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"Would Live Like Ancient Greeks": The Art and Life of Raymond Duncan

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“WOULD LIVE LIKE ANCIENT GREEKS”: THE ART
AND LIFE OF RAYMOND DUNCAN

BY
MEGAN MARTINELLI

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
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UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

2013

MASTERS OF SCIENCE THESIS

OF

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ABSTRACT

Raymond Duncan, born in San Francisco in 1874, led an intriguing life immersed in artistic and creative endeavors. At his art colonies located in France, he and his followers produced hand-painted silk textiles, garments, and sandals produced at the colonies that drew inspiration from Ancient Greece. Duncan also dressed in classical-inspired attire for sixty-two years. The goal of this study is to reveal Raymond Duncan, an overlooked early twentieth-century leader in artistic textile and garment design with an Ancient Greek aesthetic and his work, to scholars of design, textile and costume history. The two objectives of this research were to investigate Duncan's individual sartorial choice of chiton, himation, and sandals for nearly a lifetime and to interpret a selection of fourteen objects attributed to Raymond Duncan, particularly textiles and garments.

To accomplish my objectives, I examined sources such as photographs, printed materials, and all published works concerning textile design and lifestyle choices made by Duncan and his followers. I chose the artifact study operations of E. McClung Fleming as the analytical model for this research concerning the extant objects.

The textiles and garments attributed to the Akademia Duncan are fascinating representatives of an early communal lifestyle, where their designer, Raymond Duncan, sold his own brand of a romanticized Greek aesthetic to those visiting Paris. Duncan was not the first designer or artist to adapt a peculiar costume, but he may be one of the first to create a lifestyle, real or imagined, to surround his artwork and textiles during the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Everybody shrinks in my presence. I am the greatest living poet.
–Raymond Duncan, quoted by E.B. White in *The New Yorker Magazine*,

Raymond Duncan, born in San Francisco in 1874, led an eccentric life while immersed in artistic and creative endeavors. Although he was three years her senior, Duncan’s famous younger sister, Isadora Duncan, affectionately referred to him as “little brother.” For sixty-two years, Raymond Duncan defied convention in his daily uniform of hand woven tunic and sandals, a look inspired by the Ancient Greeks. Duncan established two self-sufficient art colonies in France, his “Akademias,” where he taught and shared his philhellenic beliefs. At what can best be described as early communes, Duncan and his followers sold hand-painted textiles, garments, and sandals produced on-site to tourists and locals alike.

Although a century has passed since Duncan first invited friends and family to abandon their modern dress and escape twentieth-century industrialism for his utopian colonies that engaged in vegetarianism, poetry, and craftsmanship, physical evidence of his convictions exists today. The genesis of this research is a hand-painted, silk dress with block-printed details attributed to Duncan in the University of Rhode Island’s Historic Textile and Costume Collection (1976.09.01). An investigation into the garment’s background revealed that Duncan’s work is underrepresented in costume and textile design history, in spite of its inclusion in many significant

museum collections. Discussion of Duncan's handcrafted textiles and garments are limited to a brief chapter focusing on Duncan's life and work in *A Fashion For Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*.¹ Other examples are two short entries in museum catalogues: the Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising's collection catalogue and the Costume Institute's *100 Dresses*.² Finally, a still more abbreviated mention of Duncan's hand-blocked textiles can be found in Allan Power's *Modern Block Printed Textiles*.³ Perhaps as a result of the shadow cast by his younger sister's performance career and tragic death, the artistic achievements of Raymond Duncan are underappreciated.

Several biographers of Isadora Duncan repeatedly mention her ingenious older brother's pursuits. Lillian Loewenthal describes Raymond's approach to business that emphasized handmade production versus the use of modern machinery, noting the success of his hand-dyed silks, tapestries, batiks, and other textiles.⁴ Another biographer, Cynthia Splatt, describes a booming community at both Akademia outlets where designs were printed with hand-carved woodblocks or freely painted figures.⁵

¹ Sara Bowman and Michael Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1985), 98–100.

² Kevin L. Jones and Christina Johnson, eds., *Fabulous: Ten Years of FIDM Acquisitions, 2000-2010* (Los Angeles: FIDM Press, 2011); Costume Institute, *100 Dresses* (New York N.Y.: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2010), 58–59.

³ Alan Powers, *Modern Block Printed Textiles* (London: Walker Books, 1992), 29.

⁴⁴ Lillian Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, A Dance Horizons Book (Pennigton, NJ: Princeton Book Co., 1993), 173.

⁵ Cynthia Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, ed. Doree Duncan, Carol Pratl, and Cynthia Splatt (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993), 171.

Evidence that the items produced in Duncan's workshops were considered worthy collectibles lies in several sources.⁶ Thérèse and Louise Bonney included the work of Duncan in their classic 1929 *A Shopping Guide to Paris* where they describe "very lovely hand-blocked pieces, using hand-woven silks, vegetable dyes, and designs at once classical and modern."⁷

Discussions of Duncan and his followers' unusual personal costumes are also absent from costume narratives. Although he lived in a modern early twentieth-century world, from the age of 29 until his death in 1966, Raymond Duncan clothed himself and his family in garments he wove and designed based on his interpretations of the Ancient Greek aesthetic. A short volume written by Adela Spindler Rootcap is the only complete text focusing exclusively on Duncan's life and work. According to Rootcap, Raymond Duncan adapted his unusual daily costume during his stay in Greece in 1904.⁸ It was Duncan's first wife Penelope Sikelianos who first educated Duncan in the textile arts, particularly weaving, which enabled them to produce their own tunics.⁹

The objectives of this research are to examine Duncan's life and distinctive individual sartorial choice of classical Greek-inspired dress, and the textiles and garments created by Duncan and his followers.

⁶ Ibid.; Victor Seroff, *The Real Isadora* (New York: The Dial Press, 1971), 225; Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, 173; Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 100.

⁷ Therese Bonney and Louise Bonney, *A Shopping Guide to Paris* (New York: R.M. McBride & Co, 1929), 97.

⁸ Adela Spindler Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1991), 14.

⁹ Ibid., 13.

This early twentieth-century designer and his progressive bohemian lifestyle deserve further attention by scholars. An extensive review of Raymond Duncan's long life story and sartorial history, combined with an examination of the extant Akademia Duncan textiles and garments, reveals an understudied free-thinking renaissance man, whose art was collected by numerous prominent Americans.

To accomplish my objectives, I examined sources such as photographs, printed materials, and all published works concerning textile design and lifestyle choices made by Duncan and his followers. These included biographies of his sister, Isadora Duncan, the text, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Eccentric Artist*, and printed materials available in the archives of the Syracuse University Library Special Collections, The Stanford University Special Collections and the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley.¹⁰ I assembled a reliable timeline of Duncan's life and works from this information, as many sources are ambivalent and contradictory concerning Duncan's achievements. I also created a list of family, friends, and acquaintances of Duncan with significant roles in his life. From these documents, I composed a narrative, tracing his sartorial and creative evolution over the course of his ninety-two years.

The second part of my study was the analysis of the artifacts. A survey resulted in a list of eight museums and collections in the United States holding textiles and garments by Duncan. All objects were examined in person by the researcher with the

¹⁰ Peter Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2001); Fredricka Blair, *Isadora: Portrait of the Artist as a Woman* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986); Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*; Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927); Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*; Seroff, *The Real Isadora*; Adela Spindler Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1991).

exception of six artifacts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (MMA). I visited the following institutions to examine their Duncan-related objects for this research:

- The University of Rhode Island Historic Textiles and Costumes Collection (URI HTCC), Kingston, R.I. to view a dress.
- The Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston, MA, to view a scarf and panel.
- The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (ISGM), Boston, MA, to view a scarf.
- The Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt Museum (SCH), New York, New York, to view a small pillow or cushion cover, and two large printed and painted hangings.
- The Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA), Philadelphia, PA, to view a scarf.
- The Art Institute of Chicago (AIC), Chicago, IL, to view three textile panels.
- The FIDM Museum (FIDM), Los Angeles, CA, to view a tunic and a textile panel.
- The Oakland Museum of California (OMA), Oakland, CA, to view a table scarf.

I also included a dress, a negligee, a blouse, a scarf, and two textile lengths at the MMA, in spite of its collections being inaccessible due to storage renovations.

Because the MMA's online collections feature object descriptions and zoom-functional, multi-view images of the objects, I included their Duncan objects in this research. In total, I examined twenty artifacts attributed to Raymond Duncan. A complete catalogue of these objects constitutes Appendix C.

I chose the artifact study operations of E. McClung Fleming as the analytical model for this research.¹¹ Fleming's four operations include identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation.¹² I applied these principles to all twenty objects examined, and then selected fourteen for comparison and discussion. The fourteen objects were chosen because I was particularly interested in the garments and accessories created by Duncan. In accordance with Fleming's first operation, I took generous notes on the object's appearance, construction, composition, and design, with particular attention to any prominent iconography or motifs during my research visits. I requested institution object records and sought additional information on provenance when available. I took detailed photographs of the objects using my Sony CyberShot 14.1 MegaPixels digital camera. The result of this analysis was a comprehensive report on each object, fulfilling Fleming's five properties; history, material, construction, design, and function.¹³

I combined Fleming's two operations, Evaluation and Cultural Analysis, for the second step. Evaluation is defined by Fleming as the analysis of the five proprieties with respect to their cultural milieu.¹⁴ I discussed other textile artists active during the early twentieth century, such as Mariano Fortuny, Marguerite Zorach, Sonia Delaunay, and Vitaldi Babani and compared their aesthetics to Duncan's work. I also examined life at the Akademia Duncan and discussed the production and sale of the objects. Cultural Analysis examines the purpose and function of the objects among the

¹¹ E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Material Culture Studies in America*, American Association for State and Local History (1982): 162–4.

¹² Ibid., 167.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 168.

early modern Classical elitists.¹⁵ Here, Duncan's textiles and individual mode of dress are contextualized in the early twentieth-century art and fashion scene, particularly in Paris.

Fleming's final procedure, Interpretation, reveals the significance of this survey of Duncan's works and personal dress philosophy to the history of twentieth century art in textiles and clothing.¹⁶ This will conclude the research. Although Fleming's research method served as my structure for each object's analysis, the result is not an individualized catalogue of Duncan's work, but rather a synthesis of my findings on Duncan's lifestyle with the artifacts he and his followers created.

¹⁵ Ibid., 169.

¹⁶ Ibid., 173.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE AND DRESS OF RAYMOND DUNCAN

In this rotten world, where people only see clothes and do not see a man,
I will live it down 'till they see a man in spite of his clothes.

—Raymond Duncan, *Around the World with Orson Welles*

Raymond Duncan was born on November 1, 1874 to Joseph Charles Duncan (1819–1898) and Mary Dora Gray Duncan (1848–1922) in San Francisco, California.¹⁷ Three years later, his youngest sister, Angela Isadora Duncan (1877–1927) was born, but their parents divorced because of Joseph Charles Duncan's financial troubles.¹⁸ Isadora and Raymond had two elder siblings, Elizabeth (1871–1948) and Augustine (1873–1954). The children were raised by their mother, a piano instructor, and moved frequently. In spite of the instability, the Duncan children grew up in a creatively charged atmosphere where performance and exploration of the fine arts was encouraged. Their early education may have included an introduction to the classics, although no evidence to that effect has been found.

Mary Dora Gray's sisters were frequent visitors along with their grandmother, all of whom performed, sang, or danced much to the children's delight. Instilled with limitless creativity along with a sense of entrepreneurship, Raymond Duncan was employed as a newspaper distributor for *The San Francisco Post* by the age of ten.¹⁹

¹⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 3–4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹ Ibid., 7.

Two years later, he, along with his siblings, established a dance school from their home in Oakland, where they instructed neighborhood children, including Leo Stein (1872–1947), and most likely, his sister Gertrude Stein (1874–1946).²⁰ That same year, the Duncan children performed their first dance routine at the First Unitarian Church in Oakland, California.²¹ By the time the future textile designer was twenty-years old, the Duncan family had toured the state of California with a variety show. In her memoir, *My Life*, Isadora Duncan recalls, “I danced, Augustine recited poems, and afterwards we acted in a comedy in which Elizabeth and Raymond also took part.”²²

As young Isadora’s passion and talent for dancing developed, it became apparent to the Duncans that they must leave California and move to a city with sophistication and culture so that her ability could be appreciated and profited from. Meanwhile, Raymond Duncan was employed by various printing presses and publishing companies, and the art of the printing press became one of Duncan’s life-long pursuits.²³ Elizabeth, Isadora, Raymond, and Mrs. Duncan relocated to New York City in 1897, and after a farewell performance where Raymond recited Theocritus and Ovid, departed for London in May of 1899.²⁴ To save money, Raymond arranged for the family to travel via a barge carrying livestock, an experience that later influenced his choice to be a vegetarian.²⁵

The Duncans spent their first summer in London struggling financially with nights reading passages of Johann Wincklemann’s *Journey to Athens* as they slept on

²⁰ Ibid., 7–8.

²¹ Ibid., 7.

²² Duncan, *My Life*, 20.

²³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 9.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Duncan, *My Life*, 48.

benches in Green Park. During the days in the British Museum, Raymond sketched Greek vase paintings and bas-reliefs and Isadora interpreted them in dance. In December of 1899, Raymond left the family in London and traveled to Paris, where he attended the World Exposition, *Exposition Universelle* and became so inspired, he urged his family to join him.

Reunited once again in Paris in the spring of 1900, Isadora noted one of Raymond's first sartorial transformations: "He had let his hair grow long over his ears and wore a turned-down-collar and a flowing tie."²⁶ The siblings continued their pursuit of Classical culture with daily trips to the Louvre, where Raymond sketched each of the Greek vases.²⁷ Isadora remembers Raymond's "large black hat" and "open collar" he wore during those visits.²⁸ Raymond's creativity flourished while in Paris; he decorated their studio by painting columns on the walls and rolling pieces of aluminum foil to create "Roman torches" from the gas jets.²⁹ He also began making his leather sandals, the first component of his notorious Greek costume. He kept his family awake as he "spent three-quarters of the night working out his inventions and hammering."³⁰

In spite of his intense enthusiasm for European life, Raymond departed France for San Francisco, where he renewed his friendship with Michael (1865–1931) and

²⁶ Ibid., 66.

²⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 11.

²⁸ Duncan, *My Life*, 67. This costume is similar to the dress worn by Oscar Wilde, emblem of artistic expression and bohemianism, during his 1882 US tour.

²⁹ Ibid., 69.

³⁰ Ibid., 70.

Sarah Stein (1870–1953).³¹ Raymond tried his hand at representing his friends, opera singer Emma Nevada (1859–1940) and cellist Pablo Casals (1876–1973), but ultimately returned to Paris in early 1903 in the company of Gertrude Stein. Upon rejoining the rest of the Duncans, Raymond initiated plans to visit “the very holiest shrine of art...our beloved Athens” retracing the voyage of Ulysses.³²

Isadora’s memoirs recorded the near–manic enthusiasm she and her brother shared upon reaching Greece.³³ She wrote; “we had decided that even the Directoire dresses which I wore, and Raymond’s knickerbockers, open collars, and flowing ties were degenerate garments, and we must return to the tunic of the Ancient Greeks.”³⁴ At this point, Raymond shed his bohemian artist uniform in favor of his chiton and sandals, which he wore for the rest of his life. Enthralled with Athens and views of the Acropolis, the Duncans selected a hill to construct the temple of “Clan Duncan,” named Kopanos.³⁵ Feverish with excitement, Raymond directed construction of the family temple based on the Palace of Agamemnon with stone carvers and hired workers. The recent success of Isadora’s European dancing career helped fund this endeavor, but their vision of a Hellenic paradise grew bleaker when water was unavailable on the hill. In an attempt to resolve their dilemma, they danced in a temple on the Acropolis by moonlight.³⁶

³¹ Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, E-Book: Project Gutenberg (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933), 26, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0608711.txt>.

³² Duncan, *My Life*, 116.

³³ Ibid., 123.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 13–14; Duncan, *My Life*, 124.

³⁶ Duncan, *My Life*, 128, 176–77.

Amid all this rampant excitement, Raymond met music student Penelope Sikelianos (1883?–1917), older sister of Modern Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884–1951).³⁷ Despite their recent vow that “Clan Duncan” should remain in Greece “eternally” and marriage should not be allowed because “other people led them astray in their ideals,” Raymond married Penelope, and Isadora and the family departed Greece to resume their careers elsewhere in Europe.³⁸ Penelope and Raymond remained at Kopanos for another year until Isadora no longer could afford to support the temple’s construction.³⁹

Penelope, a testament to her namesake, taught Raymond Duncan the skill of weaving so the two continued to wear only their Greek tunics hand-woven on looms constructed by Raymond. Figure 1 shows a youthful Raymond with long hair, tunic, and sandals seated at his loom with a large woven textile as his backdrop. During this brief time, he and Penelope lived in the open-air, uncompleted temple with a herd of goats among sparse furniture they made themselves ornamented with hand woven blankets and cushions.⁴⁰ Penelope’s brother Angelos Sikelianos was a frequent visitor along with his wife Eva Palmer Sikelianos (1874–1952), who had a loom custom-built by Raymond where she wove her own tunics and costumes for her Delphi festivals in 1927 and 1930.⁴¹

³⁷ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 55.

³⁸ Duncan, *My Life*, 123, 176–77.

³⁹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 14.

⁴⁰ “WOULD LIVE LIKE ANCIENT GREEKS; Raymond Duncan and His Hellenic Wife Create a Sensation in Berlin. GO ABOUT IN DRAPERIES Their Home Near Athens a Perfect Antique -- Soon to Produce ‘Alcestis’ in the Grunewald,” *The New York Times*, July 14, 1907.

⁴¹ Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 121; Eleni Sikelianos, “The Lefevre-Sikelianos-

By the time the couple left for Paris in 1904, they had a large supply of sandals and Penelope's weavings. Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) remembers the couple's arrival to her street, the Rue des Fleurs, noting the transformation of Raymond from "Italian Renaissance" Aesthete Romantic to "completely Greek" with a pregnant Greek wife.⁴² After she realized her friend was without resources aside from their hand-made goods, Gertrude bought some of Raymond's sandals and gave them some coal for heating, and crates to sit on. According to Gertrude, Leo Stein accompanied Raymond when he registered the Duncan's newborn son in November of 1905. Legally the child's name was Raymond, but he was called Menalkas, after the shepherd boy in *The Idylls* by Theocritus.⁴³

Raymond and Penelope also continued their friendship with Matisse patrons and neighbors Michael and Sarah Stein. They outfitted the Stein's young son Allan Stein (1895–1951) in handmade sandals and hand-woven Greek tunic while in Paris in 1905.⁴⁴ Figure 2 shows the child with a narrow band or fillet around the forehead, a white tunic with sleeves ending just at his elbows and long warp fringes at his calves. A pin, similar to the Greek fibula, fastens the garment at Stein's back right shoulder. He wears sandals with upwardly curved toes and leather straps with white stockings underneath. Sometime after this photo was taken, the young Duncan family left the

Waldman Tree and the Imaginative Utopian Attempt," ed. Alan Gilbert and Daron Mueller, *Jacket* 27 (April 2005), <http://jacketmagazine.com/27/w-sike.html>.

⁴² Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 27.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ The Museum of Modern Art, New York, *Four Americans in Paris: The Collections of Gertrude Stein and Her Family* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 40; Therese Erhman Jelenko, *Raymond Duncan Outfit, Allan Stein*, Photo, 1905, BANC PIC 1992.078-PIC, Box 9 AX Box 2, B :9, The Elise Stern Haas Family Photographs.

Steins in Paris for Berlin, where they helped Isadora set up a dance school.⁴⁵ While in Berlin, Raymond block printed his sketches of Ancient Greek vase paintings, which he copied years earlier, into a pamphlet; one was given to Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1910.⁴⁶

One of their earliest press appearances occurred in a 1907 *The New York Times* article titled “Would Live Like Ancient Greeks” with the sub caption, “Raymond Duncan and his Hellenic Wife Create a Sensation in Berlin, Go about in Draperies.” The article described Raymond and Penelope’s daily costume as “a set of draperies thrown loosely over the shoulders and displaying most of the knee, while their feet are incased in sandals.”⁴⁷ The Duncan family was denied admission into several area hotels because of their unusual attire.⁴⁸

The Duncans relocated to London in 1909 and once more, the press took note of their dress. “Two garments make up the costumes...a linen one next to the skin and a woolen cloak over it.”⁴⁹ Sandals for the feet complete the outfit, no hose being worn.”⁵⁰ When temperatures dropped, the woolen cloak was exchanged for a warmer

⁴⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 15.

⁴⁶ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 112; Raymond Duncan, “Hellenic Vase Painting Copied and Hand Printed by Raymond Duncan,” Pamphlet (Athens, Greece, 1908), S.G. Rt.Fl.1.5, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archives; Raymond Duncan to Isabella Stewart Gardner, “The Bartol, Corner of Huntington,” February 1, 1910, S.G. Rt.Fl.1.5, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archives.

⁴⁷ “WOULD LIVE LIKE ANCIENT GREEKS; Raymond Duncan and His Hellenic Wife Create a Sensation in Berlin. GO ABOUT IN DRAPERIES Their Home Near Athens a Perfect Antique -- Soon to Produce ‘Alcestis’ in the Grunewald.”

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ “Back to The Ways of Old Greece,” *The Washington Herald*, July 18, 1909, sec. Literary Magazine.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

option and if necessary, the linen tunic was replaced by a “woolen undergarment.”⁵¹

Penelope lectured on Greek folk music while Raymond taught dance and had his ideal typography cast into lead letters for printing.⁵² This type, known as sans serif, was based on Raymond’s vision of the perfect Greek alphabet.⁵³ Henceforth, it became the signature font of all of Raymond Duncan’s publications and public signage for the Akademia Duncan.

Satisfied with his typographic developments, Raymond left London for the United States early in 1910 with a new theatrical endeavor. The Duncans, along with Penelope’s sister Eleni Sikelianos and other performers, planned a tour of Sophocles’ *Elektra* complete with authentic costumes woven by Raymond and Penelope and appropriate music and dance.⁵⁴ The tour visited Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle for a total of sixty-three performances.⁵⁵

The sudden appearance of the Duncans and their companions dressed not in modern shirtwaist, skirt or trouser but the scanty tunic, shawl, and sandals of Ancient Greece on the wintry Manhattan streets was not ignored. One article reporting a lecture Raymond and Penelope gave at the Horace Mann Auditorium at Teacher’s College provides a detailed description of the couple’s appearance. It describes their

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 15; Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 112.

⁵³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 15.

⁵⁴ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 112; “Greeks Condemn Opera of ‘Elektra’: Church Meeting to Protest Against Production as a Defamation of Classics,” *The New York Times*, February 8, 1910.

⁵⁵ Raymond Duncan, “Raymond Duncan Biographical Notes,” Pamphlet (Akademia Raymond Duncan, Paris, Undated), Raymond Duncan Papers, MO 231/2, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections.

“white Greek peplum [misuse for ‘peplos’] a tunic of homespun with a narrow border of yellow woven into it,” and notes Penelope’s garment was floor-length while Raymond’s reached only to his bare knees.⁵⁶ The article also describes the arrangement of a shawl, which both wore covering their left shoulders and tucked beneath their right arms, similar to the himations worn by the Ancient Greeks during the 5th century BCE. Even their hairstyles were described: Penelope’s “was confined by a net, but on either side of her face straight locks hung down” and Raymond’s was “parted in the middle fell simply down as low as his shoulders.”⁵⁷ Figure 3 illustrates the Duncan family in New York that year as fitting these descriptions. Penelope’s shawl or wrap is significantly fuller and longer than her husband’s.

Three days later, more articles appeared in *The New York Times*; these focused on a scandal involving young Menalkas Duncan’s attire. The incident occurred on Broadway, where Menalkas was walking with his Aunt Eleni and another Greek companion from the tour. A police officer spotted the child and his companions in their tunic and sandals and was concerned that the child was insufficiently dressed for January weather. He took the aunt and friend into custody for child neglect and sent Menalkas to the Children’s Society. Menalkas was dressed “in a blouse stretching from his neck to half way below his knees, a pair of sandals, and apparently nothing else.”⁵⁸ His parents arrived later; both dressed in “remarkable fashion.”⁵⁹ The article

⁵⁶ “Beg Us to Return to The Greek Lay: Mr. and Mrs. Duncan in Bare Feet and Ancient Tunics Appeal for the Simple Life in Music,” *The New York Times*, January 7, 1910.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “Bare-Legged Boy Shocks A Policeman- He Gathers in Little Menalkas Duncan, Wearing Only a Blouse and Sandals,” *The New York Times*, January 9, 1910,

admits Penelope Duncan's longer tunic and shawl "differed little from the dress of ordinary matrons" with the exception of her missing hat and hose.⁶⁰ However, Raymond Duncan's attire is described as "utterly unlike anything recorded in the annals of society."⁶¹ It is worth noting that this and subsequent events reflect two social conditions in America that resulted in scrutiny: any variance from customs regarding male dress and any one who appeared "foreign."

Raymond Duncan became angry with the police and agents at the Children's Society and insisted that his son was "more warmly clad than any other child in New York." He spoke of layering, as the Chinese did, beneath their clothing. However, Raymond Duncan was charged with "improper guardianship of a child" and a hearing took place soon after.⁶² Two accounts appeared in *The New York Times* describing the proceedings; both reported that charges against Raymond Duncan were dismissed after he furnished two doctors' notes in support of his son's good health.⁶³ A consequence was the cancelation of Raymond Duncan's lecture at Bryn Mawr College because the students "objected to Raymond Duncan's appearance...in the Greek

<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F40A14FA3E5D11738DDDA00894D9405B808DF1D3>.

⁵⁹ "Beg Us to Return to The Greek Lay: Mr. and Mrs. Duncan in Bare Feet and Ancient Tunics Appeal for the Simple Life in Music."

⁶⁰ "Bare-Legged Boy Shocks a Policeman."

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ "Gerry Agents Object to The Greek Dress: Society Openly Avows Itself the Prosecutor of Duncan Boy's Guardians," *The New York Times*, January 10, 1910; "Duncan Boy Safely Clad: Magistrate Says His Grecian Garb Has Done Him No Harm," *The New York Times*, January 12, 1910.

garb.”⁶⁴ Another report stated that Harvard University was also considering canceling a scheduled lecture and performance by the Duncans because of the episode.⁶⁵

Raymond Duncan argued in court that his family’s clothing was “proper” because both layers of hand-woven silk and wool were readily washable, where “[t]he so-called tailor-made clothes of to-day [sic] are unhygienic. They cannot be washed. This man’s [the Child Protection Agent’s] clothes are alive with germs.”⁶⁶ He added that Menalkas was never ill and that they “live according to nature, as the ancient Greeks did” and climate change had little effect on them.⁶⁷ He also pointed out that “a sweater-like garment of wool” was added to Menalkas’ ensemble if it was too cold for him, but on the day of the incident, it was removed.⁶⁸ In Figure 3, Menalkas is pictured wearing this short-sleeved over garment. The irony of this incident was not lost on Raymond forty-five years later when he remarked, “Now you go along Fifth Avenue in New York, you look in Rockefeller Plaza and you see the charming little ladies and girls, skating with their bottoms showing!”⁶⁹

When the Duncans and their performance troupe reached the West Coast in the fall of 1910, the incident was still mentioned with fresh shock and outrage over their dress. In October, Raymond Duncan and his performers were denied the right to

⁶⁴ “Duncan Boy Safely Clad: Magistrate Says His Grecian Garb Has Done Him No Harm.”

⁶⁵ “Harvard May Bar Duncan: Faculty May Ask Little Menalkas’s [sic] Father Not to Lecture There,” *The New York Times*, January 12, 1910.

⁶⁶ “Gerry Agents Object to The Greek Dress: Society Openly Avows Itself the Prosecutor of Duncan Boy’s Guardians.”

⁶⁷ “Duncan Boy Safely Clad: Magistrate Says His Grecian Garb Has Done Him No Harm.”

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Orson Welles, “St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan,” DVD, *Around The World with Orson Welles* (United Kingdom: ITV, November 4, 1955).

perform *Elektra* at the outdoor Greek Theater in Berkeley because it was the off-season of rain. Raymond Duncan was offended by this decision and claimed the professor in charge was prejudiced against him. The article reporting this mentioned the New York episode in the same sentence.⁷⁰

Although Raymond Duncan scheduled his performances of *Elektra* at the Savoy Theater in San Francisco instead of at Berkeley, further controversies plagued him.⁷¹ On November 4, 1910, Raymond Duncan had a San Francisco police officer arrested for verbally assaulting and chasing one of his performers, though the charge was later dismissed. According to the report, the policeman yelled, “Put some clothes on!”⁷² Later that same month, Raymond Duncan himself was arrested for physically attacking two college students who taunted his wife and son at the ferry building in San Francisco. Raymond Duncan is described as “partly but classically clad” and when he was in action “all that could be seen was a whirling figure in white showing naked classic limbs.”⁷³ Figure 4 is a cartoonist’s interpretation of Raymond Duncan’s assault, which accompanied the report in the *San Francisco Call*. In the illustration, Raymond is a lean and heroic figure in a tunic bordered with a Greek-key pattern, in contrast to his opponents, who appear cumbersome in their wide trousers.

⁷⁰ “Duncan, Barred From Greek Theater, Says Prejudice; Armes Says Weather,” *San Francisco Call* 108, no. 140 (October 18, 1910).

⁷¹ “‘White Sister’ Is The Savoy Offering: Remarkable Cast Presents the Thrilling Drama,” *The San Francisco Call* 108, no. 145 (October 23, 1910).

⁷² “Missouri Photographer ‘Shown’ By Policemen: Bumps on His Head Prove That Fight Was Real,” *San Francisco Call* 108, no. 157 (November 4, 1910).

⁷³ “‘Greek’ Shows Class Duncan Uses Fists: ‘Hurrah for De Guy in de Bath-robe!’ Shout Excited Witnesses of Battle,” *San Francisco Call* 108, no. 174 (November 21, 1910), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1910-11-21/ed-1/seq-1/>.

Apart from creating a stir in public with their outfits and performing their well-received version of *Elektra*, the Duncans also taught weaving, dance, and music classes in each of the nine American cities they visited. They also spent time with the Klamath Indians of Oregon, studying the music of the tribe and sharing their own weaving techniques.⁷⁴ They returned to Paris in 1911 and established the first Akademia Duncan at Salle Pasedeloup on the rue des Ursilines where they taught weaving, music, and philosophy.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, they were evicted from their apartments on the Avenue Charles Floquet because of the complaints of other tenants. The press cited “the anti-scant drapery movement sweeping over France” and the nighttime practice of the lyre as reasons for the Duncan’s eviction.⁷⁶ Despite this setback, Raymond continued to perform *Elektra* and other dramas at Théâtre du Chalet in Paris.

The following year, tragedy struck the Duncan family with the death of Isadora’s two small children who were lost when the automobile carrying them plunged into the Seine River.⁷⁷ Raymond Duncan attended the memorial service “wearing a flowing mauve robe and sandals.”⁷⁸ That summer, a grieving Isadora Duncan stayed with Raymond, Penelope, and Menalkas Duncan as they taught Albanian refugees from the First Balkan War to weave woolen rugs and blankets in

⁷⁴ Duncan, “Raymond Duncan Biographical Notes,” Undated; John Douglas Cook, “Raymond Duncan,” *Opera and Concerts*, April 1948, 24.

⁷⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 17.

⁷⁶ “Drapery Is Hellenic Art But Bare Legs Shocks the French,” *The San Francisco Call* 111, no. 41 (January 10, 1912).

⁷⁷ “Two Children of Isadora Duncan Die In Accident,” *San Francisco Call* 113, no. 141 (April 20, 1913).

⁷⁸ “Cremate Duncan Children: Ceremony Is Attended by Literary and Artistic Celebrities,” *The New York Times*, April 23, 1913.

Santa Quaranta, Albania. According to Isadora Duncan, the designs for the textiles were from Hellenic vase paintings, and once they were complete, Raymond Duncan sent them to London where they were sold. Her brother used the profits to establish a village bakery that sold white bread to the refugees.⁷⁹ This is one of Raymond's earliest philanthropic efforts, his faith in "the therapeutic efforts of the high arts" coupled with the desire to share his craft skills so that others could have a more prosperous future drove him to other initiatives later in life.⁸⁰

Life at the Albanian refugee camp was difficult, especially for Isadora who was not used to living in a tent, unprotected from the elements. In the fall of 1913, Penelope and Isadora traveled to Constantinople while Raymond and Menalkas Duncan remained in Santa Quaranta. When the two women returned from their trip, Raymond and Menalkas were seriously ill. Isadora became worried for the health of her brother and his family, who refused to abandon the refugees and the village they established, despite the pleas of Isadora and a physician. Isadora wrote mournfully, "I was forced to leave them on that desolate rock, with only a little tent to protect them, over which a perfect hurricane was brewing."⁸¹

Raymond and Menalkas did recover, but soon Penelope fell ill with tuberculosis, which resulted in her death five years later in a Swiss sanitarium.⁸² Prior to her death, the Duncans left their refugee village because of surrounding civil strife and returned to Kopanos in Athens where Raymond began printing his *Exangelos*

⁷⁹ Duncan, *My Life*, 280–81.

⁸⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 18–19; Duncan, *My Life*, 280; Cook, "Raymond Duncan," 24.

⁸¹ Duncan, *My Life*, 289; Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 26.

⁸² Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 12.

newsletter in his signature lettering.⁸³ Raymond continued to care for refugees, as they arrived in Greece from Turkey with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The refugees were involved in the production of his newsletter, learned to spin and weave, and also to make soap and farm.⁸⁴ It is unclear precisely when Penelope became too ill to partake in these activities and was sent away to the sanitarium, but during the year of her death, one of Raymond's followers gave birth to his second child, a daughter named Ligoa (1917–).⁸⁵ Her mother, a Latvian woman named Aia Bertrand (1895–1977), was a student of Raymond's since 1911 and presumably followed him from Paris. Aia was Raymond's companion and business partner for the rest of his life.⁸⁶

In 1919, Raymond and his new family returned to Paris where he reestablished his Akademia Duncan at 21 Rue Bonaparte.⁸⁷ The peace at this new establishment was temporary. In December of 1920, Menalkas Duncan, now fifteen and perhaps resentful of the shift in his family's dynamics, fled the colony for a week. Once more, the newspapers quickly sensationalized this news; Menalkas' appearance and the bohemian lifestyle of his father were the focus of the first report. Menalkas, with his shoulder-length hair and exposed limbs beneath "the smock of the cloth embroidered with chaste designs," left the Akademia one evening to purchase vegetables at the

⁸³ Ibid., 36.

⁸⁴ Cook, "Raymond Duncan," 24.

⁸⁵ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 117.

⁸⁶ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 21, 38.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 21.

marketplace for the communal dinner, but instead took off with the money.⁸⁸ The article speculates that he ran away with former students of the Akademia.⁸⁹

A second report appeared a week later with the enticing headline, “Trouserless [sic] Home Greets Menalkas: Police restore Isadora Duncan’s Nephew to His Ancient Greek Millieu. Boy Sighs for Modernity: Wanted to Enjoy His New Clothes and Enjoy At Least One Non-Vegetarian Christmas” announcing the safe but reluctant return of Menalkas to his father’s compound.⁹⁰ The conjectures of the previous article were correct; Menalkas Duncan had indeed run off with unnamed former Akademia students, and even more scandalously, had adapted modern clothing and a shorter hairstyle. The rebellious teen “wore a neat grey suit of modest pattern” when he was returned to his father’s school.⁹¹ The press was so eager for an interview with either stern father or wayward son that the assistance of Paris authorities was necessary to control the mob of reporters.⁹²

Raymond Duncan filed suit against his sister Isadora in March of 1922 because she permitted her students, whom she legally adopted, to use “Duncan” and he felt they were capitalizing on the family name. Raymond Duncan was mocked by the director of the Théâtre Champs Elysees, who declared: “it is not through a desire to profit by the popularity acquired by the strange costumes of Mr. Duncan nor by the

⁸⁸ “Paris Police Seeking Raymond Duncan’s Son: 15-Year-Old Menalkas, Clad in Classic Greek Style, Missing Since Friday,” *The New York Times*, December 19, 1920.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ “Trouserless Home Greets Menalkas; Police Restore Isadora Duncan’s Nephew to His Ancient Greek Milieu. Boy Sighs For Modernity. Wanted to Enjoy His New Clothes and Know at Least One Non-Vegetarian Christmas,” *The New York Times*, December 26, 1920.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

fiery eloquence of his harangues....”⁹³ The case was overruled and several of her students did assume her last name.⁹⁴ The following month, the siblings reconciled over the sudden death of their mother at Raymond’s Akademia.⁹⁵ Also in April, Menalkas Duncan ran away from the Akademia, this time for good, to live independently in Marseille.⁹⁶ Despite these difficulties, it is evident that Raymond Duncan’s Akademia flourished in Paris during the 1920s. He also established his summer Akademia in Nice sometime early in this decade, and relocated the Paris outlet to the Rue de Colisée.⁹⁷

Duncan was very active in the 1920s Parisian performance and fine art scene, though not without controversy. He and his colony members, purists in matters pertaining to Ancient Greece, attended the premier performance of Jean Cocteau’s *Antigone* at the Théâtre de L’Atelier in 1922 where they protested the modern costumes designed by Coco Chanel and the set created by Pablo Picasso by screaming insults through miniature bullhorns.⁹⁸ Raymond’s own artwork came under fire in 1923, when his work, titled *Maternity*, was removed from an exhibition at the Society

⁹³ “Isadora Duncan Girls Assailed by Raymond: He Opposes Use of Family Name by Anna, Lisel and Erica, Remnants of Her School,” *The New York Times*, March 4, 1922.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life*.

⁹⁶ “Menalkas Duncan Writes To His Father; Runaway, Tired of Hellenism, Says He’s Carving His Own Path in Marseilles,” *The New York Times*, April 11, 1922.

⁹⁷ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 149, 171; Zoltan Dienes, “Memoirs of a Maverick Mathematician Chapter 2. The Beginnings,” *Zoltan Dienes’ Web Site: Biography, Math Games, Poetry and More...*, 1999, http://www.zoltandienes.com/?page_id=180.

⁹⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 22.

of Artists' annual exhibition for its obscenity.⁹⁹ That very year, another of his paintings, *The Flesh*, was destroyed.¹⁰⁰

The following year, Raymond Duncan was the only American representative at the Paris International Exhibition of Decorative Arts, where he constructed his own hexagonal wooden portico to display six of his oversized canvas paintings. The subject of the paintings was the world, and a newspaper account notes that there was also "textiles, hand-woven and decorated by the cult..." on display.¹⁰¹

Raymond Duncan and Isadora Duncan were reunited in September 1926 at the Nice outlet of Akademia Duncan. Isadora stayed with her brother, though the sparse commune lifestyle was not agreeable to her cosmopolitan taste. Still, she gave the final dance performance of her life with his assistance (he hung her signature blue velvet curtain backdrop), exactly one year preceding her death.¹⁰²

Isadora Duncan died on September 14, 1927 when her silk scarf became entangled in the wheel of the automobile she was riding in. The lethal accessory was not one of Raymond's creations, but one given to her by close friend Mary Desti.¹⁰³ The famous dancer was cremated and her remains placed alongside those of her two children and mother at Père Lachaise in Paris. At her memorial service, Raymond

⁹⁹ Particulars on the offensive content were not discussed in Rootcap or *The New York Times* article.

¹⁰⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24; "Duncan 'Maternity' Again," *The New York Times*, May 16, 1923.

¹⁰¹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24; "Exhibit Lacks Americans: Decorative Art Show at Paris May Have Only One 'Representative'," *The New York Times*, March 6, 1925.

¹⁰² Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24; Mary Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1929), 191.

¹⁰³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24-26.

addressed the crowd on behalf of their family.¹⁰⁴ Raymond continued to memorialize his younger sister by assembling her writings on dance theories into a volume titled, *La Dance Par Isadora Duncan*. He also wrote an introduction in praise of the late dancer: “Her art is the smile of the gods which at moments descends into our hearts, and her life is a reflection of the cavalry of the world, in the mad crush of its misery.”¹⁰⁵

During the late 1920s, the Akademia was relocated to its final home at 31-rue de Seine, Paris.¹⁰⁶ Raymond Duncan returned to New York City in November of 1929, after nearly twenty years’ absence and offered a lecture series on “art, culture, and ways of living.”¹⁰⁷ During this time, the presses’ perspective on his peculiar dress shifted from shock to bemused curiosity; E.B. White wrote in the *New Yorker*, “He hasn’t worn a pair of pants in nineteen years, man or boy!”¹⁰⁸ The next month, Duncan reportedly established a studio on West Seventy-Fifth Street where he sold poetry and fabrics.¹⁰⁹ A later notice in *The New York Times* stated that he was renting retail space “for the sale of hand-woven textiles and interior decorations.”¹¹⁰ He remained in New York for a few months and publically demonstrated his allegiance for Gandhi and India’s rebellion on May 28, 1930 by marching to the ocean with a parade in New York City to collect water to make salt. Police, wary of his appearance

¹⁰⁴ Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*, 191.

¹⁰⁵ Raymond Duncan, “Isadora’s Last Dance,” in *The Art of the Dance*, by Isadora Duncan, ed. Sheldon Cheney (New York: Theater Arts Books, 1969), 13.

¹⁰⁶ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 31.

¹⁰⁷ “Raymond Duncan Coming Here,” *The New York Times*, November 10, 1929.

¹⁰⁸ E.B. White, “The Talk of the Town: Isadora’s Brother,” *The New Yorker*, December 7, 1929.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ “Raymond Duncan Takes Store,” *The New York Times*, December 12, 1929.

and reputation, monitored the proceedings. The next day, he returned to Paris with the sea salt and the idea to lecture to Parisians about New York City life.¹¹¹ Duncan traveled to New York City once more the following year with the philanthropic mission to help those affected by the Great Depression, believing that the “demand for hand-wrought and hand-spun merchandise still exists.”¹¹²

Raymond did not visit the United States until after the war, but an article, written by John Douglas Cook for the magazine *Opera and Concert* in 1948 offers an account of his activities in France during the Occupation. Cook wrote that the Gestapo officers who came to investigate the center were too “bewildered” to take any action, and that the “Duncan center was one of the liveliest headquarters for the French Underground.” During the war, students learned to weave their own winter clothing using repurposed thread and they shared meals at the Akademia eatery.¹¹³

Duncan’s post-war trip to the United States in the winter of 1946–1947 included an autobiographical solo performance of *My Life Story* at Town Hall in New York City.¹¹⁴ He was also featured in a 1954 documentary, titled *Around the World with Orson Welles*. In an interview conducted by Welles at the Akademia Duncan in

¹¹¹ “Duncan Parades to Sea to Get Salt,” *The New York Times*, May 28, 1930.

¹¹² “Raymond Duncan Arrives,” *The New York Times*, February 25, 1931.

¹¹³ Cook, “Raymond Duncan,” 25.

¹¹⁴ “Playbill: ‘My Life Story, A Dramatic Poem in 3 Acts By Raymond Duncan’,” January 23, 1947, SC-222, Folder 3, Raymond Duncan Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library; “Salon Keepers,” *Time*, December 9, 1946.

Paris, Raymond explained that his “shirt and shawl” are “all a man needs” and adds that his Scottish ancestors would “not have put on trousers for anything!”¹¹⁵

Raymond Duncan returned to the U.S. regularly from the 1950s through the 1960s with various original performances and made a special appearance for his ninetieth birthday in 1964 at Carnegie Hall in New York City.¹¹⁶ When asked about his reaction to the odd looks his appearance warranted in mid-century America, Duncan serenely replied, “If I should turn to look at them as they look at me...they are the ones who are embarrassed, not I.”¹¹⁷ (See Figure 5.)

The bohemian artist died surrounded by his friends on the French Riviera on August 14, 1966.¹¹⁸ Aia Bertrand sent a letter to friends and acquaintances of Raymond Duncan, nearly two years after his death with a copy of his previously

¹¹⁵ Welles, “St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan.”

¹¹⁶ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 40–41; Aia Bertrand to Roger Ashley, “Correspondence from the Palace Hotel, San Francisco,” March 29, 1948, SC-222, Folder 1, Raymond Duncan Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library; Aia Bertrand to Roger Ashley, “Correspondence from the Roger Smith Hotel, Washington, D.C.,” April 1, 1948, SC-222, Folder 1, Raymond Duncan Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library; “‘Wobbly Top’ By Duncan: Mixed Program Is Presented to Show Man’s Struggles,” *The New York Times*, February 9, 1950; Raymond Duncan to John Douglas Cook, “Correspondence From the Hotel Commodore, New York,” March 9, 1953, Raymond Duncan Papers, Mi 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections; “Playbill: ‘The Greatest of All the Arts-LIFE-How I Have Sought It and What I Have Found’,” May 1, 1962, Raymond Duncan Papers, MO 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections.

¹¹⁷ Cook, “Raymond Duncan,” 25.

¹¹⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 41; “Raymond Duncan, Symbol of La Vie Boheme, Dies,” *The New York Times*, August 17, 1966; Aia Bertrand to John Douglas Cook, “Typed Notice of Raymond Duncan’s Death with Poem, ‘SHIP AHOY’,” January 19, 1968, Raymond Duncan Papers, MO 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections.

unpublished poem, *Ship Ahoy*. Bertrand wrote that Duncan is “living through image and his indomitable spirit and the loving remembrance of friends.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Bertrand to Cook, “Typed Notice of Raymond Duncan’s Death with Poem, ‘SHIP AHOY’.”

CHAPTER 3

THE TEXTILES AND GARMENTS OF THE AKADEMIA DUNCAN

Sing of an Art so Lovely, that I and My Loom Fly to Worlds Unknown.
—Raymond Duncan, “Pages From My Press”

After the death of Raymond Duncan’s companion, Aia Betrand, in the late 1970s, the Akademia Duncan in Paris was disbanded.¹²⁰ Extant textiles and garments exist in collections across the United States either signed, “Raymond Duncan” or are attributed to Duncan. Interestingly, curators date all of the textiles and garments between 1915 and 1940 although the Akademia Duncan existed for over sixty years. Among the twenty objects found are five garments, three scarves and six textiles used for home furnishing or perhaps worn as scarves. In total, fourteen of the twenty objects surveyed are included in this discussion. This section will focus on the specific characteristics of these fourteen objects with the intent to further understand the textile production and design aesthetics of the Akademia Duncan.¹²¹

A sleeveless silk woman’s dress was the first object considered for this study, (URI HTCC 1976.09.01). The dress is pale yellow with painted peach-colored grapes surrounded by green leaves. It is unsigned, but the berry and blossom trims correspond to borders on signed pieces and the figures in the waistband match those on another

¹²⁰ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 17; Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, 176.

¹²¹ All twenty objects appear in Appendix C , Catalogue of Objects.

signed textile (Figure 6). The object is confirmed to be from Duncan's workshops in the accompanying letter from the donor, and its block printed designs and style also match those of signed pieces.¹²²

Three other garments and one scarf are at the MMA. A two-piece dress (MMA 1990.152) features an ankle-length sheer navy under-gown and tan silk over-tunic formed by two rectangular lengths of fabric joined at the shoulders. The tunic is ornamented with gold and peach borders surrounding a blue and green hand-painted design of grapes and leaves with wooden beaded ropes dangling from each shoulder (Figure 7). Another dress (MMA 1974.333), or "negligée," as stated in its collection record, is also a tunic formed by two rectangular lengths that are printed with blue and green clouds, trimmed with peach and yellow blossom borders.¹²³ (See Figure 8.) A tunic, or "blouse" constructed of a rust-colored rectangle has a slit opening in the center for the head and lacks side seams (MMA 2009.300.2940).¹²⁴ The tunic is block printed with a grid of trees and its shoulder-line and hem are printed with a standing nude female figure amid vegetation (Figure 9). Finally, an orange and cream hand-woven scarf or "stole" is attributed to Raymond Duncan.¹²⁵ (See Figure 10.)

¹²² Hazel Westby to Mary Whitlock, "Re-Copied From Water-Damaged Original," November 1976, University of Rhode Island Historic Costume and Textiles Collection Records; "Hazel Westby Donor Records," November 1976, University of Rhode Island Historic Costume and Textiles Collection Records.

¹²³ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Negligée:1974.333," *The Metropolitan Museum Of Art*, accessed April 24, 2012, <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80036964>.

¹²⁴ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art -Blouse:2009.300.29.40," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed April 24, 2012, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/80095677>.

¹²⁵ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Stole:2009.300.3893," *The Metropolitan Museum Of Art*, accessed April 24, 2012, <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80096734>.

A similar hand-woven scarf (MFA 1993.1025) is of dark purple, blue, white and dark pink (Figure 11). The two scarves share the same provenance, donated by artist Marguerite Zorach (1887–1968). Another scarf (ISGM T19w24) is of the same silk as the aforementioned garments. This tan, brown, and dark red scarf is a small square with a grid of trees and blossoms trimmed by a diamond border (Figure 12). The last scarf in the study (PMA 1991-145-1), is tan and dark brown with an all-over repeat of two stags locking horns broken up by friezes featuring a reclining nude and yellow bird that alternates with blue and purple geometric blocks (Figure 13).

Another object is a light grey tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1). This tunic is simply a rectangle with a center slit for the neck, like the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940). It has purple, gold, green and blue geometric bands broken up by wider bands of leaves and berries ornamenting the shoulders, arms, neckline, and lower skirt (Figure 14). There is also a textile (FIDM 2009.5.49), which is dark green with a grid of light pink alternating animals and several horizontal bands of leaves and berries with a repeating frieze of woodsmen chopping trees (Figure 15).

A tan, brown, gold and blue “table scarf” (OMA H91.10.39) shares in the repeating woodsmen and tree motive mentioned above that alternates with two stags locking horns and is completed by three meandering geometric borders (Figure 16). Another textile (AIC 1981.38) is predominately hand-painted, featuring a seated nude muscular woman beneath a tree with a large deer beside her. The lower region has blocked vertical geometric strips alternating with a nude figure contorted in a standing pose and a meandering gold chain border (Figure 17). A wide silk textile (AIC 1997.350), features an alternating grid of teal, light pink, dark purple, and grey trees

and knots of blossoms and leaves broken and trimmed by a repeating diamond border and a wider lower frieze of grey birds with splayed wings alternating with teal clouds on a yellow ground (Figure 18). Finally, an off-white square pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) is trimmed with a blue diamond border with an alternating center design of seated and sleeping nude figures with a dog and knots of blossoms and leaves (Figure 19).

Fiber Content and Weave Structure

Extant textiles and garments can be categorized into three types based on their fiber content and weave structure. Eleven of the twenty objects surveyed are plain woven with crepe yarns, primarily of cotton with some variance of fiber content and structure. Six are silk crepe de chines or chiffons and two are wool with miscellaneous other fibers of complex weave design.¹²⁶

For this research, seven textiles and garments of plain weave with crepe yarns are discussed. The tightly twisted crepe yarns greatly affect the texture of the textiles, creating a pebbly surface. A table scarf (OMA H91.10.39), a large wall hanging (AIC 1981.38), and a blouse (MMA 1990.152) are all plain weave with crepe yarns. The small pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) is an unbalanced plain weave crepe, and the textile fragment (FIDM 2009.5.49) is wool and silk plain weave with crepe yarns. The tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1) is also wool and silk, with crepe yarns, but it is a lightweight with a crinkled and puckered texture/blistered. Although its object record identifies it as a “matelassé,” the textile does not match the definition of the term provided in

¹²⁶ The limitations of this research prevented in depth fiber analysis testing.

Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles because it is not a "double-faced" fabric.¹²⁷ The least complicated of this category is a scarf (PMA 1991-145-1), which is plain-weave cotton and silk with no crepe yarns.

From the total six fabrics of silk chiffons / crepe de chine, this research includes five textiles and garments. The silk plain weave dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) was the only object in this research to receive thorough microscopic fiber and fabric analysis, and examination revealed tightly twisted alternating warps, making it a crepe de chine.¹²⁸ The scarf (ISGM T19w24) is also plain-woven silk of a similar density to the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01). A textile length (AIC 1997.350) is also of plain-weave silk with crepe yarns. Also, a negligée is recorded as silk "chiffon" in its online records, but the fabric does not appear as sheer and fragile as silk chiffon.¹²⁹ Its weave structure is likely of a similar construction to the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01). Finally, the dress (MMA 1990.152), features a longer under-tunic that is unquestionably a silk chiffon as its online record states, but its over-tunic is recorded as an "opaque tussah silk" which is also questionable because tussah silk does not dye or print well but may explain the muddled colors.¹³⁰ Still, its opacity suggests it could also be a crepe de chine.

¹²⁷ Phyllis G. Tortora and Robert S. Merkel, eds., "Matelassé," *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2010).

¹²⁸ Phyllis G. Tortora and Robert S. Merkel, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, 7th ed. (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2010), 148.

¹²⁹ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Negligée:1974.333"; Tortora and Merkel, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, 111.

¹³⁰ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Dress: 1990.152," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed April 24, 2012, <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80009350>; Tortora and Merkel, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, 594.

The last two objects are both long narrow scarves of complex or novelty weaves with warp fringe at each end. The scarf (MFA 1993.1025) is a combination of silk, wool, wool and nylon blend, and cotton-rayon blend yarns in variations of plain weaves and twill weaves. The object record of the other scarf (MMA 2009.300.38.93) states that it is simply wool, but there is possibly a combination of fibers as with the other scarf. For fabric construction, the scarf is simply “hand-woven,” but long floating wefts are discernable in its online image.¹³¹

Construction

All of the textiles and most of the garments are flat rectangular lengths of fabrics with two selvages. Most of the edges of the textiles are unfinished, without evidence of sewing, except for the scarf (ISGM T19w24), which has a rolled hem on the ends and evidence of hand stitching, the pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) which has light purple threads where it was stitched into a pillow, and another scarf, (PMA 1991-145-1) which has a horizontal butted seam joining its upper and lower sections down the center. Three of the garments are true tunic style with no seams (FIDM 2008.905.1, MMA 2009.5.49, MMA 1974.33) and an opening down the center for the neck opening; the sides hang open unless a sash or waistband is added to draw the garment closed.

Two dresses, (URI HTCC 1976.09.01, MMA 1990.152) are of more complex construction than the other flat textiles and tunic-style garments free of major seams and pieces. The first dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) was hand-sewn and its

¹³¹ “The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Stole:2009.300.3893. ”

components are imprecisely measured. The wide waistband is pieced with painted gold silk and six linked medallions. The long, voluminous skirt features narrow bands of grapes and leaves separating the yellow painted ground fabric. These bands reappear as a border framing the pieced waistband and on the back of the garment, where they begin as vertical panels from the shoulders ending at the waistband. Another detail of the dress's construction is that the front neckline is higher than the back neckline. The second dress (MMA 1990.152), appears to have a horizontal seam running among the borders over its shoulders and arms and has two vertical front tucks over the princess lines. Above each shoulder on either side of the neckline are two clusters of wooden beads hanging from string. The trim with wooden beads reappears below the arms and hangs down the skirt of the garment on either side. This is the only garment surveyed to include a longer under tunic that might be attached to the over garment by the seam discernable in the shoulders.

Block Printing

With the exception of these two scarves (MFA 1993.1025 and MMA 2009.300.38.93), all of the textiles and garments attributed to Raymond Duncan are block printed and feature hand-painted details, or have larger areas of hand painting, with block printed borders and other details, as seen in the textile length (AIC 1981.38). Many of the meandering borders and larger figure blocks were used repeatedly on different textiles and garments in varied combinations. Before addressing the specifics of the objects, a brief look at the history and technique of block printing as a form of textile decoration will help to understand why Duncan and

his followers chose this medium, and clarify the quality assessment of the textiles and garments.

Block printing is among the earliest forms of textile printing, and can be traced to Egypt during the fourth century CE.¹³² This method of direct printing requires a minimum of tools and can be executed with a variety of materials making it a less expensive approach to textile design.¹³³ Blocks for printing are produced by either carving a flat surface of wood using a gauge to create grooves according to the design, or by attaching cut shapes and designs from linoleum or metal to wooden blocks using glue.¹³⁴ Even simpler, blocks can be created from potatoes or other root vegetables.¹³⁵

Still, the technique demands patience and time to first carve the design onto the blocks correctly and handprint each area.¹³⁶ The size and weight of the blocks should be considered so they do not become too heavy or cumbersome to use. Once the blocks have been created, they must be inked with the selected color either by dipping the block directly into the ink or by applying ink from a brayer or a blotter. The inked block is then placed under pressure face down on the textile. Pressure can be applied by evenly tapping the back of the block with a mallet to ensure contact, or by stepping

¹³² Billie J Collier, Martin Bide, and Phyllis Tortora, *Understanding Textiles*, 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2009), 404; Jennifer Harris, *5,000 Years of Textiles* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 36.

¹³³ Powers, *Modern Block Printed Textiles*, 12.

¹³⁴ Stephen Russ, *Fabric Printing By Hand* (New York NY: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1964), 72; Janet Erickson, *Block Printing on Textiles* (New York NY: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1961), 15; Tortora and Merkel, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, 608.

¹³⁵ Russ, *Fabric Printing By Hand*, 72.

¹³⁶ Harris, *5,000 Years of Textiles*, 2004, 36.

on the block with one's own feet.¹³⁷ The design is then printed in reverse on the textile.¹³⁸

Painting on textiles freehand requires the creativity and skill of an artist, who may or may not also be the printer. Any type of natural bristle brush is suitable, however the dyes must be thinned slightly for this method of application.¹³⁹ The three examples in this discussion (URI HTCC 1976.09.01, MMA 1990.152., and AIC 1981.38) are executed with the fluidity of a painter's brush in their large areas of freehand design. The other textiles and garments are hand painted in their backgrounds and the block printed designs were hand-colored in, with the exception of the aforementioned novelty weave scarves (MFA 1993.1025 and MMA 2009.300.38.93.)

According to several sources, Raymond Duncan and his students used vegetable dyes to print their goods.¹⁴⁰ Natural vegetable dyes include madder and indigo sourced from plants. Specifically, the roots, barks and berries of a given plant can be used to dye a textile.¹⁴¹ However, the process is complicated and demands knowledge of dyeing formulas for the appropriate mordant or fixative relative to the form of natural dye applied and type of textile.¹⁴²

Along with the careful application of the blocks, and appropriately chosen colorfast dyes, the selection of the actual textile can affect the quality of the work. Silk

¹³⁷ Erickson, *Block Printing on Textiles*, 21,41,44; Collier, Bide, and Tortora, *Understanding Textiles*, 404.

¹³⁸ Russ, *Fabric Printing By Hand*, 72.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁴⁰ Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 99; Bonney and Bonney, *A Shopping Guide to Paris*, 96.

¹⁴¹ Powers, *Modern Block Printed Textiles*, 13; Tortora and Merkel, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*, 609.

¹⁴² Collier, Bide, and Tortora, *Understanding Textiles*, 25.

crepe is recommended for block printing and hand painting because it is even, with a dull surface and good drape, but care must be taken that the blocks are covered well with a thin layer of color for printing.¹⁴³ The cellulosic fibers (cotton and flax) generally print well with minimum shrinkage or distortion.¹⁴⁴ Block printers consider wool more difficult to print because it is highly absorptive, shrinks when wet, and the colors are likely to dull quickly as they are absorbed into the wool.¹⁴⁵

Quality of Design

The quality of the block printed and hand painted works from the Akademia Duncan varies. Mistakes are less discernable on garments because the fold and drape of the tunic, blouse, dress, or scarf on the body disguises the blunders.¹⁴⁶ The tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1), and dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01), have few apparent mistakes. Some of the block–printed textiles exhibit poor registration where lines do not connect when they should (Figure 14). The block printed and hand painted designs on the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) are well–executed. Water damage caused some of the dyes to run, but this condition scarcely affects the dress’s aesthetic, as in Figure 6. The negligée (MMA 1974.333) also appears to be of good quality, but much of its borders are obscured in the online images (Figure 8).

Of lesser, but still comparable craftsmanship are the other two garments, the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940), and the dress (MMA 1990.152). The blouse has some defects in its overall grid of blocks; some rows appear to be uneven and some blocks

¹⁴³ Erickson, *Block Printing on Textiles*, 108.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 134–5.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 161.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 102.

are cut off. The selvedge edges are also distorted, making the borders wavy and uneven (Figure 9). The dyes of the overtunic of the dress are faded, a defect that detracts from the sharpness of the designs. In particular, the lower frieze of stags locking horns above the fringed hem is poorly defined, especially the surrounding foliage (Figure 7).

The two block printed scarves (PMA 1991-145-1, ISGM T19w24) are of lower quality. The overall pattern of stags locking horns is unevenly colored, and the series of wider friezes are poorly executed, especially the blocks of geometric motifs in the upper areas of the scarf, (PMA 1991-145.) The circles with inset tri-clovers of the borders are of inconsistent size and shape. Some of the colors are also very faded, and many of the dark outlines have bled into large blots on the textile (Figure 13). The second scarf, (ISGM T19w24) suffers from inconsistent registration of the blocks in its borders; some are much darker, with others too light. The grid of blocks is also poorly organized with uneven lines (Figure 12).

The poorest quality among the textiles is the pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1), because some of the blocks are cut, especially on the proper left (Figure 19). The blocks do not line up symmetrically as a grid. The blocks in the lower third row are meant to correspond to those in the upper first row, but the block in the lower right corner is missing vegetation and has too much blank space surrounding it. Although this relates to its condition, the colors of the pillow cover are significantly faded. The textile (FIDM 2009.54) is better quality, with similar problems of cut-off or crooked blocks and inconsistent registration in the narrow bands of fruit and vegetation (Figure 15).

The more skillfully applied block printed textiles are AIC 1981.38 and AIC 1997.350. However, some of the trees and blossoms in the grid of the textile (AIC 1997.350) have white gaps between the lines (Figure 18). Overall, the other textile, (AIC 1981.38) is better in part because the hand-painted pictorial design is well executed (Figure 19).

Designs and Colors

Common design arrangements for the textiles and garments are grids of repeating blocks of motifs broken up by bands of geometric or floral borders and wider bands of alternating figure repeats, or friezes. Nearly all of the motifs reappear among the objects and garments, especially the borders and trims. The organization and selection of these designs is informed by the careful study of Ancient Greek vases, especially those from the Geometric period, from 900 BCE to 700 BCE where various horizontal zigzag bands are abundant.¹⁴⁷ They are also appropriate for the 1920s because they blend the natural forms of art nouveau with the more modern, geometric designs of art deco.

The most frequently recurring border is interlocked diamonds with inset circles. This motif trims the grid and lower frieze of the textile (AIC 1997.350,) and is framed by two parallel bands of rectangles (Figure 18). The very same motif, complete with the rectangle trim, borders the pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) (Figure 19). On the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940), interlocking diamonds with inset circles surround the

¹⁴⁷ “Geometric Art in Ancient Greece,” *Thematic Essay | Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History | The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed March 13, 2013, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/grge/hd_grge.htm; Bernard Schwitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (New York: Phaidon, 1971), 28–30.

wider friezes ornamenting the shoulders and hems, but these lack the rectangular bands and are instead punctuated by a narrow band of ovals (Figure 9).

A variation of the interlocked diamonds with inset circle motif appears on the edges of the scarf (ISGM T19w24), where the diamonds are rendered in two lines instead of one, giving the trim a more three-dimensional appearance (Figure 12). The same block is used again among other narrow borders of geometric trim on the table scarf (OMA H91.10.39), and also as a vertical panel in the lower frieze of the textile (AIC 1981.38). The diamond motif appears on both textiles alongside two types of zigzag motifs; one very wide register rendered with two lines, and a narrower register of zigzags oriented upwards and downwards (Figures 16, 17).

The simpler diamond motif seen on the textile (AIC 1997.350) and pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) paired with the two types of zigzags along with a wider border of rounded grapes or olives and leaves decorates the neckline, shoulders, and skirt of the tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1) (Figures 14, 18, 19). The dress (MMA 1990.152) also combines sharp geometrics with floral in its borders of wide zigzags and rounded blossoms and leaves (Figure 7).

The border of the negligée (MMA 1974.33), combines blossoms, leaves, and olives or grapes, which also appear in the vertical shoulder bands extending through the bodice and between the skirt gores of the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) (Figures 6 and 8). Two other types of borders occur only once among the textiles and garments surveyed; these are the circles with inset three-lobed clovers of the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1) and the interlocked gold chain of the textile (AIC 1981.38) (Figures 13 and 17).

Another design appearing on several pieces is a tree with curving branches and round, cloud-like blossoms flanked by two smaller similar trees in the distance. This block appears on the grids of the scarf (ISGM T19w24), and the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940) (Figures 9 and 12). An alternative version, with a taller, stylized tree on a hillside landscape, appears alternating with a knot of blossoms in the upper grid of the textile (AIC 1997.350) (Figure 18).

Floral and vegetal motifs appear in some form on all of the textiles and garments. Animals and human figures are also frequent themes in the block printed designs. Most often are the two stags locking horns, which appear clearly on the table scarf (OMA H91.10.39) and more abstractly on the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1). On the table scarf, the two animals mirror each other as they brace themselves against curved tree trunks. This scene alternates with the two-mirrored woodsmen wielding an axe, another repeated design. One must look more carefully at the scarf, where the details are less clear, and the scene becomes a patterned ground (Figures 13, 16). The dueling beasts reappear once more as a horizontal frieze above the hem of the dress (MMA 1990.152) where they are slightly more defined than on the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1) (Figure 7).

The grid of repeating animals, seen on the textile (FIDM 2009.5.49), is a fascinating menagerie of a bull, peacock, swan, monkey and a goat that continues in that order across the object (Figure 15). A motif of two affronté woodsmen, raising their axes on either side of a tree trunk, occurs in the grid of the table scarf (OMA H91.10.39), where the woodsmen are nude except for brown vests, and once more on the textile (FIDM 2009.54), in its lower and upper friezes. In the latter, there is more

vegetation in the form of branches and leaves, two narrower curved trunks alternate (Figures 15 and 16).

On the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940), the lower and upper friezes feature a nude brunette female, her back turned, grasping a tree trunk as she looks over her shoulder amid tall grass. This design alternates with a narrower block of a three-petal flower growing from tall grass (Figure 9). The negligée (MMA 1974.333) appears to have nude reclined figures with a dog above the left side border, which is the same scenes in the medallions of the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01), and on the pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) (Figures 6, 8, 19). The two scenes alternate on the dress and pillow cover with large knots of rounded blossoms and leaves. In one scene, a nude man sits with his head tilted resting on his hands and his knees bent beneath a tree with leaves and vines. Curled at his feet is a dog, in a similar state of repose. In the other scene, the man leans in profile view against the tree trunk, sleeping with his elbows bent towards his chin; the same loyal animal rests beside him.

Another muscular nude figure is pictured with a companion in the form of a large golden bird on the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1). Here, the female nude, who is somewhat masculine looking, lies with its body facing the bird among reeds (Figure 13). The bird motif reoccurs, this time without a human figure on the textile (AIC 1997.350). A large grey bird with outstretched wings alternates with teal and white clouds on a golden background (Figure 18). Clouds reappear in larger scale on the negligée (MMA 1974.333) as a central motif alongside leaves and grapes or olives (Figure 8). The swirling clouds and curvilinear vegetation are likely hand painted, just as the latter motif is on the dress, (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) (Figure 6).

Hand painting appears again in a unique textile, (AIC 1981.38). A nude woman with well-defined muscles and dark hair sits on a green hilly landscape beneath a tree with flaming leaves swirling around her. Her long arms are crossed at the wrist, and a gold arrow rests among her fingers, beside a deer bending towards her with short horns and a muscular body. The stag is also surrounded by eddies of leaves among tall grasses. In the vertical block printed panels below, a nude figure in a contoured pose with raised leg and curved back is interspersed with geometric blocks previously mentioned (Figure 17).

The color palette of the textiles and garments is largely subdued earth tones, such as browns, golds, oranges, and dark greens. A smaller selection of objects is jewel toned, including blues, purples, light reds, and pale yellows. In all instances, the block printed areas are executed in black or dark grey. The difference in brightness is also relative to the type of textile color it is applied to; many of the silk crepe de chine are more vibrant than the cottons and wools.

Among the darker earth tone textiles are the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1), blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940) and dress (MMA 1990.152), and two textiles, (AIC 1981.38, FIDM 2009.5.49). The scarf (PMA 1991-145-1) has an overall pattern in dark brown and lighter brown which dominates the object. Its border has dark brown circles with a rust colored background. The background of its friezes is a lighter red–orange and the designs are grey, off–white, light blue, and yellow. The blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940) is of a richer red–orange rust shade in its overall grid of blossoming trees. Although the frieze background is a vibrant sapphire, the earthy red–orange still overpowers it. The dress (MMA 1990.152) features borders of deep gold and light brown blossoms

and the background of its center design is a burnished orange–brown. The hand-painted grapes, blossoms and foliage of this center design are executed in grey–blue and grey–purples. The lower frieze is a deeper orange–brown with grey and off-white stags. The textile (AIC 1981.38) features a background of dark green in various shades in its hand-painted hillside landscape. The border is deep brown with gold chains. The flame-like leaves and grasses are gold and light–red and the tree trunk are two tones of brown. Artemis has rich, dark–brown hair and grey–tan and off–white skin. Her animal companion is also executed in deep dark–brown tones. The lower frieze is also of dark–brown tones, especially in the geometric blocks. The blocks featuring the nude figure are red–orange with the figure in grey–tan and off–white. The other textile (FIDM 2009.5.49) has a background of a lighter green than the previous textile (AIC 1981.38) and the animals of its grid are executed in an even lighter red–orange that is also used in the narrow bands of olives or grapes and in the border of the larger leaves and circles. The woodsmen figures are left white, but are outlined in a deeper green, the vines and leaves are light brown, and the tree trunks are a muted yellow–green, same as the leaves in the bands of olives and grapes. The wider border of curved leaves and circles is muted blue with the same green color as the background. The same muted blue is also the background for the narrow bands of grapes or olives.

The earth tones are still lighter and more muted on table scarf (OMA H91.10.39), scarf (ISGM t 19w24), and pillow cover, (SCH 1981-48-1). The background color is a natural light tan and its geometric borders are in shades of slightly darker browns, except for the innermost zigzag border of muted blue with light yellow. The woodsmen are accented in a similar shade, with light brown vests.

The tree trunks are pale orange, and the stags are a muted brown. The other scarf (ISGM t19w24) is of the same natural light tan, and its geometric border is similar in tones of brown to the table scarf. The grid features light–brown tree trunks with light red and natural colored blossoms. The pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) is significantly faded, but a light–blue background in its geometric border is discernable, and traces of light brown, peach and green are evident among its primary grid of designs. The background of this object is a natural light tan.

Deep jewel tones dominate the negligée (MMA 1974.333), tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1), two hand–woven scarves (MMA 2009.300.38.93, MFA 1993.1025), and textile (AIC 1997.350.) The negligée (MMA 1974.333) has borders of light red, yellow–green, and tan. Its central design of clouds and blossoms are teal, blue, and shades of green. The background is vivid dark blue. Although the ground of the tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1) is light grey, its bands of geometric motifs at the neckline, shoulders, arms and skirt are intensely colored. Soft purple, dark blue, bright green, and yellow are the four colors applied to the various bands of patterns. One of the hand–woven scarves is a sunny orange with off–white yarns in its fringe and throughout the weave (MMA 2009.300.38.93). The other is dark purple with cream yarns shot through its warp and stripes of pink and electric purples with a mix of these colors in its fringe (MFA 1993.1025.) The textile (AIC 1997.350) has a yellow–green outer border, with a more golden tone filling in the background of its lower frieze. The geometric border is pink and mauve with teal diamonds. The grid of alternating trees and blossoms are vibrant shades of teal and pink with softer grey–purple and mauve

accents. The birds in the lower frieze are off-white with light grey accents, and the clouds are outlined in darker and lighter teals.

Three objects with softer jewel tones are the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01), tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1), and the pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1.) The dress is pale yellow with a golden set-in waist panel with alternating medallions of light red background, and grey-tan and mauve accents. The narrow bands of blossoms that hang over the shoulders vertically down the back, above and below the waist panel, and the area between the skirt gores are light-brown and tan. The rounded leaves are light and darker teal with soft pink olives or grapes throughout the yellow ground of the dress.

Symbolism and Mythology

These compelling objects demand an investigation into the significance of the scenes and motifs depicted on the textiles. The hunting goddess Artemis, of Greek myth, matches the physical attributes of this figure on the textile (AIC 1981.38.). The virginal goddess is often portrayed as athletic, accompanied by her faithful animal companions with symbols of her trade such as the arrow in this specific scene.¹⁴⁸ The deer could perhaps represent Iphigenia, whom she rescued by transforming her into a doe before Iphigenia could be sacrificed.¹⁴⁹ Chains have multiple meanings in antiquity, given that the textile illustrates Artemis and her stag; they may represent the

¹⁴⁸ James Hall, "Diana," *The Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Jack Tresidder, ed., "Artemis," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Irene Aghion, Claire Barbillon, and Francois Lissarrague, *Gods and Heroes of Classical Antiquity*, Flammarion Iconographic Guides (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 112.

mortal and immortal powers bestowed upon the huntress by her parents, Zeus and Leto.¹⁵⁰ (See Figure 17.)

Other examples of Greek myth and symbolism abound in numerous textiles and garments. Among the friezes of the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1), a sculpted female lies sideways embracing a large gold swan with an outstretched wing and delicately curved neck. This scene conceivably represents the story of Leda, when Zeus, who took the form of a swan during the rape, lured her.¹⁵¹ (See Figure 13.) The theme of the bird re-emerges on the textile (AIC 1997.350), in its lower frieze where a large grey and white bird alternates with blue clouds. They may be doves, which are attributed to Adonis, Aphrodite, Dionysos and Eros, and signify clarity of the soul.¹⁵² Possibly, the birds are eagles, the species sent by Zeus as a messenger.¹⁵³ (See Figure 18.)

Another tableau adorning the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01), pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1), and likely the left border of the negligée (MMA 1974.33), includes a male nude figure in a restful state with an equally reposed dog beside his feet. Man and dog are reclined beneath a tree with vines and leaves. Dogs are symbols in classic

¹⁵⁰ Jack Tresidder, ed., "Chain," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005); Tresidder, "Artemis."

¹⁵¹ Aghion, Barbillon, and Lissarrague, *Gods and Heroes of Classical Antiquity*, 176.

¹⁵² Jack Tresidder, "Doves," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁵³ Jack Tresidder, ed., "Eagle," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005); Aaron Atsma, "EAGLE OF ZEUS : AETOS DIOS," *Theoi Project: Theoi Greek Mythology: Exploring Mythology in Classical Literature and Art*, accessed March 13, 2013, <http://www.theoi.com/Ther/AetosDios.html>.

antiquity of faithfulness and trust. They are the recognized companions of huntsmen Adonis and Cephalus.¹⁵⁴ (See Figures 6, 8, 19.)

The woodsmen, with raised axes and idyllic forest surroundings, might denote the story of Eryscichton, who was punished by Demeter after felling trees in her favorite grove. Eryscichton intended to construct a large hall for feast and celebration from the lumber, so Demeter cursed him to eternal hunger as punishment.¹⁵⁵ Axes are also symbols of authority and power associated with Zeus.¹⁵⁶ (See Figures 15, 16.)

Trees are frequent designs in many forms on the objects. They are common symbols of regeneration and fertility, especially in the myth of Adonis, whose mother became a tree before his birth.¹⁵⁷ While the symbolism of zigzags is limited to their history as abstract, geometric forms in the decorative arts of antiquity, olives and grapes have a richer allegory in Greek mythology. Traditionally, olives are associated with peace and wisdom and were an invention of the goddess Athene, who planted the hardy trees in Athens.¹⁵⁸ Grapes represent the god Dionysus, whose attributes are ecstasy and passion as well as winemaking. They also evoke autumn, fertility and

¹⁵⁴ James Hall, "Dog," *The Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Jack Tresidder, ed., "Dog," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁵⁵ Aaron Atsma, "ERYSICHTON : King of Thessaly," *Theoi Project: Theoi Greek Mythology: Exploring Mythology in Classical Literature and Art*, accessed March 13, 2013, <http://www.theoi.com/Heros/Erysikhthon.html>.

¹⁵⁶ Jack Tresidder, ed., "Axe," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ James Hall, "Tree," *The Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

¹⁵⁸ James Hall, "Olive," *The Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Jack Tresidder, ed., "Olives," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

growth.¹⁵⁹ Clouds, which dominate the negligée (MMA 1974.33) and adorn the lower frieze of textile (AIC 1997.350), evoke growth and regeneration of natural elements and the soul. They can signify the presence of a god or other omnipotent being.¹⁶⁰ (See Figures 8 and 18.)

Stags are also important icons of classical antiquity. They are the ground design for the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1), and appear in the grid of table scarf (OMA H91.10.39). Once more, they decorate the lower frieze above the hemline of a dress (MMA 1990.152) and in all instances they are affronté with horns locked. They are symbolic of Artemis, who transformed Aceton into the animal after he surprised her while she bathed. Stags also draw her chariot.¹⁶¹ Further, their horns are powerful symbols of masculine aggression, and the image of the two animals in combat emphasizes this trait.¹⁶² (See Figures 7, 13, 16.)

Two other motifs that are not recurrent among the objects but still evoke meaning are the repeating grid of various animals seen on the textile (FIDM 2009.5.49) and the nude female figures in the friezes of the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940). The pattern on the textile is a repeat of a bull, peacock, swan, monkey, dog and goat. Swans and dogs were discussed earlier, but the peacock bears special significance as it was the creature that drove the chariot of Hera, the goddess.

¹⁵⁹ James Hall, "Grape," *The Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Jack Tresidder, ed., "Vines," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁶⁰ Jack Tresidder, ed., "Clouds," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁶¹ James Hall, "Stag," *The Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

¹⁶² Jack Tresidder, ed., "Horn," *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

Its feathers are ornamented with the eyes of the watchman Argus.¹⁶³ Further, the bull is a prominent figure in mythology. Several gods have morphed into its form including Acheleous, Dionysos, and Zeus. They are recognized for their powerful fierceness.¹⁶⁴ (See Figure 15.) The nude female figure, posing amid tall grasses alongside a flowering tree in the friezes of the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940) might be a nymph, a “divinity of nature” who populated the woodlands and grottos of Ancient myth.¹⁶⁵ (See Figure 9.)

Signatures and Provenance

Most of the “Raymond Duncan” signatures are located in the lower left corners of the textiles and garments. The words appear in upper-case block print in black ink uniformly on all objects, perhaps this was also created using a block. The exceptions are the tunic (FIDM 2008.901.1), where the signature appears on the back lower right corner, and possibly the dress (MMA 1990.152), whose records simply state that its signature is in the lower border and the signature is not visible in the online image. Similarly, the online records of the negligée (MMA 1974.333), note a signature but do not indicate its placement. Four are unsigned, but their design and provenance validate them as Akademia Raymond Duncan pieces (MFA 1993.1025, URI HTCC 1976.09.01, MMA 2009.300.240, MMA 2009.300.38.93).

¹⁶³ Aghion, Barbillon, and Lissarrague, *Gods and Heroes of Classical Antiquity*, 50.

¹⁶⁴ Jack Tresidder, ed., “Bull,” *The Complete Dictionary of Symbols* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005).

¹⁶⁵ Aghion, Barbillon, and Lissarrague, *Gods and Heroes of Classical Antiquity*, 208–209.

Seven of the objects surveyed have provenance offering insight into Raymond Duncan's early twentieth century clients who purchased, used, and collected textiles and garments made at the Akademia Duncan. A dress (MMA 1990.152), one of the more complex garments attributed to Duncan with its sewn construction, is dated 1920s. The garment was "designed for his wife," however Duncan's legal wife, Penelope Sikelianos died in 1917, therefore, the dress was perhaps designed for Aia Bertrand, his later companion. Another possibility is that Duncan created the garment sometime between his marriage to Penelope Sikelianos in 1904 and her death.¹⁶⁶

American painter and textile artist, Marguerite Zorach (1887–1968) owned the two unique hand-woven scarves distinctive from the other objects because they have not been block printed and rely on their novelty weave structure and colors for design (MFA 1993.1025, MMA 2009.300.38). Marguerite Zorach met her husband, sculpture William Zorach in Paris during the 1900–1910 period, and the couple created their art together in Greenwich Village.¹⁶⁷ As American artists living a similar bohemian lifestyle with hand made clothing, it is very likely that the couple knew Duncan. Marguerite's embroidered pictures were very successful from the 1910s until the 1940s and were frequently exhibited in high-profile galleries throughout New York City.¹⁶⁸ She will be addressed further in the discussion as a contemporary textile artist to Duncan.

Through a comparable early twentieth-century artistic network emerges Raymond Duncan's acquaintance with art patroness, Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–

¹⁶⁶ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Dress: 1990.152."

¹⁶⁷ Hazel Clark, "The Textile Art of Marguerite Zorach," *Woman's Art* 16, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1995): 18–25.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 18,23.

1924). While touring the East Coast in 1910, Duncan wrote Mrs. Gardner requesting a tour of her fine art collection and enclosed a copy of his pamphlet, *Hellenic Vase Paintings*.¹⁶⁹ The pamphlet illustrates many Greek vase designs from a range of European museum collections. The pictorial scenes were rendered in blocks and printed by Duncan in Berlin between 1907 and 1908.¹⁷⁰ Duncan stressed the necessity of universal scholarship of ancient art in his Introduction: “It is the joining of all the arts in a common endeavor that is so clearly shown by the vase paintings and which makes a knowledge of them indispensable to a student of any branch of higher culture.”¹⁷¹ Eleven years later, Mrs. Gardner received another of Duncan’s creations, this time from the hand of her painter friend, Louis Kronberg (1872–1965). The scarf (ISGM t19w24) was placed on display by Mrs. Gardner in her Tapestry Room, hanging from a dark wooden easel below a Russian icon of the *Ascension of Christ* and in close proximity to one of Kronberg’s paintings of a gypsy woman.¹⁷² There it remained until it was replaced with a reproduction from a local artist in 2012, because its permanent display took a toll on the fragile silk.¹⁷³

Another likely acquaintance of Duncan’s, San Franciscan architect, Phoebe H. Brown (1904–1990) owned the table scarf (OMA H91.10.39). Ms. Brown was also an advocate of the environment and prolific art collector. She published her mother’s

¹⁶⁹ Duncan to Gardner, “The Bartol, Corner of Huntington.”

¹⁷⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 15.

¹⁷¹ Duncan, “Hellenic Vase Painting,” 1–2.

¹⁷² Clara Strauss, “Tapestry Room: Notes, Records, Comments,” *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Annual Report* (1964 1960); “T19w24 26. Textile, Painted Silk. French 19th Century by Raymond Duncan,” Object File, nd, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Inventory and Notes.

¹⁷³ Tess Fredette and Peggy Burchenal, “Raymond Duncan Scarf,” *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: Member’s Newsletter* (July 2012).

memoirs of the Great San Francisco Earthquake of 1906, which revealed the Browns to be such fervent patrons of the arts that they fled their destroyed home with their treasures.¹⁷⁴

The pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1) belonged to Constance Chapin de la Ossa Dennis (1906–1981), an American from Brookline, Massachusetts. Mrs. Dennis traveled frequently to Europe, and lived in Connecticut and New York City. In 1932 she married the Ambassador to Panama, Ernest D. de la Ossa (1892–1961).¹⁷⁵ The pillow cover is very faded and torn in a corner, suggesting Mrs. Dennis once displayed it in her home.

Another interesting American woman, Helen Kobin Garfunkel owned the negligée, (MMA 1974.333). She married Benjamin Garfunkel (1887–1960), president of Vogue Hats and also of Jeanne Tete, hat manufacturers. Both companies reinterpreted French fashions for American clients, and presumably the Garfunkels traveled frequently abroad. The Garfunkels had homes in Manhattan and upstate New York.¹⁷⁶ In 1941, Mrs. Garfunkel was elected president of The New York section of the National Council of Jewish women, and recognized for her care of war refugees.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ “First House of Sea Cliff,” - *Western Neighborhoods Project - San Francisco History*, December 6, 2001, <http://www.outsidelands.org/holub.php>.

¹⁷⁵ “Deaths,” *The New York Times*, June 11, 1981.

¹⁷⁶ “B.J. Garfunkel, 73, Made Women’s Hats,” *The New York Times*, October 17, 1960, sec. Obituaries.

¹⁷⁷ “Council Elects Mrs. Garfunkel: Chairman of Refugee Drive Is Named Head of National Jewish Women’s Group,” *The New York Times*, January 22, 1941, sec. Amusements.

Finally, a former URI faculty member, Hazel Westby (1911–2005), donated the mysterious dress in URI’s collection (URI HTCC 1976.09.01).¹⁷⁸ The dress arrived to the Collection in a water damaged package along with an appliquéd silk blouse with a “Myrbor, Paris” label, and a black silk scarf trimmed with orange featuring a large embroidered flower. In a note accompanying the objects, Mrs. Westby writes that she received the dress as a gift, and adds that it was “designed and made by the brother of Isadora Duncan.”¹⁷⁹ Frustratingly, Mrs. Westby does not offer other details on the giver of the dress, only that a “Mrs. Laird of the Laird Shoe Manufactures” gave the Myrbor blouse to her.

In the following chapter, details about the production and sale of these extant textiles and garments will be discussed based on their characteristics revealed in this chapter. This information will be synthesized with details of Akademia life under the direction of Raymond Duncan.

¹⁷⁸ Westby to Whitlock, “Re-Copied From Water-Damaged Original”; “Hazel Westby Donor Records.”

¹⁷⁹ Westby to Whitlock, “Re-Copied From Water-Damaged Original.”

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS

I spun the thread of the garment I am wearing, and wove it into cloth twenty years ago.
It will outlast any suit the modern man purchases today at any price.

—Raymond Duncan as quoted by John Douglas Cook in “Raymond Duncan”

The location of Raymond Duncan’s Akademia in Paris, France during the 1920s and beyond is significant to understanding the production and consumption of his garments. In her text, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, Valerie Steele emphasizes the “stylistic revolution” fashion experienced as it embraced the new wave of artists experimenting with Surrealism, Cubism, and other forms of Abstract art.¹⁸⁰ The *Ballet Russe’s* landmark performances began in Paris during 1909. The vivid colors and loose, tunic-style dresses of its costumes suddenly appealed to a cosmopolitan audience, who had henceforth rejected earlier dress reform attempts made by the Aesthetes.¹⁸¹ The change in public tastes was also related to the 1912 publication of *La Gazette du Bon Ton* with its modern fashion illustrations and fusion of couturiers and artists.¹⁸² Steele also describes the multitude of prosperous Americans who traveled to Paris for a taste of its famous “international café society” and to escape the “puritanism of Prohibition” and enjoy favorable exchange rates.¹⁸³ Among these Americans were those who collected Duncan’s hand block printed

¹⁸⁰ Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 232.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 263.

textiles and garments. Within this creative environment, where tradition and modernism seemed to converge, many of the extant textiles and garments of the Akademia were being produced and sold.

Akademia Life

The 1920s was an especially prolific time for textile and garment design at the Akademia Duncan. Nearly all of the extant textiles and garments examined for this research are artifacts from this period, with the exception of the two hand woven scarves (MMA 2009.300.38.93, MFA 1993.1025). During the first few years of the 1920s, the Akademia Duncan was located at 21 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.¹⁸⁴ In 1922, they relocated to 34 Rue de Colisée.¹⁸⁵ At some point during the early 1920s, Duncan established a seasonal Akademia in Nice.¹⁸⁶ This was a fortuitous addition because in 1924, they were evicted from the Rue de Colisée for missing rent payments and there is no evidence of another Akademia established in Paris until 1929.¹⁸⁷ It is possible that an additional location was founded in the interim, or perhaps the Nice location served as a year-round community during those years, and some of the textiles and garments were produced there. Duncan moved his community for the final time in 1929, when he acquired the location at 31 Rue de Seine.¹⁸⁸ To purchase the large complex, he reportedly sold ninety handmade carpets along with several sculptures,

¹⁸⁴ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 21.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁸⁶ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 171; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 31; Dienes, "Memoirs of a Maverick Mathematician Chapter 2. The Beginnings."

¹⁸⁷ "Raymond Duncan Evicted In Paris," *The New York Times*, June 18, 1924.

¹⁸⁸ Brian N. Morton, *Americans in Paris*, Americans Abroad (New York, NY: Quill, 1986), 233.

and paintings by his commune members to “leading European art museums and private collectors.”¹⁸⁹ Archie Brennan, a textile artist who stayed at this location sometime after World War II, remembers a sprawling, three-floor complex with a courtyard.¹⁹⁰ The Akademia remained in this location until nearly a decade after Duncan’s death when it was finally disbanded during the late 1970s.¹⁹¹

Funding for the Akademia’s operation included monies earned during Raymond’s lecture and performance tours in the United States, the sale of items produced by members, and revenue from Raymond’s real estate investments, including the land purchased by Isadora years earlier for the family temple in Greece.¹⁹² After the Second World War, sources suggest that wealthy aging women who became members and patrons of Duncan’s work largely supported the activity at the Akademia.¹⁹³

The number of artists living and creating at the Akademia at any given time is unclear. An early newspaper report in 1922 gave the outrageous number of one-hundred and eighty children. The article, in *The New York Times*, reported that Duncan continued his philanthropic ways by adopting the children of destitute unwed mothers, with the position that “[c]hildren...do not belong to their parents...no other influence

¹⁸⁹ Cook, “Raymond Duncan,” 23; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 31.

¹⁹⁰ Archie Brennan, “Archie Brennan in Postwar France,” Blog, trans. Brenda Osborn, *Archie Brennan Project- Blog Archive*, May 1, 2010, <http://www.archiebrennanproject.com/2010/05/01/archie-brennan-in-postwar-france/>.

¹⁹¹ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 17.

¹⁹² Winthrop Sargeant, “The Talk of the Town: Angry,” *The New Yorker*, June 13, 1959, 24; Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, 173; Peter Trimble, “A Poet Talks of Profits: Raymond Duncan Here,” *San Francisco Examiner*, May 6, 1962, sec. I.

¹⁹³ Brennan, “Archie Brennan in Postwar France”; Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, 176.

could be more detrimental to their up-bringing and future welfare than that of their parents.” Still, Raymond Duncan invited the young mothers to remain at the Akademia, just without individual maternal title.¹⁹⁴

The memoirs of Kay Boyle and Zoltan Dienes, both residents at the Akademias in Nice and Paris during the 1920s, confirmed this communal approach to childcare and provided insight into the daily activities at the Akademia.¹⁹⁵ Kay Boyle recalled approximately seven or eight adults and a corresponding amount of children living and working at the colony during 1929.¹⁹⁶ Disturbingly, both accounts hinted that members of the colony felt bound by some unspoken contract to remain at the Akademia. Kay Boyle reported she had trouble leaving the colony with her young daughter, because Aia claimed that the child belonged to the colony since they assumed all of her expenses and care.¹⁹⁷ Dienes recalled his mother inviting he and his young brother out for a walk, and they then made their escape.¹⁹⁸

Apart from this dark, cult-like quality, Akademia life appeared to be productive and stimulating with members painting, spinning, weaving, and printing pamphlets while taking turns cooking vegetarian meals and giving weekly

¹⁹⁴ “Duncan Gives Waifs His Name As Father: Large Number of Girl Mothers and Their Children Taken Into His Paris Community: Teaches Them To Work: Brotherhood Now Occupies A Large Establishment and Does A Thriving Business,” *The New York Times*, June 10, 1922.

¹⁹⁵ Robert McAlmon and Kay Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), 363.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 330.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹⁹⁸ Dienes, “Memoirs of a Maverick Mathematician Chapter 2. The Beginnings.”

performances in the compound's theater.¹⁹⁹ Participants were compensated for their duties with a monthly sum of three hundred francs along with free room and board and "necessary bits of clothing" as well as meals.²⁰⁰

Those living at the Akademia Duncan were dressed as their leader in Greek tunic and sandals (Figure 5). Dienes remembered the provision of fur coats for winter Akademia visits to the Bois de Bologne during his childhood.²⁰¹ Like Menalkas Duncan years earlier, he and the other children were not provided with warmer footwear (Figure 3). The cuisine at the Akademia Duncan was also a communal effort; all the members took turns cooking meals. Kay Boyle described the offerings as "goat cheese, yogurt, and fresh fruit."²⁰² Later during the 1950s, Brennan recalls servings of raw and cooked vegetables, plenty of fruit, but water and no coffee.²⁰³ This economic diet is perhaps the result of Raymond's passage to Europe on a cattle barge as a youth with his family.²⁰⁴

Aside from occasionally preparing meals, Akademia Duncan members were expected to help print Raymond's newsletter, *Exangelos* and produce other pamphlets and literature under his guidance using his printing press. They were also instructed in painting, sculpture, poetry and theatrics. Performances in the Akademia were frequent, always in Greek costume, and sometimes included spoken word. Another occupation

¹⁹⁹ McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330–331; Dienes, "Memoirs of a Maverick Mathematician Chapter 2. The Beginnings"; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 32.

²⁰⁰ McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330–331.

²⁰¹ Dienes, "Memoirs of a Maverick Mathematician Chapter 2. The Beginnings."

²⁰² McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330.

²⁰³ Brennan, "Archie Brennan in Postwar France."

²⁰⁴ Duncan, *My Life*, 48.

was the production of the famous leather sandals, and of course, the textiles and garments.

Textile Production and Design

Raymond Duncan learned to weave his own cloth around 1904 when he met his wife Penelope Sikelianos in Greece (Figure 1). They wove their own garments, and provided attire for their friends and family. Reflecting on building his first loom, and learning to weave, Raymond Duncan states that this knowledge lead him to “a thousand other occupations,” evident in his multidisciplinary approach to the fine arts.²⁰⁵ The Duncans used their knowledge of textile production and design to help others, including the Albanian refugees displaced after the First Balkan War between 1912 and 1913.²⁰⁶ Isadora remembers that her brother even developed his own spindle for beginner spinners and was very dedicated to instructing these women.²⁰⁷ With the reestablishment of the Akademia Duncan in Paris in 1919, Raymond strove to instill his hand-over-machine philosophies into his followers with spinning, weaving, and textile painting as a main source of revenue.²⁰⁸

Particulars of textile production at the Akademia Duncan are still unclear. Many sources describe hand spinning using drop spindles and of course, hand-weaving using the looms constructed by Duncan.²⁰⁹ According to Rootcap, weekly

²⁰⁵ Welles, “St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan.”

²⁰⁶ Duncan, *My Life*, 280–281.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

²⁰⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 21.

²⁰⁹ Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, 173; Sargeant, “The Talk of the Town: Angry,” 23.

“spinning bees” were held at the Akademia.²¹⁰ Archie Brennan, who was commissioned to create a tapestry based on one of Duncan’s earlier paintings, expressed disbelief when Raymond handed him a large sack of sheep clippings. Brennan describes hand-carding the wool into a “range of colors,” then hand spinning them on a drop spindle before weaving.²¹¹ Brennan notes this handspun wool was the weft yarn, and the warps were of commercial cotton yarn. He laments the lack of documentation of the tapestry he created.²¹²

Boyle’s memories, however, betrayed this vision of active textile production. She alleged the thongs and soles of the sandals were purchased from a retailer on the Boulevard Saint Germain and merely assembled into footwear by colony members, though passed off as hand carved from “raw leather.”²¹³ Even further, according to Boyle, nothing was actually woven at the Akademia during the 1920s, “as Raymond declared, but were woven a decade before in Greece, in the time when Raymond’s beautiful and efficient and persevering wife had been alive.”²¹⁴ If Boyle refers to Penelope, who died in 1917, then more than ten years passed since Duncan’s wife was actively weaving from the year Boyle spent at the Akademia, in 1929. Further, Boyle admits the passage of forty years since her time at the colony, and acknowledges her own heavy alcohol usage and illness during her stay. Her reporting is also questionable when her negative experience involving her young daughter, Sharon is considered.

²¹⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 32.

²¹¹ Brennan, “Archie Brennan in Postwar France.”

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 332.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

That Duncan himself knew how to operate a loom, and spin fiber into yarns is documented in photographs, including Figure 1, and in footage captured for Orson Welles' documentary. Duncan is shown using a drop spindle, as he exclaims, "Make everything that you need, for yourself, and attempt to not need what you cannot make."²¹⁵ Later in the episode, Duncan is seated at a vertical loom, and appears to be inserting discontinuous weft yarns into a tapestry in process. The image on the tapestry appears to be the lower torso and arms of a male human figure, rendered in a similar style with outline and shading of the muscles in a similar manner to other Duncan designs representing the figure (Figure 17). However, there is no anecdotal evidence that Raymond knew how to create tapestries. As mentioned, Archie Brennan was invited to create tapestries based on Duncan's early paintings during the mid 1950s, about the same time the feature was filmed.

The extant textiles and garments examined for this research represent the challenge Duncan faced as he reconciled his handmade over machine-finished principles with the necessity of earning a profit to support the colony. The silk crepe de chine or chiffons (URI HTCC 1976.09.01, MMA 1990.152, MMA 1974.333, ISGM T19w24, AIC 1997.350) would have been very challenging to create by hand on the spindles and looms of the Duncan workshop as filament fibers. Likely, these silks were purchased as textile lengths and the "hand-made" element was included through their block-printed and hand painted ornamentation.

As for the cotton plain-woven fabrics (AIC 1981.38, SCH 1981-48-1), it is conceivable that some of these were woven by hand, but the crepe yarns are so tightly

²¹⁵ Welles, "St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan."

spun that creating them with a drop spindle where the spinner must control the tension and twist of the fibers would be difficult, and very time consuming. Possibly, Duncan or another member purchased the cotton crepe yarns, and they were then woven on the looms at the Akademia.

The textiles and garments with mixed fibers, including the textile fragment (FIDM 2009.5.49), the table scarf (OMA H91.10.39), the tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1), the blouse (MMA 2009.300.2940), and the scarf, (PMA 1991-145-1) are also uncertain. While the unusual texture of the wool and silk tunic suggests that it is a commercially created fabric, the wool and silk fragment and the blouse are plain weaves with crepe yarns. The wool might have been handspun, the silk yarn purchased, and the textile hand woven, as Archie Brennan was instructed to do during his time in the colony. Similarly for the table scarf, its crepe cotton yarns could have been obtained from a retailer, and the wools spun at the Akademia, and then woven. Finally, the plain-woven scarf of cotton and silk combination yarns may have been hand-woven, but its yarns were probably not hand-spun because of their content.

The block-printed and painted designs on the objects were indisputably applied by hand. For Raymond Duncan, an experienced press printer, the popular concept of block printing was not a stretch. The blocks were wooden, and the designs supposedly hand carved.²¹⁶ It is unclear who exactly carved the blocks, but the inspiration for their design and theme was unquestionably Raymond. Still, colony

²¹⁶ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 171; Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 99.

member applied the blocks to the textiles. One source even suggests that the children living at the Akademia were responsible for filling in the hand painted details.²¹⁷

As highlighted in the earlier section, the quality of the block prints vary from piece to piece. This inconsistency confirms the idea that different Akademia artists worked on each object. The small scarf (ISGM T19w24) and the much larger textile length or scarf, (AIC 1997.350) are both silk crepe de chine, but the block printing on the larger textile is significantly clearer and neater than that of the smaller piece. For instance, the geometric border blocks of the smaller scarf are very uneven in tone and the gridlines surrounding the blocks of blossoming trees disconnects in many places. In contrast, the individual blocked segments of the border are less noticeable on the larger scarf, but some white gaps are apparent in the hand painted details of its grid(Figures 12 and 18). For Raymond Duncan, quality control seemed of little significance; he believed, “One should enjoy what he was doing and do it as a game.”²¹⁸ Further, Duncan’s personal philosophy of “Actionalism,” defined by him as simply “to get in and do whatever has to be done,” is even more reflected in the directness of his methods.²¹⁹

Many of the textiles and garments have similar design layouts. Typically, a block printed border surrounds the edges of the textile and narrow and wider borders or friezes alternate on the ground, sometimes grids of repeated designs are also present. This type of organization is reminiscent of Duncan’s early fascination with Greek vases, which often featured two-dimensional animals and figures interspersed

²¹⁷ Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 23.

²¹⁸ Welles, “St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan.”

²¹⁹ Cook, “Raymond Duncan,” 22.

with narrow geometric bands. Raymond began copying Greek vase designs while in Europe with Isadora, and after visiting multiple institutions, he published a small pamphlet of his hand-blocked illustrations. One plate, copied from a vase seen in the Louvre, captioned by Duncan as “Two Youths Wrestling” shows two muscular nude males in a headlock not unlike the two interlocking stag motifs seen on the table scarf (OMA H91. 10.39), dress, (MMA 1990.152) and scarf, (PMA 1991-145-1).²²⁰ (See Figures 7, 13, 16, 20.) From these pictorial images, Duncan likely developed his preference for accentuating the muscular forms of his human figures while always rendering them in profile, as on the vases.

All of the designs combine human figures and animals with natural and geometric forms. Some depict specific scenes from Greek mythology, such as Leda and The Swan on the scarf (PMA 1991-145-1) and Artemis with the Deer on the textile (AIC 1981.38). Duncan’s lifelong admiration of Greek culture is readily apparent in these designs. Other objects borrow from medieval imagery, such as the woodsmen with raised axes on the table scarf (OMA H91.10.39), the olive/grape vines on the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01), and birds with splayed wings on the textile (AIC 1997.350). Duncan’s design aesthetic speaks to the century he emerged from; the artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the Arts and Crafts Movement renewed cultural enthusiasm for this style decades before.²²¹

Duncan was aware of current design movements as he instructed his students, but his textiles and garments are less reflective of Modernism than they are his own

²²⁰ Duncan, “Hellenic Vase Painting.”

²²¹ Powers, *Modern Block Printed Textiles*, 15–16, 18; Jennifer Harris, ed., *5,000 Years of Textiles* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 231.

romanticized interpretation of Ancient Greece. Duncan was inspired by the works on display at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 when he first moved to Paris as a young adult. Art Nouveau was a major theme among the jewelry, architecture, and other forms of decorative art at this convention.²²² As mentioned, Duncan was a friend of Gertrude Stein and her art collecting siblings. Paris during the 1920s was a well-known breeding ground for Cubism and other modern art styles. Additionally, he was the only American artist represented at the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in 1925, a convention celebrating the decorative arts, especially in interior design and fashion. The Exposition ushered the first wave of geometric Art Deco into public taste with exhibitors from Germany, Sweden, England, The Netherlands, and other European countries.²²³ Still, artists and designers strove to reconcile the innovative abstract developments with the more traditional forms of the past, a major characteristic of 1920s design. The Akademia Duncan textiles and garments reflect this influence as they incorporate abstract zigzags, triangles, and rectangles into their borders. Art Nouveau, the earlier style that embraced the natural curvilinear forms of trees, flowers and other organic forms, is even more prominent in these objects.²²⁴

Most of these designs are rendered in a traditional earthy color palette, while some are of muted jewel tones. Both palettes reflect the shades popular during the time they were created. During the 1920s, neutral colors like tans, off-whites, grey/blacks and navy enjoyed popularity, yet brighter colors like yellow, turquoise and purples,

²²² Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, 224.

²²³ Ibid., 12.

²²⁴ Carol Garling, “Art Deco Influence on Dress Design from 1925-1929” (University of Rhode Island, 1985), 35.

evocative of the *Ballet Russe* costumes were also desirable.²²⁵ The materials for coloring these objects is consistently identified as vegetable dyes; however, it is unknown whether Duncan himself studied dyes and pigments, or if one of his Akademia members assisted him.²²⁶ According to Boyle, two bathtubs situated in the back garden of the Akademia were designated dyeing tubs for the textiles.²²⁷ When the colony relocated to Nice during the summer, textiles were laid on the hot beach sand to dry.²²⁸ Like the creation of the textiles and the execution of their designs, it can only be assumed that Duncan oversaw the dyeing process and contributed to color choices.

As for the signature present on ten of the extant objects, the uniformity of the capitalized printed letters of similar dimensions suggests that these were also created using a wooden block. In most instances, the block has been applied to the lower left side of the textile. The font resembles the signature lettering Duncan himself created, which he claimed was the only original version of modern type created.²²⁹

Duncan's involvement in the design of the actual garments is supported by his history of creating his own simple tunics and scarves for his daily costume. A simple length of fabric with an opening in the center for the neckline and no seams that can be held shut under the arms with the addition of a belt is one type of Duncan's tunic-style garments (FIDM 2008.905.1, MMA 2009.5.49, MMA 1974.33). The other two dresses with more complex construction were likely created later in the 1920s. The

²²⁵ Ibid., 24.

²²⁶ Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 99; Bonney and Bonney, *A Shopping Guide to Paris*, 96–97.

²²⁷ McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 331.

²²⁸ Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 99.

²²⁹ Welles, "St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan."

dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) is nearer in design to the popular modern garments created during the decade, while the other piece (MMA 1990.152) reflects the Classical Greek artistic style. The drawstring with the beaded trim is a frequent feature of other designers' garments like Fortuny, Gallenga, and Erté. An article in a 1922 edition of *The New York Times* erroneously described the garments as "half made up" perhaps due to their simple construction.²³⁰

When the vogue for hand painted and block printed textiles and designs ended, and some considered the traditional motifs passé, Duncan or another artist at the Akademia began experimenting with novelty weaves to create subtle textures and geometric patterns as seen on the last two scarves (MMA 2009.300.3893, MFA 1993.1025). These two novelty weave scarves without block printing or hand painting details are most certainly of commercially-made blends, and synthetic yarns as recorded in the object file of scarf MFA 1993.1025.²³¹ Specifically, the presence of nylon–wool yarns dates this scarf to at least the late 1940s or 1950s, since nylon was only introduced to the market in 1938 and was scarce until several years following the end of World War II.²³² The wool might have been handspun, in accordance again with Brennan's recollections, and both object records confirm they were hand–woven. The fiber content and more modern approach to decorative weaving suggests that

²³⁰ "Duncan Gives Waifs His Name As Father: Large Number of Girl Mothers and Their Children Taken Into His Paris Community: Teaches Them To Work: Brotherhood Now Occupies A Large Establishment and Does A Thriving Business."

²³¹ As discussed earlier, the object description on the MMA collection web page states only that the scarf (MMA 2009.300.3893) is made of wool, but based on its similarity to the other object (MFA 1993.1025) in provenance and construction, it may contain synthetic fiber blends also.

²³² Phyllis G. Tortora and Robert S. Merkel, eds., "Nylon," *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2010).

these scarves are not contemporaries of the other twelve extant objects in spite of the earlier dates attributed to them by museum curators. The modern hand-weavers of the 1930s and 1940s, like Anni Albers and Dorothy Liebes, influenced this shift in textile arts.²³³

Retail and Consumer Demand

In their 1929 publication, *A Shopping Guide to Paris*, Mary and Thérèse Bonney highlighted Raymond Duncan's retail shop as a destination for American consumers seeking silks with "designs at once classical and modern."²³⁴ Duncan established three shops in Paris; one on the Boulevard St. Germain, one at the Place de la Concorde, and another on the Faubourg St Honore.²³⁵ Another location in Nice may have been open seasonally.²³⁶ The interiors of these outlets were furnished with Greek columns with the decorative textile hangings and scarves ornamenting their walls. The staff of these ateliers was appropriately outfitted in tunics and shawls with sandals, perpetuating the "Ancient Greek" experience.²³⁷

New York City was another location for Duncan's retail outposts. For at least a few months in 1929, Americans could stop by the studio on West Seventy-Fifth Street and purchase a printed copy of one of his poems for two to five dollars and one of the

²³³ Harris, *5,000 Years of Textiles*, 2004, 260.

²³⁴ Bonney and Bonney, *A Shopping Guide to Paris*, 96–97.

²³⁵ Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 100; McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330.

²³⁶ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 171.

²³⁷ Bowman and Molinare, *A Fashion for Extravagance: Art Deco Fabrics and Fashions*, 100; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 31.

textiles for four dollars or more.²³⁸ From the 1940s onwards, Duncan textiles and other works of art were available at his daughter Ligoa Duncan's Galerie des Arts, located on East Fifty-First Street.²³⁹ Still, if most of the painted or block-printed pieces were from the 1920s, it is not likely that the extant objects were obtained through these outlets.

According to a 1922 report in *The New York Times*, Duncan's goods appealed to a "fashionable Parisian clientele" that drew crowds of well-dressed admirers and patrons to his shops.²⁴⁰ Boyle, who was responsible for managing two of the Parisian shops, offered insight into some of Duncan's clientele.²⁴¹ She described some American customers guiltily surveying the items "because of the contrast the shop seemed to present to their own materialistic way of life."²⁴² When faced with Irish writer James Joyce, who visited the shop at least twice and was very interested in the textiles, Boyle was hesitant to share with him her conviction that the textiles were not woven on-site.²⁴³ Boyle also recalled two American women who arrived with a large sum of money to purchase "a collection of Raymond Duncan's tunics and scarves, and rugs and draperies." She vaguely mentioned that these two women were thinking of establishing a "Raymond Duncan wing as a gift to a Kentucky museum devoted

²³⁸ White, "The Talk of the Town: Isadora's Brother."

²³⁹ Sargeant, "The Talk of the Town: Angry," 23.

²⁴⁰ "Duncan Gives Waifs His Name As Father: Large Number of Girl Mothers and Their Children Taken Into His Paris Community: Teaches Them To Work: Brotherhood Now Occupies A Large Establishment and Does A Thriving Business."

²⁴¹ McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid., 354.

exclusively to American art.”²⁴⁴ An institution with such a wing was not found in Kentucky or elsewhere over the course of this research.

Through the textiles and garments whose provenances are available, we get a sense of who was interested in collecting and wearing the Akademia items. Women connected with the arts, like Isabella Stewart Gardner, Marguerite Zorach, and architect Phoebe Brown were some of Duncan’s patrons. Others, like Constance Chapin de la Ossa Dennis and Helen Korbin Garfunkel traveled frequently with their wealthy husbands and might even have dropped by one of Duncan’s shops after reading about it in the Bonney sisters’ guide. Finally, Hazel Westby was given the dress (URI HTCC 1976. 09.01) as a gift from an unknown friend, who recognized its value and interest to her as a textile collector and professor.

Consumer demand for Duncan’s textiles and garments was based on several factors. Interior decoration still relied on multitudes of textiles, a trend carried over from the previous century.²⁴⁵ Artistic dress consisting of tunics, shawls, loose dresses, and flowing scarves was finally accepted by the public after decades of campaign from dress reformers in America and Europe, thanks in part to Isadora’s own costume and dance style.²⁴⁶ Even more, one-of-a-kind objects were valued in the early twentieth century as the world was seemingly enveloped by Industrial Modernism. As Rootcap

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 363.

²⁴⁵ Guillermo De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work* (New York NY: Rizzoli, 1980), 83.

²⁴⁶ Patricia Cunningham, *Reforming Women’s Fashion, 1850-1920 : Politics, Health, and Art* (Kent Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003), 214–215.

concludes, “Raymond Duncan... had learned the art of merchandising the beautiful and the unique among the affluent seekers after exotica.”²⁴⁷

Raymond himself was well-known for his peculiar dress and lifestyle through his touring lectures and press. Reports of Raymond Duncan sightings in the newspapers gradually transitioned from scandalized shock during the 1910s to bemused curiosity from the 1940s onwards. In spite of repeatedly claiming disinterest in profit, Raymond Duncan was aware of his image and the romantic bohemian lifestyle he represented.²⁴⁸ In one interview, Duncan admits to the power of his costume: “when a man wants to accomplish something which is as difficult as that which I am trying to do, you must shock the people to get attention.”²⁴⁹ That many of his patrons were artists themselves was not coincidence; they were perhaps drawn to his original convictions and lifestyle rather than the quality of his work. Admittedly, other textile designers and artists were creating superior objects at the same time as Duncan, with a more innovative approach to their designs. Still, these objects lacked the eccentric origin and personality of a Duncan piece.

Contemporary Designers to Raymond Duncan

Among Duncan’s contemporaries active during the early twentieth century with similar aesthetics or approaches to design are Spanish-born Mariano Fortuny (1871–1949), Middle-Easterner Vitaldini Babani (1895–1940), Italian Maria Monica

²⁴⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 32].

²⁴⁸ Welles, “St.-Germain-des-Pres, Akademia Duncan”; Trimble, “A Poet Talks of Profits: Raymond Duncan Here”; “Raymond Duncan: Brother of Famous Dancer Has Own Cult in Paris Today,” *Harbor Grace Standard*, May 14, 1949, 12.

²⁴⁹ Cook, “Raymond Duncan,” 26.

Gallenga (1880–1944), Russians Romain de Tiroff (1892–1990), known in the fashion and art world as “Erté,” and Sonia Delaunay (1885–1975), Americans Marguerite Zorach (1887–1968) and Mary Desti (1871–1931.) Nearly all of these individuals share Duncan’s painting background, a common theme among 1920s designers whose talent in the fine arts intersected their success in decorative arts.²⁵⁰

Mariano Fortuny began designing textiles around 1906, inspired by the magnificent historic textiles his mother and father collected throughout his childhood.²⁵¹ Though Duncan was also prompted by medieval and Ancient Greek designs to create his work, Fortuny mined from a larger pool of cultural influence as he incorporated motifs from Minoan, Renaissance, Arabic, Turkish, Asian, and European art.²⁵² Like Duncan, Fortuny was a man of multiple talents whose career was in some ways focused around the theater.²⁵³ Fortuny’s textile designs first appeared on stage in the form of printed silk scarves draped around the ballerinas performing at the Comtesse de Béarns Parisian home.²⁵⁴ These evolved into Fortuny’s “Knossos scarves”, an accessory that could be draped or wrapped in a multitude of ways inspired by the shawls of antiquity.²⁵⁵ His creation of the scarf occurred around the time that Sir Arthur Evans was excavating Knossos, the Minoan site on Crete.²⁵⁶

The Knossos scarf marked Fortuny’s entrance into women’s clothing design. He continued to play with Greek silhouettes and drape as he created his first “Delphos

²⁵⁰ Garling, “Art Deco Influence on Dress Design from 1925-1929,” 18.

²⁵¹ De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work*, 80, 83.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 107, 110, 159.

²⁵³ Powers, *Modern Block Printed Textiles*, 21.

²⁵⁴ De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work*, 85.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁵⁶ Cathy Gere, *Knossos and the Prophet of Modernism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

dress”, patented in 1909. Unlike Duncan, Fortuny’s approach to garment design was more complex in technique, with his secret method of creating fine pleats in his silk gowns.²⁵⁷ Still, the silhouette of a Fortuny gown, falling loosely from the shoulders, is similar to the uncomplicated tunic shapes of Duncan’s garments.²⁵⁸ Fortuny even added drawstrings with Venetian glass beads to the sleeves and shoulders of his gowns, seen also on one of Duncan’s dresses (MMA 1990.152), though Duncan’s version featured wooden beads (Figure 7).

Also like Duncan, Fortuny created home furnishings in addition to his garments and scarves.²⁵⁹ He printed primarily on silks and fine silk velvets, but later added long-staple cotton to his collection of interior textiles, as also seen in Duncan’s textiles.²⁶⁰ Fortuny was also known for his masterful use of vegetable dyes, but his printing processes evolved from his early experiments with block-printing to an entirely new technique of his own invention similar to silk-screening.²⁶¹ Still, Fortuny limited the production of his one-of-a-kind pieces to a small-scale operation centered around his Palazzo Orfei workshop in Venice, just as Duncan did with his Akademia studios.²⁶² When Fortuny expanded his operations to include one hundred workers in 1919, he strove to instruct each one of them in the various printing and design techniques he employed, just as Duncan taught his own students to weave and paint.²⁶³ The major difference between the two workshops was that Fortuny hired his workers,

²⁵⁷ De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work*, 95.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 146–150).

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 115–116, 147.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 107, 126.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 148.

whereas Duncan's students lived and worked with him in their own utopian community.

Both Fortuny and Duncan experienced success and demand for their nostalgic creations during the 1920s, somewhat unexpected when more modern cultural concepts like Surrealism and jazz were in favor.²⁶⁴ Fortuny also exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1925.²⁶⁵ *A Shopping Guide to Paris* mentions Fortuny's atelier immediately after describing Raymond Duncan's retail outlets.²⁶⁶ While both designers had Parisian retail outlets, Fortuny's designs were available in a broader market than Duncan's; Fortuny had small boutiques and licensed retailers spanning Europe and one in New York City.²⁶⁷

This larger base of consumers contributes only in part to the greater notoriety Fortuny enjoys as a designer even today; his silks and velvets are more sophisticated in both design and technique than Duncan's pieces where quality control was less of a focus. Still, the demand for Fortuny's garments and textiles among artistic, fashionable women of Europe likely bolstered interest in Duncan's own creations and aesthetic lifestyle.²⁶⁸

Another designer contemporary with Duncan and Fortuny was Vitaldini Babani. As with Duncan's work, the market for Babani's pieces was strengthened by Fortuny's popularity.²⁶⁹ Babani was a licensed dealer of Fortuny's garments as well as those from Liberty of London with a boutique on the Boulevard Haussman in Paris

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 157.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 159.

²⁶⁶ Bonney and Bonney, *A Shopping Guide to Paris*, 97.

²⁶⁷ De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work*, 150.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 129.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 141.

during the 1920s.²⁷⁰ Here, Babani also sold gowns constructed from kimono silks and some of his own designs inspired by Fortuny and Liberty's aesthetics.²⁷¹ Unlike Fortuny (and also Duncan), some of Babani's garments and textiles were embroidered instead of block-printed or painted.²⁷² Babani also used bolder colors, like rich greens and bright yellows, than both Fortuny and Duncan.²⁷³ Some of Babani's garments evoke the dresses and tunics created by Duncan because of their sleeveless construction and geometric borders that feature zigzags and triangles.

A second designer whose work is often associated with Fortuny's is Maria Monica Gallenga, who began designing in 1914 with shops located in Rome and Florence. She moved to Paris during the late 1920s.²⁷⁴ Like Duncan and Fortuny, Gallenga presented her work at the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in 1925. Gallenga's work appealed to consumers similar to Fortuny's. Her dresses and scarves were also of silk velvet or silk chiffon.²⁷⁵ They were block printed, stenciled or hand painted using metallic pigments.²⁷⁶ She was especially interested in medieval motifs, like pairs of affronté birds and stylized renditions of floral and vegetal designs also prominent in Duncan's own pieces.²⁷⁷

Romain de Tirtoff or "Erté" also moved to Paris during the 1910s. Although few of his designs were actually executed as garments, *Harper's Bazar* [sic] published

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Akiko Fukai, *The Collection of the Kyoto Institute: Fashion: A History from the 18th to the 20th Century* (Taschen, 2006), 418, 650.

²⁷² De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work*, 141.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Fukai, *The Collection of the Kyoto Institute: Fashion: A History from the 18th to the 20th Century*, 653.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ De Osma, *Mariano Fortuny: His Life and Work*, 138.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

his original design illustrations from 1915 to 1926.²⁷⁸ His avant-garde creations were luxurious with their decadent trim. Yet the garments Erté designed were sometimes as simple as two lengths of rectangular fabric fastened at the top shoulders by lacing, buttons, or clasps, which calls to mind some of Duncan's chiton-like constructions.²⁷⁹ Like Duncan, Erté cites the influence of Hellenic vase paintings on his aesthetics, but this is apparent more in his construction technique than patterns or decoration.²⁸⁰

Sonia Delaunay was another conceptual textile artist and designer whose work was featured at the 1925 Parisian Exposition.²⁸¹ Like Duncan, Erté, and others, she lived in Paris during the 1910s and 1920s where she was exposed to the avant-garde crowd of artists and writers.²⁸² Delaunay's work differed from others because she created large abstract geometric patch-work designs on her garments rather than recognizable motifs or pictorial scenes.²⁸³ Although her creations were largely inspired by Cubism, she had her own design philosophy of "Simultaneous," just as Duncan created under his own idea of "Actionalism."²⁸⁴ She endeavored to unify the concept

²⁷⁸ Stella Blum, "Introduction," in *Designs By Erte: Fashion Drawings and Illustrations from "Harper's Bazar"* (New York N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1976), v–vi.

²⁷⁹ Stella Blum, *Designs by Erte: Fashion Drawings & Illustrations From Harper's Bazar* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1976), 114–115.

²⁸⁰ Erte, *Erte Fashions by Erte* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), unpaginated.

²⁸¹ Powers, *Modern Block Printed Textiles*, 67.

²⁸² Ann Albritton, "'She Has a Body on Her Dress': Sonia Delaunay-Terk's First Simultaneous Dress," *Dress: The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America* 32 (2005): 4.

²⁸³ Fukai, *The Collection of the Kyoto Institute: Fashion: A History from the 18th to the 20th Century*, 652.

²⁸⁴ Albritton, "'She Has a Body on Her Dress': Sonia Delaunay-Terk's First Simultaneous Dress," 4; Cook, "Raymond Duncan," 22.

of fine art with fashion, a theme also relatable to Duncan and the other designers.²⁸⁵

The genesis of her first dress was the need to clothe herself, just as Duncan was personally driven to weave his own tunics and shawls.²⁸⁶

Like Duncan, Delaunay was less concerned with the technical construction of her garments and more involved in the textile design.²⁸⁷ Still, the bold color combination in her patch-work garments was very different from the subdued painted color palettes of Duncan's work.²⁸⁸ Delaunay's career differed from Duncan because she eventually designed textiles for a commercially produced line.²⁸⁹

Marguerite Zorach was not only a textile artist and painter herself, but also an admirer of Duncan's work. She owned at least two of his hand-woven scarves (MFA 1993.1025, MMA 2009.300.38.93). She might have known Duncan while she lived in Paris from 1908 to 1911.²⁹⁰ Like Duncan and Delaunay, she made her own clothing for herself and her family.²⁹¹ Her early experiments with textile design included hand-painting on large lengths of fabric, seen also in some of Duncan's work.²⁹² However, Zorach's preferred design method was embroidery, though she approached it without formal training, just the artistic sense of stitching to translate her designs, a concept similar to Duncan's own free approach.²⁹³

²⁸⁵ Albritton, "'She Has a Body on Her Dress': Sonia Delaunay-Terk's First Simultaneous Dress," 8.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Sherry Buckberrough, "Delaunay Design: Aesthetics, Immigration, and the New Woman," *Art Journal* 54, no. 1, Clothing as Subject (Spring 1995): 51.

²⁹⁰ Clark, "The Textile Art of Marguerite Zorach," 18.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 22.

²⁹² Ibid., 18.

²⁹³ Ibid., 23.

Zorach's design content is also similar to that of Duncan's; many of her pieces feature pictorial scenes with figures, animals, and landscapes.²⁹⁴ Greek motifs and softer colors are characteristics of some of her earlier works, but Zorach often took inspiration from her family life, and was frequently commissioned by friends and other artists to create scenes significant to the individual.²⁹⁵

Finally, Mary Desti has the most intimate connection to Raymond Duncan because she was a close companion to his sister, Isadora, and one of two witnesses to her tragic death. It was one of Desti's hand painted scarves that strangled the dancer.²⁹⁶ Desti described the long shawl she painted on silk crepe as featuring a "great yellow bird almost covering it, and blue Chinese asters and Chinese characters in black."²⁹⁷ Unlike Duncan, she was influenced by the exoticism of Asian motifs. Just as with Duncan, the details of Desti's textile decoration are vague. Desti mentions "a group of Russian artists, Roma Charoff, Bobritsky, and Alejeloff" who supposedly "invented this new method of painting on silks" and explains that she and the others "in our studio" collectively painted the fateful red scarf, while offering no further details on the location of the studio and the retailing of the silks.²⁹⁸

For these designers, time spent in Paris among the avant-garde seems to be the common experience shared by all. A fine arts or theater background is also a common characteristic among nearly all the designers, and three designers shared the experience of the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 19.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 19, 22–23.

²⁹⁶ Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*, 271, 72.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 269–270.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 197.

Modernes in 1925. All of the designers made clothing, some primarily for themselves and their families, others in addition to their artistic textiles sold to the public. Still, Duncan was the only one to create an independent community of artists around his textile design and production, which sets him apart from the other designers. In some regard, this might have enhanced the appeal of his work to those seeking “genuine” bohemian objects.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

What a man does is more important than what he believes.
–Raymond Duncan, quoted by G. Dusheck in “S.F.’s Toga-Clad Seer Gives Word”

Like his younger sister Isadora Duncan, Raymond Duncan emerged from a difficult childhood, finding solace and inspiration in Greek art and the romantic bohemianism of early twentieth-century Paris. Duncan embraced his individuality and progressive philosophies as he engaged in creative activities he adored, like composing poetry, designing his own alphabet and publishing his own newspapers, performing Greek tragedies and dramas, weaving his own garments, constructing his own sandals, and painting. After a life changing family journey to Greece at the age of thirty, Duncan chose to forever abandon his modern trousers, jacket, and shirt in favor of a short-sleeved tunic sometimes paired with a wrap for added warmth and sandals, all handmade by himself.

A proud man confident in his beliefs and his artistic skills, most of Duncan’s efforts throughout his life were spent instructing others so they might enjoy the simple pleasure of making something, be it a sculpture, poem, or hand painted textile. His unusual appearance, commune lifestyle, solo performances, and strong opinions garnered attention in newspapers abroad and in the United States. This attention, though sometimes negative and sensationalized, particularly early on, earned him a reputation for his bohemian lifestyle. The frequency of such reports describing Duncan

and his family's unusual personal dress in detail suggests that the American public was as fascinated with the unconventional artist and his way of life as they were with his effervescent younger sister.

It is not surprising that Duncan established his own creative communities in Paris, the city that inspired him and fueled his early artistic forays into printing and sandal-making years earlier. He was well-established with friends and acquaintances connected to the arts that included Gertrude Stein and her brothers Leo and Michael Stein, the Sikelianos family, and contacts made through his sister's blossoming dance career.

Duncan and his Akademia followers began creating simple, block printed and hand painted textiles, loose tunics and dresses in response to the thriving artistic society of Paris. Popular demand for objects that conveyed exoticism merged with a romanticized version of Classicism was partially an overflow from the Arts and Crafts Movement of the previous century blended with emerging Art Deco tastes. Admiration for handcrafted goods using natural materials and historic techniques was part of the Arts and Crafts Movement, as proponents reacted to modern industrialism. The trend for exoticism can also be attributed to the success of the *Ballet Russe* in Europe during the 1910s and of course, the impact of Isadora Duncan's performance style. In addition, other textile artists and clothing designers, like Mariano Fortuny, Maria Monica Gallenga, Vitaldini Babani, and Erté were creating pieces that embraced this nostalgia and handmade aesthetic.

Exactly when Duncan and the Akademia members began to create the block printed textiles is uncertain, but it was probably around 1919, at the conclusion of

World War I when he reestablished the colony following the death of his first wife Penelope. Some of the fabrics, like the silk crepe de chine/chiffons were perhaps purchased commercially, and questions also remain about which of the wool, silk, and cotton yarns used in these textiles were hand spun, even as to whether they were all hand woven as so widely reported. The tightly spun crepe yarns would have been a challenge to create using spindles, and some of the weave structures are more complex, like the tunic (FIDM 2008.905.1) and the pillow cover (SCH 1981-48-1).

Still, the textiles and garments were decorated with an appealing arrangement of hand block printed motifs and tableaux, with painted details. This was an important aspect of the objects because of Raymond's emphasis on handcraft. Block printing was a simple, inexpensive method that required few tools and allowed Duncan to represent himself, even though he was not physically executing each print. Traditional hand carved wooden blocks inked with vegetable dyes were applied by the Akademia members, both adults and children alike. Time spent working on the textiles that were sold to support the Akademia was a requirement for members. The quality of the block prints and painted details vary from object to object, as different hands worked on them and the fiber contents and weave structures took the process differently. It is still unclear who physically carved the wooden blocks, but they were certainly rendered from Raymond Duncan's designs. Their style is referenced in the illustrated "Hellenic Vase Paintings Copied and Hand Printed by Raymond Duncan" pamphlet published in 1908.

The designs are reflective of Raymond Duncan's veneration for Greek culture, as some are tributes to myths, most feature classical nude figures, and imagery

evocative of Greco-Roman antiquity such as two stags interlocking horns and vines of grapes or olives. The floral and vegetation motifs combined with the geometric borders are representative of the 1920s where Art Nouveau flourishes met the graphic forms of Art Deco. The general design organization of the decoration on most of the textiles also reflects Duncan's passion for Greek vase art. Combinations of varied meandering zigzags, rectangles, and other abstract forms are common in the narrow borders. These bands reappear within the overall design to breakup the wider friezes. Grids of alternating, smaller scale motifs are also common. This arrangement, with linear bands of design in varied widths, creates registers similar to the Greek vases.

The distinctive color palettes of the hand-blocked textiles are largely muted earth shades of brown, gold, orange and green. Some are jewel tones that include blues, purples, light reds and pale yellows. Both color schemes are consistent with the popular shades of the 1920s. Someone among Duncan's followers must have had adequate knowledge of vegetable dyes; perhaps it was the leader himself, but there is no suggestion he studied this topic.

Marguerite Zorach collected the two hand-woven scarves (MMA 2009.300.38.93, MFA 1993.1025), of vibrant purple and orange. They are hand-woven of thicker yarns than the hand blocked pieces, and are a combination of natural fibers and synthetic blends. Nylon, which was listed as a blend with wool in the collection record of the scarf (MFA 1993.1025), was not available until the late 1930s, so these objects could not have been produced during the 1920s. The MFA dates the scarf between the 1920s and 1940s; the other scarf (MMA 1993.1025) is dated 1920s.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ "The Metropolitan Museum of Art - Stole:2009.300.3893."

Their weave structure and varied yarn colors create the subtle decorative patterns seen in each. Artistic hand weaving experienced a renaissance beginning in the 1930s; these are likely the Akademia's response to this new vogue.

The construction choices made for Duncan's clothing designs referenced both contemporary designers like Gallenga, Erté, and Fortuny and the romanticized classical costume of the past century. In particular, the dress, (MMA 1990.152) shares features like its layered overtunic and drawstring with ornamental beading very near to Fortuny and Gallenga's designs. The other dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01) was hand sewn, but its silhouette is more modern. Most others were flat, tunic style garments with few seams and basic selvedge edges. Unfortunately, nothing in my research revealed who constructed these garments. The flat textiles could be used as either home furnishings, or as flowing scarves or shawls. Interior décor using artful accessories was still a popular fashion during the early twentieth century.

The textiles and garments sold at the Parisian outlets by Raymond Duncan's followers were purchased by the same art-collecting Americans who frequented the shops of other similar designers. Artists like Marguerite Zorach, textile enthusiasts like Hazel Westby, and fine arts connoisseurs such as Isabella Stewart Gardner collected them, recognizing their value. Duncan's breezy tunics and dresses with their interesting block prints were part of the wardrobes of American society women, like diplomats' wives, and wives of fashion designers, where they might have shared the same draw as a Delphos gown or one of Babani's embroidered shawls.

Although the textiles and garments from the Akademia Duncan are not as rich in their ornamentation and materials as a Fortuny textile, nor are they as modern as a

Delaunay garment, these pieces were still collected, kept, and eventually, deposited in museum collections. They are not necessarily displayed on exhibit often, and more than once during my research, a curator revealed to me that this was their first time looking at the Duncan object. Still, they are fascinating representatives of an early communal lifestyle, where their designer, Raymond Duncan, sold his own brand of the Ancient Greek aesthetic to those visiting Paris. Duncan was not the first designer or artist to adapt a peculiar costume, but he may be one of the first to create a lifestyle, real or imagined, to surround his artwork and textiles during the twentieth century.

This research uncovers a fascinating extension of the Arts and Crafts Movement and Greco- Roman aesthetics interpreted quite literary during the twentieth century. It is also relevant for those trying to interpret the work of designers or artists whose reputation precedes their work, making those objects somehow synonymous with an experience or way of life, in this case, an antiquity–inspired art commune of Paris.

Limitations and Considerations for Further Research

This research does not claim to be an exhaustive survey of Duncan’s textiles and garments; rather it is meant to provoke the reader’s interest in these understudied objects. Any objects existing in private collections or abroad were overlooked because of time and budget constraints. Further, some newspaper and journal primary sources were inaccessible. A technical textile analysis with microscopic evaluation of the fiber content, yarn and weave structure was not among the object assessments performed with the exception of the dress (URI HTCC 1976.09.01). This is due to time

constraints and institution visitor regulations. In ten instances, although provenance information was requested, it was not necessarily available. Finally, as an IRB was not applied for, interviews with human subjects, including Duncan's only living child, Ligoa and his grandchild were not a possibility.

Another researcher might perform fiber identification examinations and dye analysis on the objects to get a clearer sense of their origins. Further, a family member's perspective aside from Isadora's might reveal new details about his textile and garment production at the Akademia while offering insight into his fascinating persona. Finally, Duncan's poetry, pamphlets and newsletters deserve further investigation because they could present new information about the early bohemian activities of the commune.

Although the Greek tunics of Raymond Duncan still conceal details regarding textile and garment production at his Akademia, this research recognizes Duncan as a participant in 1920s avant-garde design, recognized largely for his free-spirited life style. The association of these textiles and garments with Duncan's legendary communes of the early twentieth century has earned them a place among other rare artistic textiles of the same era.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Raymond Duncan at his loom at Kopanos, Greece, ca.1904.

Source: Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), 177.

Figure 2: Allan Stein in
Raymond Duncan Outfit,
1905.

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The Elise Stern Haas
Family Photographs, The
Bancroft Library,
University of California,
Berkeley.

Figure 3: Raymond Duncan, Penelope Sikelianos, and Menalkas Duncan, New York City, ca. 1910.

Used with Permission: George Grantham Bain Collection (Library of Congress).

Figure 4: 'Duncan Uses Fists' Cartoon, 1910

Reproduced From: 'Greek' Shows Class Duncan Uses Fists: 'Hurrah for De Guy in de Bath-robe!' Shout Excited Witnesses of Battle," San Francisco Call 108, no. 174 (November 21, 1910), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1910-11-21/ed-1/seq-1/> (accessed December 3, 2012).

Figure 5: Raymond Duncan, ca. 1962

Used with permission: Stanford Green
Library Special Collections and University
Archives.

Figure 6: Dress, ca. 1920s. Block printed and hand painted silk. University of Rhode Island Historic Textiles Collection, 1976.09.01

Photographed by the Researcher.

Figure 7: Two-Piece Dress. Hand painted and block printed silk, ca. 1920s. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.1990.152

Reproduced from: *Metmuseum.org*
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80009350> (Accessed April 24, 2012).

Figure 8: Negligée. Hand painted and block printed silk, ca. 1929. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1974.333

Reproduced From: *Metmuseum.org*
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80036964>
(Accessed April 24, 2012)

Figure 9: Blouse, wool and cotton, block printed and hand painted, ca. 1920. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2009.300.29.40

Reproduced From: [metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80095677> (Accessed April 24, 2012)

Figure 10: Scarf, wool, hand-woven, ca. 1920–1930 The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2009.300.3893

Reproduced From:
metmuseum.org
[http://www.metmuseum.org/
Collections/search-the-
collections/80096734](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/80096734)
(Accessed April 24, 2012)

Figure 11: Scarf, silk, wool, wool and nylon, cotton and rayon, handwoven, ca 1920s–1940s. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1993.1025

Photographed by the Researcher

Figure 12: Scarf, silk, block printed and hand painted. ca. 1921. The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. T19w24

Photographed by the Researcher

Figure 13: Scarf, cotton and silk, block printed and hand painted, ca.1925. The Philadelphia Museum of Art 1991-145-1

Photographed by the Researcher

Figure 14: Tunic, wool and silk, block-printed and hand-painted ca. 1915–1920.
Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising Collections. 2008.905.1

Photographed by the Researcher

Figure 15: Textile, wool and silk, block printed and hand painted, ca. 1915–1925.
Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising Collections. 2009.5.49

Photographed by the Researcher

Figure 16: Table Scarf, wool and cotton, block printed and hand painted, ca. 1920. Oakland Museum of Art. H91.10.39

Photographed by the Researcher

Figure 17: Textile, cotton, hand painted with block printing, ca 1920. Art Institute of Chicago. 1981.38

Photographed by the Researcher.

Figure 18: Textile, silk, block printed and handpainted, ca.1920. Art Institute of Chicago.1997.350

Photographed by the Researcher.

Figure 19: Pillow Cover, cotton, block printed with hand painting, ca 1920–1930. The Smithsonian Cooper–Hewitt Museum. 1981-48-1

Photographed by the Researcher.

Figure 20: "Two Youths Wrestling," Plate 16.

Reproduced From: "Hellenic Vase Painting Copied and Hand Printed by Raymond Duncan", 1908. The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum Archives.

APPENDIX A:

TIMELINE OF RAYMOND DUNCAN'S LIFE, 1874–1966

November 1, 1874

Raymond Duncan is born in San Francisco, California to Joseph Duncan and Mary Dora Gray.³⁰⁰

May 27, 1877

Raymond's younger sister, Angela Isadora Duncan is born. Joseph Duncan's loan company is ruined; Joseph and Mary Dora Duncan separate.³⁰¹

1885

Raymond's first record of employment appears: he and his brother Augustine distribute copies of *The San Francisco Post* to the newsboys.³⁰²

1887

The Duncan family's first dance performance at the First Unitarian Church of Oakland. The Duncan children establish a dance school at 1365 Eighth Street, Oakland California where Leo Stein and Gertrude Stein are students.³⁰³

1892–1894

Raymond is listed in the San Francisco business directory as a clerk in the South Pacific Railroad Yards. He is also listed as an employee of the Bancroft Company, which deals in books, stationaries, piano, music, and printing.³⁰⁴

1893

Joseph Duncan can afford to purchase the family "Castle Mansion" on Sutter and Van Ness Streets with an abundance of rooms for dance and performance as well as many secret passages, which Raymond especially enjoyed.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 3–4.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 5.

³⁰² Ibid., 7.

³⁰³ Ibid., 7–8.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 8.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

1894

The Duncan family travels as a dance troupe through California visiting Santa Clara, Santa Barbara, Santa Rosa and Fresno.³⁰⁶ Isadora describes their roles in the performance: “I danced, Augustine recited poems, and afterwards we acted in a comedy in which Elizabeth and Raymond also took part.”³⁰⁷

1895

Joseph Duncan is bankrupt once again and the family loses their “Castle Mansion” in San Francisco.³⁰⁸

June, 1895

Mary Dora and Isadora travel to Chicago, IL to seek employment; Raymond and the rest of the family remain in California.³⁰⁹

1895–1896

Raymond is listed as the president of Co-Operative Publishing, 12 Montgomery Street, San Francisco in the city business directory.³¹⁰

1897

Raymond begins work for George W. Blum and Company, a cylinder printer and publisher where he becomes frustrated with typography options.³¹¹ The Duncan family relocates to New York City along with Isadora and Mary Dora. They rent a small studio in Manhattan’s Carnegie Hall and Isadora recalls Raymond’s venture into journalism. The studio had one bathroom and no furniture except for five mattresses, which were leaned against the wall to create dancing space.³¹²

1897–1899

At some point during these years, the Duncans move to the Windsor Hotel in NYC where they establish a dance studio and Raymond recites *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, *A Sonnet to the Beautiful* by Joachim du Bellay and Milton’s *L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.³¹³

April 18, 1899

The Duncans give a “farewell concert” in NYC where Raymond recites Theocritus and Ovid after the Windsor Hotel burns down.³¹⁴

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Duncan, *My Life*, 20.

³⁰⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 8.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid., 8–9.

³¹² Ibid., 9; Duncan, *My Life*, 40.

³¹³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 9.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

May 1899

The Duncans travel to London, England via a cattle boat that may have caused Raymond to become a vegetarian. It was Raymond's idea to travel frugally this way.³¹⁵

Summer 1899

The Duncan family is homeless upon initial arrival in London; they spend three days and nights sleeping in Green Park, and Isadora recalls reading aloud from Johann Winckelmann's *Journey to Athens*.³¹⁶ According to Isadora, Raymond copies all of the Greek vases and bas-reliefs at the British Museum while she focuses on recreating the movements and gestures to music.³¹⁷ After Isadora secures a performance for a wealthy woman, Raymond recommends they find a sparse studio on King's Road, where he conducts lectures.³¹⁸

December 1899

Raymond moves to Paris, France at the close of 1899 and encourages his family to join him.³¹⁹

April 1900

While in Paris, Raymond attends and is inspired by the World Exhibition, *Exposition Universelle*. Raymond is a freelance printer living above his workshop at 4 rue de la Gaîté.³²⁰

Summer 1900

Raymond meets his family arriving in Paris via rail from London "dressed as a member of 'la vie bohème'—he had let his hair grow long over his ears, wore an open collar, a flowing tie, and topped it all off with a large black hat."³²¹

Summer–Autumn 1900

Raymond copies all of the designs off of the Greek vases on display at the Louvre.³²² Isadora and Raymond also visit Musée Cluny, Musée Carnavalet and Notre Dame.³²³

Autumn–Winter 1900

The Duncans secure a studio on Avenue Le Villers. Raymond decorates the studio by crafting Roman torches from tin foil and arranging them over the gas jets and painting columns on the walls. Raymond begins to produce his leather shoes.³²⁴

³¹⁵ Duncan, *My Life*, 48.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 51.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 55.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 53; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 9–10.

³¹⁹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 10; Duncan, *My Life*, 66.

³²⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 11.

³²¹ Ibid.; Duncan, *My Life*, 66.

³²² Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 11.

³²³ Duncan, *My Life*, 68.

1901

Raymond works at a Montparnasse printing shop. He holds small concert appearances for an elite crowd of Paris showcasing his sister Isadora's talents in the evening.³²⁵

Winter 1902

Returns to San Francisco where he meets Gertrude Stein's older brother Michael Stein and his wife Sarah Stein. Raymond Duncan acts as a dance agent for Emma Nevada and Pablo Casals.³²⁶

1903

Travels to Paris in the company of Gertrude Stein to reunite with his family and embark on a voyage to Greece.³²⁷ Raymond takes the initiative to carry out "a cherished project" of theirs: "making a pilgrimage to the very holiest shrine of art, of going to our beloved Athens."³²⁸ The Duncans embark on their journey to Greece retracing the route of Ulysses.³²⁹ Isadora's memoirs reflect intense enthusiasm and excitement on her and Raymond's part.³³⁰ The Duncans select a hill called Kopanos to establish a community dance school, when they realize there is no water, they were still undeterred.³³¹ "They abandoned their modern Aesthetic attire for "the tunic of the Ancient Greeks."³³² Raymond marries Penelope Sikelianos and establishes his first "Akademia" at Agamemnon at Kopanos: "Penelope taught him weaving and Greek and studied design..."³³³

Late summer 1904

Penelope and Raymond depart Greece for Paris "bringing with them an ample supply of Penelope's hand-woven mantles and blankets and a lavish amount of sandals."³³⁴ They rent an atelier in Rue des Fleurs, Paris, are destitute, the Steins help them.

November 1905

Raymond Menalkas Duncan is born, named Menalkas for the young Shepard boy in Theocritus. Raymond, Penelope and Baby Menalkas move to Berlin to help Isadora with her dance school.³³⁵

³²⁴ Ibid., 69–70; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 11–12.

³²⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 12.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Duncan, *My Life*, 116.

³²⁹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 12–13; Duncan, *My Life*, 116–117.

³³⁰ Duncan, *My Life*, 120–21.

³³¹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 13–14.

³³² Duncan, *My Life*, 123.

³³³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 14.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid., 15.

July 13, 1907

A report in *The New York Times* describes the Duncans in Berlin: “When the Duncans reached Berlin in early Spring admittance was refused them at several hotels on account of their scanty attire.” Set to perform Euripides’ “Alcestis” “in the natural theatre in the Grunwald forest on the outskirts in Berlin” in August of that month.³³⁶

1907–08

While in Berlin, Raymond handprints his book of Hellenic Vase Paintings and perfects his ideal Greek alphabet/typography.³³⁷

1909

During a stay in London, Raymond’s own alphabet is carved into wood blocks and he teaches dance.³³⁸ A newspaper article describes Raymond and Penelope’s unusual attire noting, “Two garments make up the costumes of the Duncans—a linen one next to the skin and a woolen cloak over it. Sandals for the feet complete the outfit, no hose being worn. In colder weather, a heavier garment takes the place of the outer robe and in extremely cold weather a woolen undergarment takes the place of the linen one.”³³⁹

January 6, 1910

Raymond and Penelope appear at the Horace Mann auditorium at Teacher’s College (part of modern-day Columbia University), New York City, to lecture on ancient Greek music with several performance pieces. Raymond also discusses dance instruction and its benefits among specialized craftsmen like “weavers, blacksmiths, and carpenters.” As usual, the newspaper describes their unusual costume in detail.³⁴⁰

January 9, 1910

An Article appears in *The New York Times* describing an incident where young Menalkas, accompanied by his aunt, “Eleni Sikelnasus” (Helen Sikelianos, b.1881?) is picked up on Broadway and Fifty-fourth Street by a policeman who believes that the boy is indecently exposed in “a blouse stretching from his neck to half way below his knees, a pair of sandals, and, apparently nothing else.” The child is sent to the Children’s Society and his aunt, who speaks little English, is held at the station. When Raymond and Penelope arrive to collect their son, the attendants are shocked at his dress. Raymond is charged with “improper guardianship of a child.” The article ends with a quote from Raymond, “I am thoroughly ashamed of my country.”³⁴¹

³³⁶ “WOULD LIVE LIKE ANCIENT GREEKS; Raymond Duncan and His Hellenic Wife Create a Sensation in Berlin. GO ABOUT IN DRAPERIES Their Home Near Athens a Perfect Antique -- Soon to Produce ‘Alcestis’ in the Grunewald.”

³³⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 15; Duncan, “Hellenic Vase Painting.”

³³⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 15.

³³⁹ “Back to The Ways of Old Greece.”

³⁴⁰ “Beg Us to Return to The Greek Lay: Mr. and Mrs. Duncan in Bare Feet and Ancient Tunics Appeal for the Simple Life in Music.”

³⁴¹ “Bare-Legged Boy Shocks a Policeman.”

January 12, 1910

A hearing at West Side Court, New York City, where the Magistrate rules in favor of the Duncans with regard to Menalkas' dress. The charges are dismissed after two doctors write letters in support of the child's health. The article also notes that as a result of the scandal, Raymond is uninvited to lecture at Bryn Mawr College in Philadelphia.³⁴²

February 1, 1910

Raymond sends a copy of his *Hellenic Vase Painting* pamphlet to Isabella Stewart Gardner while he visits Boston, Massachusetts. In the accompanying correspondence, Raymond requests a visit and tour of her collections.³⁴³

February 9, 1910

Raymond organizes a meeting in protest of the Manhattan Opera House production of "Elektra." The meeting is held at the Greek Church of the Evangeile in New York City and Pope Lazaris also speaks on the "defamation of the work of the classic Greeks." Also mentioned is a planned performance the following week of "Elektra" and other ancient Greek works such as "Alkestis" by Raymond, his wife, his sister-in-law, and others that will include authentic Greek music and costumes at the Carnegie Lyceum.³⁴⁴

1910

Returns home to San Francisco with his wife and young son, observes damage from 1906 earthquake and appears in many newspaper articles with his entourage in Greek dress. There are several reports of altercations and public disagreements over his personal dress.³⁴⁵

October 18, 1910

Raymond is denied the request to perform his production of Sophocles' "Elektra" at the Greek Theater on the campus of Berkeley by Professor William Dallam Armes because of the rainy season. Raymond is offended by this and believes the professor is prejudiced against him.³⁴⁶

³⁴² "Duncan Boy Safely Clad: Magistrate Says His Grecian Garb Has Done Him No Harm."

³⁴³ Duncan, "Hellenic Vase Painting"; Duncan to Gardner, "The Bartol, Corner of Huntington."

³⁴⁴ "Greeks Condemn Opera of 'Elektra': Church Meeting to Protest Against Production as a Defamation of Classics."

³⁴⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 16; "Missouri Photographer 'Shown' By Policemen: Bumps on His Head Prove That Fight Was Real"; "'Greek' Shows Class Duncan Uses Fists: 'Hurrah for De Guy in de Bathrobe!' Shout Excited Witnesses of Battle."

October 23, 1910

Report that Raymond will be staging his “Elektra” at the Savoy theater in San Francisco the following evening. Note “Reports from the east say that in appointment, cast and principals Duncan’s production is remarkable.”³⁴⁷

November 4, 1910

Raymond has a San Francisco policeman arrested for harassing a member of his troupe about his dress.³⁴⁸

November 15, 18, 1910

Raymond spends time with poet Charles Keeler, an old friend. Duncan and his wife attend one of Keeler’s poetry readings in Berkeley and later visit his stone studio in Claremont Hills.³⁴⁹

1911

Penelope and Raymond return to Paris and establish an Akademia Duncan at Salle Pasedeloup on the rue des Ursulines.³⁵⁰

January, 1912

According to a report in *The San Francisco Call*, Raymond and Penelope are victims of “the anti-scant drapery movement sweeping over France...” and were evicted from their apartment in the Avenue Charles Floquet because of the complaints of other tenants. The article also notes “they are kept awake by Doric music played on a lyre every night by Duncan.”³⁵¹

February 1912

Raymond performs Sophocles’ *Electra* on stage at Théâtre du Chatelet and it is not well received.³⁵²

May 29, 1912

Performs *L’Après-Midi d’un Faune* at Théâtre du Chatelet in Paris.³⁵³

³⁴⁷ “‘White Sister’ Is The Savoy Offering: Remarkable Cast Presents the Thrilling Drama.”

³⁴⁸ “Missouri Photographer ‘Shown’ By Policemen: Bumps on His Head Prove That Fight Was Real.”

³⁴⁹ “Charles Keeler Reads Poems to Clubwomen: Press Association Entertained With Songs and Music,” *San Francisco Call* 108, no. 168 (November 15, 1910); “Raymond Duncan Shows Greek Dress to Artist,” *San Francisco Call* 108, no. 171 (November 18, 1910).

³⁵⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 17.

³⁵¹ “Drapery Is Hellenic Art But Bare Legs Shocks the French.”

³⁵² Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 18.

³⁵³ Ibid.

April 19, 1913

Isadora loses her four-year-old daughter, Deirdre, and her six-year-old son, Patrick tragically when the car carrying them and their nanny falls into the Seine river.³⁵⁴ They are cremated at the Père-la-Chaise, and Raymond attends, “wearing a flowing mauve robe and sandals.”³⁵⁵

June, 1913

Raymond and Penelope’s teach Albanian refugees how to weave wool blankets and rugs in Santa Quaranta.³⁵⁶

“‘Wait,’ said Raymond, ‘you will see. If I brought them bread it would only be for today; but I bring them wool, which is for the future.’”³⁵⁷

“These patterns Raymond furnished them from ancient Greek vase designs. Soon he had a line of weaving women by the sea and he taught them to sing in unison with their weaving. When the designs were woven they turned out to be beautiful couch covers, which Raymond sent to London to be sold at 50 per cent profit. With this profit he started a bakery and sold white bread 50 per cent cheaper than the Greek government was selling yellow corn, and so he started his village.”³⁵⁸

October 1913

Isadora (who arrived in Santa Quaranta over the summer to distract herself from the tragedy of losing her children) and Penelope leave Raymond and Menalkas and depart for Constantinople, when they return to Santa Quaranta, they learn that Raymond and Menalkas are seriously ill.³⁵⁹

“Penelope was delighted. we changed our tunics for quiet dresses and took the boat for Constantinople.”³⁶⁰ “On arriving at Santi [sic] Quaranta we found Raymond and Menalkas stricken with fever. I did my best to persuade Raymond and Penelope to leave this gloomy land of Albania and come back with me to Europe. I brought the ship’s doctor to use his influence, but Raymond refused to leave his refugees or his village, and Penelope would not, of course, leave him. So I was forced to leave them on that desolate rock, with only a little tent to protect them, over which a perfect hurricane was brewing.”³⁶¹

1914

Raymond founds his *Exangelos* newsletter in Athens.³⁶²

³⁵⁴ “Two Children of Isadora Duncan Die In Accident.”

³⁵⁵ “Cremate Duncan Children: Ceremony Is Attended by Literary and Artistic Celebrities.”

³⁵⁶ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 18–19.

³⁵⁷ Duncan, *My Life*, 280.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 280–81.

³⁵⁹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 18–19.

³⁶⁰ Duncan, *My Life*, 282.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 289.

³⁶² Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 36.

1917

Penelope contracted tuberculosis in Albania and dies in a Swiss sanitarium. Raymond and his son return to Paris.³⁶³ Duncan finds a lifelong companionship in Latvian student Aia Bertrand. She gives birth to Ligoa, a daughter, later that year.³⁶⁴

1919

Raymond has revived his Akademia once again in Paris at 21 Rue Bonaparte.³⁶⁵

December 18, 1920

Raymond's fifteen-year-old son Menalkas rebels by fleeing the Akademia Duncan for a week during which time he cuts his hair and purchases a suit. He returns against his will by force of the police, and a media storm of reporters desperate for an interview with father and son create chaos at the Akademia, requiring the assistance of police.³⁶⁶

April 26, 1921

Raymond performs René Patris' *La Rose Assassinée* at the Comédie Montaigne.³⁶⁷

March, 1922

Raymond Duncan sues Isadora for naming her legally adopted children/dance students the "Isadorables" claiming that Isadora is a family name. The case is overruled.³⁶⁸

April 12, 1922

Mary Dora Gray Duncan dies at Raymond's home in Paris.³⁶⁹

April, 1922

Menalkas runs away once again, writing to Raymond that he has abandoned their Classical way of life in favor of a modern, independent one in Marseilles.³⁷⁰ Raymond relocates his Akademia Duncan to 34 rue du Colisée where he prints *La Rose Assassinée* as a text.³⁷¹

³⁶³ Ibid., 12.

³⁶⁴ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 117; Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 21, 38.

³⁶⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 21.

³⁶⁶ "Paris Police Seeking Raymond Duncan's Son: 15-Year-Old Menalkas, Clad in Classic Greek Style, Missing Since Friday"; "Trouserless Home Greets Menalkas."

³⁶⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 22.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.; "Isadora Duncan Girls Assailed by Raymond: He Opposes Use of Family Name by Anna, Lisel and Erica, Remnants of Her School."

³⁶⁹ Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life*, 436–37.

³⁷⁰ "Menalkas Duncan Writes To His Father."

³⁷¹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 22.

December 20, 1922

Raymond and his followers protest the modern costumes (designed by Coco Chanel) and set (designed by Pablo Picasso) at the premier performance of Jean Cocteau's *Antigone* at the Théâtre de L'Atelier by shouting through miniature bullhorns.³⁷²

1923

Raymond's painting on canvas, titled "Maternity" is removed from the Society of Artists' Annual Exhibition for its "indecenty."³⁷³ Another report that Raymond has been privately exhibiting the painting from the Akademia Duncan surfaces with a note that he will be prosecuted for "outraging public morals" by the Seine Prefect.³⁷⁴

1924

Another of Raymond Duncan's paintings, titled "The Flesh" is slashed to bits.³⁷⁵ Raymond and his Akademia Duncan are evicted from the location on the Rue de Colisée because they were unable to pay rent.³⁷⁶

1925

Representative at the Paris International Exhibition of Decorative Arts, where he built a large wooden portico shaped like a hexagon with six panels where he mounted six (30 X 16 ft) paintings representing the entire world.³⁷⁷ Another report says that Duncan was the only American permitted to participate and describes his exhibit as "of textiles, hand-woven and decorated by the cult...."³⁷⁸

1926

Isadora moves to the Akademia but is uncomfortable with the rustic lifestyle. She summers in Nice, as did the Akademia.

Isadora performs a recital on September 14, her final performance with Raymond's help (he set up her signature blue velvet drapes.)³⁷⁹

"She moved into Raymond's studio, where every one slept on wooden benches, and each one wove or painted so much silk a day to pay for his food and each worker in turn did the cooking—much to the distress of poor Raymond's stomach."³⁸⁰

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid., 24.

³⁷⁴ "Duncan 'Maternity' Again."

³⁷⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24.

³⁷⁶ "Raymond Duncan Evicted In Paris."

³⁷⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24.

³⁷⁸ "Exhibit Lacks Americans: Decorative Art Show at Paris May Have Only One 'Representative'."

³⁷⁹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24.

³⁸⁰ Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*, 191.

September 14, 1927

Isadora's death in Nice. Raymond brings her body back to Paris; her ashes are burned at Père Lachaise.³⁸¹ Raymond speaks to the crowd assembled after Isadora's services.³⁸²

November 1927

Raymond helps Elizabeth establish a dance school in Paris, but is not speaking with her, he is also looking for clients and new colony members for his colony at Neuilly.³⁸³

1927–1928

Raymond assembles Isadora's writings into *La Dance par Isadora Duncan* which was translated into English as *The Art of the Dance: Isadora Duncan* by Sheldon Cheney and published in 1928. Raymond writes the introduction.³⁸⁴

1928

American writer Kay Boyle stays at the colony for a time and records her experiences in a memoir.³⁸⁵

1929

Akademia Raymond Duncan relocates to 31 rue De Seine, Paris.³⁸⁶ Thérèse and Louise Bonney publish a travel guide for Americans searching for home décor, fashions, art and other treasures titled, *Shopping In Paris*. Raymond Duncan's shop is featured.³⁸⁷

November, 1929

Returns to New York City after being away for nearly twenty years and schedules a lecture series on "art, culture, and ways of living."³⁸⁸

December, 1929

The New Yorker reports that Raymond has established a studio at West Seventy-Fifth Street where he is selling his poetry and fabrics.³⁸⁹ A later notice in *The New York Times* states that he is renting retail space "for the sale of hand-woven textiles and interior decorations."³⁹⁰

³⁸¹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24–26.

³⁸² Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*, 280.

³⁸³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 26.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 26; McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330–332, 350–363.

³⁸⁶ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 31.

³⁸⁷ Bonney and Bonney, *A Shopping Guide to Paris*, 96–97.

³⁸⁸ "Raymond Duncan Coming Here."

³⁸⁹ White, "The Talk of the Town: Isadora's Brother."

³⁹⁰ "Raymond Duncan Takes Store."

May 28, 1930

Raymond displays his sympathy for Gandhi and India's rebellion by marching to the ocean with a parade in New York City to collect water to make salt. Police, wary of his appearance and reputation, monitor the proceedings.³⁹¹

May 29, 1930

Sails to Paris with the sea salt he wishes to have sent to Gandhi and the plan of lecturing to Parisians about New York City life.

February 25, 1931

Raymond returns to New York City with an initiative to help those affected by the Great Depression, believing that the "demand for hand-wrought and hand-spun merchandise still exists."³⁹²

December 9, 1946

A report in *Time Magazine* notes the return of Raymond Duncan to New York City for his first post-war visit in nearly 15 years.³⁹³

January 23, 1947

Performs *My Life Story* at Town Hall in New York City.³⁹⁴

November, 1947

Raymond publishes and distributes his *Pages From My Press* collection of poetry, including one titled, "I Sing, the Weaver."³⁹⁵

January 24, 1948

Raymond returns to New York City.³⁹⁶

February 17, 1948

Performs *My Life is Yours* in New York City.³⁹⁷

³⁹¹ "Duncan Parades to Sea to Get Salt."

³⁹² "Raymond Duncan Arrives."

³⁹³ "Salon Keepers."

³⁹⁴ "Playbill: 'My Life Story, A Dramatic Poem in 3 Acts By Raymond Duncan'."

³⁹⁵ Raymond Duncan, "Pages From My Press [by] Raymond Duncan. San Francisco, You 48 States, and Other Printings" (Paris. Akademia Raymond Duncan, 1947), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

³⁹⁶ "Duncan Blows In, Toga, Sandal-Clad: Brother of Isadora Arrives on DeGrasse with Stomach Heater and an Idea," *The New York Times*, January 24, 1948.

³⁹⁷ "Playbill, 'My Life Is Yours: Actionalist Solo Drama in Three Acts'," February 17, 1948.

March 10, 1948

Returns to San Francisco with Aia and Ligoa in search of his father's safety deposit vault.³⁹⁸ Raymond writes to Roger Ashley that he arrives in San Francisco in March and will be staying at the Palace Hotel. He notes that he will have visited Washington DC (on April 1st), New Orleans, and Phoenix on the way.³⁹⁹

November 30, 1948

Elizabeth Duncan dies in Germany.⁴⁰⁰

February 9, 1950

Raymond performs "Wobbly Top" in New York City at Carnegie Hall.⁴⁰¹

March 4, 1953

Performs *Tears in the Valley, Laughter in the Hills* in New York City. Writes to John Douglas Cook that he will return to America the following February.⁴⁰²

1954

Performs *What is it All About? Eight plays by Raymond Duncan*⁴⁰³
Is interviewed by Orson Welles for his documentary series, *Around the World with Orson Welles* at his Akademia Duncan.

1955

Performs *Wobbly Top*.⁴⁰⁴

1959

Performs *A Lover's Tale*.⁴⁰⁵

1961

Performs *One Against All*.⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 38–40.

³⁹⁹ Bertrand to Ashley, "Correspondence from the Palace Hotel, San Francisco"; Bertrand to Ashley, "Correspondence from the Roger Smith Hotel, Washington, D.C."; Raymond Duncan to Roger Ashley, "Correspondence from the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, New York," February 29, 1948, SC-222, Folder 1, Raymond Duncan Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library.

⁴⁰⁰ "Elizabeth Duncan, Dance Pioneer Dies: Instructor Stricken While in Germany," *Reading Eagle*, December 15, 1948.

⁴⁰¹ "'Wobbly Top' By Duncan: Mixed Program Is Presented to Show Man's Struggles."

⁴⁰² Duncan to Cook, "Correspondence From the Hotel Commodore, New York."

⁴⁰³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 40.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

May 1, 1962

Performs at the Pasadena Art Society California: “The Greatest of All the Arts-LIFE-How I have sought it and what I have found.”⁴⁰⁷

1962

Performs *Green Lights*.⁴⁰⁸

1964

Performs *Ships Ahoy!* at Carnegie Hall, New York City for his 90th birthday.⁴⁰⁹

August 14, 1966

Dies in Paris at 92.⁴¹⁰

The New York Times reports his death as occurring at “the home of friends in Cavalaire on the French Riviera.”⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ “Playbill: ‘The Greatest of All the Arts-LIFE-How I Have Sought It and What I Have Found’.”

⁴⁰⁸ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 40.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 41.

⁴¹¹ “Raymond Duncan, Symbol of La Vie Boheme, Dies.”

APPENDIX B:

RAYMOND DUNCAN CONNECTION MAP

Family

Mary Dora Gray (1848–1922)

Raymond Duncan's mother who divorced their father in 1880 and raised the Duncan children as a single parent.⁴¹² She supported the family by teaching piano.⁴¹³ Mary Gray traveled with Isadora in Europe and occasionally accompanied Isadora's dances on the piano until her death in 1922.⁴¹⁴ Raymond remembers his mother's "musical talent and [a] courageous spirit of freedom."⁴¹⁵

Joseph Charles Duncan (1819–1898)

Raymond Duncan's father was involved in journalism, real estate, and art dealing throughout his life.⁴¹⁶ His role in Raymond's life was limited by his financial instability, remarriage, and death. Despite this, Raymond recognized "practical and poetic qualities" in his father.⁴¹⁷

Mary Elizabeth Bioren Duncan (1871–1948)

Raymond's older sister recognized for establishing her own schools of dance throughout Europe.⁴¹⁸ Raymond helped establish her school in France, in spite of not being on speaking terms.⁴¹⁹

Augustine Duncan (1873–1954)

Raymond's only brother who acted in and produced many theatrical productions in the United States. Augustine was completely blind by the 1930s.⁴²⁰

⁴¹² Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 26.

⁴¹³ Duncan, *My Life*, 10.

⁴¹⁴ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 34; Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life*, 436–37.

⁴¹⁵ Raymond Duncan, "Raymond Duncan Biographical Notes," Pamphlet (Paris, France, 1948), SC-222, Folder 3, Raymond Duncan Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library.

⁴¹⁶ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 23–24.

⁴¹⁷ Duncan, "Raymond Duncan Biographical Notes," 1948.

⁴¹⁸ "Elizabeth Duncan, Dance Pioneer Dies: Instructor Stricken While in Germany."

⁴¹⁹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 26.

⁴²⁰ Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak, *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2006), 193, <http://books.google.com/books?id=DiI1wIyatvUC&pg=PA193&lpg=PA193&dq=augustin+duncan+1873-1954&source=bl&ots=VISyVF24k9&sig=eaZqHUThpOh26SwL->

Isadora Duncan (1877–1927)

Raymond's sister, the celebrated artistic dancer recognized throughout Europe and America for rejecting the classically restrictive tenants of ballet and embracing dance as a natural expression of art through the human form. She and her elder brother Raymond were kindred spirits who shared a romantic enthusiasm for Ancient Greek aesthetics throughout their lives. Isadora came to her brother's financial assistance on several occasions, especially as he struggled to complete *Kopanos*, and later when Penelope was pregnant and the couple was impoverished in Greece.⁴²¹ After Isadora's untimely death, Raymond celebrated her life annually by exhibiting photos and other memorabilia belonging to his sister on her birthday at his Paris Akademia Duncan.⁴²²

Penelope Sikelianos (1883?–1917)

Wife of Raymond Duncan from 1903 until her death. Penelope was the mother of Menalkas Duncan, born in 1905. Penelope was a music theorist, weaver, singer and actress. In 1910, she accompanied Raymond to the United States where she lectured and performed. Penelope helped establish the Albanian refugee communities in Santa Quaranta during the Turkish-Balkan war but fell ill with tuberculosis and died in 1917.⁴²³

Menalkas Duncan (1905–1969)

Only son of Penelope and Raymond, Menalkas was taken in by the Children's Society in New York City in 1910 because a police officer decided he was inadequately dressed in Greek tunic for the winter weather.⁴²⁴ As a teen, Menalkas rebelled against his father's nostalgic communal lifestyle in Paris and ran away twice.⁴²⁵ Later in life, Menalkas embraced his father's handicraft of creating leather sandals by establishing a specialty workshop in Provincetown, Massachusetts.⁴²⁶

Aia Bertrand (1895–1977)

A Latvian student who joined Duncan's entourage of followers in 1911. She became his secretary, director of the Akademia, producer, theatrical director and companion for the remainder of his life. She is the mother of his only daughter, Ligoa Duncan.⁴²⁷

FkrhUjD_qI&hl=en&sa=X&ei=n8kiUaHCEebo0QGQ04DQDg&ved=0CFgQ6AEwCQ#v=onepage&q=augustin%20duncan%201873-1954&f=false.

⁴²¹ Duncan, *My Life*, 176–177; Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life*, 159.

⁴²² Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora*, 175–6.

⁴²³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 13, 15–16, 20; “Beg Us to Return to The Greek Lay: Mr. and Mrs. Duncan in Bare Feet and Ancient Tunics Appeal for the Simple Life in Music”; “Greeks Condemn Opera of ‘Elektra’: Church Meeting to Protest Against Production as a Defamation of Classics.”

⁴²⁴ “Bare-Legged Boy Shocks a Policeman.”

⁴²⁵ “Paris Police Seeking Raymond Duncan's Son: 15-Year-Old Menalkas, Clad in Classic Greek Style, Missing Since Friday”; *ibid.*; “Trouserless Home Greets Menalkas”; “Menalkas Duncan Writes To His Father.”

⁴²⁶ Linda Dyett, “Shopping The East Village,” *New York Magazine*, August 6, 1984.

⁴²⁷ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 21, 38.

Ligoa Duncan (1917–)

Raymond Duncan's daughter with Aia Bertrand.⁴²⁸ She owned a gallery in New York City called Galerie Des Arts on East-Fifty-first Street.⁴²⁹ When Raymond visited New York, her gallery became his home base for accepting visitors, and in his absence, the gallery retailed his artwork, including his "tapestries."⁴³⁰

Augusta Gray (1850–???)

Maternal aunt to Raymond Duncan. "Aunt Gussie" taught the Duncan children how to dance.⁴³¹

Elizabeth Gray (1834–???)

Maternal aunt to Raymond Duncan who hosted foreign exchange students in her home, affording the Duncan children a broader perspective of the world.⁴³²

Friends and Acquaintances**Angelos Sikelianos (1884–1951)**

Younger brother of Penelope Sikelianos, Angelos is remembered as the modern poet of Greece.⁴³³ Together with his wife, Eva Palmer, they developed the Delphi Festival of 1927 and 1930.⁴³⁴ Sikelianos was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1949.

Archie Brennan (1931–)

A Scottish textile artist recognized for his pictorial tapestries by H.M. Queen Elizabeth II who in 1981 appointed him as O.B. E. (Officer of the British Empire.)⁴³⁵ Brennan remembers living with Duncan in 1955 at the Akademia Duncan in Paris where Brennan was asked to weave a custom tapestry for Duncan based on a painting Duncan created between 1908 and 1910.⁴³⁶

⁴²⁸ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 171.

⁴²⁹ Sargeant, "The Talk of the Town: Angry."

⁴³⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 24.

⁴³¹ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 27.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid., 55.

⁴³⁴ Sikelianos, "The Lefevre-Sikelianos-Waldman Tree and the Imaginative Utopian Attempt."

⁴³⁵ Valerie Kirk, *The Fine Art of Tapestry Weaving: Tapestry 2008* (Acton, Australia: The Australian National University School of Art Gallery, 2008), http://www.tapestryart.eu/06_bookcatal/06_pics/2008_australia/fine_art_of_tapestry.pdf.

⁴³⁶ Brennan, "Archie Brennan in Postwar France."

Charles D. Coburn (1877–1961)

An American Broadway actor, Coburn successfully transitioned into film during the 1930s. Coburn won an Oscar in 1944, and was an honorary member of the Bohemian Club.⁴³⁷ Coburn served as lecture tour manager for Raymond and Penelope in 1910.⁴³⁸

Charles Keeler (1871–1937)

A naturalist, explorer, and poet, Keeler was an early friend of Duncan's, pre-philhellenic transformation.⁴³⁹ Like others in Duncan's circle, Keeler belonged to the Bohemian Club. In November of 1910, Penelope and Raymond attended one of Keeler's readings at the Pacific Coast Women's Press and later that month visited his residence in Claremont Hills, CA.⁴⁴⁰

Edward Gordon Craig (1872–1966)

Son of actress Ellen Terry, Craig was a theatrical producer, stage designer, writer, and actor. Craig was romantically connected to Isadora from 1904 until 1908 and was the father of Deirdre Duncan (1906–1913) who was lost tragically in an automobile accident.⁴⁴¹

Emma Nevada (1859–1940)

American operatic coloratura soprano.⁴⁴² In 1902, she met Raymond Duncan in Paris and the two of them set off for America for a concert tour with Raymond acting as her agent and Pablo Casals accompanying her on the cello.⁴⁴³ Isadora implies the two were romantically entwined during this time with the observation: "I noticed that little violet-scented notes were often poked under the door in early morning hours, followed by the surreptitious disappearance of Raymond."⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁷ Robin Fay, "Charles Coburn (1877-1961)," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, March 31, 2006, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-1511>.

⁴³⁸ "Bare-Legged Boy Shocks a Policeman."

⁴³⁹ "Biography of Charles Augustus Keeler," *Guide to the Charles Augustus Keeler Papers, 1858-1949: Online Archive of California*, accessed February 20, 2013, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf0290010m/admin/#bioghist-1.3.4>.

⁴⁴⁰ "Charles Keeler Reads Poems to Clubwomen: Press Association Entertained With Songs and Music"; "Raymond Duncan Shows Greek Dress to Artist."

⁴⁴¹ "Edward Gordon Craig Dies At 94: A Major Innovator In Modern Stagecraft—Ellen Terry's Son," *The New York Times*, July 30, 1966; Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 63, 82.

⁴⁴² "Nevada, Emma," *Britannica Biographies*, March 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=9&sid=75cede64-cdd1-41c6-9a57-d971e772a565%40sessionmgr14&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtG12ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32419180>.

⁴⁴³ Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 27.

⁴⁴⁴ Duncan, *My Life*, 86.

Eva Palmer Sikelianos (1874–1952)

American wife of Angelos Sikelianos, they married in 1907 after meeting at Duncan's Kopanos. Palmer Sikelianos developed the first Delphi Festival in 1927.⁴⁴⁵ Earlier in her life, she spent time in New York City with Raymond and Penelope and was often chastised for her own adaption of ancient Greek dress by the press.⁴⁴⁶ She also wove her own tunics, on a loom designed by Raymond.⁴⁴⁷

Florence Treadwell Boynton (1876–1962)

Isadora's close childhood friend in Oakland. The two reunited in 1917 during Isadora's trip to San Francisco.⁴⁴⁸ The Duncan family often chose to use her husband, Charles Boynton as their attorney. In 1911 she and her husband erected a memorial to Isadora Duncan in the form of a inhabitable structure called "The Temple of the Wings," located on Buena Vista Way in Berkeley, CA. The building has thirty-four Greek columns and open-air areas.⁴⁴⁹ She and her eight children lived there wearing "Greek robes and sandals" taking inspiration from the Duncan lifestyle of Isadora and Raymond.⁴⁵⁰ Indeed, Raymond custom-built a loom for the Boyntons and shared his philosophies with the Boyntons during his Pacific coast visit in 1910.⁴⁵¹

Gertrude Stein (1874–1946)

Art collector, writer-philosopher and Parisian salon hostess to "The Lost Generation" of American expat intellectuals and artists.⁴⁵² Her friendship with Raymond Duncan began when they were youths and neighbors in Oakland, CA.⁴⁵³ They traveled from New York to Paris together in 1903. Stein's memoir *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* describes Raymond and Penelope while they lived at 27 Rue de Fleurus in Paris, just across from Stein.⁴⁵⁴ Gertrude and her brother Leo both wore sandals created by Raymond.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁴⁵ John P. Anton, "Introduction," in *Upward Panic: The Autobiography of Eva Palmer-Sikelianos*, by Eva Palmer-Sikelianos (Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993), xv.

⁴⁴⁶ Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contest in the Cultural History of Hellenism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 121.

⁴⁴⁷ Sikelianos, "The Lefevre-Sikelianos-Waldman Tree and the Imaginative Utopian Attempt."

⁴⁴⁸ Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life*, 16,373.

⁴⁴⁹ Michael Grieg, "The Temple of The Wings," *The San Francisco Examiner*, n.d.

⁴⁵⁰ Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life*, 375.

⁴⁵¹ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 17.

⁴⁵² "Stein, Gertrude," *Britannica Biographies*, March 1, 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=6&sid=8e408a6e-3ea9-47d9-921d-3181cf7e4616%40sessionmgr4&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32424164>.

⁴⁵³ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 6.

⁴⁵⁴ Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 26,27,29.

⁴⁵⁵ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 14.

Helen “Eleni” Sikelianos (1881?)

Elder sister of Penelope and Angelos, little record of her exists except for the newspaper report that she was in New York City with the Duncans during the winter of 1910 and fell victim to the police after Menalkas was taken in for indecent exposure.⁴⁵⁶ She also played the role of Alkestis in the Duncan’s production of “Electra” that was staged in New York and California that same year.⁴⁵⁷ Another report identifies her as an actress at the Royal Theater of Athens.⁴⁵⁸

Ina Coolbrith (1848–1928)

Poet and librarian at the Oakland Free Public Library. She was the first poet laureate in California and held honorary membership in the Bohemian Club.⁴⁵⁹ Coolbrith met the Duncan children through her friendship with their father and inspired them to read.⁴⁶⁰ She was also the president of the Pacific Coast Women’s Press, which Raymond and Penelope visited in November of 1910 for a reading by Charles Keeler.⁴⁶¹

Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924)

A wealthy American art patron and collector who established a diverse collection of European, Asian, and American Art in her unusual gallery located on the Fenway in Boston, MA.⁴⁶² Raymond wrote to Isabella on February 1, 1910 during his visit to America with Penelope and Menalkas requesting a tour of her museum and including a copy of his pamphlet, *Hellenic Vase Painting*.⁴⁶³ Whether or not Gardner responded to his request is unknown, but she did acquire a small, hand-painted and block-printed scarf of his for her collection through artist Louis Kronberg in 1921.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁶ “Bare-Legged Boy Shocks a Policeman.”

⁴⁵⁷ “Greeks Condemn Opera of ‘Elektra’: Church Meeting to Protest Against Production as a Defamation of Classics.”

⁴⁵⁸ “Duncan Dances in ‘Elektra:’ Trips Lightly in His Besandaled Feet—Mrs. Duncan as Elektra,” *The New York Times*, April 12, 1910.

⁴⁵⁹ “Biography: Ina Coolbrith (1842-1928),” *The Poetry Foundation*, accessed February 18, 2013, <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/ina-coolbrith>.

⁴⁶⁰ Rootcap, *Raymond Duncan: Printer, Expatriate, Artist*, 6.

⁴⁶¹ “Charles Keeler Reads Poems to Clubwomen: Press Association Entertained With Songs and Music.”

⁴⁶² “About : Museum History: Isabella Stewart Gardner,” *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, accessed February 18, 2013, http://www.gardnermuseum.org/about/history_and_architecture; “Gardner, Isabella Stewart,” *Britannica Biographies*, March 1, 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=9&sid=8e408a6e-3ea9-47d9-921d-3181cf7e4616%40sessionmgr4&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32410709>.

⁴⁶³ Duncan to Gardner, “The Bartol, Corner of Huntington”; Duncan, “Hellenic Vase Painting.”

⁴⁶⁴ “T19w24 26. Textile, Painted Silk. French 19th Century by Raymond Duncan.”

John Douglas Cook (????–????)

Writer for the magazine *Opera and Concerts*, Cook corresponded with Duncan during the 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁶⁵ He also published an article called “Raymond Duncan” in a 1948 issue of *Opera and Concerts*.⁴⁶⁶

Kay Boyle (1902–1992)

American writer and activist whose co-written memoir *Being Geniuses Together* chronicles her experience in 1920s Paris including time spent living with Raymond and Aia Bertrand at their Akademia Duncan.⁴⁶⁷

Leo Stein (1872–1947)

Elder brother to Gertrude Stein, also an expatriate in Paris, Stein collected, promoted and criticized art, particularly of the twentieth century.⁴⁶⁸ According to his sister, Leo Stein accompanied Raymond in Paris when he went to register newborn Menalkas at the Parisian Vital Statistics office.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ Duncan to Cook, “Correspondence From the Hotel Commodore, New York”; Ligoa Duncan to John Douglas Cook, “Typed Correspondence, Los Angeles,” April 29, 1962, Raymond Duncan Papers, MO 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections; Raymond Duncan to John Douglas Cook, “Handwritten Correspondence, The Palace Hotel, San Francisco,” October 28, 1964, Raymond Duncan Papers, Mi 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections; Raymond Duncan to John Douglas Cook, “Correspondence, Typed Poem ‘All Hail’,” February 1, 1964, Raymond Duncan Papers, Mi 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections; Raymond Duncan to John Douglas Cook, “Typed Poem, ‘The Greatest Spring-Time [sic] Show’,” February 3, 1965, Raymond Duncan Papers, MO 231/1, Stanford University Archives and Special Collections.

⁴⁶⁶ Cook, “Raymond Duncan.”

⁴⁶⁷ “Boyle, Kay,” *Britannica Biographies*, March 1, 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=3&sid=a0132436-f5ce-4bae-85be-56c44b201f47%40sessionmgr11&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32404793>; McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together*, 330–332, 350–363.

⁴⁶⁸ John Bonman, “Leo Stein (Daniel) (1872-1947),” *Cambridge Dictionary of American Biography*, January 2001, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=10&sid=8e408a6e-3ea9-47d9-921d-3181cf7e4616%40sessionmgr4&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32453373>.

⁴⁶⁹ Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 27.

Mary Desti (1871–1931)

Isadora's travel companion and confidant. Desti continues the biography of her friend unfinished after 1924 in her book, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*. She sold cosmetics and clothing from her New York studio and was involved in hand painting silks with a group of artists.⁴⁷⁰ The fateful silk scarf worn by Isadora Duncan on September 14, 1927 was one of Desti's.⁴⁷¹

Michael Stein (1865–1938) and Sarah Stein (1870–1953)

Gertrude Stein's brother and his wife Sarah were recognized art collectors, especially Matisse.⁴⁷² Gertrude Stein notes they were friends with Raymond Duncan in San Francisco.⁴⁷³ They also lived in Paris at the turn of the century through the 1920s.⁴⁷⁴ Their son, Allan Stein (1895–1951) was the subject of paintings by Matisse and Pablo Picasso. A photo, taken in 1905, shows ten-year-old Allan Stein dressed in clothing created by Raymond Duncan.⁴⁷⁵

Paris Singer (1868–1932)

Descendant of the Singer Sewing machine inventor, the wealthy man fell in love with Isadora Duncan and purchased the dancer's first Mariano Fortuny Delphos dress in 1913.⁴⁷⁶ He was the father of Patrick Duncan (1910-1913), also lost tragically in the Paris automobile accident.⁴⁷⁷

Pablo Casals (1876–1973)

A renowned Spanish cellist, conductor, and fascist who accompanied Raymond Duncan and Emma Nevada on their concert tour in the US in 1902.⁴⁷⁸

Preston Sturges (1898–1959)

American film director, screen and playwright who was the son of Mary Desti, a friend and companion of Isadora.⁴⁷⁹ Sturges' autobiography includes accounts of his interactions with Isadora and Raymond as a child.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*, 197.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 269.

⁴⁷² "The Michael Steins of San Francisco: Art Patrons and Collectors," in *Four Americans in Paris: The Collections of Gertrude Stein and Her Family* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 38.

⁴⁷³ Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 26.

⁴⁷⁴ The Museum of Modern Art, New York, *Four Americans in Paris: The Collections of Gertrude Stein and Her Family*, 38.

⁴⁷⁵ Erhman Jelenko, *Raymond Duncan Outfit, Allan Stein*.

⁴⁷⁶ Splatt, *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, 105, 109.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 113.

⁴⁷⁸ "Casals, Pablo," *Britannica Biographies*, March 1, 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=3&sid=8e408a6e-3ea9-47d9-921d-3181cf7e4616%40sessionmgr4&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhtb3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32405962>; Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, 27.

Sergei Alexandrovich Esenin (1895–1925)

Russian poet and only husband of Isadora Duncan. Mary Desti's memoir chronicles their tumultuous marriage from 1922-23.⁴⁸¹

Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1871–1929)

Austrian poet, playwright and essayist who collaborated with Richard Strauss on his version of the tragedy *Elektra* in 1903⁴⁸² This is the version Duncan protested in New York City, arguing that he worked with von Hofmannsthal in Vienna and the playwright warned him not to see the production because he disapproved.⁴⁸³

Zoltan Dienes (1916–)

A celebrated Hungarian mathematician who remembers living at the Akademia Duncan in Nice and Paris with his mother and brother during the 1920s.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁹ “Sturges, Preston,” *Britannica Biographies*, March 1, 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=5&sid=a0132436-f5ce-4bae-85be-56c44b201f47%40sessionmgr11&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32424433>.

⁴⁸⁰ Preston Sturges, *Preston Sturges*, ed. Sandy Sturges (New York N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 24, 70–72, 104, 122.

⁴⁸¹ Desti, *The Untold Story: The Life of Isadora Duncan 1921-1927*, 92–98.

⁴⁸² “Hofmannsthal, Hugo Von,” *Britannica Biographies*, 2012, <http://0-web.ebscohost.com/helin.uri.edu/ehost/detail?vid=25&sid=8e408a6e-3ea9-47d9-921d-3181cf7e4616%40sessionmgr4&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=b5h&AN=32413050>.

⁴⁸³ “Greeks Condemn Opera of ‘Elektra’: Church Meeting to Protest Against Production as a Defamation of Classics.”

⁴⁸⁴ Dienes, “Memoirs of a Maverick Mathematician Chapter 2. The Beginnings.”

APPENDIX C:
CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

Key to Catalogue of Raymond Duncan Textiles and Garments

museum name and location
object accession number
textile type; “ “ if quoted from museum records
dimensions
fiber and textile; “ “ if quoted from museum records
method of design application
design orientation
colors
motifs
signed/unsigned; location of signature
provenance, if relevant

Collections Included:

The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois (AIC)

The FIDM Museum, Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising, Los Angeles, California (FIDM)

The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts (ISGM)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York (MMA)

The Oakland Museum of Art, Oakland, California (OMA)

The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (PMA)

The Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt, New York, New York (SCH)

The University of Rhode Island Historic Textiles and Costumes Collection, Kingston, Rhode Island (URI HTCC)

All photographs were taken by the researcher except for the six MMA images, which were reproduced from metmuseum.org (accessed April 24, 2012)

AIC 1981.38

Textile Panel

100 $\frac{1}{8}$ X 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ in

cotton; plain-woven with crepe yarns

hand-painted with block-printed

dark green, tan, brown, peach, yellow,
white, grey, off-white

chain links, muscular nude figure carrying

another, leaves, tree, stag, Diana, arrow,

diamonds with inset circles, zigzags

signed; lower proper left corner

AIC 1991.180

Textile Panel

89 ¼ X 36 ¼ in.

silk; plain-woven

block-printed with hand-painted detail

off-white/greyish ground, yellow, dark orange, red, and light blue, black

Arches, columns, clouds, berries and leaves, Antelopes/quadrupeds

signed; lower proper right corner

AIC 1997.350

Textile Panel

146 X 39 5/8 in

silk; plain-woven with crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

yellow, grey, green, peach, turquoise, light purple

Clouds or waves, birds with splayed wings, trees, hillsides,
circular floral berries or leaves, diamonds, rectangles, circles
signed; lower right corner

FIDM 2008.905.1

“Tunic”

Side Length (SL): 42 in

“silk/wool; matelassé”

block-printed with hand-painted details

light lilac , muted purple, gold, green, blue

curved leaves with yellow berries; narrow bands that feature diamonds with inset

circles, triple lines of zigzags and wider zigzag lines

signed; Lower back right corner

FIDM 2009.5.49

"Textile Fragment"

46 X 21 in

wool and silk; plain woven with crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

olive green (painted) ground, peach/light red, gold, blue, dark forest green, muted brown, black

bull, peacock, swan, monkey, dog, goat, circular fruits/berries, leaves, tree, vines, vegetation, axes, nude figures, woodsmen

Signed; PL lower corner

ISGM T19w24

“Scarf”

21 $\frac{3}{5}$ X 23 in

silk; plain-woven with crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

cream, tan, dark blue, black, brown, light mauve/rose/light red blossoms and tress;
diamonds

signed; PL lower corner

gift to Isabella Stewart Gardner from Louise Kronberg in 1921.

MMA 67.126

"Piece"

16 $\frac{3}{5}$ X 18 Inches

silk, painted (I would argue that this is the same cotton crepe plain-weave seen elsewhere)

hand-painted with block-printed borders

Gold, peach, light blue, brown, apricot, tan, black, white

curved fruits or berries, bird with splayed wings, standing bird, clouds

signed; PL lower corner

Gift of Mrs. Carl J. Greenman, 1967

MMA 1974.333

“Negligée”

53 in.

silk

hand-painted and block-printed

light green, white/grey, black,

peach/light red

curvilinear rounded fruits or vegetables
(amid leaves and blossoms, clouds or
waves. The image online suggests
further motifs of a nude figure and/or
an animal with a tail in the border on
the left side.

unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Benjamin J. Garfunkel,
1974

MMA 1990.152

“Dress”

59 in.

Tunic- “opaque tussah silk”

under-chiton: “sheer chiffon”

hand-painted with block-printed
borders

navy blue, gold, red, brown, tan,
green, purple

Rounded grapes and vegetation,

quadrupeds locking horns, narrow

border of wide zig-zags

unsigned

wooden beads trim the shoulders

Note that the garment was
designed for Duncan’s wife.

MMA 2005.507

“Shawl”

length on one side: 37 in

silk

block-printed with hand-painted details

light orange, yellow, purple, light red, green, blue, white/grey

two quadrupeds locking horns, standing nude fair-haired female figure, tri-clovers

signed/unsigned

Gift of Kathleen Zimmerman

MMA 2009.300.38.93
"Stole"
65 X 21 in.
wool; hand-woven
complex weave, warp fringe
trim, multicolored yarns
yellow, orange, cream linear
(vertical)
unsigned
Gift of Peggy Zorach;
belonged to Marguerite
Zorach 1984

MMA 2009.300.2940

“Blouse”

49 X 26 in.

“wool, cotton”

plain-woven with crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

Rust (Orange, red, gold), green, white, blue

nude woman among leaves and blossoms , ovals, diamonds with inset circles, tree trunks,

rounded blossom and vegetation clusters

unsigned

Gift of the Brooklyn Museum, 2009

1993.1025

Scarf

74 ¼ X 17 in.

Combination of silk, wool, wool and nylon, cotton, and rayon;
plain and twill weaves

Hand-woven; long warp fringe at each end, alternating bands
of color and texture

Fuchsia, maroon, gold-wrapped core yarns, pink and purple
motifs

unsigned

Gift from Tessim Zorach., belonged to his mother, Marguerite
Zorach

MFA 2000.1024

Textile Length

33.7 X 39.37 in

cotton; plain-woven with crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

off-white, blue, light red, green, orange, yellow motifs

Sun, rays, leaves, deer/stag, diamonds

unsigned

PMA H91. 10. 39

"Table scarf"

25 X 57 inches

wool/cotton; plain-woven with crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

Natural/off-white, brown, tan, yellow, blue, apricot, gold

Diamonds with inset circle, triple zigzag lines, and wide zigzag, woodsmen, axes (figures are clothed in an open vest), quadrupeds locking horns, tree with hanging vegetation.

signed; PL lower corner

The estate of Phoebe H. Brown

PMA 1991-145-1

“Scarf”

110 ½ X 28 ½ in

silk/linen; plain-weave

block-printed with hand-painted details

browns, tans, light reds, blues, golds, black quadrupeds locking horns, trefoils, stripes, chevrons, reclined muscular nude figure, bird with splayed wings, serpent or a reed.

signed; PL lower corner

SCH 1981-48-1

"Pillow Cover"

15 2/5 X 17 in.

cotton; plain-woven with crepe yarn

block-printed with hand-painted details

Light brown, light blue, tan, pale green, black

diamonds with inset circles, seated nude figure, dog, knot of curvilinear blossoms and leaves, reclined nude among vegetation, with bent legs and elbows

signed; PL lower corner

Gift of Elena Kingsland from the Estate of Constance Chapin Dennis

SCH 1988-54-1

“Hanging”

43 X 72 1/5 in.

cotton; plain woven with crepe yarns

block printed with hand painted details

light blue, yellows, blues, greens, pinks, peach

leaves, blossoms, and buds, vertical stripes stylized muscular

figure hurling a discus

signed; PR lower corner

SCH 1988-54-2

"Hanging"

43 $\frac{3}{5}$ X 78 $\frac{2}{5}$ in.

linen or cotton; plain-woven crepe yarns

block-printed with hand-painted details

off-white, green/yellow, purples/grey, blue, gold

diamonds with insets bordered in lines in partial hexagonal

shapes, arches, clouds or waves, headless nude single and paired
figures

signed, proper left lower corner

URI HTCC 1976.09.01

Dress

center-back: 45 in.

silk; plain woven with crepe yarns (crepe de chine with alternating warps)

Hand-painted with block-printed areas

pale yellow, peach, green, gold, brown

leaves, curvilinear berries, reclining nude male figure, dog

unsigned

donated by Hazel Westby

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