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Found in translation: Mackintosh, Muthesius and Japan

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The theme of this paper is the presence of the Japanese influence in the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and, in particular, the Glasgow School of Art. This has often been observed but never satisfactorily explained. Rather than simply listing the evidence, this paper investigates the relationship between him and Hermann Muthesius against the background of the time Muthesius spent working as an architect in Tokyo. Using the correspondence held in the *Deutscher Werkbund Archiv*, Berlin, as evidence of the close relationship between the two men and the others of The Four, this paper suggests that it was Muthesius's sensitivity to Japanese architecture which encouraged the direction of Mackintosh's work in the late 1890s and early 1900s and in so doing, offers an explanation of the more idiosyncratic and unexplained features of the library at the Glasgow School of Art.

Introduction

The Glasgow School of Art was built in two phases: the first between 1897 and 1899 and the second, ten years later, between 1907 and 1909. Although the building was conceived as a single cohesive design, the second phase, when it emerged, differed considerably in its detailed treatment from the first.¹ What, amongst its other references, might previously have been considered as *Japonisme*, was now much more recognisably Japanese; the one suggesting a response to Western fashion while the other drew upon a knowledge of the country. This essay contends that these changes were the result of a friendship shared by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the German architect Hermann Muthesius which blossomed in the years between the two building phases. For although Mackintosh never travelled beyond Europe, Muthesius had, between 1887 and 1891, lived and worked in Tokyo.

This essay begins by describing the considerable Japanese presence in late-nineteenth-century Glasgow. It was against this background that the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868–1928), the Macdonald sisters, Margaret (1865–1933) and Frances (1873–1921), and Herbert MacNair (1868–1955)—later known as The Four—first emerged. The influence of *Japonisme* upon Mackintosh and of Japan upon Hermann Muthesius (1861–1927) is discussed before the friendship between The Four and Muthesius is explored through an important collection of letters, mostly from Mackintosh to Muthesius, which are held in the Muthesius *nachlass* at the *Deutscher Werkbund Archiv* in Berlin. The extent of Margaret's responsibility for the emergent Japanese appearance of Mackintosh's mature work is considered before the essay moves to their marital flat at 120, Mains Street, and finally to the second phase of the School of Art. Here, where the Japanese presence is most strongly felt in the Library

and the Composition Room, new sources for Mackintosh's revised design are suggested.

Although there is already an extensive portfolio of published work on Charles Rennie Mackintosh,² Mackintosh studies are still evolving. The Mackintosh Architecture Project at the University of Glasgow³ is currently compiling a major electronic archive of his work and the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society remains very active. Howarth's (1952, 1977) seminal study, and more recent publications on Mackintosh, such as Crawford⁴ (1995, 2002) and Macaulay⁵ (2010), all consider the Japanese issue but fail to connect it to Muthesius although his relationship with, and support of Mackintosh is discussed. The Glasgow School of Art, on its own and in the context of Mackintosh's *oeuvre*, has also been widely studied,⁶ the most comprehensive examination, which includes an introduction by Muthesius's son, Eckart, being by Buchanan (2004). Mackintosh's decorative work has been considered in the context of Margaret Macdonald and The Four, and Neat (1994), Helland (1996) and Egger *et al*⁷ (2000) all demonstrate the importance of that relationship, while exhibition catalogues offer further insights into the work of Mackintosh and The Four.⁸ Yet despite such a broad range of publications, there is very little, other than Mackintosh's six lectures edited by Robertson⁹ (1990), which gives any real insight into his thoughts on architecture. Ultimately, Mackintosh's work has to speak for itself.

While being well known for *Das englische Haus*, Muthesius is himself less of a publishing phenomenon than Mackintosh, although there are a number of studies of Muthesius in relation to both

the *Deutscher Werkbund* and the country house.¹⁰ The best and probably only comprehensive account of his work in Japan is the exhibition catalogue edited by Ikeda¹¹ (2002). A broader view of Muthesius and his time in England is given in various studies by Posener and in Sharp's edited translation of *The English House* (1979) with the coincident exhibition catalogue;¹² a complete, facsimile edition of *The English House* was published later by Sharp¹³ (2007).

Glasgow and Japan

Glasgow's close association with Japan went back to 1866 when Yamao Yōzō (1837–1917) came to work at the Napier shipyards at Govan and to take classes at Anderson College. When Yamao, as Vice-Minister of Public Works under the Meiji Emperor (1868–1912), established the Imperial College of Engineering in Tokyo in 1873, Glasgow University sent some of its best men to staff it and, after 1879, it was to Glasgow that the College's graduates came for further study. At Coplawhill, trams were built for the Japanese National Railway while the steam locomotive factories at Springburn and Polmadie and the ship-building industries along the Clyde provided both the hardware and the inspiration which the newly emergent country needed.

While Japan benefitted from Glasgow's industries, Glasgow soon benefitted from Japan's culture. In 1878, in exchange for a wide range of Scottish industrial products, the city of Glasgow received over a thousand items of Japanese artware which were exhibited at both the Corporation (or McLellan) Galleries in Sauchiehall Street and the City Industrial Museum in Kelvingrove Park.¹⁴ In

December, 1881, the Oriental Art Loan Exhibition opened at the Corporation Galleries, displaying pieces gathered from private collections as well as from the South Kensington Museum and Messrs Liberty's & Co. of London.¹⁵ The following March, the designer and botanist Christopher Dresser (1834–1904) returned to the city of his birth to lecture at the Corporation Galleries on 'Japanese Art Workmanship'. 'The characteristic features of Japanese art', *The Glasgow Herald* reported, 'were illustrated by numerous examples drawn from the cases in the Oriental Exhibition'.¹⁶ By the time the Exhibition closed at the end of April, 1882, some 30,000 people had seen it.¹⁷ The next year, and to a presumably ready audience, Frank Dillon (1823–1909), who had visited Japan in 1876, exhibited *The Festival of the Cherry Blossom, Osaka, Japan*, at the Glasgow Institute.¹⁸

The *Glasgow City Museum Annual Report* for 1882 noted that students from the School of Art, then housed in the Corporation Galleries, had frequented the Oriental Art Loan Exhibition and 'used the collection for the purpose of continuous study'.¹⁹ Although there is no immediate evidence to suggest that Mackintosh saw any of these exhibitions or attended Dresser's talk, he then being a young teenager at Alan Glen's Institution,²⁰ he would certainly would have seen the Japanese art-ware kept at the Corporation Galleries, once he enrolled there as a student at the Glasgow School of Art in 1884.

The willingness of the Corporation to invest in *Japonisme* was further demonstrated in 1891 when the first painting it purchased was the reductive portrait of Thomas Carlyle by James McNeile

Whistler (1834–1903), *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2*. The Glasgow Boys, a group of painters who called Whistler 'The Master', had lobbied the Corporation to buy the painting and in 1893, two of their number, Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864–1933) and George Henry (1858–1943), travelled to Japan, where they stayed for a year. On their return, Hornel's paintings caused a sensation whereas Henry's were almost all damaged in transit. In his supporting lecture on Japan, privately printed²¹ and given at the Corporation Galleries in February, 1895, Hornel turned to the Bible to explain their intentions.²²

The question might naturally be asked an artist who had visited Japan, 'What went ye out for to see?' and the appropriate answer might be given, 'A reed shaken by the wind'; for to those acquainted even slightly with Japanese art the words express the spirit and *motif* of its dainty achievements.²³

The answer to the question, originally asked rhetorically by Christ, was here more than a metaphor; it was a perfect encapsulation of Japanese art. Hornel, however, never actually gave that lecture: it was read, in his absence, by his close friend, John Keppie (1862–1945), principal at the architectural firm of Honeyman and Keppie where Mackintosh had worked since 1889.²⁴ Had he not attended the lecture, Mackintosh, it must be accepted, would have had ample opportunity to read it.

Mackintosh and Japonisme

It is against this background that evidence of *Japonisme* first appears in Mackintosh's work. His archi-

tectonic watercolour of April, 1896, *Part Seen, Part Imagined*,²⁵ is both a portrait of and homage to his new love Margaret Macdonald,²⁶ and became the basis for the stencilled decorations which he was soon to complete for Catherine Cranston (1849–1934) at the Buchanan Street Tea Rooms (1896–97). Both the style and the colouring of the hair in these drawings suggest *Japonisme*, as does the obvious but rather loosely tied kimono which the women wear. By September, 1896,²⁷ Mackintosh had completed the competition drawings for the Glasgow School of Art and the monogram which he used to identify his entry, showing three wishbones set against a curved line within a circle,²⁸ was, like Whistler's famous butterfly,²⁹ a device quite probably based upon the Japanese heraldic *mon*. Although not shown in the 1896 competition drawings, similar forms emerged soon after as cast-iron finials in the finished railings along the north front of the School of Art. These can be interpreted variously. Neat (1994) employs a quotation from Mackintosh's untitled paper on architecture of c.1892 to argue that they cannot be Japanese and that their symbolism is Rosicrucian, Egyptian and Judaic/Christian.³⁰ However, in both his PhD thesis and subsequent book, Kimura (1982, 1984) provides a detailed 'Comparison of Japanese Heraldry with Mackintosh's Ornament',³¹ asserting that 'his abstract circular or angular decorations resemble the Japanese heraldic 'MON''.³² The library of the Glasgow School of Art, Kimura notes, held an 1881 edition of Kinuo Tanaka's *I-Ro-Ha Mon-Cho* ('Catalogue of *Mon*').³³

Mackintosh's interest, at this time, in the temporary nature of Japanese joinery is further evidence of

Japonisme. Howarth (1977), Brett (1992) and Crawford (2002) each observe how the trusses above the stairs at the Martyrs' Public School (1895–97) are pegged in the Japanese manner.³⁴ Although such construction was not uncommon in Arts and Crafts work, the emphasis here, Brett argues, 'does not signify 'the traditional'', but suggests the demountability of the structure'.³⁵ A similar attitude to timber construction appeared in the timber assembly of the main stairs at the School of Art as well as in the roof trusses of the museum and life-modelling room and, at the same time, in the porch to the caretaker's house at the Ruchill Street Free Church Halls³⁶ (1898–99). Derived, perhaps, from reading Dresser's *Japan: Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures*³⁷ (1882) or the American Edward Morse's *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*³⁸ (1886), these interpretations, however intriguing, are ultimately not the work of one who had seen the original.

Hermann Muthesius

Hermann Muthesius first arrived Japan in June, 1887, with a contract to work as an architectural assistant until 1st June, 1891.³⁹ His Berlin employers, the architects Ende und Böckmann, had signed an agreement with the Imperial Japanese Government, a year before, for the building of a new Parliament and Ministry of Justice and Courthouse,⁴⁰ and it was to be Muthesius's responsibility to work on the construction of the Justice department. The Japanese adoption of Western architecture and the consequent use of Western architects was seen by the Meiji government as a way of modernising the country. Similarly, the commissioning of large

private houses in the Western style by Japanese businessmen and politicians was done with the intention of providing both a familiar environment as well as a sense of modernity when entertaining important Westerners.

Muthesius, who had studied architecture at the Technical High School in Charlottenburg, Berlin, while working for Paul Wallot (1841–1912), the architect of the Reichstag (1884–94), was initially reluctant to take up the position—four years in a distant and strange country—but was persuaded to do so by his brother, Karl (1859–1920), the influential educationist and Goethe scholar.⁴¹ Once in Tokyo, Muthesius signed an agreement with the Imperial Japanese Government which allowed him to live, not in the foreigner's settlement at Tsukiji, but in a Westernised Japanese house at Kojimachi, near the site of the new government buildings in Hibiya.⁴² His immersion in Japanese life and culture, described in his letters from Japan and recorded in a copy book held at the *Deutscher Werkbund Archiv* in Berlin, suggest a degree of ambivalence towards his hosts. While recognising their good taste and the country's great artistic tradition, he regretted the lack of honesty and morality amongst the Japanese with whom he came into contact and, like other Westerners, was critical of the manner in which the Japanese craft industry had given itself over to mass production to meet the demands of the rapacious Western merchants.⁴³

Although employed by Ende und Böckmann, Muthesius managed to undertake a few commissions of his own while in Tokyo. Like the Western-style buildings which Ende und Böckmann were erecting for the government, Muthesius's own

architectural output made little acknowledgement of the local context. His first independent design was for the new German Protestant Church intended for the German-speaking community in Tokyo and Yokohama. Designed in the Gothic style, which he thought was better suited than a Classical style to the skills of the Japanese craftsmen still unaccustomed to Western architecture,⁴⁴ the church was to be of brick with stone trim, a tower and spire, and a vaulted polygonal chancel supported by angle-buttresses (Fig. 1).⁴⁵ This commission, unlikely for one so young, came about because Muthesius's brother Karl was the private tutor to the grandchildren of the church's largest donor, the Grand Duke Karl Alexander of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1818–1901),⁴⁶ the patron of Richard Wagner and Franz Liszt and the founder, in 1860, of the Weimar School of Art. In the event, the design was not built.

In 1895–96 a smaller and less exuberant building with French plate tracery and German dormer windows was erected to Muthesius's design, but by then he had already left Japan.⁴⁷ Although that church collapsed in the 1923 earthquake, the timber-framed Theological School and lecture hall which accompanied it survived (Fig. 2).⁴⁸ This building, with its cusped timber braces and early-Renaissance window surrounds, shared the site with a double house for the priests, a dormitory for students and a gate-lodge.⁴⁹ Apart from the sensible use of a timber frame in a seismic region, there was, however, nothing in the architecture of these buildings to suggest any obvious Japanese influence. Nor, it is likely, would there have been any Japanese influence in the design of a house for the Lord

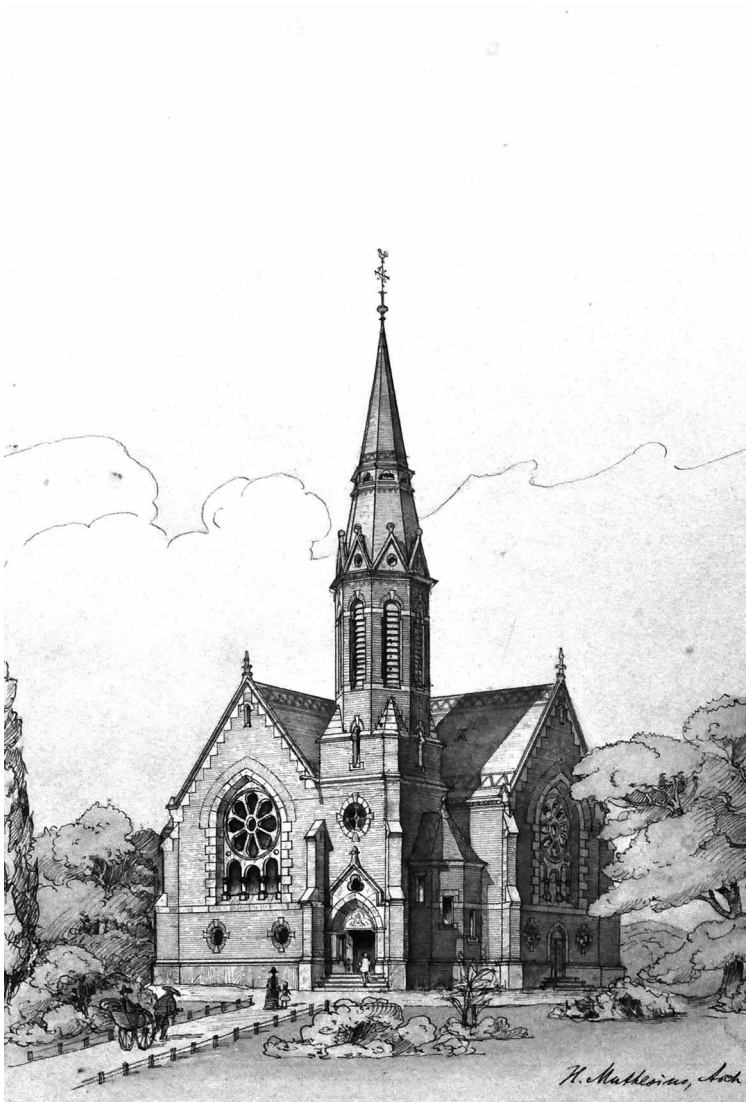
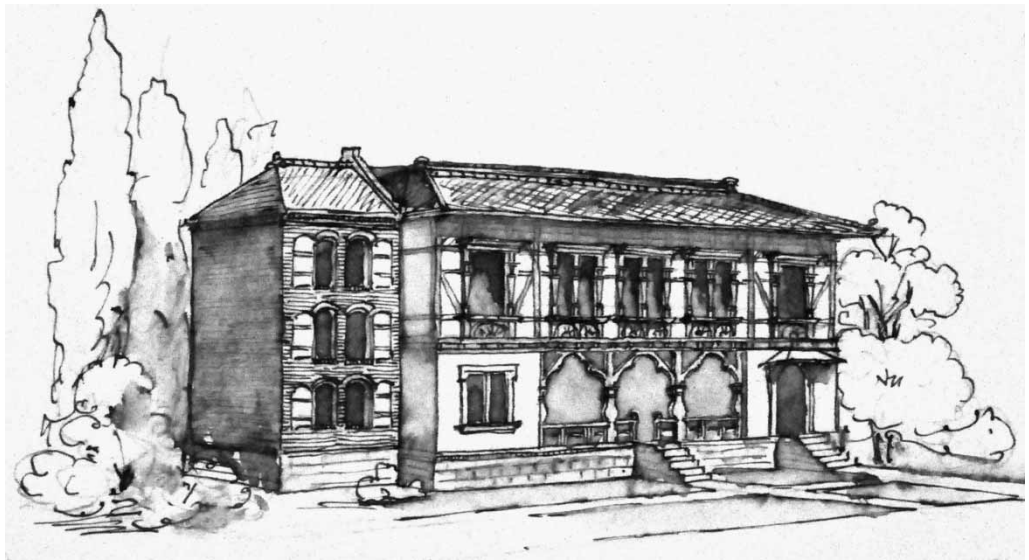


Figure 1. Hermann Muthesius's first design for the German Protestant Church in Tokyo (1889).

Figure 2. Hermann Muthesius's design for the Theological School at the German Protestant Church in Tokyo (1889).



Keeper of the Privy Seal of Japan and Chancellor of the Realm, Prince Sanjō Sanetomi (1837–91). Commissioned in 1888, the year before Sanetomi became, briefly, acting prime minister, this large, 170 *tsubo* (563 sq. m.) villa, for which no drawings appear to have survived, would have been a Western-style residence. In the event, the design was changed, much to Muthesius's dismay, by the Japanese architect Tsumaki Yorinaka (1859–1916) who worked with Muthesius on the Justice building and went on to make a successful if not a very accomplished career for himself as an architect, becoming head of the building section (*eizenka*) of the Ministry of Finance.⁵⁰ Once again, the selection of Muthesius for this building might seem surprising,

but if all Sanetomi wanted was an outline design, later to be reworked by a Japanese architect, a keen, young, man on Ende und Böckmann's staff would be a likely choice.

On 31st December, 1890, five months before the expiration of his contract, Muthesius terminated his employment and a week later left Japan to return to Germany, through China, Siam and India, arriving in Berlin in April, 1891.⁵¹ With him he brought a collection of Japanese prints and costumes, and deep-seated memories of Japan. A photograph, taken in Japan, of Muthesius in full Japanese dress, survives from an album of 1890;⁵² another, taken when attending a *Kostümfest* in Berlin with Anna Trippenbach (1870–1961), soon after their wedding in

1896, shows him similarly attired and now with the *daishō*, the two *samurai* swords which in Japan, by that date, would have been illegal to wear.⁵³ Anna is dressed as a fisherwoman (Fig. 3).⁵⁴

Once back in Berlin, Muthesius worked for the Prussian Ministry of Public Works and sat his *Bau-meisterprüfung* (the State Examination for Architects) and his success in this resulted in the award of a seven-month Italian study-trip, which he took in 1895–96. In October, 1896, Hermann and Anna Muthesius came to London, he to be a *technischer attaché* at the German Embassy with a brief to report on British technical advances.⁵⁵ While in Germany, Muthesius had worked on the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* (*Central Journal of Building Administration*) and the *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* (*Journal of Civil Engineering*), and had become involved with Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935), the art historian/critic and founder, in 1894, of the arts and literary magazine *Pan*.⁵⁶ In 1897, soon after becoming editor of the influential Munich magazine *Dekorative Kunst*,⁵⁷ Meier-Graefe wrote to Muthesius in England about The Four.⁵⁸ Muthesius might have already been aware of the artistic developments in Glasgow, for Mackintosh and the Macdonald sisters had had work included in the fifth exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society which had opened at the New Gallery, Regent Street, in the same month as he and Anna had arrived in London.⁵⁹ It was probably this prompting, rather than the Exhibition, however, which led to the first article which *Dekorative Kunst* carried on Glaswegians, published in the initial issue of October, 1897.⁶⁰ More of a short note than an article and of less than 100 words, it mentioned 'MACKIN-



Figure 3. Hermann and Anna Muthesius (1896).

TOSH, die beiden Miss MACDONALD, G WALTON⁶¹—but not McNair—and occupied just sixteen lines of a single column.

The fact that the article was brief and included no illustrations suggests that it was based on a secondary source and penned at a distance. Meier-Graefe had now moved to Paris and although Muthesius was in England, it is almost certain that, by October, 1897, he had had not been to Glasgow. A reference to ‘your former visit’, made by Mackintosh in a letter of 2nd November, 1899, would imply that there had been just one such visit: this was to take place in late April and early May, 1898. The secondary source for the article in *Dekorative Kunst* could not have been the Arts and Crafts Society Exhibition of the previous October, for George Henry Walton (1867–1933), Mackintosh’s collaborator on the Buchanan Street Tea Room, had not been represented. It is most likely to have been a lengthy article by Gleeson White (1851–98), called ‘Some Glasgow Designers and Their Work’, which was published in *The Studio* in July, September and October, 1897.⁶² This article, which excluded Mackintosh’s architecture—it is a matter of regret to pass it over⁶³—concentrating instead upon interior decoration, furniture and decorative arts, was clearly enthusiastic, although White recognised that the work of The Four was not to everybody’s taste and took care not to proselytise:

To defend the work of Mr Mackintosh is easy to one who believes in it ... Whether the first successes of Mr Mackintosh will prove to be merely chance efforts of youthful vigour, or the forerunners of a notable career, it is too early to decide. But so far, he has justified his most ardent suppor-

ters, and there is every reason to believe that he will not disappoint them in the future.⁶⁴

Both Meier-Graefe and Muthesius would have known of *The Studio*, which was widely read in Germany (where, in the 1890s, there were about 2,000 subscribers⁶⁵), and perhaps it was White’s concluding remark, that July, which caught their attention: ‘Even to a person who lacks sympathy with certain aspects of its [Glasgow’s] work, it would appear that the movement there is worth study and worth out-spoken approval...’⁶⁶ Responding quickly to this challenge, the short passage in the October, 1897, issue of *Dekorative Kunst* noted a fresh influence ‘which was able to give new blood to the sluggish veins of Londoners’.⁶⁷

The Muthesius correspondence

In April and May, 1898, Meier-Graefe wrote again to Muthesius, encouraging him to visit Glasgow and to write a long piece on the city’s artists;⁶⁸ and so in the spring of 1898 Muthesius travelled to Glasgow for the first time and there met The Four. There is no record of their meeting, or of what Muthesius saw in Glasgow, but, from the letters which followed, it is clear that he met Mackintosh, the MacDonald sisters and McNair, if not Talwin Morris (1865–1911). Their names are all included in the resulting, anonymous, article’s title, *Die schottischen Künstler: Margaret Macdonald, Frances Macdonald, Chas. R Mackintosh, T. Morris und J. Herbert McNair*.⁶⁹ On 11th May, 1898, Mackintosh wrote to Muthesius:

I have delivered your kind message to the Misses Macdonald and Mr McNair—The pleasure of

seeing you in Glasgow was ours and we hope when you come to Glasgow again it shall be a privilege [*sic*] to see you again.⁷⁰

In the autumn of the following year Muthesius returned to Glasgow but missed seeing Mackintosh who was, as he said, 'away for a rest'.⁷¹ The purpose of the 1899 visit was to research an article to include the tea rooms designed for Catherine Cranston; the Buchanan Street Tea Room had been completed in 1897 and the one on Argyle Street earlier that year. However, Muthesius's request to publish photographs of the tea rooms was met with some resistance,⁷² for Meier-Graefe and *Dekorative Kunst* had failed to pay for the earlier photographs. 'The whole thing', Mackintosh wrote that November, 'was that at the beginning of our negotiations he promised to pay up for getting photographs taken—and although on the strength of this we spent a considerable sum, he has not yet fulfilled that promise. This I tell you privately—'.⁷³ Mackintosh's hesitancy over allowing *Dekorative Kunst* to publish his work continued into the following year but the problem was eventually resolved, for the photographs were sent to Muthesius but not until some months later. 'I have to thank you very much', Mackintosh wrote on 12th July, 'for your letter of July 6th, and to ask you to accept my apologies for not having sent you some photographs before now', adding that getting photographs taken 'is always to me a great irritation'.⁷⁴ These photographs were used to illustrate the third article on the Glasgow artists, entitled 'Die Glasgower Kunstbewegung: Charles Rennie Mackintosh und Margaret Macdonald-Mackintosh'. Appearing under Muthesius's name in *Dekorative Kunst* in Sep-

tember, 1902,⁷⁵ its title clearly reflected an emphatic post-script to a letter from Margaret Macdonald to Muthesius of 25th January, 1902:

P.S. Will you please be so kind as to always make my name Margaret Macdonald MacKintosh
We both think that the article should be entitled
"The Work of Charles R MacKintosh + Margaret
Macdonald MacKintosh"

As early as July, 1900, Mackintosh had told Muthesius of his and Margaret's professional and private relationship. When writing with reference to the frieze panels in Miss Cranston's Ingram Street Tea Room, Mackintosh had said that 'Miss Margaret Macdonald is doing one and I am doing the other. We are working them together and that makes the work very pleasant', before adding, 'We (Miss Macdonald and I) are to be married in August'.⁷⁶ Muthesius responded with his congratulations and an invitation to visit. On 7th August Mackintosh wrote again '... it will give us both very great pleasure to come and see you when we are in London ... please accept our best thanks for your congratulations and good wishes. We are to be married on the 22nd'.⁷⁷ Soon afterwards, a wedding present arrived from Anna and Hermann Muthesius: two *Surimono* prints, one by Utagawa Shigenobu (1826–69) and the other by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865). 'We now have the prints framed', Mackintosh wrote on 19th December, 1900, 'and we count them among the most valued and beautiful things we possess. In our white drawing room they are the most perfect note of colour. Since my last letter did not reach you I will again thank you very very much for your kindness to us when we were in London and for the two beautiful prints which you sent to us'.⁷⁸

The correspondence in the *Deutscher Werkbund Archiv* shows clearly the breadth of the relationship between Muthesius and The Four. In asking for examples of their work for both *Dekorative Kunst* and *Das englische Haus*, Muthesius solicited often heart-felt responses. In January, 1903, McNair wrote:

The trouble involved in getting work together & a few words given are for a little lecture give me some idea of what a book such as yours must mean—though even that could not make me rise early unless I didn't go to bed—I hope Frau Muthesius is quite all right again & that you are very well – Frances sends her love to Frau Muthesius⁷⁹

And it was probably Frances who designed the title piece for the covers of *Das englische Haus*.

In another burst of letter-writing, Margaret's demonstrated her angst over the result of the Liverpool Cathedral Competition of 1902. Mackintosh's entry had not been placed:⁸⁰

Alas. + have you seen in the papers that one step towards the final decision upon the architects for the short list of the Liverpool Cathedral, has now been taken? ... There is still the selection by the committee to be made but I am afraid it is hopeless - they are almost sure to take the men selected by the advisers - What do you think? Do you think any use for you to see Norman Shaw now?⁸¹

Margaret included with the letter a cutting from the *Architectural Review* describing her husband's entry as 'a design of considerable freshness'.⁸² Richard Norman Shaw (1831–1912) had argued in the architectural press against the requirement that entries

should be in the Gothic style and, as a result, had been invited to be, with the gothicist George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907), an assessor for the competition.⁸³ However, Mackintosh's scheme was Gothic and probably of little interest to Shaw, as Margaret's letter to Anna Muthesius indicates:

It is, as you say, a great great pity about the Cathedral but only what one must expect. In architecture originality is a crime—especially to those who can themselves only be copyists. We heard from a cousin of Mr Bodley's that 'He had the greatest difficulty in selecting any of the designs sent in—they were all so bad—' a funny opinion when one thinks that amongst those designs were those of H Wilson, Leonard Stokes, Beresford Pite—not to mention one highly thought of—However, he is still alive + kicking + severely thinking of what he will do next.⁸⁴

The correspondence between Mackintosh, Muthesius and their wives continued well into the early 1900s, the last communication in the *Deutsche Werkbund Archiv* being a picture postcard of Forest House, Colemans Hatch, sent 'With greetings and kind regards M.M.M. C.R.M.'⁸⁵ Although only one side of the correspondence has survived, it provides, even in its formal style, ample evidence of the closeness to each other, not just of the two men, but of their wives as well. In April, 1902, on their way to Turin, the Mackintoshes stopped off for a few days in London at the Victoria Hotel, Northumberland Avenue, where they were to be joined for the weekend by the MacNairs; Herbert had married Frances Macdonald in 1899 and they were now living in Liverpool. 'We would both like very much', Mackintosh wrote, 'to come and see you and

Mrs Muthesius and the boys'.⁸⁶ Later that summer the Muthesiuses planned to come again to Glasgow. 'Now that is what we are looking forward to', Mackintosh wrote, 'so you must leave your work for a week or two, and come up to Glasgow'.⁸⁷ There had been some confusion over exactly when they would come so Margaret wrote to clarify the arrangements:

I hope that there is no mistake about your coming to see us in September—we have been looking upon it as settled that you would come in that month. It will suit us very nicely for you to come any day after the 18th that suits you best. The Wärndorfers are coming to stay with us for the first fortnight in September—but after that our little spare room will have no occupants till you come.⁸⁸

The Muthesiuses must have stayed following Fritz and Lili Wärndorfer,⁸⁹ for they wrote to thank their hosts. Mackintosh replied:

Thank you very much for your letter. It is nice of you to say that you enjoyed the very few days you were with us. I can assure you that your visit was a great pleasure and will long be remembered by us.⁹⁰

Six months later, on 13th March, 1903, Mackintosh wrote to Muthesius saying that he was planning another visit to London, by way of the MacNairs in Liverpool. 'As soon as I know about the train times I shall let you know when we will arrive'. Between the lines of Mackintosh's handwriting, Muthesius noted the possible options: '9⁴⁵-1⁴⁰ oder 8⁰ bis 12 oder 11⁵ bis 3³⁰'. The purpose of this visit was to look at some recent architecture which Muthesius would be including in his book,

Das englische Haus. 'Nothing could give me more pleasure', Mackintosh wrote, 'than to make the tour you suggest to Surrey to see some houses by Lutyens. If you are too busy to go you can easily direct me'.⁹¹ What they saw can only be imagined, but two Surrey houses, Munstead Wood (1897) and Orchards (1897), are included in the book, as is Lutyens's 'Home for Sailors' at Greenock.⁹² The latter was a remodelling and extension of the Ferry Inn at Roseneath (1897) for Princess Louise; perhaps Mackintosh had taken Muthesius there. The visit to the Muthesiuses at The Priory, Hammersmith, was a success but the return to Glasgow was depressing. On 27th March Mackintosh wrote to Anna:

It is now my pleasant duty to write and thank both you and Herr Muthesius for your great kindness and delightful hospitality to us when we stayed with you in London. I can say with the greatest sincerity that the happy recollections of our visit, are now, and will always be a delightful memory, and the knowledge of your sympathy with our artistic ambitions, will be a constant source of strength to us, when, as often occurs, antagonism and undeserved ridicule, bring on feelings of despondency & despair. Glasgow seems a cold and dull place when one returns from a visit to such good friends as you.⁹³

As the time approached for Muthesius to return to Germany, Margaret wrote once again from 120, Mains Street, entreating him and Anna to visit Glasgow:

We shall be very delighted to see you once more before you leave—of course you will come & stay with us while you are here —It will be a

great pleasure to us to have you—this would be doubled up if Frau Muthesius would also come—perhaps she might manage it? Please give her my love & tell her to come if she possibly can do so, with you. I promise not to take the slightest trouble—just come & take us as we are—but we shall be delighted if you both come.⁹⁴

There is almost a sense of desperation in these last letters, as if a lifeline was being withdrawn. On 27th May Mackintosh wrote in similar vein:

You must be very sorry to leave your dear old house—we always think with regret that we will be able no longer to come and see you in The Priory when we come to London. We shall be indeed very glad to see you when you come to Glasgow in June.⁹⁵

Whether or not Hermann and Anna made one last visit to Glasgow is unclear, but by early July, 1903, they had returned to Berlin. 'Are you now quite settled down in Berlin' Mackintosh enquired on 7th July. 'How do you like the change?' for I suppose it is a great change from London. We shall be glad to hear from you when you or Frau Muthesius has some time.⁹⁶

Although the correspondence in the *Detusche Werkbund Archiv* ceases with the postcard from Colemans Hatch, the letter-writing must have continued. We know this from the incident at Walberswick when, in the early summer of 1915, Mackintosh was arrested by the Suffok constabulary for being a spy. The coastal village of Walberswick-on-Blyth was popular with artists—here the English Impressionist Philip Wilson Steer (1860–1942) owned Valley Farm—and Hermann and Anna Muthesius had actually been there in 1902; a photo-

graph of an old farmhouse at Walberswick appears in *Das englische Haus*.⁹⁷ 'You will enjoy Walberswick', Margaret had written to Anna in 1902. 'From all accounts it seems one of the desirable places upon this earth & you will find Mr & Mrs Newbery very delightful people.'⁹⁸ That year Francis 'Fra' Newbery (1855–1946), the headmaster of the Glasgow School of Art, had bought a semi-detached villa, Millside; it was in the other half that the Mackintoshes were to stay in 1914–15 and Jessie Newbery (1864–1947), also an artist, found them a studio, no more than a fisherman's shed, where they could work,⁹⁹ allowing Mackintosh to draw some of his finest botanical studies. However his cloaked and hatted appearance, his night-time walks along the beach with a lantern and his strange accent caused suspicion; and when it was found that he had connections with Germany and Austria his letters from his European friends were seized and he was ordered to leave the area.¹⁰⁰ This probably accounts for the missing half of the Muthesius/Mackintosh correspondence for, as Mackintosh wrote to William Davidson (1861–1945), his client at Windy Hill, Kilmacolm (1900–01), the letters were '... all some years old and all relating entirely to artistic and social affairs'.¹⁰¹

Mackintosh and Margaret

The creative relationship between Mackintosh and Margaret which comes through clearly, if sometimes insistently, in the correspondence, is now recognised. However, in 1933, soon after the *Memorial Exhibition* at the McLellan Galleries which celebrated their work, Philip Morton Shand opined that it was Margaret's 'firm insistence on "me too" that too

often led him [Mackintosh] into a uxorious ornamental vulgarity'.¹⁰² More recent scholarship has refuted this¹⁰³ and simple observation contradicts Shand's extraordinary assertion that the addition of the second phase at the School of Art 'entailed no noteworthy modification of the elevations, which are in all structural and decorative essentials identical with those shown in Mackintosh's original plans of 1894 [*sic*].'¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the extent to which Margaret, as opposed to Muthesius, might have encouraged Mackintosh's interest in Japan should be briefly considered.

If *Part Seen, Part Imagined* was a paean to Margaret's beauty and an evocation of how Mackintosh saw her, its Japanese qualities were only briefly reflected in her work. The twin panels of *The May Queen*, by Margaret, and *The Wassail*, by Mackintosh,¹⁰⁵ mentioned by him in his letter to Muthesius of 12th July, 1900, show figures not unlike those in *Part Seen, Part Imagined* which would suggest Mackintosh's guiding hand throughout. However, neither *The White Rose and the Red Rose* panel which Margaret painted for the writing cabinet they displayed in the Rose Boudoir at the Turin Exhibition of 1902,¹⁰⁶ nor the extensive *Seven Princesses* frieze¹⁰⁷ painted for Fritz Wärndorfer's (1868–1939) music room in 1906, suggested anything so oriental. Here the figures have become rounded and the hairstyle no longer appears Japanese.

The May Queen and *The Wassail* were both exhibited in the Scottish Room at the eighth Secession Exhibition in Vienna in 1900, as were two hanging panels of appliqué-work by Margaret which the critic W. Fred described, in the *Artist*, as 'slender figures with Japanese masks'.¹⁰⁸ Fred's assessment

was not without prejudice, for he regarded the white walls as being 'in a curious Japanese style' while the whole room 'reaches the very limits of possibility'.¹⁰⁹ So abstract are these panels that the representation of Japanese masks is a matter of interpretation. However, in a pair of gesso panels prepared in 1903 for Wärndorfer's piano and entitled *The Opera of the Sea* and *The Opera of the Wind*,¹¹⁰ the rows of identical, white faces are surely simulacra of *Noh* theatrical masks. Margaret reintroduced this theme in *The Mysterious Garden* in 1911 and gave it emphasis in her recreation of *The Opera of the Sea* as a large panel in 1915. Here the kissing figures are reworked, showing the influence of Gustav Klimt's *The Kiss* (1907–08): the floral headdress of the upright figure now suggests a silken kimono, while the faces of the floating woman, perhaps a Madonna, and the child, read like yellowed masks while their black hair flows like waves across the panel. Thus it seems likely that Margaret was not so much the progenitor of any Japanese direction in their work, but rather the respondent. As for the *Noh* masks, perhaps Muthesius showed her one when she and Mackintosh stayed at the Priory in the early spring of 1903. Photographs of the Muthesiuses at home show *kakemono*, a *byobu* and a *hibachi*.¹¹¹ maybe they had a *Noh* mask as well.

Mackintosh and Japan

The flat at 120, Mains Street, which Mackintosh and Margaret designed for themselves in 1900 in anticipation of their marriage, was quite unlike anything seen in Glasgow at the time. It was, significantly, set within the smoke-blackened stone walls of a

Figure 4. The Mackintosh's white drawing-room at 120, Mains Street, with Hermann and Anna Muthesius's two *Surimono* prints on the mantelpiece (1900).



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tenement block and appeared to exist in spite of, rather than because of its host building. Muthesius illustrated the white drawing-room in *Das englische Haus*,¹¹² noting enthusiastically 'that the Glaswegians have borrowed the ideas that Whistler introduced into painting for the decoration of their rooms'.¹¹³ In 1905, Blanche-Ernest Kalas (1866–1934),¹¹⁴ a painter and the wife of the Rheims architect Ernest Kalas (1861–1928), who had visited the flat, described it as 'amazingly white and clean-looking' with 'all the virginal beauty of white satin'

(Fig. 4).¹¹⁵ The high-ceilinged drawing-room was cut by a low frieze-rail running, like a Japanese *ranma*,¹¹⁶ along its walls and across the tall windows. Four suspended ceiling lights, set in the corners of the room, dropped to the level of this *ranma* from which the muslin curtains also hung. The walls below the *ranma* were finished in light grey canvas panels framed by vertical wooden strips; above, the walls and ceiling were white, as was all the woodwork. On the mantelpiece were propped the Muthesiuses' two framed *Surimono*

prints while arrangements of dried twigs recalled Hornel's lecture on Japan:

Nature to them is symbolism itself, and associated with traditions handed down from remote periods ... A few flowers, one or two twigs quaintly put together in a beautiful vase, and these tiny parts of nature express a thought, a story, or tradition. But what an effect!¹¹⁷

A similar treatment was afforded the much smaller and darker dining room where the panelled walls were covered in plain, brown wrapping-paper, and the *ranma* and wooden verticals were stained brown. The dining room's gloominess is reminiscent of Junichirō Tanizaki's book *In Praise of Shadows* (1933) which explains that 'the beauty of a Japanese room depends on a variation of shadows, heavy shadows against light shadows—it has nothing else'.¹¹⁸ The darkness of this room, and the extreme whiteness, or brightness, of the other would have appeared startling to anyone familiar with artistic interiors in the recent and still popular Queen Anne Revival style. Writing in *Beautiful Houses* in 1882, Mary Eliza Haweis described the interior of a house by Norman Shaw as having 'no affectation, neither of gaiety nor of gloomy discomfort'.¹¹⁹ One room, approached 'through hangings of amber and Japanese broiery ... defines somewhat the pearly tint on the side of green'. Here, 'the windows, painted in the softest tints, suggest lilies and long leaves ... Blinds of pale blue silk soften without excluding the light, and the blue sinks into dark blue on the raven tiles in the fireplace'.¹²⁰ Although the lilies and long leaves might recall the Mackintosh and Margaret's work, this London interior was *Japonisme* and the Mackintoshes' flat at 120, Mains Street, was not.

It was but a five-minute walk from 120, Mains (now Blythswood) Street to the School of Art which, when Blanche-Ernest and Ernest Kalas visited Glasgow, was still only half-completed. Ernest's account of the building, as told by his wife, relied heavily on 'Die Glasgower Kunstbewegung ...', Muthesius's article of September, 1902.¹²¹ 'It appears to have no roof', he notes of the north elevation. 'Without cornice or ornamentation, the walls stand stark bare as the pylons of the mosques of Ispahan'.¹²² The addition of the second phase, comprising everything to the west of the entrance and main stairs, did little to change this perception, the new walls of the west wing rising high above the steep incline of Scott Street with Sauchiehall Street below. The appearance of the completed south elevation has been compared with Fyvie Castle, Aberdeenshire,¹²³ and the similarity of the three long library windows on the west elevation to the windows at Castle Huntly, Aberdeenshire, has also been noted.¹²⁴ Both Scottish castles were illustrated in MacGibbon and Ross's *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887–92)¹²⁵ which Mackintosh knew. In his lecture on Scotch Baronial Architecture, delivered to the Glasgow Architectural Association in February, 1891, Mackintosh had described Fyvie [*sic*] as 'one of the finest and most characteristic castles in the Scottish style'¹²⁶ and had observed that at Huntly 'we find a very uncommon feature in the three oriel windows'.¹²⁷

In this way, the argument might be made that the Glasgow School of Art is modelled on Scottish precedents. However, a February, 1897, drawing shows something rather different.¹²⁸ For although the north elevation differs little from what was built, the south elevation shows an edifice far

more stark than what was eventually effected. The competition rules had stipulated that 'The south elevation may not have any lights in its walls, in a line with the building line, except perhaps in the upper floor.'¹²⁹ So Mackintosh divided the elevation into five bays which stepped alternately up to and back from the building line. The blank walls are broken only by two sets of horizontal windows on the receding bays, each with a single band of smaller windows above, while high on one wall hangs a glazed box with a mono-pitch roof, the conservatory for the Flower Painting Room. These features, together with the alternating high and low eaves line, recall Morse's illustrations of a street in Kanda Ku or of Kura in Tokyo.¹³⁰ Had it been Mackintosh's intention to be historicist and draw on recognisable Scottish precedents for this elevation, it is surely more likely that this would have been the strategy behind the competition entry rather than the product of a later development.

As Macleod (1983) and Crawford (2002)¹³¹ have pointed out, many of the features of the building relate to contemporaneous British, and specifically English, architecture. Although they do not explain how Mackintosh knew of these, it would have been through personal friendships, publications and, as with the Lutyens buildings in Surrey mentioned above, site visits. The most likely, and often cited, source for the south elevation of the second-phase library wing was the recently completed Bristol Central Library (1902–06) designed by Charles Holden (1875–1960). However, no satisfactory precedent has ever been offered for the tall bay windows overlooking Scott Street (Fig. 5). For this one should look at the house which Arthur

Heygate Mackmurdo (1851–1942) built in 1893 for the Australian painter and Japanophile, Mortimer Menpes (1855–1938) at 25, Cadogan Gardens, London (Fig. 6). This is not just because of the similarity of the elevations, but also because of the debt which that building owed to Japan.

25, Cadogan Gardens, was conceived largely as a shell, Menpes taking it upon himself to complete the fitting out. 'It was with a view to decorating my newly-built London house', he wrote in *Japan: A Record in Colour*, 'that I paid a second visit to Japan, being convinced that it was possible to handle the labour there at a cheaper rate and with finer results than in Europe. My experience proved that I was right.'¹³² Menpes had been Whistler's pupil and from him had developed an interest in Japanese art, but he fell out with the Master after going to Japan in 1887 without first telling him.¹³³ In 1899, *The Studio* published the house and wrote of how in 1896 Menpes, armed with a set of drawings, had travelled to Japan where he 'made an especial study of Japanese house decoration and ... set himself the task of superintending the construction of a complete range of fittings, each detail of which should not only be designed but actually made by Japanese craftsmen; the whole being so constructed as to be readily taken to pieces, packed, and put together again in London.'¹³⁴ Had he read it, this account would have appealed to Mackintosh. For in fitting out Miss Cranston's tea-rooms and his own flat at 120, Mains Street, as well as in building the library at the School of Art, Mackintosh assembled within an existing masonry shell delicate and highly crafted interiors.¹³⁵

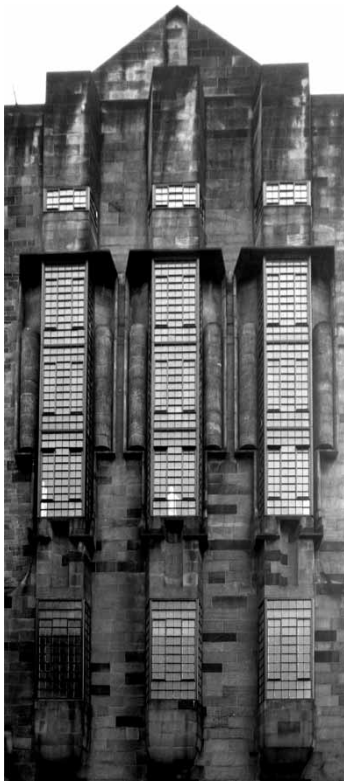


Figure 5. The library windows at Mackintosh's Glasgow School of Art (1907–09). (© the Author.)



Figure 6. A. H. Mackmurdo's 25, Cadogan Gardens, London (1893). (© the Author.)

The most powerful demonstration of this 'shop-fitting' approach can be seen in the library at the School of Art. As shown on the 1896 competition drawings, the library was a square space with a lozenge-shaped gallery supported on a grid of twelve columns, four of which penetrated through the gallery from below. At both levels, three windows punctuated the west wall, the central ones being an oriel.¹³⁶ When eventually realised in

1909, the library had become a two-storey space contained within a two-and-a-half storey volume, the west wall transformed into three tall, polygonal oriel windows which rose up the full height of the enclosure. The gallery, now supported on eight 'ingeniously placed' columns,¹³⁷ drew back from its structural framework to reveal a composite assembly of posts and beams which rose to the gridded ceiling. Like the Dutch Kitchen at Miss Cran-

ston's Argyll Street Tea Rooms,¹³⁸ completed in 1906, the interior was dark and heavily timbered.

It is not thought that Muthesius saw the School of Art once it was finished but, had he done so, he might have been struck by the similarity of this space to the Japanese *kura*, the forgotten building typology of traditional Japanese architecture. Another German, the geographer Johannes Rein (1835–1918), writing in *Japan nach Reisen und Studien* (1881–86), had noted how 'Merchants and others among the better classes possess, at a short distance from their dwelling houses, a *kura* or *dozō*, i.e. a fire-proof, white-washed building, with thick walls of clay or mud, in which their wares and valuables of all kinds are ...'¹³⁹ It was the sanctuary of the *kura* which allowed the traditional Japanese house, always prone to burning, to appear so free of clutter. In the later Edo and the Meiji periods, *dozō*, the specifically clay (inside) and plaster (outside) *kura*, were increasingly adapted as shops or for domestic living, giving rise to the terms *sumai-kura* (residence *kura*) or *zashiki-gura* (parlour *kura*).¹⁴⁰

But in the humid Japanese climate, the walls would be often cold and damp.¹⁴¹ So, 'for the fitting up of such a room, to adapt it for a living-place', as Morse explained, 'a light framework of bamboo is constructed, which stands away from the walls a distance of two or three feet; upon this cloth is stretched like a curtain. The framework forms a ceiling as well, so that the rough walls and beams of the floor above are concealed by this device' (Fig. 7).¹⁴² Morse's illustration, 'Framework for draping room in *kura*',¹⁴³ suggests, immediately, the timber-frame construction of

the library at the School of Art (Fig. 8), where the framework stands away from the walls and a curtain of books is stretched between.¹⁴⁴ Another drawing in Morse's book, 'Ceiling rafters supported temporarily',¹⁴⁵ shows how the framework of a Japanese ceiling is suspended by a rope, much as Mackintosh, using wrought-iron straps, hung the gridded library ceiling from the steel beams above.

On the floor level above the library assembly was the Composition Room or Studio 58. Here, where there are no trusses to support the open roof, shaped purlins extend the length of the room between tall timber structures which stand, not unlike Japanese *tora*, at either gable end. From high up their vertical shafts, paired cross-beams act as ties, reaching to the opposing pitches of the roof, while short beams, again arranged in pairs, brace back each structure against the end gable. Although the long, square shafts are elegantly tapered, the lapped joints are not pegged but bolted.¹⁴⁶

Outside the studio, the new west stairs winds downwards. Like its counterpart at the east end, where *ko-sukashi* decoration¹⁴⁷ is used in the wrought ironwork of the balcony rail, the walls are finished with a smooth cement render and punctuated with patterns of glazed, square tiles set in a grid. Again *mon* come to mind as do the smooth, sand-rendered finishes applied to the walls of Japanese houses. Beyond the arcaded loggia which meets the top of the west stairs, the Pavilion or Hen Run extends across the south face of the building. Although no more than a high-level corridor to by-pass the Director's Studio, it is

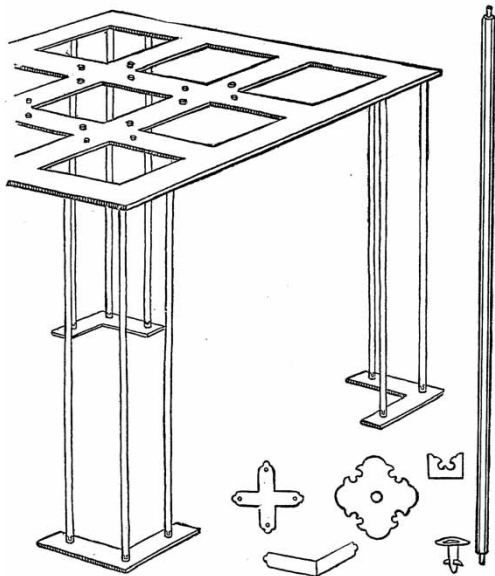


FIG. 138. — FRAMEWORK FOR DRAPING
ROOM IN KURA.



Figure 7. Morse's illustration of the framework for lining a *kura*. (© the Author).

Figure 8. Mackintosh's library at the Glasgow School of Art (1907–09). (© the Author).

immediately evocative of the *engawa* and *shoji* of the Japanese house. Illustrations suggesting these associations—'Diaper Patterns', 'Plasterers at Work' and the *engawa*—appear in Dresser's book.¹⁴⁸ Why these features should be Japanese rather than *Japonisme* is inferred from the directness of the application and the absence of decorative elaboration. This simplicity suggests the lineage of the Shinto shrines at Ise, which were associated with the newly-established Imperial Meiji household rather than the ornate Buddhist temples at Nikko, which memorialised the ousted *Shōgun* regime.

There was ample opportunity in Glasgow, at that time, for Mackintosh to have seen both Morse's and Dresser's books. And it is known that Mackintosh had received, as prizes, a number of books by the designer and decorative artist Lewis Foreman Day¹⁴⁹ (1845–1910) who, in 1901, had recognised Mackintosh's Japanese tendency in the stall he designed for the Glasgow International Exhibition. Like Gleeson White before him, Day was cautiously approving:

Compared with the quasi-Oriental buildings, the stall of the Glasgow School of Art, a sort of cage in which to confine a pair of lady book-binders, is most severely simple. It is designed, in fact, to

show how simply an erection of this sort may be built, the straight lines naturally suggested by carpentry construction being allowed to assert themselves, with no attempt at ornament beyond what is afforded by judicious distribution and proportion ... So imperturbably does he work on his own lines that to eyes unsympathetic it seems like affectation; but there is honestly no doubt as to the genuineness of the artistic impulse. Whether it is quite wise for him to follow it so unhesitatingly is another question—which time will answer.¹⁵⁰

Conclusion

This essay has argued that the development of the Japanese aesthetic in Mackintosh's work, and particularly at the Glasgow School of Art, was the result of the friendship between him and Hermann Muthesius. In the context of late-nineteenth century Glasgow, where *Japonisme* was well received, Muthesius's extensive experience of Japan would have appeared attractive. The correspondence between these men and their wives, which has never before been considered in its wholeness, shows that their closeness continued after the Muthesiuses had returned to Germany. The fact that Muthesius's side of the correspondence has apparently not survived does not detract from the argument, for enough can be read or surmised to provide a relatively complete picture although further research could close some lacunae. More evidence of Muthesius's time in Japan than Ikeda (2000) has provided might still be found in the *Deutscher Werkbund Archiv* and this could build a better picture of his life there. The

extent to which Japanese architecture, rather than English, influenced Muthesius's own work following his return to Germany is another avenue of investigation: the treatment of the interior of his own house in Nikolassee, Berlin (1906), for example—the glazed panelling of the study bookcases and the vertical boarding of the hallway and landing—was clearly evocative of Japanese timber construction.

As the archive developing under the auspices of the Mackintosh Architecture Project at the University of Glasgow shows, there was a much broader stylistic range to the architecture which came out of the office of Honeyman and Keppie, later Honeyman, Keppie and Mackintosh. This essay has concentrated upon a narrow slice of that work, but nevertheless, the best known. Other influences, particularly Scottish, played upon Mackintosh's work but what is largely remembered of his output, whether with or without Margaret, is what Muthesius has promoted. And, as Crawford (2002) has pointed out, it was a highly selective and filtered view which Muthesius advanced: 'an extreme originality and spirituality, expressed in rough-cast houses, mystical-seeming white interiors, modelled furniture and dreaming women.'¹⁵¹

How Mackintosh learned from Muthesius is more difficult to pin down. The letters contain no direct references to Japanese architecture but nevertheless it is hard to imagine that Muthesius did *not* discuss or even enthuse about his years in Japan. Mackintosh's own susceptibility to *Japonisme* would suggest a ready listener. Perhaps Muthesius served Mackintosh best by understanding what was nascent in his work and simply encouraged it. This is likely because the shift from *Japonisme*, as

expressed in the first phase of the School of Art, to something in the second phase which responded much more closely to what was Japanese, was coincident with the development of Mackintosh's friendship with Muthesius. Eckart Muthesius (1904–89), Hermann and Anna's son and Mackintosh's godson, and himself an architect, fully understood the importance of his father to Mackintosh's work. 'No-one', he wrote, 'expresses better than Mackintosh what a pillar of moral support Muthesius was to him.'¹⁵² And it does not take a Japanese architect to recognise his own country's architecture in Mackintosh's work for, as Arata Isozaki (b. 1931) had observed, 'The simplicity needs no explanation. It is amazing how he has grasped the essence of Japanese aesthetics.'¹⁵³

Abbreviations

NHM: Nachlass Hermann Muthesius
DWAB: Deutscher Werkbund Archiv,
Berlin.

Acknowledgements

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Professor David Stewart; Professor Mark Swenarton; Torsten Schmiedeknecht.

Notes and references

1. 'Here, for the first time, we see signs of a change of style.' This firm affirmation was made, in an unpublished draft, by Nikolaus Pevsner in 1934, but it was not published until 1950, in Italian, and then in English in 1968. A more circumspect version of the statement appeared in 1936: 'A glance at the earlier and later parts of the Art School reveals the development of Mackintosh's taste between 1897 and 1907.' See N. Pevsner, *Charles R Mackintosh. Architetti del movimento moderno*, 8 (Milan, Balcone, 1950); *Pioneers of the Modern Movement From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London, Faber and Faber, 1936), p. 163; *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design: Victorian and After* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 170.
2. There is an extensive annotated bibliography in, William Buchanan, ed., *Mackintosh's Masterwork: The Glasgow School of Art* (Glasgow and London, Glasgow School of Art Press in association with A & C Black, 2004), pp. 193–92. Later publications include John Cairney, *The Quest for Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (Edinburgh, Luath Press, 2004) and those cited below.
3. Pamela Robertson (née Reekie), Joseph Sharples and Nicky Imrie, the Mackintosh Architecture Project, Hunterian, University of Glasgow.
4. Alan Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1995; 2002).
5. James Macaulay, Mark Fiennes, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Life and Work* (New York and London, W W Norton, 2010).
6. See: Yukio Futagawa, ed., *Global Architecture: Charles Rennie Mackintosh, The Glasgow School of*

- Art, Glasgow, Scotland, Great Britain, 1897–99, 1907–09* (Tokyo, ADA Edita, 1979); Hiroaki Kimura, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Architectural Drawings' (University of Glasgow PhD, 1982).
7. Timothy Neat, *Part Seen, Part Imagined: Meaning and Symbolism in the Work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald* (Edinburgh, Canongate Press, 1994); Janice Helland, *The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996); Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer, Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag: Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh und der Salon Waerndorfer in Wien—A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon: Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh and the Salon Waerndorfer in Vienna* (Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2000).
 8. See: Anon., *Some Designs by Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (London, Architectural Association, 1981); Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society Tenth Anniversary Celebrations 1973–83, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh, The Memorial Exhibition 1933, a Reconstruction' (Glasgow, The Fine Art Society, 1983); *C R Mackintosh: the Chelsea Years* (Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, 1984); *Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh* (Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, 1984); *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (Tokyo, Japan Art and Culture Association, 1985).
 9. Pamela Robertson, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Architectural Papers* (Wendlebury, White Cockade Publishing, and Glasgow, University of Glasgow, 1990).
 10. See, for example: Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund. Design and Theory & Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996); Laurent Stalder, *Hermann Muthesius (1861–1927): Das Landhaus als kulturgeschichtlicher Entwurf* (Zurich, gta Verlag, 2008).
 11. Yūko Ikeda, ed., *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau: Herman Muthesius und der Deutsche Werkbund: Modernes Design in Deutschland 1900–1927* (Kyoto, National Museum of Modern Art, 2002).
 12. See: Julius Posener, 'Hermann Muthesius (1861–1927)', *Baumeister* (April, 1984); Hermann Muthesius [Dennis Sharp, ed., Janet Seligman, trsl., Julius Posener, preface], *The English House* (London, Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1979); Sonja Günther, Julius Posener, Dennis Sharp, *Hermann Muthesius 1861–1927* (London, Architectural Association, 1979); Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Architektur: Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II* (Munich, Prestel, 1979).
 13. Hermann Muthesius [Dennis Sharp, ed.], *The English House* (London, Frances Lincoln, 2007).
 14. See Antonia Lovelace, *Art for Industry: The Glasgow Japan Exchange of 1878* (Glasgow, Glasgow Museums, 1991) and Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-century Japan* (London and New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 21.
 15. *Oriental Art Loan Exhibition, Comprising Principally the Decorative Arts of Japan and Persia*, Corporation Galleries, Glasgow, December 1881 till May 1882 (Glasgow, Robert Anderson, 1881), pp. 29–31, 41–42, 58–58, et seq.
 16. *The Glasgow Herald* (2nd March, 1882), p. 4.
 17. See Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain after 1859: creating cultural bridges* (London and New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 136.
 18. Bill Smith, *Hornel: The Life and Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel* (Edinburgh, Atelier Books, 1997), p. 90.
 19. See Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain after 1859, op. cit.*, p. 136.
 20. Mackintosh was also apprenticed to the Glasgow architect John Hutchison in 1884.

21. 630 copies were printed. Copy 16 is at the Broughton House Museum, Kirkcudbright.
22. In both *Matthew* (11:7) and *Luke* (7:24), in the King James version, Christ asks this rhetorical question of the followers of John the Baptist.
23. Edward Hornel, *Japan, LECTURE by E A HORNEL, delivered in the Corporation Art Galleries, Glasgow, 9th February, 1895* (Castle Douglas, J H Maxwell, 1895), p. 12.
24. In 1909, Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh added a studio and gallery to Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, which Hornel had purchased, in 1901, with the proceeds of his sales.
25. See Gleeson White, 'Some Glasgow Designers and Their Work (Part 1)', *The Studio*, 11 (July, 1897), p. 92.
26. Mackintosh had previously been romantically involved with John Keppie's sister Jessie.
27. The closing date for the competition was 15th September, 1896.
28. See William Buchan, ed., *Mackintosh's Masterwork: The Glasgow School of Art, op. cit.*, p. 11, illus. 2.7. Mackintosh had used such a device as early as 1890 in the competition drawing for the Public Hall: see Hiroaki Kimura, ed., *Process Architecture: Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (Tokyo, Process Architecture Publishing Co, 1984), p. 124.
29. Whistler signed his paintings, such as the portrait of Thomas Carlyle, with a butterfly set within a circle.
30. T. Neat, *Part Seen, Part Imagined, op. cit.*, p. 161. 'In fact I think we should be a little less cosmopolitan & rather more national in our Archi. as we are with language, new words & phrases will be incorporated gradually, but the wholesale introduction of Japanese senta[n]ces for example would be denounced & rightly by the purist.' See P. Robertson, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh, op. cit.*, p. 196.
31. Hiroaki Kimura, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Architectural Drawings' (University of Glasgow PhD, 1982), Part 2: Design Analytical Catalogue, pp. 21–25; Hiroaki Kimura, 'Comparison of Japanese Heraldry with Mackintosh's Ornament', in Hiroaki Kimura, ed., *Process Architecture* (1984), *op. cit.*, pp. 124–125.
32. *Ibid.*, H. Kimura, 'Japanese Influence on Mackintosh's Architecture', p. 117.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
34. Thomas Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952; 1977), p.66; David Brett, *C. R. Mackintosh: The Poetics of Workmanship* (London, Reaktion Books, 1992), p.85; A. Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh, op. cit.*, p. 30.
35. Brett (1992), p. 87.
36. The drawing for this is inscribed 'CRM April 1899'.
37. Christopher Dresser, *Japan: Its architecture, art, and art manufactures* (London, Longmans, Green, and Co, 1882): see, for example, pp. 113, 239; figs 35, 73.
38. Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888; first edition, 1886): see, for example, p. 14; fig. 4.
39. Muthesius had signed a contract in Berlin with the Imperial Japanese Government on 9th April, 1887: see Yūko Ikeda, 'Hermann Muthesius und Japan', in Yūko Ikeda, ed., *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau, op. cit.*, p. 391 n. 5. On p.384 she gives the year as 1889, but this is incorrect.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 384: Wilhelm Böckmann signed a contract with the Imperial Japanese Government on 30th June, 1886.
41. *Ibid.*; Karl Muthesius published *Goethe, ein Kinderfreund* in 1903 (Berlin, Ernst Siegfried Mittler and Sohn, 1903).
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 384, 391 n. 5: this second contract was signed on 15th June, 1887.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 389–90.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 385–87: for the German Protestant Church.

45. NHM, 7/Japan 3.6–3.7, DWAB.
46. Yūko Ikeda, 'Hermann Muthesius und Japan', *op. cit.*, p. 386.
47. NHM, 7/Japan 3.9, DWAB.
48. See Yūko Ikeda, 'Hermann Muthesius und Japan', *op. cit.*, pp. 387–88, for the Theological School.
49. NHM, 7/Japan 3.10–3.14, DWAB.
50. Yūko Ikeda, 'Hermann Muthesius und Japan', *op. cit.*, p. 389. Here Ikeda gives the name as Tsumaki Yoritomo, but it is more likely to be Tsumaki Yorinaka. See Ryōzaburō Kitahara, *Meiji no kenchikuka Tsumaki Yorinaka no shōgai* (Tokyo, Gendai Shokan, 2002) and also David Stewart, *The Making of Modern Japanese Architecture: From the Founders to Shinohara and Isozaki*, (Tokyo, New York, London, Kodansha International, 2002), p. 48. For Tsumaki Yorinaka, see Hiroshi Watanabe, *The Architecture of Tōkyō* (Stuttgart, London, Edition Axel Menges, 2001), p. 71.
51. Yūko Ikeda, 'Hermann Muthesius und Japan', *op. cit.*, pp. 384 and 390; Eckart Muthesius, 'Muthesius', in S. Günther, J. Posner, D. Sharp (1979), *op. cit.*, p. 3. See also Takeyoshi Hori, ed., *Art in Japan* 8, no. 447 (Tokyo, Shinbundo, 2003), p. 62.
52. See Yūko Ikeda, ed., *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau*, *op. cit.*, p. 71; illus. 32.
53. The wearing of the *daishō* in public was banned in 1876.
54. Uncatalogued, DWAB.
55. See Dennis Sharp, 'Introduction', in Hermann Muthesius [Dennis Sharp, ed., Janet Seligman, transl., Julius Posener, preface], *The English House*, *op. cit.*, p. xv.
56. *Pan*, published in Berlin in 1895–1900, was influential in the development of *Jugendstil*. The magazine was revived by Paul Cassirer in 1910–15 and W. Fred (see Note 108 below) was an editor.
57. Meier-Graefe was editor of *Dekorative Kunst* from 1897–99.
58. Meier-Graefe to Muthesius, 18th July, 1897: NHM, DWAB. For correspondence between Meier-Graefe and Muthesius, see Laurie A Stein, 'Hermann Muthesius and German-British Discourse, 1896–1905', in, Yūko Ikeda, ed., *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau*, *op. cit.*, pp.398, 402; ns 40, 43, 44.
59. The numbered exhibition catalogue lists two joint works by the Macdonald sisters (285, 475) and one individual piece by each of them (Frances, 508; Margaret, 511), as well as five pieces designed by Mackintosh (273, 504, 509, 589), one of which was executed by Jessie Keppie (510). There are no works by McNair. See, Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, *Catalogue of the Fifth Exhibition, 1896* (London, 1896). See also Lewis F. Day, 'Fifth Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts', *Art Journal* (November, 1896), pp. 329–32.
60. *Dekorative Kunst*, 1 (October, 1897), p. 50. A copy of this edition of *Dekorative Kunst*, originally belonging to Charles Robert Ashbee, is held in the RIBA Library, London.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Gleeson White, 'Some Glasgow Designers and Their Work', parts 1, 2, 3: *The Studio*, 11 (1897), pp. 86–100, 227–36 and *The Studio*, 12 (1897), pp. 47–51.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
65. L. A. Stein, 'Hermann Muthesius and German-British Discourse, 1896–1905', in, Yūko Ikeda, ed., *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau*, *op. cit.*, p. 396. Stein actually states 20,000 but this, like some other numerical references in this publication, cannot be correct.
66. Gleeson White, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
67. *Dekorative Kunst*, 1 (1897), p. 50. I am grateful to Pamela Robertson for an English translation.
68. Meier-Graefe to Muthesius, 17th April, 21st April and 5th May, 1898, Nachlass HM, DWAB. For correspondence between Meier-Graefe and Muthesius, see

- L. A. Stein, 'Hermann Muthesius and German-British Discourse, 1896–1905', in Yūko Ikeda, ed., *Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau*, *op. cit.*
69. Anon., 'Die schottischen Künstler: Margaret Macdonald, Frances Macdonald, Chas. R Mackintosh, T. Morris und J. Herbert McNair', *Dekorative Kunst*, 3 (November, 1898), pp. 48–49, 69–76.
70. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 11th May, 1898 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 11 May 1898, DWAB).
71. Mackintosh to Muthesius, [2nd] November, 1899 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh [2] November 1899, DWAB).
72. *Ibid.*
73. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 18th November, 1899 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 18 November 1899, DWAB).
74. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 12th July, 1900 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 12 Juli 1900, DWAB).
75. Hermann Muthesius, 'Die glasgower Kunstbewegung: Charles Rennie Mackintosh und Margaret Macdonald-Mackintosh', *Dekorative Kunst*, 9 (March, 1902), pp. 193–222.
76. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 12th July, 1900, *op. cit.*
77. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 7th August, 1900 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 7 August 1900, DWAB).
78. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 19th December, 1900 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 19 December 1900, DWAB).
79. McNair to Muthesius, January, 1903 (NHM, WBA/M 43, DWAB).
80. Mackintosh's design was entered under the name of Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh: see *The British Architect* (13th March, 1903), pp. 186, 189–96.
81. Margaret Mackintosh to Muthesius, 24th September, 1902 (NHM, Margret [sic] Mackintosh, 24 September 1902, DWAB).
82. Anon., 'The Liverpool Cathedral Competition', *Architectural Review* (June–December, 1902), pp. 83–84.
83. See Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 364–65.
84. Margaret Mackintosh to Anna Muthesius, undated (NHM, Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald D 2508, DWAB).
85. Undated, but probably c.1909, postcard from Mackintosh and Margaret Mackintosh to Herr and Frau Muthesius (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh O.D., DWAB).
86. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 16th April, 1902 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 16 April 1902, DWAB).
87. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 6th August, 1902 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 6 August 1902, DWAB).
88. Margaret Mackintosh to Anna Muthesius, undated but probably August, 1902 (NHM, Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald D 2507, DWAB).
89. The Viennese industrialist Fritz Wärndorfer (1868–1939) was married to Lili Hellmann (1874–1952) and was an early supporter of the Wiener Werkstätte. In 1902 he commissioned Mackintosh to design a Music Room for which, in 1906, Margaret Macdonald designed a gesso panel.
90. Mackintosh to Muthesius, undated but probably September or October, 1902 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh O.D (September), DWAB).
91. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 13th March, 1903 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 13 März 1903, DWAB).
92. Hermann Muthesius, *Das englische Haus: Entwicklung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum* (Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1 and 2, 1904; 3, 1905). For Munstead Wood see 2, pp. 167–69, 203; for Orchards, see 1, pp. 192–195 and 2, p. 112; for the Home for Sailors, see vol. 1, p. 196.
93. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 27th March, 1903 (NHM, Mackintosh C R D 2504, DWAB).

94. Margaret Mackintosh to Muthesius, undated but probably May, 1903 (NHM, Mackintosh, Margret [sic] Macdonald O.D., DWAB).
95. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 27th May, 1903 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 27 Mai 1903, DWAB).
96. Mackintosh to Muthesius, 7th July, 1903 (NHM, Charles R Mackintosh 7 Juli 1903, DWAB).
97. See H. Muthesius, *Das englische Haus* (1904), *op. cit.*, 1, p. 103.
98. Margaret Mackintosh to Anna Muthesius, undated but probably August, 1902, *op. cit.*
99. See Alistair Moffat, Colin Baxter, *Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh: an illustrated biography* (Lanark, Colin Baxter Photography, 1989), p. 79.
100. See *ibid.*, p. 88 and also John Cairney, *The Quest for Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Gavin Stamp, 'The London Years', in Wendy Kaplan, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (New York, London, Paris, Glasgow Museums, Abbeville Press, 1996), p. 201.
101. Mackintosh to William Davidson, 21st July 1915 (Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow), quoted in G. Stamp, 'The London Years', *ibid.*
102. P. Morton Shand, 'Scenario for a Human Drama. V, Glasgow Interlude', *The Architectural Review* (January, 1935), p. 25.
103. See Pamela Reekie (after marriage, Pamela Robertson), *Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh* (Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, 1984); Janice Helland, *The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996).
104. P. Morton Shand, 'Scenario for a Human Drama. V, Glasgow Interlude' (1935), *op. cit.*, p. 26.
105. See 'Studio Talk', *The Studio*, 28 (May, 1903), pp. 287, 288.
106. See 'The International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art at Turin—The Scottish Section', *The Studio*, 26 (July, 1902), pp. 94, 95; W Fred, 'Die Sektion Schottland', *Dekorative Kunst*, 11 (August, 1902), pp. 405–06.
107. See Hanna Egger, et al., *Ein moderner Nachmittagop*, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, 97, 103; figs 1, 65, 71.
108. W. Fred, 'Art Centres: Vienna', *Artist: an Illustrated Monthly Record of Arts, Crafts and Industries* (January, 1901), p. 92. W. Fred was a pseudonym for Alfred Wechsler (1879–1922), who later became the editor of *Pan*.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
110. See Hanna Egger, et al., *Ein moderner Nachmittag*, *op. cit.*, p. 66; fig. 38.
111. That is, a hanging scroll, a folding screen and a brazier or charcoal burner: see Dennis Sharp, *Hermann Muthesius 1861–1927*, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii, xix.
112. H. Muthesius, *Das englische Haus* (1904), *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 186–87.
113. Dennis Sharp, *Hermann Muthesius 1861–1927*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
114. Blanche-Ernest Kalas (née Blanche Honorine Truchon) is often incorrectly given as E. B. Kalas and referred to as a man. See Thomas Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 46 and Robert Macleod, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (Feltham, Country Life, 1968; London, E.P.Dutton, 1983), p. 116.
115. Blanche-Ernest Kalas, trsl. John Dunlop, 'The Art of Glasgow', *De la Tamise à la Sprée: L'essor des industries d'art* (Rheims, Michaud, 1905), reprinted in Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh, Memorial Exhibition Catalogue (Glasgow, McLellan Galleries, 1933), pp. 3–5. M. and Mme Kalas must have visited the flat after reading Muthesius's 1902 article.
116. *ranma*: the low beam or lintel, often decorated, which runs around the interior of a traditional Japanese room.

117. Edward Hornel, *Japan, LECTURE by E A HORNEL*, (1895), *op. cit.*, p. 8.
118. Junichirō Tanizaki, *In Praise of Shadows* (London, Vintage, 2001), p. 29.
119. Mrs Haweis, *Beautiful Houses, Being a Description of Certain Well-known Artistic Houses* (New York, Scribner & Welford, 1882), pp. 45–46.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
121. 'It was then that the visitor recalled having read a eulogy [*sic*] of the work of the Mackintoshes in the following terms—': see B-E. Kalas, 'The Art of Glasgow', (1905), *op. cit.*, p. 4 and also Hermann Muthesius, 'Die glasgower Kunstbewegung', (1902), *op. cit.*, pp. 193–222.
122. B-E. Kalas, 'The Art of Glasgow', (1905), *op. cit.*, p. 5.
123. See Pamela Robertson, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh, op. cit.*, p. 34.
124. See Andrew MacMillan, James Macaulay, William Buchanan, 'A Tour of the School', in William Buchanan, ed., *Mackintosh's Masterwork, op. cit.*, p. 96.
125. For Fyvie Castle and Huntley Castle, see David MacGibbon, Thomas Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, 2 (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1887), pp. 354 and 280.
126. C. R. Mackintosh, 'Scotch Baronial Architecture', (1891), p. 31, quoted in Pamela Robertson, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh, op. cit.*, p. 61.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 30, quoted in Robertson, p. 60.
128. See J. Taylor, 'Some Notes on Miss Cranston's Argyle Street Tea House: Modern Decorative Art in Glasgow', *The Studio*, 39 (October, 1906), pp. 35–36.
129. The Glasgow School of Art. Conditions of competition: 8; see illustration in William Buchanan, ed., *Mackintosh's Masterwork, op. cit.*, p. 51.
130. Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, (1888), *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 75; figs 33, 57.
131. R. Macleod (1983), *op. cit.*, p. 134; quoted in A. Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 156.
132. Mortimer Menpes, *Japan: A Record in Colour* (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1901), p. 153. For Menpes and 25, Cadogan Square, see Sonia Ashmore, 'Mortimer Luddington Menpes (1855–1938)', in Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, 8 (Leiden, Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013), pp. 206–209.
133. The final break came after Menpes decorated his house, Osborn Lodge, in Fulham (not 25, Gadogan Gardens, Chelsea, as often represented): see Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler As I Knew Him* (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1904), pp. 42–45.
134. 'An Experiment in the Application of Japanese Ornament to the Decoration of an English House'. *The Studio*, 17 (1899), p. 172.
135. A. Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 108, writes of the Willow Tea Rooms (1903): 'At 217 Sauchiehall Street the structural shell was already there. All Mackintosh had to do was to define the spaces and play games with space.'
136. See Howarth (1977), pp. 74, 75; figs 14a, 15.
137. This is Pevsner's description: see N. Pevsner, *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design: Victorian and After*, (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 170.
138. See J Taylor, 'Modern decorative Art in Glasgow', *The Studio*, 39 (October, 1906), pp. 35–36.
139. Johannes Justus Rein, *Japan: Travels and Researches, Undertaken at the Cost of the Prussian Government* (Leipzig, Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1881–86), 1, p. 418.
140. Teiji Itoh, *Kura, Design and Tradition of the Japanese Storehouse* (Tokyo, New York and San Francisco, Kodansha International, 1973), p. 93.

141. However, Kawazoe Noburo observes that 'Anyone who has lived in a house converted from a storehouse can bear witness that such dwellings are very comfortable, as they are cool in summer and warm in winter.' See Kawazoe Noburo, Itoh Teiji, *et al.*, *Kura: The Japanese Storehouse. The 100th Anniversary of the Tokyo Marine & Fire Insurance Co. Ltd.* (Tokyo, 1979), vol. 2, p. 9.
142. E. S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, (1888), *op. cit.*, p. 195.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 161, fig. 138.
144. Morse's illustration also recalls Mackintosh's designs for the pendant light fittings both in the headmaster's room and at 120, Mains Street. See Hiroaki Kimura, 'Japanese Influence on Mackintosh's Architecture', in Hiroaki Kimura, ed., *Process Architecture: Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (Tokyo, Process Architecture Publishing Co, 1984), illus pp. 122, 146.
145. E. S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, (1888), *op. cit.*, p. 28, fig. 20.
146. Very similar timber structures were conceived for the two entrances into the 'Shop and Office Block in an Arcaded Street' which Mackintosh designed for Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) c.1915: see GLAHA 41282, *The Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow*.
147. *Ko-sukashi* is a negative relief, where a minor design is cut into a metal plate, such as a *tsuba* (sword-guard). Both *The Studio* and *The Scottish Art Review* contained articles on *tsuba*. See Bill Smith, *Hornel, op. cit.*, p. 89.
148. C. Dresser, *Japan: Its architecture, art, and art manufactures, op. cit.*, pp. 266, 261, 212; figs. 102, 95, 71.
149. Lewis F. Day, *The Anatomy of Pattern* (1887); *The Planning of Ornament* (1887); *The Application of Ornament* (1888). (See George Rawson, Mackintosh South Kensington Set Books and Prizes in GSA Library, Glasgow School of Art, nd).
150. Lewis F. Day, 'Decorative and Industrial Art at the Glasgow Exhibition', *The Art Journal* (1901), p. 277. For an illustration, see 'Glasgow International Exhibition (Part 1)', *The Studio*, 23 (August, 1901), p. 46.
151. A. Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (2002), *op. cit.*, p. 134.
152. Eckart Muthesius, 'Thoughts on My Godfather', in, William Buchanan, 'Glasgow Art, Glasgow Craft, Glasgow International', *op. cit.*, p. 3.
153. Murray Grigor, Richard Murphy, eds, *The Architect's Architect: Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, (London, Bellew Publishing and the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society, 1993), p. 77.