# Artist on Loan: Tommaso Juglaris and the Italian Immigrant Experience in America's Late Gilded Age

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In the imagination of its own citizens, America has always been a land of unbridled opportunity for immigrants. No one popularized this notion more than Emma Lazarus in her famous 1883 sonnet, "The New Colossus," in honor of Frederic-Auguste Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, or *Liberty Enlightening the World*. In rhymed couplets, Lazarus gave voice to the "giant female form," which, still awaiting final assembly, was to be installed and officially dedicated three years later in the New York City harbor:

> "Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she . . .
> "Give me your tired, your poor.
> Your huddled masses yearning to be free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"
> (Shor 2006, 188–189; Trachtenberg 1986, 79)

In spite of Lazarus's vision, however, historical reality for newcomers to America has always been considerably less congenial. Although our nation owes much of its dynamic growth to successive waves of immigration, the welcome extended to newcomers was ambivalent and asymmetrical. As the nineteenth century progressed, for instance, certain immigrants, particularly those from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia, were clearly preferred. Those originating from such other places as Ireland and eastern or southern Europe, were more skeptically, if not rudely, received. Viewing different ethnic communities in distinctly racialized terms, American politicians and social commentators publicly expressed doubts about the native intelligence of these less favored immigrants and their ability to assimilate within a democratic, English-speaking, and largely Protestant American culture. Although Italy's rich cultural heritage was admired, contemporary Italians, particularly those from its more southern regions, were regarded with special wariness (Manson 1890, 817–20; Higham 1955, 90–1; Handlin 1957, 84–5; Jacobson 1998, 44, 68–70; Guglielmo 2003, 27; Roediger 2005, 14, 17, 19, 46–9). Reflecting this widespread bias, the mainstream and mostly pro-immigration periodical *Harper's Weekly* felt obliged to concede to its readers that "the Italians who have recently come in such vast numbers to

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our shores do not constitute a desirable element of the population, either socially or politically" (Walker 1896, 825–6, 828). Even the most skilled and educated Italian immigrants were not immune to prejudice. If individually appreciated for their talents, they were still stereotypically perceived as representatives of an "effete" and decadent foreign culture (*Putnam's Monthly* 1857, 8). Questions were raised as to whether Italian artisans and artists were morally fit or aesthetically equipped to work on public art projects intended to extol chaste democratic virtues. Last but never least, sheer economics fed prejudice against Italian immigrants of all classes. Nativists constantly raised the specter of self-aggrandizing foreigners without any loyalty or commitment to the United States displacing American-born workers (Wolanin 1998, 91–6; Fryd 1992, 36, 46, 90, 110–11; Strong [1885] 1963, 59–88; Harris 1904, 532–3). Although Italian immigrants could and did prevail against such prejudice, it dampened their success and sometimes made them more ambivalent about assimilation. A large number of Italian immigrants—as many as one-third—returned home (Dinnerstein, Nichols, and Reimers 1996, 130).

The immigrant experience of Tommaso Juglaris offers a case in point as to the dichotomy of an American welcome. His career trajectory after landing in the United States underscores the particular difficulties that could be faced by an educated and culturally sophisticated Italian artist on this side of the Atlantic. Although Juglaris initially gained a measure of recognition and celebrity as an artist after arriving on American shores in 1880, his larger ambitions, especially in the realm of decorative art, continued to be stymied. A major mural commission in Michigan, which should have established his reputation once and for all, was never publicly credited to him due to political controversy over immigration. Subsequently, despite his experience as a muralist, Juglaris missed out on an opportunity to work on one of the most notable decorative projects in his adopted city of Boston. Still later, the rising tide of American nationalism at the start of the twentieth century seems to have thwarted a fuller recognition of Juglaris's masterwork—an immense mural cycle installed in a public library in Franklin, Massachusetts. In the face of professional and personal disappointments, compounded by nationalistic tensions and prejudice, Juglaris found it best to relinquish his American career as artist and teacher in order to return to Italy. In the end, Juglaris's success in the United States was neither equal to his talent nor the high hopes with which he first ventured across the Atlantic.

Tommaso Juglaris was born in Turin on October 6, 1844, to a family that, despite the Swiss or French provenance of their surname, had staunch Italian roots (Reviglio della Veneria 2003, 340). From an early age, growing

up in the town of Moncalieri on the outskirts of Turin, Juglaris demonstrated a talent for art. Yet financial reversals suffered by his well-to-do parents left him dependent upon scholarship aid in order to attend art school. Enrolled as a night student at Turin's Accademia Albertina, Juglaris took day jobs as a sign painter to earn his keep until he was able to apprentice himself to some of the leading decorative artists in the Italian Piedmont (Juglaris 1863, 1865).[1]

Juglaris found the transition from apprentice to autonomous artist difficult and distressing. Without family backing or ready financial means, he was often exploited by better-known artists who hired him as an assistant or subcontractor. After several years of struggle in which he saw others repeatedly take credit for murals that he had personally designed and executed at various churches and the Royal Theater in Turin, Juglaris chose to depart northern Italy for Paris, France, with a goal of furthering his education and launching an independent career (Juglaris 1870–1871).

At that time, Paris was the great center for art and art education. Yet it was also a city in turmoil due to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the rise of the radical Paris Commune. In June 1871, when Juglaris arrived on the scene, the Paris Commune had just been crushed by conservative forces. The Tuileries Palace, an emblem of France's royalist heritage set on fire by combatants, was still a smoldering ruin (Clayton 2002, 1–5). Thanks, however, to the help of several Italian artists living in Paris, Juglaris was almost immediately able to find work in the midst of the city's troubled and depressed conditions. Initially, Juglaris hired out as a scene painter for Paris theaters. But thereafter, he took up ceramics design and had the opportunity to work with the renowned ceramicist Theodore Deck (Haggar 1968, 123–4). When another economic downturn completely shut down the ceramics factory where he was employed, Juglaris simply shifted to the burgeoning field of lithographic publishing. He was soon hired to help prepare Charles-August Racinet's magisterial *Le Costume Historique*, which remains in print today (Juglaris 1871; Racinet [1876–88] 2003).

As Juglaris pursued jobs in "industrial art," his hopes remained set on a career in the decorative and fine arts. When he first arrived in Paris at age twenty-five, he was already too old to enroll at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. But he found that several famous artists, including Jean-Leon Gerome and Alexandre Cabanel, were willing to take him on as an external student through night classes (Juglaris 1875). Juglaris diligently applied himself to his continuing art education. He benefited from the solicited advice and counsel of such additional distinguished artists as Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot and Thomas Couture. Couture was sufficiently impressed by Juglaris to hire him for mural work at his residence in Villiers-le-Bel, Normandy.

Couture provided both guidance and critique for the project. Thus, Juglaris was qualified to count himself as one of Couture's students. At the time of Couture's death in 1879, Juglaris drew a deathbed sketch of the French master that was later published in the United States in conjunction with a biographical article by one of his devoted American students. Being a part of Couture's circle exposed Juglaris to the artist's many American disciples (Juglaris 1875; Angell 1881, 193–246).

Juglaris's Paris studies bore fruit. Paintings he submitted to the annual Paris Salon were not only accepted but honored. He gained the privilege of submitting paintings for exhibition without advance juried review. Particularly notable among his large Salon paintings were *Offering to the God Lares*, *The Confidence*, *Promenade in Venice*, *Sixteenth Century*, and *The Invasion*, which he exhibited in 1874, 1875, 1879, and 1880, respectively. During the same period, he also won decorative commissions for mural work at some major Paris buildings, including the Palais Garnier, the Palais Gioia, and the Theatre du Chatelet (Hamilton to Radeke 1886; "Opening of the New Public Hall" 1878; Reviglio della Veneria 2004, 61).

Juglaris began to enjoy his cosmopolitan life in Paris. His apartment on the Boulevard Saint-Michel became a gathering place for Italian expatriates and visitors in Paris. In addition, Juglaris found himself socially mingling with such major literary and musical figures as Adolphe Daudet, Victor Hugo, Guy de Maupassant, and Camille Saint-Saens. His only regret was that in his preoccupation with making a livelihood through industrial art he did not have more time for the decorative and fine arts (Juglaris 1873–1874).

Juglaris's successful work with a Paris lithography house managed by a family relation of Camille Corot led to an unexpected offer of a lucrative post with another lithography house in the United States, which he turned down. But broached by an agent of the Louis Prang Company of Boston a second and third time, Juglaris changed his mind. Company founder Louis Prang is today known as the "Father of the American Christmas Card" and had a thriving international business with markets on both sides of the Atlantic (Buday 1954, 74–5; McClinton 1973, 21–2, 73–90; Mancini 2005, 74–8; Korzenik 1985, 161–71). Moreover, the Prang Company was offering Juglaris a half-time executive director or executive artist position in Boston at a more than ample salary. Juglaris saw the American post as a ticket to a better career balance between the industrial arts and the fine and decorative arts, which he much preferred (Juglaris 1880).

Saying good-bye to friends in Paris and Turin, Juglaris set sail for America, landing in New York City in August 1880. In a journal, which he later expanded into an autobiography, Juglaris recorded his first, not

entirely favorable, impressions of America. As a new arrival, he found New York City overwhelming—not only in its sheer busyness but also in its dirt, grime, and filth. As Juglaris remarks:

> I found nothing that particularly impressed me entering New York harbor and the city's aspect was disagreeable to me. The filth of that port is impossible to describe; the adjacent streets are to the point of being puddles of mud and grime—a smelly, revolting sewer . . . The City of New York [also] has a horrible aspect, regular in its layout, very easy to find one's way about, but dirty and indecent. I am not speaking of its architecture. There it is difficult to say what can be salvaged apart from some small exceptions, which really are exceptions. The rest is horrible. There are neighborhoods which can be confused with one another if there is not a number on the door. The houses are all perfectly identical and of the same color brick. Ten steps up, a front door, a window on the right and another on the left and so on for the entire length of the street . . . The monuments in the square are ugly without art and without taste. Only two in New York I found worthy to be admired—that of Washington on a horse and the other of Lafayette. These really are beautiful and honor the artist who made them. (Juglaris 1880)

For all that was deplorable about New York City, Juglaris discovered that American beer was rather good. So were American trains. Soon en route to Boston, Juglaris was amazed at the speed and comfort with which he traveled. In his autobiography, he had words of high praise for American efficiency:

> We in Italy have a long way to go before arriving at the simplicity and readiness with which things are done in America. They are a young nation but more than two centuries ahead of us, especially with the railroad. The stations do not have luxurious rooms or offices. There is no confusion of clerks that serve no purpose at all as in our country. There everything is done on the train. You hand over your baggage to the person who is in charge . . . by merely showing him your ticket. He takes your trunk with only one porter who helps him [and then tags it with a number], giving you a corresponding number. You have nothing else to do. Upon arrival [they] without ado hand over your things. You have nothing to pay: the transportation of your luggage when you travel is free. (Juglaris 1880)

Juglaris never lost his appreciation for American technological know-how.

The Boston that awaited Juglaris was an impressive city, rich in heritage. Given its many famous writers and intellectuals prior to the American Civil War, it had long prided itself on being the "Athens of America." By the

1870s and 1880s, however, Boston had already lost considerable ground to New York City, which was rapidly emerging as the nation's cultural capital. Nevertheless, in the realm of visual arts a number of Bostonians were still determined to see their city shine (Korzenik 1985, 147–8, 152). On the basis of the Massachusetts Drawing Act of 1871, mandating public art education in order to train draughtsman and an "art labor force," British art educator Walter Smith had been earlier recruited from Leeds, England, to serve not only as the director of art education for the Massachusetts Commonwealth but also as the head of a Boston Committee of Drawing. From his arrival in 1871 until his abrupt dismissal in 1882, he proved to be an assertive spokesman on behalf of a more expansive role for art in Boston life (Korzenik 1985, 147–8, 153–160, 200–1, 220, 224–5). In these same years, rich Bostonians also founded the city's Museum of Fine Arts (1870) and reorganized the Boston Art Club (1871). Reflecting the sophistication of public taste, at least in Boston Brahmin quarters, a "Botticelli craze" soon swept the city: Young women took to adorning themselves in the style of Renaissance Madonnas and Venuses (Miller 1992, 11). Meanwhile, anticipating Bostonians' later attraction to French Impressionism during the 1890s, such Barbizon painters as Millet and Corot were being avidly acquired by local private collectors (Fairbrother 1986, 33, 48, 54; Stebbins 1986, 1–2; Vance 1986, 9–10; Hirschler 2005, 17–22, 26–32). Amid all this aesthetic enthusiasm, the city's well-positioned printing industry, dominated by Louis Prang, helped foster a burgeoning trade in commercial and industrial art, which appealed to the tastes and pocketbooks of a much broader middle class (Mancini 2005, 46, 55–57, 70–88).

Once in Boston, Juglaris promptly settled down to his work with the Prang Company, designing a series of greeting cards. But Juglaris quickly had a rude awakening. Louis Prang proved to be a tyrannical employer. Right from the start, Prang refused to pay Juglaris fairly according to the contract signed and sealed in Europe. Moreover, Prang challenged Juglaris's right to exhibit his Paris Salon paintings at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts when he was invited to do so ("Living American Artists" 1880). To Juglaris's surprise, Prang insisted that he "owned" Juglaris and was entitled to veto any of his extracurricular activities outside of regular working hours. Adding still further to Juglaris's woes, there were categorical aesthetic disagreements with Prang. Juglaris was informed that his style was too European to suit American commercial tastes. Juglaris was insulted by Prang's suggestion that he needed an apprenticeship to master the American style. Within six months, Juglaris felt he had no choice except to quit the Prang Company for good. Prang vowed that Juglaris would never work in Boston again, actively sabotaging Juglaris's

effort to find alternative employment. With only a rudimentary knowledge of the English language and almost no understanding of his rights under American contract law, Juglaris was hard-put to defend his own position (Juglaris 1880).

To avoid destitution, Juglaris moved to Philadelphia to seek work. There he was introduced to John Sartain, a noted pictorial engraver and one of the city's cultural leaders, who took him under his wing (Martinez 2000, 1–24). Thanks to Sartain, Juglaris was able to sell one of his Salon paintings, *Promenade in Venice, Sixteenth Century*, to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (Juglaris 1880). But Juglaris was ultimately persuaded to return to Boston by a stained glass producer, Donald McDonald, who made clear that he was not beholden to Louis Prang and could promise a steady stream of stained glass design commissions. McDonald also assured Juglaris that he would not hinder his career in the fine and decorative arts. McDonald proved to be true to his word (Juglaris 1880, 1881, 1883; Reviglio della Veneria 2004, 103–4). What followed was a long-term collaboration between Juglaris and McDonald, which, besides being mutually lucrative, won them praise for original stained glass designs at such places as the Tufts College Chapel, Harvard University's Memorial Hall, and People's Church—at that time the largest worshipping congregation in New England (*Exhibition* 1885; Hamilton 1886; "School of Design, It Is an Institution of Great Usefulness" 1890; Angeletto 1925, 1–2; Kasparian 2004, 20–1).

Supported by the proceeds of his stained glass designs, Juglaris thrived and quickly became prominent in the Boston art milieu. Beginning in 1881, he was a regular exhibiting member of the Boston Art Club, which had a newly constructed building at the corner of Dartmouth and Newberry Streets in Back Bay (Falk 1991, 30, 234, 450, 476). Juglaris additionally made himself useful by designing the front covers for the Art Club's annual exhibition catalogs of 1881, 1882, and 1884 (Jarzombek 2000, 12–15). Similarly, he contributed illustrations to various magazines, including the *American Art Review*, edited by Sylvester R. Koehler, who befriended him. Koehler, then a prominent Boston arts leader, had personal cause to sympathize with Juglaris in the face of Prang's lingering animus. He too was a former Prang employee who had acrimoniously parted with the lithographer and greeting card publisher (*American Art Review* 1881, 108, 1, 15; Mancini 2005, 41, 70–5).

Over the next decade Juglaris held three major exhibitions of his own work in Boston, which received large crowds and wide press attention. Setting precedent for Boston and reflecting the influence of Couture, as well as his own pedagogical bent, Juglaris was the first artist to freely

exhibit preparatory sketches along with his completed works. Newspapers described the first May 1881 exhibition with fellow artist and friend John Ward Dunsmore as one of the "most notable art events of the season" ("Art Gossip" 1881). Likewise, they praised Juglaris's solo exhibition of 1885 for its "novel and unusual" contribution to Boston's cultural life ("Fine Arts" 1885, 2; "Art Notes" 1885, 6). One Boston critic enthusiastically noted that "the work done in Boston during the years 1882–85 by Tommaso Juglaris is certainly one of the finest and [most] interesting displays of art work that has been seen in Boston" ("Boston Art Club" 1885). Another critic seconded that opinion by noting that "the exhibition shows Mr. Juglaris is an artist of singular versatility and fecundity" ("Fine Arts" 1885, 2). Also in 1885, Juglaris joined with such other notable American artists as Edward Moran, William Merritt Chase, F. S. Church, and Childe Hassam in an exhibition of recent American art at the Rhode Island School of Design. One of Juglaris's exhibited works, an oil painting, *Studies for a Frieze*, was singled out for praise by the *Providence Journal*, which pronounced it "admirably done" ("School of Design" 1885). Farther afield, Juglaris also exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago (Falk and Bien 1990, 492).

Further fulfilling some of the high hopes that had brought him to America, Juglaris won several commissions for decorative work, mostly in palatial residences. From a field of sixteen artists all vying for the opportunity, for instance, he was invited to paint friezes for Boston's most opulent Back Bay mansion—a gem of the Gilded Age owned by Governor Oliver Ames (Lewis, Turner, and McQuillen 1987, 58). As commission recipient, Juglaris was awarded a $2,000 prize. Upon public exhibition, the Ames house sketches excited further positive comment. Reviewers described Juglaris's work as "bright, vivacious, and spirited," and remarked that the "artist has no superior in this country as a decorative designer where the human figure is concerned" (Juglaris 1883; *Juglaris Album* 1880–81).[2]

Other commissions for friezes and murals followed. A high point in Juglaris's work as a decorative artist came with an invitation to execute a series of monumental muses for the rotunda of the Michigan State Capitol in Lansing, Michigan, a trend-setting statehouse that architecturally mimicked the National Capitol in Washington, D.C., where the painted and sculpted works of such earlier Italian artists as Enrico Causici, Antonio Capellano, Luigi Perisco, Francis Vincenti, Francesco Irdella, Giovanni Madrei, and Constantino Brumidi, were on display (Hitchcock and Seale 1976, 174–94; Fryd 1992, 17–18, 35–6, 44–6, 90, 110–11, 181–2; Potter-Hennessey 2004, 23–58; Wolanin 1998, 91–6; O'Connor 2004, 204–19). Painting on canvas in his Boston studio, Juglaris completed his assignment on schedule. The muses, allegorically representing philosophy,

education, agriculture, commerce, law, and industry, were delivered to Michigan in September 1886, just a month before the Statue of Liberty was dedicated in New York Harbor. They were duly installed in eight of sixteen framed niches, shallowly recessed and curved, which rim the lowest reaches of a rotunda dome that sweeps upwards to a starry oculus 160 feet above the Michigan Capitol's ground floor. Interspersed between Juglaris's murals in the remaining framed niches are brown and gold decorative panels with elaborate Victorian motifs (Drutchas and Chartkoff 1999a, 8–17).[3]

Presiding over the rotunda from their supernal heights, Juglaris's muses are essentially vertical works set against a strong horizontal plane: Each allegorical figure sits along a low-rise wall or ledge that divides the lower and upper halves of the canvas. Six of the muses are posed with outstretched arms and a rightward turn of the head and upper torso, intimating movement for otherwise static figures. The usefulness of this positioning is underscored by the two remaining muses who, unblinking, gaze almost straight ahead without so readily enticing the engagement of the viewer.

Juglaris dressed all of his muses in loose-fitting, high-waisted white robes, each subtly reflecting either the day- or night-time light of the iconographical scene. The upper bodice of the Muse of Commerce, for instance, almost fades out against the light flesh tones of her exposed neck and left shoulder, suggesting the bright sun of early midmorning. In contrast, the gown for the Muse of Law, who sits vigilantly at night, is a subdued off-white. Meanwhile, the richly colored cloaks of olive, gold, red, green, peach, or blue that drape the muses from lap to feet appear almost carelessly arranged but are not casually executed at all: The folds and creases of flowing fabric, simultaneously suggesting a play of light and shadow, add dimension and depth to allegorical portraits that would otherwise be visually much flatter.

Despite the fact that each muse holds instruments in hand, fitting her for a particular discipline, her focus remains completely interior—a sense especially ratified where she averts her gaze. The painted backgrounds in all eight Juglaris murals further reinforce the contemplative, if not brooding, nature of the muses. Five of them are depicted with a cloud-filled or star-lit sky, implying mindsets that are ethereally disposed. The other three muses have for a backdrop either unfurled sails or the dark silhouette of a throne, betokening concerns that also rise above the mundane.

Consonant with these relatively spare backgrounds, Juglaris avoids cluttering the fore- or middle ground of his murals with whatever accoutrements he thinks necessary to further identify his muses. Rendered simply

without any fussiness, iconographic symbols—for example, a sword and scales for the Muse of Law or a caduceus and globe for the Muse of Commerce—are used to balance each composition, keeping it symmetrical. In most of the murals, especially where a diadem, cap, or headdress appears, the iconographic elements subtly encircle the massed figure. In employing symbols, Juglaris follows the iconographic conventions standardized by Cesar Ripa and others as early as the Baroque era (Ripa 1971, 24, 54, 196–9; Kluckert 1998, 428; Battistini 2005, 39–41, 354–9). The freshness and individuality of the muses were undoubtedly enhanced by Juglaris's use of live models. In look, pose, and gesture, none of these allegorical figures have the theatrical allure of Paul Baudry's more renowned muses at the Palais Garnier in Paris, completed in 1879, nor the almost coquettish prettiness of many of the female figures executed by various native American artists for mural commissions at the Chicago World Columbian Exposition and the Library of Congress in the 1890s (Mead 1991, 241–2; Van Hook 1996, 118–19, 130). Instead, without being buxom, Juglaris's Michigan Capitol muses possess a full-figured stolidity compatible with women who are to represent weighty and solemn endeavors in civilized human affairs. Overall, the appeal of the Juglaris murals seems well-suited to Michigan residents determined to set aside their recent rustic past and become part of a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan culture.

For unknown reasons, Juglaris's murals did not fit the full length of their own recessed niches. In each case, a separate piece of canvas had to be affixed, edge-to-edge, below Juglaris's painted work to fill the space. Painted a dark chocolate brown, the additional canvas creates a platform effect, adding uniformity to all eight muses without noticeably distracting from them. In situ, the success and accomplishment of Juglaris's muses are multifold. Their meditational content and stylistic simplicity helps calm the dizzying giddiness of the Michigan Capitol's Victorian era decorative scheme. Also, thanks to Juglaris's skill with large murals to be viewed at a distance, his allegorical figures can be equally well "read" and appreciated from the rotunda's five different observation levels.[4]

Unfortunately, the timing of Juglaris's Michigan commission was inauspicious. That previous April and May the United States erupted in a series of cascading labor strikes that paralyzed the country for several weeks. Historians refer to this time as the "Great Upheaval." The labor strife culminated in August 1886 with the infamous Haymarket Riot in Chicago, where an anarchist allegedly threw dynamite into a phalanx of police about to close down a night-time labor rally. Seven Chicago policemen were killed; another sixty wounded. An unknown number of workers died as well (Fink 1983, 6, 25–6; Green 2006, 145–91; Avrich 1984, 208, 234).

Fear ignited an intense cultural chauvinism throughout the United States. As historian Paul Avrich notes:

> The charge that immigrants carried the seeds of social unrest had become common during the 1870s but the Haymarket affair raised xenophobia to a new level of intensity, provoking the worst outburst of nativist sentiment in the entire post-Civil War period . . . Journals and newspapers, bristling with contempt for foreign-sounding names and unfamiliar speech and habits, indulged in the crudest forms of immigrant-baiting and abuse . . . the *Chicago Herald* complained of the European-born workman that "he cannot understand English," that "he calls himself by names which are very wearing on the American tongue," and that he has a disposition to raise the devil on the slightest provocation. . . . Anarchists, other papers joined in, were the "scum and offal" of the Old World, "human and inhuman rubbish," the "lowest stratum found in humanity's formation," the "offscourings of Europe," who had "sought these shores to abuse the hospitality and defy the authority of the country." . . . In the popular mind, accordingly, anarchism became identified with foreigners and subversion. (Avrich 1984, 218–19)

Although most of the Haymarket anarchists charged with terrorism were German immigrants, the "Red Scare" generated by the bloody incident raised suspicions concerning all immigrants who already stood accused of stealing jobs from native Americans. Labor leaders, women's rights advocates, and Protestant clergymen condemned European immigration, particularly from eastern and southern Europe, as a "menacing eruption" that was subversive to American democracy and its established institutions (Avrich 1984, 215; Powderly 1888, 165–6; Brown 1968, 258; Bemis 1888, 250–64; Smith 1888, 3:46–7, Higham 1955, 52; Boorstin 1976, 15–17).

Juglaris never became an overt anti-immigration target in Michigan. But silence seems to have been the order of the day on the part of everyone privy to the fact of his statehouse commission. While Juglaris was obliquely acknowledged by Michigan newspapers as the "best artist of his kind," there was no printed mention of his name, nor any publicity given to the final installation of his work (*Lansing State Republican* 1886, 1887). Since the rotunda commission was granted to Juglaris under a third-party contract, it was also possible for the State of Michigan to avoid citing him in any official records. Meanwhile, in March 1887 a rider was added to an appropriations bill for further Michigan Capitol decoration mandating that all workers be American citizens or fully declared in their intention to become an American citizen ("Legislature" 1887; "State Legislature" 1887; Michigan Public Act 135 1887). Similar legislation

for federal projects was proposed in the U.S. House of Representatives by a Michigan congressman from Bay City (U.S. Statutes at Large 1887; U.S. Congress 1887). These legislative initiatives were a direct slap at immigrant artists like Juglaris. They were also the beginning of a new wave of American nationalism that would professionally marginalize Juglaris as an Italian muralist working in the United States (Higham 1955, 46). It took more than a hundred years and a serendipitous turn of events for Juglaris to be finally acknowledged as Michigan's Capitol artist (Drutchas and Chartkoff 1999b, 83:14).

Undaunted by the setback in Michigan, Juglaris continued to pursue his career in Boston. Like many talented artists of the day, Juglaris found that he could add to his income by teaching. With his Parisian background and past tutelage under Cabanel, Corot, Couture, and Gerome, Juglaris had great credentials. He soon emerged as one of the "most successful art teachers in Boston" and "most distinguished art instructors in the country" (Juglaris 1883, 1886; Angeletto 1925, 2; "Fine Arts" 1890; "At the School of Design" 1889). He successively headed the Cowles School of Art and the Fine Arts Department of the New England Conservatory. He was also tapped to become a professor for the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) in Providence (Cowles Art School 1883, 1885; *New England Conservatory of Music Calendar* 1890–91; Bronson 1923, 24; Slocum 1945). But the greatest accolade for Juglaris came early on from his fellow Boston artists. They selected him to serve as the first teacher-in-residence at the Boston Art Club (*Juglaris Album* 1885).

Among Juglaris's Boston Art Club students were Sears Gallagher, Henry Hammond Gallison, and the future American Impressionist Childe Hassam. Juglaris was appreciated for the conscientiousness of his teaching and his pragmatic approach. Recounting his own days as a student artist, Sears Gallagher credited Juglaris with providing him with "the severest training in drawing" (Chambers 2007, 162). Likewise, forty years after the fact, Childe Hassam, in an interview by DeWitt McClellan Lockman, future president of the National Academy of Design, fondly remembered Juglaris not only as "an Italian painter who came over" but as a "pleasant blonde Italian"—a possible allusion to Juglaris's northern Italian heritage. Hassam further recalled "always drawing from life under Juglaris" at the Boston Art Club, where he "worked steadily" as a member of the artist's indoor life class. However, in keeping with Juglaris's own enthusiasm for *plein air* painting, Hassam also "worked out of doors everywhere" he could (Herdrich 2004, 49–50, 367; Hirschler 2005, 31–2, 135). Juglaris's stylistic and technical influence is discernible in the slight bend of Hassam's maternal figure in *Boston Common at Twilight*

(1885–86), a posture common in the Italian artist's figural drawing, most notably seen in *Offering to the God Lares* (1874) and *The Afflictions of the Rich* (1875). Likewise, with her turned head and contemplative manner, a young woman seated on a wall ledge in another Hassam oil painting, *In the Garden* (1888–89), bears compositional affinity to Juglaris's similarly posed muses of industry and fine arts and architecture (1886) in the Michigan Capitol rotunda (Herdrich 2004, 28, 30; Massara et al. 2004, 108–9; Drutchas and Chartkoff 1999a, 11, 15). As art historian Stephanie L. Herdrich more generally remarks:

> Juglaris's impact on Hassam was significant. After his return to Boston, Hassam painted more often in oil, producing larger, more impressive and ambitious works, a development probably inspired by his exposure to great European art, but no doubt it also reflected an increased confidence in his use of the medium that Juglaris's teaching would have instilled. Juglaris's influence must have reinforced that of Hunt and the Barbizon aesthetic, which had already left its mark on Hassam. (Herdrich 2004, 38)[5]

At a juncture when American art education was still a nascent enterprise, Juglaris brought Old World knowledge to a New World setting and helped further raise the bar for quality instruction. With his own rich, diverse background, Juglaris taught skills that were destined to be useful for careers in the fine arts, decorative arts, and applied arts—or any practical combination of all three (Bronson 1923, 24-7; "At the School of Design" 1889; "School of Design" 1887). Further reflecting his commitment to education, Juglaris, along with fellow RISD faculty member Warren Locke, translated for American publication Giacomo da Vignola's famous sixteenth-century treatise, *Rules of the Five Orders of Architecture*, making classical architectural forms more familiar to students, anticipating a trend toward greater integration of architecture and art (Barozzi of Vignola 1889; Wassell 2000, 2–3, 6).

Unlike a handful of other immigrant artists in Boston who were simply inclined to find a niche for themselves and to fit in where they could, Juglaris had a gregarious, extroverted personality that disposed him to stand out. As a cosmopolitan Italian in Puritan New England, Juglaris certainly had his share of challenges. Twice he was almost arrested in Boston for violating the Sabbath and Blue Law proscriptions. In one instance he was caught painting *en plein air* in a Brookline meadow. According to Juglaris's own autobiography, his detention by the Boston police was the talk of the town. Further Sabbath-day difficulties ensued when neighbors called police after overhearing Juglaris wield a hammer in the privacy of his own studio,

unpacking cases containing his Salon paintings. Juglaris quickly learned that in Boston he was not the master of his own castle on the Sabbath (Juglaris 1880).

Other controversies were even more roiling. In his autobiography, Juglaris lays claim to being "one of the first" artists to publicly display nude drawings in Boston—in this case at the Boston Art Club (Juglaris 1882; "Art" 1881, 4). His notoriety was confirmed in 1886 when, only two years after the founding of the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice, he executed a full-body nude for Locke-Ober's Restaurant near the Boston Commons—then, as now—one of the city's leading eateries. The nude, entitled *Mlle. Yvonne*, survives today as a Boston landmark, belying the city's formerly prudish reputation (Lyons 1947, 223–4; Bradford and Bradford 1978, 53–5; Fairbrother 1986, 61–3). Juglaris underscored the seriousness of his own commitment to the nude in art by designing the amphitheater to be used at the Boston Art Club for life drawing, including nudes (Juglaris 1882).[6]

As an artist who combined great scrupulousness with a highly mercurial temperament, Juglaris did not suffer the foolishness or perceived mendacity of others gladly. Several times over he exposed Boston artists who he felt were simply copying the works of artists overseas. One of the artists that Juglaris criticized on this basis was the American painter Francis D. Millet, whom he had known well as a part of Couture's circle at Villiers-Le-Bel. The result was considerable enmity between the two men (Juglaris 1880, 1888). This may have become a problem for Juglaris as Millet's own star continued to rise in Boston and elsewhere. Locally, Millet was not only instrumental in the development of the Boston Museum School but also the founding of the St. Botolph's Club, which "siphoned off from the [Boston] Art Club some of its prominent members and many of its best pictures for its own annual exhibitions" (Pierce 1930, 23, 25–7). In time, Millet acquired national prominence as the "director of decoration" for the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which spawned the so-called "American Renaissance" in art and an American mural movement emphasizing the talents of native-born artists (Van Hook 2003, 18; Appelbaum 1980, 4–5; Huntington 1983, 25; Wilson 1979, 1–19; Murray 1992, 106–7). Juglaris made other enemies as well. A contretemps between Juglaris and Abbot F. Graves, a fellow Boston artist who also taught at the Cowles School, prompted the latter's wife to angrily denounce Juglaris as "the basest of men" to art school proprietor Francis M. Cowles (Graves 1887).

In the midst of such polarization—reminiscent of the friction and mounting hostility earlier experienced by British expatriate Walter Smith

who as a Boston art educator could turn on or off his Englishness to suit his own purposes—Juglaris's more indelible foreignness, so charming at first, may have increasingly grated upon Bostonians to the advantage of his foes (Korzenik 1985, 201–2, 238–40). As the 1880s continued, there was some definite pushback for Juglaris. A portrait of a Boston matron that he had submitted for exhibition at the Boston Art Club was refused even though the city's art critics agreed that it was more masterful than most of the other works on display. Covering the incident extensively, Boston newspapers considered it a "humiliation" for Juglaris (*Juglaris Album* 1888; "Art Notes" 1888; "Art" 1888; "Art and Artists" 1888; "Fine Arts Notes" 1888). The artist may have temporarily withdrawn from the Boston Art Club: He did not participate in any of the Art Club exhibitions for the next year and a half (Chadbourne, Gabosh, and Vogel 1991, 234, 450, 476).

Despite the slight to his talent in Boston, Juglaris was subsequently solicited to paint a portrait of First Lady Frances Folsom Cleveland in 1890. Arrangements were made by a close friend of Mrs. Cleveland, Helena deKay Gilder, a New York artist who, besides being a founder of both the Art Students' League and the Society of American Artists, was the wife of Richard Watson Gilder, successively editor of two culturally and politically influential magazines, *Scribner's* and *Century* (Gilder 1916, 79–82, 142–4; Shor 2006, 57–65; Juglaris 1890). In temporary political retirement, the Clevelands were generous in their hospitality to Juglaris as they summered at Gray Gables, their home on the Atlantic seacoast at Marion, Massachusetts. As the portrait of the "lovely Mrs. President" got underway, the Clevelands twice welcomed him to lunch. President Cleveland, who was pro-immigration, assured Juglaris that he had a distinguished future ahead of him in America. However, the actual situation for Juglaris proved progressively less sanguine (Jeffers 2000, 230–4; Juglaris 1890).

In 1887 Charles Follen McKim and Stanford White, two architects closely identified with an "American Renaissance" in art and architecture, undertook design of a new Boston Public Library. Conceived in the style of an Italian Renaissance palace and prominently sited on Copley Square, the landmark building was intended to include extensive murals. Although the internationally acclaimed French muralist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes was invited to execute one mural scene for the Boston Public Library, there was a public controversy over the prospect of commissions extended to foreign artists on the library project (Moore 1929, 81; Cartwright 1994, 118). Moreover, the well-known and influential sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens also encouraged McKim and White to solicit the talents of American artists (Cartwright 1994, 112; Moore 1929, 81; Kingsbury 1976,

153). Consequently, McKim and White tapped as artists two American expatriates—John Singer Sargent, an intimate of the Boston art collector and aesthete Isabella Stewart Gardner, who apparently exerted her influence on his behalf, and Edwin Abbey, whom Saint-Gaudens and the library architects already knew well (Promey 1999, 12; Lynes 1970, 432, 436; Moore 1929, 72–3). Several years later, an English-born artist, John Eliot, was also honored with a mural commission. But his own local connections and support similarly trumped any opposition: He was the son-in-law of Boston notable Julia Ward Howe, the author of the lyrics to "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." No less helpful, Howe's friends were willing to pick up the entire cost of Eliot's services as a gift to the library (Cartwright 1994, 110, 121–2).[7]

When the Boston Public Library later opened in 1895, those murals already finished were lauded for advancing culture in Boston and America at large. An appreciation penned by Ernest F. Fenollosa of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts declared:

> [The library murals are] the first great centre of a future civic series. Here the principle is first openly, and on a large scale, acknowledged by the public authorities. By their act, and by this first blaze of achievement, we set Boston as the earliest seats of public pilgrimage, the veritable Assisi of American art. (Fenollosa 1896, 9)

Underscoring that Boston was not to be Assisi in another sense, however, the murals subsequently executed for the public library by John Singer Sargent took as their theme "The Triumph of Religion." Reflecting a liberal Protestant sensibility, the murals celebrated the evolutionary victory of a highly privatized and individualized religion over the communal law and more authoritarian doctrine historically enshrined by Judaism and Roman Catholicism (Promey 1999, 233–4, 308–9).

In his memoirs, Juglaris never complains about being snubbed or overlooked by architects McKim and White. Nevertheless, his absence from the library project must have been personally galling. Although his career had many facets, Juglaris always regarded himself foremost as a muralist, a calling especially esteemed in Europe because of its conspicuous public role (Gottlieb 1996, 44). Apart from Puvis de Chavannes, none of the artists recruited for the Boston Library could match Juglaris's skill and experience as a muralist working on outsized projects to be viewed from a distance. In fact, neither Sargent nor Abbey had previously painted a mural. Only John Eliot had the ceiling of a Chicago mansion to his credit (Cartwright 1994, 121–2, 126). Meantime, the immense Boston library project was rising from the ground just a short distance from Juglaris's studio. He could hardly

navigate the local streets without being constantly reminded that he had missed out on the city's most important mural project.

Whatever his frustrations, Juglaris had the consolation of redecorating the Saints Peter and Paul Church in South Boston. At the request of the parish, he painted two massive murals for each side of the altar—murals described by Boston newspapers as the "largest in the city." He also oversaw the elaborate ornamental frescoing of the rest of the sanctuary ("S.S. Peter and Paul's Church" 1891). But the church building, which served an Irish Catholic congregation, was already an old and familiar sight. It had none of the distinction or centrality of the new city library. Consequently, there was no public stir over Juglaris's decorative accomplishment.

Nevertheless, there was one corner of Boston where Juglaris's standing could never be diminished—namely, the city's rapidly expanding Italian community where he endeared himself through service. Until 1880 annual immigration from Italy to the United States had not exceeded 5,000 persons. By 1886, however, Italian immigration to American shores had swelled to 30,000 annually. Within a decade more, Italians made up 16.3 percent of total American immigration, becoming the "single largest supplier of immigrants." Boston became a popular destination for Italian immigrants who, first landing in New York City, soon followed the same direction northward that Juglaris had taken (Manson 1890, 817–20; Cosco 2003, 1–2, 179).

Most of Boston's Italian immigrants were from Italy's southern region. An economically impoverished area socially organized along highly traditional familial lines, southern Italy was already the object of considerable scorn among northern Italian intellectuals who elaborated racial theories to explain the disparity in progress between their nation's north and south. This negative perception of southern Italians crossed the Atlantic, shaping attitudes in the Boston area that included among its residents "many of the most prominent social Darwinists, Anglo-Saxonists, and [racial] eugenicists in the entire United States" with ties to Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Zimmermann 2002, 458–9). As Joseph P. Cosco further observes:

> From the very beginning of the large influx of southern Italians into Boston in the 1880s, Brahmins differentiated between Italians, North and South, noting that the "Germanic blood" and "artistic achievements" of the northern Italians distinguished them from the ignorant peasants of southern Italy. (Cosco 2003, 11)

However, the distinction made between northern and southern Italians in polite society was like a bad genie that could not be contained. To one extent

or another, all Italians were tainted or at least subject to suspicion. At the time of Juglaris's own 1883 Boston marriage to an English-born American citizen named Katie Brooks, for instance, his prospective in-laws openly disparaged him by condemning all Italians as "thieves and murderers" (Juglaris 1882, 1885).

Not long after arriving in Boston, Juglaris, who identified strongly with a united Italy under the royal Savoy dynasty from Turin, compassionately stepped forward to assist the city's indigent Italian immigrants, including a future mayor of Rome, Adolfo Apolloni. Juglaris's hands-on efforts on behalf of Boston's most impoverished Italians proved so exemplary that the Italian foreign ministry offered him a vice consular position. Not particularly diplomatic by nature nor inclined to embroil himself in community politics, Juglaris refused the post. Subsequently, however, he was knighted by King Umberto I with the Order of Mauritius for his distinguished role as both an art educator and a social benefactor to Boston's Italian community (Juglaris 1886; *Boston Evening Transcript* 1886; Angeletto 1925, 2).

Although Juglaris often exhibited as an "American" artist and sometimes registered as "Thomas" rather than Tommaso for exhibition events throughout his Boston stay, his personal identification with Italy persisted, perhaps reinforced by his own frustrations with American life (*Juglaris Album* 1880; "School of Design" 1885). During summers he frequently vacationed in Italy, where he maintained friendships. In the midst of harsh Boston winters, which he felt were "killing" him, Juglaris also longed for Italy's sunnier climate (Juglaris 1884, 1890). But beyond professional disappointments and lingering health concerns, two other factors also propelled him to look home to Italy and ultimately terminate his stay in the United States. First, there was the tragic death of both his wife and infant daughter, which indelibly attenuated his emotional ties to America. Katie Juglaris died in June 1884 as a result of postpartum complications, followed by daughter Marianne just two months later (Massachusetts Commonwealth Death Records 1884, 135, 196). Second, another wave of jingoistic nationalism, precipitated by a regional domestic incident, suddenly made America an increasingly less hospitable place for an Italian artist such as Juglaris.

In late 1890, nineteen Italians were indicted in New Orleans, Louisiana, for conspiring to murder the city's police chief. Fourteen of them were ultimately bound over for trial. But on March 13, 1891, amid claims of jury tampering and the intimidation of witnesses, the court acquitted six of the defendants and declared mistrials for another three. None, however, were released. Instead, they were returned to prison to await fresh charges along with those compatriots not yet tried. The following day a vigilante mob of

six to eight thousand citizens attacked the jail, seized eleven of the fourteen Italian prisoners from their cells, and summarily beat and shot them. Two of the dead were U.S. citizens and another six had formally registered their intention to become citizens, which under then-current law entitled them to vote. The last three were still Italian subjects. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has called the New Orleans incident the largest lynching in U.S. history. An outraged Italian government protested, demanding prosecution of the mob leaders, plus reparations for the victims' families. When Louisiana failed to conscientiously prosecute those involved or accede to reparations, Italy recalled its ambassador from Washington. In the weeks that followed, American newspapers fanned the conflict by suggesting that Italy and the United States were on the brink of war (Cosco 2003, 1–2; Gambino 1998, 4; Karlin 1942, 242–3; Rimanelli and Postman, 1992). As historian J. Alexander Karlin (1942) notes:

> . . . the New Orleans imbroglio was suddenly transformed into a front-page sensation, and the press circulated alarming rumors . . . Although an overwhelming number of newspapers assured their reader that they did not anticipate hostilities, their reaction to the [ambassadorial] recall reflected the rising tide of fin de siècle militant American nationalism. Paradoxically there was also a fairly widespread belief in the warlike intentions of Italy. This opinion was given poetic expression by the *Portland Oregonian*: "In the spring the Dago fancy Fiercely [sic] turns to thoughts of war." (Karlin 242–3)

Amid inflammatory newspaper rhetoric, anti-Italian prejudice spread across the United States. As the *Review of Reviews* for June 1891 reported:

> The New Orleans incident has continued to hold the public attention as the central theme of the year; and it bids fair to have proven itself the most significant and fruitful event, as an object lesson, that has for a long time affected the real life of the American people. Out of it is emerging a revival of Americanism. The blinded eyes of millions of American citizens are suddenly opening to a perception of the folly and danger of a further encouragement of undesirable immigration. If America owes anything to the world, it owes first of all the duty of preserving at their highest and best the fundamental institutions of American society and government. Yet we have been not only allowing, but even actively stimulating, by free gifts of our public lands and by various other means, the influx of hundreds of thousands of people of alien races and strange languages, and have been giving the privileges of full citizenship to these people, regardless of all questions as to their fitness . . . It is a shameful scandal

> that any of the New Orleans mafiates had been admitted to American citizenship; but it is even more scandalous and shameful that there should have been so great uncertainty as to which were citizens and which were not. In olden times it was no light thing to be allowed to call one's-self a Roman citizen. The American people are awakening to the necessity of putting a value on American citizenship. We have just witnessed the spectacle of numerous Italian-born residents who, in spite of their oath of allegiance to the United States, have made treasonable appeals to the government of Italy to take measures against their adopted country. They remain Italians in spirit, language, and sympathy. Some definite and comparatively stringent check should be placed upon immigration, and the naturalization laws and methods especially should undergo complete reconstruction. ("Progress of the World" 1891, 443)

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who had recently written an article for *The North American Review* distinguishing between northern and southern Italians and "depicting the northerners as a finer population," used the occasion of the New Orleans incident to demand stern new immigration restrictions (Lodge 1891a, 30, Lodge 1891b, 612; Cosco 2003, 13; Higham 1955, 90–1). Although the geographical distance between New Orleans and Boston was ample and Juglaris was a northern Italian, the political climate in the United States undoubtedly made it awkward for the artist, especially given his own leading role as an advocate for Boston's Italian community.

Significantly, as the public furor persisted, Juglaris opted to spend his entire summer abroad, mostly in Italy. He did reappear in Boston in September 1891. But it was for the sole purpose of closing his studio. Without any explanation to his Boston friends he had made up his mind to return to Italy permanently. As word about Juglaris's departure spread, Boston newspapers preferred the least searching motives to explain it. Ignoring recent Italian-American tensions, they attributed his exit from Boston to a summer romance and pending marriage with a wealthy Italian countess. As it turned out, the prospect of a remarriage for Juglaris was more than mere rumor. He was soon to wed the widow of an old friend who had been the personal physician to the Italian liberator Giuseppe Garibaldi. Nevertheless, the rest of the newspaper reportage was fanciful and inaccurate. Thus, in a swirl of speculative gossip the curtain came down on Juglaris's decade-long American career without any loud lament on anyone's part (Carpenter 1891; "Boston Artist's Luck" 1891).[8]

Two years later, Juglaris was among the artists represented in the 1893 Chicago World Columbian Exposition celebrating Christopher Columbus's

discovery of America. Yet, underscoring that he was an immigrant artist no more, Juglaris shipped his painting from distant Milan where he was temporarily resettled with his new wife. Entitled *The Sermon on the Mount*, the painting was exhibited at the Italian National Pavilion (*Juglaris Album* 1893; Massara et al. 2004, 30).

If Juglaris had any subsequent regrets about pulling up stakes to return to Italy, leaving America behind, he had a chance to reconsider. In 1901, he received an invitation from an admiring former American student, Henry Hammond Gallison, to undertake a huge mural cycle in the vicinity of Boston. Gallison was able to land the plum assignment for Juglaris based on his personal influence with two generous donors intent on creating a fitting memorial for their late father, the wealthy industrialist Joseph Ray, and their mother, Emily Ray. The memorial selected by the Ray daughters was a new building for the oldest public library in America, located in their hometown of Franklin, Massachusetts. The architectural plans, carefully vetted by Gallison, called for the recreation of an ancient Greek temple with a main reading room lit by clerestory windows, offering large interior wall expanses suited for murals. In addition, the library's grand entrance hall had space along its upper walls to accommodate painted friezes. But, as it turned out, the circumstances that greeted Juglaris's second, briefer engagement in America as he pursued the Ray Memorial commission seemed to vindicate his previous decision to make Italy, rather than the United States, his permanent home.

In many respects the turn-of-the-century cultural context that greeted Juglaris as he returned to the United States to undertake the Ray Memorial commission was even more complicated and nationalistic than what he had left behind in 1891. During Juglaris's decade away from the United States, a full-fledged American mural movement had emerged, spurred by the continuing decoration of the Boston Public Library, plus fresh and extensive mural commissions at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the new Library of Congress building in Washington, D.C. Brought together by Francis Millet to work on the decoration of pavilions for the Columbian Exposition, a cadre of American artists came away from this shared experience convinced that murals offered a particularly timely art form. At a moment when foreign immigration to American shores, particularly from eastern and southern Europe, was once again on the rise, and both rapid industrialization and urbanization were transforming the national landscape, the artists felt that more visible art could play a pacifying role among a potentially unruly and volatile citizenry. Specifically, they were impressed by the didactic and inspirational possibilities of murals, which could be harnessed to promote a unifying

patriotism and civic loyalty, erasing "the fissures of modern society . . . in a vision of harmony and [heroic] grandeur" (Blashfield 1913a, 97, 181). Although they envied the influence once wielded by Italian artists such as Michelangelo and Raphael and admired the appreciation of art that still prevailed among all Italian classes, the newly minted American muralists were intent on creating public art that would also be distinctively American (Miller 1992, 12; Low 1910, 295). As artist Edwin H. Blashfield insisted: "We must be modern and we must be American" (Blashfield 1913a, 181, 198–9). Even artists such as Kenyon Cox and Will H. Low who, more akin to Juglaris than Blashfield, favored a "classic spirit" and allegorical motifs that reflected European tradition, believed that murals in American buildings should clearly espouse or reinforce national values and democratic ideals (Cox 1911, 1–35; Van Hook 2003, 23; Morgan 1978, 56–8).

Eager to advance their personal careers through large public commissions, native American artists pointedly emphasized their own superior professionalism over and against the practice of earlier, foreign-born muralists in the United States in the manner of Constantino Brumidi and Tommaso Juglaris, whom they dismissed as mere artisans and jobbers (Van Brunt [1879] 1969, 633–44; Huntington 1983, 25; Wilson 1989, 2–3; "Field of Art" 1896, 257–8). In some cases, their harsh criticism extended beyond American shores to the work of muralists in Europe from the post-Renaissance period to the present. Blashfield was particularly scathing about Italian muralism, which he condemned as false and overwrought both in style and subject matter:

> Even the Italians, for all their homogeneity, have left us in their churches and palaces many examples of what to avoid . . . some of the juxtapositions are shocking even to-day . . . We in America, young and inexperienced as we are, have committed no such glaring faults as found in many Italian buildings . . . [T]he depths of false taste in which the later Italians descended have not been sounded by our comparatively unsophisticated painters. (Blashfield 1913a, 128)

For Blashfield, the chaste virtues of American muralism were most completely exemplified by the illustrations of local and national history that he and fellow American artists Robert Reid, Edward Simmons, and Francis D. Millet executed for the walls of the State Houses in Iowa, Massachusetts, and Minnesota (Blashfield 1913b, 364; Brush 1906, 689–97; Bell 1906, 715–25; Sargent 1905a, 699–712).

In the face of such "overtly nationalistic practice," Juglaris set to work on his commissioned mural cycle, as well as five entrance hall friezes,

for the Franklin Library (Cartwright 1994, 216–17). Over the next two summers he made use of Henry Hammond Gallison's studio in the artist's colony gathered at Annisquam, Massachusetts, on Cape Ann. Reversing the pattern of the 1880s when he had wintered in Massachusetts and usually summered in Europe, Juglaris returned to Turin every fall where he continued to work on his monumental canvases (Juglaris 1902).

Given Franklin's proximity to Boston, Juglaris definitely felt competitive with those artists who had received library commissions at the public library in Copley Square as his own masterwork got underway. As Juglaris noted in his autobiography: At "the Boston library there were decorations by Puvis de Chavannes, by Sargent, by Chase [sic] and others, but" the Franklin patrons "did not like them, so I must do better, especially more pleasing decorations" (Juglaris 1902).[9] After casting about for appropriate themes, Juglaris chose to paint the *Hours* for the library's entrance, known as Memorial Hall, and a *Grecian Festival* depicting citizens paying homage to a civic deity for the reading room.

All told, Juglaris's *Hours* includes five adjoining friezes, each framed in ornamental molding, extending around three sides of the library's 20 x 60 foot Memorial Hall. The two longest friezes, the *Hours of Labor* and the *Hours of Sleep*, adorn the Memorial Hall's north and south side walls. Flanked by panels representing *Morning* and *Evening*, the *Hours of Pleasure*—also known as the *Flying Hours*—appears on high directly opposite the library's main colonnaded entrance, greeting those who have come for personal pleasure, leisure, and edification ("Ray Memorial in Franklin" 1902, 21).[10]

Reporting on Juglaris's commission at Franklin, apparently after reviewing the artist's preliminary sketches, the *New York Times* described the allegorical *Hours of Pleasure* and its companion panels, *Morning* and *Evening*, as a "large mural painting," adding:

> Eight partly draped figures of the Hours are swinging hand in hand through the air against a background of gold. Another panel shows Morning attended by Prudence with her mirror, the Morning Star with a star on her forehead, and Fortune with her wheel. Dawn flies before the chariot of Morning, dripping dew from a jar. On the other side will be "Evening" in the chariot of the moon with black horses, followed by two figures, bearing an olive branch, the other, a draped female figure of Vendetta, clutching a dagger. On the right of this panel are peasants returning from labor. ("Art Notes" 1904, 2)

After the full installation of *The Hours*, art critic Irene Sargent, writing for Gustav Stickley's well-known *Craftsman* magazine, lauded the "beautiful lines," compositional balance, and "mosaic or bouquet of color" of the Franklin

friezes, which offered themselves as “a study in chiaroscuro” (Sargent 1905b, 19–21). Typical was Sargent’s appreciation for Juglaris’s *Morning*:

> Here, the dark sinister figure of the “cruel goddess” Fortune plays an important role; since it adds weight to the compact mass at the right which is necessary to balance the freer, more diffuse group on the opposite side. Then, owing to the separation of the groups naturally affected by the chariot, two fine, irregular sweeping lines are produced, curving downward, and leaving much open space; while the upper portion of the background is made sufficiently interesting by the outstretched arms and wings, and the attributes of the figures. (Sargent 1905b, 21–22)

Adding to the exuberance of the five frieze panels was Juglaris’s choice of vivid jewel-tone colors for the flowing capes and gowns of his many allegorical figures—red, green, rose, yellow, violet, turquoise, and sapphire-blue—all in relief against lustrous gold backgrounds.

Much more subdued but grander in scope and size is Juglaris’s work in the library’s reading room. As conceived by Juglaris, *Grecian Festival* is a mural cycle, a series of sequential scenes. In executing his 240-foot-long, twelve-foot-high mural around the four walls of the reading room, Juglaris immediately faced two major challenges. First, his mural design had to take into consideration a massive fireplace and three colonnaded reading room entrances. Second, Juglaris had to paint his mural in such fashion as to make the most of a strongly horizontal wall space. Juglaris chose to treat the architectural features of the reading room as if they were intrinsic foreground elements of the mural itself, inviting the viewer to look past them. Simultaneously, he developed a highly linear composition that made use of background landscape, as well as the groupings and intimated movements of his human figures, to add depth, perspective, and balance, creating various focal points to engage the interest of viewers and draw them into the sweep of the mural narrative.

Juglaris utilized the shorter, more crimped expanses of the library’s east- and west-side reading room walls for four preliminary scenes involving preparations for the *Grecian Festival*. On opposite sides of an east wall entrance and a west wall fireplace, balancing one another, two or three women variously tend a sacred fire, carry sacred offerings, and bear festal wine, while a high priest enters the temple portico. Meanwhile, the much longer south wall, flanked with Doric-style entrances near both ends, depicts the predawn departure of a procession from the city gates and its ascending and descending passage through a temple grove. Somber priests, heads barely visible atop an entrance pediment; full-bodied musicians bent slightly back as they blow into bagpipes and

horns; and dancers already alight to the music—all these figures are part of the sacred throng en route to the temple ceremony. Directly across the reading room on the north wall, the festival participants arrive at the temple greeted at the far end of the mural by the enthroned high priest and his male and female assistants who have already readied a lamb for sacrifice before the smoking sacred fire. As a master of ceremonies signals the start of the sacred rites, and offerings are brought forth to honor the city's patron deity, the musicians once again play and the dancers, responding together, form a swirling Dionysian circle.

*Grecian Festival* gave Juglaris wide opportunity to display his talent for figural drawing. More than sixty figures appear on the reading room walls. Although the mural cycle includes a distant acropolis, classical columns, mountains, and foliage, these elements are only vaguely rendered. Beyond serving as masses to balance the overall composition, they provide a muted backdrop for Juglaris's bare-limbed or seminude figures, often subtly draped in delicate tints or cheerful hues of white, cream, old rose, pink, violet, and golden yellow that add to the gracefulness of their forms. Breaking with strictly classical tradition, Juglaris devotes great care to the individuality of each figure. In their detail, several of them—most notably the head musician, the chief dancer, and a bacchante, identifiable on the basis of his fawn skins and thyrsi staff topped with pine combs—stand out from the crowd. Nevertheless, in keeping with the collectivity of a communal procession, Juglaris organizes most of his figures as ensemble groups.

Without becoming rote or formulaic, Juglaris's mural is as much parabolic as symmetrical, creatively using the long, horizontal space at hand. As the procession moves along the south and north walls from its start at the city gates to its culmination before the enthroned high priest, it shifts into the foreground, approaching the viewer with larger figures, then partly recedes. Occupying middle-to-high ground at the mural's end, the high priest, surrounded by his personal entourage, greets the procession at a distance appropriate for majesty and authority. At the same time, various incidents and overlapping relationships amid the throng headed to the temple ceremony create symmetrical points and counterpoints. On the south wall the upraised arms of a man directing the musicians are matched by the uplifted hands of a woman following the dancers, beating time. Likewise, in the temple precincts, represented on the north wall, a hand raised high by a priestess near the foot of the high priest's throne is met by the upraised staff of the just-arrived master of ceremonies, as well as the deferential salutation of his assistant. Throughout the mural, figures pause to look back upon their companions

or to join hands with them, defining smaller groups within the procession that attract the viewer's eye.

In assessing the reading room mural, Irene Sargent commended the "free, assured manner" and "original, independent spirit" in which Juglaris executed them according to principles equally indebted to antiquity, the Renaissance, and the modern era. Also remarkable to Sargent was the "tapestry-like softness" of Juglaris's finished work, achieved through a specially woven canvas and a labor-intensive encaustic painting process, which "although well-known in Europe, was here used by Mr. Juglaris for the first time in America" (Sargent 1905b, 20–1, 37).[11] Sargent had even higher praise for Juglaris's use of colors, which, adhering to "old principles," avoided the "complexity so evident in the work of our American mural decorators." Consequently, she added, the "colors sing as they go, and through them, the procession seems to acquire the real motion it simulates" (Sargent 1905b, 34, 37). In Sargent's view, Juglaris's reading room mural equaled, if not surpassed, the work of any then-contemporary American muralist. On this note she remarked that the "American school of mural decoration, following French traditions, has produced nothing susceptible of comparison to them" (Sargent 1905b, 19). At the same time, Juglaris's mural also evoked the best of the Italian tradition:

> [T]he painting of Mr. Juglaris shows a comprehension of the antique spirit unusual in a man of our times . . . [He] is a trained enthusiast possessed of a distinction and of qualities rarely found among Italians, whose traditions and surroundings have fostered imitation and smothered originality. Showing no traits of a copyist, Mr. Juglaris belongs to a comparatively small number of his compatriots who have really assimilated the principle of classic art, and have used them to their own delight, in the spirit of Michelangelo, when, in his blind old age, he was led daily to the colossal torso of the Hercules, that he might follow with his hands the lines of its superb muscular development. (Sargent 1905b, 33–4)

Here Juglaris was able to defy or transcend the negative stereotypes with which late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century American art professionals often viewed more recent Italian art and artists.

In light of Boston's longstanding claim to be the "Athens of America," as well as the Greek architectural style of the *Ray Memorial*, the classicism of Juglaris's work seemed destined to have meaningful local resonance ("Two Artist Friends" 1905, 37; Henry Hammond Gallison 1910, 1; Juglaris 1902; Ray Memorial 1904, 27). But his subject matter was also in tune with the spirit of the Progressive Era and the City Beautiful Movement, which encouraged the idea that aesthetically attractive towns and cities, along

with well-coordinated civic ceremonies and rituals, could be instrumental in fostering good citizenship (Wilson 1989, 75–95; Davol 1914; Baltz 1980, 211–28). Meanwhile, at another level, Juglaris's mural cycle, while hardly avant-garde, had a conceptual affinity with fin de siècle idyllic painting and public pageantry that favored Arcadian-style scenes. In the 1890s and early 1900s such bucolic panoramas served as a tacit critique of the more dehumanizing aspects of modern society. They were also regarded as intrinsically therapeutic and spiritually restorative for a world-weary viewing public (Werth 2002, 2–18; Shaw 2002, 99–142). Puvis de Chavannes's earlier mural at the Boston Public Library was executed in a similar idyllic mode (Cox 1896, 558–69).

At first, public response to Juglaris's work appeared promising. As word of Juglaris's work in progress filtered out, it attracted excited comment. In an article, entitled "Artist's Strange Work Stirs Boston," a New England newspaper reported that "the painting is expected to create a sensation when it is placed on exhibition in [Boston] and New York" ("Artist's Strange Work" 1902). An actual exhibit of Juglaris's massive preliminary designs for the Franklin reading room held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston's Back Bay earned the artist mostly laudatory notices ("Big Mural Painting" 1902). At that time Juglaris was cited as "probably the best living figure painter today" ("Ray Memorial in Franklin" 1902, 21). His Franklin commission was described as "one of the most ambitious decorations undertaken" in America and among the "most remarkable things this country has ever known" ("Juglaris Decoration" 1902; "Ray Memorial in Franklin" 1902, 21). But there was simultaneous editorial acknowledgment by the *Boston Sunday Herald* that "much has been said of late about making our decorative art American in subject, and, therefore, more a native expression" ("Juglaris Decoration" 1902, 30). This was a harbinger of the more subdued reception for Juglaris's friezes and mural upon their subsequent completion. Apart from Irene Sargent's positive *Craftsman* review, the October 4, 1904, unveiling of the murals appears to have garnered little additional Boston press coverage.

Meanwhile, other more mundane issues cropped up. The frontal nudity of numerous *Grecian Festival* figures, also conspicuous in Juglaris's Memorial Hall friezes, caused a scandal in Franklin—perhaps an echo of the rancorous 1896 controversy over a nude Bacchante sculpture by Frederick MacMonnies originally intended for the courtyard of the Boston Public Library. Legend tells that Juglaris was forced to discreetly dress some of his figures in the Franklin Library's reading room (Franklin Library Preservation Committee 2004; Fairbrother 1986, 61–63). Second,

Gallison, for unknown reasons, balked at paying Juglaris in full for his frieze work, leading to a permanent breach between the former student and his teacher (Juglaris 1904). Finally, despite the impressive quality and size of the Juglaris mural cycle, its geographically isolated location in a library at the outer orbit of Boston caused the artist's work to quickly slip into obscurity. One newspaper had early predicted that Juglaris's murals would make the Franklin Public Library a "Mecca for art lovers" ("Ray Memorial in Franklin" 1902, 21). Former U.S. President and future Chief Justice William Howard Taft, who visited the library after delivering the commencement address for a college across the street, was among the professed admirers of the decorated building (*Franklin Town Report* 1916, 26; Peters and Santoro 1990, 18). But the Ray Memorial Library never did become a bona-fide tourist destination.

No more helpful to Juglaris were continuing modernist trends in art, signaled by the famous 1913 Armory Show in New York City. As modernism became mainstream, paradoxically leading to both greater abstractionism and realism in American art, Juglaris's highly idealistic figural work appeared more stylistically anomalous and anachronistic than ever. Furthermore, general interest in mural art began to wane (Blashfield 1913a, 198–9; Morgan 1978, 56–8; Mancini 2005, 113). Thus, the Franklin friezes and mural, which really do constitute Juglaris's finest single commission on either side of the Atlantic, never brought the Italian artist sustained acclaim.[12]

After the two years devoted to the Franklin murals, Juglaris once again sailed back to Italy. Although he briefly returned to the United States several more times, Juglaris was mostly focused on collecting funds that Gallison still owed him. Gallison never paid up (Juglaris 1904). Nevertheless, Juglaris was able to retire to his own native ground in Italy on savings from his decade-long American stay and whatever had been paid on his recent Franklin commission. Prominent in the Turin art circles, Juglaris taught a select number of pupils. On the basis of his distinguished American teaching career he was affectionately known and respected among his Italian compatriots as "il professore." For the last years of his life, Juglaris returned to Moncalieri, his nearby boyhood town. There he took accommodations in the upstairs apartment of a palazzo on the short street connecting Moncalieri's main piazza to the site of the town's royal castle. When he died on January 16, 1925, Juglaris's wishes for a simple burial without any ceremony were honored. Only a white marble bas relief by the Italian sculptor Cesare Biscarra was erected to commemorate the presence of Juglaris's remains in the local Moncalieri cemetery (Giacotto 2004, 43–5; "Recuperato e restaurato" 2001, 6).

In the United States, Juglaris was almost entirely forgotten, except on the part of students such as Childe Hassam and Sears Gallagher who decades afterward still cherished his teaching (Herdrich 2004, 49–50; Chambers 2007, 162). It took another seventy-five years for interest in Juglaris as an artist to re-percolate. Restorations of his murals at both the Franklin Public Library and the Michigan State Capitol certainly helped. They led to fresh consideration of Juglaris as an Italian artist in America (Baughman 1986, 42–44; De Baggis 1990, 310). In 2004 Juglaris was officially acknowledged for the first time as Michigan's Capitol artist (Drutchas and Chartkoff 1999a, 8–17). An international exhibition of his work was simultaneously mounted for display at the Michigan Historical Museum in Lansing in late 2004 and at the Famija Moncalereisa Cultural Center and the Collegio Carlo Alberto in Moncalieri in early 2006 (Drutchas and Chartkoff 2004, 12–17; Giacotto and Reviglio della Veneria 2005, 117). In the midst of preparations for the exhibition, Juglaris's personal autobiography, handwritten in fine Italian script, was also discovered in northern Italy, adding richly to our understanding of his life and work. It served as the basis for an extensive bilingual catalog that accompanied the international exhibition in Lansing and Turin (Massara et al. 2004; Reviglio della Veneria 2006, 102-10).

Although Juglaris may never be as celebrated in the United States as any comparable native-born artist, he at long last seems destined to receive some of the credit properly due him on American shores. Despite any slights or discrimination that Juglaris encountered, the United States clearly benefited from his presence as an artist and teacher throughout the 1880s and, more briefly, after the turn of the century. In his dozen years as an Italian immigrant in America, Juglaris culturally helped bridge the Atlantic, bringing the best of European art traditions and experience to the New World amid all of its own ambitions and aspirations.

Ultimately, Juglaris chose his native Italy over the United States as his final home. But the soul of an artist lingers wherever his or her accomplishments continue to touch and inspire others. Juglaris's legacy not only survives in his impressive murals at the Michigan State Capitol and the Franklin Public Library, and with other individual paintings he left behind, but also, more subtly and indelibly, through his timely influence as a teacher upon American artists perhaps more famous and better remembered.

## Notes

1. Along with a personal scrapbook or album of press clippings detailing aspects of his career in the United States, Juglaris's handwritten memoirs were discovered in northern Italy in 2003 amid preparations for an international exhibition of his work in Lansing, Michigan, and Moncalieri, Italy. Rights to the Juglaris autobiography are now owned by the Michigan Historical Center Foundation (MHCF) in Lansing, Michigan. The original *Juglaris Album* is in the possession of the Famija Moncalereisa in Moncalieri, Italy, which has graciously provided a copy to the author. The Juglaris autobiography (cited in text as "Juglaris") has only been partially translated from Italian into English. Neither the *Juglaris Album* nor autobiography have formal pagination. Consequently, citations from each will be by date of entries.
2. Besides the commission at Governor Ames' Back Bay mansion, Juglaris also painted friezes for the H. M. Jernegan residence on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, the Calvin B. Prescott home in Newton, Massachusetts, across from the campus of Boston College, and the Barnes-Hiscock House (today Corinthian Club) in Syracuse, New York. The Ames and Barnes-Hiscock friezes remain intact. Mural commissions received by artists in the United States during 1880s and early 1890s were relatively small and usually domestic. (See Cartwright 1994, 39, and Van Hook 2003, 10–11, 16.)
3. Juglaris probably received the Michigan Capitol commission through stained glass manufacturer Donald McDonald, who collaborated in 1886 on Detroit's Woodward Avenue Baptist Church with the William Wright firm, also the decorating contractor for the Michigan State Capitol. Additionally, Michigan Capitol architect Elijah Myers and Detroit Mayor Hazen Pingree—subsequently Michigan's governor—were Woodward Avenue Baptist Church members. (See "A Beautiful Memorial" 1886, and "Dedication Services" 1887, 3; Juglaris 1886; "Emblem of Liberty" 1886, 1.) The [Lansing] *State Republican*, a local newspaper, indicated that the themes of the Michigan Capitol murals were to be "commerce, art, agriculture, mining, and various state industries." A preliminary drawing by Juglaris for four of the eight allegories commissioned for the rotunda specifically identifies them as *Arts*, *Astronomy*, *Law*, and *Justice*. However, no allegory for mining was ever affixed to the capitol dome and there is only a single industry mural. Moreover, the mural designated as *Justice* in Juglaris's preliminary sketch was ultimately converted into an allegory for philosophy by the deletion of the word "Lex" from the muse's throne and the addition of the symbol Pi to a tablet that she holds. (See Drutchas and Chartkoff 1999a, 12; Chartkoff and Drutchas 2004, 87.)
4. The [Lansing] *State Republican* notes on September 22, 1886, that "a painting of commerce was suspended before one of the panels this forenoon to try the effect." (See Drutchas and Chartkoff 1999a, 12.) No problem with the sizing of the canvas is mentioned. It is possible that Juglaris fully anticipated the need for the additional canvas pieces below his painted muses. Loom technology in the mid-1880s could have limited the size of usable canvases available to Juglaris.
5. Until recently, Bavarian-born artist Ignaz Gaugengigl was mistakenly credited in Juglaris's place as being Hassam's influential teacher. See Gammell (1986, 153): ". . . Gaugengigl is reported to have been Childe Hassam's teacher in the eighteen-eighties and must be credited for having prepared this brilliant pupil to become the skilled workman he showed himself to be throughout the first half of his career." However, as Herdrich (2004, 50) notes, there is no evidence that Hassam was ever Gaugengigl's pupil.
6. Although Hiram Powers's sculpture, *The Greek Slave*, was displayed in Boston in 1848 and Thomas Eakins's painting, *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River*, was exhibited at the Boston Art Club in 1878, the nudity depicted in each art work was morally veiled and rendered less provocative thanks to didactic content. Carved in white marble, which, according to Victorian sensibilities, reduced its sensuality,

Powers's *Greek Slave* was imputed to be naked against her own will. Likewise, Eakins's painting, depicting among other things the back view of a nude model posing for Rush under dim studio light, maintained the illusion of simply recording a historical scene of a famous artist at work. Contemporaneously matching Juglaris's notoriety in Boston, Eakins was subsequently fired in 1886 from his directorship and teaching post at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts for "removing the loincloth of a male model while lecturing on anatomy in the presence of female students" and for permitting "nude modeling by female students." (See Termin 1992; Philadelphia Museum of Art 1995, 287; Braddock 2009, 97–98, 149.)

7. Although McKim and White did not sign a formal contract with either Puvis, Sargent, or Abbey until 1893, they reached verbal agreements with the artists at much earlier dates—in Abbey's and Sargent's cases, May and November 1890, respectively. During 1892–95, a host of other American artists were approached or considered for mural work, including James McNeill Whistler, John La Farge, George de Forest Brush, Elmer Garnsey, Winslow Homer, Francis D. Millet, Joseph Lindon Smith, Abbott Henderson Thayer, Dwight D. Tryon, and Elihu Vedder. (See Promey 1999, 154–64; Cartwright 1994, 38, 118; Van Hook 2003, 76–9; Cox 1896, 565–7; Shaw 2002, 3–4, 8; Kingsbury 1976, 153; Moore 1929, 73–4, 81, 86–8; Lynes 1970, 432, 436.)
8. With regard to Juglaris's sudden departure, one Boston newspaper wrote: "Just why Tomaso [sic] Juglaris gave up his position at the Rhode Island School of Design, closed his Boston studio and sailed away to Italy for good has not perhaps been satisfactorily known to his friends. E. J. Carpenter in the Boston Advertiser explains it romantically" (*Juglaris Album* 1891). In his original article E. J. Carpenter remarked: "In a literary column, it is always admissible to drop in a word or two, now and then, about artists. There is a very pretty story going about the streets and among the clubs, which I have never yet seen in print. It is about my friend, Tommaso Juglaris, the well-known painter. They say that years ago in sunny Italy he met and loved a dark-eyed girl, who returned his affection. Both were poor, however, and stern fate separated them. Juglaris came to America and won distinction—and fortune, too, they say,—as an artist. He married an American girl who did not long survive her bridal. Last summer Juglaris felt a yearning to see his friends and native Florence [sic] once more, and closing his studio, he sailed eastward. The inevitable, of course, happened. He met his first beloved, who was now a wealthy countess and a widow. Their old love was revived and now they are married and happy. Mr. Juglaris returned to Boston, packed up or disposed of his paintings, closed his studio permanently and sailed again for his loved Italy, where he now lives in a charming villa in the suburbs of Florence. This is the story which is in the air. I cannot think that it is not true, in every light and shade, for it is too delightfully romantic for the iconoclast to shatter a single rose leaf from the cornice of the charming structure" (Carpenter 1891).
9. Although Juglaris's assessment of the Boston Library murals, as well as the attitude of his Franklin patrons, could be construed as sniping, that may not be the case. The excessively muted colors of Puvis de Chavannes's figures and landscape, the lack of "decorative quality" in Edwin Abbey's brushwork, and the unduly complicated and esoteric detail of John Singer Sargent's mural cycle were conceded to be problematic by otherwise sympathetic admirers. However, contrary to Juglaris's assertion, William Merritt Chase was not among those commissioned for the Boston Public Library murals. (See Cortissoz 1895, 113; King 1902, 98–100, 112, 123, 136; Promey 1999, 204–5; Cartwright 1994, 117–18.)
10. Juglaris's choice of *The Hours* as the theme for the Memorial Hall friezes coincided with social agitation for a fair working day, allowing working men and women more balanced time for sleep, recreation, and self-educational pursuits through use of libraries. (See Ditzion 1947, 124–6; Garrison 1979, 49; DuMont 1977, 37–40, 49–50.) In 1922 artist John

Singer Sargent employed the *Hours* theme for a stairway decoration executed at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. [See Promey 1999, 198 (illus.), 200.]

11. As Irene Sargent summarizes Juglaris's "peculiar" painting process in her *Craftsman* article: "In order to secure the desired results, the pulverized mineral pigment is mixed into a preparation of cobalt, spirits of turpentine and beeswax, which have been boiled together. The completed mixture has the consistency of jelly, and is diluted by the artist according to his needs. It must be separately prepared for each color; it must be rapidly used, and being once applied, cannot be modified without peril to the tapestry-like effect; since a thick coating will give a result not unlike ordinary oil-painting. But the process properly accomplished assures a canvas improves with age and constantly acquires depth and tone" (Sargent 1905b, 21).
12. Although the highly controversial 1913 Armory Show reflected the latest European art currents in American works, "what remained muted at the time was the connection between foreign modernism and the influence of aliens." The modernism enshrined transcended nationality, making it more difficult for American nationalists to criticize or oppose. (See McCabe 1976, 27; Crunden 1982, 106–14.)

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