



# IMPRESSIONS

*The Journal  
of the  
Japanese Art Society  
of America*

NUMBER 39 PART ONE OF DOUBLE ISSUE 2018





# CHARLES LANG FREER AND JAPANESE CERAMICS

LOUISE ALLISON CORT

**T**HE FREER GALLERY OF ART, situated on the National Mall in Washington, DC, is representative of a certain small, focused art museum based on the collection of one person and imprinted with that person's taste. Nearly a century after the Freer Gallery opened in 1923, its holdings have expanded well beyond the ten thousand objects that Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) originally bequeathed to the Smithsonian Institution as the culmination of an agreement reached in 1906. Nonetheless, the core collection preserves the ebbs and flows of Freer's collecting interests, as he transitioned from a private connoisseur venturing into the realms of American art in the 1880s and Asian art in the 1890s to, after 1906, a public figure with responsibility for curating a national museum collection representing his idiosyncratic American artists, as well as cultures from Egypt across Asia to Japan.<sup>1</sup>

## Earliest Asian Focus: Japanese Art

Japanese ceramics were among the first categories of Asian art that caught Freer's attention. Museum records and archival documents show that his acquisitions of Japanese paintings, like Japanese ceramics, began in 1892; he also began buying Japanese prints, but eventually sold them in favor of painting.<sup>2</sup> This essay will explore how Freer began his Japanese ceramics collection and how he developed and managed it. I will consider the numerous figures in the background of Freer's collection—his sources, his mentors and his collecting predecessors and peers. The discussion includes how Freer fashioned himself into an expert on certain aspects of historical Japanese ceramics and the pitfalls that expertise entailed. Finally, I will look again at Freer's Japanese ceramics collection a century later to ask what interests us now about what he collected then.

An examination of Freer's collecting of Japanese ceramics in the 1890s and early 1900s makes clear how much was known already about the medium, through private and public collections in Europe and North America—and yet, how little was known. Few texts existed as guides. Archaeological studies of historical kilns had not begun. Although the mid-nineteenth century has been described by the scholar Koyama Fujio (1900–1975) as the moment of greatest diversity in Japan's ceramic production, dealers and

< FIG. 1. Charles Lang Freer at home. 1909. Charles Lang Freer Papers of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of the estate of Charles Lang Freer. Photo: Albert Langdon Coburn

collectors in the late nineteenth century tended to reveal the limits of their knowledge by ascribing pieces to a few broad categories of wares, such as “Hagi” and “Satsuma.”<sup>3</sup> The majority of Japanese ceramics circulating in the West dated to the Edo period (1615–1868) and early Meiji era (1868–1912). Although vaguely understood from today’s perspective, Japanese ceramics had been widely known in the market since the 1870s and many collections had been formed. Thus, in venturing into Japanese ceramics Freer was not a pioneer, but he endeavored to distinguish his own activities by developing a refined sensitivity, notably to glaze color.

Despite his best efforts, Freer’s achievements as a Japanese ceramics collector did not measure up to his accomplishments as a connoisseur of Japanese painting, which included the formation of world-class collections of pictorial works by the artists Tawaraya Sōtatsu (c. 1570–c. 1640), Hon’ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) and Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849).<sup>4</sup> It may be fair to say that Freer’s acute sensitivity to color, growing out of his early interest in American painting, did not compensate, when it came to assessing ceramics, for a comparative lack of responsiveness to three-dimensional form. He did try to proceed systematically in his collecting of Japanese ceramics, as in other media, and his devotion to record-keeping affords us an unusually detailed understanding of the realm in which he operated.

## Points of Contact

In Freer’s idiosyncratic museum, his Asian objects coexist, as they had in his private realm, with a highly specialized collection of late-nineteenth-century American painters, capped by James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). Freer knew these artists personally and commissioned many of their works for his own home in Detroit. He was adamant that his museum also would combine his American and Asian worlds. Freer’s vision followed his strong belief in what he called “points of contact” between arts of various times and places, a sort of universality of beauty. A photograph posed in 1909 appears to show Freer enacting his perception of qualities linking a painting by Whistler and a sixteenth-century green-glazed jar from Syria (fig. 1). Unfortunately, he left no record of his reasons for this particular juxtaposition. As we shall see, however, Freer’s notes about his Japanese ceramics show that he always was looking for resonances and harmonies of color, in preference to form or decoration. His early collecting and commissioning of paintings by his favorite American artists trained his eye for color, a skill that served him well in his encounters with Asian art, beginning with Japanese ceramics.

The centrality of color to Freer’s ceramic aesthetic is made clear by a key event in his history as a collector and museum master. In 1908, he embodied his “points of contact” quite literally by installing hundreds of his Asian ceramics on the gilded shelves of the Peacock Room, then housed in his Detroit home following his purchase of the room in 1904. (The room was later installed in his museum in Washington.) This iconic work (known

formally as *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876–77) had begun as the dining room in the London mansion of the shipbuilder and prominent Whistler patron Frederick Leyland (1831–1892), who displayed his Chinese blue-and-white porcelain on shelves that covered the walls. Above the fireplace hung Whistler's painting of an Orientalist beauty, *The Princess from the Land of Porcelain* (1863–65). In an infamous episode, Whistler's proposal to Leyland to modify the room's color scheme slightly to complement his painting actually led to the artist's wholesale recoloring of the room in turquoise, green and gold.

Freer's decision to make a photographic record of his 1908 ceramic installation clearly shows its importance to him. The glazes on the clusters of vessels created sweeping bands of color; I have come to see that installation as Freer's homage to Whistler and what the artist had taught him of color harmonies (fig. 2). Through the installation, Freer came close to acting as an artist in his own right. By creating his own harmonious arrangement of ceramics in the Peacock Room, he realized his "points of contact" ideal.<sup>5</sup>

Freer's collecting began in the 1880s with European and American prints. Eventually, he began acquiring etchings by Whistler, and his meeting with the artist in London in 1890 was a turning point in shaping Freer's evolving aspirations for his collection.<sup>6</sup> Two years later, when Freer began collecting Japanese ceramics, one of his first purchases was a white-glazed Satsuma-ware bottle, for which he paid thirty dollars, bearing what he called in his notes (more about his notes later) a "Whistlerian landscape in blackish blue underglaze" (fig. 3). Seemingly, the Japanese decor's resemblance to a Whistler print gave the young collector confidence.

## Sorting and Documenting

When Freer's collection went to the Smithsonian following his death in 1919, it included over eight hundred Japanese ceramics. Note that those numerous objects did not represent the totality of such purchases, but only those ceramics that passed the intensive culling that took place between 1906 and 1919, after consultations with specialists, as Freer continued to build and refine the collection he had promised to the Smithsonian (see Appendix I). Determined to eliminate any pieces that did not belong in a collection of national importance, he reduced the original numbers significantly. His inventory records how he gave away groups of objects to various American art museums, especially college museums, such as Oberlin, Smith and Williams, and disposed of individual pieces as wedding presents and Christmas gifts.

### COMPREHENSIVE NOTES

As a businessman by training and experience, Freer was a dedicated record keeper. The museum's archives house abundant materials that enable direct engagement with what Freer was thinking as he developed his collection. Bills of sale from dealers provide sources, prices and discounts. An invoice



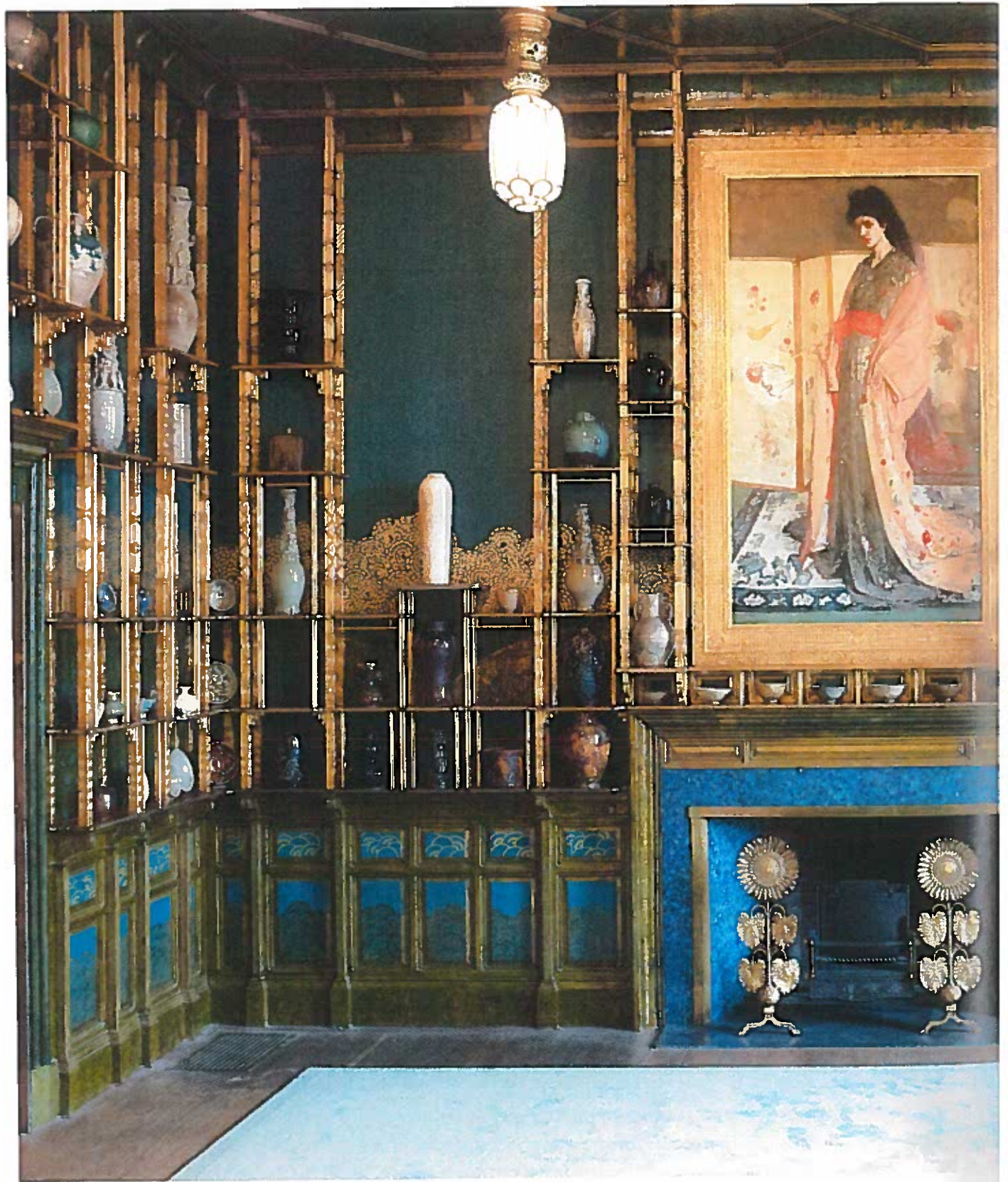






FIG. 2. James Abbott McNeill Whistler. *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*. 1876–77. Oil paint and gold leaf on canvas, leather and wood. 421.6 x 613.4 x 1026.2 cm (overall). Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

The photo shows the north wall of the Peacock Room in 2011, installed with Asian ceramics, arranged as they were in Freer's home in Detroit in 1908.

FIG. 3. Decoration attributed to Kano Tange (1679–1767). Sake Bottle. Japan. Edo period, 18th century. Satsuma ware, White Satsuma type; stoneware with cobalt pigment under clear glaze. 21.8 x 17.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1892.26

Freer acquired this bottle from the New York-based dealer Takayanagi Tōzō for \$30.00. It is the first Japanese ceramic listed in museum records. The decoration is attributed to the artist who served as official painter to the Satsuma domain in Kyushu, where the bottle was made.



YAMANAKA & CO.,  
Dealers in Japanese Art Objects,  
30 WEST 57th STREET,  
NEW YORK

AGENT:  
YAMAMOTO, AGARD & CO.,  
272 BOSTON ST.,  
DORCHESTER, MASS.

New York, June 11, 1891.

Wm. S. Draper, Esq. DR

Terms: Draw Checks payable to S. Yamanaka.

1173	Green Mishima Tea bowl	x	31.00
1174	Hakome with Gray Blue	x	11.00
1175	Blue Gray	x	25.00
1176	Blue Gray	x	15.00
1177	Blue Gray with white & amber	x	7.00
1178	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1179	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1180	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1181	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1182	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1183	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1184	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1185	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1186	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1187	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1188	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1189	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00
1190	Blue Gray with blue & amber	x	7.00

YAMANAKA & CO.,  
JUNE 11, 1891  
30 WEST 57th ST.  
NEW YORK

-101-

656. ✓ 9.7730. One Tea Bowl, Michima Setauma. (Small 2 1/2 inches high)  
Prof. No. 457-Old Higo Setauma. Dark blue with  
dark-brown and olive. Height 3 1-2".  
Purchased from Yamanaka & Co.,  
Voucher #41, December, 1899. 10.00

661. ✓ 9.9009. One Tea Bowl, Michima. Roughly modeled on outside  
Pinkish-brown color; decorated with  
wholen inside and Hakome outside in white. Height 3 1-2".  
Purchased from Yamanaka & Co.,  
Voucher #38, January, 1900. 15.00

~~662. 9.9556. One Tea Bowl, Michima. Regular shape. Around widest part of bowl under  
glaze. Height 3 1-2".  
Purchased from Yamanaka & Co.,  
Voucher #38, January, 1900. 15.00~~

683. ✓ 9.9717. One Large Bowl, Coresh, Umaku. Grey, decorations of flowers  
on outside in white; in inside  
black and white. Height 3 1-2".  
Diameter 7 1-4" to 7 1-2".  
Purchased from Yamanaka & Co.,  
Voucher #36, January, 1900. 30.00

from Yamanaka & Company illustrates how Freer commonly annotated documents (fig. 4). The gallery's text itself is terse—listing a tea bowl, a water jar and other items—but Freer further characterized each object by its coloration. Using the color vocabulary of the late nineteenth century, he was fond of noting "salmon pink" or "moss green." Such tonalities decided his choice for or against a ceramic purchase. Tireless typists generated the ceramics inventory at least twice in preparation for the museum, and annotations indicate repeated reviews (fig. 5). In the margins, Freer inscribed his own comments. "Fine" and "Genuine" recur frequently, while phrases such as "Rare but not beautiful," "Rare but a trifle coarse" or "Good but not first class" suggest a rigorous process of comparing and ranking.

A significant modern contribution to documenting and understanding the collection is the museum's electronic database, The Museum System (TMS). The database enables nuanced searches by categories: dealer or donor name; original attribution; or date of acquisition. Such searches rapidly cluster related objects and make visible relationships that might not be obvious from the single record seen in



< FIG. 4. Invoice to Charles Freer from Yamanaka & Co., New York, dated June 18, 1898. Charles Lang Freer Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of the estate of Charles Lang Freer

FIG. 5. Annotated ceramics inventory. Charles Lang Freer Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of the estate of Charles Lang Freer

FIG. 6. Freer home on Ferry Street, Detroit, 1906. Charles Lang Freer Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of the estate of Charles Lang Freer. Photo: C. M. Hayes & Co., Detroit

isolation. TMS searches have played a critical role in my consideration of Freer's collecting patterns.

### Freer's First Museum

Born into a family of modest means in Kingston, New York, south of Albany, Freer—like many successful businessmen of his era—was essentially self-made and self-cultivated. He left school at fourteen and took a job as a clerk. His diligence caught the attention of a man named Frank J. Hecker (1846–1927), who worked for a local railroad and who saw in Freer a promising business collaborator. The two went first to Indiana, then to Detroit, where they organized the Peninsular Car Works to make rolling stock for railroads. In 1899, after helping negotiate a series of mergers that created the massive American Car and Foundry Company, Freer, at age forty-five, retired from business and devoted the rest of his life to developing and managing his collection.

In celebration of their growing success, Hecker and Freer had bought adjoining plots of land on Ferry Street in Detroit, and the houses they built expressed their rising fortunes in distinctive ways. On the corner, Hecker's house was a classic, Gilded Age French chateau. Next door, Freer built a contemporary, shingle-style abode, working with a Philadelphia architect, Wilson Eyre (1858–1944) (fig. 6). It was a bachelor mansion (Freer never married), but its spare and beautiful sequence of spaces would harmonize perfectly with the Asian collection he had begun to build in 1892, the same year he moved in. His new home afforded room to expand his collecting from prints into more imposing objects. Space for display and storage surely was a strong incentive for beginning to acquire Japanese ceramics.





F1892.26.tif



F1892.27a-c.tif



F1892.30.tif



F1892.31a-b.tif



F1893.2.tif



F1893.3a-b.tif



F1893.4a-b.tif



F1893.5a-b.tif



F1893.6a-b.tif



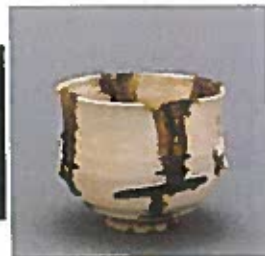
F1893.7.tif



F1893.8a-b.tif



F1893.9.tif



F1893.10.tif



F1893.13.tif



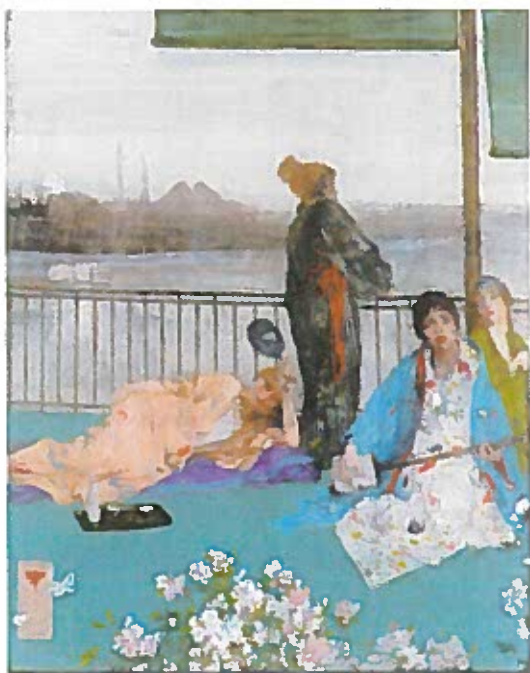
F1893.30a-b.tif



< FIG. 7. Spurious signature of Ogata Kenzan. Bowl with design of auspicious motifs. Japan. Meiji period, late 19th century. Stoneware with enamels over glaze. 15 x 41.7 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1894.5

Fig. 8. The Museum System (TMS) screen shot of Freer's first Japanese ceramics

Fig. 9. Whistler. *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green—The Balcony*. 1864–70, additions 1870–79. Oil on wood panel. 94.2 x 82 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1892.23



His earliest purchases occurred that same year, including the “Whistlerian” bottle mentioned earlier (see figure 3).

Freer’s new home was his first museum, in which he installed paintings he chose from a select group of American artists. Dwight Tryon (1849–1925), for one, produced a pair of oils, titled *Dawn* and *Winter*, specifically to hang in silver-leafed frames on the freestanding double-faced brick fireplace in the entry hall. Freer was particular about his commissions for works that would enhance the light and atmosphere of his living space—many artists were deeply involved in helping him realize his vision of color harmonies for his home.

It was in this setting that Freer began to acquire Japanese ceramics. His early annotated invoices make clear that at the outset, many of his ceramics purchases were simply another way of furnishing his house. A large stoneware bowl, essentially new when Freer chose it in 1894, bore swags of colorful enamel decoration and a conspicuous, but inauthentic, “Kenzan” signature on its base (fig. 7). As it happened, this bowl marked the first of many works in Freer’s collection associated with Ogata Kenzan (1663–1743), a Kyoto artist who became a particular focus of his attention. Freer’s inventory notation shows that he used this bowl in his entry hall for calling cards. He also bought sets of Japanese porcelain to use on his dining table. His purchases in 1896 included “four teacups with bronze saucers, Imari porcelain.”<sup>7</sup> The following year, he added twelve “Old Imari” dishes, five “Old Chinese” dishes and four “Old Nabeshima” dishes.<sup>8</sup> Freer’s collection in the museum is noted for its virtual omission of porcelain in favor of dark-glazed stoneware, but his home environment seems to have included abundant porcelain tableware. Such purchases served practical purposes in Freer’s new life as a householder.

A TMS screen shot shows Freer’s very first Japanese ceramics—more precisely, the earliest purchases that survived his culling process (fig. 8).

Fortunately, Freer’s documenting system establishes the record of the year of purchase; the chronological record is helpful for understanding how his taste changed over time. This first sequence, dating to 1892 and 1893, contains some interesting items, but the selection as a whole seems random. The pieces are characterized by excessive glaze drips and pictorial ornamentation, traits that would disappear from Freer’s later acquisitions, after he had explored what sorts of things would have lasting meaning and quality.

## Encounter with Asia

Something happened to change Freer’s buying pattern, however. It occurred during an 1894 Paris meeting between Freer and Whistler. Just two years earlier, Freer’s purchases had moved beyond Whistler etchings and pastels to his first oil painting by the artist (fig. 9). *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green—The Balcony* shows a clear compositional relationship to the



FIG. 10. Center, Freer in Japan, flanked by two rickshaw pullers, August 1895. Charles Lang Freer Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of the estate of Charles Lang Freer

Japanese woodblock prints that Whistler saw everywhere in London in the 1860s, although the river below the balcony is not the Sumida but the Thames, and on the opposite bank looms the industrial landscape of London. Three decades later, when Whistler and Freer met in Paris in 1894, the artist exhorted the young collector to go to Asia and discover its reality. The knickknacks seen in the markets in London and New York were only what he called “the last gasp of a great tradition,” faint traces of a “far earlier and higher culture.”<sup>9</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Freer took his first major trip to Asia, leaving his business responsibilities at home to spend April to August 1895 in Japan. My favorite picture of Freer was taken during that interlude—jacket unbuttoned, hands in his pockets, shoes dusty, just an anonymous American tourist (fig. 10). The two rickshaw pullers became his sidekicks as he made his way around the sights of Kyoto, diligently annotating his Murray’s *Guidebook*.<sup>10</sup> His guidebook notes show that he sat long enough in the Tōgudō hall at the Silver Pavilion to sketch the layout of the tatami mats. He was working hard to fulfill Whistler’s instructions to see for himself and to tell what he had found. This first intense experience of Japan—when he seems to have bought almost nothing—shaped his understanding of Japanese aesthetics in a Japanese context.

### Yamanaka and Matsuki: Allies in Serious Collecting

When Freer returned home in 1895, his collecting patterns changed immediately and remarkably. Previously, he had found ceramics from a variety of small-scale Japanese and American dealers based in New York, including Takayanagi Tōzō and Rufus E. Moore (1840–1918). However, once he started buying in earnest after his trip to Japan, he built relationships with two Japanese dealers who had established themselves in the United States as “authentic” and “serious” purveyors of Japanese antiquities with direct access to Japan. One was Yamanaka & Company, established in New York by Yamanaka Sadajirō (1866–1936). The other was Matsuki Bunkyō (1867–1940), based in Boston. (For the sources for Freer’s ceramics acquisitions, see Appendix II.)



FIG. 11. Kiyomizu Rokubei II (1777–1847). Serving Bowl with inlaid-slip (*mishima*) decoration. Japan. Edo period, 1811–38. Kyoto, Rokubei workshop; stoneware with white slip inlaid under feldspathic glaze. 7.4 x 18.7 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1906.30

D. J. R. Ushikubo, the manager of Yamanaka's New York gallery, gave this bowl to Freer in 1906, the same year that Freer reached an agreement with the Smithsonian Institution to bequeath his collection and build a museum to house it.



Freer made his initial purchases from Yamanaka in 1895, the year the firm opened its first American gallery on West Twenty-seventh Street in New York. [See Yuriko Kikuchi, "The Enemy Trader: The United States and the End of Yamanaka," *Impressions* 34 (2013): 32–53. Ed.] With mounting success, the business moved to a series of ever-grander spaces along Fifth Avenue. Freer visited whenever business took him to New York, as did New York collectors who prided themselves on their seriousness, including Henry O. Havemeyer and Samuel Colman.<sup>11</sup> The firm created interiors that resembled Japanese architectural spaces and filled them with paintings, lacquered furniture, Buddhist images and ceramics.<sup>12</sup> Recognizing the inspiration of environments he had experienced in Kyoto, Freer must have enjoyed his conversations and negotiations in such a setting.

For shoppers with an interest in Asia, New York City offered numerous popular and lower-priced sources, notably Vantines, but Freer turned to Yamanaka even for his tableware purchases mentioned earlier.<sup>13</sup> Yamanaka became Freer's single greatest source of Japanese ceramics, along with paintings and all other media, and continued to supply him as his collecting interests shifted toward Korean and Chinese art. Freer formed a close relationship with the manager of Yamanaka's New York store, Ushikubo Daijirō ("D. J. R. Ushikubo"), who even gifted two Japanese ceramics to the collector (fig. 11).

As for Matsuki, after a modest beginning selling Japanese novelties in a Salem department store, he opened his business on Boylston Street in Boston in 1893.<sup>14</sup> He had come to the United States at the age of twenty-one and worked for the Salem-based Japanese ceramics authority, Edward Sylvester Morse, whose perspective, as we shall see, strongly colored Freer's views on ceramics. Matsuki's Boston gallery centered on fine arts while also selling art supplies, which he burnished by advertising that his "best-made



FIG. 12. Vase. Japan. Edo or Meiji period, 18th–19th century. Satsuma ware, White Satsuma type; stoneware with clear glaze. 20.3 x 9.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1895.3

This vase was Freer's first acquisition from Yamanaka, which was a source of many light-colored ceramics.

FIG. 13. Teabowl with design of seedling pines, named Okina. Japan. Edo period, 19th century. Kyoto; earthenware with Black Raku-type glaze. 8.2 x 10.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1897.36

This teabowl is one of many dark glazed works that Freer acquired from Matsuki. Ceramic historian Koyama Fujio suggested that the bowl might have been made by the Kyoto potter Okazaki Bunzan. The incised design alludes to the New Year and to the pattern on the garments worn by Okina, the noh theatre character of the old man, a god in disguise, whose dance opens the New Year's performance.



brushes and papers in Japan" were like those "used in the Fine Art Schools of Tokio and Kioto."<sup>15</sup> Freer first visited Matsuki's gallery in 1896 and bought ceramics and paintings there regularly until 1906.<sup>16</sup>

A close look at TMS-enabled clusters of Freer's early purchases from Yamanaka and Matsuki reveals a striking contrast in apparent color preference. Yamanaka appears to have favored cream-colored ceramics—Freer's first acquisition there was a White Satsuma-ware vase. His later purchases included many vessels made with light-colored clay or bearing white slip under the glaze (fig. 12). Matsuki, by contrast, provided a preponderance of dark-brown or black-glazed pieces, including several Black Raku-style teabowls (fig. 13). We cannot know to what extent this contrast was inherent in the selections of ceramics that the respective dealers offered Freer, versus how much resulted from Freer's personal preferences. In any case, Freer's early acquisitions from Yamanaka and Matsuki following his first visit to Japan reveal a decisive move away from busy or colorful decoration toward monotone glazes, or muted iron or cobalt decoration under the glaze.

As Freer began to pay close attention to Japanese ceramics, he came under their spell. "I wish that I knew more of the potter's art," he wrote to Matsuki in late 1896. "Its fascination steadily increases, and then of course comes the desire for knowledge."<sup>17</sup> Freer's notes show that both Yamanaka and Matsuki provided a depth of information about their offerings that his earlier suppliers had not. Both schooled Freer in the





FIG. 14. Teabowl. Japan. Edo period, 18th–mid-19th century. Possibly Rakuzan ware; stoneware with ash glaze. 7.4 x 16.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1897.89

Originally identified as Hagi ware, this bowl was one of ten said to come from the collection of the “Prince of Kaga.”



FIG. 15. Teabowl, brushed-slip (*hakeme*) type, named Oimatsu (Ancient pine). Japan. Edo period, 18th–mid-19th century. Possibly Rakuzan ware; stoneware with brushed white slip under clear glaze. 8.5 x 15.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1898.442

history of Japanese ceramics, the close association with tea culture (*chanoyu*) and the importance of past ownership. In 1897, Yamanaka sold Freer a cabinet containing ten teabowls said to have belonged to the “Prince of Kaga,” the head of the Maeda domain, based in Kanazawa (fig. 14). A mixture of Korean, Chinese and Japanese bowls with subtle cream, green or brown glazes, this set introduced Freer to teabowl terminology and to the significance of a named collector and how it affected the asking price (\$500 for the set). The following year, Matsuki sold Freer a Korean teabowl (now thought to be Japanese in Korean style) said to have been passed down in the family of the influential tea man, Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) (fig. 15). Freer also learned the importance of Japanese wooden storage boxes and their inscriptions. His collection went to the museum with its boxes, but sadly, it was there that the boxes were separated from their objects and eventually, most were discarded.

Freer continued to add numerous teabowls to his collection. He also acquired ceramic water jars (*mizusashi*) and powdered-tea containers (*chaire*). There is no evidence, however, that he developed an interest in the practice of *chanoyu*, per se, or even in its aesthetic and philosophical underpinnings.<sup>18</sup> His collection lacks other standard tea-related ceramic vessel types. The personal library he bequeathed to the Smithsonian did not include a copy of the 1906 *Book of Tea* by Okakura Kakuzō (1863–1913), although it did include some Edo-period transcriptions of tea texts.<sup>19</sup> For that matter, there is no evidence that Freer had any personal contact



FIG. 16. Powdered-tea Container, shouldered (*katatsuki*) type. Japan. Edo period, 19th century, Seto-related ware; stoneware with iron glaze; ivory lid. 8.2 x 5.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.275

Matsuki bought this jar from the Funahashi collection auction in Kyoto, where it was described as Takatori ware. Matsuki noted that it had come in an ivory box.

with Okakura, who was based at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from 1905 to 1913, when Freer was frequenting Matsuki's Boston shop. Instead, the appeal of tea-related ceramics for Freer seems to have centered on the characteristic subtlety of their glazes.

Matsuki always presented background information for ceramics he sold to Freer, citing as past owner a famous noble family or a tea man of high repute. In the absence of storage boxes, it is impossible to know whether Matsuki always based the provenance on box inscriptions or invented the occasional story. Freer appears to have been receptive. Regarding a powdered-tea container described as coming from the "late Mr. Funahashi of Kyoto, famous wholesale silk dealer of many generations," he showed how the origin outweighed his resistance to the price (\$206): "Very fine. A famous jar. Price absurd" (fig. 16). As we shall see, these origin stories played a role in Freer's search for a teabowl by Kōetsu.

## Morse as Mentor

Freer's most important American mentor—serving not as a source of Japanese ceramics, but as a guide in how to think about them—was Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925) (fig. 17). A colorful figure almost as irascible as Whistler, Morse did not hesitate to express his opinions, using blunt, sometimes bold language that Freer Gallery records preserve faithfully. A zoologist specializing in mollusks, Morse had lived and taught in Tokyo in the late 1870s, where he had accumulated with a scientist's zeal a massive collection of over five thousand ceramics. His goal was to create a comprehensive taxonomic record of the depth and variety of ceramic production in Japan, both in his own day and historically. Morse's passionate curiosity about Japanese life, as detailed in his earlier books *Japan Day by Day* (1877) and *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (1886), had him visiting ceramics workshops and taking lessons in *chanoyu* as part of his research. [For Morse, see Jonathan M. Reynolds, "Edward S. Morse's Writings on Japanese Vernacular Architecture as Ethnography," *Impressions* 35 (2014), 136–51. Ed.]

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acquired the collection through public subscription, and Morse became its curator. He installed his pieces in the classic manner of a nineteenth-century natural history museum. Forty large, glass-fronted cabinets held the collection sorted by province and workshop on multiple, tightly packed shelves.<sup>20</sup> As a concession to the collection's location in an art museum—and probably aware that taste for displays in such settings was changing—Morse placed the most important pieces "on the line"—the center shelf most likely to catch visitors' attention.<sup>21</sup> He then documented the entire collection as installed, pairing photographs of the shelves with his own sketches of the installations, and published his





FIG. 17. Edward Sylvester Morse documenting his Japanese ceramics. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA

*Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* in 1901. (The cabinets have since been dismantled and the pots moved to offsite storage.)

Freer appears to have begun consulting with Morse soon after beginning his serious collecting of Japanese ceramics, although the museum records simply note Morse's undated "early comments." Morse paid several visits to Freer's home and collection (as did Yamanaka, Matsuki and other dealers), and Freer helped arrange Morse's lecture in Detroit to promote his newly published catalogue. In 1900, Freer gave Morse a piece of "Tōshirō pottery" (Seto ware attributed to the legendary founder of the kilns) for the collection. In 1905, Freer wrote appreciatively to Morse:

It is a pleasure to see the gradual but real growth of interest in [Japanese pottery] in America, nearly all of which should be credited to your wonderful personal work and the treasures under your charge. It is most delightful to see the growing discrimination and affection for higher class pottery manifesting itself in so many different places throughout America.<sup>22</sup>

Freer's notes reveal a habit of seeking second opinions on his purchases, often from other dealers (for instance, from Yamanaka regarding a Matsuki purchase), but it is clear that Morse's opinion was always definitive.

#### MORSE'S MENTOR, NINAGAWA

During his sojourn in Japan, Morse, in turn, had found his own important mentor: Ninagawa Noritane (1835–1882), born into a family of administrators serving Tō-ji Temple in Kyoto (fig. 18). In the late 1850s, he had begun traveling around Japan on his own to document collections of

FIG. 18. Ninagawa Noritane. Tokyo, 1879



FIG. 19. Figure of Kyōgen performer in role of Sambasō. Japan. Edo period, mid-19th century. Edo Rakurakuen ware; stoneware with ash, iron and clear glazes. H. 46.5 x W. 28.3 cm x Diam. 28.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1901.78

OPPOSITE

FIG. 20. Teabowl. Japan. Muromachi period, 1490–1530. Seto or Mino ware; stoneware with ash glaze. 6.6 x 16.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1901.49

FIG. 21. Water Jar in the shape of a well curb. Japan. Meiji period, 19th century. Satsuma ware, Nishiki type; stoneware with enamels over clear glaze; wood, metal and lacquer lid. H. 17.9 x W. 17.3 cm x Diam. 17.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1897.10



temples and shrines. He was, in other words, a self-appointed historian of Japan's institutional holdings as they existed just before the transformations of the Meiji era, when many temples, in particular, sold off their collections. In 1869, Ninagawa began working for the Meiji government in Tokyo, bringing his knowledge to bear on what became the Ministry of Culture to document and photograph collections, even the remains of Edo Castle, and to help found the forerunner of the Tokyo National Museum.<sup>23</sup>

Ninagawa also formed a personal collection of Japanese ceramics that he considered to be a representative embodiment of the medium's history. He published it between 1876 and 1879 in a remarkable seven-volume work called *Kwan Ko Dzu Setsu* (in contemporary romanization, *Kanko zusetu*, literally, "An Illustrated Discourse on Ancient Objects"). Illustrated by hand-tinted lithographs, the volumes were published in French and Japanese versions. Ninagawa subtitled the French version *Notice historique et descriptive sur les arts et industries japonais* (Historical and descriptive guide to Japanese arts and industries). Printed while Morse was living in Tokyo, Ninagawa's text became Morse's guidebook, and Morse turned to Ninagawa as his advisor in collecting. In effect, Morse may be seen to have transmitted Ninagawa's ideas to an American (or more broadly, English-language) audience. As Freer absorbed Morse's views, he may be seen as a disciple, indirectly, of the Japanese antiquarian. Freer owned an English translation of Ninagawa's text prepared in 1906 by H. R. Yamamoto, a dealer from whom he acquired Japanese ceramics.<sup>24</sup>

Remarkably, Ninagawa used his collection to create a kind of museum. In 1877, he built three storehouses for it on his property that could be opened to the public, then took a modern, scientific approach to documenting the collection. He ordered printed rectangular labels with notched corners, an ornamental blue border and three vertical blue lines demarcating four columns. Writing with fountain pen (not brush) and ink, Ninagawa noted in the columns his identification of the object, estimate of its age (how many years before the present), the date of his documentation and his full name, with seal. Morse, who viewed Ninagawa as an unsurpassed authority, did his best to acquire for his own collection as many of the pieces as possible that bore Ninagawa's stickers, enshrining his mentor's collection within his own as "Type Ninagawa."<sup>25</sup>

Freer acquired just one Ninagawa piece, which came to him indirectly from a dealer in Paris, Siegfried Bing (1838–1905). It is a mid-nineteenth-century figure from the Rakurakuen kiln in Edo, which Ninagawa documented in 1880 as being "around fifty years old"—adding that the figure had been his treasured possession for many years (fig. 19).

Ninagawa also reached out to the British collector and curator Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–1897). Learning that Franks was preparing to create a collection of Japanese ceramics for the British Museum, Ninagawa cautioned him by letter that the ceramics that were important to Japanese connoisseurs were not the recent decorated porcelain found in European





markets, but stoneware, such as Bizen and Seto.<sup>26</sup> Ninagawa's advice can be felt in Franks's 1880 publication, *Japanese Pottery, Being a Native Report*.<sup>27</sup>

Morse repeated his mentor's stance in the course of his famous debate with the British collector and author James Lord Bowes (1834–1899) over the merits and authenticity of dark-glazed stoneware, versus decorated porcelain.<sup>28</sup> In his collection, with its almost total absence of porcelain, Freer, in turn, can be seen to have accepted Morse's opinion inherited from Ninagawa. The two pieces that Freer acquired from Bowes's collection after it was auctioned in 1901 were both stoneware (fig. 20).



### The French Connection

As Freer began to travel in Europe, some dealers based in France, England and Germany became occasional but significant sources of Japanese ceramics. Notable was the Paris dealer mentioned above, Siegfried Bing.<sup>29</sup> A prominent dealer in Japanese antiquities, Bing was also active in formulating and marketing the hybrid style known as Art Nouveau. Freer bought Japanese ceramics from Bing during visits to Paris; his largest single purchase was in 1901. No doubt Freer was impressed that Bing, like Yamanaka and Matsuki, made regular buying trips to Asia. As Freer's archives record the prices he paid, it is notable that he bought from Bing at strikingly high prices—significantly



FIG. 22. Style of Ogata Kenzan. Teabowl. Japan. Edo period, mid- to late 18th century. Kyoto, unknown workshop; stoneware with white slip, iron and cobalt pigments under clear glaze. 7.3 x 9.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1900.50



FIG. 23. Tea-leaf Storage Jar. Japan. Edo period, 17th century. Mino ware; stoneware with iron glaze. 29.1 x 25 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1900.51

more than he was paying around the same time to either Yamanaka or Matsuki. Freer was usually tight with his money and bargained hard. Bing seems to have been the only person who could overcome that tendency, as though casting a spell over the canny American collector, despite Freer's recognition that Bing was "mighty kind but very seductive."<sup>30</sup> The Ninagawa-documented figurine mentioned earlier was one of the pieces that Freer acquired from Bing, for \$250, in 1901 (see figure 19).

Earlier, in 1897, Bing helped Freer acquire three choice pieces at auction in Paris (fig. 21).<sup>31</sup> They are of extra interest because they came out of the collection of a great early French collector and advocate of Japanese art, Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896). De Goncourt is remembered, among other accomplishments, for writing the first monograph on a Japanese artist, Kitagawa Utamaro. Freer eventually acquired, through another source, two more pieces that had been in de Goncourt's collection. The consistently restrained and elegant works represent something of the French taste in Japanese ceramics in the 1870s and 1880s.

De Goncourt had benefitted from his association with the other major Japanese art dealer in Paris, Hayashi Tadamasu (1853–1906). Hayashi had come to Paris in 1878 as a Japanese government official working for the international exposition, then stayed on to work with the growing group of people collecting Japanese art. He became a major source of high-quality Japanese art in Europe. Six pieces in Freer's collection passed through Hayashi's hands; two came directly from Hayashi in 1900, when Freer attended the Exposition Universelle (figs. 22, 23). Freer bought the other pieces indirectly from a New York dealer. Two jars in that group





FIG. 24. Sake Bottle. Japan. Kamakura period, first half of 14th century. Seto ware; stoneware with ash glaze; gold lacquer repairs; later staining. 25.8 x 16.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1914.14

Freer purchased this bottle from a New York dealer, but he recorded that the bottle had belonged previously to Hayashi Tadamasu, who had declared it to be Chinese Ru ware. An unknown owner stained the irregular green ash glaze with ink to enhance the crackle.



FIG. 25. Teabowl, Totoya style. Japan. Edo period, first half of 19th century. Akahada ware; stoneware with ash glaze. 7.3 x 16.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.77

Freer purchased this bowl from a sale of the Samuel Colman Collection. Colman acquired most of his ceramics in Japan from Captain Frank Brinkley.

are understood now to be Seto ware of the fourteenth century, but Freer's records show that at the time they were thought to be Chinese Ru ware (fig. 24). This misidentification is an example of the diligence with which dealers and collectors around 1900 were trying to match ware names they knew from Chinese texts with extant objects.

### American Collectors as Sources

Freer also built his collection through purchases made at American Art Association (AAA) auctions in New York, pieces that had belonged to U.S. collectors active in earlier decades. It is important to remember that Freer was not one of those pioneers, but a member of the second generation of American collectors of Japanese ceramics. Some of the early collectors were Morse protégés and thus reflected his ideas (received from Ninagawa) of authentic Japanese taste.

One such collector whose holdings became an important source for Freer was Samuel Colman (1832–1920), a New York painter who became part of a circle of designers and interior decorators around Louis Comfort Tiffany and Stanford White. Morse praised Colman for his excellent taste:

I may add that many years ago, when I had the pleasure of accompanying my artist friends, [Elihu] Vedder [1836–1923], [John] La Farge [1835–1910], Samuel Colman, [Edward Austin] Abbey [1851–1911], and others, through the [Boston] Museum [Morse] collection, they immediately recognised and admired those pieces that the Japanese chajin [tea men] most adore.<sup>32</sup>



FIG. 26. Fragment of Brocade Textile (*karaori*) for noh robe (detail). Japan, Edo period, second half of 18th century. Kyoto, Nishijin; silk with gilded paper. 250 x 38.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.261

FIG. 27. Ogata Kenzan. Square Dish with design of plum and mandarin ducks. Japan. Edo period, 1699–1712. Kyoto, Narutaki workshop; stoneware with enamels, white slip and iron pigment under transparent lead glaze. H. 2.4 x W. 16.9 x Diam. 16.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1905.58

FIG. 28. Freer in Japan, at the Sannotani estate in Yokohama of collector Hara Tomitarō. Left to right (front): Hara's wife, Freer, Hara, Hara's daughter; (back) the American tutor of Hara's children; a Yokohama dealer, believed to be Nomura Yōzō and a rickshaw puller. 1907. Charles Lang Freer Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of the estate of Charles Lang Freer





Colman had given around four hundred Japanese ceramics to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1893 (a bulk purchase made on his honeymoon that year), before he sold another selection in 1902 at auction. Freer, who must have been aware of Morse's high regard for Colman's taste, purchased twenty-three Japanese ceramics from that sale, as well as some Chinese and Korean pieces (fig. 25). He also acquired a scrap of noh-robe fabric, perhaps a remnant from Colman's famous use of Japanese brocades to decorate the library ceiling of the Havemeyer mansion (fig. 26).<sup>33</sup>

The number of earlier collectors of Japanese ceramics from whom Freer acquired works is significant (see Appendix I). Most collectors are usually represented by just a few objects, but those indicate that Freer participated in the sales. (For instance, he purchased one Japanese ceramic from the 1908 John La Farge sale [F1908.11]). Morse also wrote favorably of the Washington-based collector Thomas A. Waggaman (1839–1906), whose pieces included “Ninagawa types.”<sup>34</sup> Freer acquired twenty-seven Japanese ceramics from Waggaman's collection, notably an array of brown- or black-glazed bottles and powdered-tea containers, but also a square tray from Kenzan's Narutaki workshop (fig. 27).

## Shaping a Museum Collection

Freer's attitude toward his collection changed profoundly after 1906, when he concluded the agreement with the Smithsonian Institution to give his collection to the nation. He now felt the responsibilities of a museum proprietor and began expanding his collecting into wider realms of Asia. Moreover, on his second journey to Japan, in 1907, he found he had become well known there as a collector. A photograph shows him surrounded by Japanese collectors and dealers, some of the many who were eager to meet him, share collecting ideas with him or sell objects to him (fig. 28). He had lost that freedom of anonymity that he had so enjoyed when first traveling around Japan in 1895.

Freer's plans for his museum reflected ideas about American museums as they developed in the early twentieth century. Morse's approach to displaying Japanese ceramics in multishelved cabinets had given way to a conviction that ceramics (like other art forms) were to be seen in small groupings or in single cases. When the Freer Gallery opened in 1923, four years after Freer's death, its installations reflected ideas that Freer had certainly been considering since 1906, if not earlier: space around small, single-tier cases; objects looked upon not as “specimens”—the word that had been used earlier by Freer as well as Morse—but as works of art. Freer's memos for certain pieces address display: “Very important. May be shown with other works,

FIG. 29. Ogata Kenzan. Incense Burner with design of mountain retreat. Japan. Edo period, 1712–c. 1731. Kyoto, Chōjiyamachi workshop; stoneware with cobalt pigment under clear glaze; gold lacquer repairs. 6.1 x 8.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1898.440





FIG. 30. Teabowl. Japan. Momoyama period, late 16th century. Kyoto, Raku workshop; earthenware with Black Raku glaze; black lacquer repairs. 8.6 x 11.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.52

FIG. 31. Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637). Teabowl, named Minogame (mossy-tailed tortoise). Japan. Edo period, c. 1605–37. Kyoto, Raku workshop; earthenware with Black Raku glaze. 8.7 x 12.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1899.34

OPPOSITE:

FIG. 32. Spurious seal of Kōetsu. Teabowl. Japan. Edo or Meiji period, 19th century. Edo or Tokyo, possibly Imado ware; earthenware with iron pigment under clear glaze. 9.7 x 11.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1899.97

FIG. 33. Spurious seal of Kōetsu. Water Jar. Japan. Edo or Meiji period, 19th century. Edo or Tokyo, possibly Imado ware; earthenware with Red Raku glaze, mother-of-pearl and metal inlays; gold lacquer repairs. 18 x 17.6 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1901.111

FIG. 34. Spurious seal of Kōetsu. Vase with incised design of crane and maple leaves. Japan. Edo or Meiji period, 19th century. Kyoto; unknown workshop; earthenware with Black Raku glaze. 25.7 x 10.7 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.45



but should be shown from time to time in a case by itself.” He was thinking beyond the content of his collection to issues of how to install and show it to his public.



### Search for the “Genuine”

Freer’s notes indicate that 1914 was a time of intensive scrutiny of his collection. He went over it thoroughly, reconsidering earlier responses and making final decisions about the shape of his museum bequest. With regard to an incense burner by Kenzan bought from Matsuki in 1898, we witness a change in his tone; the collector sounds almost like an art historian (fig. 29). In an earlier, undated note, he had commented simply, “Genuine.” In 1914, he went into greater detail: “Further examination causes me to doubt the authenticity of this work, especially because of the minor details in the landscape and the mechanical formation of the writing. It was probably made by one of Ogata Kenzan’s followers.” (Current scholarly opinion holds that the incense burner is a genuine work from Kenzan’s Chōjiyamachi workshop.)



In contrast to Freer’s early ceramics connoisseurship focusing on color, the 1914 comment reflects his deep experience by then with assessing and acquiring Japanese and Chinese painting. As Freer’s self-confidence in his connoisseurship grew, he extended that perspective to his Japanese ceramics. His scrutiny of the above Kenzan incense burner also relates to his long interest in ceramics of the Rinpa style of Japanese painting, a focal point of his collection. The holdings he bequeathed to the Smithsonian included ninety-nine works with signatures of “Kenzan” or “followers” or indicating Kenzan’s collaborations with his brother Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716). Also included were thirty-six pieces attributed to Kōetsu, plus others said to be by Kōetsu’s grandson Kūchū (1601–1682).<sup>35</sup>



Many of those ceramics were “Raku” ware, not in the narrow sense of products of the Raku family workshop in Kyoto but more broadly as earthenware, either hand modeled or wheel formed, bearing a lead-based glaze and fired in a small updraught kiln. By the eighteenth century, small-scale production of Raku-style ware, largely for use in *chanoyu*, was widespread.<sup>36</sup> Another upsurge in “Raku” production occurred in the Meiji era, however, and those motivations were different. With a growing market of foreign collectors, some potters and dealers manufactured objects specifically to suit the taste of that market. Pieces emblazoned with signatures of familiar artists, such as “Kenzan” or “Kōetsu,” were particularly favored.<sup>37</sup>

Morse was the important voice of caution about such pieces on the antiquities market. Living in Japan had made him aware of workshops in the Imado pottery district of Tokyo that he claimed were the source of many such works deviously associated by style or signature with historical potters. (His favorite word to dismiss them was “Rotten!”) Freer did acquire Raku-style wares of genuine antiquity, including an important Black Raku

teabowl associated with the late-sixteenth-century Raku workshop (fig. 30) and a Black Raku teabowl by Kōetsu (fig. 31). Both teabowls came from Matsuki. He also managed to buy flagrantly fake pieces from his most trusted dealers (figs. 32, 33). More study is needed before we can decide whether Yamanaka, Matsuki and Bing—among others—genuinely believed they were selling Freer authentic works. Or were they collaborating with the makers of fakes? In any case, Freer's Japanese ceramics collection is an important repository of a fascinating assortment of those problematic "Raku" pieces.

#### MATSUKI'S DETAILED LETTER

A single example of Freer's encounter with what we now know to be a Meiji-era fake will illustrate his struggle to determine the authenticity of such works, especially those allegedly associated with Kōetsu, for which he had a yearning. In 1903, Matsuki offered Freer a Black Raku-style vase with incised design of crane and maple leaves (fig. 34). On February 11, 1903, Matsuki wrote to Freer this verbatim letter:

Here I send you to-day by express paid a great pottery of which I was talking about last 3 months. It is black Koyetsu jar. I wish you will carefully examine it if you doubt and on your eyes may catch it in first sight.

First the black glaze with deep mysterious quality 2nd the form, unusually tall no potter ever did like it. 3rd the irregularity in modeling the badly touch it with your hands. 4th unique same old shaving away scar of his famous bamboo knife. 5th the quality of clay showing on stork and maple leaf. 6th the way he stopped running down glaze which forms shoulder, neck and back. It is extraordinary. 7th the signature strong and masterly and 8th the last of all the design which nobody but you yourself is the judge. I hope you would not blame me as to the price in fact I never expect to have it. [Freer paid \$475.] It made me sick when I saw it in Japan last summer.

It was in the possession of famous Chajin in Okayama named Makiura and struggled hard before I got it I did put up money but do not keep it if you think otherwise than what I consider.<sup>38</sup>

Freer responded fulsomely on March 12:

Since my return to Detroit, I have been too much engaged with business matters to examine prior to yesterday afternoon, the Koyetsu jar as minutely as I wanted to. At last, however, I think I have studied it thoroughly, and have placed it alongside of the other pieces by Koyetsu in my collection, as well as the finer ones by Kenzan, and I have concluded to add it to my collection. It seems to me that it must be a genuine specimen of the old master's work. This conviction comes to me because of the potting, manipulation of the glaze, and the superb design. I have never seen anything in Japanese pottery quite like it. By that I mean that in the handling of material, it is a specimen showing enough originality to be considered unique. The design is also thoroughly characteristic of Koyetsu, but we must remember, in considering designs, that a clever imitator, with such a design before him, might, so far as design is concerned, imitate Koyetsu so perfectly that the deceit would not



FIG. 35. Spurious seal of Kōetsu. Inkstone Box. Japan. Meiji period, 19th century. Tokyo, possibly Imado ware; earthenware with pigments under clear glaze. 9.7 x 23.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1900.78



be discovered. In technique of make, however, I think we find in this piece ample evidence of the originality and individuality of the potter. The glaze, to be sure, is very charming, and strangely enough, the dull black glaze, which was added over the original glaze in order to hide the repairs over the cracks, seems to me to have been done either by Koyetsu himself, or by someone, perhaps later, who himself must have been a dexterous manipulator of glaze. I shall keep the jar, and feel that it will always be a specimen of unusually interesting pottery.<sup>39</sup>

Freer wrote again on March 16, 1903:

I note your remarks concerning the Koyetsu jar, and I agree with you that it is far from an easy thing to identify the work of Koyetsu. I shall continue to study this last specimen of his work purchased from you, and believe that, along with the other specimens of his in my possession, it will help me to in time learn a little of the great mystery of his handwork.<sup>40</sup>

In the absence of any serious study, Freer can be forgiven for struggling to understand the traits of a “genuine” Kōetsu ceramic. Scholars today still debate the authenticity of a few-dozen core works, but, fortunately, the Black Raku teabowl acquired from Matsuki is among those accepted as genuine (see figure 31). Separately, though, with regard to his assessment of the Kōetsu and other Raku works in his collection, Freer unfortunately suffered a common collector’s problem: he acquired as genuine one dubious piece, then made it his standard against which to measure subsequent acquisitions.

Many of the “Kōetsu” ceramics that Freer acquired, like the vase with incised design of crane and maple leaves, bore pictorial decoration. Why did he fail to assess decorated “Kōetsu” ceramics with the same acuity he applied to the Kōetsu paintings he was gathering at the same time (from many of the same dealers who supplied his ceramics)? In the domain where he would be so successful, his most trusted advisor was Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), former curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, whom Freer met in 1901. In a manner akin to Morse’s final word on ceramics, Fenollosa was Freer’s authority on paintings. Yet, Fenollosa seemingly shared Freer’s blind spot for painted ceramics.

In his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, Fenollosa wrote that Kōetsu the painter

... was an equally stupendous adaptor of nature design to artistic pottery. The finest example is a ceramic box owned by Mr. Freer, on the cover of which lies, in rough raised glazes, a landscape worthy of Hangchow. This is thrown in as if with one of our palette knives in solid glaze pigments which come out in tones of brown and green over a light dull strawberry ground. The sun blazes in a slightly brighter pink. This is probably the greatest piece of pottery painting in Japanese art.<sup>41</sup>

That inkstone box is one of the most egregious Meiji-period inventions (fig. 35). Matsuki sold it to Freer for \$650. In 1921, Morse howled, “Brand-new. . . What audacity!”

Even Morse was unable to guide Freer in this domain, however—Freer would not hear him. When he visited Freer in Detroit in 1909, the two men went over a list of the Chinese, Korean and Japanese ceramics Freer had presented to the Smithsonian. Freer carefully penciled in Morse’s comments, but he bracketed the remarks on the Kōetsu, Kūchū and Kenzan works with a caution: “Hasty examination and considerable difference of opinion.”<sup>42</sup>

### Morse’s Last Word

The differences of opinion between the two men arose from profoundly different standards for judging. Freer made clear his basis for determining authenticity in a letter to dealer Rufus E. Moore: “What you say concerning signatures is altogether right from a scientific point of view, but I find greater personal satisfaction in depending upon the art feeling expressed.”<sup>43</sup> Morse developed his standards in Japan, consorting with connoisseurs, but also walking the streets of Tokyo, peering into local shops and visiting pottery workshops. Comments for Freer ceramics abound with contradictory opinions from the two men.

Ironically, Morse’s most caustic remarks were recorded in 1921, two years after Freer’s death. As the new museum was being prepared, Morse, in his eighties and no less a curmudgeon, was invited to Washington for one last review of the ceramics collection. Someone sat patiently beside him and wrote down everything that he said. It is extremely useful to know how Morse would see something in a manner that Freer, as a connoisseur looking for color, would not. This is not to say that Morse was right, Freer was wrong, but it gives us two very important but different views.

One bowl that Freer bought from Bing in 1901 for \$90 makes the point (fig. 36). Freer delighted in the bowl’s “fine autumnal tones” of clay and glaze. Morse probably focused on its tentative, irregular form. He exclaimed, “Prodigiously rotten—ghastly—made today.” A third assessment of the bowl is also possible, however—that its interest arises from the likelihood



FIG. 36. Serving Bowl. Japan. Edo period, 18th–19th century. Shigaraki ware, made by an amateur potter; stoneware with iron wash and ash glaze. 7.9 x 14.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1901.73

FIG. 37. Vase. Japan. Momoyama period, 1600–15. Iga ware; stoneware with ash and iron glazes; gold lacquer repairs. 28.8 x 15.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1898.451



FIG. 38. Ewer. Japan. Momoyama period, 1596–1615. Karatsu ware, Chosen Karatsu type; stoneware with iron and rice-straw ash glazes; lacquered wood lid. H. 17.2 x W. 24.6 x Diam. 14.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1898.457







FIG. 39. Teabowl with design of gate and seedling pines. Japan. Momoyama period, 1594–1607. Mino ware, Gray Shino type; stoneware with iron pigment poured and painted under feldspathic glaze; gold lacquer repairs. 9.0 x 14.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.234

that it was made by an amateur potter, perhaps a tea man, who wanted to experience for himself the qualities of Shigaraki clay.

### Freer's Japanese Ceramic Collection Today

Freer's collection of Japanese ceramics is full of interest for what it can tell us about understanding of that art form more than a century ago. Not surprisingly, not all the pieces meet our expectations. Our taste in Japanese ceramics has been formed by twentieth-century events, including the rediscovery of the classic kilns of Japan and the designation as Living National Treasures of potters who learned to recreate ceramic tea-ware styles of circa

1600. The term "Momoyama period" (1573–1615) resonates to us with special magic, although it did not for Freer and his peers.

Precisely because Freer was looking for color and texture, however, he managed to acquire a good number of ceramics that were made in, or soon after, the Momoyama period, and represent that style well. Such examples include an Iga-ware vase, a Karatsu-ware ewer and a Shino-ware teabowl (figs. 37–39). The Shino bowl makes clear Morse's most notable blind spot in his understanding of Japanese ceramics. Far more at home in the ordinary market wares of the nineteenth century, with regard to which he possessed extraordinary knowledge, Morse had little or no understanding of Momoyama-period wares. In the case of this bowl, he could not distinguish between the Shino prototypes of the early seventeenth century and the Seto replicas of two centuries later. He made this stinging comment for the bowl: "A new one—rather rotten, too. Wouldn't give a damn for that."

Our knowledge of Japanese ceramics has changed as generations of scholars have conducted research no longer limited to connoisseurship, but encompassing the data of archaeology and history. When Freer was buying teabowls in shades of gray, beige or cream, they were presented to him as "Hagi" and "Satsuma." Recent research has revealed quite a few to be Korean products, made for the Japanese market, delivered to Japan soon after being made in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and their exoticism forgotten by nineteenth-century dealers. A group of particular significance has been identified as made to Japanese order at the kiln in Wakan, the Japanese trading outpost near Pusan. Other pieces that Freer bought as Japanese can now be identified as Chinese or Southeast Asian trade wares, similarly absorbed over time as local products.

Perhaps Freer's greatest contribution was to take Japanese ceramics seriously (as he did the ceramics he went on to collect from China, Korea and West Asia). In his own lifetime, he placed his ceramics on the gilded shelves of his most treasured possession, the Peacock Room. Although he did not live to see his museum, he created space in it for display of Japanese

ceramics alongside paintings and Buddhist sculptures. Through his wish to make his collections widely available for study, he designated a place where modern-day potters could experience the heft and touch of a tea bowl. Drawing on the endowment Freer provided for acquisitions, successive curators have added another hundred ceramics to the collection, addressing changes in taste, the importance of porcelain and the modern thirst for “Momoyama.” In some cases, Freer’s notes on his inventory set up questions that have taken a century to answer with certainty, while others still remain. In all these ways, Freer’s collection continues to live. ☉

## NOTES

1. On the scope of Freer’s collection, see Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Ideals of Beauty: Asian and American Art in the Freer and Sackler Galleries* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2010).
2. The earliest Japanese painting in the collection is a fan attributed to Ogata Kōrin (F1887.1), allegedly purchased in 1887, but the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives contain no documentation of the purchase. On Freer’s Japanese prints, see Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 55–57.
3. Koyama Fujio, ed., *Japanese Ceramics: From Ancient to Modern Times* (Oakland, CA: The Oakland Art Museum, 1961), 40–41. The original attributions for ceramics that Freer purchased reveal the prevalence of these associations.
4. Yukio Lippit and James T. Ulak, *Sōtatsu* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2015); Ann Yonemura, *Hokusai* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2006).
5. Evidently, Freer’s installation also demonstrated his concept of historical and geographic relationships among glazes on Asian ceramics. During an extended visit to Freer’s home in 1907, the art historian Ernest Fenollosa took detailed notes as the collector expounded on his theory of glazes. The notebook, housed in the Freer and Sackler Archives, has yet to be transcribed and studied in detail.
6. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, 31.
7. Invoice from Takayanagi Tōzō, New York, June 23, 1896, price \$6.00.
8. Invoice from Yamanaka & Co., March 26, 1897. Pieces bought for tableware use were not included in the collection destined for the museum, but some survived when they were gifted after Freer’s death to his longtime house caretaker and curator, Joseph Stephen Warring, and passed down to Warring’s daughter.
9. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, 57.
10. Ernest Mason Satow and A. G. S. Hawes, *A Handbook for travellers in central & northern Japan: being a guide to Tōkiō, Kiōto, Ōzaka, Hakodate, Nagasaki, and other cities, the most interesting parts of the main island, ascents of the principal mountains, descriptions of temples, and historical notes and legends* (London: Murray, 1884). Freer and Sackler Library.
11. Lawton, “Yamanaka Sadajirō: Advocate for Asian Art,” *Oriental Art* 26 (1) (Jan. 1995): 80–93.
12. Yumiko Yamamori, “Japanese Arts in America, 1895–1920, and the A. A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15 (2) (Spring–Summer 2008): 104, fig. 5.
13. Yamamori, “Japanese Arts in America, 1895–1920, and the A. A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies,” 98–99.

14. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, 100–110; “A Pleasing Novelty”: Bunkio Matsuki and the Japan Craze in Victorian Salem (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 1993).
15. *Catalogue of Japanese Artists’ Materials* (Boston: Bunkio Matsuki, 1904).
16. Freer and Matsuki parted ways after a disagreement over Matsuki’s financial obligations to Freer. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, 108–09.
17. Letter from Freer to Matsuki, Oct. 16, 1896. Freer|Sackler Archives.
18. A rare indication of Freer’s interest in drinking the powdered green tea used for *chanoyu* occurs in a letter he sent from Mackinac Island, MI, to Warring, asking to have the small tin case of “ceremonial powdered tea” kept in the dining room closet sent to him together with “three tea bowls from the Rejected Pottery. . . . I would prefer to use for our ceremonial the very best of those in the Rejected.” He also requested sugar tongs (for adding sugar lumps to the bitter beverage?). He may have acquired the tea during his visit to Japan the previous year, and his interest may not have extended beyond a vacation amusement for his host, Frank Hecker. Letter from Freer to Stephen J. Warring, July 21, 1911. Freer|Sackler Archives. My thanks to Freer|Sackler curatorial assistant Amelia Meyer for discovering this letter.
19. In 1905, Freer purchased 130 Edo-period *chanoyu* texts from the Japanese dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi. They are now part of the Rare Books collection in the Freer|Sackler Library.
20. Edward S. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1901).
21. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, 22–23.
22. Letter from Freer to Morse, Feb. 17, 1905. Freer|Sackler Archives.
23. Tokyo National Museum, “Speaking to the Future Series: Historical Records Compiled by Museum Founder, Ninagawa Noritane,” Dec. 8, 2009–Jan. 17, 2010. <[http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r\\_free\\_page/index.php?id=626&clang=en](http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=626&clang=en)> accessed Dec. 31, 2016; Tokyo National Museum, “140th Anniversary Thematic Exhibitions: The Protection of Cultural Properties by the Museum Founder, Ninagawa Noritane,” Honkan Room 16, March 27, 2012 (Tue)–May 20, 2012 (Sun), <[http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r\\_free\\_page/index.php?id=1460&clang=en](http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1460&clang=en)> accessed Dec. 31, 2016.
24. The typescript translation is now in the Rare Books collection in the Freer|Sackler Library.
25. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, 23.
26. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, “A. W. Franks, N. Ninagawa and the British Museum: Collecting Japanese Ceramics in Victorian Britain,” *Orientalism* 33, no. 2 (2002): 26–34.
27. Augustus Wollaston Franks, *Japanese pottery: being a native report* (London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1880). Freer’s copy is in the Freer|Sackler Library.
28. Richard L. Wilson, “Tea Taste in the Era of Japonisme: A Debate,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* 50 (1987): 23–39.
29. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, 114–32.
30. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy in Art*, 117.
31. Invoice from Siegfried Bing, April 1, 1897. Bing was unsuccessful in getting four other pieces that Freer had wanted, but he reassured Freer that the Satsuma water jar (F1897.10) was a superior work.
32. *Japan Society, Chinese, Korean and Japanese potteries: descriptive catalogue of [a] loan exhibition of selected examples, the Chinese and Korean authenticated by R. L. Hobson, and the Japanese by Edward S. Morse . . .* (New York: Japan Society, 1914), 114.



33. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen et al., *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993).
34. Morse, *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, 23.
35. Louise Allison Cort, "Furiya to Kōetsu—Kōetsu chawan no shūshū (Freer and Kōetsu: Collecting Kōetsu tea bowls)," in *Kōetsu—Rinpa no sōshisha* (Kōetsu—Originator of Rinpa), ed. Kōno Motoaki (Kyoto: Miyaobi Shuppansha, 2015), 311–54.
36. Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 111–31.
37. Wilson, *The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, in association with Merrill, 2001), 158–74. Wilson discusses this phenomenon with regard to the "Raku" style among "Kenzan" ceramics, but the Freer collection includes a wide range of names of historical tea men, painters and potters.
38. Letter from Matsuki to Freer, Feb 11, 1903. Freer|Sackler Archives.
39. Letter from Freer to Matsuki, March 12, 1903. Freer|Sackler Archives.
40. Letter from Freer to Matsuki, March 16, 1903. Freer|Sackler Archives.
41. Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, vol. 2 (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1921), 135.
42. *List of Chinese, Corean and Japanese Pottery objects presented to Smithsonian Institution, showing the S. I. numbers and attributions thereof*. April 15, 1909. Freer|Sackler Archives.
43. Letter from Freer to Rufus E. Moore, Nov. 18, 1901. Freer|Sackler Archives.

## Appendix I

### Charles Lang Freer's East Asian Ceramics Acquisitions, 1892–1919

Freer's acquisitions of East Asian ceramics began with Japanese works, but gradually shifted to Korean and Chinese ceramics. These totals, summarized by decades, include only the purchases that eventually entered the museum's permanent collection, not items Freer bought but later gave away or otherwise excluded. The totals do include those works that have been reidentified along the way (e.g., from Korean to Japanese, from Chinese to Japanese).

- 1892–99: Japanese 302 (largest number bought in a single year: 125 in 1898)  
Korean 40 (largest number bought in a single year: 17 in 1898)  
Chinese 30 (largest number bought in a single year: 14 in 1898)
- 1900–09: Japanese 465 (largest number bought in a single year: 140 in 1901)  
Korean 149 (largest number bought in a single year: 78 in 1907)  
Chinese 230 (largest number bought in a single year: 61 in 1907)
- 1910–19: Japanese 50 (largest number bought in a single year: 39 in 1911)  
Korean 35 (largest number bought in a single year: 17 in 1917)  
Chinese 253 (largest number bought in a single year: 60 in 1916)

## Appendix II

### Charles Lang Freer's Acquisitions of Japanese Ceramics through Dealers, Collectors and Donors

The ranges of years show the periods of Freer's transactions. The numbers in parentheses are works that entered the museum's permanent collection, not total purchases. Sources were located in New York, Boston and Washington, DC.; Paris, London, Berlin, Hamburg and Capri; Tokyo, Kyoto, Yokohama and Nagasaki. By far the largest totals are for Yamanaka (278) and Matsuki (155).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Takayanagi Tōzō, 1892–1902 (21)                            | Hayashi Tadamasu (1853–1906), 1900 (2)                |
| Rufus E. Moore (1840–1918), 1892–1902 (47)                 | Zerego, 1900 (2)                                      |
| Yamanaka & Co., 1895–1916 (278)                            | Kano Oshima, 1900–1901 (8)                            |
| Matsuki Bunkyo [Bunkio] (1867–1940),<br>1896–1906 (155)    | Charles Coleman, 1901–1902 (3)                        |
| Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), 1897, 1901, 1903,<br>1905 (31) | R. Wagner, 1901 (24)                                  |
| Japanese Trading Co., 1898–1901 (16)                       | A. Saenger, 1901 (1)                                  |
| A. D. Vorce, 1898–1899 (4)                                 | Y. Fujita and Co., 1901–1902, 1911 (37)               |
| S. Eida, 1899 (10)   | John Sparks (1854–1914), 1902 (1)                     |
| K. Sano, 1900, 1906 (8)                                    | Kato Shōzō (1851–1930), 1902 (3)                      |
| Edward G. Getz, 1900 (3)                                   | Michael Tomkinson (1841–1921), 1902, 1904 (3)         |
|  | Kobayashi Bunshichi (c. 1861–1923), 1902, 1905<br>(2) |

Mme. Florine Langweil (1861-1958), 1903 (1)	D. J. Ushikubo (Ushikubo Daijirō), 1906, 1909 (2)
Cottier and Co., 1903 (1)	Ikeda Seisuke, 1906 (1)
V. G. Fischer Art Co., 1904 (4)	Various unrecorded sources in Japan, 1907 (26)
Honma Kosa (1842-1909), 1904, 1907 (9)	Tōji priest, 1907 (1)
K. Suzuki, 1905 (5)	Hara Tomitarō (1868-1939), 1909 (3)
H. R. Yamamoto, 1905 (11)	Koekia, 1911 (1)
Julius Spier (1848-1923), 1906 (11)	Sato, 1911 (4)
Col. Frank J. Hecker (1846-1927), 1906 (1)	William Baumgarten and Co., 1914 (4)
Meage, 1906 (1)	John Fenning, 1917 (1)
Kita Toranosuke, 1906-1907, 1911, 1914 (6)	

### Appendix III

#### Freer's *Indirect* Acquisitions from Previous European and American Collections through Dealers and Auctions

This list shows the existing European, American and Japanese collections of Japanese ceramics from which Freer made acquisitions, and the dealer or auction from which he acquired them.

Edmond de Goncourt, from Bing, 1897 (3); from Edelheim Collection, American Art Association, 1900 (2)

Charles A. Dana (1819-1897), American Art Association, 1898 (6); Cottier and Co., 1903 (1)

Carl Edelheim (1844-1899), American Art Association, 1900 (7)

Ikeda Seisuke (1839-1900), from Yamanaka, 1900 (1); from Matsuki, 1900 (32); from Frank J. Hecker, 1906 (1)

Ninagawa Noritane (1835-1882), from Bing, 1901 (1)

James Lord Bowes (1834-1899), from Wagner, 1901 (1); from James Tregaskis (1850-1926), 1902 (1)

Samuel Colman (1832-1920), American Art Association, 1902 (23)

Henry G. Marquand (1819-1902), American Art Association, 1903 (1)

Hirase Roko (1829-1908), Yamanaka, 1904 (3)

Thomas E. Waggaman (1839-1906), American Art Association, 1906 (27)

John La Farge (1835-1910), American Art Association, 1908 (1)

Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906), Baumgarten, 1914 (4)