

**WALTER CRANE IN GREECE:
ANTIQUITY THROUGH SOCIALIST EYES**

by

Catherine H. Walsh

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History

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ABSTRACT

The illustrator, graphic designer, and children's book illustrator Walter Crane traveled in 1888 to Greece, where he filled a sketchbook with views of Greek architecture and figures in local dress. This paper places those drawings in context with the artist's representations of other classically garbed figures and argues that the images participate in the rhetoric of imperialistic vision of other cultures, as often seen in travel literature and illustrations. However, Crane was a noted socialist and member of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and he viewed ancient Greece and its architecture as a model for the ideal socialist society. Therefore, his drawings of Greek landscape and Greek-style figures also serve to reference his anti-imperial, socialist political convictions as an attempt to disengage from modernity and its capitalist orientation in order to imagine a different world

In the spring of 1888, Walter Crane boarded the steamship *Garonne* at Tilbury in England, bound for Naples and Greece, where he would achieve, as he said, his “first sight of that classic land.” The artist traveled with a tour group arranged by Mr. Groser, the former editor of the *Western Morning News* and novelist James Baker. In his 1917 autobiography, Crane carefully traced the course of the expedition as it voyaged through the Channel into the Bay of Biscay, paused at Gibraltar, and landed at Naples, from whence he and his party took a train across the mountains to Brindisi. After yet another steamer passage, complete with “some beautiful coast scenery,” and a further train ride, Crane arrived in Corinth, in what was to be the first stop in a whirlwind tour of Greece that would include visits to Athens, Eleusis, Sunium, Laurium, and Nauplia.¹ He carried with him a sketchbook, now preserved at Princeton University, with drawings and notes stretching from April 27 to May 14, 1888, and covering ground from Athens to Venice. Crane’s journey is memorialized in a photograph appearing in *An Artist’s Reminiscences*, Crane’s autobiography, and labeled only “Our Party in Greece.”² In the image, a group of 15 men stand, sit, and lounge on the steps of a building near an overturned table or cart. The men adopt a variety of poses and clothes. Some stand with arms akimbo or hands in pockets, clad in formal dark suits and bowler or top hats. A single man sits on the stairs above the main group with legs casually crossed and vest undone. Others sit in a cluster at the bottom of the steps, framing Walter Crane, posed at the very front seated on his left hip and leaning on his left hand with his legs curled underneath and to the side.

Crane wears light-colored suit and a safari helmet—a well-known costume for the British gentlemen in the colonies. An umbrella and a brown folder, perhaps containing his sketchbook, rest near his knee. Unlike the other men who address the camera, here Crane is aesthetically posed with his head turned to the side. He is an artist-observer, endlessly watching the off-camera goings-on while his right hand holds a pencil and rests near the book, ready to sketch.

In this paper, I investigate the images contained in Crane's Greek sketchbook in relation to Crane's attitudes toward Greece and the use of antique Hellenic imagery in the realm of 19th century British politics and art. After a brief examination of the artist's life and ideological stance on art, politics, and the necessity of intermingling the two, I examine the sketchbook's relation to the long tradition of travel writing and illustration that began to thrive particularly in the nineteenth century with the rise of Britain as a dominant imperial power. Within what paradigms of thought and representation is the book operating? What kind of identity does it construct for both Greece and the viewer who beholds images of that country? I will contend that the views contained within the sketchbook can in part be read as part of the imperialist discourse so pervasive in European art and literature at the time, a discourse that attempted to place Britain in the privileged role of heir to Greek antiquity and all of its intellectual developments. However, in order to fully understand Walter Crane's attitude toward Greece and its representation in these 'documentary' images, we must also examine his preconceived notions about this land of antiquity, as he puts it, "the country from whence the modern world derives the germ of nearly all its ideas."³ So too, in part, did Crane spend a great deal of time on his cultural pilgrimage to Greece gathering a collection of drawings and

notes to serve as a kind of sourcebook from which his future designs in the Greek vein could grow. Perhaps this helps explain his double-pronged approach to his subject matter: renderings of prominent cultural “high points” combined with infinitesimally detailed sketches of costuming and architectural designs.⁴ Indeed, although the sketchbook commemorates his first trip to Greece itself, he had long been referencing classical Greek forms in his art, most recently with a particular social purpose. Through an examination of his writings on the subject and his most recent works drawing on Greek themes prior to his trip, I hope to show that, although on one level Crane’s images participated in the broader discourse on ancient Greece in British society, they also bore an additional layer of meaning that derived from the artist’s anti-imperial, socialist political convictions, therefore operating somewhat differently than other British images of Greece.

Walter Crane⁵ was born on August 15, 1845 in Liverpool, England, into a relatively comfortable middle-class home.⁶ His interest in art developed early under the influence of his father, Thomas Crane, who was a painter of portrait miniatures and a contributor to shows at the Liverpool Academy. At the age of six, Crane showed his first talent for drawing and, at his father’s encouragement, worked to develop his skill through observation of nature, particularly animals, his favorite subject. After the Crane family moved to London, Walter was exposed to a great variety of art, including his father’s own work, reproduction prints, exhibitions at the National Academy, and the South Kensington Museum’s decorative art and painting collection. One of his earliest works, a series of 18 colored pages illustrating Tennyson’s *The Lady of Shalott*,⁷ was shown to and praised by Ruskin as a promising work, as well as earning the 13-year-old Crane a

place in the engraving workshop of William James Linton, where he spent three years as an apprentice learning the craft of a draughtsman on wood in preparation for a career as a professional illustrator. In addition to vital artistic training, Linton provided Crane with his first exposure to liberal ideas; as the editor of the republican magazine, *The Cause of the People*, the master engraver impressed the young artist as “a true socialist at heart, with an ardent love of liberty.”⁸ Today, Walter Crane is best known for his illustration of a Routledge series of children’s “toy books,” which earned him the moniker, “Academician of the nursery.” These “toy books” designed particularly for children’s amusement and education participated in and monopolized on the developing Victorian redefinition of childhood as a time of play and imagination. In the early nineteenth century, children were still viewed as miniature adults, and English ideas on their upbringing were still dominated by the rational and moral influences of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. However, by mid-century, English society turned away from many of these ideas, and children’s education began to focus more and more on the fanciful: fairy tales, the imagination, and fantasy.⁹ In 1863, Crane teamed up with printer Edmund Evans, who served as a combined producer and agent; together, they developed a wood-block color printing technique that enhanced Crane’s fanciful drawings for picture books based on fairy tales, stories of talking animals (*The History of Jenny Wren*), and pictorial alphabets.¹⁰ Crane’s children’s books were immensely popular in Victorian England among both children and adults, earning him a reputation that invited further commissions in a large variety of fields. Crane’s wide-ranging artistic activity encompassed a plethora of media: in addition to children’s books, he produced allegorical paintings that he exhibited at a number of London galleries, illustrated for

several novels and advertisers, and designed ceramics, wallpapers, textiles, embroidery, stained glass, mosaics, and gesso relief.

This broad exploration of the decorative arts was founded on Crane's artistic ideals and his advocacy of the newly minted Arts and Crafts movement. As a founding member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, which mounted its first exhibition in 1888, Walter Crane protested the ugliness of goods produced by mechanical achievements, arguing that the "true root and basis of all Art lies in the handicrafts."¹¹ He and his fellow exponent of the movement, William Morris, both strove to achieve a level of beauty in everyday objects that was founded on, rather than hampered by, their utility.¹² This attitude also served as an important component in Crane's other major group affiliation; from 1881 when he read William Morris's pamphlet *Art and Socialism*, Crane worked tirelessly as a member of the Socialist movement. He belonged to a number of socialist societies, including the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, and the Fabians, and he frequently gave lectures and designed socialist propaganda for the cause.¹³ According to Crane, modern society was a victim of commerce, and without economic freedom there would be no political freedom, conditions in which art could not thrive. He railed against cheap products fostered by mechanized production and competition, arguing that Beauty and Use could only be reunited under a socialist system: "We want a vernacular in art...no mere verbal or formal agreement, or dead level of uniformity but that comprehensive and harmonizing unity with individual variety which can only be developed among people politically and socially free."¹⁴ He longed for a communal art that would speak to and of the people, something he saw as possible only in a free, socialist environment.

Despite his political agitation, which disturbed many of his more conservative peers, Crane nevertheless achieved a lofty reputation in the Victorian art world. He moved in a number of artistic circles, and he and his wife frequently entertained prominent artists, including Edward Burne-Jones and Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema. Due to his renown as a talented designer, Crane was invited to join the Manchester School of Art in 1893 as the part-time Director of Design. In this position, he attempted to readjust the attitude within British art schools whereby fine art was constantly valued above design, developing a teaching system based on a series of monthly lectures that went on to serve as standard textbooks.

Throughout his life, Crane traveled a great deal, both with and without his family. In addition to his 1888 trip to Greece, he made 3 excursions to Italy, visited Egypt, Bohemia, and India, and later in life went on a lecture tour of America. His 1880 painting, "Truth and the Traveller"¹⁵ might suggest his attitudes toward travel: in this work, the allegorical figure of Truth, a nude woman,¹⁶ lounges on a Greek fountain in front of Doric columns; an amphora, another sign for Greece and/or classicism, rests on the rim of the fountain, echoing the woman's shape. This image indicates the idea that exploratory traveling leads to a higher form of knowledge, or "Truth," here clothed (or unclothed) in unabashedly Greek terms. The traveller, possibly a stand-in for the artist himself—or at least for those scholars or aesthetes who devote themselves to the search for truth, turning to the classics for inspiration—is presented in pilgrim's garb. This intimates that, like a pilgrimage, the quest for truth is a long, difficult journey requiring spiritual devotion and fortitude.

This propensity to utilize travel, albeit metaphorical in some cases, as a method of geographic and cultural exploration is related to a dominant trend that began to gain momentum during the mid 1800s. Travel in continental Europe had long been a ritual familiar to artists and upper class young men who were expected to cross the continent on a sometimes-perilous journey to encounter the cultural riches that lay beyond the Alps in Italy. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travel became a part of the ideal education for social elites, and the Mediterranean in particular was seen as a center of classical culture and a necessary destination for the acquisition of taste.¹⁷ By 1815, the Grand Tour was already so popular that “jokes and complaints about the ‘British invasion of Europe’ began to make regular appearances in the periodicals.”¹⁸ However, by the mid to late 1800s, transportation improved greatly as railroads were laid and steamships began to proliferate, and travel (and tourism) increased exponentially. In addition to increased availability of means of transportation, institutional tourism developed in the nineteenth century, led by travel companies founded by enterprising men who helped define tourism as a mass phenomenon. The majority of travel accounts were written not by aristocrats, but by middle-class tourists.¹⁹ This democratization of travel was further facilitated by the spreading aegis of the British Empire. As Barbara Brothers states, “Victorians traveled because they could: the world had come under their influence.”²⁰ The relative comfort, speed, and safety ensured by technology and the location of British outposts around the known world resulted in a boom in travel writing, which achieved new heights of popularity in the nineteenth century. Literally hundreds of travel books were published in England alone, and these were avidly devoured by the British reading public, who sometimes justified this predilection by claiming the educational nature of

these texts, as opposed to the relative frivolity of the novel. Although such travel literature purported to offer readers new, exciting, and often exotic experiences for their mental delectation, it nevertheless developed a formulaic style, with standard elements that appeared across the genre. Characteristic features included a day-to-day, chronological narrative, humorous anecdotes, detailed (sometimes ethnographic) descriptions of people and places, ‘scientific’ observations and discoveries, philosophical reflections on the British Empire, advice for future travelers, and comparisons between the author’s British culture and the foreign elements with which they came into contact. As Mary Louise Pratt has argued, such travel writing, through its weighty descriptions and points of view, “*produced* ‘the rest of the world’ for European readerships...[and simultaneously] produced Europe’s differentiated conceptions of itself in relation to something it became possible to call ‘the rest of the world’.”²¹

Crane’s Greek sketchbook must be understood within this discourse of the revelation of difference, and particularly in relation to other representations of Greece. One such travel book, J. P. Mahaffy’s *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, originally published in the 1870s, includes descriptions of ‘natives,’ architectural wonders, and panoramic scenery, a common division of types of scenes found in travel books. As a Professor of classical studies at Trinity College in Dublin, Mahaffy was renowned for his scholarship on both classical and modern Greece. However, at times he still engages in this conventional discourse of travel writing. In describing an encounter with the acropolis in Athens at “the break of dawn,” Mahaffy writes:

When I first saw my dream and longing of many years fulfilled, the first rays of the rising sun had just touched the heights, while the town below was still hid in gloom. Rock, and rampart, and ruined fanes—all were coloured in harmonious

tints; the lights were of a deep rich orange, and the shadows of dark crimson, with the deeper lines of purple”²²

Such romantic, overly adjectival descriptions abound in travel accounts, and similar subjects are found throughout Crane’s sketchbook of Greece as well. For instance, two pages show sketches of the Parthenon illuminated by moonlight; the second includes a simple inscription, “Parthenon – Moonlight, April 27 ’88.”²³ Crane has focused on the dramatic lighting and mystery of the scene, bestowing greater attention to the shadows than the lines of the architecture. Dark, jagged pencil strokes outline the forms of the building’s columns, a vertical counterpoint to the same heavy, shadowed treatment of the dark ground. No figures or modern accoutrements interrupt the moody, romanticized view. As Crane described this view of the Parthenon by night: “the moonlight, too, seemed warmer and more full of colour than in our clime. The winds played around the rock as of old....”²⁴. Crane focuses on the nature that lies before him, imagining how similar processes and similar experiences would have been available in antiquity. He points to moonlight and wind as eternal, natural elements that establish continuity with antiquity, bridging the gap between the present and the past. This sketch presents what Fani-Maria Tsigakou calls “the scenery of the imagined classical Greek world, a world that was mythologized according to...expectations.”²⁵ Crane highlights both temporal and geographical displacement: according to his account of his visit to the Parthenon, Greece possesses an innate quality, unlike England (“our clime”), that allows this regression. Not only the architectural remnants, but also the very climate itself demands that the viewer take a classical approach to the landscape.

When Crane does depict local inhabitants of Greece, he often does so in such a way as to emphasize their picturesque, timeless appearance. In his drawing, “On Mars

Hill, May 1 '88,"²⁶ he has depicted a young goatherd seated in a rocky terrain, accompanied by one of his goats. Although his features are not stereotyped to emphasize his physical difference, the goatherd nevertheless represents Crane's desire to select and illustrate an individual whose dress, surroundings, and way of life are fundamentally different from those of a typical middle-class British citizen. The sketch emphasizes a rustic ideal that appealed greatly to Crane with his ties to the Arts and Crafts movement and his anti-industrial, anti-mass production stance on modern society. The boy in the drawing wears simple, generic 'peasant' clothing, accented by pointed, decorated shoes that identify his costume as Greek. He sits alone in a landscape devoid of other humans or indications of modern life; rather than focusing on him as a social being, Crane shows the boy in harmony with the animal and natural world. A goat approaches him without any show of hesitancy, moving easily into the boy's space and interlocking compositionally as his head, neck, and foreleg echo the curve of the boy's arm and knee.²⁷ There is no fear, awkwardness, or need for 'herding' between the man and animal. Similarly, although the boy is shown in a desolate, rocky terrain, sketched in with minimal detail, he does not seem out of place. Instead, he sits comfortably on a rock, with his legs casually crossed and arms at rest. The dark, lumpy outline of the cloak draped across his back and head is reminiscent of the lines used to delineate the rocks in the background. His shape is in formal harmony with his surroundings. Here Crane has focused on simple, picturesque costume, rustic landscape, and harmony with nature—all elements that could apply as easily to antiquity. This elision of ancient and modern was a common conception among Northern Europeans addressing Greece. For instance, Mahaffy wrote in the introduction to his travel book on Greece, "If he [a man]

desires to study national character, and peculiar manners and customs, he will find in the sturdy mountaineers of Greece one of the most unreformed societies, hardly yet affected by the great tide of sameness which is invading all Europe in dress, fabrics, and usages.”²⁸ Although he elsewhere points to the modernization of Greece, the development of new roads, better communications, new building projects, and growing population in urban centers, he refers to these as “vulgar matters” that will eventually inhibit the traveler from truly experiencing Greece. He abhors politicians who “will insist on introducing, through all the remotest glens, the civilisation of Europe...with all its shocking ugliness, its stupid hurry, and its slavish uniformity.”²⁹ The modernization of Greece was commonly seen as something to be resisted or ignored, and nineteenth-century Greeks were viewed as either corrupting influences destroying the classical landscape or a part of that landscape allowing other Europeans to access the antique.

Furthermore, when modern Greeks are depicted in the sketchbook, they are generally divorced from architectural and landscape elements associated with the classical Greek heritage. Instead, we are offered a shepherd in a nondescript rocky locale or simply disembodied heads and torsos floating on the page without context or connection to each other or their national environment.³⁰ In part this is due to the format and function of travel sketchbooks, which serve to record and collect random bits and pieces observed quickly while the artist is constantly on the move. Nevertheless, Crane pays particular attention to the locals’ costume and its patterning. He adds copious notes in the margins alongside his drawings to firmly record the exact appearance of the clothes—patterned colors are important enough to his project that he skirted the capabilities of his medium to include this additional information. He sharply delineates

the contours of the decoration of clothes, hats, and jewelry; on one occasion he goes to the trouble of showing a man from the front, then dividing him from his clothing in order to show just the back of his jacket.³¹ Indeed, the people depicted in these floating sketches are more believable as vehicles for their clothes rather than individuals with specific features. This impression is borne out by the artist's descriptions of such encounters in his autobiography, which also highlight specific colors and forms of dress. He describes types met on his travels, not individuals. Crane wrote, "Characteristic figures were seen at the little stations, and the Albanian dress with the ample white fustanella, embroidered jacket and leggings, pointed red shoes with black tufts at the ends, and the large tasseled Greek fez as headgear, was the usual costume of the men."³² Crane's interest seems to be primarily in recording ideas for future use in his work as an illustrator and textile designer.

Douglas Percy Bliss has argued that one of Crane's particular talents is his ability to collect facts and conventions so as to place his figures in any place or time, and the artist had a long history of keeping sketchbooks while traveling, including his summers in the English countryside with his family.³³ In his lectures on artistic education, Crane argued that artists, particularly illustrators, must develop "that selective kind of memory which, by constant and close observation, extracts and stores up the essential serviceable kind of facts for the designer: facts of form, of structure, of movement of figures, expressive lines, momentary or transitory effects of colour" which "should be captured like rare butterflies and carefully stored in the mind's museum of suggestions, as well as, as far as is possible, pinned down in the hieroglyphics of the note-book."³⁴ For Crane, travel therefore could be seen as a way of adding new impressions and ideas to his

archive of working ideas. Then, at his convenience he could return to this “museum” of articulated artistic language, his memory enhanced by sketchbook drawings, in order to facilitate his art. The shorthand of the notebook assists in creating “the mind’s museum.” The Princeton sketchbook is a product of this practice. In his interest in costume, Crane follows in the artistic footsteps of Delacroix, among others,³⁵ who when he accompanied the French diplomatic mission to Morocco in 1832, was fascinated by the clothing and types he encountered. Delacroix executed sketches and watercolors delineating local costume,³⁶ and in a letter to his friend Duponchel remarked that “the costume is very uniform and very simple; however, the way it is adjusted gives it a beauty and nobility that is astonishing.”³⁷ By focusing so heavily on the differences in the dress of the natives from the European norm, both of these artists work to construct an image of the inhabitants of far-away places as ‘others’ against which Europeans measure themselves. Significantly, however, such sketches formed only an ancillary part of Crane’s adventures in Greece; unlike Delacroix, who purposely sought out natives in order to record them in ethnographic detail as his assigned task for part of an official mission, Crane’s drawings were done hastily at the stations of Markopulo and Laurium while waiting for trains. Crane’s intent seems quite different from that of Delacroix: in his later journey, Crane focuses more on what we might term the ‘touristic’ aspect of his travels. Unlike Delacroix, he makes no special effort to secure secret passage into the depths of harems in pursuit of ever more seductive views of ‘natives.’ Perhaps this is a necessary function of Crane’s relatively short visit to the Mediterranean; after all, he did not benefit from the funding of a diplomatic mission. However, it might also be indicative of the

artist's greater interest in that to which he devotes much more space in the relatively thin sketchbook: architectural monuments.

Much like his drawings of modern Greeks, ancient architecture is similarly divorced from any semblance of modern Greece and the bustling post-Ottoman society that existed in Athens in 1888. The very first image in the book, a sketch done from the Temple of Jupiter Olympios in Athens,³⁸ emphasizes the monumental columns that frame the scene, taking up half of the width of the drawing and dwarfing the trees, distant building, and even the hills. This effect is further accentuated by the low angle of the view, a perspective shared in almost all of the drawings. Contrary to what Mary Louise Pratt has termed the “monarch-of-all-I-survey” point of view,³⁹ this low angle emphasizes the grandeur of the architecture that dwarfs the viewer. It suggests the impact such ancient remains might have on a modern viewer unaccustomed to such majestic sights. In choosing this viewpoint, Crane may have been drawing specifically on a set of standards associated with another popular genre of travel imagery: photographic views of architectural monuments. Commercial photographers sought out subjects that would appeal to their audiences, and the resulting images could be sold to enthusiasts, used as illustrations in scholarly texts or travel literature, or, as in the case of famed artist Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, for reference and inspiration in the creation of classicizing art. Alma-Tadema, hoping to be as accurate in his manipulation of classical subject matter as possible, assembled a collection of photographs of Athens by a number of photographers, ranging in date from 1862 to 1882. A photograph from the collection, taken in 1869 by amateur photographer William James Stillman, shows the eastern front corner of the Parthenon.⁴⁰ The photographer has adopted a very similar view to that

chosen by Crane. The camera is set up very low to the ground, allowing the columns of the facade to dominate the viewer's field of vision, while at the same time directing his gaze along the line of the stylobate. Similarly, in a very literal sense, the columns in Crane's drawing, incomplete as they are and therefore separated even from their own context and instead standing in as generic representations of 'ruined' classical architecture, serve to enclose and frame the view that he establishes as his first image of Greece. Modern Greece is seen through the framework of stereotypes about what it means to be "Greek" or "Mediterranean." The dominant temple architecture communicates timeless classicism, and the framed landscape view is timeless as well. The artist concentrates on signs that readily establish the tenor of the Mediterranean climate experienced during his explorations: spearlike cypress trees and low, slightly rugged mountains rising in the distance, with no suggestion of the modern city.⁴¹ Crane's architectural drawings are generally devoid of modern-day Greeks, unlike similar views completed earlier by other artists, like Edward Lear's 1849 watercolor sketch of Corinth.⁴² In his sketch, inscribed "Corinth April 1 (106) 8 A.M.," Lear included several figures recognizably dressed in the traditional Greek costume of fez and skirt; he also included a view of the city in the background, behind the ruins. Lear, unlike Crane, allowed the present to interact with both ancient ruins and monumental Greek landscape.

Compared to the months he had spent living in Italy and investigating the Italian countryside, Crane's sojourn in Greece was short-lived, forcing him to adopt a touristic selectivity regarding the sites and images important enough to visit and record for future reference. The sketchbook therefore includes drawings of many of the most 'key' architectural and archaeological sites in Greece, as first described in James Stuart and

Nicholas Revett's 18th century catalogue of classical architecture and since enshrined in popular and academic approaches to the subject.⁴³ Crane's list of must-see locations includes the Temple of Jupiter Olympios, the Parthenon, the Tombs of the Dipylon, and the Theater of Dionysus, all sites familiar to any student of classical studies. In the captions, locations are described by referencing not their modern usage, but rather ancient, heroic Greeks with whom they might be associated. For instance, a sketch of Kalandri completed on April 28, 1888, which shows the view of a street—timeless in appearance—complete with horse carts, clotheslines, and goats wandering along the road, includes a prominent subtitle, labeling it “Birthplace of Pericles.” Similarly, a small narrow sketch of a desolate landscape filled with rocks and trees, which bears no referents enabling us to pinpoint it as a particular place, is captioned “Prison of Sokrates,” proving once again that Crane approached Greece, like many of his countrymen, with thoughts bent relentlessly towards the ancient.⁴⁴

Only in Crane's sketch of the Lion Gate at Mykenae, taken on May 3, 1888⁴⁵ are figures included in an architectural view. Significantly, however, these five tiny men are not native Greeks; their bowler hats and black suits identify them as tourists from Northern Europe, or possibly Greeks in Northern European dress.⁴⁶ I propose that we can, in part, read this as an attempt, conscious or otherwise, to refer to Greek history and ancient culture as the heritage of the British, or more generally the Northern Europeans.⁴⁷ Such an attempt would be consonant with the contemporary notion that the English, by dint of their Aryan blood, were the true descendents of the ancient Hellenes, a view supported wholeheartedly by the Royal Academy's director Frederick Leighton.⁴⁸ Ideas about racial identity of the English nation were influenced by Knox's Anglo-Saxonism

and Aryanism, among others. Such ideas maintained that Englishmen were physically similar to ancient Greeks on grounds of both the history of migrations and comparative anatomy. Within this ideology, England, as a Germanic nation, was seen as set apart from other Europeans as ‘pure Aryans,’ and therefore as direct descendents of the Greeks. This notion resulted from attempts at rationalizing theories of race and geography during the first half of the nineteenth century. Before this, writers had explained ancient Greek civilization as the result of the colonization of the Aegean by Egyptians and Phoenicians. However, over the course of the nineteenth century, a new theory about the founding of Greek civilization flourished. Scholars increasingly argued that an Aryan invasion from the north overwhelmed the local ‘Pre-Hellenic’ culture. The ancient Greeks were therefore Aryan, like modern-day Germans and Englishmen. Englishmen were consequently described as more closely related to classical culture than modern Greeks, whose connection had been thinned through generations of mixing with non-Aryan bloodlines. Martin Bernal, author of *Black Athena: The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, argues that this reading of history resulted from predominant, sometimes unconscious, ideas about race and heritage. He writes,

For 18th- and 19th-century Romantics and racists it was simply intolerable for Greece, which was seen not merely as the epitome of Europe but also as its pure childhood, to have been the result of the mixture of native Europeans and colonizing Africans and Semites.⁴⁹

This impulse can be connected to the explosion of classical and Greek subjects in British art during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Classical subjects and figures dominated the academic paintings of Leighton and Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, among others, and permeated popular media and advertising.⁵⁰ Walter Crane’s work also shows evidence of this fascination with classicism.

In her book *Nationalism and Classicism*, Athena S. Leoussi points to the rise in the mid-nineteenth century of both subjects from Greek mythology and history and the use of the “Pheidian” body type. She argues that because of nineteenth-century theories about the racial identity of the English nation, “nationalistic fervour ensured that the representation of ancient Greeks in English art turned Greek subjects into visual affirmations of the English national identity.”⁵¹ This process has been described as continental imperialism, as opposed to the more commonly discussed overseas imperialism. Continental imperialism is largely dependent on racial and ethnic descriptions of populations; in this formulation, politicians and thinkers base their claims of right to dominate an area on racial affinities.⁵² According to this philosophy, thinkers who argued that the English were direct descendents of the ancient Greeks could claim that they had a right to politically influence modern Greece, while at the same time appropriating Greek culture, history, and art as possessions belonging to the English national heritage. Because they occupy the historical and geographical terrain of the Greeks, therefore, the Northern Europeans (or Greeks in European dress) depicted in Crane’s drawings could be seen as appropriating the Greek landscape and its cultural associations, while self-consciously ‘Greek’ inhabitants are excluded. Edward Said validates such a viewpoint. He argues that the struggle over geographical representation that occupies such a central role in imperialism “is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings.”⁵³

Conversely, Crane includes one image in this sketchbook, which, unlike the others focusing solely on monumental architecture, dramatic sweeps of landscape, and rustic peasants, shows a decidedly modern side of Greece. The sketch labeled “May 2,

'88, Steamer to Nauplia"⁵⁴ offers a view of the intermingling of nature, travelers, and technology encountered on the trip through Greece. On the mainland, Crane's expedition traveled by rail; however, the only tokens of this in his sketchbook are sketches of locals awaiting trains at the station. The trains themselves, the tracks, railroad buildings, smoke, soot, and the clutter of workers, travelers, and technology attendant upon such stations are all absent, or unrecorded. Instead, the artist has edited out these elements of modernity, presenting disembodied heads and clothing floating on a field of white. His trip by steamer, on the other hand, shows a different aspect of Greece. The sketch takes a high, floating viewpoint from the rear of the advancing steamer, looking slightly down onto the deck and swarm of people inhabiting it. The artist eschews particularity in attention to clothing in favor of a more generalized view along the length of the ship. He also has not edited out the basic requirements of such steamer travel: the technological apparatus of the ship itself. Crane paid careful attention to details of deck equipment, rigging, arching pipes, and other parts of the ship. A mass of people, both men and women, mill about on the deck under an awning. Northern Europeans are drawn in with dark, slashing pencil lines highlighting their dark jackets and bowler hats. Quick, light pencil strokes loosely indicate the long robes and covered heads of less nattily dressed Greeks. Positioned near the apex of the drawing and highlighted by lines of rigging that lead the eye towards its prominent placement, a Greek flag waves jauntily in the breeze. Here Crane has shown that he is very much aware of the development of a *modern* Greece, in contrast to the ancient remnants he focuses on so specifically in his other drawings. Far from existing in a vacuum, foreigners and natives intermingle, surrounded by the technology and nature that bring them together, under the rippling flag: a sign of

the modern Greek nation state. Such mixing of nationalities would have been a familiar sight in late nineteenth-century Greece, which was governed in large part by transplanted Germans and Englishmen.⁵⁵ Local inhabitants are apparently properly situated in more ‘contemporary’ settings, whereas they are left out completely from views of ancient ruins. When discussing this passage on a coasting steamer from Piraeus to Nauplia in his autobiography, Crane instead ignores these elements of modernity displayed so vividly in the sketch. He describes the steamer as “crowded with country and fisher folk of the district, who were extremely interesting in variety of character and costume, including a shepherd and a flock of horned sheep. A school of dolphins played in our wake as the steamer left the Piraeus. When we touched at the islands, little lateen-sailed boats⁵⁶ would come flying up to land passengers, and brown-limbed, dark-eyed natives clambered on board to secure them, bag and baggage.”⁵⁷ This text again emphasizes the difference of locals, in implicit comparison to Northern European ways with which the author was more familiar. Crane focuses on character and costume, shepherds and sheep (perhaps evoking the idea of panpipe-playing Greek shepherds so frequently found in pastorals), and “brown-limbed, dark-eyed natives.” The autobiography was written years after Crane’s trip to Greece, and therefore the discrepancy between these two images he presents could be viewed simply as the failings of memory. However, it might also point to the autobiographer’s desire, as displayed so prominently elsewhere in his sketchbook, to reproduce primarily the more picturesque elements of his vision of Greece for the entertainment of his readers. Greek culture is shown in the possession of Europeans scrambling about the ruins of Mykenae, or, as in most architectural views entirely unpopulated, suggesting only the implied presence of the artist who observes and records.

Greeks, when they appear, are generally confined to rustic settings and exotic costumes. Only in the anomalous sketch of the steamer is the modern world of the Greek nation-state allowed to intrude.

One could argue, therefore, that in his sketchbook of Greece, Walter Crane engages in imperialist discourse through his choice of subjects, even if he does so unconsciously, both by appropriating classical elements of the country for the exclusive use of Northern Europeans for the construction of their social and cultural identity, and also by depicting native Greeks so as to emphasize their difference from the British—after all, if the British are the true heirs of antiquity and the Greeks are different from the British, the Greeks must therefore be stripped of their right to claim a similar descent from the ancient Hellenes. Also, by showing native Greeks as both primitive and exotic, Crane engages in another trope to legitimize imperialist attitudes.

How do we reconcile this interpretation with Walter Crane's outright disavowal of imperialism and its capitalist project in Greece? In *An Artist's Reminiscences*, Crane reprints and expresses sympathy with a letter from his friend Philip Webb, an architect whom he had asked to join him on his trip to Greece. Webb refused due to sickness, but he offers commentary and advice on the situation in Greece, stating: "Sometimes I regret the gradual fading away of the reasonable myths of the ancient and Middle Age worlds as to perdition, when I think of the justly-to-be-damned financiers, who have nearly got their holding grasp on Greece." This is a bald statement of the socialist belief that those capitalists who desire to make money through domination of Greece deserve a ticket to hell; surely Crane, the socialist extraordinaire, shared the belief, even if he himself would not have put it in such terms. The letter goes on to express a sarcastic, disbelieving

assessment of the capitalists' "herring-scented suggestion that the country only wanted opening up."⁵⁸ These statements point to a belief that Greece belonged to the Greeks, not the British—or at the very least that its primary purpose in the modern world should not be as a source for financial gain. They also suggest a desire to preserve a degree of Greek cultural difference by safeguarding Greece from the rationalized, westernized homogenization that went along with Western capitalized society. Perhaps a similar impulse compelled Crane (consciously or unconsciously) to reduce modern incursions on the Greek landscape and people to a minimum in both his sketches and writings about his journey.

Crane's anti-imperialist sentiments, as expressed in his 1907 political cartoon, "Socialism & the Imperialistic Will O the Wisp,"⁵⁹ are hard to dispute. In this drawing, Crane equates imperialism ("capitalism, exploitation, industrial slavery") with a dark vampiric figure leading the poor worker, who is forced to carry the burden of increased taxation and militarism, personified as a flag-waving British soldier, through the swamps of degradation, decline, and disaster.⁶⁰ Imperialism is a false light that is supposed to entice the British worker with the promise of "profits," while forcing him to abandon all of the good that could develop through the aegis of modern enlightened Socialism, depicted as a woman wearing a liberty cap and clad in a classically draped toga. Because he is forced to leave his home to wade into the imperialist swamp, the worker is unable to focus on more pressing concerns of homes and food. A saw, a pick, a worker's sack, and planks—all building materials—lie abandoned in the foreground. These true, solid values for the working class are left behind in favor of murkier ends, and it is only the

burdened worker who looks back sorrowfully to point out his irreconcilable plight to the viewer.

Crane's writings yield yet another way to view his continual swerves towards describing and depicting local Greeks as picturesque goatherds in traditional costumes. Crane lauds such customs as an example of beautiful craftsmanship hearkening back to older, more communal practices that have innate value, whether found in ancient Greece or in the guild system of medieval cities. He says, "The peasantry in all European countries alone have preserved anywhere national and local picturesqueness and character in their dress; often, too, where it still lingers unspoiled, as in Greece...adorned with beautiful embroidery worked by the women themselves." Crane sees these Greek peasants as admirable models, and wistfully prescribes similar behavior for Englishmen: "If we lived simple, useful, and beautiful lives, we could not help being picturesque in the highest sense. *There* is the modern difficulty."⁶¹

It is important, however, to remember that Walter Crane's socialism, while vibrantly supported through rhetoric, political cartoons, and constant lectures, was also paradoxical by necessity. Christopher Newall points out that although he thought the greatest works of art should be produced by and for the public, Crane's work inevitably fell short of his own standards, as his decorative arts and paintings were individually produced and available only to members of the middle and upper classes who were able to afford them.⁶² Contemporary reviewers sometimes felt the same way; in an 1889 article in *The Scots Observer*, W. E. Henley accused Crane of being "the socialist who ministers to luxury."⁶³ This was one of the primary failures of the Arts and Crafts movement: its inability to reconcile commercial necessity with its own ideological goals.

Although the artist despaired of the effect of capitalist competition on art, he was nevertheless forced to work within the system. Similarly, although Crane deplored the idea of commercialism and lamented the fact that so much effort was expended for the ephemeral art of advertising, he himself contributed by designing advertisements and restaurant menus.⁶⁴ Generally, these items even followed the trend of representing the classical body, as in his advertisements for Pears soap and the Scottish Widows Fund.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to attempt to reconcile Crane's stated views on politics, art, and imperialism with his images of Greece in the sketchbook. Tsigakou has suggested that Europeans arrived in Greece with preconceived notions: "They knew exactly what they expected to find, and they found it."⁶⁶ Arguably, then, much of what Crane depicted during his sojourn in Greece would have been informed by the ideas he had formed about the country prior to his arrival. After all, he had been representing Greek elements in his art for years prior to his journey; he kept a Greek plaster frieze in his study for inspiration,⁶⁷ and, for example, eclectically chosen elements of classicism thrive in wallpaper designs, illustrations for the toy books, and every area of his decorative art production.⁶⁸ It might therefore benefit us to examine the meanings of Greece in both his theoretical writings and three of his most recent artistic works prior to leaving for Greece in 1888.

In 1898, Walter Crane published *The Bases of Design*, a book derived from a series of lectures he had earlier delivered as part of his directorship at the Manchester Municipal School of Art. In the first of these lectures, the artist asserts that architecture—great monuments that require the cooperation of an entire society and express the values of that society—provides the "original and controlling bases of

design.”⁶⁹ These great monuments, rather than resulting from the efforts of a single (capitalist) inventor, “are the natural result of a free and vital condition in art, moved by the unity of faith and feeling, wherein men work together as brothers in unity, each free in his own sphere, but never isolated, and never losing his sense of relation to the rest.”⁷⁰ A society that is capable of creating lasting, communal architecture, as the Greeks did, must be one that is based on the principles of cooperation and unity—in essence, it must be socialist. Crane says, “It seems to me if we wish to realize the ideal of a great and harmonious art, which shall be capable of expressing the best that is in us: if we desire again to raise great architectural monuments, religious, municipal, or commemorative, we shall have to learn the great lesson of unity through fraternal co-operation and sympathy.”⁷¹ He saw ancient Greece as a society in which “fundamental architectural feeling”⁷² pervaded all of the accessories and ornament of Greek life, and described the Parthenon as “designed under the influence of the strongest architectural and decorative feeling.”⁷³ The Greeks, with their democratic city-states (the socialist ideal) managed to create a socialist art. Crane advised his contemporaries that “Seeking beautiful art, organic and related in all its parts, we turn naturally to places and periods in history which are the culminating points in such a growth. To Athens in the Phidian age, for instance.”⁷⁴ He argued that we can derive fundamental lessons about useful, harmonious design from Greek architecture and art:

1. The value of simplicity of line.
2. The value of recurring and re-echoing lines.
3. The value of ornamental design and treatment of figures in low or high relief as parts of architectural expression.⁷⁵

He applied these theories across artistic genres; for instance, he believed that in order to provide a “truly three-dimensional experience for the reader” architectural

principles should rule the design of books, which would benefit through the resultant unity.⁷⁶ Crane praised Greece and its art almost unconditionally: “The art of Greece, one may say, on the other hand, at her zenith represented that love of beauty as distinct from ornament, and clearness and severity of thought which will always cling to the country from whence the modern world derives the germ of nearly all its ideas.”⁷⁷ Greek values should be looked for and emulated, according to Crane, in order to achieve once more the kind of unified, egalitarian society that had existed in ancient Greece; according to Walter Crane’s theory of design, Greek art represented the epitome of what it means to be socialist—and importantly, offered an admirable model for the socialist artist.

Are these theories expressed in Crane’s work prior to his trip to Greece? In 1886, Crane became involved in several large projects, each of which drew exclusively on classical Greek imagery to an extent never before found in his illustrations. Crane has always been most admired for his children’s illustrations, so it seems fitting that his classical interests, often referenced in small ways in individual illustrations, should appear in a children’s book. *A Romance of the Three Rs*, published in London in 1886, was both written and illustrated by Crane, and it combines several well-recognized tropes of Victorian children’s literature, being both educational and imaginative.⁷⁸ The first part tells the story of “Little Queen Anne,” a small girl who works to achieve her “letters” as she progresses through a fairy tale land peopled by fantastically garbed personifications of “the Three R’s,” “Professor Geography,” “Dr. Grammar,” “the Foreign Ambassadors,” and “The Great Magician, Signor Science.” When the story begins, Anne is dressed in typical, late 19th century fashion for a little girl; however, she quickly trades in her pinafore for higher fashion. In true Cinderella fashion, her fairy godmother appears to

offer Anne her choice of dress from a “fashion book”;⁷⁹ however, this fairy does not wear a gossamer, full-skirted gown. Instead she appears clad in blue and gold classical draperies, and Anne chooses to don the traditional costume of Pallas Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom, complete with flowing draperies, spear, shield, and an owl perched atop her golden helmet.⁸⁰ Although this jewel-toned children’s book can hardly be construed as a socialist manifesto, Crane nevertheless has included a design that might be interpreted as a statement concerning the condition of art in contemporary England.⁸¹ In her final encounter before retiring, Little Queen Anne listens rapturously to “Three Sisters who speak in all languages.” While other subjects pushed their way forward, often accompanied by expressions of dismay or distaste on the part of Anne,⁸² Anne “finds them [the arts] so interesting that she forgets how time goes.” Unlike the sometimes hilariously caricatured professors who preceded them, these Sisters, symbolizing music, poetry, and art, are represented as graceful classical figures, probably Muses. The lines of their drapery and weighty, solid presence of their seated figures are strongly reminiscent of the graceful forms of Phidias’s sculptures from the West Pediment of the Parthenon, on view at the time in the British Museum, and calling to mind the miniature version of the Parthenon frieze found in Crane’s study. These timeless figures who speak the universal language of art are contrasted with the character of Mrs. Grundy, a caricature frequently used to personify upright, bourgeois English values.⁸³ Mrs. Grundy wears the antithesis of classical costume—her dress is elaborately bustled and confining—her countenance is stern, and tiny spectacles obscure her eyes and render her expression less welcoming. Crane characterizes Victorian Britain as a spoilsport who doesn’t see the true value of art, “an old lady who minds everybody’s

business”—except, presumably, her own. In his arts and crafts beliefs, Crane would likely have willingly joined Anne as she turns away from the ugliness of British modernity, in favor of ideal, classicizing beauty. On a societal level, then, Crane comments on England’s blindness to the value of art, idealized in classical guise.

A second (and highly controversial) project, *The Sirens Three*, was a text written by Crane himself and illustrated with black and white drawings of sinuous, classical women and borders of architectural detail.⁸⁴ Originally published in installments in the *English Illustrated Magazine* in 1885, the poem represents the artist’s first public manifesto of his socialism and is prefaced by a dedicatory sonnet addressed to William Morris, England’s most charismatic socialist and Crane’s mentor.⁸⁵ The allegorical poem begins with the description of the vain search for “truth” in a wasteland; upon entering “Time’s House,” the poet sees the story of Man, with special emphasis on the golden age of Greece⁸⁶:

All these I saw, as on time’s painted page
The figure of man’s life from age to age
Was figured like his life of years & hours,
And glassed his face—an infant or a mage.

In boyhood bright beneath the Grecian sun,
I saw him stand, intent his race to run—
To touch the golden goal of thought & art,
And daring all man since hath dared or done.

The apple of his life to Beauty’s hand
Freely he gave, & she so dowered his land,
That still the fond world takes it for her glass,
And gazes, leaving knowledge of command.

In this selection, Crane portrays ancient Greece as an age of splendor when men valued beauty and aspired to achieve the pinnacle of thought and art, socialism. Because the Greeks devoted their lives to achieving Beauty, the land itself was changed to reflect that,

such that Greece still represents Beauty's apogee. Here Crane specifically ties the glory of Greece to its physical, geographical location and the conditions of its climate ("the Grecian sun").⁸⁷ When tied to this text and what we know of Crane's admiration for the Greek use of line and form as an manifestation of a harmonious society, the illustrations of sinuous Greek bodies, with the strong emphasis on line in their drapery and extended, curving arms, serve to express Crane's goal for a socialist art, especially when they are placed in a framework of frieze-like design on the book page, reminiscent of Greek architecture. Crane was very interested in the linkage between the bodies of Greek women and the forms of Greek art. For instance, in his *Line and Form*, an instructional manual on the art of drawing published in 1900, he includes diagrams illustrating the natural affinity between the figure of the drapery-clad "Greek" or classical woman and a simple line,⁸⁸ as well as between a woman's figure and a Greek amphora.⁸⁹

Since his conversion to socialism, Crane had been using more and more of his art to convey social and political messages consonant with his new, firmly held beliefs. As David Gerard argues, Crane attempted to use his art "to transmit the spirit of a classical revival, and the elevation of subject matter to a plane where symbolic representation can induce nobler aspirations in the viewer," a process that was particularly evident in his paintings of classical subject matter,⁹⁰ such as his 1877 work, "The Renaissance of Venus,"⁹¹ which Isabelle Spencer argues was Crane's statement that his society would soon witness a revival of classical culture and the peace that accompanied it.⁹² *The Sirens Three* overtly expresses these ideas, which had been implicitly present in his academic paintings for some time, in the public realm of book decoration.

In 1886, the same year that *A Romance of the Three Rs* and *The Sirens Three* were published, a theatrical event, entitled *Echoes of Hellas*, was staged in both English and Greek at Prince's Hall to commemorate the new translations of Homer and Aeschylus by Professor George C. Warr of King's College, London.⁹³ Warr asked Crane to develop a series of designs to accompany a copy of the text, some of which were based on stage settings devised by well-known artists. Frederic Leighton himself arranged the tableau for "Aphrodite's Pledge Redeemed,"⁹⁴ and Crane's illustrations were founded, "though freely," on the original tableaus. He chose the colors, black and terracotta, as reminiscent of classical Greek pottery, with which he was very familiar, having studied it and designed imitation pieces.⁹⁵ The production was undoubtedly an expression of the fanaticism for Hellenism raging in England at the time; just the year before, Royal Academicians sponsored a ball and requested that ladies attend dressed as Grecian women, and another Greek theatrical performance, *Helena in Troas*, was produced by John Todhunter.⁹⁶ Although the content of the text is not explicitly socialist as was *The Sirens Three*, I argue that here, in the same year, Crane is referencing some of the same visual symbolism that he used to delineate Greece as an ideal, socialist society in his earlier poem. In the frontispiece to Part II: *The Odyssey*,⁹⁷ classically dressed women recline, stretch, and twist around the borders of the central oval in similar fashion to the striking poses held on the first page of *The Sirens Three*. Crane manipulates the female body in much the same way he treats the plant forms that are used to decorate and fill the shapes he has created on the page. They are decorative elements, yet at the same time they are emblematic of Crane's interest in harmony, beauty, and classicism and the socialist associations it carried for him at that time. He assigned many of the same

qualities to book design that he ascribed to architecture: it too must be unified into a total design that fills the page while maintaining harmony between text and illustration. The design of this page from *Echoes of Hellas* evidences Crane's interest in investing a utilitarian object, the page of a book, with the kind of beauty that will improve society.⁹⁸

In these two texts, Greek architectural ornament and the malleable body of the woman of classical Greece have been refashioned to represent Crane's aspirations for a socialist nation. Leoussi argues that artists operating during the 19th century appropriated the Pheidias figure type from Greece to express the anthropological idea that Europeans, as the descendants of the Aryan ancient Greeks, were similarly physically perfect. Art thus became the vehicle for new ideas about national identity. Such a comparison serves to justify European imperialist policies of domination towards less perfect races and nationalities.⁹⁹ Although Crane is also appropriating Greece and its arts as symbols of the potential perfection of English society, he has a much different end in mind: his brand of socialism is the antithesis of imperialist supremacy.

Keeping in mind Walter Crane's theories about the perfection of Greek architectural form and line arising from their ability to achieve cooperation and unity, it might benefit us to take another look at the artist's sketchbook of Greece. Now the massive forms of architecture might take on a new meaning.¹⁰⁰ They still refer directly to the past, bypassing modern Greeks who are not present in the images and their political and social situation; however, they may additionally refer to the social structure of antique Greece, and their ability to cooperate to create a truly public art. As an individual artist-observer inspired by his vision of the ideal collective society, Crane focuses on architecture as the medium for regaining socialism in practice. Similarly, his careful

records and elaboration of architectural motifs and details¹⁰¹ through darker, firmer pencil strokes, so in contrast to his sketchier, more rapid method of recording landscapes and images of people, may point to his fascination with architectural detail as the basis for good socialist design.

Walter Crane's sketchbook of Greece, when placed in the context of his writings, political theories, and practices as a commercial designer of decorative arts, reveals a complex attitude towards Greece. Through his renderings of the landscape, architecture, and native inhabitants of the country, he falls into the typical pattern of travel writers and artists visiting Greece, working to divorce the historically significant sites and culture from the modern Greeks, thereby reinforcing imperialist vision of Greek art, culture, and "physical perfection." Nevertheless, on another level, his elaboration of the rhetoric of the Arts and Crafts movement and socialism and its relationship to ancient Greece simultaneously serves to nullify the capitalist agenda that underlies imperialism. The focus on ancient Greece serves Crane as a path allowing him to disengage from modernity and its capitalist orientation in order to imagine a different world.

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NOTES

¹ Walter Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), 311-20.

² "Our Party in Greece," photograph of Walter Crane and tour group, as pictured in Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 180. As no images are included in this version of the thesis, all images discussed will be referenced in the endnotes from here on.

³ Walter Crane, *The Bases of Design* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 20.

⁴ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "Athlete's Tomb" and "Stele, The Dipylon, Athens, April 29 '88," Princeton University Special Collections.

⁵ Walter Crane, "Self-Portrait," 1883, pictured in Greg Smith and Sarah Hyde, Eds., *Walter Crane 1845-1915: Artist, Designer and Socialist* (London: Lund Humphries, 1989).

⁶ The following biographical information derives from Isobel Spencer, *Walter Crane* (London: Studiovista, 1975); further details on the artist's own impressions of his life are available in Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*.

⁷ Walter Crane, "Willows Whiten, Aspens Quiver," from a set of illustration for *The Lady of Shalott*, 1858-9, as pictured in Isobel Spencer, *Walter Crane* (London: Studiovista, 1975), 33.

⁸ Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 43. This redefinition of childhood led to a flourishing of art and literature addressing the topic. Children's stories began to gain popularity among both adults and children, and artists focused more and more on the wonder and joy of childhood—helped along by the increasing affluence and social dominance of the middle classes and the exposure of the social ills of child labor. This redefinition of childhood can perhaps best be seen in J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000), originally performed in 1904. See also James Holt McGavran, Ed., *Literature and the Child: Romantic Continuations, Postmodern Contestations* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Walter Crane, Illustration for *The Frog Prince*, 1874, as pictured in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 48.

¹¹ Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 101. The quote comes from the introduction to the catalogue of the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition in 1888.

¹² Crane delineated the aims of the Arts and Crafts movement as “to assert the claims of decorative art and handicraft to attention equally with the painter of easel pictures”; “ignoring the artificial distinction between Fine and Decorative art”; “considering it of little value to endeavour to classify art according to its commercial value”; no more “nameless workers”; “the Designer and Craftsman should be hand in hand, and work head with hand.” Walter Crane, *Ideals in Art: Papers Theoretical Practical Critical* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1905), 22-3.

¹³ Walter Crane, “Garland for May Day,” 1895, as pictured in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 151.

¹⁴ Crane, *Ideals in Art*, 145.

¹⁵ Walter Crane, “Truth and the Traveller,” 1880, as pictured in Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences*, 286.

¹⁶ The nude females in Crane’s paintings often appear androgynous, with emphasized musculature and a decidedly masculine lack of curves. This has been cited as the result of his attempts to honor his wife’s demands for modesty and propriety: Mrs. Crane requested that her husband engage male models to complete his sketches of female nudes. See Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 74-5.

¹⁷ Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003): 3.

¹⁸ Barbara Brothers and Julia Gergits, *British Travel Writers, 1837-1875* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), xii.

¹⁹ Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 4-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xiv.

²¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 5.

²² J. P. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1913), 37.

²³ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, “Parthenon – Moonlight, April 27 ’88,” Princeton University Special Collections.

²⁴ Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences*, 316.

²⁵ Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 28.

²⁶ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "On Mars Hill, May 1 '88," Princeton University Special Collections.

²⁷ The charmingly sketched goat, composed of a series of light and dark quick pencil strokes that, I think, captures the appeal of this small animal, might perhaps hark back to Crane's early interest in drawing animals from life.

²⁸ Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

³⁰ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "Laurium: Station, April 30, 1888," Princeton University Special Collections.

³¹ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "Lateen Sails on the Aegean, May 2 '88," "A Passenger," and "Sheep on Board Steamer to Nauplia, May 2," Princeton University Special Collections.

³² Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 314-15.

³³ Douglas Percy Bliss, "The Colour-Printed Picture-Books of Walter Crane," *Artwork* 6, no. 22 (1930): 120-4. For an easily accessible, published sketchbook, see "Walter Crane: Hazelford Sketch Book," Cambridge, MA: The John Barnard Associates, 1937.

³⁴ Walter Crane, *Line and Form* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1900), 38-9.

³⁵ There is a long tradition of illustrated travelogues and travel sketch books that goes beyond Delacroix, my example here, and of which Delacroix himself was a tributary. Many discussions of this tradition focus on a specific geographical region or voyage, ie, travelogues of Africa, Oceania, South America, etc. For more general information on this tradition, see Barbara Stafford, *Voyage Into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984); Michael Jacobs, *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel, and Exploration 1564-1875* (London: British Museum Press, 1995); Tim Barringer, "Images of Otherness and the Visual Production of Racial Difference: Race and Labour in Illustrated Texts," in *Victorians and Race* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1996), 34-52; Josef Daum, "Handel, Entdeckung, Mission, Bildung: Malerische, Künstlerliche, und Wissenschaftliche Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert," *Weltkunst* 54 (1984): 984-987.

³⁶ Eugene Delacroix, "Studies of Jewish Women," 1832, from one of the Moroccan albums, as pictured in Barthelemy Jobert, *Delacroix* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

³⁷ Jobert, *Delacroix*, 144.

³⁸ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "Temple of Jupiter Olympos – Athens, April 27 1888," Princeton University Special Collections.

³⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 201.

⁴⁰ William James Stillman, Photograph of Athens, Parthenon, Profile of the Eastern Front, Plate 27 in *The Acropolis of Athens*, 1869 (collected by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema), as pictured in Richard Tomlinson, *The Athens of Alma Tadema* (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), 87. See also pages 1-6 and 86 of that book for information.

⁴¹ There are small structures in the background of the drawing; however, I do not believe them to be indications of modern Greek city life. Perhaps they represent a Greek monastery (my thanks to Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer for this suggestion).

⁴² Edward Lear, "View of Ancient Corinth," watercolor on paper, 1849, as pictured in Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *Through Romantic Eyes: European Images of Nineteenth-Century Greece from the Benaki Museum, Athens* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1991): 96-7.

⁴³ Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 3-5.

⁴⁴ The 'captions' incorporated in the pages of Crane's Greek sketchbook occupy an odd, liminal space. Are they really captions that attempt to describe what is shown? It seems unlikely that they function as titles for the sketches, both because sketchbooks rarely include anything so formal as titles on each page of the book, and because the phrases appear only on the sketches depicting or connected to a particular place. For example, several pages (17v, 18r, 19r) including only miscellaneous figure studies bear no such labels. I think that Crane uses these phrases as markers to track the course of his journey in the sketchbook, allowing him to associate particular images with their fixed location on his travels. However, if the labels were only intended to facilitate memory, why would there be this strange disjunction between depicted image (modern street) and ancient label ("Birthplace of Pericles")? I would argue that, for Crane, modern Greece is ancient Greece. Sites of the modern world and almost undifferentiated landscapes like the one labeled "Plain of Marathon from Pentelicus" (Princeton University Special Collections) only gain interest and meaning when they are tied to historical information. In my opinion it is the Greek history and culture, not the Greek landscape, that intrigues Crane.

⁴⁵ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "Lion Gate – Mykenae, May 3, 1888," Princeton University Special Collections.

⁴⁶ Similar figures surround Crane in the photograph taken of his tour group during his voyages in Greece (Fig. 1). The inclusion of tourists in landscapes featuring classical Greek ruins is a theme that recurs in travel sketching; Crane's was neither the first nor the only such sketch. Sir William Gell, an English topographer who published *The Itinerary of Greece* in 1810, traveled throughout Greece in an attempt to provide the potential traveler with necessary information regarding distances, worthy sites to visit, and advice

on what is required for an extended tour. He also visited the Lion Gate at Mycenae and committed his impressions to paper in a sketch (Sir William Gell, Gate of the Lions at Mycenae, drawing from *The Itinerary of Greece*, 1810). Gell utilized a different viewpoint than Crane, affording the viewer a wider panorama of the (empty) countryside surrounding the site, as well as a picturesque view of ruins. However, once again two small figures—a man and woman, although less readily distinguishable by their dress—once again stand in front of the gate. Robert Eisner, *Travelers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991): 102-3.

⁴⁷ Many of the following issues arose during Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's seminar, "Late Classicism in the Mediterranean" at the University of Delaware in fall of 2004. I am much indebted to her lectures and class discussions.

⁴⁸ Athena S. Leoussi, *Nationalism and Classicism: The Classical Body as National Symbol in Nineteenth-Century England and France* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 157-8.

⁴⁹ Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987): 1-3.

⁵⁰ A glance through a catalogue of Alma-Tadema's work quickly reveals his bias towards classicism. The artist's *A Reading from Homer* (Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, "A Reading from Homer," 1885) offers a prime example of the classical subject matter so prevalent in English visual culture. Alma-Tadema was both popular and successful during his lifetime. He exhibited his works frequently at the Royal Academy in London, and he produced more than 400 highly finished pictures throughout his career. The painting incorporates architectural elements taken from the Greek Theater of Dionysus, and figures lounge about in a variety of classical garb. See Edwin Becker, Ed., *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (New York: Rizzoli, 1997): 11-12, 231-32.

⁵¹ Leoussi, *Nationalism and Classicism*, 160.

⁵² Hannah Arendt, "Continental Imperialism: The Pan-Movements," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1951): 222-224.

⁵³ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 7.

⁵⁴ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, "Steamer to Nauplia, May 2, '88" and "Dolphins on the Way to Aegina," Princeton University Special Collections.

⁵⁵ After a long struggle against the Ottoman Turks, Greece finally achieved 'independence' in 1833. However, despite all official statements to the contrary, Greece remained under the dominion of foreign powers for many years thereafter. Their victory was in part a result of their status as a protectorate of Britain, France, and Russia. These protecting powers decided on the boundaries of Greece, and as the result of the search for an appropriate sovereign for the nation, crowned Otto, the 17-year old son of King

Ludwig I of Bavaria. Otto was carried to Greece on a British frigate; his rule was colored by the advice of three Regents, one from each country participating in the protectorate. It was a democracy in name only—there was at first no constitution, and Greeks had little influence in their own government. In 1843, constitutionalists rebelled, forcing King Otto to agree to a constitution establishing a parliamentary system that granted Greeks a bit more influence, although in practice it was still dominated by foreign prime ministers. In 1862, Otto was forced to flee Greece after another rising; the Greeks attempted to vote Prince Alfred of England, Queen Victoria's second son, as their king. However, the British government refused and instead selected Prince William George, the second son of the King of Denmark, who was proclaimed King George I of the Hellenes in March of 1863. Greece established a new constitution that established it as a "democracy under a king" in fact as well as in name. However, the British retained a great deal of political and financial influence in the region. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Greek government and culture (especially the planning of Athens by Bavarian architects and engineers) was greatly affected by foreign powers. See C. M. Woodhouse, *Modern Greece: A Short History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968): 157-86.

⁵⁶ Lateen sails are a type of rigging characterized by "a triangular sail extended by a long spar slung to a low mast" used especially on the north coast of Africa. Merriam-Webster OnLine, www.m-w.com, accessed April 12, 2006.

⁵⁷ Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 318.

⁵⁸ Walter Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 312.

⁵⁹ Walter Crane, "Socialism & the Imperialistic Will O the Wisp," 1907, as pictured in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 155.

⁶⁰ Crane lamented political British imperialism, but he also railed against her cultural and artistic colonialism. In an essay entitled "Of the Racial Influence of Design," he described England as "inveterate colonists, even in art." He delineates the goals for English artists: "Should we determine to set our house in order, and make England again 'merrie,' strong in her own borders, self-supporting, and self-reliant, not suffering the natural beauty of our land or our historic monuments to be ruthlessly defaced, in the supposed interests of trade; putting our trust in the capacity of the people, rather than in the multiplication of machines; uniting hand and brain in our work, thinking more of the ends of life and less of the means, when the means of an ample, simple life shall be within the reach of every citizen, then, well—*then* we might fairly expect to win the palm of life, as of art, without despoiling the African." Crane, *The Bases of Design*, 214.

⁶¹ Crane, *Ideals in Art*, 180. This is very much like Delacroix and his comments on Arabs.

⁶² Christopher Newall, "Crane, the Social and Artistic Revolutionary," *Apollo* 129, no. 323 (January 1989): 52-3.

⁶³ Isobel Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 161.

⁶⁴ Crane bemoaned the commercialization of modern life, including slums, pandemic advertising, street signs, posters, excess goods, crowded streets, etc. He states, "That modern conditions of life are destructive to the sense of beauty I do not doubt." Crane, *Ideals in Art*, 76-8.

⁶⁵ Walter Crane, Pears soap advertisement; Walter Crane, Scottish Widows Fund poster design, 1888, both as pictured in Smith and Hyde, *Walter Crane 1845-1915*.

⁶⁶ Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era*, 31.

⁶⁷ Photograph of Walter Crane's studio at Shepherd's Bush (the family home from 1873) with plaster replica of part of the Parthenon frieze near the fireplace, as pictured in Rodney K. Engen, *Walter Crane as a Book Illustrator* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 3.

⁶⁸ Walter Crane, "Woodnotes" wallpaper design, 1886, as pictured in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 116; Walter Crane, "Lilies of the Vale" illustration from *Flora's Feast* (children's book), 1889, as pictured in Engen, *Walter Crane as Book Illustrator*, plate IX; Walter Crane, Menu for Smallman's Restaurant, 1894 and Walter Crane, "Sphaera Imaginationis," stained glass design, as pictured in Smith and Hyde, *Walter Crane 1845-1915*.

⁶⁹ Walter Crane, *The Bases of Design*, 3.

⁷⁰ Crane, *The Bases of Design*, 339.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁴ Crane, *Ideals in Art*, 40.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁷⁶ Colleen Denney, "English Book Designers and the Role of the Modern Book at L'Art Nouveau; Part One: Modern Merriment and Morality in the Art of Walter Crane" *Arts Magazine* 61 (May 1987): 80-1.

⁷⁷ Walter Crane, *The Bases of Design*, 20.

⁷⁸ Crane was a strong proponent of the relatively new idea that children should be presented with imaginative, attractive images as a part of their education. Along with Kate Greenaway and Randolph Caldecott, two other popular late 19th century children's

book illustrators, Crane led the charge to create works that would conform to this doctrine. Crane said, "The best of designing for children is that the imagination and fancy may be let loose and roam freely, and there is always room for humour and even pathos, sure of being followed by that ever-living sense of wonder and romance in the child heart—a heart which in some cases, happily, never grows up or grows old." Quoted in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 62-3.

⁷⁹ Walter Crane, Illustration (Anne and Fairy Godmother) from "Little Queen Anne," Part 1 of *A Romance of the Three Rs*, 1886, University of Delaware Special Collections.

⁸⁰ Walter Crane, Illustration (Anne as Pallas Athena) from "Little Queen Anne," Part 1 of *A Romance of the Three Rs*, 1886, University of Delaware Special Collections.

⁸¹ Walter Crane, Illustration (Arts, Anne, and Mrs. Grundy) from "Little Queen Anne," Part 1 of *A Romance of the Three Rs*, 1886, University of Delaware Special Collections.

⁸² Walter Crane, Illustration (Dr. Grammar) from "Little Queen Anne," Part 1 of *A Romance of the Three Rs*, 1886 (detail), University of Delaware Special Collections.

⁸³ Crane also published a socialist cartoon, "Mrs. Grundy Frightened by her Own Shadow" wherein he mocked the social and economic policies of Britain by means of this same personification (Walter Crane, "Mrs. Grundy Frightened by Her Own Shadow," cartoon for *The Commonweal*, 1887, as pictured in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 147). This cartoon first appeared in William Morris's *Commonweal* in May 1886 and resurfaced later as socialist propaganda in *Cartoons for the Cause*, published for the International and Trade Union Congress of 1896. Originally, the cartoon was designed in response to middle-class unrest about a large rally of workers in February of 1886. Mrs. Grundy, a personification of bourgeois England, clings to her wealth, land, profits, capital, and wages. She turns in horror, ready to attack the phantom of the unemployed, which she perceives to be threatening her. However, the threat is all in her imagination; it is her own shadow she fears, as the unemployed are represented by a pathetic, barefoot, dirty, and hungry young boy who only asks for his rightful share of the wealth she carries.

⁸⁴ Walter Crane, Illustration for *The Sirens Three* ("Lost on a shipless sea..."), 1885; Walter Crane, Illustration for *The Sirens Three* ("This magic house..."), 1885; Walter Crane, Illustration for *The Sirens Three* ("All these I saw..."), 1885; all in Princeton University Special Collections.

⁸⁵ Engen, *Walter Crane as a Book Illustrator*, 21-4.

⁸⁶ Greg Smith, "Developing a Public Language of Art," in *Walter Crane 1845-1915: Artist, Designer and Socialist*, edited by Greg Smith and Sarah Hyde (London: Lund Humphries, 1989), 21.

⁸⁷ Elsewhere, Crane argued that climate was a deciding factor in the kind of art created in Greece. According to Crane, "color sense" depends on how much sun a country gets: "it is to the influence of sunlight, direct or indirect, and to its prevalence in a greater or lesser

degree in different countries, then, that we may attribute the differences of taste and feeling for colour and pattern which mark the different quarters of the inhabited earth.” Crane, *The Bases of Design*, 156.

⁸⁸ Walter Crane, Study from *Line and Form* by Walter Crane (arabesque-like figure drawing), 1900, p. 212.

⁸⁹ Walter Crane, Study from *Line and Form* by Walter Crane, 1900, p. 87. Walter Crane, *Line and Form* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), 87, 212. Such line studies are very reminiscent of similar plates in William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (New York: Garland, 1973).

⁹⁰ David Gerard, *Walter Crane and the Rhetoric of Art* (London: Nine Elms Press, 1999), 9.

⁹¹ Walter Crane, *The Renaissance of Venus*, 1877, as pictured in Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 85.

⁹² Spencer, *Walter Crane*, 74-5.

⁹³ Walter Crane, Frontispiece to *Echoes of Hellas*, 1887-88, Princeton University Special Collections. Details are gleaned from the unpaginated introduction to *Echoes of Hellas: The Tale of Troy and the Story of Orestes from Homer and Aeschylus with Introductory Essay and Sonnets by Professor George C. Warr, M.A., presented in 82 Designs by Walter Crane* (London: M. Ward & Company Ltd., 1887-88). For relevant passages in Crane’s autobiography, see Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences*, 284.

⁹⁴ Walter Crane, “Aphrodite’s Pledge Redeemed” from *Echoes of Hellas*, 1887-88 (stage set originally designed by Frederick Leighton, Princeton University Special Collections.

⁹⁵ Walter Crane, *Bon Accorde*, 1907 (luster vase), as pictured in Smith and Hyde, *Walter Crane 1845-1915*.

⁹⁶ Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 303-5.

⁹⁷ Walter Crane, Frontispiece to “The Odyssey” from *Echoes of Hellas*, 1887-88, Princeton University Special Collections.

⁹⁸ Denney, “English Book Designers and the Role of the Modern Book,” 1987, 80-81.

⁹⁹ Leoussi, *Nationalism and Classicism*.

¹⁰⁰ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, “Parthenon & Acropolis from Temple of Jupiter Olympus,” Princeton University Special Collections.

¹⁰¹ Walter Crane, Sketchbook of Greece, “Fragments at Eleusis, May 4, ’88,” Princeton University Special Collections.