Chapter 1
Anglo-American: Artistic Exchange between Britain and the USA

David Peters Corbett and Sarah Monks

In late 1882 the American painter Winslow Homer arrived back in New York after eighteen months spent at the artists' colony in Cullercoats, a fishing village near Tynemouth in the north of England. Over the next year, while working on a set of watercolours and oil paintings based on his English subjects, Homer began his enduring relationship with Prout's Neck on the Maine coast. By the spring of 1883 he was permanently established in Maine, and almost immediately began the extraordinary series of paintings of dramatic events set at sea that includes *The Life Line* (1884, Philadelphia Museum of Art), *The Fog Warning* (1885, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and *Undertow* (1886, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute). Scholars have seen the transition from the dramatic events depicted in the Prout's Neck paintings of the 1880s to the empty seascapes which followed in the 1890s as 'time and narrative erased', the emergence of Homer's new attitude to 'narrative meaning and content' and even to 'eternity'.[1]

Yet this move had already been made by Homer whilst in Cullercoats, where he began a watercolour and gouache image now called *Mending the Nets* (1882, *plate 1*). The space in which the two women seem to work is an unexpected one, the descriptive treatment of the area towards the front and right blending into an abstract zone to the rear, so that the space occupied by the figures (defined to the right by the wall and its hanging net and basket) is open and indeterminate on the left. Homer seems to have created this effect some time after the initial exhibition of the watercolour in 1882, when he scraped down what was originally the detailed depiction of a rear wall and achieved the present dazzling and unfixed space behind the two figures.[2] At the same time he changed the title from *Far Away from Billingsgate* to the present one, a move which represents a diminution of anecdotal force in line with that of the image's visual content. When the watercolour was shown in 1891, one critic was therefore confounded, commenting that 'it is hard to make out just what is meant by the background'.[3]

Art historians have commented on the monumental and sculptural character of the two girls in *Mending the Nets*, seeing these aspects of the image as a deliberate evocation of the antique which positions the figures in a shallow relief space akin to that of the Parthenon friezes Homer would have been able to see at the British Museum.[4] That is certainly one of the ways in which this image, by an American artist, relates to its British context. But Homer seems also to have looked at Frederic Leighton's *Winding the Skein* (*plate 2*), which had been shown in London at the Royal Academy in 1878 and was available in engraved form.[5] The foremost female figure

Detail from Francis David Millet, *The Expansionist (The Well-Travelled Man)*, 1899 (*plate 9*).

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1 Winslow Homer, *Mending the Nets*, 1882. Watercolour and gouache over graphite, 69.5 × 48.9 cm. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art (Bequest of Julia B. Engel). Photo: National Gallery of Art.

in Homer's watercolour echoes that to the left of Leighton's painting. The gesture and position of the figure's right hand and arm recall those of Leighton's equivalent, as do the expression on the woman's face, the direction and concentration of her gaze, her crossed ankles, and the position of her left hand and arm. The citation of Leighton's painting reinforces the classical resonances of the watercolour, but does so in a meaningfully different way to its resonances with the Parthenon friezes.

Leighton's classicism has been described as offering a version of the classical world which emphasizes the painterly and the aesthetic.[6] In images such as *Greek Girls Picking up Pebbles by the Sea* (1871, private collection) and *Winding the Skein*, Leighton's non-narrative subject matter and attention to surface and paintwork produced an

emphasis on style and execution over the specificities of subject matter and anecdotal meaning. Homer's shallow, glowing and fictive space makes of *Mending the Nets* an independent but intense response to the mediated version of classicism offered by Leighton and others. That space and Homer's non-narrative subject feed into the blocked narratives of paintings like *Undertow* and look forward to the abstraction, attenuation of narrative, and concern with the subject of representation discernable in the work of the subsequent decades. Depicting little more than a column of spray cast into the air as blank rolling waves encounter solid black rocks, *West Point, Prout's Neck* (1900, *plate* 3) therefore hinges less upon the significance of the incident than that of the painting's own production by an artist able to convert an evanescent moment into an emphatically material aestheticization of forces – water and stone, artist and world, and vertical and horizontal planes – encountering each other.

If Homer's creative extension of British aestheticism is one example of transatlantic exchange, this was two-way traffic. For Leighton was also implicated in the shifting political and economic practicalities of Anglo-American artistic exchange, as Melody Barnett Deusner argues in her essay in this collection. At the end of the decade which saw Homer's discriminating response to his art, Leighton wrote a letter to the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York about an American plutocrat's recent acquisition of a work by Anthony van Dyck. 'It is not – shall I confess it? – without a pang that I think of such a work as Vandyke's "Duke of Richmond" – one of the very choicest works of his hand – leaving the land in which it was painted', he wrote; 'but your countryman has shamed our Government, which refused to the trustees of our National Gallery the money wherewith to buy it.'[7]

On the one hand, then, we have seen Homer's subtle and creative response to an artistic exemplar, and on the other Leighton's concern with the drift of economic and cultural power from one side of the Atlantic to the other. The evolution of the

2 Frederic Leighton, *Winding the Skein*, c. 1878. Oil on canvas, 100.3 × 161.3 cm. Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales. Photo: Art Gallery of New South Wales.

potent elements that make up the Anglo-American cultural relationship – including issues of economic and political prestige, cultural authority and the flow and creative reappropriation of artistic influence – are expressed in these two exchanges with which Leighton was briefly associated. In the light of their difference and the subtlety of their significance, these two interactions seem to form together an appropriate metaphor for the shifting grounds of Anglo-American artistic relations.

This collection derives from a conference held in July 2009. In soliciting papers for 'Anglo-American: Artistic Relations between Britain and the USA' we posited that the relationship between British and American art has served as a point of both self-definition and, significantly, negation for artists working on both sides of the Atlantic. The causes of this fluidity lie in entwined histories: whether as metropolis and colony, interdependent yet often belligerent nations, or client state and superpower, Britain and America have experienced a mutual cultural interchange that has ebbed and flowed across the Atlantic without ever becoming fixed, generating distinct characters at different moments and from different points of vantage. In seeking to complicate familiar notions of a 'special relationship' based on common values of democracy, law, economic liberalism and rationalism, and to explore rather than simply to consolidate the meanings that have been given to Anglo-American cultural similarity, the conference set out to analyse art's role in shaping, examining and challenging the nature of this relationship.

Both conference and collection relate to a broader current concern with the possibilities of a trans-national art history, which moves beyond the study of artistic influences and reception and is therefore capable of addressing more fully the forms of transmission, migration, affiliation and repudiation that occur between cultures. Such an approach has long been adopted by scholars of Latin American art,[8] and more recently by those working on the effects of globalization within contemporary art.[9] The common concern of these investigations with colonial and postcolonial histories is increasingly shared by those working on the history of 'European' art. Thus, a number of studies have begun to explore the effects of those histories upon colonial (that is, colonizing and colonized) visual cultures, questioning the hierarchy of centre and periphery and problematizing the traditional assumption of defined and homogeneous cultural entities within the discipline of art history.[10]

This body of scholarship, as well as that which analyses the visual and material effects of non-colonial European encounters with other cultures (early modern chinoiserie, for example), provides compelling models for considering art within trans-national – indeed, supra-national – frameworks.[11] Yet, whilst it might trouble the notion of the centre, that scholarship has tended in practice to leave the centre and its culture remarkably intact. The 'trans-national' has most often meant what is produced and experienced by members of immigrant, subaltern or minority groups within dominant cultures which themselves remain self-defined. As historians of the art produced in Britain and the United States during the long eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (that is, during the period in which both emerged as political and cultural centres of global power), we wanted to address this situation head-on. We wanted to test the viability and effectiveness of thinking between and beyond national cultures as a means of reframing the art produced within these two geographical, cultural and political centres: Britain and 'America'.[12] That we chose to do so by placing these centres in dialogue with each other as cultural entities might seem, as it did to some conference delegates, at once too obvious and too strained a manoeuvre to reap any definite reward. Historically momentous, yet so prevalent as

3 Winslow Homer, *West Point, Prout's Neck*, 1900. Oil on canvas, 76.4 × 122.2 cm. Williamstown, MA: The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Photo: Bridgeman Art Library.

to be almost intangible, 'the Anglo-American' is – like whiteness – among the hardest macro-categories to analyse, not least because, for all but the first years of the period under consideration here, it has signified the encounter (however uneven) between two cultures rather than the transatlantic reach of one.

As such, 'Anglo-American' implies a different and far less settled category than those terms which signify internal variegation or creolization within particular, often dominant, cultures (as, for example, with 'Scottish' or 'Afro-Brazilian'). The largely symmetrical relationship between Britain and the United States after the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 might therefore have made the analysis of their intersection seem forced, tenuous or limited in its capacity to deliver insights. And given its enormous consequences for non-European subjects drawn into, and compelled to live with and negotiate, that intersection, the implications of focusing on Anglo-American cultural relations *per se* have not been lost on many of our contributors, for whom colonial violence and racial discourse have left (in Jennifer Raab's words) 'stains and shadows' within the images they consider. The need to analyse Anglo-American cultural relations in depth is therefore evident if we consider the global implications of Anglo-American symmetry and its consequences for others – whether the transatlantic slave trade, the dispossession of native American peoples, or the long exclusion of any but White Anglo-Saxon Protestants from full participation in American politics. We must attend to white settler cultures and their European points of reference if we are to understand the sources, imagery, power and limitations of the dominant ideologies that have been forged between them.

The hyphenation of British and American cultural forms that is pursued by our contributors, the recognition of their negative and positive polarities, situates each in relation to an other which, since 1776, could not reasonably be integrated into itself by either culture in the interests of ascendancy or assimilation. Perhaps their hyphenation denaturalizes the artistic products of these two cultures, casting them into relief in a manner which allows detailed analysis to take place. Perhaps, by extension, there is no such thing as Anglo-American visual culture. Indeed, for those contributors working on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century material, 'Anglo-American' has seemed more significant as another context for contemporary patterns of artistic exchange and transmission than as one which specifically connects

Britain and the United States. The Atlantic Ocean and the significance of its crossing seem to recede in these accounts, unlike those concerned with artworks produced during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when political, institutional and social connections were genuinely close, or within the last fifty years when British artists like David Hockney self-consciously engaged with American culture as a means of revising and throwing off their own.

In order to understand the reasons for this ebb and flow, we need to consider the historiography of the Atlantic itself, for it has presented a major challenge to established notions of the past as the history of nation-states and national cultures. That challenge has consisted not only in the re-description of historical events and objects within a transatlantic context, but also in the impetus to reconceive the entire historical landscape in which they occurred.[13] The heterogeneity of its geographical, social and historical character makes any totalizing analysis of this landscape impossible, and invites instead the consideration of particular relations as they have held within and between its spaces, not least because there have been multiple Atlantics rather than one. That which runs between Porto and Rio de Janeiro, say, is the site of substantially different histories from that which connects (or divides) Waterford and Newfoundland. Yet, as these examples might suggest, the significant overlap between Atlantic histories and those of European colonialism and maritime trade more generally has most often meant their conflation, despite the fact that Atlantic histories frequently challenge assumptions about cultural hierarchies and the unidirectional effects of power.[14] The historiography of the Atlantic 'afterwards' – after regular transatlantic passenger voyages began in 1818, after the steamship *Great Western* reduced those voyages to an average of two weeks from 1838, after the first transatlantic telegram in 1858 and transatlantic flight in 1919 – has paled by comparison. Technological modernity would seem to mean the near-elision of the Atlantic as a historical and cultural landscape.[15]

Yet, as the later essays in this collection suggest, these innovations only enabled the continued proliferation of artistic exchanges within an Anglo-American cultural relationship. The United States are not defined by the original British colonies, by the English language, or by the history of British migration to North America. Nor is Britain by any means a unity. Throughout the period considered in this volume, the populations of American and British cities alike have been not only highly variegated in cultural and ethnic origin but also highly mobile, their various identities commonly overlaid, mixed and reconstituted, as well as frequently reasserted. We use the title 'Anglo-American' not because we think the relationship either a 'special' one or the most important for its two protagonists, but because we wanted to investigate the degree to which the individual cultural relationships subsumed by this term are valuable as ways into wider and more complex historical material. For, as Malcolm Bradbury argued, the notions cultivated by Britons and Americans about each other and their territories have formed a 'transatlantic refraction', a flourishing traffic in the imaginary whose economic and political consequences might exceed even those of 'mythologies of voyage, adventure and contact'.[16] And as Paul Giles has argued, that traffic has often taken the form of 'a series of reciprocal attractions and repulsions' between two cultures which persist in 'twisting and intertwining with each other in mutually disorienting ways'. The historical and cultural relationship between Britain and America since 1776 ought therefore to be seen not as one of opposition and ethnocentric conflict, but as one in which these two nations serve as alternatives to each other, engaged in acts of 'mirroring and twinning'. Reading British and American cultures against each other might therefore reveal how much they acknowledge, play upon and traverse their own 'potential reversibilities'.[17]

4 Joseph Strutt after Robert Edge Pine, *America: To Those who wish to Sheathe the Desolating Sword of War, And to Restore the Blessings of Peace and Amity to a divided People*, 1781. Stipple Engraving, 20.2 × 25.3 in. Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum. Photo: Winterthur Museum.

The stakes involved in Anglo-American relations were clearly signalled by Robert Edge Pine's painting, *America* (1778, destroyed; now known only in engraving, *plate* 4). Produced in Bath in the midst of the American War of Independence, and by a British artist who seems to have long been concerned with the arbitrary character of monarchical rule, Pine's image depicts embattled America as an Indian widow grieving at a monument to her military defenders killed in the conflict with British power.[18] The effects of that internal dispute and its longed-for resolution are made explicit in the stark contrast central to the image's visual rhetoric. On the left-hand side, the burning and ruined landscape is littered with broken bodies and abandoned barrels, signs of that conflict's human, commercial and material costs. To the right, we see the consequences of peace in a train of interlinked figures (in turn, Population, Plenty, Industry, Concord, Liberty and Virtue) which proceeds from the right-hand margin where the ships indicative of transatlantic commerce are visible. Above flies the figure of Peace herself, at the axis of an image which – as the engraving's inscription makes clear – attempts to give visual form to the desires of those Britons who opposed the War. Itself both the product and the image of a particular vision of Anglo-American community, *America* deploys contemporary conceptions of that community as one characterized by sentiments of grief, sympathy and friendship for its articulation of despair at transatlantic division – and then its confirmation of victory's rewards. For Pine's painting came with him when he

migrated to Philadelphia in 1784 after the War's conclusion. It was displayed in the Pennsylvania State House where American independence and the American Constitution had been agreed.[19] Now, the image could be understood as one of gratitude rather than anticipation, the key cause for celebration the restoration of transatlantic connections signified by 'the happy return of peaceful Commerce'.[20]

Conflict, community, feeling and commerce: these are the key terms, perhaps, for the imagery of Anglo-American encounters, since they recur throughout the essays in this collection. Each of these terms seems to have been tested by the vast expanse of the Atlantic, the real and the imagined ocean alike serving as a litmus test for the ability of affiliations, identities and values to travel.

George Romney's portrait of the Mohawk spokesman Thayendanegea or Joseph Brant (1776, National Gallery of Canada) is therefore a masterpiece of British hopes explicitly confirmed. Painted while Brant was visiting London, it shows him wearing a breastplate engraved with the name of the British king and standing in a posture of calm yet committed readiness to defend the royal cause. Forged between artist and sitter, Romney's portrait therefore sets out to substantiate the persistence and deep internalization of loyal feeling within a transatlantic subject. By contrast, Eyre Crowe's *Slave Market at Richmond, Virginia, 1852* (1861, *plate* 5) underlines a contemporary distinction between the sensibilities of Britons and Americans by depicting the latter's black victims as a connected social unit. Arranged like market goods about to be valued and sold, but also in a manner which allows us to read the character and extent of their own feelings as human beings, this group's frieze-like form dramatizes their imminent (re-)entry into the system of American slavery. Yet that system's full consequences are left to be imagined and then wondered at by us, as also by the painting's audience in London when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1861. Our sympathies aroused on behalf of slavery's victims, it is left for us to marvel at the discrepancy between our feelings and those of slavery's beneficiaries: the white Americans who enter at stage left, in a scene Crowe claimed to have witnessed whilst in the States.[21] Crossing the Atlantic, the mid-nineteenth-century British artist was therefore able to combine powers of representation with distinctive claims to moral and emotional superiority.

5 Eyre Crowe, *Slave Market at Richmond, Virginia*, 1852, 1861. Oil on canvas, 52.7 × 80 cm. Private Collection. Photo: Bridgeman Art Library.

6 Samuel Finley Breese Morse, *Gallery of the Louvre*, 1831–33. Oil on canvas, 73¾ × 108 in. Chicago: Daniel J. Terra Collection. Photo: Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago/Art Resource, NY.

Perhaps such prominent foregrounding of power's victims and their sufferings implies awareness of the human costs entailed in transatlantic commerce.[22] Certainly, sentiment has often been central to Anglo-American relations.[23] British and American tears have therefore long been taken as evidence of liberal guilt, and hence political and cultural legitimacy, on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, as Julie Ellison has argued, the relationship between law and tears in America has been potent enough that dominant models of masculinity, family and community have been built around it.[24] Americans' apparent capacity for 'natural' and profound sentiment has been an important point of differentiation from British political and cultural norms since the late eighteenth century. Yet sentiment's dependence upon shared social values for significance means that it has as often been an indication of Anglo-American community, of the migratory capacity and trans-national force of emotion and affect.

The fragility of such ideas when faced with the Atlantic was such that, in the very year of the British Empire's consolidation in North America, Adam Smith could doubt whether feelings were adequately or justifiably felt across such a vast expanse: 'All men, even those at the greatest distance, are no doubt entitled to our good wishes … But if, notwithstanding, they should be unfortunate, to give ourselves any anxiety upon that account seems to be no part of our duty.'[25] Without the ability to articulate distant experiences and feelings with any immediacy or any possibility of speedy response – without, that is, technologies of faster communication and transport – the very concept of transatlantic feeling seemed to Smith stupidly luxurious. Nevertheless, the Enlightenment systematization of historical, scientific, economic and psychological knowledge in which Smith himself participated became the

7 Frederic Edwin Church, *Heart of the Andes*, 1859. Oil on canvas, 168 × 302.9 cm. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Bequest of Margaret E. Dows, 1909, 09.95). Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY/Scala, Florence.

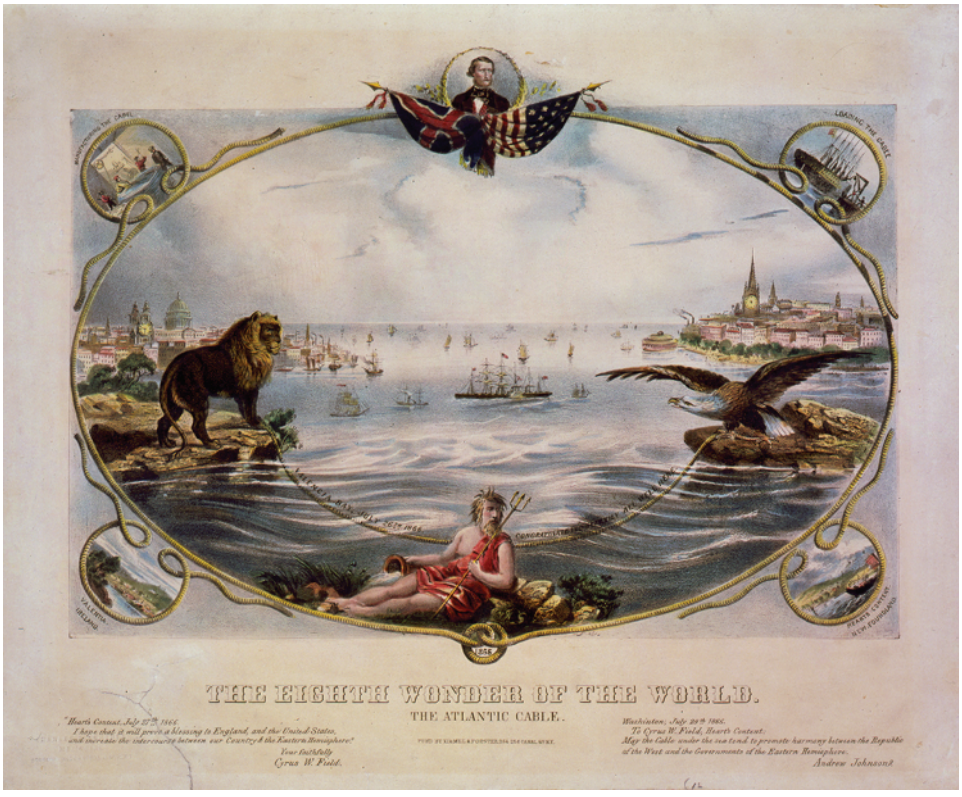
grounds upon which modern subjects would be able to realize and afford such rapid and direct communication.

Beginning with Samuel Finley Breese Morse's *The Gallery of the Louvre* (1831–33, *plate 6*), one train of nineteenth-century images exemplifies that process of communication. A graduate of Yale where he studied philosophy, mathematics and the science of electricity, Morse came from a Puritan family deeply committed to the idea of Anglo-American political and cultural alliance. At the age of twenty, he travelled to London where he studied painting with Washington Allston and Benjamin West. There, his *Dying Hercules* (1812–13, Yale University Art Gallery), exhibited at the Royal Academy where he was also a student, exemplified his early ability to reproduce the traditions of European high art, an aim he translated into transatlantic terms in *The Gallery of the Louvre*. A monument to art's capacity to record and relay its own achievements, Morse's huge canvas, begun in Paris, collects the edited highlights of the Louvre within its box-like pictorial space, the exaggerated tunnel at its centre already indicative of his intentions: the transportation to America of a wholesale encounter with European high art. Those intentions would fall on famously fallow ground, as its concentration and recitation of European cultural achievements failed to charm its viewers in New York, and the income and commissions it was expected to provoke disappeared along with any hope that the man shown holding forth towards its left-hand side – the writer James Fenimore Cooper – might become its patron.[26] And Morse had already begun to move on: sailing home with this canvas, he was introduced by a fellow passenger to the new science of electromagnetism, with which Morse would experiment as a means of relaying rhythmic sound (and hence, potentially, data). While continuing to attempt the transmission of visual traditions and information,[27] Morse set about developing a system of telegraphic communication which would connect the States with each other and, within decades, with Britain.[28]

The man behind that particular innovation, the American entrepreneur Cyrus West Field, had himself attempted to capitalize on art's communicative potential. In 1853, he accompanied Frederic Edwin Church on the first of two expeditions in South America, Field travelling in the interests of his paper business, Church in order to locate the grounds on which panoramic landscape painting might be heroically linked with Humboldt's science.[29] In turn, Field commissioned the major pictorial result of those journeys: *The Heart of the Andes* (1859, *plate 7*), a grand machine

almost two metres high and three metres wide, calculated to draw paying spectators and investors to its dizzying landscape. And the remarkable, almost inconceivable journey which its audience's eyes are expected to make as this painting leads them from one prospect to the next across seemingly unbridgeable divides and cataracts, found its parallel in the painting's own journey, together with its huge frame and the elaborate paraphernalia of its installation, from New York to London.[30] Church's statement in May 1859 that 'The "Andes" will … be on its way to Europe' plays upon the Herculean feat of the painting's transportation in terms which register the revised possibilities for cultural contact signified by the first successful transmission, nine months earlier, of transatlantic telegrams.[31] Passed along thousands of tons of underwater cable laid in an operation chiefly initiated and funded by *The Heart of the Andes*' patron, those messages framed the achievement of telecommunications between Britain and America in familiar terms: peace, friendship, sensibility and the commercial profit signified by 'common interest'.[32]

The imagery with which that communicative link was celebrated once it had been consolidated, and considerably accelerated, by Field's Anglo-American Telegraph Company in 1866, is that of a panorama compressed and bounded by cable (*plate 8*). Its expanses now little more than an estuary, the Atlantic's epic quality here consists in its transcendence rather than its bulk, the latter reduced to the unheeded figure of Neptune above whom the symbolic lion and eagle communicate. Neptune's eclipse as a symbol of momentous historical time is further underlined by the image's emphasis upon simultaneity, figured by the two outsized clock faces which beam out from London and New York. This shift in temporalities towards the smooth and near instantaneous is articulated by the easy passage of shipping across the short distance between these two cities, and by the relegation of the cable's actual manufacture and location to vignettes beyond the picture's edge. Extraneous information exiled to the



8 Kimmel & Forster, *The Eighth Wonder of the World – The Atlantic Cable*, 1866. Colour lithograph, 43 x 56cm. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division (LC-USZC4-2388). Photo: Library of Congress.

9 Francis David Millet, *The Expansionist (The Well-Travelled Man)*, 1899. Oil on canvas laid on board, 106.7 × 172.7 cm. Atlanta: High Museum of Art (purchased with funds from the Margaret and Terry Stent Endowment for the Acquisition of American Art, with funds from Alfred Austell Thornton in memory of Leila Austell Thornton and Albert Edward Thornton, Sr, and Sarah Miller Venable and William Hoyt Venable, general funds, and through prior acquisitions from Mr and Mrs George E. Missbach, Sr). Photo: High Museum of Art.

margins, the central image is only broken by one motif: the entwined and airborne flags of Britain and the United States, above which the laurel-wreathed portrait of Field presents him in the guise of the scene's presiding deity.

Old and new encounter each other here less as the respective attributes of two nations than as vertical polarities – between the timelessness of allegory and the eternal present tense of portraiture – within a simultaneous transatlantic culture. And yet the realization of such a culture through technologies of transport and communication fuelled its own imaginary negation, in flourishing perceptions of a basic temporal distinction between British and American cultures.[33] Those perceptions are at once lampooned and exemplified in descriptions of 'Ye opulent American and hys wyfe, who goe about ye olde worlde disportinge themselves', or of busy Liverpool as the one English city with 'No old cathedral, no castles, a real New Yorkish place'.[34] In turn, the apparent revelation of innate temporal distinctions between these two cultures served as an alibi for the dominant ideologies – capitalism and established social hierarchy – which actually pertained in both. The history of Anglo-American cultural relations after 1776 is therefore one of prolific and mutual reinvention through transatlantic comparison and contrast, a project of self-definition which lends itself to the Oedipal, producing forms of longing and (as with Crowe) repudiation.[35]

Elsewhere, crossing the Atlantic is presented as an encounter with the sheer materiality of the contrast between modernity and history. British and American artists have therefore depicted transatlantic topographies (whether geographical, social or historical) in ways which emphasize radical difference and indecipherability, testing the viewer's ability to feel their way across divides and hence confirm their membership of particular communities of sentiment. Thus, while Henry James's encounter with Englishness was framed by his conception of 'the English and

American world … as a big Anglo-Saxon total', when it came to England's description, its effects were often a scrupulous (if typically Jamesian) attention to material forms of difference.[36] Broadway, the 'very old English village' in Worcestershire in which James lived briefly in 1885, conjured paradoxical associations for the American, who could only hope to 'brush away' incongruous associations with the hectic electric sprawl of its New York namesake. The Cotswold Broadway also had its 'wide, long … vistas', but these were 'grass-bordered' and lined with 'brownish-grey cottages, thatched, latticed, mottled, mended, ivied, immemorial, … in short the perfection of the old English rural tradition'.[37] Seen less as a set of values and behaviours than as the accumulated manifestation of deep time, England could be reduced at Broadway to a picturesque and barely populated jumble of 'old nooks and old objects', its houses and its regions filled with 'things, … accessories and specimens', the whole country so much material for artistic transformation:

> This is the great recommendation of Broadway: everything in it is convertible. … There is portraiture in the air and composition in the very accidents. Everything is a subject or an effect. … The garden walls, the mossy roofs, the open doorways and brown interiors, the old-fashioned flowers, the bushes in figures, the geese on the green, the patches, the jumbles, the glimpses, the color, the surface, the general complexion of things, have all a value, a reference, and an application.[38]

Like Pont-Aven, Tahiti or Penzance, old Broadway here appears grist to the mill of a literary and artistic modernism in which the aesthetic triumphs over local and historical significance – only the term 'old-fashioned' survives to suggest the prior life of a place which is otherwise fragmented by James into details and sensations ripe for 'application', despite (and because of) his attention elsewhere to its 'perfection of the old English rural tradition'.

James was not the only American in the Cotswolds. His combination of Anglo-Saxon reverie and frank materialism is characteristic of the works produced by two American artists, Edwin Austen Abbey and Francis Davis Millet, who had moved to Broadway in summer 1885 and around whom 'a roster of late nineteenth-century Anglo-American culture', including James, rapidly accumulated.[39] Like other American artists during this period, Abbey and Millet migrated to England because London still held out the promise of a career in which artistic ambition and financial reward might be combined. Certainly, these two artists' prolific – and, in Millet's case, frenetic – pictorial output at Broadway over the next two decades was applauded by critics, for whom the aesthetic implications of the pair's transatlantic relocation were most evident. Millet's English paintings therefore seemed to possess a luminous, evocative and natural directness born of contact with Broadway's rustic, age-old simplicity. His paintings were simultaneously 'fresh', 'personal and new', and demonstrations of his ability to render 'the charming old objects… the old surfaces and tones, the stuffs and textures, the old mahogany and silver and brass – the old sentiment too, and the old picture-making vision'.[40]

As such, Millet's *The Expansionist* (*The Well-Travelled Man*) (1899, *plate 9*) combines some of the psychological and formal suspense to be found in contemporary problem pictures with the close pictorial rendering of parchment, oak, pewter and silk, whilst its technical and compositional means are comparable with those of both seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting and contemporary British artists such as John Liston Byam Shaw. Furthermore, Millet's painting plays off the implied state

of the male figure, absorbed by the scribbled thoughts and jumbled trappings of Far Eastern travel which surround him, against the solidity and simplicity of the cottage in which he sits. With its four-square furniture, hearth, and deep window recess, the cottage has the substance – and, in the female figure, the expectant charms – of a home, a place from which departures are made and to which return is anticipated, a ground against which worldly voyages and materials must figure if they are to be 'worldly' at all. The 'well-travelled man' is not an itinerant; the 'expansionist' operates from a centre. Millet's fictive scenario presents both an eighteenth-century English precedent for American expansionism of the 1890s, and an allegory of its costs: the loss of order and perspective signified by unmeaning clutter, and a state of permanent aspiration which leads the individuals away from the material weight and existential limits of their own human lives. We are therefore encouraged to experience – for this room and this moment – the nostalgia that Millet's male figure has foregone, engrossed as he is in fantasies, projections or memories of other places even after his return. Time is consequently at the semantic core of this image, as multiple pasts (whether in the painting's historicity or in the evidence of its figures' past lives) rub up against implied presents, futures and future pasts.

At once old and new, Millet's paintings dramatize the defining encounter between an all-consuming American artistic modernity and English material history. He was, according to James, 'very modern, in the sense of having tried many things and availed himself of all the facilities of his time' (facilities which, unfortunately, would later include a cabin on board the *Titanic*).[41] Yet Millet's paintings also reflect upon that encounter in ways which call attention to the transatlantic and historical specificities of their own production. For, as Marc Simpson has argued, his are images which invite narrative reading yet ultimately offer us only 'quiet, uneventful moments' depicted with 'a gentle self-deprecating irony, a concern with trifles from the past, an anecdotal coyness, an emphasis on tastefulness and high finish'.[42]

10 Harold Sterner, *Paul Mellon's Hunting Habit*, c. 1950. Watercolour. Private Collection.

11 Peter Blake, *Self-Portrait with Badges*, 1961. Oil on board, 174.3 × 121.9 cm. London: Tate Britain. © Peter Blake. All rights reserved, DACS, London, 2011. Photo: © Tate, London, 2011.

In turn, Millet's paintings were produced with a peculiar combination of intensity and self-limitation. As he put it in a statement which conflates American cultural primitivism with aesthetic modernism, 'we [Americans] are painting the surface of things. Our portraits are commonly masks, our pictures deal with textures and forms … . It is natural that this should be so. … [We] can not expect to do better with all our education, our wealth, and our facilities for travel.'[43]

These contrasting cultures of vision and materiality characterize the two images with which we want to end: Harold Sterner's drawing of Paul Mellon's fox-hunting habit (*c.* 1950, *plate 10*) and Peter Blake's *Self-Portrait with Badges* (1961, *plate 11*). The self-consciously archaic style of the former – composed didactically like an illustration inside an eighteenth-century encyclopaedia – presents Mellon's habit (however ironically) as an object of knowledge and mild awe. The joke here is purely contextual, and originally Mellon's to enjoy: a twentieth-century Texan has become an eighteenth-century landed gentleman, his breeches and buttons as important as sources of information about him as they would have been several centuries earlier and several thousand miles to the east. Laid out, itemized, and viewed from several angles, Mellon's habit is presented as a marvel of construction and reconstruction to rival that of its absent owner. The class prestige attributed to fox-hunting would seem simply to have migrated with its material trappings. This drawing further contributed to the reification of aristocratic material culture when it was included in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition 'Man and the Horse' (1984). This was one of several Reagan-era blockbusters, which included 'The Treasure Houses of Great Britain' at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC in1985, a show in which the material culture of the English aristocracy was celebrated as concrete evidence for the benefits of élite political leadership and good breeding.[44]

By contrast, Blake's self-portrait questions the notion that transatlantic values and realities might be carried across the ocean with their material effects. Posed in the denim jacket, jeans, sneakers and 'buttons' then automatically associated with American youth culture, Blake appears to stand amongst the patchy grass and unkempt vegetation of his back garden in the west London suburb of Chiswick. His clothing, his Elvis Presley magazine and his badges signify the dream of transformation or escape by material proximity, a possibility which is flatly undermined not only by Blake's maudlin countenance but also by the fence which mockingly opens onto another world only to reveal more of the same. Furthermore, Blake's chest is a field of contrasting Anglo-American affiliations, featuring as it does a British soldier's medal from the 1914–18 war alongside badges celebrating British music hall comedians, American TV shows, British public safety campaigns, Adlai Stevenson, Dan Dare and Presley. Like the image by Pine, Blake's painting longs for transatlantic connection and equivalence (not least in the avant-garde, SoHo painterliness of the latter's backdrop). Yet that longing is haunted by the spectre

of an irrevocable cultural difference, a difference only exacerbated by American culture's material tangibility as it draws us into a tragicomic comparison between Presley's glamorous, romantic persona, and Blake's sullenly resigned stasis. A riff on Gainsborough's *Blue Boy* (*c.* 1770, Huntington Library, San Marino), perhaps, or Watteau's *Gilles* (*c.* 1718–19, Louvre, Paris), Blake's image plays upon the melancholy disjuncture between the consumption of ideals and their realization in the formation of modern subjectivity, a disjuncture that is here amplified rather than elided by transatlantic distance.[45]

We started with a historical context in which an empire of trade and a shared material culture were understood to be the grounds on which the two sides of the Atlantic might be held together, despite the political and ideological fault lines between them.[46] Yet, although the full powers of sentiment and technology have been marshalled to prove otherwise, the relentless movement of people, goods and ideas across this divide has not been sufficient to insure against moments of transatlantic repudiation, self-distinction and alienation, possibly because that constant movement has itself been largely symptomatic of a broader force, the movement of capital. The history of transatlantic experience might be said to be that of the possibilities, transformations and problems which have accompanied the pursuit of profit. Perhaps, then, the history of Anglo-American cultural relations is that of capitalism's cultural effects *in extremis*, whether they are located in the seemingly colourless and/or weightless artefacts considered in the essays by Melody Barnett Deusner, Jennifer Greenhill and Alexander Nemerov, or in the moments of anxiety, conflict and resistance described here by Jennifer Roberts, Kenneth Haltman, David Peters Corbett and Cécile Whiting. Yet, however much truth it contains, such an attempt to locate those relations within a single, capitalist meta-culture only crushes the significant distinctions between artistic forms, practices and expectations to be found there, as well as the historical and material specificities of the contexts in which they emerged.

Ultimately, then, the analysis of Anglo-American artistic relations must be comparative rather than homogenizing. Such comparative analysis is currently a powerful draw for many Americanists, whose desire to counter isolationist histories of the United States is summarized by Bryce Traister's statement that 'the old and comforting cartographies will no longer do'. Quoting the literary scholar Paul Giles, a highly influential proponent of such approaches, Traister argues that 'transnationalist American Studies … will put "yet another stake through the heart of the unquiet corpse of American exceptionalism"'.[47] For Susan Castillo, this means that Americanists 'should be examining questions that go far beyond national frontiers'.[48] This broad engagement of American Studies and its contributing disciplines (including art history) with the possibilities and the urgency of comparative studies is significant. 9/11, globalizing economies, climate change, and the end of 'the American Century' present clear imperatives for a new sense of America's place in the world. And the pointed sense that America can only be understood within a global context is now widely promulgated, as even the briefest scan of Americanist journals demonstrates. There is, for example, the *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, published by the American Cultures and Global Contexts Center at the University of California, Santa Barbara; *Atlantic Studies*, which is published on behalf of the Society for Multi-Ethnic Studies: Europe and the Americas, and which 'aims to be an important site for scholarship on the comparative study of multi-ethnic cultures and societies'; *The Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, which contains 'articles on the topic of Europe and its interactions with North, South, and Central America and the Caribbean'; *Comparative*

American Studies: An International Journal, which states that 'at this time of increasing globalization there is a growing need for American Studies to be re-articulated in a comparative manner'; and the suggestively named *Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary Relations*, which presumes the character of the relationship right from the start. Journals with other mission statements are also attracted to the theme of comparative American studies. The distinguished on-line journal run from Birkbeck College at the University of London, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, for instance, devoted a special issue (number 9), in 2009, to 'Transatlanticism: Identities and Exchanges'. And the great research hub of the Smithsonian Institution's American Art Museum has run two recent symposia together with the Terra Foundation for American Art, which have looked at American art's place in the wider world, 'American Art in a Global Context' (2006), and '"A Long and Tumultuous Relationship": East-West Interchanges in American Art' (2009). A third symposium, 'Encuentros: Artistic Exchange between the US and Latin America' is scheduled for October 2011.[49]

Our conference aimed to explore the tangled web of Anglo-American cultural relations as they have related to the visual arts during the centuries since 1776. We hoped that the event would not only provide the opportunity for papers on historical instances of Anglo-American relationships, but would also pursue some of the implications of the term 'Anglo-American' – so blithely used in our title – and put it under scrutiny. The conference aimed to identify the important issues at the heart of the concept of 'Anglo-American' art, and to investigate the very idea of artistic 'exchange' across different cultures. At a moment when the utility of national schools as an organizing principle is increasingly being held up to scrutiny in the scholarship on both American and British art, a systematic examination of the artistic implications of the fluid, sometimes volatile, Anglo-American relationship seemed to us important and timely.

Issues of national identity, fluidity and volatility are very much at stake in Sarah Monks's account of Benjamin West's early career in London, where he arrived as Anglo-American relations began to sour. Through an analysis of the works that West produced before, during and immediately after the American War of Independence, Monks finds there the signs of West's attempt to negotiate his transatlantic identity and its problematic implications. Playing both sides off against the middle, West embraced multiplicity (in his art and in his persona) as a means of surviving the paradoxes now implied by his status as British American. His work is therefore seen to focus repeatedly on 'gestures of desire, affiliation and connection' between figures, in an eroticization of affection of the kind that was central to pro-American rhetoric and that was haunted by spectres of colonial violence, severance and mutilation.

Likewise, Jennifer Roberts's essay on John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark* (1778) explores the consequences of the fact that early efforts at Anglo-American communication entailed a recognition of 'division and displacement as well as conjunction' between the two cultures. Copley's scene of imminent dismemberment emblematizes the broader problems of delivery posed by the 'huge intermissions that the Atlantic imposed', that 'unbridgeable space between Anglo- and American-'. If those problems were emphatically material ones, as her discussion of the Boston Tea Party and its relation to Copley's painting makes clear, they also affected the transmission of forms of knowledge, culture, and narrative and sensory perception in ways which seemed to promise the 'failure of transatlantic communal life' and a 'broader catastrophe in Anglo-American material relations'. As Roberts's analysis of Copley's painting reveals, history painting and the forces of modern history

were intertwined during this period, as the shifting possibilities of failure and recuperation within Anglo-American relations had implications 'for the function and meaning of art itself.'

Kenneth Haltman's essay considers the British artist Joshua Shaw's *Picturesque Views of America* (1820) and its troubled production. As Haltman argues, Shaw's project tested the capacities of both the artist and his art to cope with divergent landscapes and communities across an unexpectedly vast eastern seaboard. In their over-determination, their play between 'apparent access and visual impediment' and their various struggles with the landscape's violent significance, Shaw's images – like the dissimulating social practices to which he was led in the desperate search for patronage – betray the problems involved in the project's realization. If, as his frontispiece suggests, Shaw intended to offer a vision of America as (in Haltman's words) 'a floating dream', his images nevertheless register the 'dark memories' with which their landscapes were associated. Such memories are central in turn to Jennifer Raab's analysis of Frederic Edwin Church's *Vale of St Thomas, Jamaica* (1867). Here, Raab argues, is an image in which absences and silences invoke the limits, and the refusal, of visual memory. The result is to problematize the artist's capacity to articulate the 'contiguity of beauty and brutality' within his motif, depicted in the aftermath of both the American Civil War and Jamaica's Morant Bay Rebellion. To cross the space between America and the British West Indies was, Raab argues, to encounter the broader question of narrative and emotional connection across the Atlantic and Anglo-American divide.

Melody Barnett Deusner's essay discusses the form and fate of the Upper East Side mansion built in the 1880s for the railroad magnate Henry G. Marquand. As Deusner argues, the extraordinary contents of this house so fused English and American tastes that it seemed to 'perch uneasily' between the two nations, representing the material and cultural achievements of England on American soil. Yet, paradoxically, the sheer scale of Marquand's power to accumulate those achievements – as seen in the transatlantic construction and transportation of his profligate piano – exemplified the contrast between Britain and America as distinct temporal, moral and economic zones, the former's historical products and commercial prowess seemingly sucked into the 'gravitational pull' exerted by this 'distinctively American concentration of wealth'.

Such a contrast worked in the other direction too, prompting forms of wonder and intoxication the sublimity of which – that is, the invigorating threat of excess and loss of self to which they testify – underlies Henry James's reference to the 'banquet of initiation' he underwent both as a young man growing up and as an American visiting England for the first time.[50] In a place where 'the present is always seen, as it were, in profile, and the past presents a full face', James claimed to have undergone a direct physical encounter with history itself.[51] As Jennifer Greenhill argues in her close reading of the meanings of whiteness in the work of James and his contemporaries, Charles Dana Gibson and George Du Maurier, that was necessarily the history of Anglo-Saxon people. In the dialogue between Gibson and Du Maurier, both artists seemed to produce images 'written in honest Anglo-Saxon', yet Gibson's also offer an imagery in which whiteness is powerfully abstracted and attached to social progress. The icon of his achievement here is 'the Gibson Girl', a vision of 'Anglofied American' womanhood through which America's lasting indebtedness to English origins could be promoted, and with that the maintenance of 'Anglo-American political and social supremacy at home'.

James's subtle, extended and unresolved exploration of Anglo-American

difference and intimacy is addressed towards the end of David Peters Corbett's essay, which considers the dissimilarities of apparently analogous urban realisms on each side of the Atlantic in the early years of the twentieth century. Ashcan School and Camden Town painters both examined the metropolitan cities that characterized their respective countries, but in ways that parallel the combination of closeness and distance James feeds into his evocation of England and America. Corbett's essay takes up the usefulness of the very idea of 'Anglo-American' as well as some of the implications of a comparative approach across the Atlantic to describe a moment in the long-drawn-out relationship between the two countries when similarity disguises deeper and more telling differences.

The fraught character of such differences is pursued by David Lubin in his essay on the visual propaganda produced on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1914–18 war. For Lubin, the imagery that resulted raised questions of cultural and social allegiance and superiority, most especially through British propaganda's translation within, and juxtaposition against, the terms of American modernity. For Americans, this allowed their 'self-characterization as a nation based on loyalty to principle rather than people'. Yet that self-image also entailed the registration of weaknesses within the American social fabric in images which play upon Americans' relative lack of class and community roots, their susceptibility to social shame and 'fears of being alone', in order to effect their ends. Through the representation of others, their sacrifices and their deaths, vision itself was therefore called upon to awaken and effect social bonds eroded by both war and modernity, on both sides of the Atlantic. For, as Lubin argues, it was on these grounds that Sargent would problematize the British imagery of warfare's unifying powers through a pair of paintings – *Gassed* (1919) and *Some General Officers of the Great War* (1922) – in which matters of seeing and blindness are central.

Placing the works of Virginia Woolf and Georgia O'Keefe in dialogue with each other, Alexander Nemerov's essay further explores the theme of blocked perceptions and open potential. Nemerov opens out the suggestive correspondences between the two women by playing upon the separate fascination of each with the idea of sending intimate messages 'out into space and time', messages which 'might or might not be accessible to some other like-minded person out there somewhere'. For Nemerov, Woolf and O'Keefe are connected across the Atlantic by this shared investment in the message as a 'peculiar combination of intimacy and alienation'. That combination metaphorizes both the processes of artistic production, and forms of psychic instability and desire. To do so it draws on an anticipated relation between departure and arrival that was then being dramatized by heroic feats of lone transatlantic flight.

Jo Applin's analysis of Claes Oldenburg's work in London is also concerned with the implications of transatlantic flight for modern subjectivities. Again, those implications take the form of both intimacy and alienation, Oldenburg self-consciously responding as tourist, as 'out of place, as stranger', to the dislocating semi-familiarity of 1960s London. Even before he touched down, Oldenburg was processing that experience through an anthropological analogy, the stacks of Battersea Power Station comparable to the knees spectacularly revealed by Englishwomen's mini-skirts. As Applin argues, the body was the main 'material conduit' through which Oldenburg experienced and navigated London. His struggle to find meaning and physical correspondence through that conduit finds its echoes within his sculpture, in which proposals for large-scale monuments in both New York and London enter into 'a suggestive dialogue … not through similarity but difference', the two cities cast 'as distinct archetypes or models for how to think

about the city in the twentieth century'. In turn, differential experiences of physical and cultural assimilation, of 'fitting in', are reflected upon in Oldenburg's work, leaving open and unresolved the 'politics of friendship' between transatlantic cities.

However, as Cécile Whiting's essay suggests, such differences could be deployed to positive ends by Oldenburg's contemporary David Hockney, for whom the particular aesthetic qualities encountered in Los Angeles – 'a place where high and low, nature and artifice, intermingled' – served as a means of contesting recent forms of English modernism. In the face of the 'homogeneous and culturally unified ideal of Englishness' promoted by Nikolaus Pevsner, an ideal which 'smoothed away the evidence of difference', Hockney deliberately set out to 'court the "un-English"'. American acrylic paints combine in his work with the wistful yet seemingly realized 'dream of far-off Californian glamour' to produce a distinctly mid-Atlantic art, one whose emergence 'in dialogue with American culture, as neither English nor slavishly American', placed it in opposition to the prestige of English artistic traditions. In turn, Hockney aggrandized the distance between his English origins and his newfound American context by deploying humour, satire and sexualized scenarios in which the artist, his patrons and his paintings were triangulated.

The conference, 'Anglo-American: Artistic Relations between Britain and the USA', took place in July 2009 at the University of York with the generous support of the Terra Foundation for American Art and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. The essays published here were first delivered as papers in York, with the exception of Jennifer Raab's, which we were fortunate enough to be able to commission subsequently. To our great regret, Wanda Corn and Michael Hatt, whose respective papers on 'Channel Crossings: Gertrude Stein and the English Moderns' and 'Time Zones: Experiencing England in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston' were among the highlights of the conference, were unable to contribute to the collection. We would like to thank the Terra Foundation, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and the Department of History of Art at the University of York for their generous help in funding the York conference and the subsequent work to translate it into published form. We would also like to acknowledge the invaluable support of the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies and the Centre for Modern Studies at York in making the event possible. There are also many individuals to whom we are indebted, particularly Philip Kerrigan (who served as a committed and enthusiastic administrator for the conference), Mark Hallett, Jason Edwards and Clare Bond, all at York; Veerle Thielemans and Francesca Rose at the Terra; and Sam Bibby at *Art History*.

Notes

1 Franklin Kelly, 'Time and Narrative Erased', in Nikolai Cikovsky Jr and Franklin Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 1995, 302, 313.

2 See Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 215. As the authors note, the etching derived from this watercolour, *Mending the Tears* (1888, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), did away with the walls, placing the girls in front of the sea.

3 'Watercolors and etchings at the academy', unidentified newspaper clipping, cited in Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 215. The authors comment that 'in 1893 Homer made a precisely similar revision of an earlier work when he repainted *The Coming Away of the Gale* … as *The Gale* … removing the detailed background and leaving only the monumental figure of the striding woman' (215). But in fact a comparison of these images – the first reproduced by Cikovsky and Kelly from a photograph in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, on p. 183 as fig. 149, the second in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA, and reproduced as cat. no. 189 – shows that after scraping down the original background Homer repainted it, substituting a new, realistic, seascape for the first boatyard scene. This is very different from the glowing and unspecific field of *Mending the Nets*.

4 See Nikolai Cikovsky Jr, *Winslow Homer*, New York, 1990, 80–1; and Cikovsky and Kelly, *Winslow Homer*, 215, for discussion and comparisons to classical sculpture.

5 Beyond that, he may have had in mind the Dalziell brothers' wood engraving of William Holman Hunt's *Lady of Shallott* for the Moxon edition of Tennyson's poems (1857), although the connection here is made by the thread that binds the Lady rather than through formal resonance and echoing. Perhaps this image is also present in Homer's watercolour, either directly or through the mediating influence of the Leighton.

6 See Elizabeth Prettejohn and Tim Barringer, eds, *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, New Haven and London, 1999; and Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting*, New Haven and London, 2007.
7 Frederic Leighton to Luigi di Cesnola, 10 February 1889, reprinted in the *New York Tribune*, 26 February 1889, 7. Our thanks are due to Melody Barnett Deusner for supplying this quotation, which is cited in part in her essay in this volume.
8 See, for example, Serge Gruzinski, *Visions Indiennes, Visions Baroques: Les Métissage de l'Inconscient*, Paris, 1992; and *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492–2019)*, trans. Heather MacLean, Durham, NC, 2001; and Valerie Fraser, 'Cannibalizing Le Corbusier: The MES Gardens of Roberto Burle Marx', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59: 2, 2000, 180–93.
9 See, for example, T. J. Demos, 'Life full of holes', *Grey Room*, 24, 2006, 72–88; and the work of those affiliated with TrAIN (the Research Centre for Transnational Art, Identity and Nation) at the University of the Arts, London.
10 See, for example, Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700–1840*, New Haven and London, 2008; and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, 'Revolutionary sons, white fathers and Creole difference: Guillaume Guillon-Lethière's *Oath of the Ancestors* of 1822', *Yale French Studies*, 101, 2002, 201–26.
11 See, for example, Katie Scott, 'Playing games with otherness: Watteau's Chinese cabinet at the Château de la Muette', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 66, 2003, 189–247.
12 For an important precedent, see Paul Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Formation of American Literature, 1730–1860*, Philadelphia, PA, 2001.
13 Jack P. Greene, 'Beyond power: Paradigm subversion and reformulation, and the re-creation of the early modern Atlantic world', in *Interpreting Early America: Historiographical Essays*, Charlottesville, VA, 1996, 40. For the foundational statement of Atlantic history, see J. G. A. Pocock, 'British history: A plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47, December 1975, 601–28.
14 See Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds, *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, Baltimore, MD and London, 2005, 2.
15 See Allan Sekula, *Fish Story*, Düsseldorf, 1995; and Michel Verne, 'An Express of the Future' [1888], *Strand Magazine*, 10, November 1895, 638–40.
16 Malcolm Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrimages: Trans-Atlantic Mythologies and the Novel*, Harmondsworth, 1995, 1–3.
17 Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections*, 1–3.
18 See John Sunderland, 'Mortimer, Pine and some political aspects of English history painting', *Burlington Magazine*, 116, 1974, 317–26; and Robert G. Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine: A British Portrait Painter in America, 1784–1788*, Washington, DC, 1979.
19 See *Minutes of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in their Third Session*, Philadelphia, PA, 1789, 210; and Charles Henry Hart, 'The Congress Voting Independence: A painting by Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 29: 1, 1905, 1–14.
20 [Robert Edge Pine], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures Painted by Robert Edge Pine*, Philadelphia, PA, 1784, 3.
21 See Eyre Crowe, *With Thackeray in America*, London, 1893, 130–6.
22 See Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion*, Chicago, IL and London, 1999, 7.
23 See Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1660–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community*, New York, 1986.
24 See Ellison, *Cato's Tears*, 4.
25 Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, London, 1759, 140.
26 See David Tatham, 'Samuel F. B. Morse's *Gallery of the Louvre*: The figures in the foreground', *American Art Journal*, 12, Autumn 1982, 38–48.
27 See, for example, his highly Turneresque *Landscape Composition: Helicon and Aganippe (Allegorical Landscape of New York University)* (1836, New York Historical Society), and his daguerreotype portrait of a young man (1840, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).
28 The National Museum of American History, Washington, DC, holds Morse's various telegraph designs and machines, the first dating from 1835, together with his photographic equipment which is among the earliest to have been produced in the States.
29 See Stephen Jay Gould, 'Church, Humboldt, and Darwin: The tension and harmony of art and science', in Franklin Kelly, ed., *Frederic Edwin Church*, Washington, DC, 1989, 94–107.
30 See Kevin J. Avery, '*The Heart of the Andes* exhibited: Frederic Edwin Church's window on the equatorial world', *American Art Journal*, 18: 1, 1986, 52–72.
31 Frederic Edwin Church, letter to Bayard Taylor, 9 May 1859, Bayard Taylor Correspondence, Cornell Regional Archives.
32 Queen Victoria, telegram to President James Buchanan, 16 August 1858, quoted in Herbert L. Sussman, *Victorian Technology: Invention, Innovation and the Rise of the Machine*, Santa Barbara, CA and Oxford, 78–9.
33 See entries for 'old country, *n.* and *adj.*', 'olde, *adj.* (and *n.*)', and 'olde worlde, *adj.*', *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version, http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/258532, http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/130963, and http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/239131, accessed 1 March 2011.
34 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 40: 239, April 1870, 792; and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*, London, 1854, 17.
35 See Bradbury, *Dangerous Pilgrimages*, 6–7.
36 Henry James, letter to William James, 29 October 1888, in *Henry James: Letters*, ed. Leon Edel, Cambridge, MA, 1974–84, 4 vols, vol. 3, 243–4.
37 Henry James, 'Our artists in Europe', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 79: 469, June 1889, 50.
38 James, 'Our artists in Europe', 50–2.
39 See Marc Simpson, 'Windows on the past: Edwin Austen Abbey and Francis Davis Millet in England', *American Art Journal*, 22: 3, 1990, 64–89; and Anne L. Helmreich, 'John Singer Sargent, *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose*, and the condition of modernism in England, 1887', *Victorian Studies*, 45: 3, 2003, 433–55.
40 'The Royal Institute', *Magazine of Art*, 1885, 135; and Henry James, 'Black and white' [1889], in *Picture and Text*, New York, 1893, 12.
41 James, 'Black and white', 10.
42 Simpson, 'Windows on the past', 82.
43 Francis Davis Millet, 'George Fuller', *Harper's Magazine*, 69: 412, September 1884, 522.
44 See 'Madam Realism' [Lynne Tillman], 'Dynasty reruns: Treasure houses of Great Britain', *Art in America*, 74: 6, June 1986, 35–7.
45 See catalogue entry in *The Tate Gallery 1978–80: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions*, London, 1981, available at http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?cgroupid=-1&workid=1032&searchid=31485&roomid=false&tabview=text&texttype=8, accessed 1 March 2011.
46 See John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan, eds, *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, Cambridge, 2000; T. H. Breen, 'An empire of goods: The Anglicization of colonial America, 1690–1776', *Journal of British Studies*, 24, 1986, 467–99; and Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, New York, 1985
47 Bryce Traister, 'The object of study; or, are we being transnational yet?', *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 2: 1, 2005, 5.
48 Susan Castillo, 'Interesting times: A meditation on American Studies in Britain, 2007', *European Journal of American Culture*, 27: 1, 2008, 13.
49 See http://americanart.si.edu/research/symposia/.
50 Henry James, *The Middle Years*, New York, 1917, v.
51 Henry James, 'In Warwickshire' [1877], in *English Hours*, Oxford, 1981 [1905], 200.