from Atoms to Galaxies*, 2nd ed. (London: Imperial College Press, 2013), 145.

9 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Scientific Studies*, ed. and trans. Douglas Miller, vol. 12 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1995), 158; italics added.

10 Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 14.

11 Arthur Herman, *The Cave and the Light: Plato versus Aristotle and the Struggle for the Soul of Western Civilization* (New York: Random House, 2014), 216, 564.

12 Art provides not only intrinsic aesthetic values but also external values as well, as when museums exhibit to the public fine examples of a community's cultural heritage while also bringing to the community commerce and status. Hans van Maanen, *How to Study Art Worlds: On the Societal Functioning of Aesthetic Values* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press, 2009), 149–51.

13 La Farge did do windows for a synagogue. See Carrie Leah McDade, "The Discourse of Identity: John La Farge's Stained Glass Windows for Congregation B'nai Jehudah, Kansas City, Missouri" (master's thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2004). I thank Jeffery Howe for alerting me to this work and thesis.

14 Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 386; Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 10.

15 G. Gabrielle Starr, *Feeling Beauty: The Neuroscience of Aesthetic Experience* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013), 78. Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. Frank O. Copley (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 85. Lucretius was not referring to stained glass in this instance but to the colored awnings hung from the walls of theaters, that, when encircling a space, flapping in the wind, and casting colored light, do create gaiety and beauty, which I see as similar in effect to what stained glass does to spaces.

16 Siri Hustvedt, *Mysteries of the Rectangle: Essays on Painting* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), xv.

17 I realize there are occasions where a window is made for viewing on each side and that a stained glass window can be illumined from within the building or from a lightbox. But to light them this way is secondary to the primary way by which they are to be lit: by outside, natural light.

18 The breaking of windows is itself a phenomenon of its own that got traction in the nineteenth century, precisely when the glass culture was in flower. See Isobel Armstrong,"Riot and the Grammar of Window-Breaking: The Chances, Wellington, Chartism," chap. 3 in *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination, 1830–1880* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008).

19 Indeed, those who are on the inside are those who are likely there because they ascribe to the beliefs of the church or are members of the club. In short, they hold to a belief system consonant or have an association with the group that worships or meets within.

20 See my description of sacred space in "Eliade's Interpretation of Sacred Space and Its Role toward the Cultivation of Virtue," in *Changing Religious Worlds: The Meaning and End of Mircea Eliade*, ed. Bryan Rennie (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 237.

21 Roberto Rosa (co-owner, Serpentino Stained Glass Studio), e-mail to author, Sept. 18, 2014.

22 Siobhan M. Wheeler, "The Art of Reform: Sarah Wyman Whitman and the Art of Stained Glass Design and the Development of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Boston" (master's thesis, Harvard University, 2008), 42.

23 Rosa, e-mail.

24 The movement had its first sanctioned act sometime between January 27 and February 5 in 1522 at the City Church, Wittenberg, Germany. It sought to destroy all images—altarpieces, painted and carved images, crucifixes—that represented "all the false, superstitious and devilish practices fostered by the Roman Catholic Church," according to Joseph Koerner. It was more against what these images represented than against the idols themselves, which they regarded "as nothing," he adds. Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 83–85.

25 They had been firstly designed for All Souls Unitarian Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1889, the year La Farge was awarded the French Legion of Honor for his contribution to stained glass art.

26 Starr, *Feeling Beauty*, 36–44.

27 See Mircea Eliade, "Experiences of the Mystic Light," in *The Two and the One*, trans. J. M. Cohen (London: Harvill, 1965), 77.

28 Ibid., 76.

29 Claire Nesbitt, "Experiencing the Light: Byzantine Church Window Glass and the Aesthetics of Worship," in *New Light on Old*

Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass, ed. Chris Entwistle and Liz James (London: British Museum, 2013), 207.

30 Ibid., 214.

31 James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge in Paradise: The Painter and His Muse* (Newport: William Vareika Fine Arts Ltd., 1995), 19.

32 John La Farge, *The American Art of Glass: To Be Read in Connection with Mr. Louis C. Tiffany's Paper in the July Number of the "Forum," 1893* (New York: J. J. Little, 1893), 5; Yarnall, *La Farge in Paradise*, 19.

33 James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge, a Biographical and Critical Study* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 29.

34 As said earlier, Newton discovered the color properties of light in 1666, when he guided a beam of light through a prism to reveal the colors of the spectrum, from red at one end, with the shortest wavelength (700 nm), to violet at the other, with the longest (400 nm).

35 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 54.

36 It is curious that Chevreul's theory of complementary colors would undercut the value of the color green for artists. For this theory, in saying that colors are enhanced or diminished depending against which colors they are placed, led artists to realize that they no longer needed to achieve a certain color via the mixing of pigments. They could get that color to come to the viewer's eye merely by bringing together the right colors. So artists in the nineteenth century realized they could get green in the eye of the beholder not by trying to mix blue and yellow pigments but by juxtaposing a little bit of blue next to a little bit of yellow. Green, says the historian of colors, Michel Pastoureau, "no longer existed materially; it became a kind of illusion, the union of blue and yellow taking place in the eye of the beholder." Michel Pastoureau, *Green: The History of a Color*, trans. Jody Gladding (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2014), 196.

37 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 29.

38 Yarnall, *La Farge in Paradise*, 2.

39 Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London: Continuum, 2006), 117–18.

40 Allen Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 152.

41 Yarnall, *La Farge in Paradise*, 24.

42 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 63.

43 Though certainly not without interpretation, for he knew there is no pure objectivity.

44 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 52, 54.

45 H. W. Janson and Anthony F. Janson, *History of Art*, 6th ed. (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 2001), 677.

46 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 60–62. On an explanation of why we find certain landscapes more attractive than others, from an evolutionary aesthetic perspective see Anjan Chatterjee, "Beautiful Landscapes," chap. 8 in *The Aesthetic Brain: How We Evolved to Desire Beauty and Enjoy Art* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014).

47 Diane Chalmers Johnson, *American Symbolist Art: Nineteenth-Century "Poets in Paint"; Washington Allston, John La Farge, William Rimmer, George Inness, and Albert Pinkham Ryder* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2004), 43.

48 Janson and Janson, *History of Art*, 706.

49 Johnson, *American Symbolist Art*, 45.

50 I refer to this inspiration later in the paper, when I comment on the Asian influences on La Farge's art. I want to thank Jeffery Howe for bringing forth the connection with Mount Fuji at this point, though. See also Cecelia Levin, "In Search of Nirvana," 43.

51 Johnson, *American Symbolist Art*, 33–46.

52 Ibid., 45. This interpretation of La Farge on the correspondence between the world outside and the world inside, between the unknown out there and the known closer to home, is central to the aesthetics of the symbolists, notes Johnson.

53 Janson and Janson, *History of Art*, 679.

54 Ibid.

55 Arthur Danto, *What Art Is* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2014), 12.

56 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 148.

57 Ibid., 62.

58 Rochelle L. Johnson, *Passions for Nature: Nineteenth-Century America's Aesthetics of Alienation* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2009), 2.

59 Ibid., 7.

60 Ibid., 10.

61 Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge: A Memoir and a Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 129–30.

62 See John La Farge, *Reminiscences of the South Seas* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1916).

63 The daguerreotype was invented in 1839, and by the 1860s the photographic process had been so much improved that La Farge could make use of photography for his study of light and for his art. I want to thank Jeffery Howe for alerting me to this technical progress.

64 Yarnall, *La Farge in Paradise*, 57.

65 Ibid., 65.

66 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 5.

67 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 185.

68 Giblin, *Let There Be Light*, 97.

69 Shearer West, "The Visual Arts," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*, ed. Gail Marshall (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 139.

70 Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds*, 1.

71 Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Vintage, 1974), 337–42.

72 Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds*, 4.

73 Ibid., 1.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., 14.

76 Ibid., 7, 10.

77 Plato, *Republic* 514a–521d.

78 Though referring to images created by the camera, the quote, nev-

ertheless proves equally applicable to stained glass. Susan Sontag said that capitalist society requires a culture based on images. John Berger, *Selected Essays*, ed. Geoff Dyer (New York: Vintage, 2003), 290.

79 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 2.

80 Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 47.

81 Ibid., 32–52.

82 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 2.

83 Ibid., 9.

84 Ibid., 13.

85 See Donald D. Hoffman, *Visual Intelligence: How We Create What We See* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 48 and David Marr, *Vision: A Computational Investigation into the Human Representation and Processing of Visual Information* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010).

86 Marr, *Vision*, 218.

87 Says his biographer Royal Cortissoz, La Farge saw a "trifling receptacle on the toilet table containing his tooth power, a thing of cheap colored glass, through which, however, at that psychological moment, the light was sending some transforming rays. In an instant he divined immeasurable possibilities and saw ahead of him the opalescent glass which he was before very long to develop." Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 187–88.

88 Sloan and Yarnall, "John La Farge's Patent," 42.

89 Eric R. Kandel, *The Age of Insight: The Quest to Understand the Unconscious in Art, Mind and Brain; From Vienna 1900 to the Present* (New York: Random House, 2012), 342.

90 John La Farge. Colored-Glass Window. US Patent 224,831, filed Nov. 10, 1879, and issued Feb. 24, 1880 (see Appendix).

91 James L. Yarnall, "Nature and Art in the Painting of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Henry Adams et al., exh. cat. (New York: Abbeville, 1987), 81.

92 Quoted in Henry A. La Farge, "Painting with Colored Light: The Stained Glass of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 198.

93 That the colored light in stained glass could create sounds is raised as a possibility when listening to the research of MIT engineer Michael Rubinstein, who in a TED Talk demonstrates how vibrations invisible to the naked eye can be picked up and rendered into sound, in the manner of a gramophone. For if the colors in light are but different wavelengths and frequencies, then, conceivably, their vibrations could be put to sound. A piece of stained glass, then, could indeed be a symphony of sounds, just by recording the varying wavelengths of the colors represented. Michael Rubinstein, "See Invisible Motion, Hear Silent Sounds," TEDxBeaconStreet video, 13:18, filmed Nov. 2014, http://www.ted.com/talks/michael_rubinstein_see_invisible_motion_hear_silent_sounds_cool_creepy_we_can_t_decide?language=en.

94 Henry Adams, "The Mind of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 44.

95 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 8.

96 Michael Wilcox, *Blue and Yellow Don't Make Green*, 2nd ed. (Bristol: School of Color, 2001), 157. I would like to thank professor David McFadden, of the Boston College Chemistry Department, for helping me to understand the nature of light and of colors and for referring me to books on the subject. See also W. Stanley Taft Jr. and James W. Mayer, "Color and Light," chap. 5 in *The Science of Paintings* (New York: Springer, 2000), for an explanation on the wavelengths of color within light.

97 Michel Eugène Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours and Their Applications to the Arts*, trans. Charles Martel, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Brown, and Green, and Longmans, 1855), 13. On the effects of complementary colors on each other, see Wilcox, *Blue and Yellow*, 28–29. The modern artist Sarah Braman, in her 2013 exhibition *Sarah Braman: Alive* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, showed this effect of plating via large colored glass boxes, in which one looked through two or, depending on your angle, three layers of colored glass panes and noted the deepening intensity of light and color. She said she was influenced by the American painter George Inness (1825–94), of the Barbizon school that also influenced La Farge.

98 Chevreul, *Principles of Harmony*, 5; Wilcox, *Blue and Yellow*, 157.

99 La Farge, *American Art of Glass*, 12.

100 Cortissoz, *John La Farge*, 202–3.

101 As the neuroaesthetic scholar G. Gabrielle Starr would say it in her *Feeling Beauty*, 85.

102 Raguin, *Stained Glass*, 246f. Connick's window depicting St. Stephen, Paul, Peter, and James, in All Saints Parish, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1910, shows this accent on clarity of materials and the tension of using both white and colored glass. His Holy Grail window, 1919, in Proctor Hall, Princeton University, is another tribute to Whall.

103 Charles J. Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color: An Introduction to the Stained Glass Craft* (New York: Random House, 1937), 7f.

104 Ibid., 7.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 See the article by Sir John Summerson, "Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Point of View," in *Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1814–1879* (London: Academy Editions, 1980), 7–13. On the purpose of stained glass and, hence, on how it should be designed, was a point of contention among artists and craftsmen at the time. See Albert M. Tannler, "'Windows *Are* Architecture': William Morris, Viollet-le-Duc, and the Artistic Journey of Charles J. Connick," *The Third Annual Thomas Tunno Forbes Lecture*, Oct. 18, 2009.

108 Connick, *Adventures in Light and Color*, 118.

109 See Sarah de St. P. Whitman, "Stained Glass," *Handicraft* 2, no. 6 (Sept. 1903) in which she refers to the way stained glass can be used and misused by artists and architects in the setting of them in churches.

110 Kandel, *Age of Insight*, 267.

111 Danto, *What Art Is*, 117–18.

112 When I saw the restoration of the La Farge triptych in progress, at the Serpentino Stained Glass Studio, I was amazed by the number of pieces of glass and of the webbing of lead that went into the windows, and how delicate it all is.

113 On components of aesthetic experience, Starr, *Feeling Beauty*, 21–22.

114 See Siri Hustvedt, "Embodied Visions: What Does It Mean to Look at a Work of Art," in *Living, Thinking, Looking* (New York: Picador, 2012), 336–54. And her series of conversations with art in *Mysteries*

of the Rectangle.

115 Henry Adams describes well the conversational and interdisciplinary and philosophical approach that La Farge brought to his art and to his writings and criticism. Adams, "The Mind of La Farge," 68.

116 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Primacy of Perception*, ed. James Edie (Chicago: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1964, 162.

117 Adams, "The Mind of La Farge," 71.

118 It is curious that St. John the Evangelist in Michelangelo's painting *Entombment* looks like a woman, as he seems to have female breasts, though in body and arms and legs he looks like a man. See the description in Victoria Finlay, *Color: A Natural History of the Palette* (New York: Random House, 2004), 279.

119 Yarnall, *John La Farge*, 154.

120 Pantocrator, from the Greek meaning "all sovereign," used in the Byzantine period, came to refer to Christ as judge. Though Christ as teacher and as Pantocrator have similar iconic looks—pointed beard, austere, staring straight ahead, finger raised, holding book—La Farge's Christ reflects a softer, gentler, more humane appearance than the Pantocrator image, which fell away in the West from the Gothic period onward. Peter and Linda Murray, "*Christ*," in *Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), 104.

121 Elaine H. Pagels, *Beyond Belief: The Secret Gospel of Thomas* (New York: Vintage, 2004), 68, 34.

122 James L. Yarnall, "Nature and Art in the Painting of John La Farge," in *John La Farge*, Adams et al., 103–5.

123 Ibid. La Farge would pass on Okakura's name to Isabella Stewart Gardner of Boston, saying of Okakura, "He is the most intelligent critic of art, and I might say, of everything, that I know of. His very great learning in certain ways is balanced by his perception of the uselessness of much that he knows." Through Gardner he would become curator of Chinese and Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Okakura, *Book of Tea*, x.

124 Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007), 25–27.

The Restoration and Conservation of the St. John the Evangelist, Christ Preaching, and St. Paul Windows

Roberto Rosa

> "You do not just look at the stained glass window. You must essentially meditate before it, you must live into it, pass into it and it must become part of your life."[1]

I instantly related to this quote attributed to John La Farge. Although La Farge's statement was purely from an artist's perspective, as a conservator I feel much the same. And ironically, this is especially true when working on windows by La Farge. His windows are both a craftsman's dream and nightmare. We are mesmerized by his design, glass selection, colors, and his obsession with fine lead lines and detail. Yet we often scratch our heads over his methods, stretching stained glass fabrication to its limit, with oversized windows, layer upon layer of glass. But at the end of the day, there is no greater satisfaction, sense of accomplishment, and honor than working on a window by one of America's greatest stained glass artists. La Farge, indeed, revolutionized the way we look at stained glass today, with his invention and use of opalescent glass in windows.

The general term "opalescent glass" means a semi-opaque glass that is marbled, cloudy, often textured, forming a milky opalescence. It had been used to make toiletries, vases, and tableware for many years. However, it had never previously been made flat and used in windows. La Farge's interest and experiments in opalescent glass for windows began around 1870. He visited glass and flint-ware companies in Brooklyn, New York asking them to custom make flat pieces and small sheets of opalescent glass.[2] Finally, on November 10, 1879, La Farge filed a patent application for this new material.[3]

7.1. John La Farge, *St. John the Evangelist, Christ Preaching, St. Paul*, 1889 (pre-restoration).

The Conservation of the Windows

The three windows that are the centerpiece of the present exhibition (plate 4; fig. 7.1) were removed from the meet-

inghouse of the Unitarian Universalist Society of Amherst, Massachusetts on April 29, 2013 and transported to the Serpentino Stained Glass Studio in Needham, Massachusetts. The goal was to restore these windows maintaining as much of the original fabric as possible, thus preserving a part of history and the work created by one of America's most talented artists. The windows exhibited severe deflection, mainly in the large field of cabochons (polished hemispherical pieces of glass). Lead fatigue and some degree of deterioration was found throughout the windows. We always strive to retain as much of the original lead as possible in any conservation project, especially in windows of this importance and caliber. Some windows exhibited more lead deterioration than others. For instance, the lead matrix in the Christ and St. Paul windows showed more advanced lead deterioration than the St. John window. Once all the interior plates were removed from the Christ and St. Paul windows, we determined that approximately 50 percent of the base lead matrix needed to be replaced. On the other hand, from the St. John window, although the lead matrix exhibited some degree of lead fatigue, we were able to retain more than 80 percent of the original lead. Once the windows were transported to the studio, the panels were removed from their wooden frames, photographed, and laid flat onto a workbench over a two-inch-thick high-density urethane-foam sheet. This ensured an even distribution of the weight of the panel and alleviated pressure from the multiple layers/plating and the large turquoise cabochons. Rubbings were then taken of each panel using 100 percent acid-free vellum paper (fig. 7.2).

Each layer of the plated sections was gently removed and the glass placed on its respective rubbing (figs. 7.3–4). It is important to remove the plates for a variety of reasons:

> Removal of the plates allows us to clean the dirt and soot that has accumulated in between the layers of glass over the years. The accumulated soot and impurities can be detrimental to the glass, especially if painted, and it also greatly diminishes the quality and quantity of light transmission.
>
> It is impossible to properly and safely flatten a window or panel without removing the plates. Trying to flatten the panels without removing the plates would significantly increase the risk of glass breakage.

7.2. Taking rubbings of one of the panels.

7.3. The highlighted area indicates plated sections.

7.4. Pieces of glass being cleaned and placed on rubbings.

After all plates were removed, and the panels were brought down to their "base layer" (one single layer throughout the panel), the old, dried-out waterproofing compound between the glass and the lead was gently and carefully removed using wood picks aided by a HEPA filter vacuum. The glass was then cleaned with a solution of distilled water and Triton XLN-80, a non-ionic surfactant.

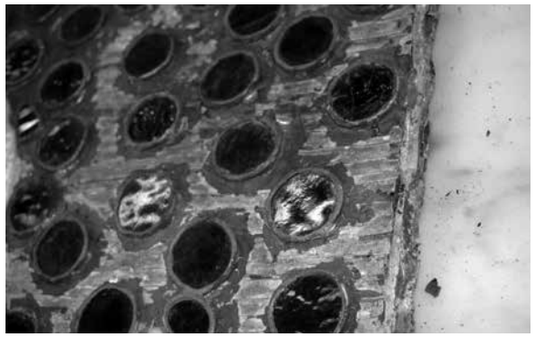
The background of these windows was fabricated using a field of large (one-and-half-inch diameter) round turquoise cabochons. Sheets of lead were laid out and holes cut through the lead to allow light to illuminate the cabochons. Each cabochon was then wrapped with a small lead came and soldered to the sheet lead (fig. 7.5).[4] On the obverse side, each cabochon was then plated with different shades of blue and teal glass (fig. 7.6). Although the two windows are superficially similar, the McMullen Museum Christ window is not made the same way as the *Christ in Majesty* window at Trinity Church in Boston (1883), which has different colors, hues of cabochons, and no plates on the exterior (fig. 4.11).

The sections of the panels with the cabochons were carefully separated from the figural sections (figs. 7.7–8), in order to ease the flattening process. All of the sheet lead with the cabochons was flattened, cleaned, and reintroduced into the windows during re-glazing (figs. 7.9–10). At this point the panels are ready to be flattened. Localized dry heat and small weights were strategically positioned on the deflected areas. This allowed the deflection to gently

and slowly "relax" and the panel to ease back into a flat plane. Depending on the severity and degree of deflection, flattening could take anywhere from one to three weeks. This process, like many used in stained glass conservation, cannot be accelerated.

While the panels were being flattened, we began the process of glass repair. There were many cracked pieces of glass in these windows, and all of them were repaired, conserved, and re-introduced into the windows. Every piece of glass was individually cleaned with distilled water and Triton XLN-80. The edges of the cracked and broken glass were cleaned and degreased with cotton swabs dipped in acetone. In this project we used two methods for glass repair:

7.5. Interior view of cabochons before restoration.

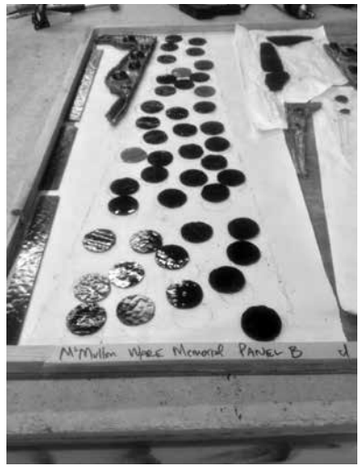


7.6. Exterior view of circular plates.

Edge-gluing using HXTAL NYL-1 epoxy. This method was used in repairing thin pieces of glass, where a very strong bond was crucial and where the need for a near invisible repair joint was important.

Edge-gluing using Dow Corning RTV 734 Flowable Silicone. This technique was used where the need for a strong bond was not as important, where a flexible joint is actually more desirable (due to continued stress) and the minimal adverse visual effect of the joint is negligible.

7.7. Cabochons being removed and cleaned.



7.8. Exterior circular plates after cleaning.

With both methods of glass repair, we used pigments to tint the adhesives in order to minimize light transmission. After the panels were flattened and the adhesives cured, reconstruction of the panels began.

Wherever possible, the very fine, detailed lead work was preserved. Only where necessary were the panels dismantled and re-leaded with new lead that matched the original in size and profile (fig. 7.11). Some craftsmen reject partial or selective re-leading of a stained glass window because it can be intimidating. It is much simpler to take a window or a panel completely apart and re-fabricate it with new lead. The patience, knowledge, and consummate craftsmanship needed to partially dismantle a La Farge window, and reconstruct it reusing most of its original lead, is a more time consuming and painstaking task. A task, however, that is extremely important to the history and significance of these priceless windows. La Farge indeed used the lead matrix as a draftsman uses a pencil line.

After reconstruction and partial re-leading, the panels were soldered and waterproofed on both sides and laid flat on workbenches for a few weeks to allow the waterproofing compound to set and cure. New copper tie wires were then soldered at every original support bar-line. After the panels were re-installed in their respective wooden frames, the copper tie wires were twisted firmly around the support bars and folded over.

Conserving Deteriorated/ Unstable Paint

In the earlier part of the last century, studies of why paint fails in stained glass windows began in Europe, and only within the last thirty years have we begun studying the cause of deteriorating paint in American stained glass windows. As conservators, we used the European studies[5] as a starting point in order to familiarize ourselves with the issues, moving then to understanding the uniqueness of American painted windows and why paint fails. Painting on glass for decorating stained glass windows dates back to the early Middle Ages.[6] This ancient technique has basically remained the same since the eleventh century. Over the years, during the restoration and conservation of windows by

artists such as John La Farge, Louis Comfort Tiffany, and Mary Tillinghast, we have encountered problems with painted details such as:

Missing trace lines
Degradation of the matte or applied stencil work
Lifting of enamels
Accretion of dirt
Loss of cold, unfired paint

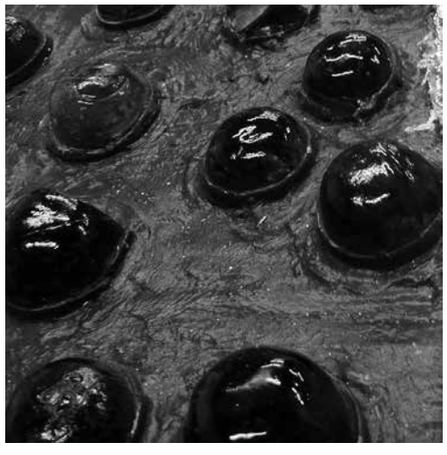
As more interest is generated in the restoration of stained glass windows, scientific studies to discover the cause of paint deterioration continue. However, with the information available to us today, the typical causes of paint loss and paint instability in stained glass windows are believed to be the result of one or more of the following factors:

Insufficient firing of the glass: Temperature controls and apprentices were not always accurate. If the glass in the kiln was under-fired, the paint did not properly fuse to the glass surface and over a period of time, the paint would ultimately fail to adhere to the glass.

Chemical composition of the flux, paints, or glass: For painted decorations to be stable, the elements and compounds of all materials must be chemically, as well as physically, compatible. In the late nineteenth century, some glass painters (La Farge among them) used Borax to flux their paint, not realizing that the presence of Borax in the paint mixture would result in a paint that dissolved in water, even after the firing process.

Microclimate of the window: The inconsistency of temperature experienced by a stained glass window, which may cause condensation and biological attack, allows organisms such as algae, fungi, or, in a stone surround, lichens, to grow on the surface of the window. The above factors are common in cases where a stained glass window is covered from the exterior with a protective glazing that is not vented for air circulation. These circumstances create a hygroscopic environment, which promotes the decay of the paint and, in some instances, even the glass.

7.9. Exterior plates of cabochons being reintroduced.



7.10. Interior view of cabochons after restoration.

7.11. A panel being re-leaded.

Considerations during Restoration

The first step is to accurately document the conditions prior to any intervention. Black and white and color photographs in high resolution are taken of both sides of the glass, in both transmitted and reflected light. The scale of the photographs is large enough to allow for the replication of the painted detail in the event of a catastrophic loss or the complete deterioration of the original painted surface.

The next step is to determine the extent of paint instability. The initial inspection and tests are executed in our studio using a microscope and cotton swabs dipped in petroleum to slowly clean small painted areas to ascertain the amount of soot present on the glass. If uncertain, the painted glass should be tested at a lab where a scientist conducts Scanning Probe Microscopy (SPM) of the painted glass. This test can tell us exactly what is on the surface of the glass, i.e., residue from an old furnace, varnish, dust, etc. Furthermore, and more importantly, it can tell us what kind of paint was used on the glass. If unfired oil paint is present on the glass, then the cleaning and conservation techniques differ from techniques used if the paint is fired and stable. These tests are not prohibitively expensive, are done locally and quickly, but most importantly, they are of great help and benefit to us to assure proper conservation measures.

The next phase of the process is to wrestle with the philosophical issues as to what direction to choose during restoration. What are the wishes of the steward of the windows? Are the damaged elements central to the soul of the window or the message it was designed to convey?

In my opinion, unless the painted elements are completely missing, repainting should be avoided. If the repainting approach is chosen, the single most important factor is to replicate the original artist's hand, technique, and intent. It has always been my view that the purpose of restoration is not to make a window "as good as new" but to make it "as good as old." Determining a philosophical direction for the project is critical to its ultimate success or failure. It is not my place to make the final decision; however, it is my responsibility to do my best in trying to educate the client of all the available techniques and approaches, and give them my recommendations. Then, together, we can arrive at a sound decision.

There are three options available in regards to fragile and unstable paint: One is the application of a cover plate to the affected piece. The missing artwork is painted on a very thin piece of clear glass that is cut to the same shape of the original piece. The paint is applied to the glass surface closest to the original glass, and fired in a kiln for permanency. The plate is then mechanically attached with lead to the original piece exhibiting the paint loss. This technique is totally reversible, as the original piece is never altered. This technique, however, has one small negative final effect: Once attached to the original piece, the cover plate could have a mirror-like effect as it reflects light, and possible parallax. Depending on the lighting that will be present in the room where the windows will be installed, this minor issue may or may not be a factor.

The second option is to reintroduce the missing detail only, over the original glass, using an oil-base paint, which is not fired into the glass. This technique gives great flexibility, especially when restoring painted pieces from a La Farge window such as those we are restoring for the McMullen Museum, as the artist very often used oil paint to decorate his windows. The first step is to carefully and gently clean the glass. Then the original existing paint is consolidated. Consolidation of fragile paint is the process of re-attaching the loose and flaking paint to the glass surface. The process is achieved through the introduction of a chemical adhesive between the fragile paint and the glass surface. For the last fifteen years we have been successfully using an acrylic polymer of 3 percent solution of Paraloid B-72 in acetone. This not only stabilizes and protects the original paint, but it also creates a barrier between the original paint and the new paint that will be introduced. In the event that the new paint has to be removed in the future, it can be executed without disturbing the original paint.

The third option is to clean the painted glass as best as possible without disturbing the original paint and do nothing to bring back the missing details. In this case, we consolidate the original paint so that it does not continue to deteriorate.[7]

Fortunately the paint in the McMullen Museum windows is in very good condition, needing only cleaning, minor touch up, and consolidation.

It is always an interesting challenge to restore plated opalescent windows by John La Farge, and this triptych was no different. It is a thrill to know that these windows will be safely and beautifully displayed at the McMullen Museum for all to view and admire. Everyone at Serpentino Studio appreciates the opportunity, and the confidence that Boston College and the McMullen Museum have in us to restore and conserve these wonderful works of art by one of America's most celebrated artists.

1 Attributed to John La Farge.

2 La Farge used several glass companies in New York for his early experiments in glass. Julie L. Sloan and James L. Yarnall, "Art of an Opaline Mind: The Stained Glass of John La Farge," *American Art Journal* 24, no. 1–2 (1992): 38, note that: "Among them were Thill's Flint Glass Shop in Brooklyn; Louis Heidt in Brooklyn; Adolphe Bournique in New York; and James Baker & Sons at 20 West 4th Street in New York, not far from where La Farge opened his first glass atelier around 1880."

3 See Appendix.

4 A came is a divider used between small pieces of glass to join them together to form a larger panel. It is traditionally made of lead.

5 This is based on my years of reading, and attending conferences and lectures on conservation. The Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA), for instance, is one of the most respected groups regarding stained glass conservation. Of course, studying and discussions with colleagues in the United States and in Europe were instrumental as well. Two authors who wrote extensively on stained glass conservation are Roy G. Newton and Sandra Davidson.

6 John La Farge, "Window, Part III," in *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building*, ed. Russell Sturgis, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 1067–91.

7 Arthur J. Femenella, "Restoring Stained Glass Paint," *Stained Glass Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 42–47.

Appendix: La Farge's Patents

United States Patent Office.
JOHN LA FARGE,
OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.
COLORED-GLASS WINDOW.
SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 224,831, dated February 24, 1880.
Application filed November 10, 1879.

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, JOHN LA FARGE, of the city and county of Newport, and State of Rhode Island, have invented an Improvement in Colored-Glass Windows, of which the following description, in connection with the accompanying drawings, is a specification.

This invention relates to improvements in colored-glass windows.

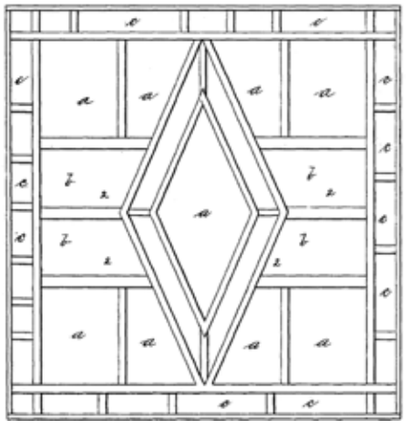
The object of my invention is to obtain opalescent and iridescent effects in glass windows, to insure translucency of the glass used therein and lessen complete transparency, which is a great fault in ordinary glass windows, the translucency of the class of glass employed by me softening the light, and, by reason of its unevenness of structure and formation, the direct passage of rays of light and the tendency of the said rays to focus are prevented.

By this my invention glass windows possessing the advantageous qualities hereinbefore referred to may be made at less cost than by the use of a good quality of stained or colored glass.

The colors and effects of light produced in accordance with my discovery and improvements are greater than can be gained in any way known to me; but some of the same effects might be secured by the employment of thin sheets of mother-of-pearl, or thin laminae of precious stones, such as onyx and alabaster, which substances I am informed have been employed in rare instances in other countries.

In my studies, both as architect and artist, I have aimed to overcome the objections commonly urged against colored-glass windows and to give to them new qualities and properties of a pleasing nature, to thereby increase the use of colored-glass windows and give additional variety and beauty to public edifices and private dwellings; and by experiment I have discovered that opalescent and iridescent effects may, in an eminent degree, be obtained for windows by the employment of that class of glass known as "opal glass," it being commonly used for table-ware and fancy articles, such as boxes, but never for windows. This opal glass, in its customary form, is of a dead-white color, and in appearance resembles porcelain, for which it is employed as a substitute.

J. La FARGE.
Colored Glass Window.
No. 224,831. Patented Feb. 24, 1880.
Fig. 1.

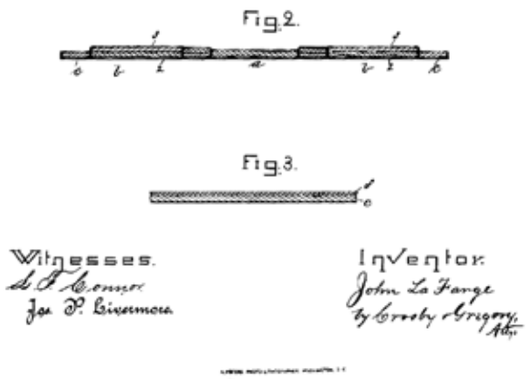


Opal glass, as at present improved and refined and employed in articles for table use and boxes, is not, for use in windows, as desirable and pleasing, as to its effects of color, as the more transparent quality, which was first made. This opal glass will be more or less opaque or milky in parts, according to the proportion of the insoluble mass deposited or contained in it. This effect is usually produced with peroxide of tin or stannic acid, antimonic acid, chloride of

silver, phosphate of lime, or bone-ashes. These different materials, mixed with the usual sand and potash or with powdered glass, give a white precipitate, consequently a glass of a milky or yellowish white. By regulating the quantities of these materials the glass may be made translucid or absolutely opaque, but the latter would not answer for my purpose.

I am enabled, by checking or graduating the amount of light in this way, to gain effects as to depth, softness, and modulation of color which has not been before gained by the use of colored glass alone, and windows made in accordance with my invention may, by the use of opal or translucent and colored glass, be made to show a variety of shades of color not before gained by transparent glass.

By varying the opacity of any portion of the glass by any of the ways herein described, it is obvious that I may gain great advantage as to realistic representation of natural objects, as, for instance, the clouding of a blue sky with more or less intensity of white cloud. These opalescent and iridescent effects may be enhanced by the greater or less smoothness of one or both surfaces of the opalescent glass, and by its thickness, and the glass may be waved, corrugated, or roughened in molds, or be hammered or rolled, or be stamped or treated to accord with the design or surface-finish required for the glass. This operation may be performed while the glass, in heated state, is supported on a suitable bed, as is well understood by workers in glass.



In order to secure other effects of light and color than those so far referred to, and to retain the advantages due to moderate translucency, and enhance both depth and quality of color, I have found by experiment that I may take colored glass of either the most common class of window-glass, if the item of cost is essential, or may take any better class of colored glass at hand, and either plate or roll upon it, or mix with it in molten state, the opal-glass compound hereinbefore described, the coloring being any which can be formed in glass by any of the usual methods carried on in its manufacture; and it is also obvious, instead of employing the opal glass as a coating or mixture for the colored glass in its heated or molten state, that I may add to the said molten glass the component parts of which the opal-glass compound is formed, or vice versa.

In some instances I find it very advantageous to back colored glass of ordinary construction with independent pieces of opal glass, one or more layers of either being used, according to the effect desired.

On a cloudy or dark day a window containing opal glass shows such a quantity of color and appears as if lighted by the sun. In the day-time this opal-glass window seen from outside, in variety of color, resembles mosaic work and presents a highly ornamental effect, while ordinary colored-glass windows are not ornamental.

Under artificial lights in buildings ordinary colored-glass windows become very dark at the interior of the apartment of which they form a part, which for dwelling-houses, is very unpleasant and cold in appearance, and this dark appearance can be obviated only by the use of curtains, shades, or hangings; but by the use of opal or white glass at the inside of the windows the wall in which they are set will not appear dark, but, on the contrary, under artificial illumination of the interior of the apartment, will appear of light color.

I desire it to be understood that I lay no claim to any improvement in the art of glass-making, either in translucent, opal, or colored glass.

Figure 1 represents, in front view, a window containing panes of glass in accordance with my invention; Fig. 2, a cross-section thereof, and Fig. 3 a piece of common colored glass coated with a lamina of opal glass.

In the drawings, *a* represents panes of opal glass; *b*, panes composed of layers of opal glass (2) and colored glass (3) super imposed, and *c*, panes composed of colored and translucent glass compounds mixed.

In Fig. 3 the thicker layer *e* is to represent colored window glass with a layer, *f*, of opal glass plated or rolled thereon, this form of glass being preferable in many instances to the independent layers 2 3, and in panes *b*.

I claim—

As an improved article of manufacture, a window having panes of translucent opal glass, substantially as and for the purposes described.

In a decorative or colored-glass window, panes composed of translucent opal and colored glass, as and for the purpose described.

In testimony whereof I have signed my name to this specification in the presence of two subscribing witnesses.

JNO. LA FARGE.

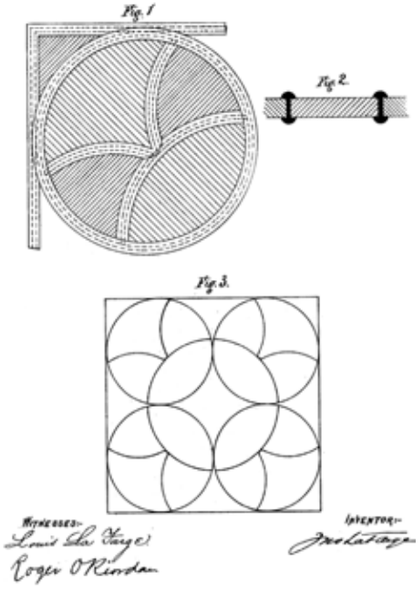
Witnesses:
GEO. W. GREGORY,
N. E. WHITNEY.

United States Patent Office.
JOHN LA FARGE, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.
MANUFACTURE OF
COLORED-GLASS WINDOWS.
SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 274,948, dated April 3, 1883.
Application filed January 23, 1882. (No model.)

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, JOHN LA FARGE, of the city and county of New York, in the State of New York, have invented certain improvements in the manufacture of colored-glass windows and other decorative glass products, such as glass mosaic-work, wall-surfaces, tiles, lanterns, and analogous articles; and I hereby declare that the following is a full, clear, and exact description thereof, reference being had to the drawings which accompany and form a part of this specification.

In these drawings, Figure 1 is a plan view of a portion of a colored-glass window made in accordance with the mode universally adopted prior to my invention. Fig. 2 is a section of the same portion of window, clearly showing the "leads" by means of which the segments of glass have heretofore been secured in position. Fig. 3 is a plan of the new method which I have invented of constructing and applying the frame-work or substitute for "leading," which secures the glass segments. Fig. 4 is a plan of a colored-glass window made according to my invention. Fig. 5 is a section of the same window, and Fig. 6 is a portion of a similar section enlarged, and designed especially to show the thin films or sheets of glass *a a*, which will be hereinafter particularly described.



In all the figures similar parts are denoted by similar letters.

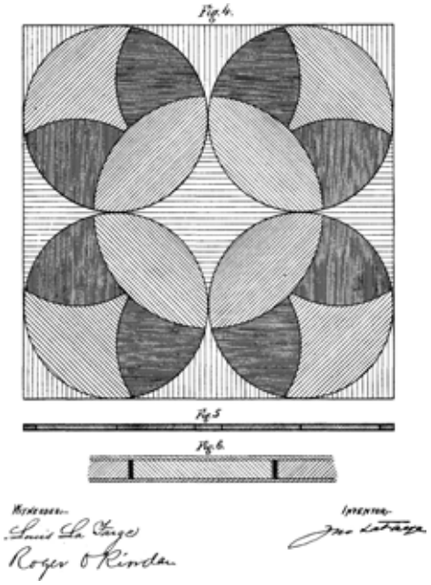
The objects of my invention are, first, to provide a light metallic frame-work as a substitute for the leading hitherto universally employed for colored-glass windows and other decorative glass products, which, while firmly holding the glass segments, shall present as thin and light a top or end surface as is consistent with suitable strength, so as to interfere very slightly, if at all, with the artistic effect of the picture or design which forms the window or other article; and, second, to combine with the window or other decorative glass product so constructed a thin sheet or film of glass on either the front or back side of the picture or device, or on both sides of it, for the purpose both of binding the segments more firmly together and better protecting the glass-work from the action of the atmosphere and of rendering the picture homogeneous in all its parts, and thereby greatly increasing its decorative effect.

Prior to my invention the only mode of constructing colored-glass windows and analogous products has been to employ leads formed by casting bars of lead—such as are represented at *c c*, Figs. 1 and 2—with double flanges, as seen, and, after the glass segments or pieces to constitute the picture or device have been cut into the proper shapes, to bend these leads around the edges of the segments which are fitted into the space between the flanges, and then at all suitable points where the ends of different portions of the lead bars come together to solder them to hold the segments in position. The serious defect in this method is that in order to give the lead bars sufficient strength and the flanges sufficient hold upon the glass it is necessary to make them so wide or thick that when the picture or device is looked at they, so to speak, fill too much of the field of view, attract the eye too greatly, and in obvious ways seriously impair the artistic effect which the picture would otherwise produce.

It is to do away with this evil that the first part of my improvements is intended. To this end I dispense entirely with the lead bars and flanges and substitute for them a light metallic frame-work made in the form of the design or picture which the window or other decorative article is to present, and I secure the connecting parts of the frame by soldering or brazing, or in any convenient manner. The segments of differently colored glass are then cut, molded, pressed, cast, or otherwise formed into the proper shapes to fill the different sections of the frame, and the various parts or divisions which are to form the finished window or other article being thus separately prepared, each division, of convenient size, may, if desired, be placed in the usual manner upon a suitable flat or curved surface, so that the glass segments may be set in position in the sections of the frame-work in accordance with the desired picture or design. The workman then sprinkles a little of any suitable flux, in powder, and also, preferably, some powdered white or colored glass, around the edges of all the glass segments and into the slight spaces, if any, which may happen to be left by the workman or may otherwise occur between the edges of the segments and the frame-work. In this condition the work is put into a

kiln or any suitable glass-furnace and exposed to sufficient heat therein to fuse the edges of the segments, and the powdered glass, when that is used, and unite them securely to and bind them firmly into the frame-work. By this means I enable the window or other structure, when finished and in place, to present the picture or device which forms it with the richest effect and almost entirely free from the disfigurement and artistic embarrassments which have characterized all previous colored-glass decorations of this nature.

To still further aid the artistic results of the work, I usually prefer to combine with the segments and frame-work a thin sheet or film of white or colored glass placed on both sides of the picture, or on only one, as may be desired. These sheets of glass may advantageously be about one thirty-second of an inch or somewhat more in thickness, and they are laid upon the upper and under surfaces, or upon either the upper or under surface, as the case may be, of the frame-work and segments, when the latter, with the usual plaster or other suitable base on which they rest, are put into the kiln or furnace, as above described, and while the edges of the segments are being fused the glass films will become partially melted, and will not only, on cooling, bind the segments and frame-work firmly together, but will also, when the work is properly done, cover both segments and framework with a thin, level, smooth film or surface of glass, which will tend materially to harmonize the different portions of the window or other structure and blend them into a homogeneous and artistic picture. Besides these advantages, the employment of the glass films will protect the work from the effects of the weather when it is placed in an exposed situation, as will often be the case.



In addition to the superior decorative results of my invention, it enables work of a high grade, which has hitherto been extremely costly, to be produced by less skillful workmen and in far less time than has before been possible, and hence greatly diminishes its cost.

Having thus described my improvements, what I claim, and desire to secure by Letters Patent, is—

1. The combination of the glass segments or pieces which form a colored-glass window or other decorative glass structure or product with a light metallic frame or frame-work for holding the segments in place, substantially in the manner and for the purpose set forth.

2. The combination of one or more thin sheets or films of glass with the segments and frame-work or leading of a colored-glass window or other decorative glass structure or product, substantially as and for the purpose described.

3. The method of making a colored-glass window or like decorative article, which consists in forming a light metallic frame-work in the form of the design or picture which the window or other decorative article is to present, forming the segments of glass, &c., into the proper shapes to fill the different sections of the frame, sprinkling the frame with a suitable flux, applying the glass thereto, and fixing by heat or otherwise, substantially as described.

JNO. LA FARGE.

Witnesses:
LOUIS LA FARGE,
ABRAM BERNARD.

Plates

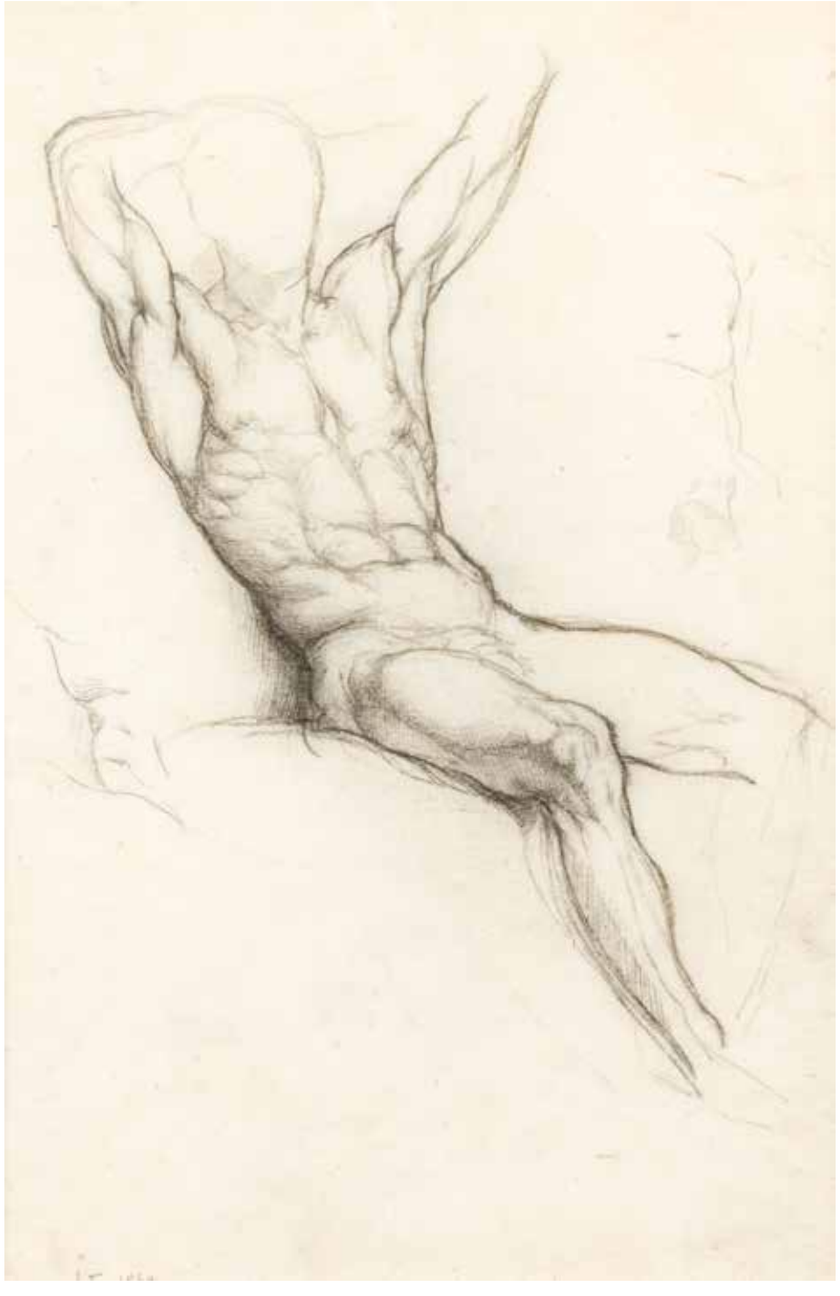
All works are by John La Farge (1835–1910) except where otherwise noted. Photographs are courtesy of the lenders, with these additional acknowledgments: Kerry Burke (Boston College): 23, 25, 28, 34–35, 50, 75, 85; Erik Gould (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design): 1; Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College: 12; Jeffery Howe: 36, 61; Peter Siegel (Bowdoin College Museum of Art): 71; Christopher Soldt (Boston College): 2–4, 6, 10, 17, 19, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31–33, 37–39, 41–48, 52–60, 62–65, 70, 73–74, 76–82, 84, 86–91, 93–94; William Vareika Fine Arts: 16, 18, 20, 30, 51, 83, 92.

1. Drawing after Géricault's Race of the Barbieri Horses, 1854

Pencil and chalk on paper, 12.5 x 16.6 in.
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence; Gift of Sumner Stone, 1991.039

2. Sanguine Nude, c. 1856·57

Chalk on paper, 11 x 14 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



3. MALE NUDE, 1864

Graphite on paper, 12.4 x 8.3 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

4. St. John the Evangelist, Christ Preaching, St. Paul, 1889

Opalescent leaded glass, 99 x 31 in. (each)
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika in honor of William P. Leahy, SJ, J. Donald Monan, SJ, William B. Neenan, SJ, and in memory of John La Farge, SJ, 2013.58.1–3

5. Christ Preaching

Study for a Memorial Window, c. 1889

Graphite, ink, and watercolor on paper, 9.6 x 3.5 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Special Picture Fund, 12.343

6. St. John the Evangelist

Sketch for a Memorial Window, c. 1889

Watercolor on paper, 7.5 x 2.4 in.
Private collection

7. St. John the Evangelist

Sketch for a Memorial Window, c. 1889

Graphite and watercolor on paper, 6.6 x 3.1 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Major Henry Lee Higginson, 11.2810

8. Study for a Memorial Window

To Julia Appleton McKim, Trinity Church, Boston, 1887

Graphite and watercolor on paper, 9 x 3.9 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Major Henry Lee Higginson, 12.24

9. SUONATORE, 1887

Encaustic on pulp paper mounted on fabric, 45.1 x 35 in.
Worcester Art Museum; Museum purchase, 1907.4

10. The Lampbearer (Parable of the Wise Virgin)

Full-size Cartoon for Gertrude Parker
Memorial Window, Parish House, Trinity Church, Boston, 1881

Encaustic on paper on canvas, 55 x 36 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

11. The Angel of Help

Study for Helen Angier Ames Memorial Window, Unity Church, North Easton, Massachusetts, 1888–89

Watercolor over graphite on paper, 12 x 9 in.
Newport Art Museum; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, Timothy McGeary, and Christian Vareika, in memory of their son and brother, David Wesley Vareika, 1991.001.001

12. The Angel of Help

Study for Helen Angier Ames Memorial Window, Unity Church, North Easton, Massachusetts, c. 1884

Watercolor and gouache over graphite and ink on tracing paper mounted on paper, 18.1 x 11.8 in.
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge; Louise E. Bettens Fund, 1933.154

13. The Good Samaritan

Study for a Memorial Window, Trinity Church, Buffalo, New York, c. 1888

Graphite, ink, and watercolor on paper, 11.9 x 7.3 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Major Henry Lee Higginson, 11.2836

14. The Three Wise Men, 1878

Oil on canvas, 32.6 x 42.3 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Edward W. Hooper, 90.151

15. Visit of Nicodemus to Christ, 1880

Oil on canvas, 42.2 x 35.1 in.
Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington DC; Gift of William T. Evans, 1909.7.37

16. THE VISIT OF NICODEMUS TO CHRIST, c. 1883–84

Watercolor and gouache on paper, 7.6 x 6.1 in.
Michael Altman Fine Art and Advisory Services, New York

17. Christ and Nicodemus

Study for John Cotton Smith Memorial Window,
Church of the Ascension, New York, 1882

Watercolor and pencil on paper, 11.5 x 5.8 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

18. Christ Blessing Children, 1887

Watercolor and gouache on paper, 8.1 x 6 in.
Michael Altman Fine Art and Advisory Services, New York

19. ST. PAUL, 1860

Pencil on paper, 5.3 x 3.4 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

20. The Virgin and St. John the Evangelist at the Foot of the Cross, 1862–63

Oil on panel, 97.5 x 30.8 in. (each)
Alexandria and Michael Altman and Alison and William Vareika; Promised gift to the McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College

21. Sketch for John the Evangelist, c. 1862

Oil on paper, 10.5 x 7.5 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Bequest of Miss Elizabeth Howard Bartol, RES.27.92

22. Christ and His Disciples in the Temple, c. 1899

Graphite on paper, 32.8 x 18.8 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

23. Prayer

Study of Kneeling Figure in White, 1880

Watercolor with gouache over graphite on paper, 10.5 x 8.5 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.10

24. Jeweled Cross in Gothic Arch Design, c. 1882–85

Watercolor on vellum laid down on paper,
15.5 x 5.8 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

25. St. Barnabas

Study for Bates Memorial Window at Channing Memorial Church, Newport, Rhode Island, 1878

Watercolor on paper, 7.3 x 3.5 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.1

26. The Harpist

Study for a Memorial Window to Louise Miller Howland, St. Andrew's Dune Church, Southampton, New York, 1884

Graphite and watercolor on paper, 8.8 x 6.7 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Special Picture Fund, 12.340

27. ANGEL AND MAN, c. 1896

Watercolor on paper, 9 x 9.5 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

28. Angel Holding Book

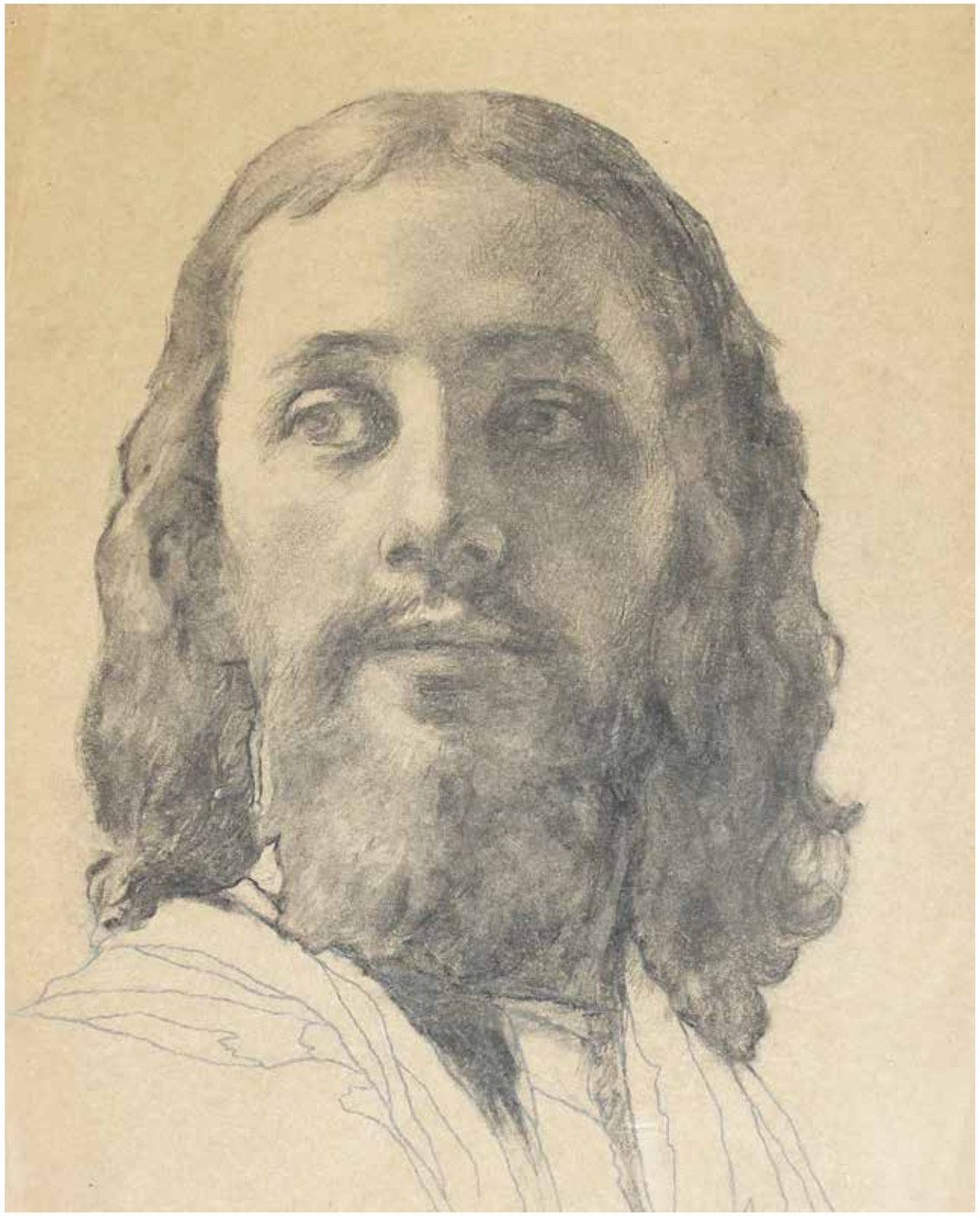
Study for Window over Altar in a State Industrial School, c. 1900–05

Watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper, 14 x 15.3 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.9

29. The Resurrection

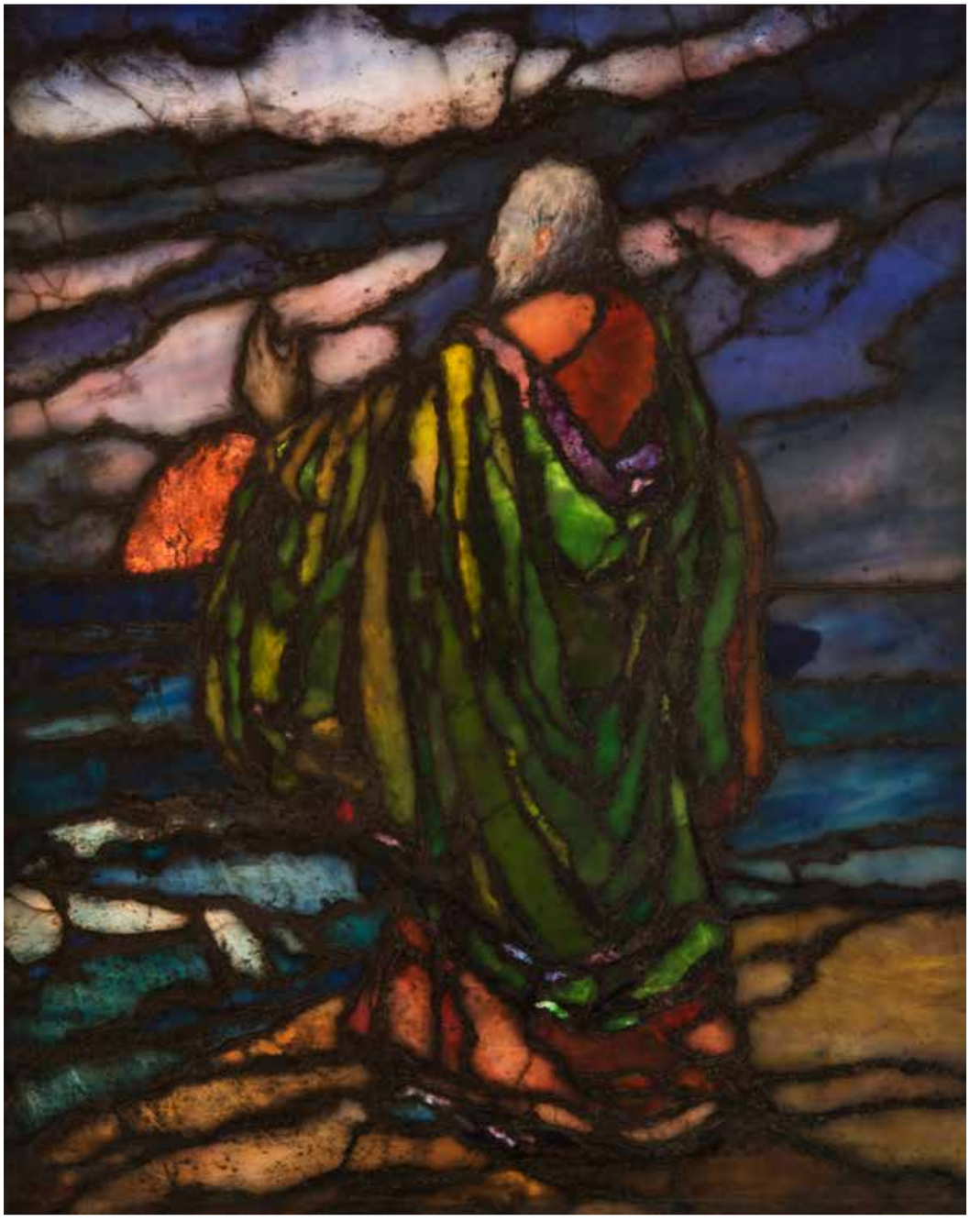
Study for Gilbert Memorial Window, Bloomingdale Reformed Church, New York, c. 1906

Graphite on paper, 10.9 x 7.3 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.7



30. Head of Christ, Study for Psalm XXIII, Goodness and Mercy, c. 1901–02

Charcoal and graphite on yellowed vellum, 12.8 x 10.3 in.
Private collection; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



31. JOSHUA COMMANDING THE SUN TO STAND STILL, c. 1909

Opalescent leaded glass, 18.5 x 14.5 in.
Oliver La Farge Hamill

32. Unknown artist, **Kazakh Prayer Carpet**, c. 1860

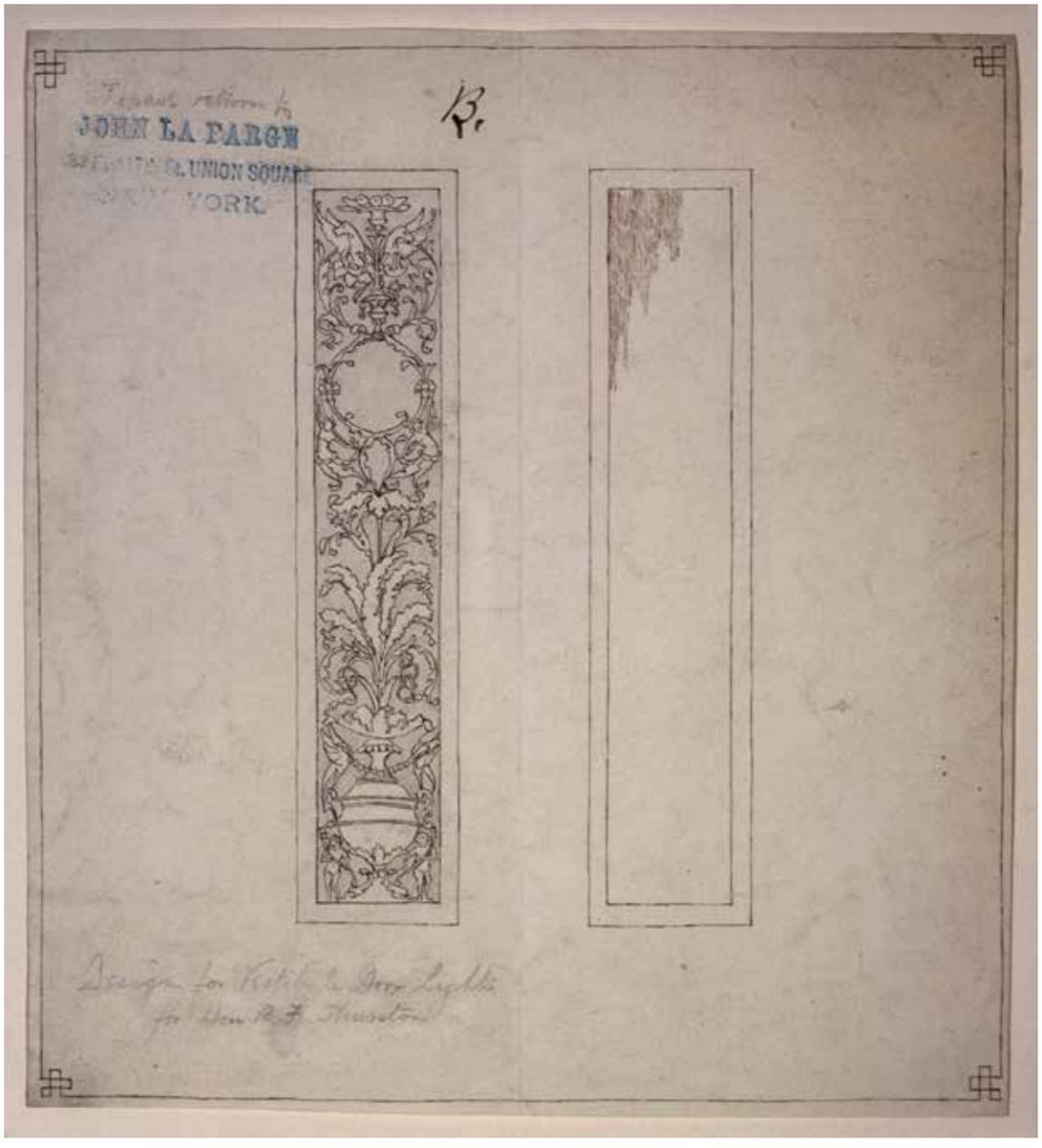
Wool and cotton, 64 x 48 in.
Newport Congregational Church; Courtesy La Farge Restoration Fund

33. Sketch for Ceiling Panel at Newport Congregational Church, 1880

Watercolor on paper, 1.9 x 1.9 in.
Christian Vareika, BC 2009

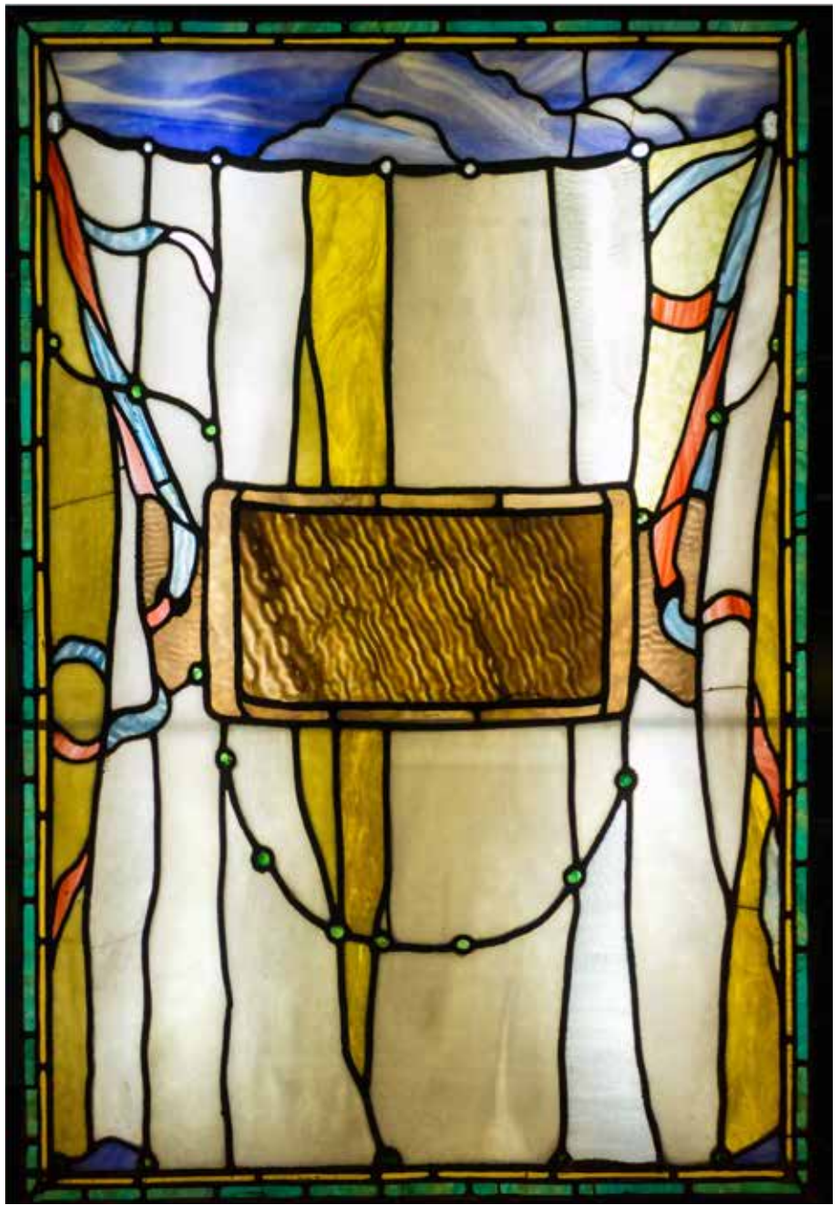
34. Study for Ceiling Panel with Classical Rosettes, c. 1882–85

Watercolor and graphite on paper on board, 6.5 x 4.3 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.11



35. Study for Vestibule Door Lights with Classical Urns, Griffins, and Floral Entrelac, c. 1883

Sepia on paper, 8.3 x 7.9 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.6



36. Trompe L'Oeil Curtain Window, 1882·84

Opalescent leaded glass, 39 x 28 in.
Newport Art Museum; Gift of Stephen J. Warner, 1995.004.1

37. The Sphinx, 1864·65

Gouache, watercolor, and black chalk on paper, 4.6 x 6.8 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

38. CENTAUR, c. 1864

Oil on canvas, 12.4 x 18.3 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

39. Centaur and Rabbit, c. 1864

Graphite on paper, 5.3 x 2.6/4.9 x 2.6 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

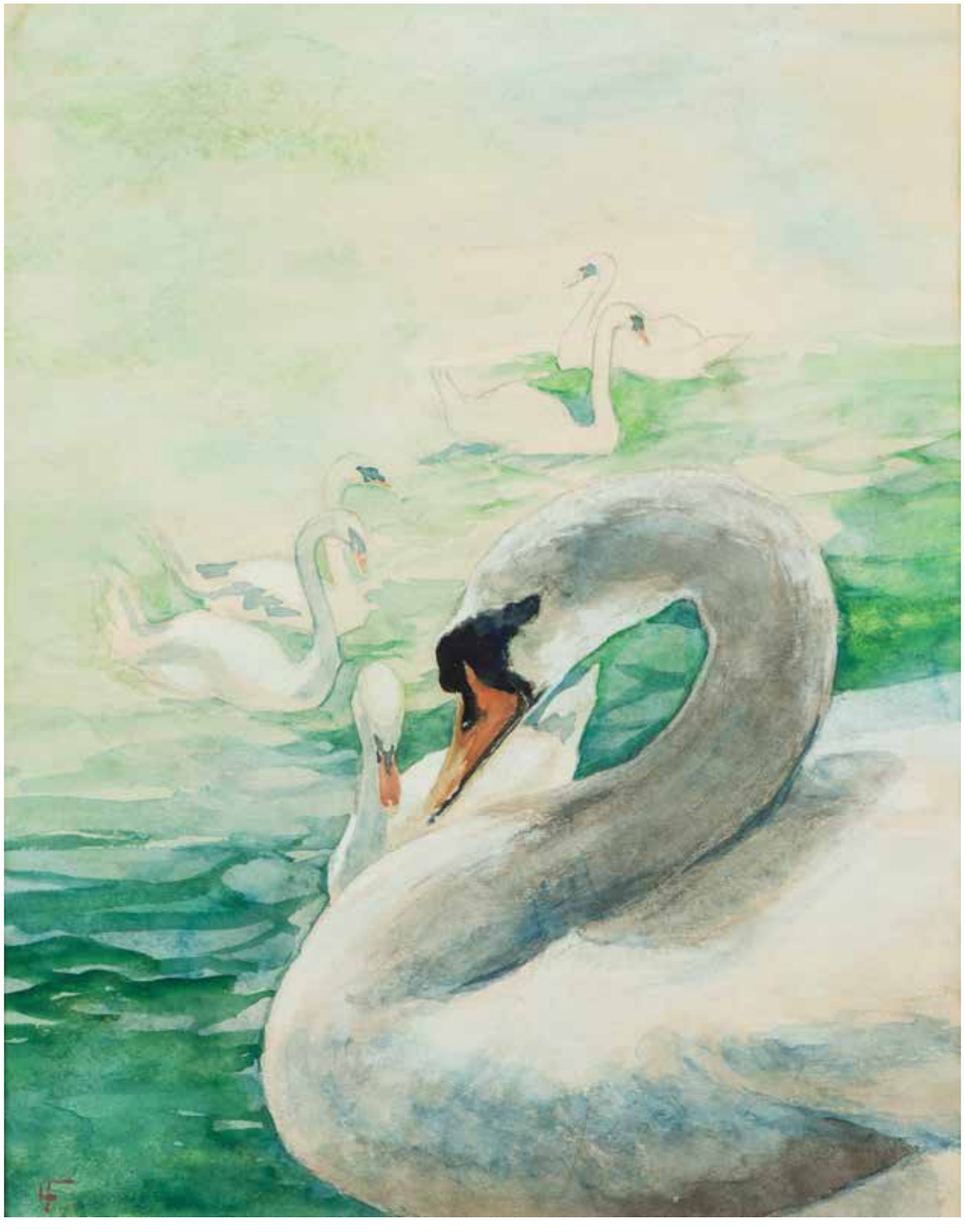
40. The Muse of Painting, 1870

Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 38.3 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan and Henry Walters, 1909, 09.176

41. The Serpent Charmer

Study in Yellow Tone, 1864

Oil on panel, 12.5 x 9.4 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



42. SWANS, c. 1865

Watercolor and pencil on paper, 17.5 x 13.5 in.
Private collection; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

43. Study for The Shepherd and the Sea, Aesop Fable, c. 1870s

Watercolor on paper, 10 x 8.5 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

44. THE SHEPHERD AND THE SEA, AESOP FABLE, 1875; REWORKED 1879 · 83

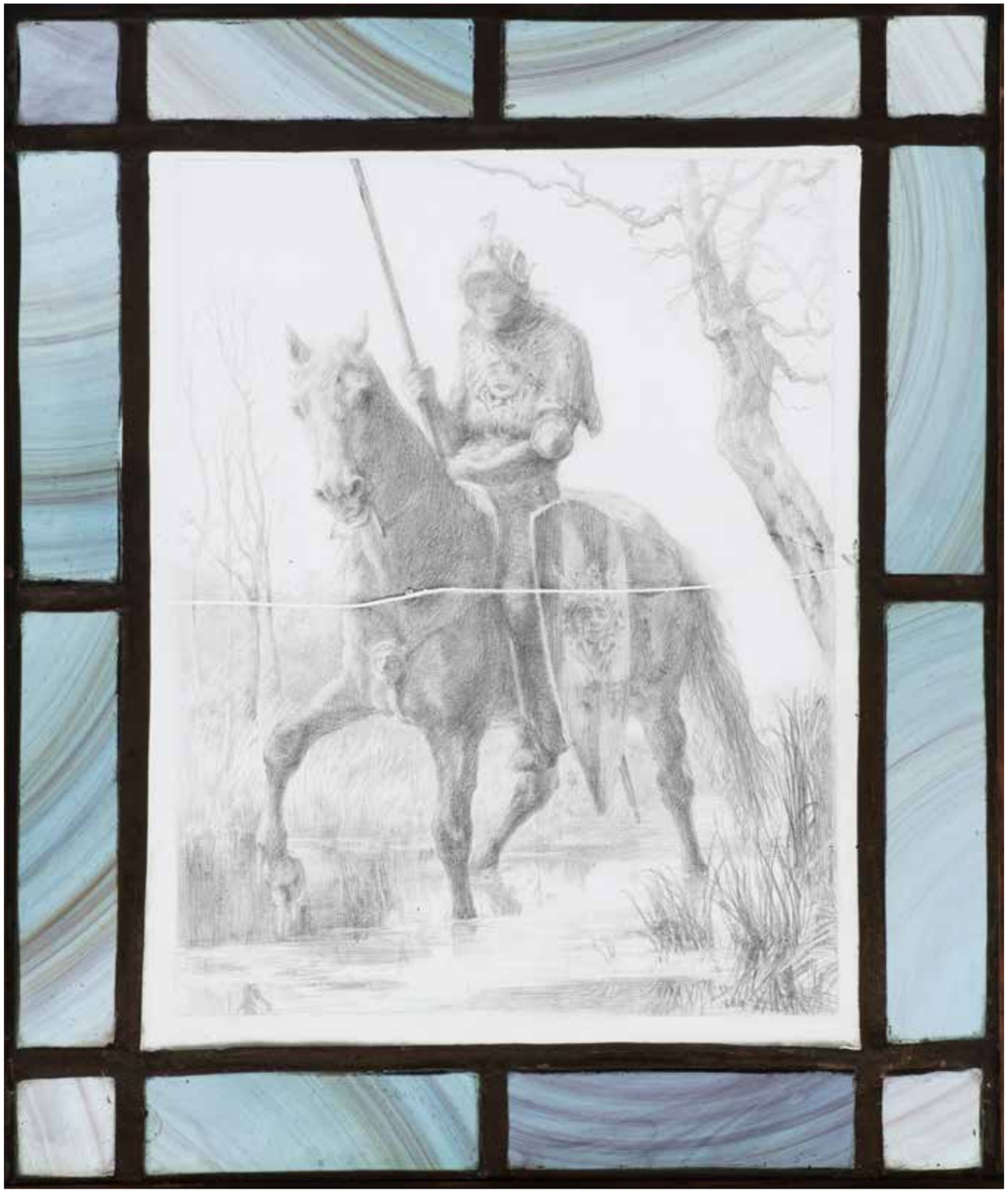
Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

45. Woman in Red Robe, 1905

Watercolor and gouache on paper, 9 x 5.5 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

46. Figure of Fortune, c. 1901

Pencil on paper, 12.4 x 9.4 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



47. Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came, c. 1860·61

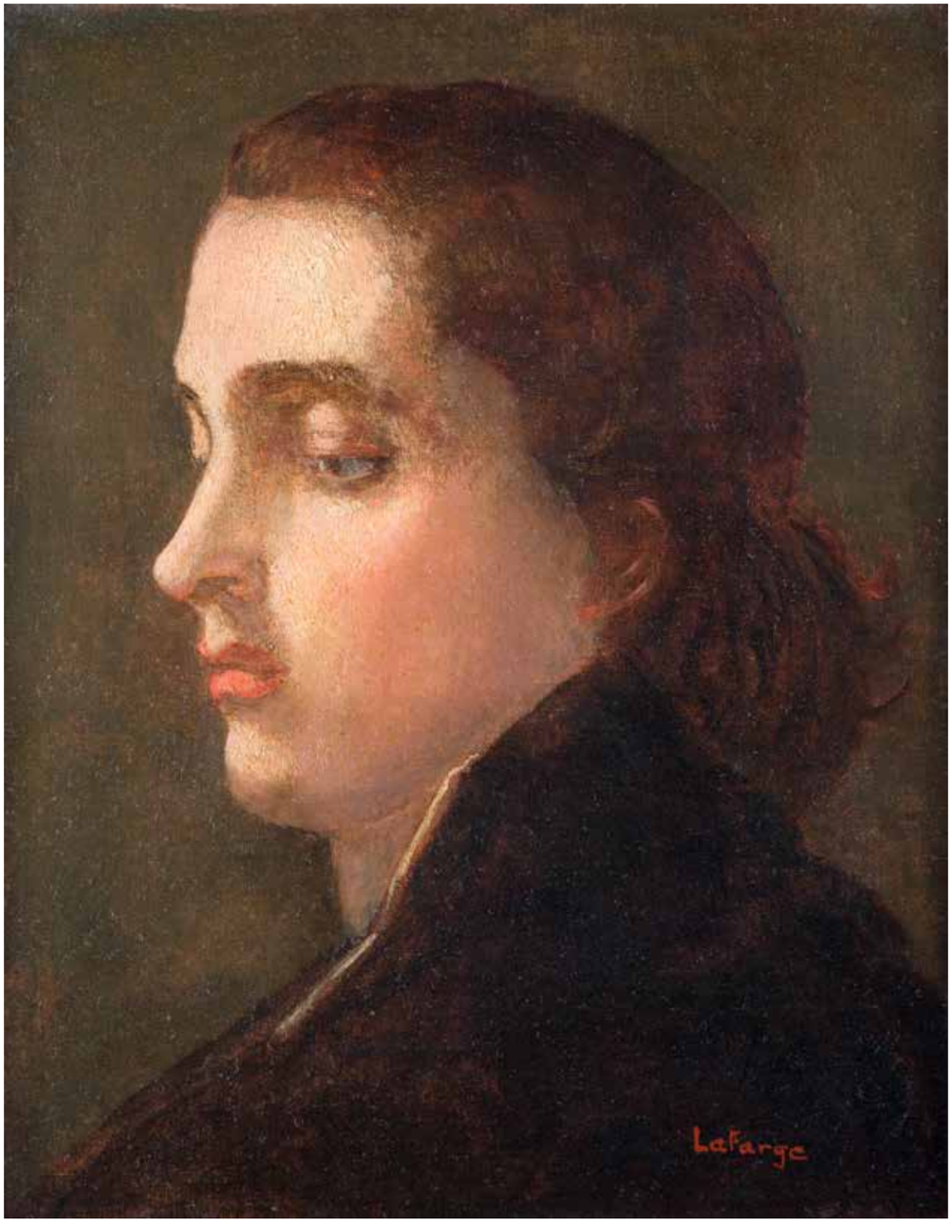
Cliché verre with colored glass border, 11 x 9.5 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

48. **Fra Filippo Lippi**, c. 1860 · 61

Cliché verre with colored glass border, 8.75 x 7 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

49. Lady of Shalott, c. 1862

Oil on panel, 9.1 x 14.6 in.
New Britain Museum of American Art; Harriet Russell Stanley Fund, 1945.2

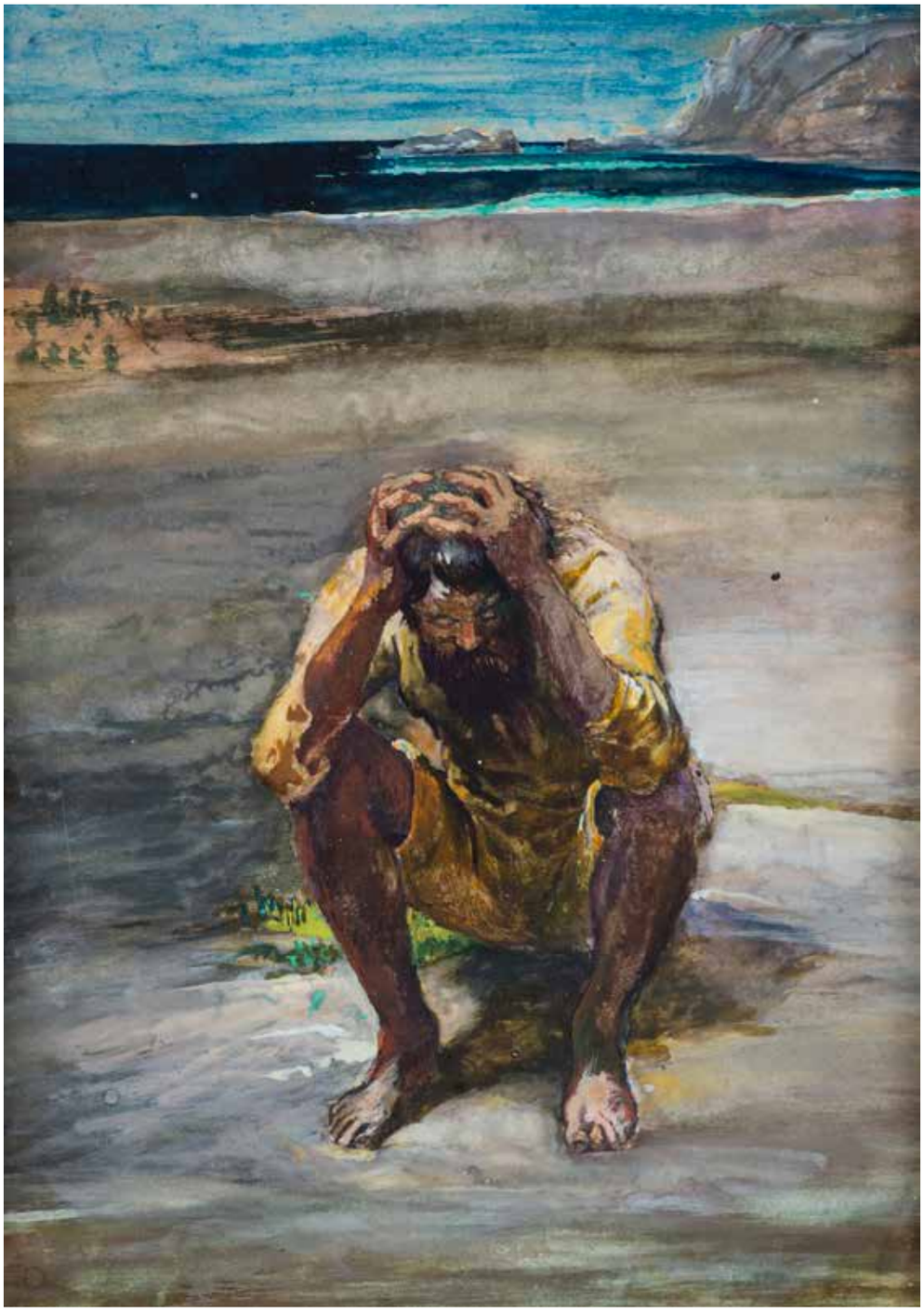


50. Portrait of Margaret Mason Perry La Farge, c. 1860

Oil on canvas, 16 x 13 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College; Gift of William and Alison Vareika, 2004.4

51. Portrait of the Artist's Wife, Margaret La Farge, c. 1865

Watercolor over pencil on paper, 18.8 x 13 in.
Oliver La Farge Hamill



52. Enoch Arden, 1864

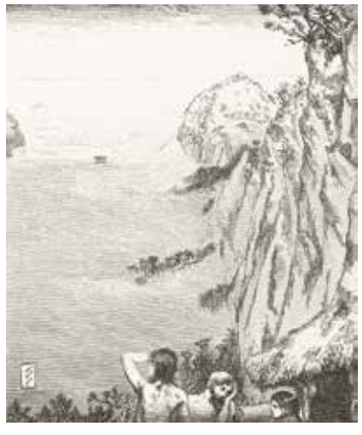
Watercolor on paper, 8.8 x 7 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

A. The Children

B. Philip and Annie in the Wood

C. The Lovers

D. Shipwrecked



E. The Island Home

F. Enoch Alone

G. The Solitary

H. Enoch's Supplication

I. The Seal of Silence

53. Enoch Arden Illustrations

Alfred, Lord Tennyson (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1865)

Wood engravings on paper
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

A. The Spirit of the Waterlily

B. Songs of Feeling, Songs of Thought

C. The Shepherd and the Mermaid

D. Songs of Sorrow

54. Songs from the Old Dramatists Illustrations

Abbey Sage Richardson (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1873)

Wood engravings on paper
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

Artist's proof on tissue paper

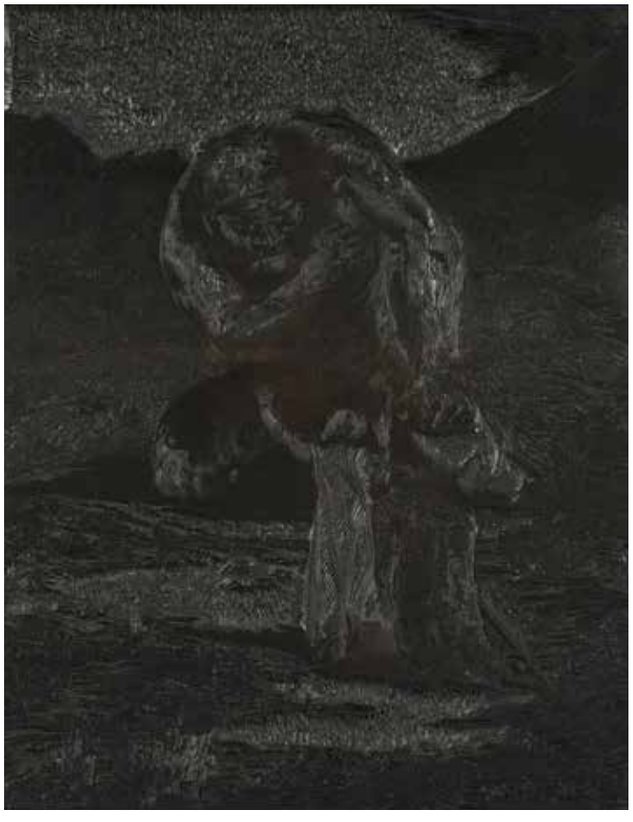
Woodblock

55. The Fisherman and the Djinn

Engraving in Riverside Magazine for Young People, 1866 · 67

Wood engraving, 6.8 x 5.8 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

Artist's proof on tissue paper



Woodblock

56. The Travelers and the Giant

Engraving in Riverside Magazine for Young People, 1868 · 69

Wood engraving, 6.9 x 5.6 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

Artist's proof on tissue paper

Woodblock

57. The Pied Piper of Hamelin

Engraving in Riverside Magazine for Young People, 1867 · 68

Wood engraving, 7 x 5.7 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

Artist's proof on tissue paper

Woodblock

58. The Wolf Charmer

Engraving in Riverside Magazine for Young People, 1867

Wood engraving, 6.9 x 5.4 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

Artist's proof on tissue paper

Woodblock

59. Bishop Hatto and the Rats

Engraving for Riverside Magazine for Young People [unpublished], 1866

Wood engraving, 6.9 x 5.4 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

60. Bishop Hatto and the Rats, c. 1866

Watercolor on paper, 6.9 x 5.3 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

61. The Turn of the Screw

Collier's Weekly, 1898

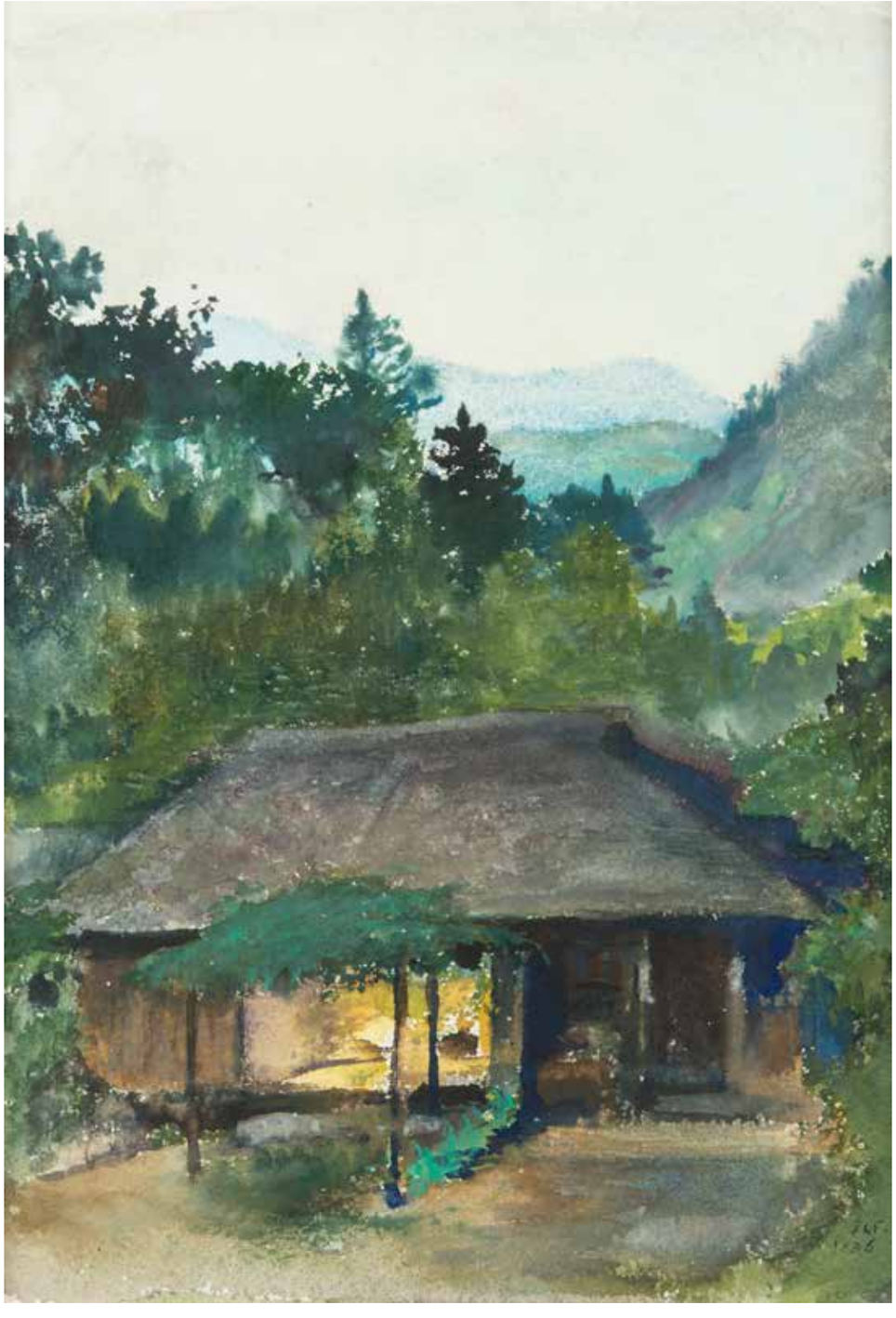
Offset print on paper, 3.5 x 8.4 in.
Private collection

62. Moon over Clouds, fire screen, 1881

Opalescent leaded glass and wood, 34 x 20.5 in.
Courtesy Allen Michaan and Michaan's Auctions, Alameda

63. STUDY FOR MOON OVER CLOUDS, 1881

Watercolor on paper, 18 x 13.5 in.
Courtesy Allen Michaan and Michaan's Auctions, Alameda



64. Evening Study (Priest's House, Nikko, Japan), 1886

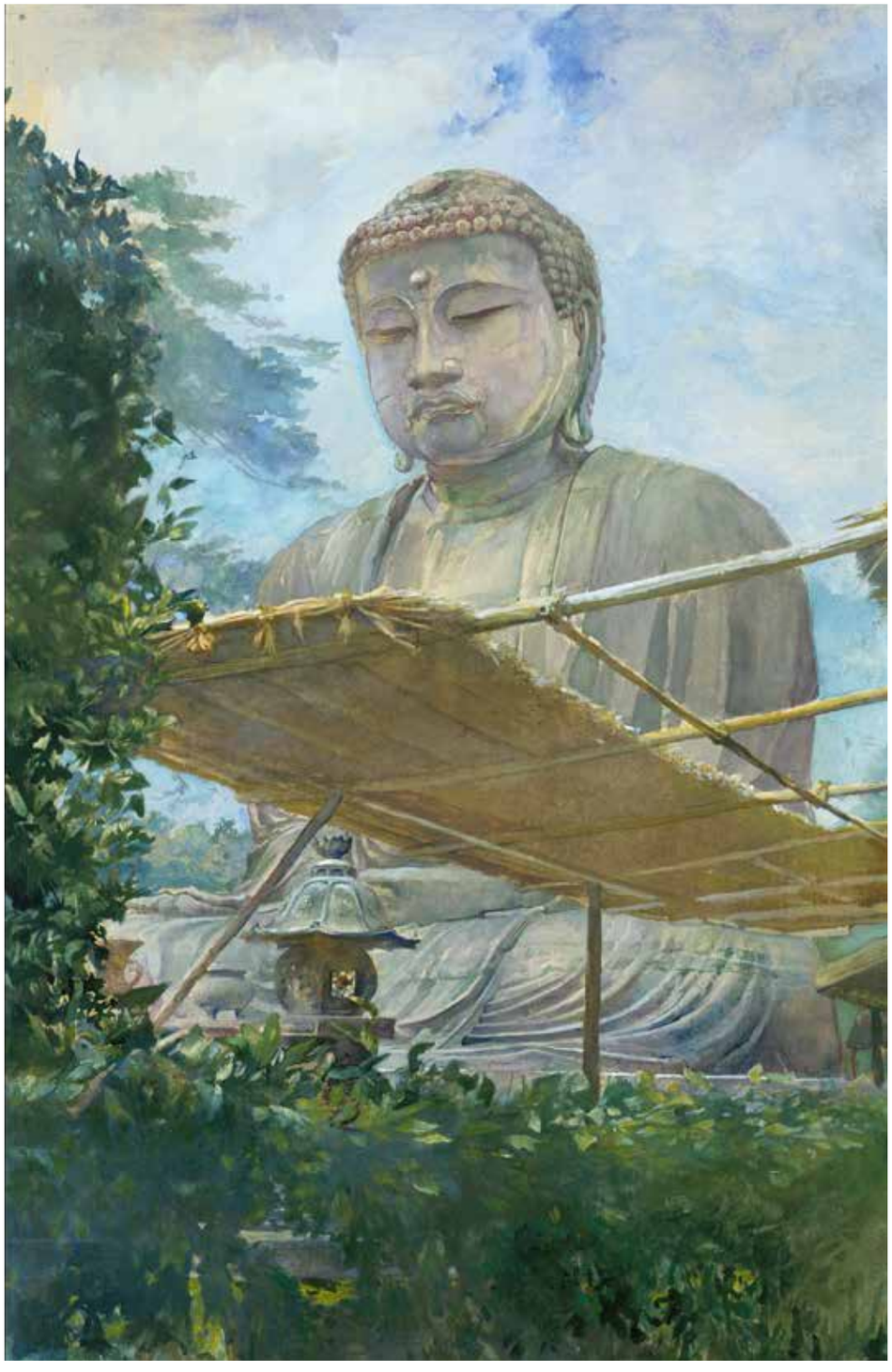
Watercolor on paper, 14 x 10 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

65. Stable of the Sacred Horses in the Temple Grounds of Iyeyasu, Nikko, c. 1888

Ink wash on paper, 8.2 x 9.9 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

66. Portrait of a Priest at Temple of Iyemitsu, Nikko, c. 1888

Sepia wash on paper, 10.8 x 5.8 in.
Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover; Gift of William and Alison Vareika in memory of Michael Ripley Hudner (PA 1999), 2005.7



67. The Great Statue of Amida Buddha at Kamakura

Known as the Daibutsu, from the Priest's Garden, 1887

Watercolor and gouache on paper, 19.3 x 12.5 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of the family of Maria L. Hoyt, 1966, 66.143

68. The Strange Thing Little Kiosai Saw in the River, 1897

Watercolor and gouache on Japanese tissue on paper, 12.4 x 18.2 in.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1917, 17.180.2

69. Musicians in Ceremonial Costume, 1887

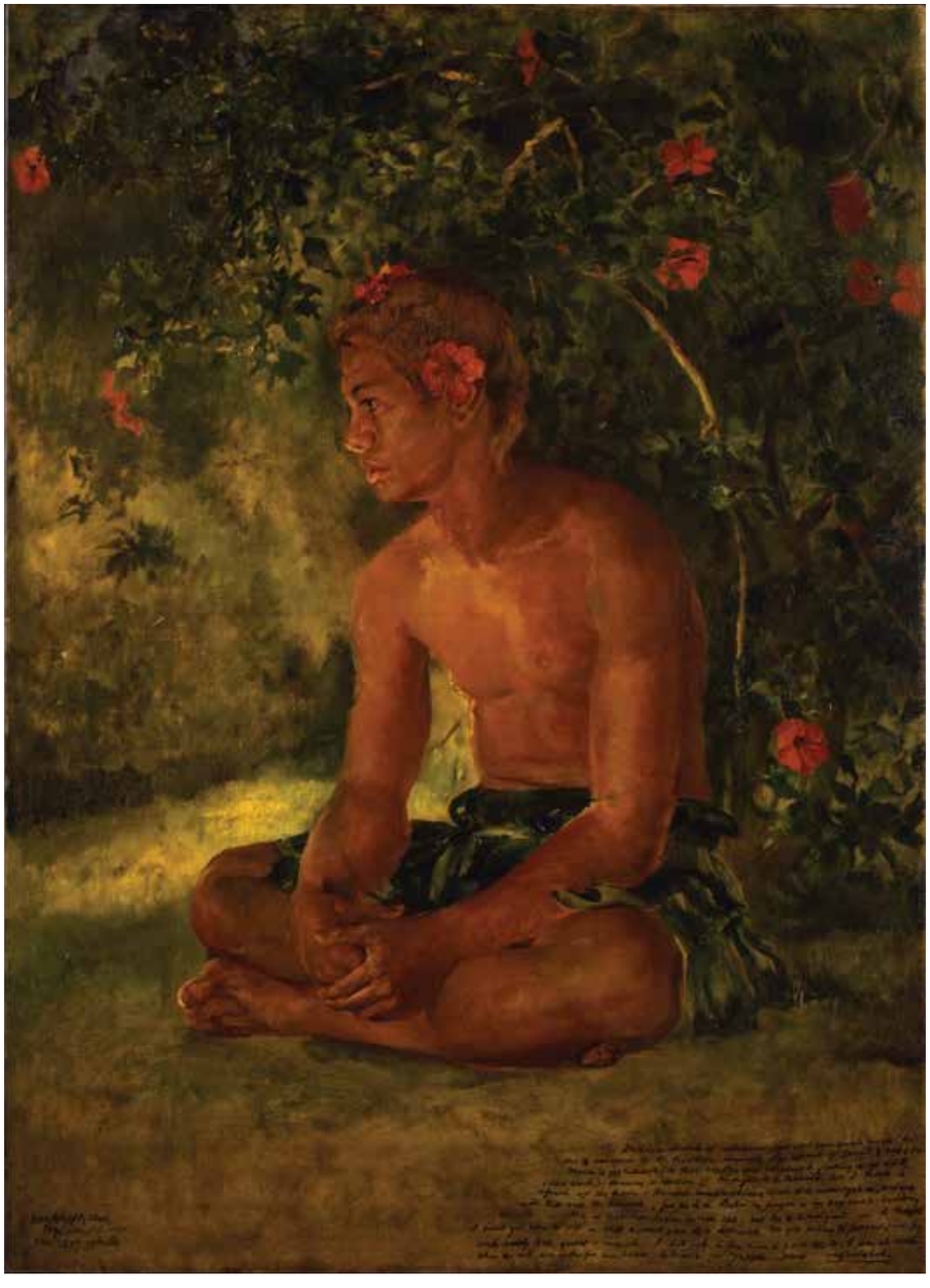
Watercolor and gouache over graphite on paper, 10.5 x 9.4 in.
Worcester Art Museum; Gift of Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, 1939.49

70. THE AESTHETE, 1898

Watercolor and gouache on paper mounted on board, 10 x 14.5 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

71. Meditation of Kuwannon, c. 1886

Watercolor on paper, 15 x 9.8 in.
Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick; Bequest of Miss Mary Sophia Walker, 1904.18

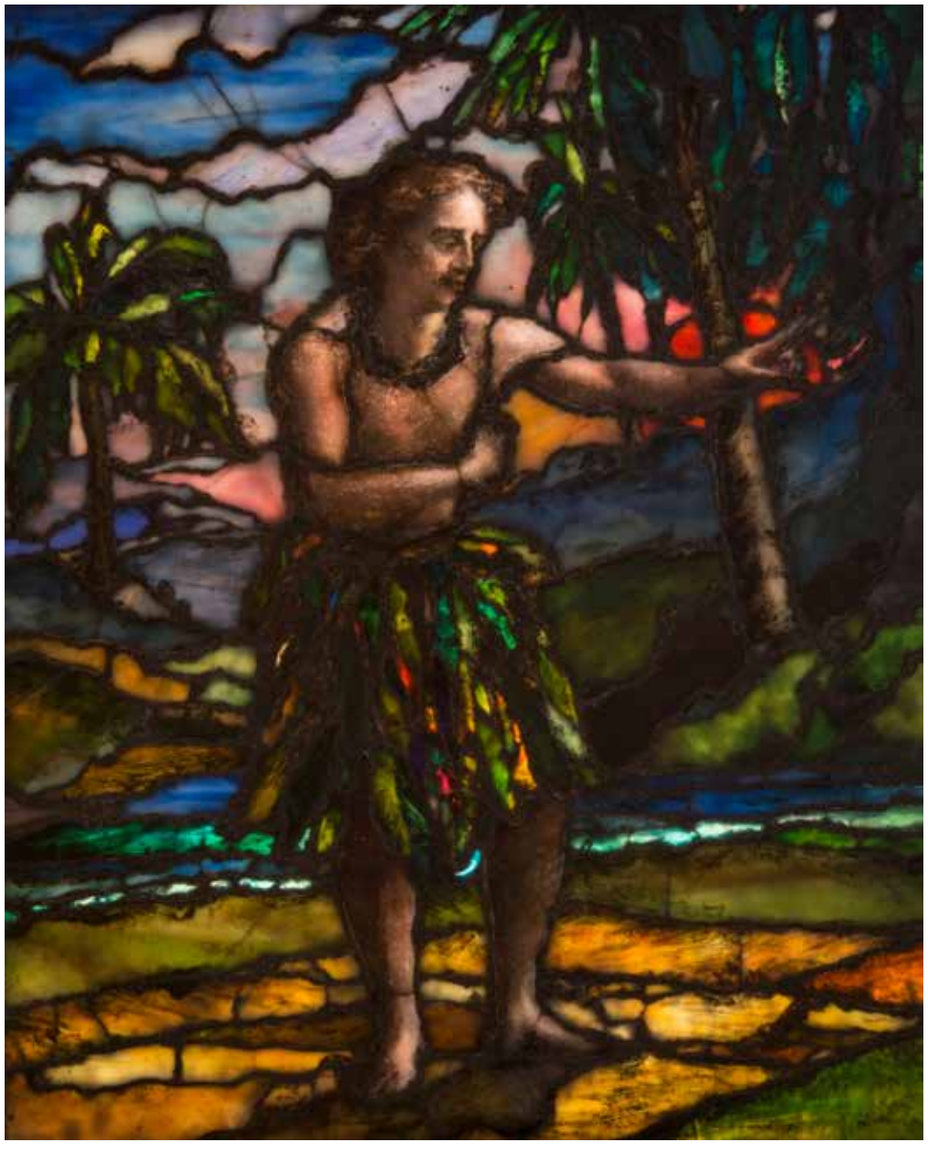


72. Sketch of Maua, Apia. One of Our Boat Crew, 1891

Oil on canvas, 52 x 38.1 in.
Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover; Gift of anonymous donor, 1931.8

73. Taupo with Arms Outstretched Preparing for the Dance, 1890

Watercolor on paper, 12.8 x 10 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



74. Samoan Dancing a Standing Siva, c. 1909

Opalescent leaded glass, 18 x 14.5 in.
Oliver La Farge Hamill

75. Rocks—Newport Landscape (Brenton's Cove), 1866

Oil on board, 8.7 x 12 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

76. Rocks by Path in the Sacred Grove at Paradise, c. 1865

Watercolor over graphite on paper, 16 x 24 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

77. Paradise Farm and Nelson's Pond, c. 1875

Watercolor on paper, 12.3 x 18.9 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

78. Nelson's Pond from the Peninsula, Paradise, c. 1875

Watercolor on paper, 9.3 x 19.5 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

79. The Sakonnet River near Flint Point, c. 1875

Watercolor on paper, 8.4 x 19 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

80. Third Beach and Flint Point at Paradise, c. 1875

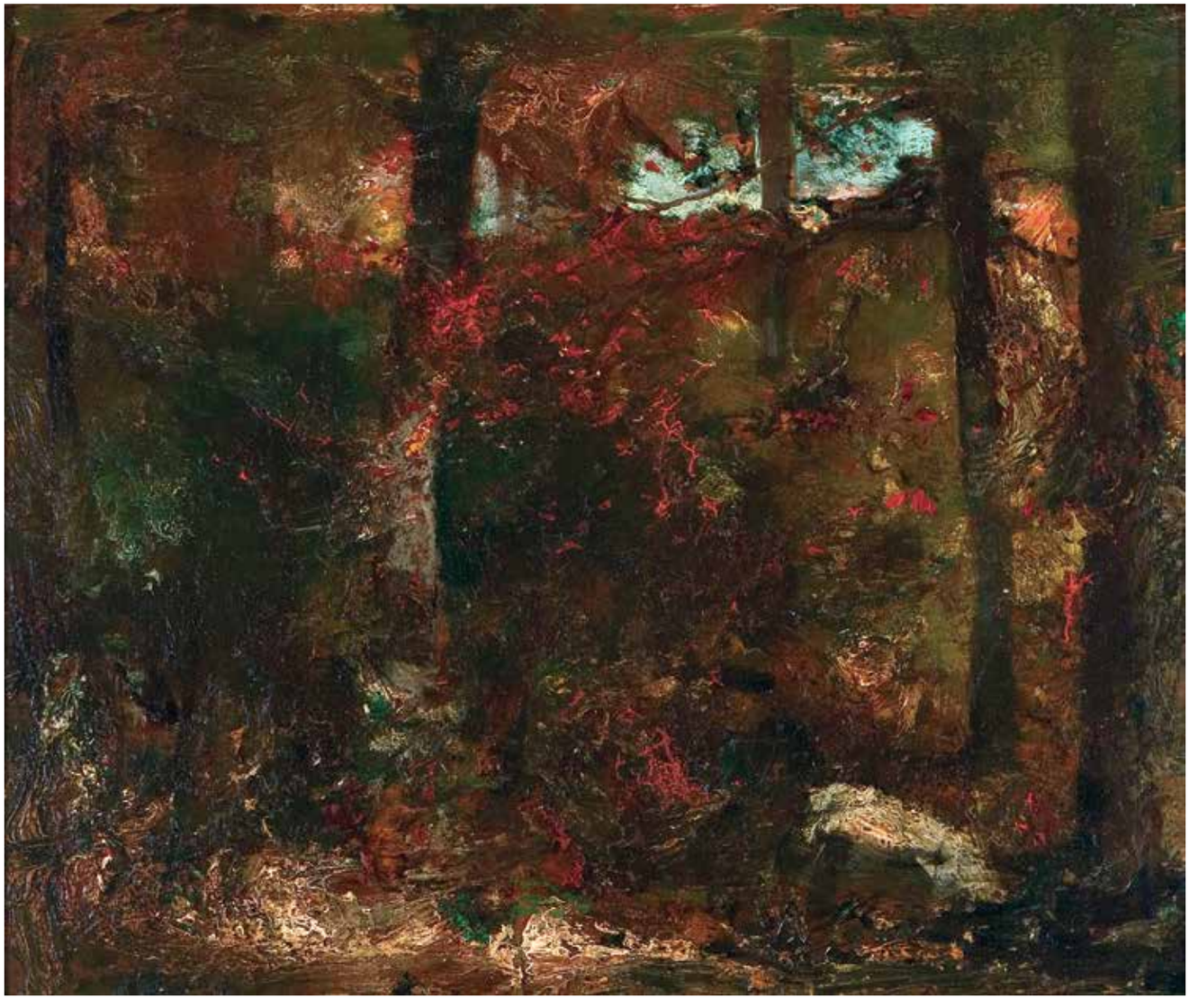
Watercolor over graphite on paper, 9.3 x 15.5 in.
Private collection, New York; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

81. On Third Beach Road at Paradise, c. 1865

Watercolor and gouache over graphite on paper, 11 x 13.8 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

82. Autumn: October. Edge of a Wood, Late Afternoon, Glen Cove, Long Island, 1860

Oil on panel, 12.5 x 9.5 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



83. Wood Interior, 1864

Oil on panel, 9.8 x 12 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

84. Windmill (Newport, Windmill, Near Easton's Pond. Early Spring, Southeast Wind), 1864

Oil on canvas, 12 x 10 in.
Hope Vareika, BC 2015, and Christian Vareika, BC 2009

85. Water Lilies in a White Bowl, with Red Table-Cover, 1859

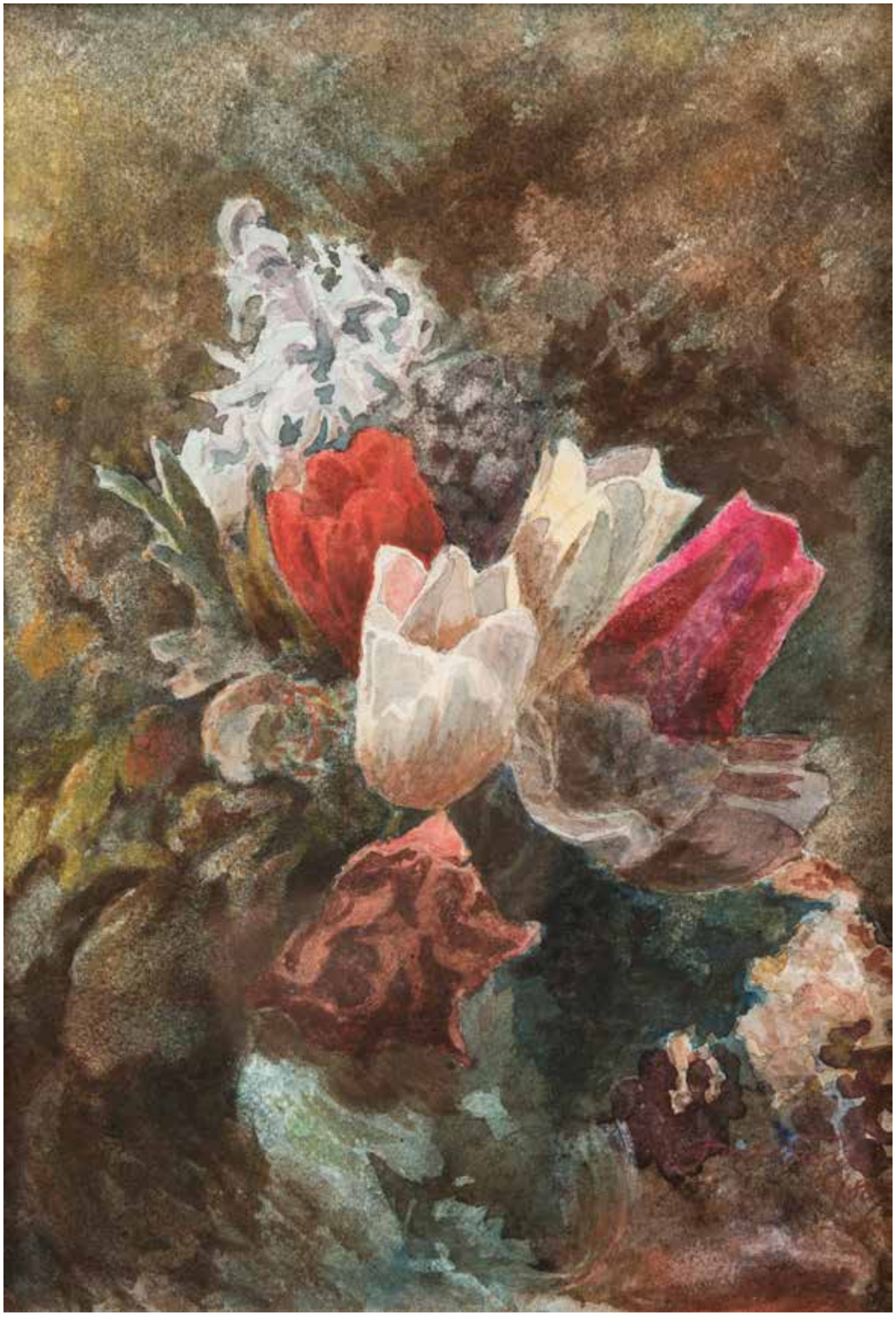
Oil on board, 9.5 x 13 in.
Private collection; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

86. **Waterlily in Sunlight**, c. 1863

Oil on panel, 5 x 10.8 in.
Private collection; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

87. WATER LILIES IN WHITE WATER, c. 1884

Watercolor and gouache on paper, 9.1 x 11.4 in.
Private collection; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport



88. Tulips and Hyacinths, 1867

Watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, 12.5 x 9.4 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

89. Flower Study for Window of Peonies in the Wind with Kakemono Borders, c. 1893

Watercolor and pencil on paper, 12.9 x 9.5 in.
The Fine Family; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

90. HOLLYHOCKS, c. 1881

Opalescent leaded glass, 45 x 29.5 in.
Courtesy Allen Michaan and Michaan's Auctions, Alameda

91. Red Peony, c. 1881

Opalescent leaded glass, 21.5 x 22 in.
Courtesy Allen Michaan and Michaan's Auctions, Alameda

92. Flowers. Blue Iris, with Trunk of Dead Apple-Tree in the Background, Newport, 1871

Oil on wood panel, 12 x 9.5 in.
Brandywine River Museum of Art, Chadd's Ford; Richard M. Scaife Bequest

93. Portrait of C. Grant La Farge as a Boy, c. 1865

Oil on canvas, 22 x 17.2 in.
Private collection; Courtesy William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

94. Bancel La Farge (1865–1938), **Apple Blossoms, Beverly Farms, Afternoon Light**, n.d.

Oil on mahogany panel, 14 x 11 in.
William Vareika Fine Arts, Newport

Contributors

David Cave, Director of Development at Boston College's Morrissey College and Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, has a PhD in the comparative and phenomenological study of religion. He has taught at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, the Interfaith Academy of Hebrew Union College, the University of Cincinnati, Northern Kentucky University, and Xavier University, and lectured at a number of civic and religious organizations. In publications such as *Mircea Eliade's Vision for a New Humanism* (1993), editor, with Rebecca Sachs Norris, of *Religion and the Body: Modern Science and the Construction of Religious Meaning* (2012), and book chapters "The Role of the Authoritative in the Comparative Process" (2006), "Mircea Eliade's Interpretation of Sacred Space and Its Role towards the Cultivation of Virtue" (2001), and "La concezione dello spazio sacro di Mircea Eliade nel dibattito culturale americano" (2000), among others, Cave has pursued his interest in how humans perceive and construct a meaningful and workable world for themselves.

Jeffery Howe is a professor of fine arts at Boston College, specializing in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century European art as well as American architecture. His publications include: *The Houses We Live In: An Identification Guide to the History and Style of American Domestic Architecture* (2002) and *Houses of Worship: An Identification Guide to the History and Style of American Religious Architecture* (2003). He has curated and edited the catalogues of numerous exhibitions for the McMullen Museum: *Edvard Munch: Psyche, Symbol and Expression* (2001); *Fernand Khnopff: Inner Visions and Landscapes* (2004); *A New Key: Modern Belgian Art from the Simon Collection* (2007); and *Courbet: Mapping Realism* (2013).

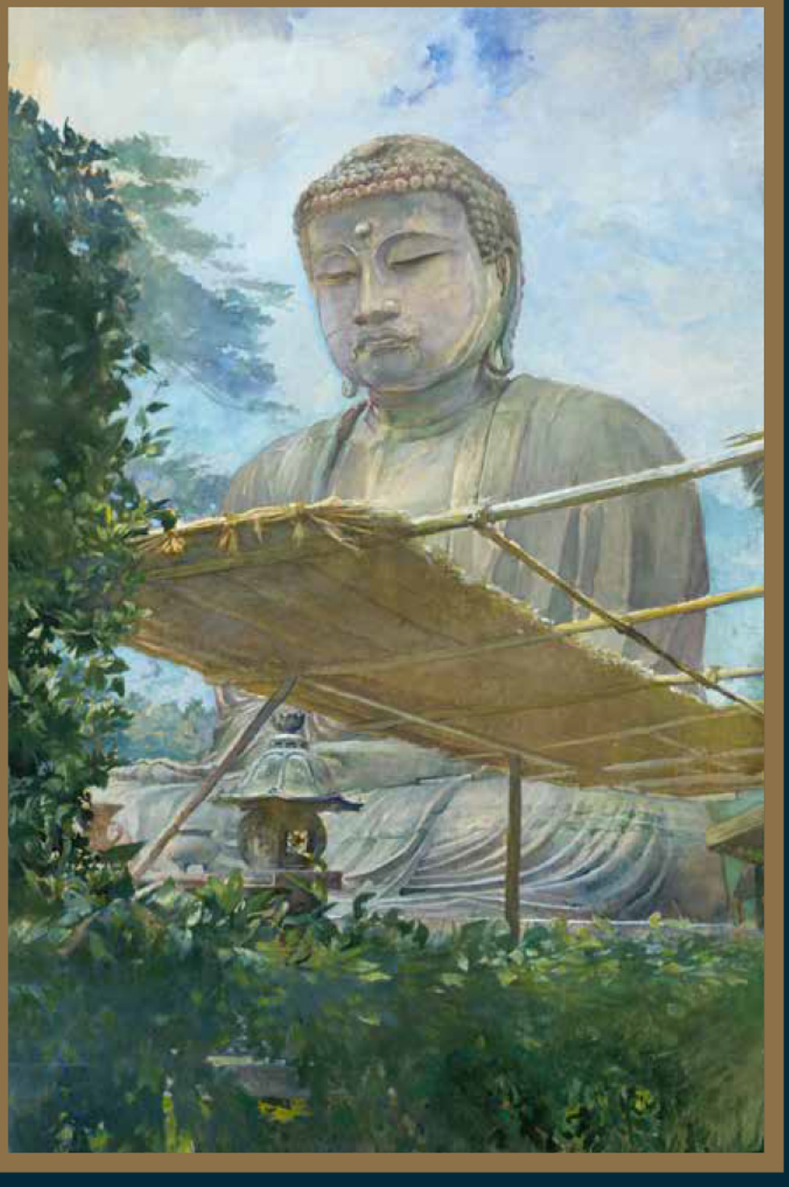
Cecelia Levin is an art historian specializing in the art and archaeology of South and Southeast Asia; she obtained her doctorate in this subject area from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Her career has spanned the teaching of Asian art history at several colleges and universities as well as the holding of curatorial and research positions in the Department of Asian Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Asia Society, the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Levin has received fellowships and grants for her work from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Asian Cultural Council, the Association of Asian Studies, and the International Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden, and has written on a broad array of topics related to Asian art.

James M. O'Toole holds the Clough Millennium Chair in History at Boston College. He specializes in the history of religion in America and in American Catholic history. He is the author, most recently, of *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (2008). At present, he is completing a new history of Boston College.

Virginia C. Raguin, PhD Yale University, is Distinguished Professor of Humanities at the College of the Holy Cross. She has published widely on religion, stained glass, and architecture, including *Stained Glass from Its Origins to the Present* (2003). A member of the International Corpus Vitrearum, she has co-authored *Stained Glass before 1700 in the*

Midwest United States (2002). She edited *Art, Piety, and Destruction in the Christian West, 1500–1700* (2010) and organized an exhibition with catalogue, *Pilgrimage and Faith: Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam* (2010). Her *Stained Glass: Radiant Art* (2013) explains medieval and Renaissance stained glass through works in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Roberto Rosa joined Serpentino Stained Glass Studio in 1987, making it his goal to specialize in the quality restoration and conservation of historic stained glass windows. He became a co-owner of the studio in 1992 and continues to be involved with all of Serpentino's restoration projects. A founding member of the American Glass Guild, Rosa is also a professional associate of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, and a member of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Association for Preservation Technology International, the British Society of Master Glass Painters, and the Boston Preservation Alliance.



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