Originalveröffentlichung in: Visual Culture in Britain 6 (2005), Nr. 2, S. 171-188 (Titel des Sonderheftes: Visual culture and taste in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain)

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The English Edition of Julius Meier-Graefe's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst*

All discussion upon England, to be honest, must proceed from the postulate that England has something that other nations have not.[1]

Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935) published *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst* in 1904.[2] He had had difficulties in finding a publisher. The Insel-Verlag, after thinking the manuscript over for a long time, declined to enter an agreement. In the end Julius Hoffmann in Stuttgart took over the enterprise (see Figure 1). The *Entwicklungsgeschichte* became a success, and triggered a line of other studies on modern artists by Meier-Graefe which often went into several editions: *Corot und Courbet* (1905), *Der junge Menzel* ('The Young Menzel', 1906), *William Hogarth* and *Impressionisten* (both 1907), and *Die großen Engländer* ('The Great Englishmen', 1908; see Figure 2).[3] In 1905 Meier-Graefe had already been to meet Florence Simmonds who, with George William Chrystal, was to translate what was eventually published by William Heinemann in two volumes in 1908 as *Modern Art: Being a Contribution to a New System of Æsthetics* (see Figure 3).[4] Meier-Graefe would also have liked to publish a French edition, but this never materialized.[5]

The work had a certain but not well documented impact in England. P. G. Konody's review remarked that Meier-Graefe's 'knowledge of modern British art seems to be derived from a casual visit to the New English Art Club and one or two "advanced" artists' studios, and lacks all solid foundation.'[6] A more positive review was published by the *Athenaeum*, its author tentatively identified as Roger Fry by Jacqueline Falkenheim.[7] Here, Meier-Graefe is praised as a voice among echoes, with 'judgments often refreshingly at variance with those currently accepted'.[8] Meier-Graefe's influence on Roger Fry and the first Post-Impressionist exhibition of 1910 was commented upon as early as 1912 by D. S. MacColl, who thought that Fry 'affirmed a faith [in Cézanne] already orthodox in Germany, where the enthusiastic Meier-Graefe leads the song.'[9] Fry inscribed the copy of *Vision and Design* he presented to Meier-Graefe 'hommage à J.M.-G.'[10] and in the 1920s Walter Sickert confessed that Meier-Graefe was 'probably the most important and influential critic in Europe'.[11] This of course did not inhibit him from making some acid remarks about him. Frank Rutter's *Evolution in Modern Art* (1926), repeated Meier-Graefe's original German title and listed its English edition in the bibliography.[12] Rutter's table of contents shows striking parallels to Meier-Graefe's: 'Tradition and Reaction', 'The Pillars of Post-Impressionism' and 'The Triumph of Design' are headings which all have their counterparts in the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*.[13] When John Holroyd Reece, translator of Meier-

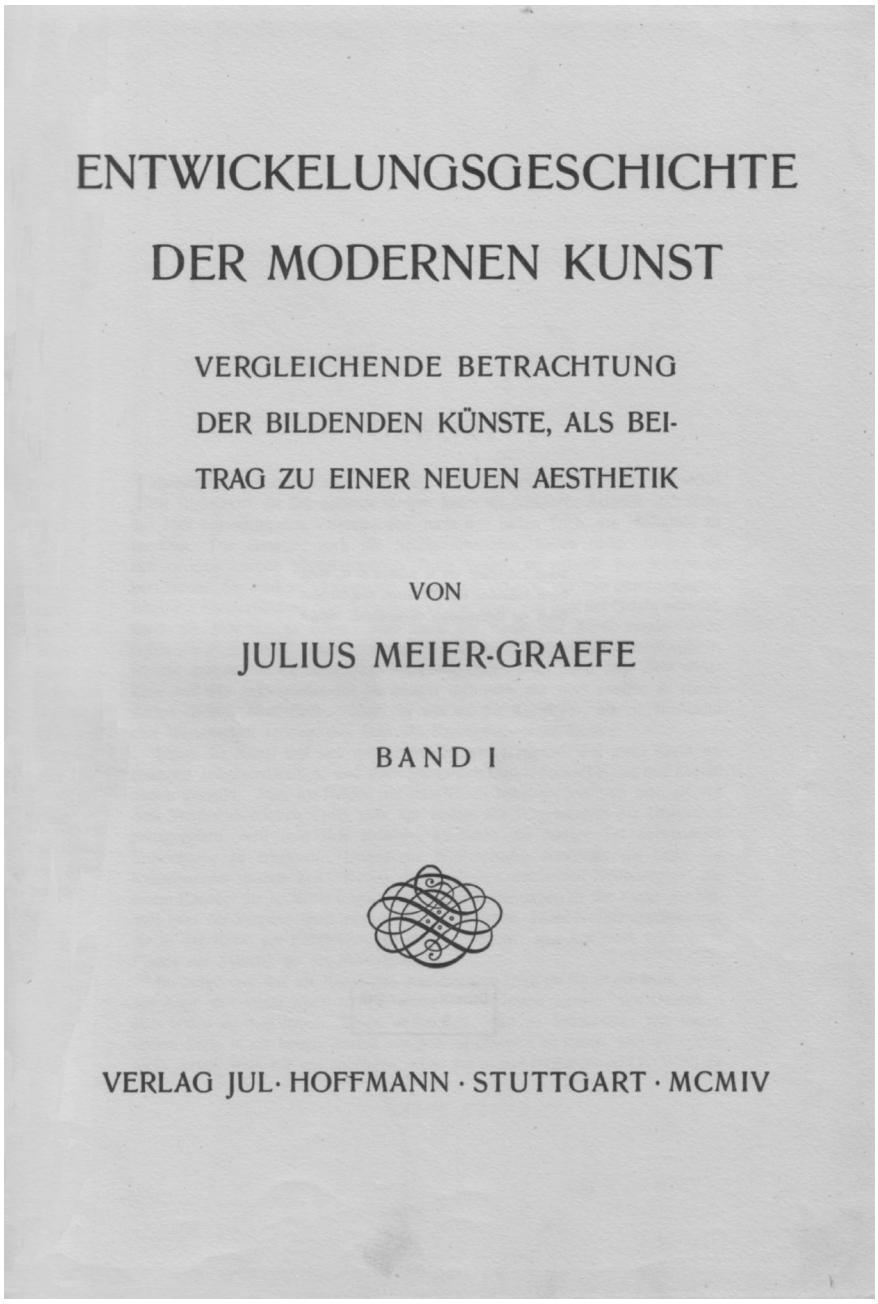

Figure 1. Title page of Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst*, 1904.

Graefe's books in the 1920s, remembered in a Festschrift for Meier-Graefe that nobody in England had read *Modern Art*, we should therefore take this statement with a pinch of salt.[14]

This essay will consider some aspects of the text itself, its translation and content, then discuss some of the categories that Meier-Graefe was operating with, and will conclude with an outline of the position of art and design in Victorian England in Meier-Graefe's 'system', and his own place in English art criticism.

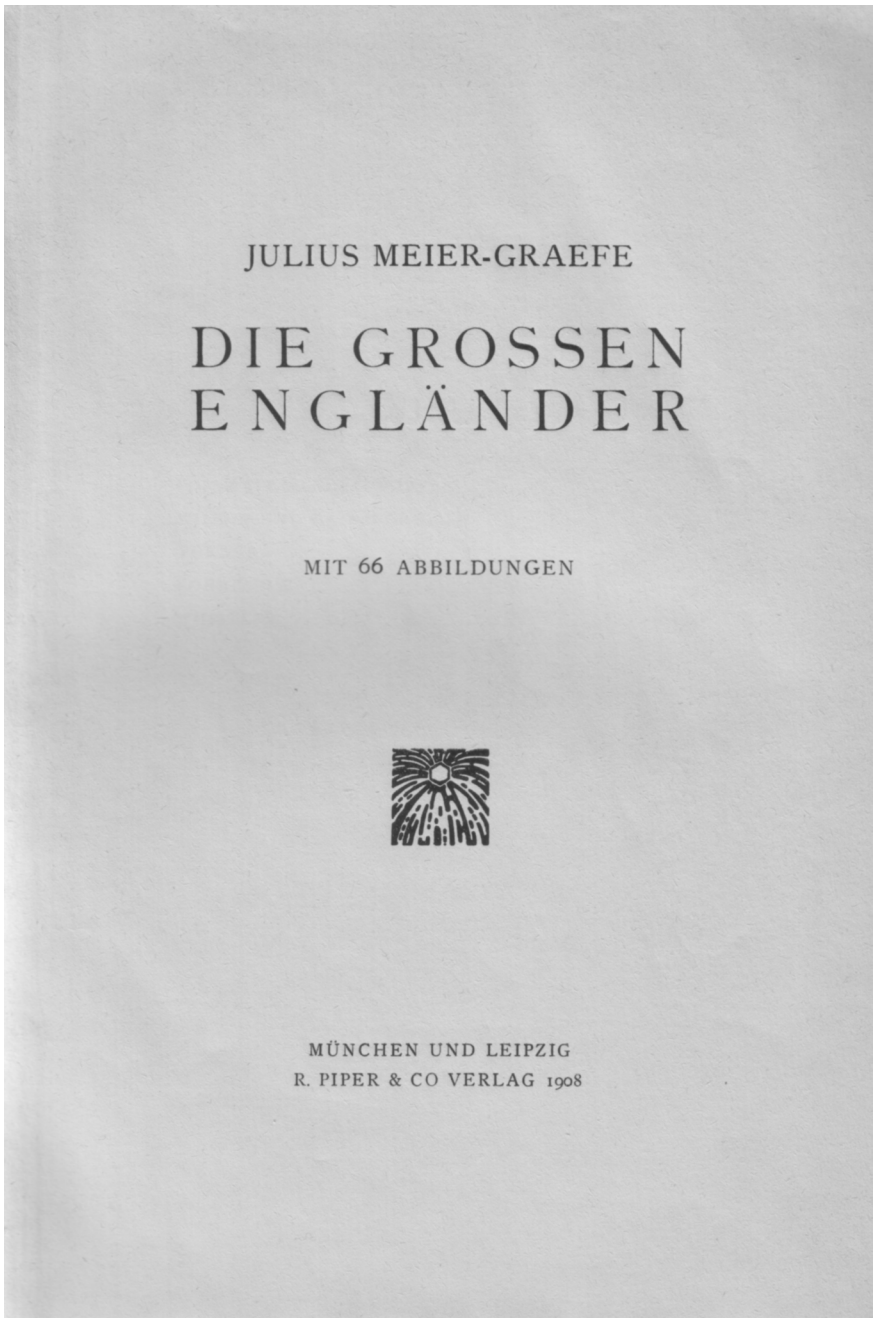

Figure 2. Title page of Julius Meier-Graefe, *Die großen Engländer*, 1908.

Textual differences between the English and German editions

A comparison reveals many remarkable textual differences between the English and German editions, which, however, cannot be proven to be by Meier-Graefe's own hand. The English edition was, in a way, more complete than the German one, incorporating many of the separate studies Meier-Graefe had written since 1904. Chapters on Corot, Courbet, and Menzel were

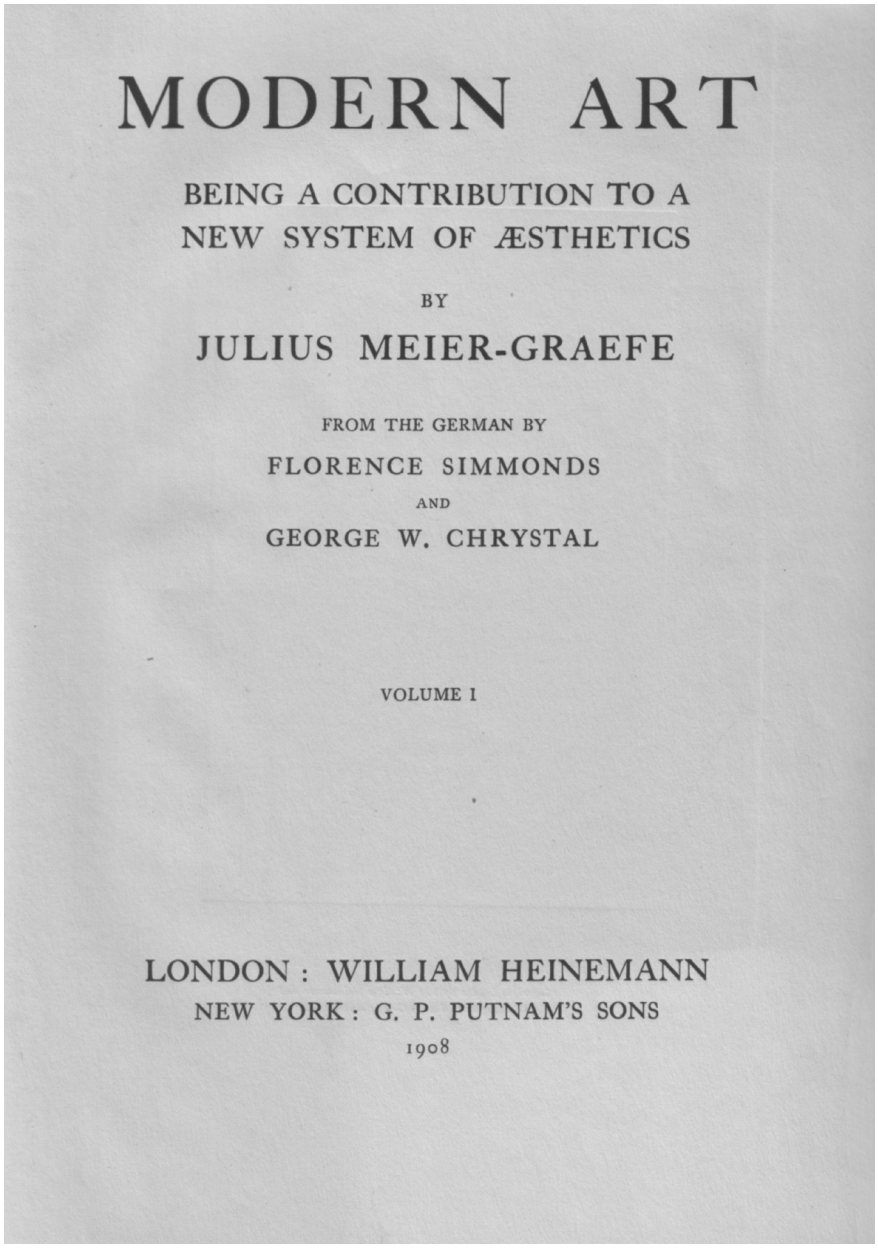

Figure 3. Title page of Julius Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, 1908.

consequently added and *Modern Art* thus acted as a kind of 'collected works in progress'. In many instances, where Meier-Graefe expressed his criticisms and judgements most frankly, those passages are omitted from the English edition. On the whole they are not quite as polite as he repeatedly accuses English art of being. The reason behind these discrepancies, however, is not as clear as it might first appear. Unquestionably Meier-Graefe was experienced in modifying manuscripts for different readerships and countries. In 1897 he had founded and was editor of a German art magazine, *Dekorative Kunst*. A year later this magazine was also published in France as *L'Art Décoratif*, and Meier-Graefe took the opportunity to rework his articles.[15] It seems reasonable

to suppose that he followed this practice when preparing the English edition of his *Entwicklungsgeschichte*.

It is also possible that one of the translators, Chrystal, was the source of these modifications in *Modern Art*. The most substantial textual changes are observable in those sections which were taken from *Die großen Engländer*. The passages originating from the original 1904 edition of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* seem to be complete except for slight alterations of Meier-Graefe's often untranslatable German or omissions of specifically German topics. Even passages displaying severe criticisms of English art are included. Thereafter, Simmonds was busy with other projects, so she may have been unavailable when the recently completed German text of *Die großen Engländer* needed to be translated for inclusion in the English edition of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. Between 1906 and 1910, Heinemann published four other books translated by Simmonds from the French, whereas George Chrystal appears to have translated only one work for publication in 1906.[16] It can thus be assumed that Chrystal translated the later additions to *Modern Art*, which did not appear in German until 1908. It is mainly here that the numerous omissions of 'unkind' passages occur. This does not necessarily mean that Chrystal was also responsible for them. Meier-Graefe possibly gave him instructions on what to omit. However, not known for compliance, Meier-Graefe stuck to his beliefs.[17] This suggests Chrystal was responsible for the modifications, but lack of evidence forbids us from drawing conclusions on any intentionality behind the textual changes in the English edition, although they are of course interesting in themselves.[18]

English Art, the 'Struggle for Painting' and the 'Struggle for Style'

Two large sections of *Modern Art* are concerned with English art, 'The Struggle for Painting' in Book I and 'The Struggle for Style' in Book V. In the German edition, English art was conspicuous by its absence from 'the Struggle for Painting', in sharp contrast to Richard Muther's *History of Modern Painting* (1893), which stated that modern art had originated in England with Hogarth.[19] Following the revised English edition of Muther (1907), Meier-Graefe now included his recent book on Hogarth and most chapters from *The Great Englishmen* as a major chapter titled 'England's Contribution' to modern art, set between chapters on Ingres and Delacroix.[20] Writing on 'the Portrait Manufacturers', Meier-Graefe formulated one of his fundamental criticisms of English art, here aimed at Reynolds and his successors: that their art revealed only a power of selection, not of creation. He followed Muther in the contention that English paintings were too polite, too charming.[21] But where Muther only stated the facts, Meier-Graefe pointed to the emotional inadequacy of English art. While pleasing pictures fit as a comfortable suit and thus can be taken on and off at will, 'great' works of art after the struggle become part of our human existence, grow onto us as a new organ, extending our views and visions, our experience and our life.[22]

Meier-Graefe's views on Turner fit into this pattern. He remarked that Turner was 'incomparably freer' than Gainsborough and that the larger part

of Turner's fame is based on this freedom. However, freedom alone 'remains an empty conception' if we do not see any resistance overcome in the paintings.[23] Almost sensational was Meier-Graefe's opinion that, while Turner's work displayed fragmentary evidence of a new art, it nevertheless did not support

> the monstruous assertion that [he] had a decisive influence on the nineteenth century, and was even the pioneer of modern painting. … The assertion of various art historians that the Impressionists are the descendants of Turner is an outcome of that conception which sees form in Turner, does not remark its formlessness, and takes Impressionism for a colour-strategy, instead of recognising its colours as variable constituents in a new system of beauty.[24]

This statement contrasts sharply with the opinions of contemporary English art critics. P. G. Hamerton had, in 1891, remarked that Impressionism in England 'need not be considered a novelty', as Turner and Constable were considered its precursors.[25] Wynford Dewhurst in his *Impressionist Painting* (1904) spoke of the French followers of Constable and Turner.[26] Kate Flint has observed that this outline of an English tradition of Impressionism was also supported by R. A. M. Stevenson and D. S. MacColl.[27] Meier-Graefe's main competitor in Germany, Richard Muther, had also written of Turner's intellectual individuality and of his Impressionist pictures *avant la lettre*.[28] But there were more critical English voices, too. Meier-Graefe extensively quoted Walter Armstrong's book on Turner in which Armstrong noted Turner's superficial effects, his lack of emotion and creative power, his imitative and reproductive art and his failure to achieve an organic whole.[29] In Meier-Graefe's *Modern Art*, Turner emerges as a 'pseudo-modern'.[30]

Meier-Graefe's estimate of Constable was more in accordance with prevailing English viewpoints. Constable had become popular again since the mid-1880s and was regarded as a precursor of Impressionism equally as important as Turner.[31] In his long chapter on Constable, Meier-Graefe demonstrated his skills in formal analysis, comparing Constable's works to Rembrandt, Rubens and the Dutch masters. He described the colours, composition, and facture of many paintings and sketches in great detail. The passage also proves that he only ventured into this 'modernist' mode of art criticism when he was satisfied with the artist's personality. As to Constable's influence, Meier-Graefe did not see any substantial sign of it in England, while he remarked on the speed with which the continent took possession of the English master, in particular Delacroix and the Barbizon painters.[32] Meier-Graefe's *Modern Art* then, almost consequentially, continues with a chapter on Delacroix.

The second larger passage on English art is found in 'Book V: The Struggle for Style'. The contents of these chapters were for the most part taken from the German edition almost without any changes except for the sub-chapter on Whistler, which was taken from *Die großen Engländer*. In Muther's *History of Modern Painting*, Victorian art was described under the heading of 'The New Idealism in England'.[33] 'New Idealism' was Muther's term for Symbolist tendencies, something Meier-Graefe was fervently arguing against in favour

of formal qualities in a work of art. He began his account with William Blake, whose 'illustrations are like the obscene hallucinations of a fever-stricken dwarf obsessed by the figures of Michelangelo. They are formless things.' Although the Pre-Raphaelites had been determined to destroy the false painting of the Academy and its banalities, 'painting itself was thrown overboard in the effort' – because they ignored Constable. Meier-Graefe did not see the Realism of Millais, Holman Hunt and Madox Brown as a counterpart to Courbet's, because their paintings lacked a sense of space and harmony – they were only an uncoordinated mass of details. The allusions to history were a mere masquerade, and Pre-Raphaelite symbolism was too weak, the whole movement being a 'wild aberration', a vulgar 'system of plagiarising and then persuading one's self that one has been following a profound spiritual impulse', this being even more ridiculous than the Victorian attempts to reproduce the Greek spirit in London. To Meier-Graefe, the only painter able to use the forms of the Florentine artists, and not simply their ideas, was Burne-Jones. However his method remained 'mere handicraft' and he 'seldom [rose] above the art of the typographer.' Pre-Raphaelitism was without inward tension or struggle for expression and was only 'an effort to escape flaccidity and death'.[34]

In the subsequent chapter on Whistler, Meier-Graefe presented not only 'Whistler the Englishman', but also 'the Frenchman', 'the Japanese' and 'the Spaniard', concluding that he was an American after all. Whistler was presented as a mirror of influences, with a passivity which Meier-Graefe considered to be typically English: 'Everything that happened in Europe towards the middle of the nineteenth century had its echo in him.' Whistler's efforts to further develop the Pre-Raphaelite tradition led to a dead end.[35]

The chapter on Whistler was followed by a section on 'Young England', with Meier-Graefe observing that the deficiencies in sculpture were still severe in England. 'There is no plastic art in England. The nineteenth century produced but one solitary sculptor, Alfred Stevens, and he has left almost nothing behind him.'[36] According to Meier-Graefe, this had effects on the art scene as a whole (with Whistler as evidence). He argued that great art is produced in periods when the different arts flourish simultaneously. Sculpture, architecture and painting then find themselves in a state of cross-fertilization. The lack thereof does not necessarily mean that no great art is produced, but without the concurrent growth of sister-arts, the one and only blooming branch often dies out. Meier-Graefe mentioned the art of Rembrandt's time as an example for a period without sculpture. For similar reasons, painting was weak in England. Meier-Graefe singled out Legros as an influential figure for contemporary English art, since he was the teacher of many 'young Englishmen' – but only of drawing. English painting, as seen at the New English Art Club, was a strange mixture of French Impressionism, the Pre-Raphaelites and Whistler, in short, 'of every imaginable kind of painting', which is 'neither good nor bad, it is simply nothing'. Meier-Graefe continued: 'If there could be a kind of painting which was culture and yet was not art, we should have it here.' He explained this tragedy by the fact that the young generation had grown up under the eye of Burne-Jones and his friends,

again blaming the Pre-Raphaelites for their long-lasting influence. Meier-Graefe then took up a point he had already accused Whistler of, namely that he was a collector, not an artist. He extrapolated this into a view of English culture at large: 'London has the best museums in the world and the private collections are unique.' But this was part of the problem, as England's painters knew too much of other arts of the world and, although displaying an impeccable taste, they could not paint. MacColl served as an example: his wide knowledge of the Old Masters and art made his written works superior to his pictures. William Rothenstein's pictures were empty, but he was acquainted with every European art movement. Ricketts failed as a colourist, Shannon was becoming academic to no better purpose than Leighton. Augustus John drew gypsy heads well – and that was it.[37] English art, in Meier-Graefe's eyes, had seemingly learned the lesson of Oscar Wilde, who had exchanged the roles of critic and artist, stating that modern critics were far more cultured than modern artists.[38] But finally Meier-Graefe found something positive: 'English manufactures have compensated for the decay of English art. … The story of it, indeed, one of the most delightful chapters in the history of modern art.'[39]

He credited William Morris with having brought together manufacture and art in England. Morris was going back to the English Gothic, which Meier-Graefe considered an authentic and strong English style, capable of carrying and grounding a spirit.[40] Morris' only shortcoming, in Meier-Graefe's view, was that he worked in collaboration with friends in his firm. Therefore he was no genius. Nevertheless he was a great artist.[41] Beardsley, in contrast, was a genius, because he was an artist who could give insights into his own age and culture: 'His genius consisted in the fact that he was able to give objectivity and therefore style to the whole practice of this period of English art.' It suited Meier-Graefe's 'evolutionary preferences' that 'Beardsley was the first Englishman who turned whole-heartedly to France … It was not Japan, but France that determined his style.' Meier-Graefe regarded him as the artist who, in spite of being 'Baroque, Empire, Pre-Raphaelite or Japanese', always remained Beardsley.[42] Thus Beardsley accomplished what Whistler and the Pre-Raphaelites had not: 'The Pre-Raphaelites attempted to draw human beings and produced marionettes; Beardsley in his extravaganzas intended to draw marionettes, but he turned them into human beings.'[43]

So much for the contents of Meier-Graefe's book. To him, the English contribution to modern painting mainly consisted in Constable's effect on French painting, while Turner was a dead end – like English painting as a whole. In contrast, the English arts and crafts had many of the qualities Meier-Graefe expected good art to possess. Furthermore, the decorative arts played an important role in his genealogy of modern art.

Meier-Graefe and decorative arts

Meier-Graefe's predilection for the decorative arts was founded on his activities as dealer and art critic, and in the last decade of the nineteenth century he was deeply involved in their promotion.[44] This is worth pointing

out insofar as it contributed to his analytical method and served to categorize British art within the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. His bibliography notes a long list of articles on the subject.[45] At the same time he was working as artistic manager of Samuel Bing's Salon de l'Art Nouveau in Paris. As a promoter of 'design reform', he profited from combining these two professions: Meier-Graefe could organize an exhibition at Bing's Salon and then write about it in the magazines he edited.[46] He also frequently refers to Bing's exhibitions in the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. In 1899, after Bing had come under attack for promoting too much 'English' design and begun to adjust his stock to appeal to French taste, Meier-Graefe opened his own gallery in Paris, La Maison Moderne.[47]

Meier-Graefe concentrated on the visual effects of Art Nouveau and objets d'art and the question of how to reshape the bourgeois home into a 'modern house'. Form and colour were key qualities for him. Both should be clearly recognizable, in an interior stripped of any bric-à-brac and clutter. His visual standards originated from 'a good new chair, useful crockery, a sensible modern architecture, a tasteful wallpaper'.[48] The beauty of these objects necessarily had to be considered apart from any narratives which traditionally had formed the main categories of art criticism; for example, an objet d'art by Van de Velde did not tell a story or provoke a sentimental dream: its beauty was based on a superior practical value.[49] It was a different kind of beauty from the 'New Idealism' promoted by Richard Muther and many other art critics in Germany and France, which consisted of evoking worlds of emotionally laden poetic symbolism. Around 1890, the feeling grew stronger in the continental art communities that Naturalism and Impressionism were perhaps a little too positivist. The internal, emotive qualities of nature were to be emphasized. Meier-Graefe shared this desire for emotional content, but he found other answers in Paris which were not to be discovered in poetic dreams but in a universal style of art encompassing arts and crafts, objets d'art, books and interior design. The 'weariness of the perpetual coin de la nature' led to the discovery of new forms. Meier-Graefe described the roles of Realism and Naturalism as art of the 'external milieu' and Symbolism as art of the 'internal milieu'. In modern decorative art, the internal milieu offered stylization, not poetry, while the external milieu offered colour.[50]

His preoccupation with the decorative arts pushed Meier-Graefe into developing his methods of writing about art. It was art suited to formalist description that he considered to be modern, in other words better – and the best of it, according to him, was shown at Bing's Salon in Paris.[51] As the new *Gesamtkunstwerk* was to be created in the modern home, Bing's gallery was the best example of how to create a harmonious domestic design.[52] The typography of a Morris book served as another example. In 1896 Meier-Graefe also referred to work by Shannon and Ricketts as examples of modern typography, conveniently announcing their presence in the 'Exposition Internationale du Livre Moderne' at Bing's Salon.[53] Clearly, even while writing the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, he was still absorbed by his gallery and editorial responsibilities, and this ambivalence is discernable in the book.[54] In any case, his taste for decorative art caused him to look at England. Whereas

authors such as Muther focused on painting, Meier-Graefe included the 'Kunstgewerbe' as a branch of its own in his evolution of modern art, giving the decorative arts in England an important position.

Evolution and the individual genius, style and commerce

Meier-Graefe's synthetic vision of decorative and 'high' arts was one important factor in his assigning England a place within *Modern Art*; another was the genealogical pattern he applied. This defined the position of British art within a complex development, describing it in relation to other nations and its artists in relation to other artists. The book's original German title reads, literally translated, 'The Evolutionary History of Art' or just 'The Evolution of Modern Art'. Also Meier-Graefe's 'comparative method'[55] is a symptom of the strong – if not ubiquitous – evolutionist undercurrent in late nineteenth-century mentality.[56] In spite of J. A. Symonds' assumption that evolutionism was 'a comprehensive scheme of thought', evolutionist ideas did not form a coherent philosophy.[57] They often depended for their respective focus on Taine, Darwin, or Spencer and they were indeed 'capable of manifold application'.[58] One of these applications was predicted in 1891 by Carus Sterne who thought that evolution would be a key concept for future art history.[59] This future was close indeed: Meier-Graefe's contact with evolutionist ideas is likely to have occurred in the bohemian circle meeting at the *Zum schwarzen Ferkel* pub in Berlin in the early 1890s, a circle that included August Strindberg and Edvard Munch.[60] (see colour plate 5)

Formulating artistic identities through an invented genealogy of genius became the central component of Meier-Graefe's approach.[61] While he also took up some of the racial assumptions of evolutionist ideas, he constantly 'switched races' as author of the French and German editions of his magazine.[62] He mainly distinguished between the evolution of basic ideas and their mere imitation.[63] Although his study of this genealogy was largely based on formal characteristics of the works of art discussed, Catherine Krahmer convincingly opposes a view of Meier-Graefe as exclusively championing French Impressionism and its pictorial qualities.[64] Instead, he generally used both humanity (embodied in an ingenious artist) and a formal understanding of art as categories to assess art. He always measured artistic achievements against the example of 'great' and 'human' artists in order to determine progress.

Unavoidably, individual greatness and genealogical formal currents were difficult to reconcile, and this, however, was Meier-Graefe's urgent desire.[65] The system of modern art announced in the subtitle of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* therefore has its inevitable ruptures and contradictions. To Meier-Graefe, the formal quality of a painting alone was not sufficient to make it a great work of art, because 'art is humanity on a higher plane'.[66] It must therefore also communicate human qualities. The greatness of a work of art is necessarily connected to the greatness of the artist's mind and soul, and as Leopold Ettlinger notes, Meier-Graefe stands in a tradition of art moralists such as Schiller and Ruskin.[67] The concepts of form and genius, different as

they are, are brought together in what Meier-Graefe calls 'style' and offers as an art-historical category. To form a style requires many 'great', 'human' artist-geniuses producing formally brilliant works of art not apart from, but part of, life. This ideal is responsible for much of the confusion related to any reading of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* but also for its extraordinary vitality. Since style is the ideal of an art that transgresses the aesthetic borderline into life, it requires the effort of great artists to make the world a better place.[68] To Meier-Graefe, most of the artists valued for their symbolist qualities, like Whistler and the Pre-Raphaelites, did not meet these expectations. When Muther observed the advance of decorative art by stating, 'Truth is no longer the end and aim of art, but fitness, harmony of form and colour values', the developmental principle was very clear.[69] To Meier-Graefe, form and truth did not exclude each other; form followed truth. For him 'great' artists were factors in the progressive development of modern art, whereas those not matching his criteria were dismissed from the genealogy. This double focus partly also explains why, to one scholar, Meier-Graefe presents the development of modern art as a steady evolution,[70] while another observes that the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* is rather a series of essays on individual artists.[71] Both observations are true but refer to different parts of Meier-Graefe's system. It was he who decided how and in which parts the evolutionary tree of modern art grew, branched out or was in a state of imminent decay.

This gives not only a taste of personal Spencerism: the survival of the fittest, present in *Modern Art* in headings describing 'struggles' of all sorts, is also an attribute of the free market. Georg Simmel remarked in his *Philosophy of Money* that competition in the market is a culturally refined version of the struggle for life.[72] Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu has defined competition as the essential characteristic of the artistic field. Competition is the factor balancing supply and demand, and dealers and critics are essential figures in this process.[73] Meier-Graefe was both. Indeed, his personal business experience influenced a change in his aesthetic preferences when he had to shut down La Maison Moderne in 1903. The enterprise, its production mode similar to the Freie Werkstätten, and the objects presented were perceived as too foreign by the French public and important critics. The end of the gallery was not only a serious financial collapse, as Meier-Graefe had invested the larger part of his inheritance in the enterprise, but meant farewell to his utopia of a life-encompassing style built on the foundations of decorative art.[74] Although he never gave up hope of a universal style, his interest now shifted more and more towards French painting. In the meantime, his own struggle for style and design, reflected in his articles and exhibitions of the 1890s, became part of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*.

Meier-Graefe's views on England: design as modern art

With these disparate categories – style, genius, form – in mind, we can turn back to Meier-Graefe's description of Victorian art. He did so himself, explaining his move in *Modern Art* as follows:

> The theory which the author has so constantly combated that art and manufacture are separate things, finds an apparent confirmation in the history of the English movement … It is a theory which we must at any rate accept for the moment. Though we entirely endorse the æsthetic principle of the unity of all art, none the less must we recognize the fact that this necessary unity was by no means apparent at an earlier date … Yet we are confronted by the phenomenon that the very people [i.e. the English] whose pictures were but weak and wandering phrase-making, whose sculpture was utterly formless, whose literature lived upon archaism, none the less dwelt without complaint in houses which we must allow to be sensible constructions in accordance with the needs of their age.[75]

At a moment when, for commercial reasons, he turned away from the decorative arts but nevertheless continued to use the criteria he had distilled from his engagement with them, Meier-Graefe's assessment of English art almost inevitably became the tale of a deep gap between art and manufactures. Recapitulating his opinion of Turner and putting it into the context of style, form and genius, his confession that, to his mind, 'Turner never had what may legitimately be called style',[76] becomes more comprehensible. Where English art lacked the genius to create style and form, this was achieved by modern designers: 'The genius of English art at the present day seems rather a collecting and distributing influence than a true creative power … Its greatest performance within the last twenty-five years has been the creation of a well-printed book, a new empire, within which Beardsley moved with the dignity of a prince.'[77]

What art in England did not achieve, design did, namely it succeeded in becoming part of life: 'What is irresistible in Morris is the tangible character of his productions, the fact that his comprehensive culture took a visible form and became reality, made by a sound mind for the comfort of other sound minds … His was a purely English culture.'[78] As Meier-Graefe considered painting to be the primary art form in France, in England book decoration was the source of all art and the book was the medium in which the most important artistic developments took place. Morris played the role of an English father of modern art.[79] Meier-Graefe unambiguously drew a parallel between Morris and the Impressionists:

> What Morris did was in reality exactly what the best art of our time attempted in its own way; he clarified and purified material and also the sense of material. The frame of mind which acknowledges an obligation to Manet, which praises Monet and his school, may admire Morris without any change of front … Morris … fulfilled the boldest demands of painting with greater certainty and success than the industry of any other country.[80]

Morris achieved what no painter could have, because his products – tapestries, wallpapers, books – were 'livable' in another sense, suited to the domestic *Gesamtkunstwerk* Meier-Graefe had in mind until he closed La Maison Moderne. Morris offered a vital link between an increasingly esoteric art production and 'life'.[81] The result for Meier-Graefe's history of art is paradox: England's contribution to modern painting was its design. What he did not see – or did not want to see – was the Aestheticist contribution to this

development, and for this reason Whistler and the Pre-Raphaelites were left outside.

Modern Art and English art criticism: Stevenson, MacColl, Fry

Some concluding remarks might be appropriate on how Meier-Graefe's opinions concurred with certain contemporary British art critics' views. For example, his opinion of the Pre-Raphaelites would not have shocked English readers, as the Pre-Raphaelite revival had come to an end by 1908, witnessed by the falling prices in the auction rooms. Reitlinger explains this by noting the strong insistence on painterly qualities in the 1900s, which was one of Meier-Graefe's main concerns.[82] The *Athenaeum* admitted that the 'severe chapter on Turner, if open to reservations, contains a solid kernel of truth.'[83] And last but not least, Meier-Graefe's book came to England at a time when Impressionism and Post-Impressionism belatedly, almost simultaneously and certainly vehemently, entered upon the English art scene between 1905 (the year of Durand Ruel's large Impressionist exhibition in London) and 1912 (the year of Fry's Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition), allowing a coherent view of both to emerge. This shift had been prepared by critics such as R. A. M. Stevenson and D. S. MacColl since the 1890s: both had introduced a critical interest in the formal qualities of painting.[84]

Although Stevenson regarded the individual genius as more important than evolutionary ideas, his *Velazquez* (1895) had one effect in common with art-historical genealogies: the reconnection of the bourgeoisie to an estranged avant-garde art.[85] He presented Velazquez as a precursor of 'recent schools of painting' who 'scarcely ever forgot that a picture must be a dignified piece of decoration.'[86] He demanded 'human feeling and intellect put into the work' and dismissed as nonsensical the 'modern idealist' who was not interested in the visible but in the spiritual. Stevenson, like Meier-Graefe, assigned 'unity' vital importance as an aesthetic criterion. To him, Impressionism meant most of all the unity of visual perception in a painting. He complained that English teaching and art had hitherto operated contrary to this goal.[87] Like Meier-Graefe, he dismissed Pre-Raphaelite truth to nature as lost in scientific detail.[88] The German critic seems to have met Stevenson first in 1904, the publishing year of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, through von Bodenhausen's translation of *Velazquez*. He must have felt at home in Stevenson's book, which he praised in a short but enthusiastic review in *Die Zukunft*: 'There is no book on art today that could become more beneficial to the Germans. … In it [are] only logical perceptions of the essential, the pictorial. If such views became the fashion in Germany, we would certainly advance.'[89]

A specifically German perspective on modern art was noticed by MacColl in 1912. He associated Germany with Art Nouveau, remarking that the Germans had 'town-planned out of the back-pages of *The Studio*' and furthermore added an -ism to 'each extravagance of Montmartre'.[90] This was almost directly aimed at Meier-Graefe, who had indeed partly modelled his magazines on decorative art on *The Studio*, launched in 1893, and who had written the comprehensive *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. Then again, Meier-Graefe's

opinion of MacColl as a writer was higher than as a painter; he particularly appreciated his *Nineteenth Century Art* (1902).[91] More compact than the *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, its final chapter dealt with Impressionism, the 'special art of the nineteenth century'. Like his mentor Stevenson, MacColl could rely on his own practical experience as a painter, and his approach was based on visual perception and the function of the human eye.[92] Although MacColl was not an outspoken 'evolutionist', he pointed out the traditions behind modern art, for example the importance of seventeenth-century Dutch painting for French painting in the 1860s.[93]

But Meier-Graefe's and MacColl's opinions were often at odds with each other. Like the German, MacColl was aware of the conflict between decorative and naturalistic claims in art. He saw Symbolism's decorative potential but, in contrast to Meier-Graefe, did not deny the modernity of art based on imagination.[94] For example, Blake was not a creator of formless things but one of the visionary 'titans' of the nineteenth century, and MacColl even looked with a certain sympathy at English 'Philistine' art, using the word 'in a positive … sense'.[95] In 1912 the main bone of contention, however, was Cézanne, whom MacColl grouped with 'the Impressionism of Turner and of Monet' – precisely the two painters whose perceived amorphous superficiality had particularly annoyed Meier-Graefe.[96]

Whereas one could speak of 'Wahlverwandtschaften' with regard to Meier-Graefe and Stevenson, and a mere contemporaneousness in his relation to MacColl, Meier-Graefe's influence on Roger Fry was of another quality. The relationship between their critical positions, though, is a complex topic beyond the scope of this essay. To cite but a few aspects, Fry proposed that the unities of texture and design led to 'the final unity-emotion of a work of art', an idea which he might have taken from Meier-Graefe.[97] The most important resonance was probably both writers' common appreciation of Cézanne, which had an immediate impact on the First Post-Impressionist Exhibition in 1910. But while Meier-Graefe's views on modern French painting influenced English art criticism (and ultimately art history) via Roger Fry, his assessment of English design within the evolution of modern art was exceptional if not unique. MacColl regarded Morris as an artficial and extravagant pecularity apart from the 'lines' of modern art.[98] Here, another perspective on Meier-Graefe and Fry opens up. Like his colleague, Fry believed that the English decorative arts were not living up to the ideal Morris had so successfully renewed.[99] In a way the confidence Meier-Graefe had put into English design, Fry put into the Omega Workshop.

With regard to a 'visual culture', which Meier-Graefe so ardently wanted to cultivate in the 1890s, he hoped 'to show that certain things belong not to culture, but to life, that these things are necessary to express intellectual needs … Culture is the due completion of our consciousness with everything necessary to the comprehension and furtherance of the claims of the present.'[100] To Meier-Graefe, the main claim of the present was a universal style expressed in forms by a genius. While his opinions on the Post-Impressionists became part of the art-critical discourse in England, the link he established between modern form and the English decorative arts has

remained generally unacknowledged. In late-Victorian and Edwardian England, the equation of a modern style could only be solved in the field of design: 'Thus England, to whom Hogarth, Gainsborough, and Constable have proved useless, is at last creating out of utilitarian objects the fantastic chimæra of a new form of beauty.'[101]

Notes

1 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art: Being a Contribution to a New System of Æsthetics*, London: W. Heinemann, 1908 (2 vols), vol. 2, p.243 (= Julius Meier-Graefe, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst: Ein Beitrag zur modernen Ästhetik*, 1st publ. Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1904 (3 vols), vol.2, p.591).

2 Ibid.

3 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Corot und Courbet*, Leipzig: Insel, 1905; *Der junge Menzel: Ein Problem der Kunstökonomie Deutschlands*, Leipzig: Insel, 1906; *William Hogarth*, Munich and Leipzig: Piper, 1907; *Impressionisten*, Munich: Piper, 1907; *Die großen Engländer*, Munich: Piper, 1908.

4 On Simmonds' translation see Julius Meier-Graefe to Henry van der Velde, 14 April 1905, (Brussels, Fonds van der Velde), quoted in Catherine Krahmer, 'Meier-Graefes Weg zur Kunst', *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch zur europäischen Moderne*, vol.4, 1996, pp.169–226 (p.224): 'L'édition anglaise sera admirable, je viens de travailler quelques jours à Londres avec Florence Simmonds qui est un instrument phantastique.' After the publication of the English edition, Meier-Graefe continued to evolve his history of modern art in several studies on modern painters. In 1914 and 1915, the first two volumes of the second edition of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* were published by Piper. The edition had undergone an almost total revision and became still more influential than the first one had been. Its first two volumes were reprinted twice (in 1920 and 1922) even before the third volume was published in 1924 together with the third reprint.

5 See Krahmer, *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch*, pp.224–6.

6 P[aul] G[eorge] Konody, 'A German Thinker on Modern Art', *The Connoisseur*, vol.23, 1909, pp.119–21 (p.120).

7 Jacqueline V. Falkenheim, *Roger Fry and the Beginnings of Formalist Art Criticism*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980, p.116, n.12. However, the article is not listed in Donald A. Laing, *Roger Fry: An Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings*, New York and London: Garland, 1979.

8 'Fine Arts: Our Library Table', *Athenaeum*, vol.82, 13 February 1909, pp.204–05 (p.204).

9 D[ugald] S[utherland] MacColl, 'A Year of "Post-Impressionism"' [1912], in *Confessions of a Keeper*, London: A. Maclehose & Co., 1931, pp.202–28 (p.203). He also observed the influence of Maurice Denis on Fry (p.205). On Fry and Meier-Graefe see Benedict Nicholson, 'Post-Impressionism and Roger Fry', *Burlington Magazine*, vol.93, 1951, pp.11–15 (p.13), and Falkenheim, *Roger Fry*, pp.11, 18–20.

10 Kenworth Moffett, *Meier-Graefe as Art Critic*, Munich: Prestel, 1973, p.173, n.351.

11 Walter Sickert, 'Straws from Cumberland Market', *Southport Visiter* [sic], 24 January 1924, in Anna Gruetzner Robins, ed., *Walter Sickert: the Complete Writings on Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.470–80 (p.476).

12 Frank Rutter, *Evolution in Modern Art: A Study of Modern Painting 1870–1925*, London: G. G. Harrap, 1926.

13 See 'Traditions', 'Book II: The Pillars of Modern Painting', 'Book V: The Struggle for Style' in *Modern Art*. However, where Meier-Graefe had disapproved of Picasso, Matisse, Futurism and Cubism, Rutter was more positive.

14 John Holyrood Reece, 'Meier-Graefe in England', in *Julius Meier-Graefe: Widmungen zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstage*, Munich, Berlin and Vienna: Piper, 1927, pp.138–42 (p.138). His first translation was of Meier-Graefe's work *Vincent van Gogh: a Biographical Study* (London: Medici Society, 1922), followed by *Degas* (London: E. Benn, 1923), *The Spanish Journey* (London: J. Cape, 1926), *Cézanne* (London: E. Benn, 1927), and *Vincent: a Life of Vincent van Gogh* (London: M. Joseph, 1936).

15 See Krahmer, *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch*, pp.173–4. Meier-Graefe, for example, presented the starting of his gallery La Maison Moderne in the German magazine as an anarchistic move to the French, while in the French edition speaking of an important progress for French decorative art. On both magazines and Meier-Graefe's various positions see Catherine Krahmer, 'Meier-Graefe et les arts décoratifs: un rédacteur à deux têtes', in Alexandre Kostka and Françoise Lucbert, eds, *Distanz und Aneignung: Relations artistiques entre la France et l'Allemagne 1870–1945*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2004, pp.231–54 (pp.234–41).

16 Simmonds translated Salomon Reinach, *Apollo: A General History of the Plastic Arts* (1906), Gaston Migeon, *In Japan: Pilgrimages to the Shrines of Art* (1908), Salomon Reinach: *Orpheus: a General History of*

Religions (1909), and Joseph Bédier, *The romance of Tristram and Iseult* (1910). Chrystal translated the *Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst* (London: W. Heinemann, 1906).

17 Indeed, the critic of the *Athenæum* noted that 'Herr Meier-Graefe has the courage of his convictions'; 'Fine Arts: Our Library Table', *Athenaeum*, vol.82, 13 February 1909, pp.204–05 (p.204).

18 Unfortunately, no author files remain at the archives of William Heinemann, now Random House Archive & Library, which could shed more light on the procedures. Personal communication by Jean Rose, M.C.I.L.I.P., Random House.

19 Muther's book had been originally published in Germany as *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert* (3 vols, Munich: Hirth, 1893), with its English translation appearing in 1896 as *The History of Modern Painting*, (3 vols, London: Henry, 1896), and an enlarged English edition of four volumes in 1907 in a 'revised edition continued by the author to the end of the XIX century' (London: J. M. Dent, 1907).

20 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, pp.45–143, comprising the sub-chapters 'Hogarth', 'The Portrait Manufacturers', 'Wilson and Gainsborough', 'Turner' and 'Constable'. The original German edition had also included a short retrospective chapter on Constable and Turner at the beginning of 'Book III: Colour and Composition in France', which now was not longer part of the book.

21 This view was not uncommon: Richard Muther had also pronounced it in his *History of Modern Painting*, vol.3, p.343 (= *Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*, vol.3, p.461).

22 Meier-Graefe, *Die großen Engländer*, p.5. He saw this necessary struggle in the landscapes of Gainsborough, where the personality of the artist was fighting against the element of rococo: 'That we can see the struggle is a merit in Gainsborough's landscapes;' Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.76 (= *Die großen Engländer*, p.24).

23 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.83 (= *Die großen Engländer*, pp.36–7).

24 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.92 (= *Die großen Engländer*, pp.48–50), with several omissions and modifications in the English text. Already in the German edition Meier-Graefe had only recognized a superficial relation between Turner and the Impressionists; *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.1, p.211.

25 P[hilip] G[ilbert] Hamerton, 'The Present State of the Fine Arts in France: Impressionism', *Portfolio*, vol.13, 1891, pp. 67–74, repr. in Kate Flint, ed., *Impressionists in England: the Critical Reception*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, pp. 91–101 (p.92).

26 Wynford Dewhurst, *Impressionist Painting*, London: G. Newnes, 1904, pp.3–5.

27 Kate Flint, 'Introduction', in *Impressionists in England*, pp.1–30 (p.25).

28 Muther, *History of Modern Painting*, vol.2, pp.269–70 (= *Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*, vol.3, pp.293–5).

29 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.94 (= *Die großen Engländer*, pp.52–3), quoting Walter Armstrong, *Turner*, London: T. Agnew, 1902.

30 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.97 (= *Die großen Engländer*, p.57).

31 Kenneth McConkey, *Memory and Desire*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, p.74.

32 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, pp.138–42 (= *Die großen Engländer*, pp.115–21).

33 See Muther, *History of Modern Painting*, vol.3, p.12 (= *Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*, vol.2, p.494).

34 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, pp.187–93, 228 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, pp.556–62, 571).

35 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, pp.224, 199 (= *Die großen Engländer*, pp.172, 128).

36 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.194 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.564).

37 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, pp.226–31 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, pp.569–75).

38 Oscar Wilde, 'The True Function and Value of Criticism; with some Remarks on the Importance of Doing Nothing: a Dialogue', *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, vol.28, 1890, pp.123–47, 435–59; revised and republished as 'The Critic as Artist' in *Intentions*, London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1891, pp.93–213.

39 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.235 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.581).

40 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, pp.235–7 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, pp.581–3).

41 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.246 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.594).

42 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, pp.253–5 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, pp.607, 611).

43 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.258 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.614). This passage contrasts with another one on Whistler, who is accused of painting dead puppets; see *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.201 (= *Die großen Engländer*, p.131).

44 Julius Meier-Graefe to Ernst von Wildenbruch, 27 March 1896, in Julius Meier-Graefe, *Kunst ist nicht für Kunstgeschichte da: Briefe und Dokumente*, ed. Catherine Krahmer, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001, no.20: 'Ich … arbeite namentlich jetzt in modernem Kunstgewerbe, für das ich schon immer ein großes Interesse gehabt habe.'

45 Compiled by Moffett, *Meier-Graefe*, pp.183–93.

46 Gabriel P. Weisberg, 'Lost and Found: S. Bing's Merchandising of Japonisme and Art Nouveau', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, Summer 2005 (http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org). Weisberg mentions as an example three articles for *Das Atelier* by Meier-Graefe (1896) where he described at length what he had seen at Bing's gallery.

47 On the enterprises of Bing and Meier-Graefe see Nancy J. Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991, pp.31–51.

48 From the prospectus announcing the magazine *Dekorative Kunst*, quoted in Krahmer, *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch*, p.175. See also Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts*, pp.29–31. According to Meier-Graefe, a good lamp should be available in a lamp store, not bought in an art gallery.

49 Meier-Graefe, *Das Atelier*, p.555; [Julius Meier-Graefe], 'Henry van de Velde', *Dekorative Kunst*, vol.3, 1899, pp.2–8 (p.5).

50 Julius Meier-Graefe, 'Dekorative Kunst', *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, vol.7, 1896, pp.543–60 (pp.543–4).

51 Ibid., p.554.

52 See Weisberg, 'Lost and Found'.

53 Meier-Graefe, 'Dekorative Kunst', p.546.

54 See Krahmer, *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch* p.179.

55 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.243. The parallel passage in *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, (vol.2, p.590), does not speak of a method but only of the use of comparison: 'Man glaubt sich auch hier, wie in der Geschichte der Kunst, des Vergleichs bedienen zu können.'

56 Donald Pizer, 'Evolutionary Ideas in Late Nineteenth-Century English and American Literary Criticism', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol.19, 1961, pp.305–10 (pp.308–09), quoting Hutcheson M. Posnett and William M. Payne. Posnett characterized the comparative method, the primary tool of the evolutionary critic, as the great glory of nineteenth-century thought. On the intellectual impact of evolutionary ideas see the essays in Eve-Marie Engels, ed., *Die Rezeption von Evolutionstheorien im 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995.

57 John Addington Symonds, *Essays: Speculative and Suggestive* [1890], 3rd edn, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1907, p.2.

58 Ibid., p.2.

59 Carus Sterne [Ernst Ludwig Krause], *Natur und Kunst: Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kunst*, Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1891, p.2. Two British examples of art history influenced by evolutionist ideas are Grant Allen, *Evolution in Italian Art* (London: Grant Richards, 1908) and Lord Balcarres, *The Evolution of Italian Sculpture* (London: J. Murray, 1909). For a comprehensive survey see Thomas Munro, *Evolution in the Arts and Other Theories of Culture History*, Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963.

60 At the centre of this circle was the Swedish playwright and painter August Strindberg, who was about to mix an idiosyncratic psycho-evolutionist cocktail of ideas from Friedrich Nietzsche, Herbert Spencer, and Ernst Haeckel. On the *Ferkel*-Bohemia see Moffett, *Meier-Graefe*, pp.9–10 and Fritz Paul, 'Die Bohème als kreatives Milieu: Strindberg und Munch im Berlin der neunziger Jahre', *Georgia Augusta*, vol.33, 1980, pp. 13-28. On Haeckel's influence on the German intellectual climate see Erika Krauße, 'Haeckel: Promorphologie und "evolutionistische" ästhetische Theorie: Konzept und Wirkung', in Engels ed., *Die Rezeption von Evolutionstheorien*, pp.347–72.

61 Patricia G. Berman, 'The Invention of History: Julius Meier-Graefe, German Modernism, and the Genealogy of Genius', in Françoise Forster-Hahn, ed., *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910*, London and Washington: National Gallery of Art and University Press of New England, 1996, pp.91–105.

62 See Krahmer 'Meier-Graefe et les arts décoratifs', pp.237–44.

63 Konody, 'A German Thinker on Modern Art', p.120. See for example Meier-Graefe's article 'Epigonen' in *Dekorative Kunst*, vol.4, 1899, pp.129–31.

64 Krahmer, *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch*, pp.187–90.

65 See Pizer, 'Evolutionary Ideas', pp.307–8 and Symonds, *Essays*, pp.30–1, on the conflict of individual genius and evolution. It was also discussed in the contemporary press; see *The Observer*, 5 February 1911, p.4, quoted in Falkenheim, *Roger Fry*, p.123, n.23.

66 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.80 (= *Die großen Engländer*, p.30: 'Kunst ist erhöhtes Menschentum.')

67 L[eopold] D. Ettlinger, 'Julius Meier-Graefe: An Embattled German Critic', *Burlington Magazine*, vol.117, 1975, pp.672–4 (p.674). Roger Fry in his review of Meier-Graefe's book on Cézanne ('In Praise of Cézanne', *Burlington Magazine*, vol.52, 1928, pp.98–9) compared the German to Thomas Carlyle.

68 Krahmer, *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch*, pp.169, 193.

69 Muther, *History of Modern Painting*, vol. 3, p.254.

70 Thomas Gaehtgens, 'Les rapports de l'histoire de l'art et de l'art contemporain en Allemagne à l'époque de Wölfflin et de Meier-Graefe', *Revue de l'Art*, vol.88, 1990, pp.31–8 (p.34).

71 Ettlinger, 'Julius Meier-Graefe', p.672.

72 Georg Simmel, *Philosophie des Geldes*, [1900] Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, pp.385–7.

73 Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979, p.257.

74 Krahmer 'Meier-Graefe et les arts décoratifs', pp.244–6; Moffett, *Meier-Graefe*, p.38; Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts*, pp.47–51. See also Julius Meier-Graefe, *Geschichten neben der Kunst*, Berlin: S. Fischer, 1933, p.102.

75 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.235 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, pp.581–2).

76 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.1, p.90 (= *Die großen Engländer*, p.45).

77 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.262 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.619).

78 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.240 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.587).

79 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, pp.248–9 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, pp.599–601). The younger generation translated Morris's Gothic vocabulary into a more modern one, inspired by Japanese draughtsmanship. Meier-Graefe mentions Charles Ricketts as the best, as well as Laurence Housman, William Strang, Selwyn Image, and A. J. Gaskin.

80 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.238 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.585).

81 Meier-Graefe uses Morris's dictum that he loved 'living art' as a motto for the chapter on Morris in *Modern Art*. Impressionism, in comparison, remained in the 'department of abstract aesthetics'.

82 See McConkey, *Memory and Desire*, p.180 and Gerald Reitlinger, *Economics of Taste*, vol.1, *The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760–1960*, London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1961, p.166.

83 'Fine Arts: Our Library Table', *Athenaeum*, vol.82, 13 February 1909, pp.204–05 (p.204).

84 Falkenheim, *Roger Fry*, pp.5–6; on Stevenson and Meier-Graefe see Moffett, *Meier-Graefe*, pp.100–1. On the situation in Britain see McConkey, *Memory and Desire*, p.210, and Rutter, *Evolution in Modern Art*, p.122.

85 R[obert] A[llan] M[owbray] Stevenson, *Velazquez*, ed. by Theodore Crombie, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1962, p.47 (1st edn published as *The Art of Velasquez*, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1895): 'to affect the mind of one man it is not necessary to postulate the conflict of nations and all the mighty epoch-making machinery of history.' See also ibid., p.134. On the 'appeasing' effect of art-historical genealogies see Astrit Schmidt-Burkhart, *'Stammbäume der Kunst': Zur Genealogie der Avantgarde*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005, pp.55–6; see also Falkenheim, *Roger Fry*, p.57.

86 Stevenson, *Velazquez*, pp.63, 85; see the chapter 'His Influence upon Recent Art'.

87 Ibid., pp.153–4, 163. He appreciated Velazquez' sensitiveness to form from his earliest work and impressionistic unity lifting truth into poetry, and he perceived the decorative qualities and purposes of Velazquez' paintings (pp.61, 67–71). He also praised the unity of life and composition attained by Velazquez (p.88), and claimed that really artistic work strove for unity (p.108).

88 Ibid., pp.70. Unlike Meier-Graefe, Stevenson appreciated Whistler's elegant combination of Spanish and Japanese characteristics; ibid., p.151.

89 Julius Meier-Graefe, 'Stevenson's "Velazquez"', *Die Zukunft*, vol.50, 21 January 1905, p.148.

90 MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper*, p.203.

91 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.231 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.575).

92 See the chapters 'The Vision of the Century' and 'The Spectral Palette and Optical Mixture' in D[ugald] S[utherland] MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art*, Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons, 1902, pp.1–16, 166–8.

93 Ibid., pp.3, 24.

94 Ibid., pp.4–5. In the article 'At the "Old Masters": a dialogue; a Symbolist, an Impressionist' [1892], in *Confessions of a Keeper*, pp.137–50, MacColl staged a conversation about both directions in art, in which he lets the Symbolist explain that a picture exists for him 'first as a thought or dream, but it demands expression as a decoration' (p.148).

95 MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art*, pp.45–8, 109–10.

96 MacColl, *Confessions of a Keeper*, p.207; on MacColl's critique of Fry see Falkenheim, *Roger Fry*, pp.33–44.

97 Roger Fry, 'Art and Science' [1919], in *Vision and Design*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.55–9 (p.58).

98 MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art*, p.27.

99 Roger Fry, 'On the Encouragement of Design in British Manufactures' [typescript from the Roger Fry Papers, King's College Library, Cambridge], in Craufurd D. Goodwin, *Art and the Market: Roger Fry on Commerce in Art*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, pp.213–15 (p.213).

100 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.253 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.606).

101 Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, vol.2, p.265 (= *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, vol.2, p.622).