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Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1898

by

M. ELIZABETH BOONE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1996

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Chair of the Examining Committee

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Abstract

"Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1898"

by

M. Elizabeth Boone

Adviser: Dr. H. Barbara Weinberg

My dissertation explores the Spanish subject paintings of six American artists active during the years 1860 to 1898. Samuel Colman, George Henry Hall, Thomas Eakins, Mary Cassatt, John Singer Sargent, and William Merritt Chase all visited the Iberian peninsula during this period. Following a prescribed itinerary, they spent time in Madrid in order to view the Old Master paintings in the Prado and settled in more remote regions, where gipsies, street vendors, bullfighters, and flamenco dancers became the subjects of their colorful canvases. The goal in Spain appears to have been two-fold: while rounding out their educations through the study of Murillo, Velázquez and the Spanish Old Masters, American artists were simultaneously able to experience and paint a culture dramatically different from their own.

The paintings that resulted from these trips are fascinating documents of an important encounter between American and Spanish culture. Drawing upon recent theoretical writing in gender and ethnic studies, my contention is that Spanish influences on American art were filtered through the lens of contemporary political tensions over changing balances of power in the years preceding the Spanish-American War. Americans selectively viewed Spain's land and people, and the paintings produced by

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these artists embody contemporary assumptions about the historical and future importance of the country that had "discovered" the American continent. In short, Spain was admired for its artistic and cultural contributions of the past, but largely derided for its contemporary state of decline. Selective viewing of Spain enabled Americans of the late-nineteenth century to better define their own history and to predict an eminent future for themselves.

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5.6. John Singer Sargent, *The Interior of Santa Maria la Blanca, Toledo*, ca. 1879. Oil on panel, 13 3/4 x 10 1/4 inches. Christie's, London, November 12, 1976, lot 58.

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6.15. Casiano Alguacil, *Tipos Toledanos*, undated, from Manuel Carero de Dios, et. al., *Toledo en la fotografía de Alguacil, 1832-1914* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1983), p. 45.

6.16. José Rodrigo, *Vendedor de agua, Lorca*, ca. 1870, from Publio López Mondéjar, *Las Fuentes de la memoria: Fotografía y sociedad en la España del siglo XIX* (Barcelona 7 Madrid: Lunwerg Editores, [1989]), p. 186.

6.17. Martín Rico, *Plaza and Street, Toledo*, undated. Oil on canvas, 8 3/4 x 13 3/4 inches. Location unknown, formerly in the collection William Hood Stewart.

6.18. Robert F. Blum, *An Old Street*, ca. 1882-9, from Susan N. Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," *Century Magazine* 39 (November 1889), p. 34.

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6.24. Robert Frederick Blum, *Spanish Courtyard with Flower Pots*, ca. 1882. Oil on panel, 9 3/8 x 12 5/8 inches. Private Collection.

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6.28. F. Hopkinson Smith, *Street Scene in Seville*, 1882. Watercolor and gouache over pencil on paper, 14 3/8 x 23 1/4 inches. Signed, dated, and inscribed lower right: F. Hopkinson Smith / Seville - Oct. 82. Private Collection, courtesy Spanierman Gallery, New York.

6.29. Charles S. Reinhart, *Toledo Servitors at the Fountain*, ca. 1881, from George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64 (May 1882), p. 813.

6.30. Charles Frederic Ulrich, *Washerwomen, Seville*, ca. 1888. Oil on wood panel, 19 x 24 inches. Private Collection, courtesy Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York.

6.31. Childe Hassam, *Church Procession, Spanish Steps*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 12 1/2 x 17 inches. Signed and dated lower left: Childe Hassam / 1883. Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1990, lot 53.

6.32. Childe Hassam, *A Street in Denia Spain*, 1883. Watercolor on paper, 11 1/2 x 9 inches. Signed, dated, and inscribed left center: Childe Hassam 83 / Spain. Christie's, New York, December 7, 1984, lot 113.

6.33. Childe Hassam, *Spanish Street*, 1883. Watercolor on paper, 12 x 15 5/8 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Introduction

> Spain abounds in attractions to Americans. Perhaps this is chiefly because there are few countries which present such strong and sharp contrasts with our own. Instead of the restless activity and enterprise which are here constantly reaching out for new fields of exertion, we find there a disregard of the present and a carelessness for the future which are almost incomprehensible. While we are making history, the Spaniard is content with the ages which lie behind him.
>
> "Spanish Sketches," *Scribner's Monthly*, December 1875.[1]

This dissertation examines the combination of admiration and disdain embedded in the paintings of Spain by six North American artists -- Samuel Colman, George Henry Hall, Thomas Eakins, Mary Cassatt, John Singer Sargent, and William Merritt Chase -- who traveled to the Iberian peninsula during the second half of the nineteenth century. The four decades preceding the Spanish-American War of 1898 marked a period of profound change in the relationship between Spain and the United States. North Americans of the late nineteenth century viewed Spain as an important contributor to the history of western civilization, but saw little in its present circumstances to suppose a significant influence on future world affairs. The American artists who traveled to Spain communicated this perception in their motivations for visiting, their reactions to the Spanish people, and the paintings they created. The six artists who form the nucleus of this study represent a much larger number of Americans who were attracted to Spain during this critical period. Their paintings, writings, and itineraries functioned as paradigms for the others, defining and promoting an ambivalent and contradictory view of art and life in Spain.

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North American artists were motivated to visit Spain during the nineteenth century for two immediately apparent reasons. In Spain, they could study the work of Bartolomé Murillo, Diego Velázquez, Francisco Goya, and the other Spanish masters at the Prado, thus expanding their artistic knowledge and completing their academic educations. At the same time, nineteenth-century Spain -- especially the small towns of Castile and the Moorish monuments of southern Andalusia -- afforded artists picturesque subjects for their own compositions. Samuel Colman became one of the first American painters to dedicate himself extensively to Spanish subjects when he traveled abroad in the summer of 1860, and George Henry Hall arrived later that autumn. Both artists portrayed a rather one-dimensional view of Spain, filling their canvases with a narrow range of traditional scenes that ignored the social and industrial changes that were slowly modernizing the country. They spent most of their time in southern Spain, the poorest and least developed part of the country, and their paintings evoke the grandeur of the Spanish past and its present state of decline.

Thomas Eakins visited Spain nine years later, during the winter of 1869-70. Eakins chose Spain as his destination at the encouragement of his French teachers after three years of rigorous academic training in Paris. His work, and that of his colleagues, displays the growing importance of studying Velázquez's paintings at the Prado and the perception of Spain as a gateway to the Orient.[2] Eakins's compatriot Mary Cassatt also incorporated the lessons of Velázquez into her work when she visited Spain during the winter of 1872-3. Both Eakins and Cassatt painted colorful

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Spanish types -- Eakins the gypsy street performer and Cassatt the Sevillian bullfighter and the flirtatious *maja* -- and they transformed these subjects into stereotyped images readily appreciated by a foreign audience. It was the difference of Spanish subjects from conventional American ideals that made gypsies, bullfighters, and *majas* so interesting to paint.

John Singer Sargent and William Merritt Chase complete this group of American artists in Spain. Sargent created *El Jaleo* (1882; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston), the most famous Spanish subject to be painted by an American, after his visit to the Iberian peninsula in 1879. Partly through its association with the scandalous behavior of the heroine in Bizet's *Carmen*, Sargent's image was often seen as the Spanish personification of the alluring and threatening *femme fatale*. Chase met Sargent before his visit to Spain of 1881, and he returned there, with his friend Robert Blum, in 1882. They found a rich cache of picturesque subject matter and piercing out-of-door light. Like the artists who preceded them, Chase and Blum depicted traditional Spanish scenes, which were described by Americans in ambivalent tones of praise and opprobrium. Selective and unrealistic, the American view of Spain was marked by contradiction.

Painting primarily for patrons and exhibitions in the United States and France, all six of these artists recorded famous tourist sites and picturesque types that were easily recognized by a non-Spanish audience. As a group these artists are homogeneous in race, class, and religion (white, middle-class, and Protestant), but diverse in their artistic education, specialization, professional accomplishment, and

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gender. They include both the self-taught and the academically trained, both landscapists and figure painters, both the famous and the obscure, and both men and a woman. Each of these six forms the focal point of a chapter, with related artists and their work introduced when appropriate, to reinforce the principal themes of the dissertation. As creators of culture, these painters promoted and sustained the ideals of the bourgeois American establishment. Their views of Spain tell us less about Spain than about what the United States wanted it to be.[3]

The first Americans to visit Spain found that traveling there was significantly less comfortable than it was in the other countries of western Europe. Construction of a Spanish railway system did not begin until 1855, and most travel before 1870 was made by diligence, a mule-drawn carriage that wound its way slowly along narrow dusty highways. Roadside inns of variable quality provided occasional reprieves from the bumps and shudders of the carriage, but many travelers found it a relief to leave these primitive rest stops and return to the relative comfort of the coach. Travelers routinely complained of the conditions. For example, William Cullen Bryant, visiting Spain during the fall of 1857, filled his letters with vivid descriptions of the unexpected costs, poor food, and flea-infested lodgings that he encountered on his journey. After enduring countless inconveniences, Bryant finally arrived in the Spanish capital only to find more of the same: "The hotels of Madrid have the reputation, which I believe they deserve, of being the dearest in Europe, and the worst to be found in any of the large capitals."[4]

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The difficulty of travel was just one manifestation of the country's poorly developed infrastructure, for economic and industrial progress came more gradually to Spain than to the rest of Europe. During the years from 1830 to 1900, Spain made only small moves toward modernization and significant changes did not occur until the early twentieth century.[5] Spain also suffered from higher infant mortality rates, lower life expectancies, and slower population growth than did other European countries. Epidemics of infectious disease were frequent, and both yellow fever and cholera outbreaks afflicted the population several times over the course of the nineteenth century.[6]

Topography undoubtedly contributed to Spain's slow development and its isolation from the rest of Europe. Surrounded on three sides by water, Spain projects southward toward North Africa from the westernmost tip of the European continent. The second most mountainous country in Europe after Switzerland, it is separated from France by the Pyrenees, which, with peaks towering to more than 11,000 feet, discouraged border crossings except on the coasts. More obstacles inhibit transportation within the country: the Cantabrian Mountains in Asturias and in the Basque regions; the Iberians in Aragon; the Guadarrama and Guadalupe ranges in Castile; and the Cordilleras of Andalusia. The climate is also harsh, with the Castillian *meseta* in the center of the country enduring wide temperature fluctuations and the Andalusian south experiencing continuously high temperatures and little rain. Although Spain's coastal towns developed efficient maritime transportation systems, travel within the rugged interior improved only gradually during the course of the

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nineteenth century.[7] The American artists who traveled south of the Pyrenees before the introduction of the railroad in 1855 numbered fewer than ten; between 1860 and 1900 their number dramatically increased to well over one hundred (Appendix 1).

When nineteenth-century artists began their Iberian pilgrimages, they brought with them the knowledge of Spain's long involvement in international affairs. In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella, known as the *reyes católicos* (Catholic kings), had expelled the Jews and the Moors from Spain and brought the peninsula under their sole administration. That same year, they agreed to finance Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Indies, an act that led to their discovery of the Americas and the launching of a Spanish empire that surpassed by the sixteenth century all other European powers. Supported by vast returns from the Spanish colonies that were established in the Americas, the Spanish empire experienced a long period of international influence and a Golden Age in the arts that lasted into the seventeenth century.

Spain's European neighbors were understandably jealous, and one of the most compelling aspects of their rivalry was the development of the *leyenda negra* (black legend), a negative characterization of the Spanish people, clergy, and government that was promoted during the course of the Renaissance and Reformation.[8] The roots of the *leyenda negra* are usually traced to Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566), the Spanish cleric responsible for writing a short, but powerful, critique of colonialism in the Americas, titled *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de la Indias* and published

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in Seville in 1552. Filled with chilling accounts of Spanish atrocities committed against the native populations of the colonies, this tract was used by Spain's enemies to portray the Spanish as a uniquely vicious, fanatically Catholic, and greedy people. It was reprinted repeatedly during the course of the next centuries, most frequently in France, Holland, Germany, and England. Several translations of Las Casas's book were published in the United States as well, one with the title *An Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacre and Slaughter of 20,000,000 People in the West Indies by the Spaniards*, which was published in 1898 to coincide with the Spanish-American War.[9]

By the early nineteenth century the Spanish empire was crumbling. Beginning with the Napoleonic invasion of 1808, the Spanish Bourbon monarchy spent much of its energy battling one challenge to its sovereignty after another. In 1813 the French were expelled, and Ferdinand VII regained control of the country in 1814, ushering in a period of severely reactionary social measures. France intervened in Spanish affairs again in 1823 to support the king when liberal forces threatened his rule. Several years before his death in 1833, Ferdinand transferred the rights of succession from his brother, Don Carlos, to his infant daughter, Isabella II. The civil war (1833-40) that resulted from this action was only provisionally resolved with the creation of a constitutional monarchy in 1839. Amidst military uprisings, political jockeying, and a continuous threat from supporters of Don Carlos, Isabella managed to maintain control until 1868, when a popular revolution abruptly dethroned her and forced her into exile. Attempts to establish a republic failed, and the Bourbon monarchy again

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returned to power a mere five years later.

Meanwhile, with Spanish attention diverted by this succession of internal crises, the colonies in the Americas began to declare their independence. The United States had acquired its independence in 1776, and during the early nineteenth century this newly formed country began its own period of territorial expansion, much of it achieved at the expense of Spain. At the beginning of the century, Spain wanted to maintain its possessions in Florida and the area west of the Mississippi as a buffer against possible encroachment by the United States into the Caribbean and Mexico. The 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty gave Florida to the United States in return for United States recognition of Spain's claim to Mexico, but the Mexicans did not cooperate and declared their own independence from Spain in 1821. Texas and California became American territories after the Mexican-American War of 1846-8. By the time American attention shifted to the Caribbean, Spain's colonial influence in the Americas had weakened considerably; most of South America had gained its independence, and only Puerto Rico and, most importantly, Cuba remained in Spanish control.

Nineteenth-century Cuba was particularly rich in sugar and other trade possibilities, but because of its dependence of slavery, the United States maintained a certain ambivalence about acquiring the island and raising this controversial issue in Congress. An attempt was made to purchase Cuba in 1848-9, but Spain was unwilling to sell one of its last colonial possessions. During the following two decades, the United States and Spain quarreled over trade with the island several

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times, and the occasional attempts by Spain to stop American vessels in the Caribbean heightened hostility. Cuba's first bid for independence from Spain resulted in the Ten Years' War, which dragged on from 1868 to 1878. The United States remained nominally neutral, but did supply covert aid to the Cuban insurgents. Tensions between Spain and the United States rose particularly high in 1873 after the *Virginius Affair*, when Spain seized and executed the crew of a vessel being used by American supporters of the Cuban Revolution to send supplies to the island. A number of Americans were killed in the incident, and only delicate diplomacy kept the two nations from going to war.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 was linked to Cuba's second bid for independence, and as historian James Cortada pointed out in *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*, this war "was not an accident but the logical outcome of a century-old competition for control of the Caribbean."[10] In 1895 the Cuban nationalist José Martí had begun to rally support, and as fighting between the *independistas* and the Spaniards grew increasingly brutal, American opinion inclined decidedly toward Cuba and against Spain. When the battleship *Maine* mysteriously exploded in the harbor of Havana on February 15, 1898, the power of public opinion in the United States forced the nation to war. It was all over in a few months. As a result of the Spanish-American War, Spain handed her last colonial possessions -- Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines -- to the United States, culminating a pattern that had characterized the relationship between the two countries for most of the nineteenth century: just as one nation began to flex its muscle in foreign affairs, the

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other lost its foothold on the North American continent.

Although these conflicts with Spain were not overtly depicted in the art of American painters, many artists referred to the tensions between the two countries in letters to family and friends. Cassatt, in Italy with Emily Sartain in 1872 and planning a trip to Spain for later that year, was undoubtedly concerned by news reports involving American action on behalf of Cuba in the Ten Years' War. Sartain inquired about the threat in a letter to her father: "The papers here prognosticate a war between the United States and Spain about Cuba. Is it really impending?"[11] Chase, in Spain just before the eruption of the Spanish-American War of 1898, expressed the desire to pack up several paintings by Velázquez -- the only aspect of Spanish culture he considered worth protecting -- for shipment to New York.[12] And Sargent, returning to Spain in either 1902 or 1903, jokingly reported that his reception by the Spanish belied their devastating defeat. "These Spaniards are the most amiable people in the world, they put themselves out for you in the most extraordinary way. With the common people," he added, "it is no disadvantage being an American, for their newspapers told them that they gave us the most tremendous licking in Cuba."[13]

American interest in Spain, developing along a pattern similar to that which prevailed in England and France, was conditioned by this contentious history and marked by hostility.[14] George Ticknor, the founder of Hispanic studies in the United States, became the first professor of Spanish literature at Harvard University

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in 1819. In his lectures, which were eventually published in 1849 as *A History of Spanish Literature*, Ticknor employed literary history as a means of understanding the national character of Spain in contrast to that of the United States. George Mariscal, in his 1990 essay "An Introduction to the Ideology of Hispanism in the U.S. and Britain," described the results of Ticknor's enterprise as follows:

> The emergence of Spanish literary history through Ticknor's work cannot be understood apart from the project to construct a national literature in the U.S. undertaken in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In the simplest terms, Spain was to function as Other for the construction of an American imperial identity. . . . Ticknor figured the national character of Spain as one of "lofty enthusiasm" for chivalry and Catholicism. For his New England entrepreneurial and Protestant constituency, this was tantamount to pronouncing Spanish culture dead. The general decadence associated in Ticknor's intellectual milieu with both Spain and France would have a profound effect upon the initial moments of U.S. Hispanism, for if the United States was an empire on the rise, Spain was an ominous emblem of an empire in ruins.[15]

Ticknor's work on Spanish literature provided his American readers with a model of what to emulate and what to eschew in the creation of a Golden Age for the United States. Empire and wealth were to be acquired, but monarchism and Catholicism were definitely to be avoided.

Norman P. Tucker, countering this negative characterization of Spain, noted in his 1980 book *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850* that early American appreciation for Spain often intersected with an interest in America's own history. According to Tucker, "Hispanism developed most strongly in American literature in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. This tendency included not only the exaltation of the literary traditions of the Spanish past, but also a revival of Spanish history, especially that

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which concerned the discovery, conquest, colonization and civilization of America."[16] It was from this period of Spanish history that Americans chose their models.

The public was particularly fascinated by Ferdinand and Isabella, and one of the earliest nineteenth-century histories of Spain was *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic*, published in 1837 by Ticknor's student William Hickling Prescott. The accomplishments of the *reyes católicos* provided the foundation for the Golden Age of Spain, and the cultural achievements of that era -- Miguel de Cervantes's picaresque novel, *Don Quijote*; Bartolomé Murillo's picturesque images of Sevillian street children; and Diego Velázquez's extraordinary paintings *Las Meninas* and *Las Hilanderas* -- became touchstones of Spanish culture, admired, emulated, and popularized by nineteenth-century Americans.

Washington Irving complemented Prescott's work on the *reyes católicos* with *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, a book adapted from the work of Don Martín Fernández de Navarrete and published in 1828. During his three-year sojourn in Spain, which extended from 1826 to 1829, Irving visited Madrid and Andalusia, where he wrote *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, published in 1829, and *The Alhambra*, which appeared in 1832. The latter is a compilation of fantastic legends surrounding the past and present inhabitants of the ancient Moorish fortress. A work of fiction rather than history, *The Alhambra* promoted a romanticized view of Spain's glittering past and contemporary decline that, more than the work of any other writer, was responsible for the popularity of Spanish subjects in

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the United States.[17] Many American travelers carried *The Alhambra* with them, using it to explain the landmarks and people of Spain.

The combination of appreciation and objection that characterized American views of Spanish history extended to considerations of contemporary Spain. The political instability that plagued Spain in the nineteenth century reinforced Americans' belief in the decadence of monarchical and Catholic rule and provided a credible cause for the country's slow move toward modernization. Traditional forms of labor, long outmoded in the rest of Europe and the United States, were still practiced in many of Spain's provincial towns. *Lavanderas* washing clothes on the banks of a river, vendors selling fruit and flowers at outdoor markets, and *cigarreras* rolling tobacco in Seville's renowned factory seemed quaint and old fashioned to American visitors. Seeking out the seventeenth-century worlds of *Don Quijote* and Bartolomé Murillo, American artists brought them back to life -- complete with lazy peasants, crafty brigands, and alluring women -- in their canvases of contemporary Spain.[18]

Spanish entertainment also provided a contrast to American experience: the drama of a flamenco performance and the visceral excitement of the bullfight were almost completely unknown in polite American society, and attendance at these events provided a temporary release from acceptable codes of behavior. An afternoon of cheering at the ritualized death of a bull or an evening in a dance hall were hardly condoned behaviors for genteel, middle-class Americans. In Spain, travelers could do as the Spaniards did. And if they criticized the proceedings, as Americans invariably did after attending the bullfight, they were simply claiming their own superior moral

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position.

Both the bullfight and flamenco were native to Seville, and after the art galleries of Madrid, this city was the most frequent destination for Americans in Spain. Seville's climate is dry, its streets are narrow, and its whitewashed buildings shelter beautifully tiled courtyards cooled by exotic Moorish fountains. According to one nineteenth-century guidebook, "Seville is one of the most agreeable towns in Spain for a lengthened residence in winter and early spring."[19] Granada was another popular Andalusian city, its association with the Moors and the Alhambra making it especially appealing to artists with an affinity for Orientalist subjects. Closer to Madrid, the city of Toledo offered a third picturesque destination. Toledo's dramatic surroundings and historical importance were greatly appreciated by travelers to the city, and guidebooks praised its sites as "a perfect contrast" to the modernity of Madrid. In Toledo, they pointed out, "everything is solid, venerable and antique."[20]

Industrial development and the cosmopolitan aspects of Spain's more burgeoning cities were almost completely ignored by late-nineteenth-century painters. "The winds of change have arrived in Spain's largest cities," wrote a Spanish journalist in 1870, lamenting the loss of native characteristics in the larger towns of the peninsula. "Foreign literature has modified our customs; our picturesque national costumes have disappeared; the *polka* and *can-can* have replaced the *fandago* y *manchegas*."[21] Changes were occurring (albeit more slowly than in the rest of Europe), but American artists chose to ignore them, rarely incorporating these new and more international aspects of Spanish experience into their images of Spain. The

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Spanish empire, with its legacy of artistic and political preeminence, was a compelling model for the United States, a young nation ready to become a world power in its own right. Viewing Spain selectively -- defining her successes and describing her flaws -- became a means of countering the legacy of Spanish domination in the Americas and predicting an eminent future for the United States of America.

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1. "Spanish Sketches," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (December 1875), p. 213.

2. For the definitive text on western perceptions of the Orient, referring especially to North Africa and the Near East, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978.)

3. In this regard, my work evokes the lessons of T. J. Jackson Lears in *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

4. William Cullen Bryant, Madrid, November 15, 1857, in William Cullen Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller*, 2nd ser. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1859), p. 123.

5. On Spain's slow rate of modernization relative to that of the other countries in Europe, see Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, ed., *The Economic Modernization of Spain, 1830-1930* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1987).

6. Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 25.

7. Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain*, pp. 9-10.

8. The concept of the *leyenda negra* was introduced by Julián Juderías in 1913, but very little on the subject has been published in English. See Philip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (Vallecito, Calif.: Ross House Books, 1985) and Carlton J. Hayes, *The United States and Spain: An Interpretation* (1951; repr., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970). In Spanish, see Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Leyenda negra: Historia y opinión* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992).

9. As an example of the biased nature discussions of Spanish character sometimes took during the nineteenth century, see "Spanish Character," *Appleton's Journal* 11 (February 7, 1874), pp. 182-3. This column began with the following observation: "The lower classes are exceedingly superstitious, especially the women. Among the middle classes, the men appeared to me, very frequently, to have no belief in any thing except in the everlasting perdition of all Protestants."

10. James Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. x.

11. Emily Sartain to John Sartain, Parma, February 3, 1872, Sartain Family Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 2727, frames 317-20.

12. "Talk on the Old Masters by Mr. Chase," New York School of Art, November 17, 1906, William Merritt Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N69-137, fr. 503.

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13. Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 171. This letter was written from Aranjuez in either 1902 or 1903. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it would be interesting to consider Sargent's series of Spanish soldiers recuperating from the War at the Hospital Real of Santiago de Compostela in this context.

14. See Alisa Luxenberg, "Over the Pyrenees and Through the Looking-Glass: French Culture Reflected in Its Imagery of Spain" and Xanthe Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain, 1820-1900," in Suzanne Stratton et al., *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (exh. cat., New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with The Spanish Institute, 1993). On the importance of Hispanism for American writers, see Stanley T. Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955).

15. George Mariscal, "An Introduction to the Ideology of Hispanism in the U.S. and Britain," in Peter W. Evans, ed., *Conflicts of Discourse: Spanish Literature in the Golden Age* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 2-3.

16. Norman P. Tucker, *Americans in Spain: Patriots, Expatriates and the Early American Hispanists, 1780-1850* (exh. cat., Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1980), p. 16.

17. Other American writers who contributed to the body of literature on Spain during the early nineteenth century include Caleb Cushing, who published *Reminiscences of Spain* in 1833; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who published a book of travel sketches called *Outre-Mer* in 1833; and Bayard Taylor, who published *Views A-Foot* in 1846.

18. Luxenberg, "Over the Pyrenees and Through the Looking Glass," p. 14. August F. Jaccaci wrote of walking in Don Quijote's footsteps in "On the Trail of Don Quijote," *Scribner's Magazine* 20 (August 1896), pp. 135-47; (September 1896), pp. 295-306; and (October 1896), pp. 481-94.

19. Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845; 7th ed., London: John Murray, 1888), p. 317.

20. Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, p. 138.

21. My translation, Manuel Fernández y González, "Madrid que se va: La Fuente de vecinidad," *La Ilustración española y americana*, año 14, núm. 8 (April 10, 1870), p. 119.

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Chapter 1: Samuel Colman, Landscape Painting, and Picturesque Spain

> A picturesque bridge was thrown across the little river, at one end of which was the ancient Moorish mill of the castle, defended by a tower of yellow stone; a fisherman's net hung against the wall to dry, and hard by in the river was his boat; a group of peasant women in bright-colored dresses, crossing the arched bridge, were reflected in the placid stream. Altogether it was an admirable scene for a landscape painter.
>
> Washington Irving, *The Alhambra*, 1832[1]

Samuel Colman (1832-1920) became one of the earliest American artists to paint the Spanish landscape when he traveled abroad in the summer of 1860.[2] Although several other American painters preceded him to the Iberian peninsula, Colman was the first to dedicate himself extensively to the country's features and history.[3] The son of a successful bookseller and publisher, Colman grew up in New York City, where his exposure to the artists, engravers, and writers working for his father's publishing house presumably sparked his interest in art. After a three-month trek through Andalusia, Colman settled in Paris and began work on a series of paintings that depict such Spanish landmarks as the British-controlled Rock of Gibraltar, the city of Seville, and the fortress of the Alhambra at Granada. These works introduced the nineteenth-century American public to the physical appearance of a country that was still little known, but of increasing interest.

Colman entered the Spanish peninsula at Gibraltar, using a port frequented by American, and especially British, travelers (see map, fig. 1.1).[4] From France the

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Bayonne-San Sebastian route, crossing the border at Irún on the western coast, was also popular, and occasionally the Perpignan-Barcelona route was used as well. Colman's decision to begin in Gibraltar followed the published advice of travel writers who preceded him, and he undoubtedly used a guidebook such as Richard Ford's immensely popular *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, first published in London in 1845 and repeatedly updated over the rest of the nineteenth century.[5] Colman carefully inscribed many of his Spanish sketches, enabling a comprehensive reconstruction of his itinerary, and his route through Andalusia is almost identical to one suggested in Ford's *Hand-Book*.

Beginning in May 1860, Colman traveled northward from Gibraltar through Seville. He arrived in Cordova in early June, and from there proceeded east to Granada, where he stayed for several weeks. A dated sketch of the town of Ronda affirms his continued presence in Andalusia until the end of July. Plotting his trip on Ford's map of Andalusia reveals that Colman made a large circle through the region, taking in the major sites. Leaving southern Spain, Colman traveled northward to Madrid, where he left off sketching in order to view the country's single most comprehensive collection of works by the Spanish School. The Museo del Prado, housing the collections of the Spanish monarchy, was a key attraction for many Americans, and Colman signed the Visitor's Register there on both August 8 and 11.[6] He departed shortly thereafter, perhaps boarding a steamer in Valencia for southern France. By September 10 he was in Paris, sharing a studio with George Boughton and painting pictures from his Spanish sketches.[7] Of these paintings, his

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images of Gibraltar, Seville, and Granada are the most ambitious.

Gibraltar, where Colman first came ashore, has a rich military history. In 711 A.D., Tariq ibn Zayyad captured the Rock as the initial step in the Moorish invasion of Spain, and the name Gibraltar derives from the Arabic words *Jebel Tariq* (Tariq's Mountain). The Spanish retook it in 1462, only to lose it again, this time to the British in 1704 during the War of the Spanish Succession. Despite several attempts by Spain to regain the territory during the eighteenth century -- most notably during the Great Siege of 1779-82 -- Gibraltar remains even today a British colony, prized for its position at the entrance to the Mediterranean. Separated from Spain by a narrow strip of sand called the Neutral Ground, the Rock forms a narrow peninsula almost three miles long that juts out into the sea (see map, fig. 1.2).[8]

Even before Colman's visit to the site, Gibraltar had captured the imagination of American history painters. Both John Singleton Copley and John Trumbull painted the Great Siege: Copley in *The Siege of Gibraltar* (1783-91; Guildhall Art Gallery, London) and Trumbull in *Sortie Made by the Garrison of Gibraltar* (1786-9; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). While Trumbull's *Sortie* depicts an incursion by British forces in 1781 into Spanish territory to destroy the breastworks from which they were being attacked, Copley's *Siege* shows the destruction in 1782 of the floating batteries designed by the Spanish to subdue the British forces on the Rock. Carefully choosing themes that aligned themselves with their British patrons, both painters promoted a vision of English strength as well as compassion toward the Spanish adversaries.[9] The numerous successes of the British defence during the

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Great Siege led to Gibraltar's reputation as an impregnable fortress.

Eighty years after the Siege, Colman's visit to the site resulted in a series of landscape, rather than history, paintings. Colman had studied during the 1850s with Asher B. Durand, President of the National Academy of Design and leader of the Hudson River School, and his earliest paintings recorded the New England scenery that was still so popular. By 1860, when the young artist arrived in Spain, American landscape painters were beginning to move beyond the familiar Hudson River scenery to more distant, lesser-known places. Frederic E. Church, for example, had traveled to Ecuador in 1853 and 1857, and Albert Bierstadt journeyed westward across the United States in 1859 (and would again in 1863). Like Church and Bierstadt, Colman used his travels to find new subjects for art. The sketches from his trip to Spain served as source material for future canvases, composed later in Paris and New York.[10]

In their directness and informality, Colman's Spanish sketches differ from the paintings that he later based on them. Most are pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, and their novel subject matter encouraged Colman to show them to other young American painters. On September 24, 1860, he modestly wrote to his brother-in-law from Paris: "My Spanish sketches I have shown to the young American artists here and they are all . . . [ready] to start for the same land not on account of the merit in the sketches but for the interesting material."[11] Often, as in the Huntington Library's sketch *Gibraltar* (fig. 1.3), the drawings record details of the

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topography; for this view, Colman was standing near O'Hara's Battery, near the Mediterranean Steps, at the southeastern end of the Rock, looking northward (see map, fig. 1.2).[12]

Colman's finished paintings, including a large view of Gibraltar formerly at Knoedler Galleries and a smaller one in the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, depict the Rock from the northwest (figs. 1.4 and 1.5).[13] For this well-known vantage point, the painter stood on Spanish ground and looked toward the British-controlled peninsula.[14] While the Knoedler painting (which was probably exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1863) includes the Spanish coastline at left, as well as the fort of San Felipe, the Smith Museum version assumes a closer view from a boat on the Bay of Algeciras.[15] A low band of mist, known in Gibraltar as the Levanter Cloud, partially obscures the harbor. Caused by the condensation of warm Mediterranean air deflected upward by the Rock, this cloud frequently covers Gibraltar and its surrounding area during the summer months.

Clearly visible in both paintings are the rows of tunneled portholes from which British cannons aimed at Spain poke out through the rock every twelve yards. Although in 1860, it had been over sixty years since the last military encounter, these holes served as an important reminder of British artillery strength. The Spaniards derisively called them *los dientes de la vieja*, or the old woman's teeth.[16] Gibraltar's fortress-like impression was heightened by the rules of martial law imposed on nineteenth-century visitors. The gates to the city opened with the morning-gun at sunrise and closed again at sunset. A visitor of 1864 called Gibraltar

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"a rock bristling with cannon," and reported that "no foreigner can reside here beyond a limited time without a special permit, or unless some consul or householder becomes his surety."[17]

In order for it to survive economically, the British opened up Gibraltar as a free port, and most of the population -- a mixture of British, Moorish, Jewish, and Genoese -- worked in the export trade. Colman's paintings, in fact, suggest the active nature of Gibraltar's shipping business; both depict the ample bay and calm waters that offered a sheltered port to all manner of vessels, both commercial and military. According to Jack Putnam of the South Street Seaport Museum, the wide variety of craft in these views is compatible with the time period and represents a "truly international amalgam" of ships.[18] In the Smith Museum version, for example, the boats include from left to right: several Spanish feluccas (a light-weight Mediterranean craft, usually used as a fishing boat or water taxi); a steam paddle tug, a hoy (a broad vessel able to carry extremely heavy items, often used by the British for carrying anchors); a warship firing a salute to what may be a flagship going by; and a sheer hulk (an older vessel stripped down except for one mast and used primarily for lifting things into and out of other vessels). Colman activated the left foreground of his paintings as well; the Smith Museum version includes several small boats in which colorfully-dressed locals pull up along side each other to talk and perhaps to trade goods, while the Knoedler painting depicts a grouping of beached feluccas as well as other incidental activity both on the land and in the water.

Colman's paintings of Gibraltar were praised in the 1860s for their careful

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detail and fidelity to nature. Of the Knoedler painting, one critic wrote:

> [Colman] shows us the grand old historical monument as it appears on a tranquil summer's day, lifting its majestic summit from a calm, unruffled sea, into a serene and cloudless sky, and glowing in the golden rays of the noonday sun. We regard the picture as a splendid success. While it does not lack in the poetical treatment of its great competitors, it has also all the fidelity to the actual that we could desire. The town and craft at the base of the rock, the fortifications, the geological formation, the incidents of the busy neighboring shore, from which it is seen, all are carefully rendered.[19]

Clearly including particular information about the nature and purpose of the marine activity found in Gibraltar's harbor, as well as the topography of the Rock, Colman's paintings differ markedly from the views of Gibraltar painted by marine painters such as Charles Temple Dix (1840-1873) and James E. Buttersworth (1817?-1894). Dix, for example, painted a marine view of Gibraltar (fig. 1.6) from the south. But here the three-masted barque, British warship, French merchant ship, and other sailing vessels have let out more canvas than warranted by the wind.[20] Employing dramatic license, Dix added these spectacularly wind-filled sails along with a choppy sea in order to create greater excitement.

Buttersworth also painted a number of maritime views that included Gibraltar in the background. However, in pictures such as *British War Ships off Gibraltar* or *American Brig Off Gibraltar* (figs. 1.7 and 1.8), the land behind the boats is interchangeable with any one of a number of backdrops. Buttersworth probably borrowed the background from engravings reproduced in popular literature of the day, and there is no indication that he ever actually visited Gibraltar.[21] Clearly both Dix and Buttersworth were more concerned with the portrayal of a particular type of ship or the suggestion of a dramatic mood than in the topographic evocation of nineteenth-

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century Gibraltar.

Colman's views of Gibraltar dramatically differ from his portrayals of Seville, the second major city on his itinerary. Seville was closely linked with the discovery of the Americas, for it was through this city that all trade was subsequently channeled. Seville's monopoly on Spanish trade in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries led to dramatic changes in the city's economic well-being. Gold and other riches on their way from the colonies to the Spanish monarchy poured into the city, the population swelled from 60,000 in 1530 to 150,000 by 1700, and vast fortunes were made by the city's many merchants. However, Spain's Golden Age, during the seventeenth-century reign of Felipe IV, coincided with the beginning of Seville's decline, and while the Sevillian-born painters Murillo and Velázquez were flourishing, the Guadalquivir River was beginning to silt up. With the increasing popularity of the port city of Cadiz during the eighteenth century, Sevillian commercial houses began to fail. By the nineteenth century, when Spain began to lose its American colonies, Seville was in the depths of a long period of decline.[22]

Given these circumstances, it comes as no surprise that Colman's conception of Seville seems more sentimental, even more nostalgic, than his images of Gibraltar. Whereas Gibraltar appears under the clear light of a midday sky, Seville, as in *Harbor of Seville* (fig. 1.9), is shown when the sun is low, with boats and skyline cast in dramatic silhouette. And while the harbor of Gibraltar serves as host to a wide variety of vessels, in Seville only small Spanish feluccas, with sails lowered, are

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pulled up near shore. The sun in *Harbor of Seville* rests midway between two of the city's most prominent architectural monuments -- the Giralda and the Torre de Oro. This view directly into the sun evokes works by both the seventeenth-century French master, Claude Lorrain, and the English Romantic painter, James Mallord William Turner.[23] Indeed, the temporal effect is far more romantic than that found in Colman's paintings of Gibraltar.

Both the Giralda and the Torre de Oro evoke Seville's glorious past. The Giralda, on the left of the painting, was originally the minaret of a twelfth-century Almohad mosque, which was crowned in the Renaissance by a bell-chamber and incorporated into Seville's cathedral during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the top of the belfry is an oscillating bronze figure of Faith, after which the building is named; *giralda* is the Spanish word for weather vane. While visiting Seville, Colman had recorded the architectural detailing of the tower's facade in a carefully rendered pencil and gouache drawing (fig. 1.10). This view from the west was extremely popular with both Spanish and foreign artists. Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer (Sevillian, 1817-1879) and John Frederick Lewis (English, 1805-1876) had both painted the Giralda from this angle earlier in the century (figs. 1.11 and 1.12). The well-preserved Moorish decoration, punctuated by a series of double-arched windows that light the ascending ramp within, and the Renaissance arcade at top, with the word *Fortissima* carefully inscribed in stone, are all clearly visible in Colman's drawing.

On the right side of *Harbor of Seville* is the Torre de Oro (Tower of Gold), a twelve-sided structure erected by the Moors during the thirteenth century for defense

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of the river. A narrow crenelated balcony offers three-hundred-and-sixty degrees of vision, and the uppermost chamber is covered with gold-colored tiles. In order to see these two historic edifices, the Giralda and the Torre de Oro, with the sun between them, Colman had to be standing in the Triana, on the west side of the Guadalquivir, looking due east (see map, fig. 1.13). Comparing the painting with Charles Clifford's contemporary photograph of the site (fig. 1.14), it becomes clear that Colman exaggerated the width of the river in order to dramatize the reflection of the lowered sun in its gently rippled surface.

Considering the eastward orientation, *Harbor of Seville* must represent a sunrise, but Colman left the hour unstated when he exhibited the painting to American viewers. Not being familiar with Sevillian topography, most assumed the sun was setting. In Boston, the reviewer for *The Art Journal* praised the painting for its sentimental suggestion of a time long past, equating Colman's evocation of Spanish history with the literary romanticism of Washington Irving:

> What a relief . . . is this soft sunset glow gilding the shipping and towers of the old city. If I were to formulate my impression of Samuel Colman from the two pictures now on exhibition here, I should say, as Irving is to literature, so is Colman to painting. Refinement characterizes his work: a refinement that never degenerates to sentimentality, but sweet and clear, and strong, with a ring of the old ballad in this.
>
> > 'One day the King of Aragon, from the old citadel
> > Looked down upon the sea of Spain as the billows rose and fell;
> > He looked on ship and galley, some coming and some going,
> > With all their pride of merchandise, and all their streamers flowing.'[24]

This evocative ballad, as well as the words of the reviewer, make clear that for American viewers, the sun in Colman's painting is setting, rather than rising, on

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Seville as an important economic power. The heightened tones of sunset, rather than sunrise, were more appropriate for such a city, whose days of wealth and power -- whose economic prominence as the primary port for the Indies -- occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth rather than the nineteenth century.[25]

Colman also employed a transitional time of day in his *View of Seville* (fig. 1.15). In this work, a gouache and chalk painting on board, the composition is dominated by the Cathedral and Giralda in the center of the composition. At the far left, partially obscured by the moored feluccas, is the entrance to Seville's renowned bullring, the Maestranza, and to the right, a group of women on the riverbank launder clothing beneath a protective canopy of trees. More people are visible on the riverside promenade in front of the cathedral.

Colman composed these paintings of Seville without any indication of the city's move toward modernization. The steam-powered ferry and the newly-constructed iron bridge to Triana, both inaugurated during the fifteen years preceding Colman's visit, do not appear in Colman's views of the city. Other artists too, both foreign and native, omitted such details in order to enhance the picturesque appearance of the city. British painter David Roberts (1796-1864), who preceded Colman to Spain by almost thirty years, created a series of paintings that similarly evoke the romanticized Spanish past.

Roberts's interest in painting first found expression in his employment as a theatrical scene-painter in London.[26] His work required frequent travel and, with growing success in London, he was able to spend increasing amounts of time creating

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picturesque views of France, Belgium, Germany, Spain, and eventually Egypt and the Near East. Typical of his Spanish paintings is *La Torre de Oro* (fig. 1.16), which depicts the famous edifice from the east side of the Guadalquivir River. Like the views of Seville by Colman, Roberts illuminated the landscape with a low diffused light, suffusing the scene with a soft glow and the long shadows of a recently set sun.[27]

Spanish painters also romanticized the city, but for different reasons than did the foreigners. Enrique Valdivieso, the scholar who has most thoroughly surveyed the nineteenth-century paintings of Seville, noted in his 1991 essay for *Iconografía de Sevilla* that works by Spanish artists tend to take two distinct forms. Some, such as those by Antonio María Esquivel (1806-1857) and Jenaro Pérez Villamil (1807-1854) were similar in tone to those by Roberts and Colman (figs. 1.17 and 1.18). These landscapes were produced both for foreign tourists, who traveled in quest of the picturesque, as well as for the burgeoning Spanish middle class. Valdivieso found that views memorializing the features of the city before modernization enabled Spanish patrons to fix more permanently those aspects of Seville's history that were rapidly disappearing.[28]

Other Spanish artists acknowledged, and even featured, Seville's technological progress. In *La Ciudad desde el Sur* of 1851 (fig. 1.19), Manuel Barrón y Carrillo (1814-1884) included the recently introduced steam ferry among the many boats plying the river's waters.[29] The same artist made the new bridge to Triana, dedicated in 1852, the central element of his 1862 *Vista de Sevilla* (fig. 1.20). These

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pictures, featuring Seville's new public works, tended to assume a commemorative role. Primarily produced for a Sevillian audience, they held little interest for foreigners like Colman.

After leaving Seville, Colman spent most of the summer of 1860 in Granada, where he found a wealth of new material.[30] Granada is picturesquely located at the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, which makes its climate somewhat cooler than the rest of Andalusia. His lengthy stay there permitted him to explore in both sketches and paintings a range of the city's offerings. *Granada* (fig. 1.27), for example, depicts the Placeta de San Gregorio in the Albaicín section of the city.[31] This is the oldest section of Granada, with steep hills, narrow streets, and, in the nineteenth century, a large population of gypsies. The sixteenth-century Iglesia San Gregorio is on the extreme left of Colman's sketch, and the tower of Granada's Cathedral is visible in the distant background. To the right is a stepped passageway, leading higher and further up into the winding old neighborhood. *On the River Xenil* (fig. 1.28), another of Colman's sketches from Granada, portrays the Puente Verde, which crosses the Genil River on the eastern edge of the city. The Sierra Nevada is visible in the distance, and the foreground is filled with human activity; pedestrians, riders, even a horse-drawn carriage cross the gently-arched bridge, while beneath it groups of women wash clothing on the banks of the Genil.

The theme of the *lavandera* (washerwoman) made its way into a canvas known today as *Washing Day* (fig. 1.29).[32] A pen and ink drawing of the same site

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inscribed by the artist "The River Darro, Granada" (fig. 1.30) confirms the locale, a portion of the Darro now covered over by the streets of the city.[33] Here Colman painted a typical scene from nineteenth-century Granada. A raking eastern light shines brightly on the women washing linen on the banks of the Darro. The architecture is typical of southern Spain; Moorish windows, open-air balconies, and striped awnings all function to provide the inhabitants with relief from the powerful heat of Andalusia. Colman's British predecessors had also found Granada's old Moorish bridges a suitably picturesque theme. For example, *Old Buildings on the Darro, Granada* (fig. 1.31), by David Roberts, depicts a view similar to Colman's, looking upriver past the precariously hanging balconies toward an arched stone bridge.

Granada is also the site of the Alhambra, the best-known Islamic palace and the last holdout of Moorish Spain in the face of the advancing Spanish *reconquista*. Irving's focus on this site in both *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) and *The Alhambra* (1832) greatly contributed to American interest in the monument. *The Alhambra*, a compilation of Spanish and Moorish tales substantially composed during Irving's own residence in the palace, became one of Irving's most popular works and an important contribution to the mythology of Spain's past.

The Alhambra is built on a high plateau, separated from the city of Granada by the steep ravine of the Darro River (see maps, figs. 1.32 and 1.33). The name Alhambra refers to the red color of the soil used in constructing its buildings; *al-qal'a al-hamra* is Arabic for the red castle.[34] The oldest extant section of the complex is

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the Alcazaba, which was begun in 1238 as a defensive fortress on the site of an earlier edifice. Buildings were added during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and gradually the fortress was converted into a palatine city. The Alhambra is irregular in plan, constructed organically by its Nasrid rulers as the need or desire to add new palaces presented itself. After the expulsion of the Moors in 1492, Carlos V erected a large Renaissance palace within the Alhambra's perimeter. Outside the Alhambra's walls stand the Torres Bermejas (Vermillion Towers) and the Generalife. The Torres Bermejas were protective in function, and are linked to the Alhambra by a connecting wall that extends to the south. The Generalife, built above and to the north of the complex, was essentially a summer palace with splendidly designed gardens, which are irrigated by an aqueduct that ingeniously channels water from a higher point of the Darro.[35]

Two of Colman's sketches from Granada depict these outlying buildings -- *Torres Bermejas* and *The Generalife* (figs. 1.34 and 1.35) -- and the Alhambra, in fact, became a subject that Colman frequently painted upon his return to the United States. *Granada, Spain* (fig. 1.36), like Colman's paintings of Seville, depicts the edifice at sunset. A caravan of travelers issues from the palace, making an evening departure along a winding road. The dipping sun lends a romantic mood to the scene, its soft light gently illuminating the ancient fortress.

On the other hand, *The Hill of the Alhambra* (fig. 1.37), one of the most ambitious of Colman's Alhambra paintings, was painted in the full light of late afternoon. A critic from *The [New York] Evening Post*, visiting Colman in his studio,

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enthusiastically described this painting while it was in progress as a view of "the Alhambra as it was in Charles the Fifth's time, with its lofty towers and battlements, and the palace which that sovereign built."[36] Foot soldiers, cavalry, and brightly dressed peasants sally forth from the palace and across the bridge in a colorful procession, marking one of many festive occasions from the Renaissance monarch's reign.

Colman's portrayal of the Alhambra as it appeared in the sixteenth century lent prestige and importance to his painting, and in this respect it differed from his other paintings of Spain. For his more ambitious compositions, Colman scoured both history and literature for appropriate epochs in which to place his views. For example, *Near Antequera, Spain*, an unlocated painting created for Samuel A. Coale, Jr., was based on the writings of Washington Irving. Colman described the scene to Coale in 1870:

> I intended to send you a description of your first picture when I sent it to you, but you may find it on page 30 of Irving's Alhambra 'The Journey.' The city of Antequera in the foreground, in the middle distance the Vega, and the high mountain in the distance the famous Rock of the Lovers or El peñon de los enamorados. The subject is therefore in a measure historical.[37]

Colman undoubtedly intended *Hill of the Alhambra* to be "in a measure historical," as well. Rather than depicting specific events from history, however, these historical landscapes portray everyday scenes from Spain's illustrious past.[38]

Aside from including prancing horses and knights in shining armor, Colman made certain alterations to both the topography of the site and the preservation of the palace in order more picturesquely to convey the spirit of the sixteenth century.

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During the nineteenth century, much of the Alhambra, and especially the western Alcazaba, was in a partial state of ruin, but in Colman's painting there is no evidence of disrepair. A small oil sketch (fig. 1.38), possibly executed on the site, reveals that Colman manipulated the foreground by adding to his final composition the caves at left and, most importantly, the bridge and river at center. Although both bridges and caves are among the characteristic features of Granada, a visit to the site today confirms the impossibility of such a topographic combination. Colman took these elements from other sketches and added them to *The Hill of the Alhambra* for artistic effect.[39]

In contrast to the laudatory reviews heaped on Colman's paintings of Gibraltar and Seville, the response to this "historical landscape" was mixed. *The New-York Times* called *The Hill of the Alhambra* an "important Spanish subject, . . . in every respect a well-conceived and well-executed work,"[40] but *The [New York] Evening Post* did not agree. The critic wrote, "It is artistic, it is well painted, but it is also monotonous and false in color. It makes no impression like reality."[41] This reviewer, no doubt, had been influenced by Clarence Cook, who only a year earlier had scathingly criticized another Spanish painting by Colman, the unlocated *Alameda de Darro, Granada,* for this very same fault. According to Cook:

> There is no trace in this picture, and there has not been a trace in any picture which Mr. Colman has painted since his return from Spain of any intention on his part to study Nature, or of any desire to bring us intelligence of her. But we do find, in all of them, such ample evidence of his determination to have 'the picturesque' at all hazards, without regard to 'the truth' -- nay in open defiance of it, often, that we have long ceased to put faith in any statement which he makes -- on canvas.[42]

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Another reviewer called such works "pretentious," concluding a review with the hope that they "may be soon as completely forgotten as [they deserve] to be."[43] Colman's response to such criticism was naturally defensive and is found in a letter from the artist to John Quincy Adams Ward: "To make a long story short, my much abused Alham[bra] is in my room, the key with James, and if Sned[ecor Gallery] wants it he can have it if he will give it a good place, otherwise not, as I have had enough of that!"[44]

A key to the poor reception accorded Colman's *The Hill of the Alhambra* in 1865 may be found by looking at the American paintings sent to the Paris Exposition of 1867. Colman's *Hill of the Alhambra* was included in this exhibition, along with such icons of American landscape painting as Church's *Niagara Falls* (1857; Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and Bierstadt's *Rocky Mountains* (1863; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Carol Troyen has observed that the selection committee for the exposition consisted of a small group of closely connected New York artists and patrons, who made their selections in order to demonstrate the accomplishments of American art. Most of the works sent to the Exposition "treated native subjects and revealed an aesthetic of technical achievement rather than imagination."[45] Colman's painting displayed the detail-oriented Hudson River School technique, but was unusual in its historical theme and exotic subject. As cosmopolitanism began to increase in the years following the Civil War, conservative critics of the late 1860s maintained their preference for paintings of American, rather than foreign, subject matter.

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This preference for native subjects made its way into reviews of Colman's work. In 1869, for example, a writer for *The Galaxy* offered Colman some backhanded encouragement while praising his move away from Spanish themes:

> We notice, and take it as a hopeful sign for the future of American art, that many of our artists are giving their attention to purely American subjects. Colman, for instance, is painting a series of New York subjects with which he has been familiar from his boyhood; and we have no doubt he will do greater things with this city than he has done with the cities of old Spain.[46]

Colman's last submission of a Spanish subject to the National Academy of Design was in 1867, and during the following two decades he dedicated himself with increasing frequency to views of the west. Abandoning the Hudson River School style, Colman eventually adopted the subtle tones and evocative brushwork of the French Barbizon painters. The negative criticism of his large and detailed "historical landscapes" such as *The Hill of the Alhambra* undoubtedly contributed to his move.

Colman's trip to Spain in 1860 contributed both to the development of his own painting and to the development of American Hispanism. Aside from providing him with sketches for Spanish paintings such as *The Hill of the Alhambra*, *The Harbor of Seville*, and *Gibraltar*, Colman occasionally adapted the compositions of these Spanish paintings to his American landscapes. The compositional organization of *Gibraltar*, for example, with its combination of mountainous landscape background, foreground expanse of water, and modern amalgam of ships, is reiterated with only slight variation in *Storm King on the Hudson* (fig. 1.39).[47] Correspondingly, the romanticism of Colman's sunset views of Seville undoubtedly prepared the artist to

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adopt the Barbizon mode later in his career.

Colman's hispanism also provided him with an introduction to the exotic that, although only reluctantly appreciated during the 1860s, would link him to artists of the next generation. He traveled to North Africa in 1871, developed an avid affection for the East, collaborated on Orientalist decorative projects, and furnished his New York studio with Japanese porcelains, Chinese lacquers, and "an elaborate gilt arabesque in stucco, . . . part of the old Alhambra."[48] The use of Spain as an introduction to Islamic design and subject matter would become a primary motive for American artists' travels to the peninsula during the next two decades.

Such was the motivation of R. Swain Gifford (1840-1905) and Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), two young painters encouraged by Colman to visit Spain on the way to North Africa in 1870.[49] Both Gifford and Tiffany began their careers as landscape painters. Gifford had grown up on the Massachusetts coast, and his primary training came from the Dutch marine painter, Albert Van Beest, who suggested he leave Massachusetts in 1865 for the greater opportunities available in New York. Tiffany, on the other hand, was a native New Yorker, the son of the renowned jeweler and founder of Tiffany & Company. He spent several years in the studio of George Inness before entering the Parisian atelier of Léon Charles Adrien Bailly in 1868. Both Gifford and Tiffany recorded the beaches and mountains of New England before taking Colman's advice and traveling to Spain. While neither actually studied with Colman, both found his example an important source of inspiration.[50]

Gifford and Tiffany returned from Spain and North Africa in 1871, and

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although Egyptian scenes dominated their work of the next decade, their few paintings of Spain reveal Colman's continuing influence. Gifford's painting *Gibraltar* (location unknown) particularly impressed critics of the National Academy's exhibition of 1872. "R. Swain Gifford's 'Gibraltar,'" wrote a critic for *Appleton's Journal*, "is one of the largest paintings in the exhibition and at the first sight reminds us so strongly of Colman that we might suppose he was the painter. . . . Geographically this picture is very valuable, for we doubt if many people notwithstanding the wide fame of Gibraltar, have a very definite idea of its height, form, and surroundings."[51] As with Colman's earlier version of the subject, praise for Gifford's *Gibraltar* focused on its truthfulness to nature; Americans saw such works as straightforward, topographical depictions of an active British port.

Gifford's renderings of Spain itself, like Colman's, tended toward the more sentimental and nostalgic. Both Colman and Gifford provided illustrations during the 1880s for *The Story of Spain*, by Edward Everett Hale and his sister, Susan Hale, and *Spain and the Spaniards*, by Edmondo de Amicis. Colman's *Torre de Oro* (fig. 1.40) and Gifford's *Malaga* (fig. 1.41), both reproduced in *The Story of Spain*, are extremely close in conception; Gifford's illustration of *The Golden Tower* (fig. 1.42), published in *Spain and the Spaniards* is equally poetic.[52] These romantic images evocatively portray the architectural monuments of Spain's Moorish past. In them, the time of day appears transitional, the harbors are silent, and human activity is muted.

Tiffany's year with Bailly in Paris undoubtedly predisposed him toward exotic

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subject matter, and perhaps in order to avoid comparison with Colman, he painted more intimate views of the streets and countryside of Spain.[53] *San Roque, Spain* (fig. 1.43) depicts a small Spanish town near the border with Gibraltar.[54] Tiffany exhibited *San Roque* at the Brooklyn Art Association in 1871, and he sent another work, unassumingly titled *At a Well in Spain, Near the Straits of Gibraltar* (unlocated), to the National Academy of Design. Both these works, like the paintings by Gifford, avoid the historical posturing of Colmans' landscapes.

William Stanley Haseltine (1835-1900), a third artist to be trained in the Hudson River School tradition, also went to Spain in hope of discovering an exotic land redolent with fragments of its glorious past. Born in Philadelphia, Haseltine studied landscape painting in Düsseldorf at the same time as Albert Bierstadt and Worthington Whittredge. He returned to the United States in 1857 and established a studio in New York, where he painted scenes of the New England coast. In 1866 Haseltine left again for Europe and eventually settled in Rome, where his primary subject became the Italian landscape.[55] He visited Spain during the autumn of 1882, and his response to the country is documented in several watercolors and a fascinating series of letters.[56]

Traveling in the company of his brother-in-law, Charles H. Marshall, Haseltine visited Madrid, Granada, Malaga, Gibraltar, Cadiz, Seville, and Barcelona. In Madrid Haseltine toured the galleries of the Prado, writing to his wife on September 21, 1882: "Here I am at last after so many years of expectation, & have just come home after seeing the famous gallery of Madrid. . . . I never saw so many

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splendid pictures together -- & the finest examples of Titian, Raphael, Velasquez, Murillo, &c, &c that can be found in the world."[57]

Haseltine found that the city itself offered few possibilities for painting, and like Colman before him, he did not unpack his sketchbook. Located in the center of Spain, Madrid lacks the picturesque landscape of southern Andalusia. It stands by the side of the Manzanares River on a plain of dry and barren land, far from any navigable outlets to the sea. Haseltine summed up Madrid's unappealing prospects for his wife: "So far I have seen nothing that tempts me to sketch, but I suppose that the finest scenery will come later on when we get to Grenada [sic] & Seville."[58]

By September 29, Haseltine had arrived in Granada, hoping to find in the Alhambra a more suitably picturesque subject.[59] Two watercolors from this segment of his trip demonstrate his fascination with the cracked and crumbling walls of the building (figs. 1.44 and 1.45). Avoiding the elaborate Moorish detailing of the palace's inner courtyards, Haseltine focused on the thick walls and tiny windows of the fortress's crenelated towers. In *View from the Alhambra, Spain*, the artist was looking northward past the Torre de los Picos toward the Generalife. Haseltine drew these works with a carefully controlled pencil and completed them with a dry application of watercolor and gouache, enhancing the vivid blues, greens, browns, yellows, and whites of the sun-filled scene.[60]

Although Haseltine found the Alhambra a more worthy subject than Madrid, he was disappointed by the nineteenth-century restorations, which in his opinion diminished the palace's picturesque quality. He wrote from Malaga:

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> [I had not expected] to stay so long at Granada -- but I found one or two such good subjects that I decided to remain two days longer. I made three sketches very hurriedly done of course but something in the way of a souvenir of the Alhambra. It is very fine but not so impressive as the Cathedral at Cordova. It is too much restored and consequently loses in picturesqueness. We went to see it by moonlight.[61]

Before leaving Spain, Haseltine visited Gibraltar, from which he "could see the shores of Africa . . . & the sea filled with ships and steamers, coming, and going from & to every country in the world," Seville, "which is after Grenada [sic] the most charming place in Spain," and Tangiers.[62] Spanish scenery in general did not live up to Haseltine's expectations. "With a few exceptions I am disappointed with Spain. It does not compare with Italy in natural beauty," he complained to his wife.[63] In Spain, he wrote, only the Prado for its pictures, and Granada and Tangiers for their introduction to Islamic culture, merited a repeat visit. Haseltine produced no major Spanish paintings, and his lack of productivity in Spain is symptomatic of the fact that most American painters who traveled there during the three decades after Colman ignored Spanish landscape and painted beggars, vendors, bullfighters, and dancers instead.

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1. Washington Irving, *The Alhambra* (1832, 1st illus. ed., 1851; reprint, New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1982), p. 22.

2. My research on Samuel Colman was greatly facilitated by the generosity of Linn Hardenburgh, who has thoroughly researched Colman's career. Biographical information may be found in Wayne Craven, "Samuel Colman (1832-1920): Rediscovered Painter of Far-Away Places," *American Art Journal* 8 (May 1976), pp. 16-37.

3. Colman was preceded by David Porter in 1801, Amasa Hewins in 1830, Miner Kellogg in 1846, George Bonfield in 1848, and Charles Callahan Perkins in 1854. Unlike Colman, none of these men used their visits to Spain as the basis for a body of work.

4. The assertion that Colman began his trip in Gibraltar is based on a sketch of Gibraltar in the Huntington Library, San Marino, that is inscribed with a date that has been read as both May or August 1860. The Curator, Registrar, and Preparator at the Huntington all examined the work in person, agreeing that the date reads "May 1860." Correspondence with the author, May 4, 1994.

5. Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home*, vol. 1 (1845; reprint, London: Centaur Press, 1966), p. 155. First published in London in 1845, this three-volume text contained 1,064 pages of double-columned closely printed text.

6. *Libro de registro: Visitantes*, June 10, 1856 - September 2, 1864, Box L-28, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

7. Samuel Colman to Samuel Emerson Howard, Paris, September 10, 1860, Samuel Colman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 832, frames 1010-64.

8. Ernle Bradford's *Gibraltar: The History of A Fortress* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1971) provides a comprehensive overview of Gibraltar's history. Even in the twentieth century, the controversy over the territory has continued. Franco completely closed the frontier in 1969, making overland passage impossible until it was reopened in 1985.

9. See Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley in England 1774-1815*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 322-36; Irma B. Jaffe, *John Trumbull: Patriot-Artist of the American Revolution* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), pp. 128-39; and William L. Pressly, "The Challenge of New Horizons: Copley's 'rough and perilous Asent' 'of that Mighty Mountain where the Everlasting Lauriels grow,'" in Emily Ballew Neff et al., *John Singleton Copley in England* (exh. cat., Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), pp. 41-2.

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10. For a thorough discussion of the changes that occurred to Hudson River School landscape painting, see Oswaldo Rodríguez Roque, "The Exaltation of American Landscape Painting" and Doreen Bolger Burke and Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, "The Hudson River School in Eclipse," in John K. Howat et al., *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1987).

11. Samuel Colman to Samuel Emerson Howard, Paris, September 24, 1860, Samuel Colman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 832, frames 1010-64.

12. This site was identified by Mario Finlayson, The Arts Center, Gibraltar. Correspondence with the author, August 28, 1994.

13. A third painting by Colman from this angle, with dimensions of 15 x 25 inches, was reported stolen in 1980. See *Antiques* 118 (December 1980), p. 1276. The painting in the Wadsworth Atheneum, known as *Gibraltar from the Neutral Ground*, is not in my opinion a view of Gibraltar at all. There are no contemporary records of a painting by this name, and the geography cannot be matched to that found at Gibraltar. The painting may depict one of the smaller Andalusian towns of Loja or Antequera, both of which were painted by Colman. Mario Finlayson, of the Gibraltar Arts Center, confirmed my opinion in his letter of August 28, 1994.

14. Martha Hoppin, Curator of American Art, George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, generously made available to me her files on Colman's *Gibraltar*. By providing me with information that had been gathered for her by Jenny Carson, she greatly assisted in my understanding of Gibraltar's topography and history.

15. Although the Spanish built the forts of San Felipe and Santa Barbara on the Spanish side of the Neutral Ground during the eighteenth century, both were destroyed during the French occupation early in the nineteenth. See Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, vol. 2., p. 506.

16. Ford, *A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain*, vol. 2, p. 507.

17. Harriet Trowbridge Allen, *Travels in Europe and the East: During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1879), pp. 461-2.

18. Mr. Putnam kindly examined a photograph of Colman's *Gibraltar* (fig. 1.5) at his office in the South Street Seaport Museum, January 17, 1994.

19. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (1867; reprint, New York: James F. Carr, 1967), p. 560.

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20. The identification of the ships, as well as the observation about wind and sail conditions, were both made by Jack Putnam, South Street Seaport Museum, January 17, 1994.

21. Rudolph J. Schaefer, *J. E. Buttersworth: 19th-Century Marine Painter* (Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, 1975), p. 19.

22. See Pedro Tedde de Lorca, "On the Historical Origins of Andalusian Underdevelopment," in Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, ed., *The Economic Modernization of Spain, 1830-1930* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), pp. 251-67.

23. The influence of Turner on earlier American painters, especially Washington Allston and Thomas Cole, has been studied by Marcia Wallace, "The 'Great Bear' and the 'Prince of the Evil Spirits': The American Response to J. M. W. Turner Before the Advent of John Ruskin" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 1993). Colman also owned eight plates from Turner's *Liber Studiorum*. See *The Art Collection of the Late Samuel Colman, N.A.* (sale cat., New York: Anderson Galleries, 1927), lot 24.

24. "Art in Boston," *The Art Journal* 2 (July 1869), p. 127.

25. Margaretta M. Lovell, in *A Visitable Past: Views of Venice by American Artists, 1860-1915* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 9, discussing the sense of loss found in the views of Venice by Thomas Moran (1837-1926), described Moran's art in terms that might also be applied to Colman's paintings of Seville: "Consistent with the characteristics of romance the lighting and color effects are heightened, the time of day is transitional (in this case sunset), and the tone is one of pleasurable pathos." Venice, like Seville, was seen by Americans as a place that embodied the past rather than the present.

26. Biographical information on David Roberts may be found in Helen Guiterman and Briony Llewellyn, *David Roberts* (exh. cat., London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1986).

27. French painters also had a tendency to paint Seville under dramatic climactic conditions. See for example *El Guadalquivir*, by Joseph Latour (French, 1807-1865) in Francisco Calvo Serraller et al., *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1790-1868* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1991), p. 323.

28. Enrique Valdivieso, "Sevilla pintada, 1790-1868," in Calvo Serraller et al., *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1790-1868*, p. 133.

29. The new ferry is also the featured element in *Inauguración del transbordador en Sevilla*, 1849, by Luis de María Campos attr., reproduced in Calvo Serraller et al., *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1790-1868*, p. 253.

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30. Before going to Granada, Colman made several sketches in the towns of Cordova and Bailén. One of the Cordova drawings (fig. 1.21) records the Moorish Mills on the bank of the Guadalquivir, and another (fig. 1.22) depicts the city from the south. In this second, the sixteen arches of the *Puente Romano* (Roman Bridge) span the river at right, while the eighth- through tenth-century mosque, with its sixteenth-century cathedral addition, marks the center of the composition. The tallest structure visible is the 300 foot plateresque bell tower, built on the foundations of the Moorish minaret. This drawing depicts the most picturesque view of the city; photographer Charles Clifford, who frequently recorded the landmarks of Spain for the foreign market, photographed almost the exact same site in his *Puente Romano, Cordova*, dated only two years after Colman's visit (fig. 1.23). A visit to the city today reveals little change (fig. 1.24).

In Bailén, Colman stopped to execute a rapid pen sketch of an ecclesiastic procession before the side portal of the principal church, *La Incarnación* (fig. 1.25). Bailén, a sleepy town in northern Andalucía, is remembered today for its heroic repulsion of Napoleonic troops in 1808. The church still stands in the center of town (fig. 1.26).

31. The exact site of this drawing was discovered by my husband, Marco Katz, and our daughter, Nathalia, who dutifully spent a morning trudging up and down the hills of the Albaicín while I was working in the Archives of the Alhambra.

32. The partially abraded signature and date on *Washing Day* appear to read "Sam Colman -- 72." Despite its large size, I have found no record that it was included in any of the major public exhibitions. It may, however, have been included in the sale held by Colman in conjunction with George Henry Hall in 1872. See the *Catalogue of Messrs. Samuel Colman and Geo. H. Hall's Entire Collection of Paintings & Watercolors* (sale cat., New York: Somerville Art Gallery, April 3, 4, and 5, 1872), cat. no. 52 as *On the River Darro, Granada.*

33. Today the Darro River flows into an underground chamber at the Plaza Nueva and continues under the Calle de los Reyes Católicos to the Acera de Darro where it meets the Genil River. Colman's drawing may have been done after his trip to Spain. An etching after Colman's drawing was reproduced in Edmondo de Amicis, *Spain and the Spaniards* (1881; repr., New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1885), p. 396.

34. Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, "The Alhambra: an Introduction," in Jerrilynn Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), p. 127. The following summary of the Alhambra's history is derived from this source.

35. See Jesús Bermúdez López, "The City Plan of the Alhambra," in Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus; The Art of Islamic Spain*, p. 153.

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36. "A Visit to the Studios," *New York Evening Post*, February 16, 1865, p. 1.

37. Samuel Colman to Samuel A. Coale, Jr., Irvington, N.Y., September 14, 1870, Samuel A. Coale, Jr., Papers, New-York Historical Society. In an earlier letter from Colman to Coale, dated July 22, 1870 and also in the Samuel A. Coale, Jr., Papers, New-York Historical Society, Colman described *Near Antequera, Spain* as follows: "The subject is after your description. 'A mass of architecture on one side of the picture against a sunset sky with mountain beyond, purple with a low sun in the foreground.' I have the characteristic contrabandista with the richly caparisoned donkey. The scene is a real one near one of the oldest cities in Spain, Antequera." *Near Antequera, Spain* was in the Coale sale of March 1-2, 1881 held at Leavitt Galleries, New York.

38. Whether Colman intended to depict a scene from Irving's *Alhambra* is discussed by Natalie Spassky in *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), p. 350. Irving often described the processions and celebrations held at the Alhambra and Granada, but no exact source for Colman's painting has been identified.

39. The caves of Granada are found in a section of the city known as Sacramonte, further east of the Alhambra. These caves are dug into the mountainous earth and provide shelter to a large community of Spanish gypsies. The bridge is undoubtedly one of the many Moorish bridges that crossed the Darro, which runs parallel to the Alhambra from east to west.

40. "National Academy of Design," *New York Times*, May 29, 1865, p. 5.

41. "National Academy of Design," *New York Evening Post*, May 22, 1865, p. 1.

42. [Clarence Cook], "National Academy of Design," *New York Tribune*, May 14, 1864, p. 3.

43. "Fine Arts," *The Nation* 1 (November 16, 1865), pp. 631-2. This reviewer is referring to another "historical landscape" by Colman, one in which Ferdinand and Isabella watch Christians and Moors from the esplanade in front of the Alhambra.

44. Samuel Colman to John Quincy Adams Ward, Irvington, N.Y., October 4, [18]65, John Quincy Adams Ward Papers, New-York Historical Society.

45. Carol Troyen, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," *The American Art Journal* 16 (Autumn 1984), p. 13.

46. S. S. C[onant], "Art and Artists," *The Galaxy* 6 (July 1868), p. 141.

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47. Jenny Carson first made this observation in an unpublished essay about *Gibraltar* (fig. 1.5) in the Curatorial Files, George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, Springfield, Mass.

48. John Moran, "Studio Life in New York," *The Art Journal* 5 (1879), p. 354. Although many nineteenth-century sources claim that Colman crossed from Spain to Tangiers earlier, during his 1860 visit to Europe, I have found no evidence to support this assertion.

49. Gifford and Tiffany left for Europe on July 27, 1870, sailing first to Liverpool, then traveling to Paris and Spain. R. Swain Gifford Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 594, frame 235.

50. On the careers of Gifford and Tiffany, see Elton W. Hall, *R. Swain Gifford, 1840-1905* (exh. cat., New Bedford, Mass.: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, Whaling Museum, 1974) and Gary A. Reynolds, *Louis Comfort Tiffany: The Paintings* (exh. cat., New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University, 1979).

51. "The Spring Exhibition of the National Academy," *Appleton's Journal* 7 (May 25, 1872), p. 578.

52. Gifford's *Malaga* was reproduced in Edmondo de Amicis, *Spain and the Spaniards*, p. 369.

53. Reynolds, *Louis Comfort Tiffany*, p. 15.

54. A sketch by Gifford indicates that the two artists were in San Roque on August 22, 1870. The sketch, a street scene inscribed "At San Roque / Spain -- August 22 / 1870," is found in the R. Swain Gifford Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 595, frame 847.

55. John Rollin Tilton, another member of the American expatriate community in Rome, made the journey to Spain by 1880, at least two years before Haseltine. Tilton exhibited a large number of Spanish works at the American Art Gallery, New York in November 1880 and at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1881. Most of these paintings depicted Granada and its environs. See *Exhibition of Oil Paintings and Watercolors by J. Rollin Tilton, M.A., of Rome* (sale cat., New York: American Art Gallery, 1880).

56. Biographical material on Haseltine is derived from Marc Simpson et al, *"Expressions of Place": The Art of William Stanley Haseltine* (exh. cat., San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1992).

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57. William Stanley Haseltine to his wife, Helen Marshall Haseltine, Madrid, September 21, 1882, Haseltine/Plowden Family Papers, Private Collection. Marc Simpson generously made photocopies of Haseltine's Spanish correspondence available to me.

58. Ibid.

59. Haseltine and Marshall signed the *Visitor's Register* at the Alhambra between September 29 and 30, 1882 as "Wm. S. Haseltine / Roma" and "Charles H. Marshall / New York." *Libro de registro*, April 1, 1872 - March 1, 1883, Archives of the Alhambra, Granada.

60. Haseltine's bright palette may partially derive from the influence of the Spanish painter Mariano Fortuny. Haseltine served as one of the pallbearers at Fortuny's funeral in Rome in 1874. See Simpson et al, *"Expressions of Place,"* pp. 37-8.

61. William Staneley Haseltine to his wife, Helen Marshall Haseltine, Malaga, October 3, 1882, Haseltine/Plowden Family Papers, Private Collection.

62. William Stanley Haseltine to his daughter, Helen Haseltine, Gibraltar, October 6, 1882 and Haseltine to his wife, Seville, October 11, 1882, Haseltine/Plowden Family Papers, Private Collection.

63. William Stanley Haseltine to his wife, Helen Marshall Haseltine, Seville, October 17, 1882, Haseltine/Plowden Family Papers, Private Collection.

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Chapter 2: George Henry Hall, *Costumbrismo*, and the Vogue for Murillo

> The universal badge [of the beggar] is . . . a display of rags and sores; where there are so many applicants, each tries to outdo his rival by presenting the most attractive exhibition of disgusting condition. No wounds are ever healed no tatters are ever mended; that would be drying up the sources of their living; none, however, die either of their incurable wounds or destitution. In their latter good fortune they resembled their clever colleagues the mendicant Franciscans, who got rich by the profession of poverty. They are the pets of all artists, for the pauper groups seem as if they had stept out from one of Murillo's pictures, and become living real beings.
>
> Richard Ford, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, 1845[1]

> The illustrations of Spanish life and character which . . . make the walls of Mr. Hall's studio fairly glow with their warm colors, all have a striking air of reality. Peasants, laborers, fruit-dealers, gipsies, priests, and beggars are depicted just as they were sketched from the wealth of picturesque subjects available to the artist in such a city as Seville.
>
> *Harper's Weekly*, 1869[2]

George Henry Hall (1825-1913) arrived in Spain shortly after the departure of Samuel Colman in 1860. While Colman went abroad in search of picturesque views, Hall's journey was motivated by a desire to paint the Spanish people. His model for this endeavor was Bartolomé Murillo (1617-1682), the most popular Spanish painter during the early nineteenth century. Seville was the city most closely associated with this old master, for while Diego Velázquez had left to take up residency at the court in Madrid, Murillo had remained close to his birthplace throughout his life. Specializing primarily in religious and genre painting, Murillo was most appreciated

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for his naturalistic portrayals of children. Among his most celebrated subjects were the Immaculate Conception, the infants Jesus and St. John the Baptist at play, the Christ Child as the Good Shepherd, and a host of young fruit vendors, vagabonds, beggars, and peasants, often surrounded by luscious displays of grapes and other still life elements (figs. 2.1 and 2.2). "At Seville," reported Ford in his popular guide book to Spain, "Murillo is to be seen in all his glory. Here . . . he is a giant on his native soil."[3] At the Museo de Bellas Artes, Hall was able to view an entire room devoted to Murillo's religions paintings.

Murillo's international popularity during the early nineteenth century was surprisingly high given the subsequent decline of his reputation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was particularly admired during the eighteenth century, and his paintings were coveted by collectors and artists alike.[4] While his religious paintings -- commissioned primarily by the several monastic orders active in Seville -- contributed to his association with Spanish Catholicism, his secular works -- commissioned more frequently by private individuals, often foreigners -- led to his reputation as a painter of everyday Sevillian life.

British collectors of Spanish art during the eighteenth century included diplomats and merchants; Sir Robert Walpole compiled a collection that included five paintings by Murillo and two by "Velasco," while Daniel Arthur brought to England Murillo's famed *Self-Portrait*, the illusionism of which provided the inspiration for William Hogarth's own *Self-Portrait with [his Dog] Trump* (1845, National Gallery of Art, London).[5] Artists Thomas Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds found

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Murillo's depictions of children compelling models in an era sensitive to the motif of childhood innocence (fig. 2.3). Gainsborough copied in 1780 a version of *The Christ Child as the Good Shepherd* then thought to be by Murillo (fig. 2.4), and Reynolds incorporated the earlier artist's vaporous atmospheric effects and sentimental ethos into such portraits as *Master Wynn as St. John the Baptist* (fig. 2.5).[6] The vogue for Murillo among English artists and collectors continued into the mid-nineteenth century; the British artists David Wilkie (1785-1841), John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876), and John Phillip (1817-1867) all painted important works relating to Murillo, and an entire room was devoted to Murillo at the exhibition of *Manchester Art Treasures* in 1857.[7]

Compared to England, knowledge of Murillo's art in France was slight before the Napoleonic Invasions of 1808.[8] This situation began to rapidly change when Napoleon Bonaparte invaded the Spanish peninsula, forcing the abdication of the Spanish monarch and installing his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the Spanish throne. The Peninsular War (called the War of Independence by the Spanish) continued from 1808 until 1813, during which time several hundred thousand French soldiers were placed in direct contact with their southern neighbor. Many brought home to France examples of Spain's artistic richness, but none in such numbers as Marshal Nicolas Jean Soult. One of Napoleon's most renowned commanders, Soult compiled an impressive collection of paintings -- which included fifteen works by Murillo -- through purchase, trickery, and plunder. The Soult collection remained in France until his death, and gained additional attention when it was sold in London in 1852.

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Napoleon Bonaparte, in his zeal to promote himself through the collecting and patronage of art, directly contributed to the diffusion of Spanish painting through the activities of his brother, Joseph, and their advisor, Vivant Denon. Establishing huge collection centers in the major cities of Spain, they brought together paintings and other artifacts from churches, monasteries, and private collections to be shipped either to Joseph Bonaparte's newly established national museum in Madrid or to the Musée Napoleon at the Louvre.[9] With Napoleon's fall in 1815, many of these paintings were returned by the restored monarchy to their original owners, but not before the earlier ignorance of Spanish art in France had been replaced by widespread admiration.

The 1830s saw a new opportunity for the French public to see Spanish painting. Louis-Philippe, with the assistance of Baron Isidore Taylor, acquired during this time a collection of 446 paintings, most of which were from the Spanish school.[10] These works, which were exhibited from 1838 to 1848 in the *Musée Espagnole* at the Louvre, included forty paintings by Murillo and nineteen by Velázquez. In collecting the paintings in Spain, Baron Taylor benefited from the chaotic political situation surrounding the outbreak of the first Carlist War in 1833 as well as from the suppression by the restored Spanish monarchy of the many powerful religious insitutions that opposed liberalization. The closing in 1834 of convents, monastaries, clerical, and secular orders released a vast quantity of old paintings onto the market, and permitted the addition of a large number of religious subjects to Louis-Philippe's collection.

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Knowledge of Spanish painting and the art of Murillo came to the United States at a slower rate and in a less concentrated form than to England and France. Early collections of Spanish painting in America included the works assembled by Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain during the Napoleonic era, and another collection owned by Richard Worsam Meade, a Philadelphia merchant.[11] Bonaparte fled Europe for the United States in 1815, and he brought with him several paintings by Murillo and Velázquez to decorate his new home in Bordentown, New Jersey. Meade, who established a commercial house in 1804 in Cádiz, also lived in Spain during the Napoleonic era.[12] During his sixteen years as a Spanish resident, Meade accumulated paintings and artifacts which eventually made their way back to Philadelphia with his family. One of his paintings by Murillo, titled *Roman Daughter* (or *Caritas Romana*), was acquired by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where it was exhibited annually from 1815 until its destruction in the fire of 1845. Meade also owned two still lifes by Sanchez Cotán, several paintings attributed to Jusepe Ribera, and other works by Murillo and Velázquez that were occasionally displayed at the Academy in the years preceding Hall's trip.[13]

Books provided the most comprehensive source of information about Spanish art to Americans. Aside from the section on art in Ford's *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, William Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, published in London in 1848, was the most frequently read manual on Spanish painting. During the Napoleonic wars, England's alliance with Spain against France had furthered English interest in Spanish culture, and both these British writers severely censured

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the French for their plundering of Spanish treasures. Stirling-Maxwell provided readers with an anecdotal biography of Murillo's training and career, and reproduced a drawing of his house in the old Santa Cruz section of the city. Many travelers made a pilgrimage to this house during their visit to Seville. Hall's predecessor, Samuel Colman, had drawn the house and patio in a sketch similar to the illustration reproduced by Stirling-Maxwell.[14]

For Stirling-Maxwell, Murillo was the unsurpassed master of Spanish painting. "As a religious painter," Stirling-Maxwell asserted, "he ranks second only to the greatest masters of Italy. In ideal grace of thought and in force and perfection of style he yields, as all later artists must yield, to that constellation of genius of which Rafael was the principal star. But his pencil was endowed with a power of touching religious sympathies, and awakening tender emotions, which belonged to none of the Italian painters of the seventeenth century."[15] Unfamiliar with the idealizing influence of antiquity, Murillo exploited instead a realism derived from the study of nature, and his sketches of children were "worked up . . . in his religious pictures with consummate skill, and with a refinement that detracts nothing from the reality of nature."[16] Even his secular works -- "ragged boys devouring fruit, playing at chuck-farthing, or ridding each other's heads of the pediculose population" -- entitled Murillo to a considerable reputation in the eyes of Stirling-Maxwell.[17] William Bell Scott in *Murillo and the Spanish School of Painting*, published simultaneously in London and New York in 1873, likewise placed Murillo at the top of the Spanish pantheon:

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> We now arrive at the artist [Murillo] whose name has been placed on the title-page of this volume; the latest, and, in the estimate of nearly every writer on the Spanish Schools, and of every public and private collector in Europe, the greatest painter Spain has produced. Compared to him there are three who may be preferred by those who are exclusive or peculiar in taste, or who object to the common nature of Murillo: these are Zurbaran, whose sympathies were in the cloister; Ribera, whose power of hand is as great as that of Tintoretto, whose sympathies were cruel; and Velazquez, who was essentially a portrait-painter. But Murillo was wider than either or all of them perhaps, and the beauty of his treatment, and mastery of his technique, has made him, in spite of a commonplace character and coarseness of mind that places him below the greatest of the Italian masters, the representative name in the art of Spain.[18]

Hoping, no doubt, to align himself with such greatness, George Hall spent his time in Spain sketching the vendors and peasants of Seville, just as Murillo had done before him.

Hall immersed himself in Murillo's rich legacy during two extended residencies, from 1860 to 1861 and from 1866 to 1867. Born and raised in Boston, where he received little formal art training, Hall traveled with Eastman Johnson in 1849 to Düsseldorf for a year's study at the Royal Academy.[19] After acquiring a penchant for the smoothly finished surfaces associated with the Düsseldorf school, Hall visited Paris and Rome before settling in New York in 1852 to specialize in still-life and genre painting. Hall exhibited his works at the Boston Athenaeum, the National Academy of Design, and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and was elected Associate of the National Academy of Design in 1854. Encouraged like Colman by Irving's vivid literary accounts of Spain, Hall probably decided to travel to Spain in order to expand his repertory of subject pictures. This painter of fruit hoped to elevate his artistic stature by painting the poor children of Seville and

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dedicating his attention more fully to figure painting.

On February 26, 1860, Hall held an exhibition and sale of his paintings at the New York auction house of Henry H. Leeds & Co., intending to use the proceeds to finance his trip abroad. According to the accompanying catalogue, the studies on sale had "been made by Mr. Hall in the last eight years, with the intention of retaining them during his lifetime, but to forward his plan of spending several years in Spain, they [would] now be disposed of at public sale."[20] Hall left New York that summer and traveled to Spain by way of Paris, arriving in Madrid by August.[21] He registered at the Prado twice, on August 22, 1860 and April 15, 1861, viewing there the impressive collection of works by Murillo, Velázquez, and the other Spanish masters.[22] Travel between Paris and Seville required a stop-over in Madrid, and Hall's visits to the Prado probably correspond to his entry into and departure from Spain. He was back in the United States in time to submit a painting entitled *Spanish Girl* (location unknown) to the Brooklyn Art Association's December 1861 exhibition.

In Seville during the winter of 1860-61, Hall was surrounded by disciples and followers of Murillo. Particularly active was a group involved in preparations for erection of a monument dedicated to the painter. The initial proposal for the statue had been put forward in 1838, but arguments about its siting and expense delayed the monument's completion until 1864.[23] Supporters of the project began a public subscription in 1856, and in 1859 they launched a raffle of contemporary paintings, the proceeds from which helped to fund the cost of the monument. Hall was in

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Seville during the final preparations for this raffle, and he undoubtedly saw the exhibition of works donated for the cause. The exhibition was was held during the annual Spring Fair of 1861.

Murillo's influence pervaded the work of nineteenth-century Sevillian painters.[24] Producing both copies of the master and originals based on his style, artists such as Joaquín María Cortés (ca. 1770-1835) and Antonio Cabral Bejarano (1798-1861) enjoyed successful careers by working in a manner directly derived from the earlier master. Others, such as José María Escacena (1800-1858) and José Roldán (1808-1871), specialized in Murillesque arrangements of Sevillian children grouped around card games or discussing the merits of the bullfight (figs. 2.6 and 2.7). Both Escacena and Roldán held prominent positions at the Academia de Bellas Artes -- of which Murillo had been a founding member -- and both were among Seville's most renowned practitioners of Andalusian *costumbrista* painting.

Costumbrismo was developed during the 1830s by Spanish painters who, in the spirit of nineteenth-century nationalism, focused on the portrayal of local customs or *costumbres*. Like the landscape painters who were producing romanticized views of Spain's cities, *costumbrista* painters recorded the costumes and manners of a disappearing way of life. Their works were popular with both the growing Spanish middle class as well as with tourists. Part of a larger phenomenom that included Spanish literature, song, theater, and illustration as well as painting, *costumbrismo* was practiced primarily in Madrid and Seville. Painters from both cities focused on themes from contemporary Spanish life -- beggars, street vendors, dancers, and

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priests, for example -- and eschewed more cosmopolitan and pan-European subjects. While the Madrileñian school looked for inspiration at the work of Goya, the Andalusians looked to Murillo.[25]

Hall soaked up this atmosphere, mingled with the Sevillian people, and began painting his own Murillesque compositions. He also exhibited several examples of still life in a local art shop. The Spanish applauded his efforts, commending his work in their local publications. Two of these reviews were translated and reprinted for American readers in the pages of *The Crayon*, and in one of these, the writer explicitly recommended Hall's work to devotees of the seventeenth-century master:

> We recommend to the lovers of the art of Murillo to visit the well-known establishment of Muxart, in which they will be able to admire two pictures, which, for some days past, have with justice claimed the attention of connoisseurs. The fruit pieces, which are the paintings we refer to, represent two magnificent bunches of grapes; . . . The transparency which permits us to see the fibres of the grapes, the happy effect of the coloring and the mastery with which the pictures are touched, reveal in the author, Mr. Hall, from North America, a consummate artist. -- *La Andalusia*, Nov. 4, 1860.[26]

Returning to New York with a large group of studies, Hall began to produce genre paintings depicting the children of Seville. In 1864, he showed at the National Academy of Design a composition which he titled in Spanish, *Muchachos de Seville* (location unknown). From its description, the image readily compares to genre paintings by Murillo and his followers. "George Hall's 'Muchachos de Seville' is a soft rich-toned picture of idealized *gamins* playing cards, eating grapes and lolling in the languid weather of a Spanish summer," reported the *New York Evening Post*.[27] Hall spent the next five years in his studio at 650 Broadway, industriously working from his sketches, and sending Spanish genre paintings to exhibitions in New York,

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Boston, and Philadelphia.

Hall's second trip to Spain, from the summer of 1866 until the fall of 1867, was preceded, as had been the first, by an auction organized to cover his expenses. The auction, and Hall's intention to travel once again to Seville, received copious coverage by the art press. The sale, consisting of seventy-four paintings, occurred at Somerville Art Gallery in New York on March 12, 1866.[28] Hall was hard at work in Seville by February 16, 1867, when William Cullen Bryant visited him and wrote: "[T]he humors of the gipsies who inhabit a part of the town, are said to be a source of entertainment to the stranger. The American artist, Geo. H. Hall, who is now here, finds among them some striking subjects for his pencil, and will return to America, I think, with some finer works than he has ever before painted."[29] On November 15, 1867, *The Art Journal* reported his return: "G. H. Hall has lately returned from Spain to his former studio in New York City. He has material with him for pictures of Spanish life and character, to which he intends devoting himself for some time to come."[30] Settling back into his studio, Hall continued to produce Spanish genre paintings until the early 1870s, when trips to Italy and the Middle East inspired a change in subject.

One of Hall's earliest Spanish genre scenes is *Peasants Returning from the Fields* (fig. 2.8). Hall began this painting in Seville, and *The New York Tribune* reported on its progress in January 1861:

> Mr. George Hall, who remains in Seville among the guitars, oranges, and pomegranates, we learn, has begun a large picture illustrative of Spanish life. The subject is 'The Return of the Spanish Laborers from the Field.' It contains seven figures of various ages, all of them being painted from the

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life.[31]

Led by a dancing boy with tambourine held high, the figures of varying ages suggest a family group, with mother, father, grandfather, and children placed in a frieze across the surface of the canvas. The father, with cigarette hanging from his mouth and sickle slung casually over his shoulder, occupies the center of the composition, preceded by a small boy of about seven years who carries his younger sibling atop his shoulders. Behind is the greying grandfather, followed at last by a young couple, absorbed in conversation.

Known today only through a black-and-white photograph, *Peasants Returning from the Fields* was undoubtedly brightened by a range of cheerful colors. Critics often praised Hall's brilliant tonalities, and Hall acknowledged in his brief, hand-written autobiography that "Spanish figures are good for an artist who enjoys color, and I have painted many of them."[32] A cheerful color scheme -- with bursts of red, green, and yellow found in sashes, scarves, and bandannas -- kept the mood of the canvas light. Despite their long days of toil, these Spaniards -- the youth especially -- dance, play, smile, and, in the case of the young couple at right, amorously court. As is typical in *costumbrista* painting, the harsh realities of work are elided in favor of an idealized and somewhat nostalgic vision of Spanish life.

The Flower Seller (fig. 2.9), from the same year, combines Hall's desire to paint figures with his masterful ability in still life. Here an attractive Sevillian visits a flower vendor to select an ornament for her hair. Offered a choice between a delicate pink rose (held in her right hand) and a bright red one, the girl chooses the more

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dramatic color and places it behind her ear. The flower vendor holds out another red rose as a third alternative, as a youthful grape vendor from the next stall watches the transaction -- and the girl -- with an admiring eye. The luscious ripe fruit at his side parallels the stunning pile of flowers available for purchase on the far left.

Hall's paintings became increasingly sophisticated, especially after his second trip to Spain. In *Trying His Luck: A Group of Spanish Children* (fig. 2.10), Hall employed a stable triangular composition, with each figure relating to the others and their game of chance through gesture and gaze. *Trying His Luck* was described by the artist as a gambling scene: "The boy who is about to turn the bar has paid the boy in the blue jacket a penny, for the privilege of turning a certain number of times; if the bar stops above one of the brass nails, he wins cake from the basket or candy from the box."[33] An abundant basket of grapes again adorns the right foreground of the painting, and the topmost boy eats from a cluster filched, no doubt, from its distracted owner. In subject and composition, the painting readily compares to the work of Murillo and the *costumbrista* painters of Seville (see figs. 2.2 and 2.6).

Aside from his large multi-figured compositions, Hall frequently presented American viewers with smaller, single-figured works such as *Anita, A Little Spanish Peasant Girl* (fig. 2.11), which hung at the National Academy in 1863. Hall exhibited many of this type during the course of the 1860s: *Sevillian Water Seller* (Brooklyn Art Association, 1862); *La Sevillana* and *Rosalva -- A Spanish Flower Girl* (both National Academy of Design, 1865); *La Gitana* and *El Frutero de Sevilla* (both National Academy of Design, 1868); and a variety of other vendors and urchins with

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names such as *Dolores*, *Antonia*, *Lolita*, *Benita*, *Emilio*, and *Pepito*.[34]

Anita, A Little Spanish Peasant Girl was painted before Hall's return to the United States, and a vintage photograph of the image is preserved in the Archives of the National Academy of Design.[35] Standing erect, with left hand on her hip, the dark-haired Anita holds a large earthenware water jug under her arm. Murillo also painted such single-figured genre paintings; *The Flower Girl* (fig. 2.12) makes a particularly apt comparison, as both works depict charming young women who gaze with a smile out toward the viewer. The costume and props of such images were easily reused by Hall in later Spanish paintings, completed in New York.

Descriptions of Hall's studio attest to the many "picturesque trophies" brought back by the artist from his travels in Spain, and Hall repeatedly incorporated these souvenirs -- hats, scarfs, baskets, jugs, and drums -- into his paintings.[36] *The New York Evening Press*, for example, described a painting similar to *A Young Boy with a Drum* (fig. 2.13) as a "little gypsey [sic] boy, whose eyes are shaded by a broad brimmed hat, under which is tied a red handkerchief. He has on a faded purple jacket, and blue trousers patched with drab."[37] In the present example, Hall retained the broad brimmed hat and red bandanna, but removed the jacket to reveal a clean white shirt and exchanged the green pants for blue.[38] The boy's leather shoes are worn, but vibrant notes of color -- especially the reddish-orange waist sash decorated with horizontal stripes of green -- brighten his coarse attire.

The method of employing similar models and clothing led to a certain monotony, and despite the variations, Hall's Spanish genre paintings were frequently

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reproached for the repetitive sameness of their conception.[39] *The New-York Times* in 1865, for example, described one of Hall's images as "a very poor specimen of the artist's skill. These coffee-colored specimens of the Spanish race are becoming very tedious. They are badly drawn and possess nothing but a fine finish."[40] Hall's children, reviewers continued, looked too much alike; their skin seemed waxen and their bodies were boneless. Although he received occasional encouragement, most critics agreed that while Hall was unsurpassed as a painter of fruit, he usually failed as a figure painter.

Some critics also voiced discomfort with the foreignness of Hall's Spanish subjects, and the *New York Leader* specifically objected to the pretentiousness of Hall's Spanish-language titles: "I had rather," the paper complained sarcastically, "that this gentleman should adhere to his still-life than that he should paint the 'Muchachos de Seville,' whatever that means."[41] Hall's *La Dueña* (fig. 2.14), a painting likewise removed in subject from American experience, portrayed the distinctively Spanish custom of assigning a chaperone to unmarried women. A *dueña* accompanied these young women on their errands away from home, serving as a barrier to improper sexual advances and guardians of their honor. When Daniel Ridgway Knight exhibited his own version of the subject, called *The Duenna Asleep,* in 1869, *The Daily Tribune* called the painting trite and its subject irrelevant. "Young ladies in America," the critic complained, "do not watch their lovers from balconies, are not guarded by duennas, are not menaced by dark-browed papas in velvet, with jeweled daggers in their belts. The story is Venetian or Spanish, and centuries old at

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that."[42]

Hall portrayed the *dueña* in a number of paintings. In his first version of the subject, a young Sevillian beauty gazes with a half-smile out toward the viewer. Her black hair attractively coiffed, she wears a bright rose above her ear and holds an open fan before her. Any thought of discourse on the part of the admirer, however, is abruptly checked by the piercing glance of the *dueña* by her side. With greying hair pulled tightly back, the old crone peers sternly over the rim of her wire-rimmed spectacles, warding off the intrusive eyes. Hall's later work, *Young Lady of Seville and her Dueña at Church* (fig. 2.15), employs the same models, but alters their relationship and situation. Here the *dueña* remains unaware of any outside interest and hurries with her charge from the church. The young lady has caught the eye of her admirer and is taking advantage of her companion's inattention to prolong his gaze with a backward glance and slight smile. Her fan is now closed, and over her forearm drapes a prominently placed rosary, reinforcing her association with the rituals of Catholicism.

Such paintings by *costumbrista* painters, in which young Spanish woman were juxtaposed with manifestations of their Roman Catholic faith, were common in Seville. Among the many Murillesque academicians who were active during Hall's visit, José Roldán and Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer (1817-1879) both painted images of young women that clearly refer to their Catholicism. Crisply painted with a hard finish surely appreciated by the Düsseldorf-trained Hall, Bécquer's painting, *La Maja* (fig. 2.16) includes a prominently placed crucifix at right, while Roldán's *La Caridad*

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(fig. 2.17) depicts a young Sevillian beauty offering alms to a poor beggar family in front of the church.

The issue of Catholicism appears in another of Hall's Spanish subjects as well: *La Feria de Jueves; or Thursday Fair of Seville -- Priests at a Bookstall* (fig. 2.18), exhibited at the National Academy in 1869.[43] Here three priests examine the contents of a volume for sale in one of the many booths erected at a Sevillian fair. The best-known fair in Seville was the annual Spring Fair, the *Feria de Sevilla*, held in the Prado de San Sebastian immediately following *Semana Santa*, and many Sevillian artists -- both painters and popular illustrators -- portrayed this festive holiday (figs. 2.19 and 2.20). Hall's painting, however, depicts a less famous event -- the weekly flea market known as the Thursday Fair, or *Feria de Jueves*. Located on the western end of the city near the Church of All Saints (Omnium Sanctorum), this fair, held every Thursday morning, was recommended by Ford as the Spanish equivalent of a Cairo bazaar.[44] Moving in close on his subject, Hall compressed books, gourds, swords, and even a young grape vendor into his canvas in order to suggest the bustle and excitement of the marketplace.

Aside from its evocation of Murillesque street life, Hall's *Feria de Jueves* also owes its inspiration to a painting by the British artist, John Phillip, called *The Early Career of Murillo* (fig. 2.21). Phillip, like Hall, spent several extended periods of time in Seville, first in 1851 and again in 1856-57 and 1860-61.[45] As a result of these trips, his subject matter changed from popular scenes of Scottish folk life to Spanish genre themes such as *The Letter Writer of Seville*, 1854 (fig. 2.22) and *La*

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Gloria: A Spanish Wake, 1864 (fig. 2.23). His last visit to Spain coincided with Hall's first, and it was during this 1860-61 period that Phillip conceived *The Early Career of Murillo*. The painting was greeted with much acclaim at the Royal Academy in 1865, and Hall's decision to create a variation on the subject may have been inspired by the British painter's death in 1867 -- which occurred during Hall's second trip to Spain -- as a memorial to their shared allegiance to the art of Murillo.[46]

Phillip's *Early Career of Murillo*, like Hall's *Priests at a Bookstall*, depicts the *Feria de Jueves* rather than the *Feria de Sevilla*. In the left foreground stand three religious figures -- two Dominican monks and a hooded Franciscan friar -- who carefully scrutinize the work of the young Murillo. Xanthe Brooke, who has written extensively on British artists in Spain, correctly noted that the scene is a direct transcription of an anecdote related in Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. According to Stirling-Maxwell, Murillo was forced by poverty to sell paintings during his youth at the *Feria de Jueves*:

> Held in a broad street, branching from the northern end of the old Alameda, and in front of the church of All Saints, . . . this venerable market presents every Thursday an aspect which has changed little since the days of Murillo. Indifferent meat, ill-savoured fish, fruit, vegetables, and coarse pottery, old clothes, old mats, and old iron, still cover the ground or load the stalls, as they did on the Thursdays two centuries ago, when the unknown youth stood there amongst gipsies, muleteers, and mendicant friars, selling for a few reals those productions of his early pencil for which royal collectors are now ready to contend.[47]

Brooke further noted that "Phillip has felt the need to introduce a couple of priests [sic] playing their inquisitorial part by ensuring that the novice Murillo had not

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transgressed the rules laid down for artists by the Church."[48] Like images, books were a potential threat to orthodoxy, and Hall incorporated this same judgmental stance into his painting. Even the gesture of the priest on the right of Hall's painting, who adjusts his wire-framed glasses in order to see the text more clearly, simply reverses the central figure in Phillip's earlier composition.

Catholicism was viewed ambivalently in both England and the United States during the nineteenth century, and Spain with its large population of priests and history of the Inquisition was perceived as one of the most fervent of Catholic countries.[49] The Inquisition was begun in Germany by Gregory IX in 1231 and extended to Spain the following year, where it reached its peak during the late thirteenth century. It had all but died out by the fifteenth century, when Ferdinand and Isabella reinvested a new tribunal with the power to examine suspected heretics, especially converted Jews and Muslims, of any breach of the Catholic faith. Even in the nineteenth century, the Inquisition persisted; suppressed during Napoleonic rule, Ferdinand XIII restored its power upon his return in 1813. It was not permanently abolished until 1834.[50]

The American experience of Catholicism was shaped less by direct contact with the Spanish or the Inquisition than with the arrival of large numbers of Irish and German immigrants during the nineteenth century.[51] With the revolutions and famines that plagued Europe during the late 1840s, the Catholic population in America increased dramatically. By 1850 Catholics had become the country's largest religious community, and between the years 1850 and 1860, the Irish-Catholic

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population alone rose from 761,719 to 1,611,304.[52]

Fear of rising Catholicism led to the creation in the United States of several reactionary groups, most notably in 1849 the Order of the Star Spangled Banner (or No Nothings), which admitted only native-born Protestants. Catholicism, some felt, was incompatible with democracy, the absolutist power of the Pope a threat to American notions of freedom. Responses such as the lecture titled "Catholicity Not the Danger But the Safety of the Great American Republic," delivered in Boston by the Dominican orator Father Tom Burke, attempted to calm the fears of American Protestants, but anti-Catholicism remained an issue in American life throughout the nineteenth century.[53]

The association of Murillo with Catholicism may have contributed to his decline in popularity during the course of the nineteenth century. Murillo was called *El Pintor del cielo* (the painter of heaven) for his many paintings of the Immaculate Conception, the Infant Jesus, and the Infant John the Baptist, while Velázquez painted few religious subjects and was known instead as *El Pintor de la tierra* (the painter of earth). Beginning in the 1860s, the relative popularity of these two Spanish masters began to shift, and as Murillo's reputation began to fall, Velázquez's simultaneously started to climb. Charles Boyd Curtis defended Murillo's declining reputation in his 1883 book on Spanish painting:

> It is much the fashion now-a-days with a certain class, to exalt Velazquez [sic] and decry Murillo. With such critics I have little sympathy. I find no difficulty in admiring both these artists. Each has his merits; perhaps I ought to be frank enough to admit that each has his defects. Both were great, but in a diverse way. The difference between them is largely due to their temperaments and surroundings. Velazquez was worldly; Murillo, religious.

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> Velazquez labored for artists and critics; Murillo for mankind. Velazquez painted kings, and knights, and dwarfs, things of earth; Murillo painted virgins, and saints, and angels, things of heaven. The one consorted with courtiers; the other with monks. The one belonged to an order that might honor princes; the other to a brotherhood whose office it was to visit the sick and to bury the dead. The one had pensions and honors and lived in the king's house; the other painted for mendicants, and dying left scarcely more than would suffice for his burial.[54]

By the end of the century, the transformation was complete; Murillo had fallen to the nadir of his popularity, while Velázquez was riding high and was still rising.[55]

María de los Santos García, author of an extensive analysis of Murillo's reputation, traces the initial hints of Murillo's decline to Romantic-era criticism of his nineteenth-century followers. These painters, critics asserted, lacked originality; their work was derivative and stilted, rather than inspired and free. Distaste for Murillo himself, especially the sweetness and sentimentality of his compositions, emerged somewhat later in the century, as advocates of realism began to champion the earthiness of Velázquez over the spirituality and saintliness of Murillo. Velázquez's technique, the fluidity of his stroke and the suggestiveness of his illusionism, found favor among the avant-garde, while Murillo's smooth, vaporous style seemed comparatively conservative. Velázquez became the painter of political progressivism, while Murillo's style and Catholicism kept him aligned with a less enlightened, more autocratic period.[56] Benjamin Disraeli commanded a lover of art in the 1830s to "Run my dear fellow to Seville and for the first time in your life know what a great artist is. Murillo, Murillo, Murillo!"[57] Forty years later the aphorism had changed. French academics encouraged young art students to look at Velázquez, not Murillo, in the Prado, and Carolus-Duran exhorted his students: "Velázquez, Velázquez,

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Velázquez, étudiez sans relâche Velázquez."[58]

Hall's decision to follow the footsteps of Murillo during this transitional period was untimely, but his dedication to Spanish subjects -- and his focus on traditional Sevillian imagery derived from the subjects of *costumbrismo* -- would become paradigmatic for many artists of the late nineteenth century. Elizabeth Heaphy Murray (1815-1882), the English-born watercolor painter who lived in the United States between the years 1863 and 1875, chose subjects similar to Hall's and her work provides a close parallel.[59] Murray was the daughter of London court-painter Thomas Heaphy, and her marriage to British Consul Henry John Murray afforded her lengthy residencies in Morocco and the Canary Islands before moving to Portland, Maine. Her two-volume book *Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands* was published in London in 1859, four years before her arrival in Maine.

During her twelve years in the United States, Mrs. Murray focused on paintings of Spanish life, exhibiting them in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Most notable among her watercolors is *A Cheat Detected: A Spanish Gambling Scene* (fig. 2.24).[60] This painting, like George Hall's *Trying His Luck*, portrays a game of chance, and *The Portland Transcript* published an evocative description of the proceedings:

> Four men are seated at a table, two are cheating by means of a priest standing behind one of the players, overlooking his cards and telegraphing his partner. Another partner is bending down to light his cigarette, by another between the lips of a girl sitting at his feet, who raises her dark languishing eyes bewitchingly; another woman behind the group has just discovered the cheat and is calling the attention of one of the defrauded players to the priest. The

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> expression of her face is very fine and her mingled scorn and indignation admirably rendered.[61]

Like Hall, Murray placed the group in front of a wall, thus preventing a deep recession into space. Both Murray and Hall had derived this compositional structure from the *costumbrista* painters, as well as from John Phillip, who used the same format in his *The Letter Writer of Seville*. Also like Hall, Murray frequently reused models in successive paintings; *Church Patronage* (fig. 2.25), another Spanish subject by Murray, features the curly-haired woman from the center of *A Cheat Detected* recast in the guise of a vendor of lottery tickets. The portly priest in the center of the composition provides a satirical note readily appreciated by viewers unsympathetic to Catholicism.

Aside from these works, few other paintings by Murray are located, but exhibition titles such as *The Spanish Milk Dealer* (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1868), *Spanish Gypsy*, and *Spanish Girl at Prayer* (both Brooklyn Art Association, 1874 and 1875), suggests that Murray's subjects, like Hall's, portrayed a select group of Sevillian types -- the gambler, the vendor, the gypsy, and the Catholic. *Costumbrista* painters first defined these types, and visitors to Spain incorporated them into their work during the nineteenth century. But the appropriation of these subjects by non-Spanish painters created an interesting inversion: while *costumbrista* painters focused on these picturesque types as a manifestation of nationalistic self-definition and a means of taking possession of a disappearing way of life, foreign painters saw them as examples of difference. Types became stereotypes, and Spanish subjects were given a new accent in the hands of

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late-nineteenth-century American and other cosmopolitan painters.[62]

Hall and Murray were the first painters to present the Spanish people to the American public, and their presentation created a rather one-dimensional view of Spain. They filled their canvases with a narrow range of traditional types that ignored the inevitability of social and industrial change. Colman's works too, with the notable exception of his paintings of British Gibraltar, focus on the past and allude to Spain's declining capacity for international involvement in trade and commerce. Both Colman and Hall found southern Spain, the least developed part of the country, to be the source of their inspiration, and their devotion to Andalusian themes undoubtedly led to their joint auction at Somerville Art Gallery, which drew to a close their decade-long involvement with Spain.[63] The artists who followed these artists to Spain during the 1870s and 1880s benefited from their example. While the call of Velázquez, not Murillo, would beckon them there, the region traversed by Colman and the types employed by Hall would become increasingly popular.

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1. Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home*, vol. 1 (1845; repr., London: Centaur Press, 1966), p. 262.

2. "The Present Art Season in New York," *Harper's Weekly* 13 (February 6, 1869), p. 91.

3. Ford, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, vol. 1, p. 397.

4. See the following sources on Murillo's popularity in England: Allan Braham et al., *El Greco to Goya: The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland* (exh. cat., London: The National Gallery of Art, 1981); Enriqueta Harris, "Murillo en Inglaterra," *Goya* 169-171 (July - December 1982), pp. 7-17; Ellis Waterhouse, "Murillo and Eighteenth-century Painting Outside Spain," in Manuela Mena Marqués et al., *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, 1617-1682* (exh. cat., Madrid and London: Museo del Prado and Royal Academy of Arts, 1982); Maria de los Santos García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo (1682-1900)* (Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1989), especially pp. 41-81; and Xanthe Brooke, *Murillo in Focus* (exh. cat., Liverpool: National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1990).

5. García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo*, pp. 46-7. "Velasco" undoubtedly refers to Velázquez.

6. García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo*, p. 53 and Brooke, *Murillo in Focus*, pp. 22-3.

7. For a discussion of nineteenth-century paintings depicting the life of Murillo, see Maria de los Santos García Felguera, "Imágenes de un pintor: La Iconografía de Murillo en el siglo XIX," *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía* (Fundación Universitaria Española, Seminario de Arte 'Marqués de Lozoya'), tomo II, número 4 (1989), pp. 324-30. The Murillo paintings displayed in Manchester are listed in *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857* (exh. cat., London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857).

8. See Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972). Lipschutz's book comprises the most complete examination of nineteenth-century French interest in Spanish painting to date. The following summary of French appreciation for Spanish painting is derived from her work.

9. Lipschutz found that Napoleon and his brother Joseph were often at odds in this endeavor, as each tried to acquire the best paintings for their own institution. See Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics*, pp. 42-51.

10. The most extensive examination of Louis-Philippe's *Galerie Espagnole* is found in Jeanine Baticle and Christina Marinas, *La galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au*

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Louvre, 1838-1848 (Paris: Musées de France, 1981).

11. See Carol M. Osborne, "Yankee Painters at the Prado," in Suzanne L. Stratton et al., *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (exh. cat., New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with The Spanish Insitute, 1993), p. 14 and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Introduction: *El Jaleo* in the Cult of Spain," in Mary Crawford Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo* (exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992), p. 14.

12. "Richard Worsam Meade (1778-1828)," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 477-8.

13. Thanks to Elizabeth Milroy for information on the Meade collection in Philadelphia. See "Record of Exhibition Catalogues at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts," in Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Madison, Conn.: Soundview Press, 1988), pp. 336-7. In James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts, *Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues from the Beginning Through the 1876 Centennial Year* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1976), there are well over one hundred listings for works said to be by Murillo in exhibitions before 1876.

14. See Samuel Colman, *Patio in the House of Murillo, Seville*, (1860; Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York).

15. William Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 3 (1848; 2nd ed., London: John C. Nimmo, 1891), p. 1073.

16. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 3, p. 1083.

17. Ibid.

18. William Bell Scott, *Murillo and the Spanish School of Painting* (London and New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1873), pp. 72-3

19. Hall listed his birthdate in Boston as September 21, 1825 in his handwritten autobiography. See *Autobiography of Modern Artists*, George Washington Stevens Collection, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel D34, frame 309.

20. *Catalogue of Pictures, Fruit & Flower Studies and Sketches from Nature Painted by Mr. Geo H. Hall* (sale cat., New York: Henry H. Leeds & Co., February 29, 1860).

21. A group of twenty-one small photographs mounted on a single board are in the George Henry Hall Papers, National Academy of Design, New York. The sixth photograph on the top is a full-length portrait of Hall leaning against a podium, inscribed: "Paris, August 1860." Also included are photographs of Seville's Torre de

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Oro and the Giralda.

22. Hall signed the *Register Book* in French on August 22, 1860 as "Geo. H. Hall / Amerique /artiste / New York" suggesting that he arrived in Madrid from Paris. His second entry, appearing on the April 15, 1861 is in English: "George H. Hall / U. S. / artist / New York." *Libro de registro: Visitantes*, June 10, 1856 - September 2, 1864, Box L-28, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

23. The history of the statue's lengthy commissioning process is reviewed by Julian Gallego, "Sevilla y el Monumento a Murillo," *Goya* 169-171 (July - December 1982), pp. 44-51 and by García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo*, pp. 242-9.

24. For a discussion of the importance of Murillo to later Sevillian art, see Enrique Valdivieso, "The Influence of Murillo on Painting in Seville," in Mena Marquéz et al., *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo*, pp. 64-9.

25. One of the most useful analyses of *costumbrismo* can by found in Antonio Reina Palazón, *Pintura costumbrista en Sevilla (1830-1870)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979). Biographies for a number of the most important *costumbrista* painters can be found in Enrique Valdivieso, *Historia de la pintura sevillana: siglos XIII al XX* (Seville: Guadalquivir, 1986).

26. "Sketchings," *The Crayon* 8 (March 1861), p. 69.

27. "National Academy of Design: Third Article," *New York Evening Post*, June 3, 1864, p. 1.

28. *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures Consisting of Figure Subjects, Fruit and Flower Pieces Painted by George H. Hall* (sale cat., New York: Somerville Art Gallery, March 12, 1866). Not all the criticism of Hall's genre paintings was positive, but still the critics noted the affinity with Murillo. See "Two Picture Sales," *The Nation* 11 (March 8, 1866), p. 314: "And the pictures we like the least are the Spanish figure subjects, some of them, indeed, as No. 60 [*Spanish Boy Eating Grapes*] too nearly like reminiscences of Murillo to look well unacknowledged as such."

29. William Cullen Bryant, Seville, February 16, 1867, in Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (1867; repr., New York: James F. Carr, 1967), pp. 482-3.

30. *The Art Journal*, November 15, 1867, p. 15.

31. "Art Items," *New York Tribune*, January 31, 1861, p. 7. Actually there are eight figures in the painting.

32. *Autobiography of Modern Artists*, George Washington Stevens Collection, Archives of American Art, Reel D34, frame 309.

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33. Utica Arts Association, 1871, no. 159, in Yarnall and Gerdts, *Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues*, p. 1564. *Trying His Luck* was also exhibited at the National Academy of Design in the spring, 1870, no. 317, and at the Brooklyn Art Association in November 1870, no. 150. A reviewer at the National Academy of Design described the paintings as follows: "Mr. George H. Hall's 'Trying His Luck' (no. 317), a Spanish scene, of course, representing a group of children playing at a game of chance, is pleasing in color, as all his pictures are, but the faces of the group, in spite of difference of form and complexion, have too strong a resemblance. And then the children, instead of appearing interested in the game, are gazing into vacancy. The drawing, too, is not quite correct." "Fine Arts," *New York Times*, April 24, 1870, p. 3.

34. See Yarnall and Gerdts, *Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues*, p. 1557-68 for the titles of paintings exhibited by George Hall.

35. George Henry Hall Papers, National Academy of Design, New York. One of the photographs of *Anita* is inscribed "Seville, 1861."

36. A description of Hall's studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building is found in "At The Studios," *Appleton's Journal* 13 (March 27, 1875), p. 409. Included among a display of pottery from Africa, gray-stone beer-mugs, and delicate china was a group of "picturesque trophies of the artist's life in Spain."

37. "Fine Arts," *New York Evening Post*, September 29, 1868, p. 1.

38. The same floppy brown hat was also used by Hall for one of the boys in *Trying His Luck* (fig. 2.10).

39. The *costumbrista* painters of Sevilla also employed a limited number of subjects. This repetition became a formula not only for their paintings, but also for what became thought of as intrinsically Andalusian. See Reina Palazón, *Pintura costumbrista en Sevilla*, pp. 57-8.

40. "National Academy of Design," *New York Times*, June 27, 1865, p. 5. The reviewer is writing of a painting called *Rosalva* (unlocated).

41. "The Academy Exhibition," *New York Leader*, April 30, 1864, p. 1.

42. "Third Winter Exhibition of the National Academy of Design," *New York Daily Tribune*, November 20, 1869, p. 1.

43. As with Hall's other Spanish subjects, *La Feria de Jueves* was almost universally condemned. The critic of "Academy of Design," *Watson's Art Journal* 11 (May 15, 1869), p. 32, felt that the "subject very much approached caricature; the grotesque composition of three leathern-faced, large brimhatted figures, and the waxen limbed

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boy bearing some respectably painted grapes, really suggest to us that Mr. Hall intended to add a vein of humor to his figures, by making them ludicrous with their bad drawing and artificial and untruthful color." Clarence Cook was even more scathing. After condemning a lack of anatomical correctness and a deficiency in human expression in the painting of the priests, Cook dismissed Hall completely: "Mr. Hall long ago ceased to be a good painter. He has knowledge and facility in his art, but when he ceased to think, these powers ceased to help him." "The Fine Arts," *New York Daily Tribune*, June 5, 1869, p. 2.

44. Ford, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, vol. 1, p. 408.

45. Phillip's career is discussed by William Hardie, *Scottish Painting, 1837 to the Present* (Oxford: Studio Vista, 1990), pp. 50-3 and David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), pp. 326-31. See also Charles Carter, *John Phillip, R.A. (1817-1867)* (exh. cat., Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery, 1967). Thanks to Claire and Jerry McCleery for gathering information and photographs of works by John Phillip during their most recent pilgrimage to Scotland.

46. I have found no direct evidence that Phillip and Hall met during their simultaneous visits, but Phillip's well-established reputation, the similarity of their interests, and their shared language make a meeting highly probable.

47. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 3, pp. 988-9.

48. Xanthe Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain: 1820-1900," in Stratton et al., *Spain, Espagne, Spanien,* p. 44.

49. In the early nineteenth century, Spain had a higher percentage of priests than any other Catholic country. See Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain," in Stratton et al., *Spain, Espagne, Spanien*, p. 114.

50. "Inquisition," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 535-41.

51. See Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972) and Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992).

52. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, p. 541.

53. A review of this speech, which was sponsored by the Catholic Lyceum Association, appears as "Catholicity in America," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 29, 1872, p. 1.

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54. Charles Boyd Curtis, *Velazquez and Murillo: A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Works* (London and New York: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington and J. W. Bouton, 1883), pp. xxi-xxii.

55. Velázquez's reputation during the nineteenth century is currently the subject of research by Susan Garrett. Garrett's dissertation, "Velázquez in the Nineteenth Century: An Historiographic Inquiry," is in process at Brown University. See also Katherine Coburn Nahum, "The Importance of Velázquez to Goya, Manet and Sargent" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1993).

56. García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo*, pp. 264-70.

57. García Felguera, *La Fortuna de Murillo*, p. 66.

58. Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 28.

59. Biographical material on Elizabeth Murray is available in José Luís García Pérez, *Viajeros ingleses en las Islas Canarias durante el siglo XIX* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Aula de Cultura, Cabildo Insular, 1988) and García Pérez, *Elizabeth Murray: un nombre del siglo XIX* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Aula de Cultura, Cabildo Insular, 1982). Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr, Director of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, also provided me with information on Murray drawn from his rich files on the painter.

60. This painting was exhibited in May 1864. See *Catalogue of Painting on Exhibition at the Gallery of Cleaveland & Osgood for the Benefit of the Maine Camp Hospital Association* (exh. cat., Portland, Maine: Cleaveland & Osgood, 1864), cat. no. 6. It was subsequently shown at the Yale School of Fine Art (1867), Artists' Fund Society, Philadelphia (1868), the American Society of Painters in Water Colors (1867-68), the Sheltering Arms Bazaar (1870), and possibly the National Academy of Design (1875, as *The Spanish Lovers Lighting the Cigarettes*).

61. "Mrs. Murray and Her Paintings," *Portland Transcript*, February 24, 1866, p. 381.

62. A stereotype is a sweeping generalization, which either has no basis in fact, or which is based on an 'overgeneralization of facts.' See David J. Weber, "'Scarce More than Apes:' Historical Roots of Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans," in David J. Weber, ed., *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1831* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1979).

63. *Catalogue of Messrs. Samuel Colman and Geo. H. Hall's Entire Collection of Paintings & Watercolors* (sale cat., New York: Somerville Art Gallery, April 3, 4, and 5, 1872).

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Chapter 3: Thomas Eakins, Velázquez, and a Gateway to the Orient

> I went to see the gardens & palace of the Alcazar where the Moorish Kings used to live. It is as perfect an architecture as the Egyptian, Greek or Gothic & just as beautiful, maybe more beautiful & it is well built for it looks as new as if it had just been done. We have to thank those Moors for our greatest sciences, they did the big work for us, they started them, Algebra, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geometry. They are our masters.
>
> Thomas Eakins to his father, Seville, December 12, 1869.[1]

Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) traveled to Spain during the winter of 1869-70 after completing three years of rigorous study in Paris.[2] Eakins chose Spain as his destination at the encouragement of his French teachers, and his pilgrimage initiated a pattern followed by many Americans of the nineteenth century. Artists who preceded him, such as Samuel Colman and George Hall, were essentially self-taught artists, but Eakins and his successors had received extensive training in the art academies of Europe. These painters typically went to Spain at the end of their student years, were inspired by Velázquez's paintings at the Prado, and created some of their earliest original compositions based on Spanish subject matter. Their appreciation for Spain was inextricably linked to their academic experience.

Born in Philadelphia in 1844, Eakins received his first art lessons from the hands of his father, a writing master. Drawing and penmanship constituted part of the core curriculum at Philadelphia's Central High School, and during his four years of attendance, Eakins drew geometric objects, mechanical devices, and, in a

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surprising early display of interest in Spain, copies of picturesque Spanish scenes (fig. 3.1). He graduated in 1861. In October 1862 Eakins began to study at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where both Christian Schussele and Peter Rothermel offered occasional criticism to students drawing from antique casts and live models. Eakins also attended anatomy classes at nearby Jefferson Medical College in order to further his understanding of the human body.

Realizing the limitations of study in Philadelphia, Eakins left the Academy after four years, in 1866, for the ateliers of Paris. Barbara Weinberg demonstrated in 1991 in *The Lure of Paris* that the number of Americans seeking art instruction in Europe began to increase dramatically with the end of the Civil War, and Paris, with its preeminence in artistic taste, government support of the arts, low cost of living, and picturesque surroundings, rapidly became the preferred destination for aspiring young painters.[3] Eakins was one of the first to enroll at the newly reorganized Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and he departed for France on September 22, 1866 to study in the atelier of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), one of Paris's most popular academic masters.

Eakins may have known Gérôme's *Egyptian Recruits Crossing the Desert* (1857; Private Collection), a painting exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1860, 1861, and 1862.[4] As a student in Gérôme's studio, Eakins began his studies by drawing from life, and by the spring of 1867 he began to work in oils. He was accompanied in his efforts by several American compatriots, among them Earl Shinn, who became an influential art critic writing under the pen-name of Edward Strahan;

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Frederick Bridgman (1847-1928), and Harry Humphrey Moore (1844-1926). Moore accompanied Eakins on part of his Spanish journey, and they remained friends until Eakins's death in 1916.

In the fall of 1867, Eakins decided that he could advance more quickly in his own studio, with only occasional criticism from Gérôme. He found the blending of pigments on canvas somewhat perplexing, but refined his understanding of color by working from some Near Eastern objects loaned to him by his teacher. Eakins continued to receive advice from Gérôme until the summer of 1869. His mature style shares with his French instructor a careful concern for details of anatomy and costume, meticulous draftsmanship, and an unwavering commitment to the academic tradition.[5]

Gérôme's subjects during the years when Eakins studied with him derived primarily from the classical past and the exotic Near East. Journeying to Egypt and Asia Minor in early 1868, Gérôme returned with sketches and photographs from which to compose his popular Orientalist canvases. He also visited Spain, and several paintings from the 1860s relate to France's southern neighbor.[6] Taking the bullfight as his theme, Gérôme painted *The Picador* and *A Picador* (figs. 3.2 and 3.3), works that portray with matter-of-fact exactitude the mounted picador surrounded by the bloodied corpses of horses disemboweled by the bull. Eakins could not have failed to see these paintings; Gérôme was pleased with them and exhibited both, one at the Düsseldorf Exhibition of 1868 and the other at the Paris Salon of 1870.[7] Clearly Eakins's decision to seek subject matter in Spain accorded with Gérôme's example.

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Toward the end of his training, Eakins joined William Sartain, the son of John Sartain and a boyhood friend from Philadelphia, in the studio of Léon Bonnat (1833-1922). Bonnat's connection to Spain was even stronger than Gérôme's. Born in Bayonne, near the Spanish border, Bonnat was raised in Spain and studied in Madrid with Federico Madrazo Kuntz (1815-1894) at the Academia de San Fernando, where he developed first-hand knowledge of Spanish Baroque art. The darkened palette, painterly brushwork, and emphatic realism of Diego Velázquez and José Ribera deeply impressed Bonnat, and he incorporated their lessons into his work. Bonnat completed his training in Paris and then Rome, and from 1862 on, began to exhibit his biblical subjects and portraits to much acclaim at the French Salon. Accompanying Gérôme on his trip to Egypt and the Near East in 1868, Bonnat expanded his subject matter to Orientalist themes.[8] Sartain may have recommended Bonnat's teaching to Eakins, but Gérôme undoubtedly seconded the recommendation. Bonnat's more fluid brushwork and greater commitment to portraiture, in which Eakins was also interested, complemented Gérôme's teaching perfectly.

Both Gérôme and Bonnat had connections to Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874), the third artist to turn Eakins toward Spain.[9] Gérôme accepted a number of Spanish students into his studio during the 1860s, and through these relationships became familiar with the Spanish community in Paris.[10] Family connections tied Gérôme even more directly to Fortuny; in 1861 Gérôme married Marie Goupil, daughter of Adolphe Goupil, an international art dealer who promoted the work of both Gérôme and Fortuny. Goupil increased public awareness of these two men by producing

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inexpensive photogravure reproductions of their major paintings. Gérôme encouraged Fortuny to move to Paris as early as 1866, and upon the Spaniard's arrival in September 1869, Gérôme offered him the use of his studio.[11] Fortuny accepted Gérôme's offer, remaining in Paris until June of 1870.

Bonnat's connection to the Spaniard came from his study with Federico Madrazo, whose daughter Cecilia married Fortuny in 1867. Separated in age by only five years, both Bonnat and Fortuny had spent many hours copying in the Prado and shared a love for Spanish Baroque painting. Eakins noted their similarity in technique, as well as his own affinity for their style, when taking detailed notes on Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas* (fig. 3.4) during his trip to Spain. Eakins wrote in the notebooks he carried with him in Spain: "Moreover the manner of Bonnat and Fortuny is good, and it is toward it that my own instincts have always carried me."[12] Later in Philadelphia, Eakins expressed continued appreciation for Fortuny's work: "I have seen the Fortuny at the home of Mr. Borie. It is the most beautiful thing I have ever seen."[13]

The painter who evoked such a passionate response was born in Catalunya and received his education at the Academia de Bellas Artes de Barcelona. In 1858 the Diputación de Barcelona awarded Fortuny a pension that allowed him two years of study in Rome, and in 1860 he was given a commission to paint a monumental history painting based on the Spanish-Moroccan War. The result of his first visit to North Africa was *The Battle of Tetuán* (1862, Museum of Modern Art, Barcelona), a large multi-figured painting depicting the Spanish victory over the Moroccans. Developing

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an avid interest in light and color, Fortuny became known for his Orientalist genre paintings, created with sparkling brushwork in both oil and watercolor. He also painted a number of overtly Spanish themes, which in their evocation of characteristic Spanish types find their roots in Spanish *costumbrismo*. *La Vicaría* (or *The Spanish Wedding*) (fig. 3.5), a work that occupied Fortuny from 1868 to 1870, depicts the signing of a marriage contract. In attendance are a priest, a *maja*, and an ornately clad *torero*. Like the works of *costumbrismo*, Fortuny's paintings were especially popular with foreign patrons; one of his greatest champions was the American collector William Hood Stewart.

Contact with all these artists conditioned Eakins's desire to visit Spain, which was first expressed in January 1867. Eakins wrote to his father about his interest in accompanying John Sartain to Spain later that year:

> Much as I would like to visit Spain I fear that Mr. Sartain will have left it before our holydays [sic]. However it will do no harm for me to learn enough Spanish to say I am hungry or to ask my way back to Paris and I have a chance of practice for I often hear Spanish spoken in our studio.[14]

By March Eakins had begun to take lessons, working with a tutor three times a week in order to develop his conversational skills. "The grammar is very simple and the verbs analogous with the Italian ones," he reported optimistically to his father.[15] Yet despite his preparation, Eakins was not able to make use of his language skills until two years later.

Poor health, cold rain, and a feeling that his training in Paris was completed prompted Eakins's departure for the South during the winter of 1869-70. At first he thought of traveling as far as Algiers,[16] but he settled on a nearer destination and

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wrote to his father, Benjamin Eakins, on the day of his parting: "I am going to Spain. I have been pretty sick here in spite of my precautions against the weather & feel worn out. I will go straight to Madrid, stay a few days to see the pictures, & then go to Seville."[17] Upon arrival in Madrid after almost thirty-six hours on the train, he wrote to update his condition: "I was pretty weak & sick from my diarrhea but the sight of the sun did a great deal to cure me & now I feel right well & almost as strong as ever. . . . My appetite which I had lost entirely is as entirely back again."[18] He was hoping to find enough sun in Seville not only to regain his health, but also to paint some original Spanish subjects in direct outdoor light. His stopover in Madrid, where he stayed at the Hotel Peninsular just off the Puerta del Sol, allowed him a pause to view the paintings by Velázquez in the Prado.[19]

Eakins's response to Spanish art came pouring out in his next letter home:

> "[S]ince I am now here in Madrid I do not regret at all my coming. I have seen big painting here. When I had looked at all the paintings by all the masters I had known I could not help saying to myself all the time, its very pretty but its not all yet. It ought to be better, but now I have seen what I always thought ought to have been done & what did not seem to me impossible. O what a satisfaction it gave me to see the good Spanish work so good so strong so reasonable so free from every affectation. It stands out like nature itself.[20]

Although the realism of Velázquez was a stunning revelation, Murillo's painting apparently made little impression on Eakins. He made no mention of Murillo in his letters home, and although he examined the Prado's paintings more fully on his return trip to Madrid, Murillo's name remains noticeably absent from his small *Spanish Notebook*. The reputation of Murillo, so important a source of inspiration for George Hall, was already in decline; *el pintor de la tierra* had clearly taken precedence over

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el pintor del cielo by the time of Eakins's arrival.

In his *Spanish Notebook*, Eakins mentioned a still life by Luis Meléndez, which he called "très fine et très forte," and Francisco Goya's *Family of Carlos IV* (ca. 1800; Museo del Prado, Madrid), which Eakins would have liked better if Goya had "worked on his picture from nature."[21] Eakins also looked at works by Titian, Veronese, Van Dyck, and Ribera, but spent most of his time with Velázquez, whose painting *Las Hilanderas* demanded extended consideration. In his notebook Eakins recorded the following observations about Velázquez's technique:

> Here is how I think the woman tapesty-weaver was painted, the most beautiful piece of painting that I have seen in my life.
>
> He drew her without giving attention to the details. Only he put her head and arm well in place. Then he painted her very solidly without seeking or even marking any folds of the draperies, and perhaps he sought for his color harmonies in several repetitions painting over, for the color is excessively thick on the neck and all the delicate parts. Finally he glazed [or scumbled] over when everything was quite dry using tones already prepared and only then he finished his drawing indicating the details.
>
> I believe that Ribera and Rembrandt proceeded in this same manner.[22]

Appreciation for Velázquez's method and the privileging of painting over drawing seemingly aligns Eakins more closely to Bonnat and Fortuny than to Gérôme. But Eakins's preferences must be seen in the context of his development and his current preoccupation with the difficulties of paint. He was impressed by the achievements of these more painterly masters less as a means of repudiating Gérôme's influence than as a means of developing his still incompletely realized abilities with the brush.

After visiting the Prado, Eakins quickly left Madrid for Seville, where he sought out Spanish models as subjects for his own paintings. Arriving in Seville on the evening of Saturday, December 4, 1869, after an arduous train ride, Eakins was

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mobbed at the station by porters trying to grab his bags and escort him to his lodgings at the Hotel de Paris. His first letter home described a scene of total chaos, with more than one porter trying to charge for the trip from the station. Eakins pulled out his pistol to disperse them, but the dispute was resolved only with the payment of an additional fee, made at the personal request of the hotel proprietor.[23]

A warm rain and continued illness kept Eakins inside the next day, but by Monday he began to explore. Seeking picturesque parts of the city that might provide him with subjects, he made a quick visit to the cigarette factory before rain sent him back to the hotel. On Tuesday he went out again, visited the Museo de Bellas Arts, and stopped at the Cathedral. These sites merited only brief comment (Eakins found the museum small compared to the one at Madrid), but the street life of the city continued to fascinate him. His letters home ignored Seville's glorious collection of paintings by Murillo, vividly describing instead a tavern brawl and stabbing witnessed on the way back from the museum.

Eakins was also impressed by the accomplishments of the Moors, and in Seville he visited the Alcázar, a Moorish palace that rivals the Alhambra in its ornate decoration. Eakins's previous encounters with Islamic culture had come through the paintings of Gérôme, and he incorporated many of the assumptions of nineteenth-century France into his opinions.[24] Eight months before departing for Spain, in a letter describing Gérôme's *Prayer in the Desert* (1864; location unknown), Eakins had mused especially on the simplicity and grandeur of the Islamic religion:

> Their religion is a silent prayer to the unknown immense God. The sun is going down. The man of the desert stops his horse, spreads out his little

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> carpet, sticks his spear up in the ground, takes off his shoes, everything is silent there, he forgets he is of the world & prays to his Allah. There's no God but God & Mahomed is his prophet. How simple & grand.[25]

But like his French teachers, Eakins also perceived the indolence and eroticism that were thought to characterize Muslim life. "They are men of deep feeling these men of the East but they are lazy and sensual," Eakins concluded to his sister in the same letter. The splendors of Spain's Moorish architecture undoubtedly brought these thoughts back to mind.

Had Eakins been a history painter, such themes might have become the subjects of his first canvases. But Eakins was more interested in painting the present, and he began instead to paint contemporary Spaniards from the streets of Seville. His friend Harry Moore joined Eakins in either late December or early January, and William Sartain followed soon after.[26] The three spent long hours at work, relaxing with walks and horseback rides in the country. "I am painting all the morning till three, then I walk out into the country with Harry Moore," Eakins reported to his father on January 6, 1870.[27] Eakins had discovered a family of dancers, a *Compañia gimnastica*, that consisted of Augustín Requeña, his wife Angelita, and seven-year old daughter Carmelita.[28] Finding them sufficiently picturesque, he used them as models, painting first a study of the young girl's head (fig. 3.6).

To his youngest sister, five-year old Caroline (Caddie), Eakins wrote:

> Some candy given me I ate a little & then gave all the rest to a dear little girl Carmalita [sic] I am painting. I don't think she ever had such a nice Christmas before. She is only 7 years old & has to dance in the street every day. But she likes better to stand still & be painted. She looks down at a little card on the floor so as to keep her head still & in the right place & when we gave her the goodies she ate some & put the nicest ones down on the card

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so she would be looking at them all the time while she posed.[29]

The bright reds of Carmelita's costume and headdress recall Eakins's many months' work from the colorful Near Eastern objects lent to him by Gérôme, but the subtle tonal values found in the lighting of the face speak also to the lessons of Bonnat.[30] The features of the face are much more carefully portrayed than the costume and headdress, which are suggested with broader, unmixed strokes of red, black and beige. Eakins's struggle with the paint is revealed in the black detailing of the costume, where the pigment tends to sit on the surface of the canvas rather than to coalesce realistically into a depiction of fabric trim.[31]

The muted light of *Carmelita Requeña* suggests that in early January Eakins was still painting inside, but for *A Street Scene in Seville* (fig. 3.7), he moved out into the sunlight.[32] He reported to his father on January 26, 1870:

> I have started the most difficult kind of a picture, making studies in the sunlight. The proprietor of the Hotel gave us permission to work up on top of the roof where we can study right in the sun. Something unforeseen may occur & my pictures may be failures, these first ones. I cannot make a picture fast yet. I want experience in my calculations. Sometimes I do a thing too soon & I have to do it all over again. Sometimes it takes me longer to do a thing than I thought it would & that interferes with something ahead & I have a good many botherations, but I am sure I am on the right road to good work & that is better than being far on a bad road. . . . If I get through with what I am at, . . . then I will make a bull fighter picture & maybe a gypsy one.[33]

Elizabeth Milroy has ably discussed the many "botherations" that plagued Eakins during the creation of this work, delaying its completion and ultimately leading to its labored appearance.[34] This was Eakins's first original composition, and it preoccupied him for the next three months. Despite his plans otherwise, *A Street Scene in Seville* was the only multi-figured painting he was able to complete in Spain.

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The painting depicts Carmelita and her family performing in front of a stuccoed Spanish building. A woman holding a young child watches from a window above and shadows on the ground at bottom left suggest the presence of other onlookers as well. Carmelita stands in the sun between her parents; the light strikes her skirt and face obliquely, casting a dark shadow on the ground beside her. Her parents are in the shade, her father playing a trumpet and her mother accompanying on a drum. The whitewashed wall behind them is marred by a scrawl of anti-Bourbon graffiti, "Avajo los Borbones . . . Viva la Liver[tad]," and a crudely drawn bullfight. Blue sky, a palm tree, and an architectural arcade are visible at top right.[35]

The republican slogans in *Street Scene in Seville* are a direct reference to the crisis being experienced by the Spanish monarchy during Eakins's visit to Spain. Eakins had demonstrated keen interest in contemporary political events while in Paris, writing lengthy letters home about the violent demonstrations held in opposition to the Second Empire. He was undoubtedly aware that during the year before his arrival in Spain, the Revolution of 1868 had dethroned Isabel II and universal male suffrage had been granted by the Constitution of 1869. The situation would remain unstable for the next several years; in late 1870 Amadeus, duke of Aosta, became the constitutional monarch, but he found the situation unmanageable and resigned two years later. The Republic of 1873 was formed after his abdication, but it survived only until 1875, when Alfonso XII, son of the deposed queen, was restored to power. Although Eakins's response to these complicated events remains unknown, the

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deliberate inclusion of this Bourbon condemnation suggests that, like most Americans, he believed a constitutional, rather than autocratic, system of government would better serve the Spanish people.

Art historians have observed that although the fluidity of Eakins's technique in *A Street Scene in Seville* is similar to that of Bonnat, the compositional structure derives from such paintings as Gérôme's *The Pifferari* (fig. 3.8).[36] Indeed, Eakins's admiration for Gérôme's work continued beyond his study with the master; his request for Gérôme's criticism after returning to Philadelphia and his collection of carte-de-visite photographs of Gérôme and his best-known paintings are both well documented.[37] Eakins owned Goupil reproductions of a number of Gérôme's paintings, including *The Cock Fight* (1846; Musée d'Orsay, Paris); *The Prisoner* (1861; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes); *The Dance of the Almeh* (1863; Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio); *Prayer in the Desert* (1864; location unknown); *Prayer on the Rooftops* (1865; Kunsthalle, Hamburg); and *The Chess Players (A Scene in Cairo)* (ca. 1870; Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.).[38]

Eakins also drew inspiration from a series of Spanish scenes by photographers Jean Laurent and José Sierra Payba, which he bought in either France or Spain. Gérôme made extensive use of photographs in his art (on his 1868-9 journey to Egypt and Asia Minor, he hired an extra camel to carry the bulky photographic equipment), and Eakins was undoubtedly aware of the usefulness of such *aides-memoires*.[39] Like the *costumbrista* painters, photographers working in Spain targeted the burgeoning tourist industry for their sales, and the images included the same catalogue of types

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that had been painted by George Hall during the preceding decade. Included in Eakins's collection of photographs are street vendors, peasants, gypsies, and bullfighters, and like Hall, these are the types from which Eakins planned to select subjects. Several of the Spanish photographs in Eakins's collection employ the same triangular composition found in *A Street Scene in Seville* (see fig. 3.9).

A third compelling precursor of Eakins's painting is Gustave Doré's illustration *Musiciens ambulants* (fig. 3.10), which was drawn to accompany Baron Charles Davillier's series of articles titled "Voyage en Espagne." First published serially in *Le Tour du Monde* from 1862 to 1873, the text and illustrations of "Voyage en Espagne" were compiled in a deluxe book format as *L'Espagne* in 1874, and as *Spain*, an English translation, two years later. Doré had made his first visit to Spain in 1855 in the company of Théophile Gautier, the author of *Tra los montes*, a popular early guidebook to Spain.[40] Gautier's romantic view undoubtedly influenced Doré's impressions of the country, as the illustrations from his second trip with Davillier in 1861-2 (as well as Davillier's descriptions from that time) record many of the picturesque *costumbrista* types also found in Gautier's work. *Musiciens ambulants* depicts a group of roving street performers performing in front of a building. Eakins, who may have flipped through the pages of *Le Tour du Monde* during his years in Paris, incorporated into the left side of his *Street Scene in Seville* onlookers in a window much like those in Doré's drawing.[41]

But Eakins wanted more than visual source material. He learned the names of his models, and his study of the Spanish language enabled him to converse with them.

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"I know ever so many gypsies men & women, circus people, street dancers, theatre dancers and bullfighters," Eakins wrote proudly to his father. "The bullfighters are quiet, gentle looking men."[42] With the opening of the bullfight season, Eakins began to attend the *corrida*, and he informed his father that "the bullfights [in Seville] are the best in Spain & the bullfighters are now arriving. They are very fine men. I like them extremely."[43] The result of these personal relationships is an emphatic evocation of life, and the most striking difference between *A Street Scene in Seville* and similar paintings by Hall is the insistent impression of realism captured on canvas by the younger artist. While Hall's models stare blankly into space, Eakins's possess a quality of introspection new to American paintings of Spain.

Eakins's methods and artistic influences, compared to those employed and absorbed by Hall, undoubtedly contributed to this change of effect. Eakins's formal training and his consequent dedication to the human body were much more extensive than Hall's, and while Eakins insisted on painting directly from the model, Hall relied on sketches made in Spain to paint his finished pictures in New York. Finally, although both painters admired seventeenth-century Spanish painting, Hall emulated Murillo, who lacked the realist potential of Velázquez. *A Street Scene in Seville*, despite its technical problems, benefited greatly from these differences. It stands as Eakins's first fully-realized painting in a career marked by continual dedication to the tenets of realism.

The effects of Spanish painting on Eakins's art reached well beyond his trip to

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Spain, despite his strict dedication to American subject matter after his return to Philadelphia. In Spain Eakins made the transition from art student to artist, culminating his several years of training with the lessons of both contemporary and old master Spanish painting. Kathleen Foster has persuasively discussed the influence of Fortuny on Eakins's watercolors, not only in terms of technique (the evocation of outdoor light in the sculling pictures during the early 1870s probably derives from Fortuny), but also in terms of subject.[44] Foster noted that the theme of the female nude in the studio in Eakins's *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River* (fig. 3.11) is also found in Fortuny's *The Choice of a Model* (fig. 3.12). She also observed that Eakins's early American genre scenes of the mid-1870s are connected to Fortuny's eighteenth-century costume pieces, and his Arcadian paintings during the early 1880s (fig. 3.13) recall the Spaniard's popular idylls of nude pipers in a landscape (fig. 3.14).[45]

The stark realism of seventeenth-century Spanish painting -- especially the works of Velázquez and Ribera -- can also be found reflected in Eakins's work. Elizabeth Milroy specifically connected Eakins's *Crucifixion* (fig. 3.15) to his training with Bonnat, as well as to his knowledge of such Spanish sources as Velázquez's *Christ on the Cross* (fig. 3.16).[46] The literal realism of Eakins's crucified Christ set against a light-filled sky also evokes the memory of Ribera's *The Martyrdom of St. Philip* (fig. 3.17). Eakins's exposure to Velázquez and Ribera at the Prado inspired an interest in Spanish realism that remained with him throughout his life; when he tried to sell his *Crucifixion* to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1910, he offered

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for consideration along with it a painting by Ribera owned by an unidentified collector.[47]

The series of portraits of Roman Catholic clergymen painted late in Eakins's career also displays his continued admiration for the work of Velázquez. William Gerdts placed these paintings in the context of American clerical portraiture and noted especially the similarities between Velázquez's *Innocent X* (fig. 3.18) and Eakins's *Archbishop William Henry Elder* (fig. 3.19). Eakins probably saw Velázquez's portrait on his 1868 trip to Rome, which preceded by a year his visit to the Prado. Velázquez's use of a three-quarter-length seated pose, with hands resting over the ends of the armrests, is simply reversed by Eakins, and the artists share an unflinching objectivity in the characterization of their sitters. Innocent X, the younger man, looks out toward the viewer with a penetrating stare, while Elder lapses into inner reflection. Unidealized, both sitters are portrayed with rich painterly brushstrokes that convincingly convey the gravity of their lives.[48] Thirty years after his trip to Spain, Eakins was still displaying his affinity for Spanish art.

The paintings of Sartain and Moore, who accompanied Eakins on his Spanish journey, amplify the effects of Spain on artists who had studied with Gérôme and Bonnat. Sartain was the third son of John Sartain and a classmate of Eakins from Philadelphia's Central High School. Traveling through Europe in 1867, Sartain had accompanied his father and brother Henry on a three-week trip to Spain. According to William Sartain's autobiography, his enthusiasm for this first trip induced Eakins to

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take his own journey two years later:

> Our trip lasted 3 weeks, including Madrid, Seville, Cordova, & Granada -- the journey to the last place being partly by diligence and [an] interesting ride.
>
> The trip was a great revelation to me, and was the cause of my some years later persuading Tom Eakins to go there for his final 6 months of European study before returning to America. Shortly after return from Spain & Paris, I started to America where I studied with Christian Schussele.[49]

Sartain spent the next year drawing from casts with the advice of Schussele at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, before returning to Europe in the spring of 1869 to study in Paris. Initially, Sartain enrolled in the studio of Adolphe Yvon, but upon seeing Bonnat's *Assumption of the Virgin* at the Salon of 1869, he placed himself under this master's tutelage. Sartain's example undoubtedly contributed to Eakins's move toward both Bonnat and Spain later that year.

Only one painting remains from Sartain's trip with Eakins.[50] Joining Eakins and Moore in mid-January, Sartain hoped to use his time in Spain for painting, but found that inexperience kept him from producing more than a few rudimentary studies: "I had intended to use the parlor [of the hotel in Seville] as a painting room, but was not sufficiently advanced to do much work by myself, although I have one head I did there of a certain Spanish young man which for certain qualities I prize highly still."[51] The work to which Sartain was referring is undoubtedly the painting called *Spanish Head* (fig. 3.22), for an inscription on the stretcher of the work reads: "Spanish Head / (only thing I have from Spain) / in 1869."

Like Eakins's *Carmelita Requeña*, Sartain's *Spanish Head* demonstrates the lessons of Bonnat. Painted with a limited palette, Sartain's subject emerges from the shadowy background of the canvas from a matrix of closely toned paint strokes.

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Subtle gradations of color convey the planes of the face, and old-masterly chiaroscuro creates a brooding, contemplative quality shared by Eakins's *Carmelita Requeña*. In contrast to the carefully painted facial features, the details of the clothing are more coarsely suggested. Both Sartain and Eakins chose picturesque Spanish types for their paintings; Sartain portrayed the Moor clothed in robe and skullcap, while Eakins preferred the gypsy.

Before leaving Seville in 1870, Sartain along with Eakins and Moore hired horses for a nine-day excursion to the town of Ronda. The ruggedness of the journey impressed Sartain especially, and he wrote extensively of the trip in his autobiography. Their rustic adventures -- sleeping on the floor with the mules and eating from a communal bowl along with their guide and his son -- added many colorful anecdotes to Sartain's memoir. In Ronda Sartain purchased for two hundred dollars an old Spanish painting of "Mary Magdalene wiping the feet of Christ with her hair." Sartain thought it an original, but upon its arrival in Philadelphia determined it "an excellent copy" of a painting by Rubens. He sold it after restoration to the Catholic Seminary at Overbrook.[52]

Sartain returned with Eakins to Paris in order to continue his studies with Bonnat. He traveled to Algiers during the winter of 1874-75 with Charles Sprague Pearce, a colleague from Bonnat's studio, and began to produce Orientalist paintings under the influence of his teacher.[53] He returned to Spain in the summer of 1891 and again in the summer of 1906. From Toledo in 1891 Sartain wrote to Eakins that "the people of Toledo are very fine, dignified, honest, simple, and of a pleasant

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brightness of spirit."[54] Fifteen years later he returned a final time, stopping in Gibraltar, Madrid, and Segovia. Once again Sartain visited the Prado, and he updated Eakins on the paintings they both admired:

> I looked around [Madrid] in the morning, and after dejeuner I went to the Prado museum & staid [sic] till it closed. They have injured very much Ribera's Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew by bad cleaning & spots of repainting & have rearranged the pictures. The fine Velasquez are all I expected & recollected.[55]

It was probably on this last trip that Sartain painted a series of landscapes in Segovia, northwest of Madrid. Bonnat's lessons are still evident in the rich green and yellow tones of *The Guadarramas from Segovia* (fig. 3.23), one of several paintings of Segovia and its surrounding mountains, but the palette has lightened and a tonalist quality prevails.[56] Of all his trips to Spain, Sartain later wrote, "it is Seville -- and that in cooler weather -- which I should like again to visit. My recollections of my stay there before the Franco-Prussian War are always most delightful to me."[57]

While Sartain absorbed the lessons of Bonnat, Harry Humphrey Moore owed his allegiance instead to Gérôme and Fortuny. Moore, born into a wealthy family, lost his hearing at an early age.[58] Educated in schools for the deaf in Hartford and Philadelphia, Moore began his artistic training with Louis Bail in New Haven and Samuel Waugh in Philadelphia. His first encounter with Eakins was at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where both were drawing from plaster casts. Traveling with his family to Europe in 1865, Moore settled into an apartment near the Arc de Triomphe and entered Gérôme's atelier a few days after his compatriot. Eakins remembered Moore from their days together at the Pennsylvania Academy,

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and he took a personal interest in the well-being of his deaf-mute friend. In a letter of November 1, 1866, Eakins described their reacquaintance to his father:

> I spoke to you about a fellow named Moore who got into the school. I met him the day before I got in. We remembered seeing each other in our Academy at Philadelphia. . . . He is deaf and dumb. . . . I took him round & bought all his things for him. He would have found a great deal of trouble by himself for he knows very little of French. I also explained to all the students his affliction & begged them not to amuse themselves at his expense (and they have respected his infirmity), and then introduced him to them.[59]

Eakins visited Moore's family regularly during his years in Paris, and after the departure of Moore's mother for Philadelphia in late 1869, the two painters decided to spend several months together in Spain. When Eakins and Sartain returned to Paris at the end of their sojourn, Moore set off for the city of Granada, where he registered as a visitor at the Alhambra on June 10, 1870.[60] Like Colman before him, Moore was familiar with Irving's connection to this historic monument, and he exhibited a painting based on Irving's *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, called *Muley Aben Hassan! Thou Losest Granada* (ca. 1896; location unknown) later in his career.[61] Moore lived in Granada for several years and married a Spanish woman, Isabel de Cistue, in 1872. He spent his honeymoon in Morocco, furthering his familiarity with Islamic culture.

Shortly after Moore's arrival, Fortuny and his family came from Paris via Madrid and Seville to take up residence in Granada at the Hotel de los Siete Suelos, opposite the Alhambra.[62] Fortuny had left Paris at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, and he returned to Spain with the intention of exploring more fully the Spanish and Orientalist themes that were then so popular in international circles. He

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described his situation in Granada to Martín Rico Ortega (1833-1908), hoping to convince him to come down:

> We are working fairly hard and hope to profit by our winter here as subjects for paintings are not lacking; I find excellent models at a good price . . . . I came here because there are no painters . . . . It is alot more picturesque than Seville, life is half as expensive, and one is completely independent. I have a whole house as my studio; one can paint there *en plein air*, without neighbors, and I have a view of the Vega, with magnificent sunlight effects.[63]

Rico joined Fortuny shortly after, and with the arrival of others, an artist's colony in Granada began to emerge. In July 1872, one of Fortuny's brothers-in-law, the painter Ricardo Madrazo Garreta (1852-1917), related: "You will have heard from Cecilia [Fortuny's wife] that this has become an Academy. Here in the house there are seven painters . . . . If you could see how animated it is, all of them painting with such enthusiasm, and everyone encouraging everyone else."[64] Aside from Rico and Ricardo Madrazo, the group in Granada also included at various times the Spaniards Raimundo Madrazo Garreta (1841-1920), Ricardo's brother; Tomás Moragas Torras (1827-1906); José Tapiró Baró (1836-1013); Joaquín Agrasot Juan (1836-1919); Francisco Lameyer Berenguer (1825-1877); Bernardo Ferrándiz Badenes (1835-1885); Pedro Sánchez Blanco (1838-1885); the Italian Attilio Simonetti (1843-1925); and the Frenchman Georges Clairin (1843-1919).[65]

Moore's association with Gérôme allowed him entry into this community, and although Fortuny declined requests for formal instruction, the young American undoubtedly received informal counsel from the Spaniard. Moore apparently visited Fortuny in both Granada and Rome, where the Spaniard returned in December 1872, and they maintained a warm friendship until Fortuny's untimely death in 1874. After

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settling in the United States, where he kept a studio from 1875 until 1881, Moore often promoted himself as a disciple of the Spanish School. According to *La Llumanera de Nova York*, New York's only Catalan-language magazine of the period, "[Moore] was acquainted with Fortuny in Granada and Rome and as much out of their friendship as out of admiration, he considers himself a disciple of his School."[66]

Moore's paintings are exceedingly rare, and none of his early works have been located. His first contributions to American exhibitions were well received, with one reviewer comparing his work favorably to the more familiar Spanish subjects of George Hall. *Guitar Player of Granada, Spain* (ca. 1872; location unknown), for example, was described at the National Academy of Design of 1872 as a vast improvement over the "smooth and glossy" offerings made by the older painter:

> [W]e must stop for a moment, to see a picture in the southeast corner by Mr. Humphrey Moore, a young deaf-mute artist now working and studying in Granada. It represents with singular spirit and fidelity a group of "vagrom people" sitting at the door of a Spanish wine shop. The most prominent figure is an elderly guitar-player, who is playing and singing like wisdom crying in the streets, and no man regardeth him. Two hard-featured Granadinos are drinking; a tawny girl, not one of those smooth and glossy ideals we have been so long tormented with, but a genuine, flashily-dressed, not over-clean girl of Southern Spain, is pouring to them. Every face is well studied and unflinchingly painted; there is rarely any better drawing than that of the shabby musicians, who even in his lyric ecstacy keeps the dirty white cigarette between his occasional teeth. The green waterjugs and the bull-fight play-bill on the wall are only too well done.[67]

Moore clearly stayed with the *costumbrista* types, but his more realist portrayal of the Spanish populace was obviously preferred to the idealized street urchins painted by his predecessor.

Moore became best known for his Orientalist genre paintings, and he found the

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ancient monuments of Spain a rich resource for the architectural details of these fantasies. He often painted the background of his paintings at the Alhambra, then traveled to Morocco during the winter to paint in the figures.[68] Moore's painting *The Alhambra* (fig. 3.24), a view of the Alhambra's Patio de los Arrayanes (fig. 3.25), is devoid of human activity and may have been left incomplete for the later addition of figures. Similarly, the architectural details of *A Moroccan Guard* (fig. 3.26) appear to be derived from the Patio de los Leones, also in the Alhambra. Moore probably painted the background in Spain, and completed the painting in North Africa.[69]

Moore's most famous work was *The Almeh: A Dream of the Alhambra* (ca. 1874-76; destroyed), which appeared in Philadelphia at both the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the Centennial Exposition of 1876.[70] Moore also exhibited the painting the following year at Snow & May's Gallery in San Francisco. Pamphlets accompanying the work claimed that Moore worked on *The Almeh* in Fortuny's company, and the subject of a dancing woman is certainly reminiscent of Fortuny's *Bohemia bailando en un jardín, en Granada* (fig. 3.27).[71] Although Fortuny's painting portrayed a fully clothed gypsy woman dancing outdoors, Moore's *Almeh* depicted a half-clad Moor, swaying to the strains of a North African musician within the confines of a sumptuous palace. Critics in New York, where Moore finished the painting in his exotically furnished studio, recognized as well the influence of Gérôme:

> At present Mr. Moore is engaged upon a large picture of a dancing girl, gracefully tripping to the notes of a guitar played by a Moor who is reclining

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> upon a rug at her feet. The scene is portrayed in an apartment of the Alhambra, some of the grand arches and arabesque decorations of which are given in tones of rare brilliancy. . . . In the drawing of the sinuous figure of the girl there is a resemblance to Gerome's [sic] "L'Almée," a masterwork by that artist which is now in the collection of Mr. John Hoey, but this may be changed in the finish of the picture.[72]

Gérôme's painting, *The Dance of the Almeh* (fig. 3.28), had been exhibited with success at the Salon of 1864 and was subsequently brought to New York, where it became one of a growing list of academic works purchased by New York collectors.[73] Moore's may have deliberately gauged his decision to paint a subject so closely related to his teacher's in order to capture the public's attention. The publicity it attracted when exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial, however, was probably not what he had in mind.

When first submitted to the Art Committee of the Centennial, the painting was rejected, according to *The Aldine*, "because of its demerits, which are prominent and unredeemed by worth of any kind."[74] Moore's friend Eakins also suffered rejection at the Philadelphia Centennial, and a comparison of their works provides a fascinating look at Philadelphia taste during the 1870s. *The Gross Clinic* (1876; Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia), Eakins's ambitious depiction of Dr. Samuel Gross performing a surgical operation on a patient's thigh, was judged too graphic a representation of science and displayed in the medical rather than the fine arts section of the fair. Moore's painting suffered from criticism of the opposite kind.

When the Centennial Commissioners overruled the decision of the Art Committee, and Moore's *Almeh* was eventually hung in the Memorial Hall Annex, a controversy ensued. Edward Moran wrote to the editors of *The Aldine* objecting to

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their assessment of the painting, but they responded with an even more vituperative condemnation:

> As we have said, the chief excuse for the picture seems to be the nakedness of the woman, and we have yet to learn that nudity of itself is enough to make a work of art really great. But were it the case that beauty entirely unadorned was its own sufficient apology, we can not believe the "Almeh" would be entirely justified, for it is one of the worst specimens of its sort, as it seems to us, in the Exhibition.[75]

Aside from the painting's excessive sensuality, Moore's detractors also complained of its narrative implausibility. *The Aldine* complained that the Moors who held Spain during the building of the Alhambra were far too pure and chaste a people to allow such an event to take place:

> [A]s a matter of history it is a well-known fact that no such damsel could have ever invaded the Alhambra -- not, at least, during the Moorish occupation of Spain. The Moors, when at the height of their power as a nation, when they held nearly the whole of Spain and Portugal, when they built the Alhambra and the other magnificent palaces of which Spain boasts to this day, were a particularly pure, severe and chaste people. The race of dancing girls was unknown among them, and such a scene as Mr. Moore has depicted could never, by any possibility, have been seen in the Alhambra or any other Moorish palace of Spain.[76]

Moore's painting was clearly a work of imagination; its title literally intoned its conception as *A Dream of the Alhambra*. Whether or not the critics were correct in their estimation of Moorish codes of behavior, the painting strayed too far into the realm of fantasy for Philadelphia critics. Eakins's *Gross Clinic*, in contrast, was simply too real.

Spain as a gateway to the Orient became an important theme for American painters during the 1870s, and Alexandre Dumas's famous observation that "Africa

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begins at the Pyrenees" was echoed repeatedly by travelers on their pilgrimages to the Iberian peninsula. Edwin Lord Weeks (1849-1903) was born in Boston and visited Florida and South America before beginning study with both Gérôme and Bonnat by 1874.[77] Traveling extensively in Spain, North Africa, and the Near East, he eventually made his way to India in 1882. Weeks's paintings of Spain, such as *A Court in the Alhambra in the time of the Moors* (fig. 3.29), were often fanciful recreations of life under the Moorish regime.[78] In its fictive portrayal of exotically costumed Moors sitting and strolling around the Alhambra's Patio de los Arrayanes, Weeks's painting evokes an imagined and erotic past similar to Moore's *Almeh: A Dream of the Alhambra.*

Weeks, like Moore, was profoundly affected by the art of Fortuny. During a sojourn of 1880-81 in Granada, Weeks occupied the deceased painter's studio at the Alhambra, met his friends, and even painted his models.[79] *Mosque at Cordova* (fig. 3.30), like *A Court in the Alhambra in the time of the Moors*, is another imaginary recreation of the Spanish past. When the painting was sold after Weeks's death in 1903, the authors of the auction catalogue described the painting as a faithful depiction of the Cordovan mosque toward the end of the Moorish domination:

> Preaching the holy war against the Christians, the old Moor holds aloft the green flag of Mohammed, while he curses the "dogs of Christians" with true religious fervor, and calls on Mohammed to drive them out of Spain. The devout audience, kneeling facing the shrine, composed of all classes of Moors, rich and poor, as well as soldiers in armor, is probably an ideal and almost photographic view of the Mosque of Cordova as it was at the beginning of the downfall of Moorish power in Spain.[80]

The painting recalls in terms of composition and subject both Fortuny and Gérôme,

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but the execution, lying somewhere between the fluid sketchiness of the former and the careful finish of the latter, resembles more closely that practiced by Bonnat.[81] The figures in the background are surprisingly painterly, and the dirty bare feet of the kneeling figures at far right speak directly of seventeenth-century naturalism, an aspect of Spanish painting especially popular with students of Bonnat.

A Fruit Market, Granada (fig. 3.31) was also painted in 1880. In this work, apparently painted *en plein air*, Weeks essayed a contemporary Spanish subject. The scene depicts the Placeta de la Lonja, a public square that abuts the south side of the Cathedral, with the doorway to the Capilla Real on the right. Fortuny had praised the city of Granada for its magnificent sunlight effects, and Weeks also delighted in painting outdoors. With crystal-like precision, he captured the glare of the sun reflecting from the plateresque architectural ornament. The foreground activity -- brightly caparisoned donkeys and women engaged in their daily marketing -- again relates to traditional *costumbrista* subject matter. In later Spanish works, such as *The Three Beggars of Cordova* (fig. 3.32), Weeks began to loosen his technique, but he maintained an interest in traditional Spanish subjects and in painting outdoors.[82]

Like Eakins, Moore, and Weeks, Julian Alden Weir (1852-1919) traveled to Spain after studying with Gérôme, and his painting *At the Water Trough* (fig. 3.33) also portrays a contemporary Spanish subject, making a striking comparison to Eakins's *Street Scene in Seville*. Weir was born in West Point, New York, where his father, Robert Walter Weir, taught drawing at the United States Military Academy.[83] He took his first lessons with his father, then enrolled in 1869 at the National

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Academy of Design. Seeking to further his artistic education, Weir traveled in 1873 to Paris, where he entered Gérôme's studio. His trip to Spain three years later follows the pattern initiated by Eakins; beginning in Madrid at the Prado, Weir followed his examination of Spanish art by a lengthy sojourn in Andalusia, in search of typical subjects for original pictures.

Traveling to Spain in late July 1876, Weir began his trip in the northern city of San Sebastian, then traveled by train to Madrid. He had been directed by Gérôme to study Velázquez, but without the benefit of additional study with a teacher such as Bonnat, Weir found himself unable to appreciate the Spanish painter's technique. He admired Holbein, Dürer, and above all Raphael, but Velázquez "did not produce the effect [he] had looked for."[84] "Of all Raphael has most astonished me," he declared to his brother, "he is the prince without doubt. In Velasquez who possesses such great qualities, I cannot forgive his bad drawing, but for painting he is remarkable."[85] Weir was not yet ready to move beyond his teacher's emphasis on line, and given this response to Velázquez, it is not surprising that Weir spent his time at the Prado copying a portrait by Raphael.[86]

Weir and his companion, a classmate named Filadelfo Simi (1849-1923), carried with them letters of introduction to several members of the Spanish artistic community, and while in Madrid they called upon Federico Madrazo and Francisco Domingo Marqués (1842-1920). Both these artists had associations with Fortuny; Madrazo was Fortuny's father-in-law, and Domingo had worked with Fortuny in Rome as a specialist in *costumbrismo*. Neither was in Madrid for their call, and the

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two travelers contented themselves with a visit to their studios. Weir had liked Fortuny's work when he saw it in Paris, but true to his training with Gérôme, he still preferred the old fashioned neoclassicism of the older Madrazo to the fluid colorism of the younger Spanish painter.[87]

Weir was generally disappointed in the city of Madrid, finding it "not in the slightest picturesque," but he was somewhat cheered by a visit to nearby Toledo.[88] He wrote to his mother: "This city [is] one of the most picturesque I have yet seen. Its appearance on arriving is very patriarchal; it is situated on a high mountain of rocks, and you can imagine my sensation as I drove through the old arched gate of the city, crossing the River Tajo."[89] The dramatic location of Toledo inspired Weir to paint a small landscape (fig. 3.34), which depicts the positioning of the city high above the gorge of the river. Despite the city's potential for pictures, however, the intense heat of August prevented much work, and in quest of better painting conditions Weir continued south to Andalusia.

His general dissatisfaction with Spain reached a peak in Seville, where he found the heat overwhelming, the buildings too white, and the Alcázar in the midst of a restoration.[90] Weir decided that the modern Spaniards lacked any appreciation for art and their destruction of Moorish architecture signaled a corresponding lack of intelligence:

> I had expected from what I had read and heard that the Spanish were a people of great learning and advanced in the arts, but, if not mistaken, this reputation comes from the Moors and Arabs who once inhabited this country, and who, if not hunted out by what they call Christians, would have made a great country in art, which is the mark stone of an intelligent people.[91]

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Finding solace in neither Seville's sumptuous Cathedral nor in the Hispano-Moorish architecture of the Casa de Pilatos, Weir continued to Granada, where cool breezes in the gardens of the Alhambra dramatically changed his mood. "I have reached at last Granada, the most charming of all the places I have yet visited in Spain," he wrote on September 12, 1876. "For the first time since my departure from Paris I am thoroughly happy. This city is full of pictures to paint!"[92]

Weir had read Washington Irving before leaving Paris, and he repeatedly referred to the writer's stay in the Alhambra. Irving's *Life of Columbus*, the basis for one of his father's most famous history paintings, inspired Weir in his sketches:

> I have begun a sketch in the Alhambra of the Barbuchero de las Dos Hermanas, a place where the women put their slippers before entering the salle. It is of most exquisite workmanship, and I hope to make a picture of this when I return. I will also make careful studies of the Sala de los Embajadores, where Ferdinand and Isabella received Columbus before his discovery. This will serve me as historical notes.[93]

After several weeks in Granada, Weir had the good fortune to obtain rooms in the Puerta de la Justicia, part of the Alhambra itself, thereby simulating Irving's stay within the palace walls.

Days were spent sketching the people and architecture of Granada. Weir's architectural sketches bear the minute detail of Gérôme, and his sketches of people hint of Fortuny's influence as well.[94] Weir and Simi hired a gypsy who had modeled for Fortuny during the latter's sojourn in Granada, and they posed the man on the rooftop of their hotel for a three-hour session in the bright sun. "His picturesque costume and fine head in full sunlight gave us a chance to search for that brilliancy of color which made Fortuny in that respect stronger than Gérôme," Weir

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explained to his parents.[95] His experiment with Spanish sunlight on the roof of his hotel recalls Eakins's own rooftop study of six years earlier.

Weir stayed in Granada for a month and a half, and he returned to Paris armed with the sketches for his single Spanish painting, *At the Water Trough.* Painted primarily in Paris, Weir's painting depicts three figures at a fountain. A young woman, her hair swept upward with a comb and adorned with a flower, stands waiting to fill her pitcher with cool water while a child to her right reaches toward a toy sailboat that floats in the basin. A picturesquely costumed man leans casually against the wall at far right, paralleling the woman and completing the tripartite composition of this typical Spanish street scene. Weir sent the painting to New York, where it was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1877.

Like Eakins's gypsy dancers performing in the street, Spaniards congregating at a public fountain were common sights in Spain, although indoor plumbing was gradually reducing the necessity of such activity in more modernized areas of the city.[96] The fountain provided water for daily chores, and it was a popular place for women to rest, talk, and exchange news during the course of their work. Weir probably made sketches for *At the Water Trough* in Granada, but the triangular arrangement of figures against a wall, like the compositional structure of Eakins's *Street Scene in Seville*, clearly derives from Gérôme's example.[97] Photographs again may have contributed to the painting's appearance; Weir took a camera with him on his trip, and like Eakins, he collected photographs of Spain to serve as *aides-memoires* when back in the studio.[98] The final composition, he wrote before sending

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the painting to New York, "is very ordinary in figures, but the press of time must be its excuse."[99]

Weir's *At the Water Trough* and Eakins's *Street Scene in Seville* offer compelling similarities. Directed by their teachers to Spain, both artists were swayed in varying degrees by the examples of Spanish art and the subjects of Spanish life. They studied the art of Velázquez and Fortuny, admired the remnants of Spain's Moorish past, and covered their canvases with picturesque Spaniards. The course of their pilgrimage, the lessons they learned, and the subjects inspired by their stay on Spanish soil extended the examples of Colman and Hall, offering further encouragement to those who followed.

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1. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, December 12, 1869, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art. To facilitate Goodrich's research on Eakins's career, Susan Eakins transcribed portions of Eakins's original letters, many of which were subsequently lost. Although some of these missing letters were found in Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, others were not. The Susan Eakins transcriptions in the Goodrich Archives are still the only source for these letters.

2. In this chapter, I have profited greatly from discussions with Professor Elizabeth Milroy about Eakins in Spain. Thomas Eakins's trip to Spain is discussed in Milroy's dissertation, "Thomas Eakins' Artistic Training, 1860-1870" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986). Other sources on Eakins include Lloyd Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) and William Innes Homer, *Thomas Eakins: His Life and Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992).

3. See H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), pp. 69-79.

4. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, p. 94.

5. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, pp. 95-104. See also Gerald M. Ackerman, "Thomas Eakins and His Parisian Masters Gérôme and Bonnat," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 73 (April 1969), pp. 235-56.

6. Gérôme returned to the bullfighting subject in 1886 with a commission for *L'entrée du taureau* (1886; Christie's, New York, November 24, 1989, lot 130). Gérôme's paintings of the bullfight readily compare to his other paintings in the arena format, such as *Ave Caesar, Morituri Te Salutant* (1859; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.) and *Pollice Verso* (1872; Phoenix Art Museum). Ackerman claims they were produced in friendly rivalry as a response to Manet's bullfight paintings. See Gerald M. Ackerman, "Gérôme and Manet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 70 (September 1967), pp. 163-76.

7. Gerald M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (New York: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), p. 222.

8. Biographical information of Bonnat may be found in Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, pp. 156-64 and Alisa Luxenberg, "Léon Bonnat (1833-1922)" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1990).

9. Milroy makes this connection in "Thomas Eakins' Artistic Training," p. 283.

10. The Valencian Aurelio Blasco (1838 - ca. 1879), for example, became one of Gérôme's favorite students when he began to study in 1862. Blasco served as a

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studio assistant for Gérôme in subsequent years. On Blasco, see Carlos González and Montse Martí, *Pintores Españoles en Paris, 1850-1900* (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1989), p. 70.

11. Gérôme's invitation is documented in a letter from Mariano Fortuny to Federico Madrazo, Rome, December 31, 1866, in Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, "The Fortune of Fortuny," in Fundación Caja de Pensiones, *Fortuny, 1838-1874* (exh. cat., Barcelona: Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación Caja de Pensiones, 1989), p. 68: "Goupil has proposed publishing [my work] as soon as he's got a collection together . . . and monsieur Gerome [sic] has invited me to settle in Paris. What would you advise me to do?"

12. My translation, "Spanish Notebook," Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia: "D'ailleurs c'est bien la manière de Bonnat et de Fortuny, et c'est là toujours que m'ont porté mes propres instincts." Eakins carried two small notebooks with him to Spain, both now in Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection. One, called the "Spanish Notebook," contains expense reports from 1868 and notes written about the Old Masters in Madrid. The other, called the "Spanish Sketchbook," contains drawings made in Spain.

13. My translation, "Spanish Notebook," Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia: "J'ai vu le Fortuny chez M. Borie. C'est la chose la plus belle que j'ai jamais vue."

14. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Paris, January 31, 1867, Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennyslvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, in Milroy, "Thomas Eakins' Artistic Training," p. 275.

15. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Paris, March 13, 1867, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

16. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Paris, September 14, 1869, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museums of Art.

17. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Paris, November 29, 1869, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

18. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Madrid, December 2, 1869, Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, in Kathleen A. Foster and Cheryl Leibold, *Writing About Eakins: The Manuscripts in Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 211.

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19. The business card from this establishment is in Seymour Adelman's Thomas Eakins Collection, Bryn Mawr College Library, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

20. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Madrid, December 2, 1869, Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, quoted in Foster and Leibold, *Writing About Eakins*, p. 211. Eakins contrasted his appreciation for Velázquez to his opinion of Rubens, "the nastiest most vulgar noisy painter that ever lived."

21. "Spanish Notebook," Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

22. Translation in Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins*, vol. 2, p. 62, "Spanish Notebook," Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia: "Voici comme quoi [overstrike] je pense être peinte la femme filandière de tapis: le plus beau morceau de peintre que j'ai vu de ma vie. Il l'a dessinée sans faire attention aux traits. Seulement il a mis sa tête et bras bien en place. Alors il l'a peinte très solidement sans chercher ou même marquer aucun plis des draperies, et peut être a-t-il cherché les harmonies de couleur à plusieurs reprises peignant là-dessus car la couleur est excessivement épaissse sur la cou et toutes les parties delicates. Enfin il a frotté là-dessus quand tout était bien sec se servant de tons déjà preparé et alors seulement a-t-il fini son dessin indiquant les traits. Je crois Ribera et Rembrand avait procedé de cette même manière."

23. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, December 7 [1869], Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

24. On French Orientalist painting, see Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in Linda Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), pp. 33-59. Nochlin bases her reading on Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). For an interesting discussion of the distinctive qualities of American Orientalism, see Fuad Sha'ban, *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America* (Durham, N.C.: The Acorn Press, 1991.)

25. Thomas Eakins to Frances Eakins, Paris, April 1, 1869, Thomas Eakins Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 640, fr. 486-7.

26. Moore arrived in Seville sometime after December 5, 1869 and before January 6, 1870. Sartain left Paris for Spain on January 5, 1870.

27. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, January 6, 1870, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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28. In his letters and sketchbooks, Eakins spelled the names as follows: Augustin Requena, Angelita Requena, and Carmalita.

29. Thomas Eakins to Caroline Eakins, Seville, Christmas 1869, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

30. Homer also links this aspect of Eakins's technique to the influence of Thomas Couture. Eakins did not know Couture personally, but he mentions his work several times in letters to his family and in his notebooks. See Homer, *Thomas Eakins*, pp. 38-9, 44.

31. Similar qualities may be found in another portrait from the trip, the study known as *A Spanish Woman (Dolores)* (location unknown; formerly Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, New York).

32. Milroy suggests that *Carmelita Requeña* was painted outside, but Eakins's correspondence suggests that he did not move out into the direct sunlight until after this sketch was painted. See Milroy, "Thomas Eakins's Artistic Training," pp. 297-8.

33. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, January 26, 1870, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

34. See Milroy, "Thomas Eakins' Artistic Training," pp. 300-7.

35. The painting fictively depicts a street scene, but Eakins's correspondence make it clear that *A Street Scene in Seville* was actually painted on the roof of his hotel.

36. Ackerman, "Thomas Eakins and His Parisian Masters," p. 239 and Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, pp. 96-104.

37. The photographs owned by Eakins are now divided between Seymour Adelman's Thomas Eakins Collection, Bryn Mawr College Library, Bryn Mawr, Penn. and the Thomas Eakins Collection, Dietrich Foundation, Phoenixville, Penn. An inventory of the Dietrich Foundation's collection may be found in *Eakins at Avondale and Thomas Eakins, A Personal Collection* (exh. cat., Chadds Ford, Penn.: Brandywine River Museum, 1980).

38. *The Chess Players* repeats the triangular compositional structure so frequently employed by Gérôme and borrowed by Eakins for *A Street Scene in Seville*. It also relates to Eakins's own painting titled *The Chess Players* (1876; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

39. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme*, p. 80. It seems probable that Eakins's later experiments with photography may have been inspired by his teacher's early work in the medium.

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40. Gautier began publishing his impressions of Spain in *La Presse* in 1840, in *Revue de Paris* in 1841, and in *Revue des deux mondes* in 1842-3. These articles were compiled for the publication of *Tra los montes* in 1843, and reprinted with slight modifications as *Voyage en Espagne* in 1845.

41. *Musiciens ambulants* was first published in Baron Charles Davillier, "Voyage en Espagne," *Le Tour du monde* 8 (2me sem., 1863), p. 356.

42. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, January 16, 1870, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

43. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, March 24, 1870, transcribed by Susan Eakins, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

44. See Kathleen Foster, "Makers of the American Watercolor Movement, 1860-1890" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1982), pp. 193-262.

45. Foster, "Makers of the American Watercolor Movement," p. 235.

46. Elizabeth Milroy, "'Consummatum est . . .': A Reassessment of Thomas Eakins's *Crucifixion* of 1880," *Art Bulletin* 71 (June 1989), pp. 269-84.

47. Memorandum from Bryson Burroughs, 1910, Archives, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins*, vol. 2, p. 265: "Mr. Eakins wished to call the Museum's attention to a picture by Ribera. He will ask the owners to send it here to be inspected. He also wishes to offer (for sale) a large painting by himself 'The Crucifixion.'"

48. William H. Gerdts, "Thomas Eakins and the Episcopal Portrait: Archbishop William Henry Elder," *Arts Magazine* 53 (May 1979), pp. 154-7.

49. *Autobiography of William Sartain*, DeWitt McClellan Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 504, frames 607-8.

50. There are two ink sketches in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that document Sartain's visit to Ronda and Toledo (figs. 3.20 and 3.21), but their dating is uncertain. Gordon Hendricks reproduced and dated the *View of Ronda* to 1870 in *The Life and Work of Thomas Eakins* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1974), p. 63.

51. *Autobiography of William Sartain*, DeWitt McClellan Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 504, frame 613.

52. *Autobiography of William Sartain*, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art. This is a slightly altered typescript of the handwritten version in the Dewitt McClellan Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 504.

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53. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, p. 168.

54. Lloyd Goodrich, "Notes on Sartain's letters to Eakins," Toledo, June 1891, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

55. Lloyd Goodrich, "Notes on Sartain's letters to Eakins," Madrid, June 14, 1906, Lloyd Goodrich Archives, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

56. Another painting from this series is *The Royal Mill on the River Eresma, Segovia, Spain* (undated, Philadelphia Museum of Art).

57. *Autobiography of William Sartain*, DeWitt McClellan Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 504, frame 681.

58. For biographical information on Moore, see Gerald M. Ackerman, *American Orientalists* (Paris: ACR, Edition Internationale, 1994); Eugene A. Hajdel, ed., *Harry H. Moore* (Jersey City, N.J.: Privately printed, 1950); Guilbert C. Braddock, *Notable Deaf Persons* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet College Alumni Association, 1975), pp. 84-5; and Kelly H. Stevens, "Harry Humphrey Moore, A Retrospect," *The Silent Worker* 39 (May 1927), pp. 258-62. I wish to thank Gerald Ackerman and Bruce Weber for providing me with information on Moore and his career.

59. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Paris, November 1, 1866, Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, in Foster and Leibold, *Writing About Eakins*, pp. 203-4.

60. *Libro de registro*, May 9, 1829 - March 23, 1872, Archives of the Alhambra, Granada. When signing the Alhambra *Register Book*, Moore may have flipped back to the first page and seen Washington Irving's signature inscribed at the top.

61. The painting was exhibited in 1896 at the Paris Salon, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the National Academy of Design. A reproduction of *Muley Aben Hassan!* is on microfiche in the Artist Files, New York Public Library. The painting portrays the emaciated old astrologer who foretells the loss of Granada kneeling before the seated Muley Aben Hassan. The scene, which takes place in the Alhambra, appears in chapter 9 of Irving's *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada.*

62. Fortuny signed the Alhambra *Register Book* between July 9 - 10, 1870. He was accompanied on his visit by his wife, M. de Fortuny, and R. Madrazo. *Libro de registro,* May 9, 1829 - March 23, 1872, Archives of the Alhambra, Granada.

63. My translation, Mariano Fortuny to Martín Rico, Granada, November 18, 1870, in Baron Davillier, *Fortuny: Sa Vie, son oeuvre, sa correspondance* (Paris: Chez Auguste Aubry, 1875), pp. 65-6: "Nous travaillons assez, et avons le désir de bien employer notre hiver, car les sujets de tableaux ne manquent pas; je trouve

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d'excellents modèles à bon marché; . . . Je suis venu ici parce qu'il n'y a pas de peintres . . . C'est plus pittoresque que Séville, la vie y est moitié moins chère et on est entièrement indépendant. J'ai toute une maison pour atelier; on peut y peindre en plein air, sans voisine, et j'ai la vue sur la *Vega*, avec des effets de soleil magnifique."

64. Ricardo Madrazo to his father, Granada, July 16, 1872, Private Collection, in Montse Martí, "Etapas pictóricas a través de su obra," in Fundación Caja de Pensiones, *Fortuny*, p. 63, n. 8.

65. Carlos González López, "Marià Fortuny i Marsal: Biographical Notes," in Fundación Caja de Pensiones, *Fortuny*, p. 43-4. Villares Amor, Benjamin Constant and Jules Worms may also have been in Granada at this time. See Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier, *Martin Rico y Ortega in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1937), p. 19.

66. My translation, "A la Memoria d'En Marian Fortuny," *La Llumanera de Nova York* 4 (December 1878), p. 2. This issue is dedicated to Fortuny's memory. Moore participated in the publication by providing the editors with a pen drawing after Fortuny's painting, *The Arab Guard* (undated; location unknown).

67. [Clarence Cook], "Fine Arts: Exhibition of the Academy of Design, Third Article," *New York Daily Tribune*, April 22, 1872, p. 5.

68. R. Caton Woodville, *Random Recollections* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914), p. 186.

69. Another work of this type recently appeared on the New York Art Market. See *Leaving the Alhambra* (1887; Christie's, New York, November 1-2, 1995, lot 265).

70. Moore apparently closed his New York studio in 1881 in order to return to Spain, and he placed most of his work in Morrell's Safe Depository warehouse, where it was consumed by fire at the end of that year. See *The Art Journal*, n.s. 7 (November 1881), p. 352. A clipping dated ca. 1920 in the Artist Files, New York Public Library, reproduces a Moore painting called *Dancing Girl* (undated, location unknown), which shows an exotically dressed dancing woman surrounded by seated men who play musical instruments. The subject is very close to the *Almeh*, and it may be a work painted to replace Moore's destroyed original.

71. *Almeh: A Dream of the Alhambra* (exh. cat., San Francisco: Snow & May's Gallery, [1877]).

72. "Fine Arts," *New York Evening Post*, January 17, 1876, p. 1.

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73. *New York Daily Tribune*, May 13, 1865, p. 9: "It gives us great pleasure to learn that Gérôme's *Almée* has been bought by a gentleman of the city, and will therefore, not return to France. We do not know the exact amount paid for this finest work of an artist who already wears the laurels promised him by his masters, Delaroche and Horace Vernet, but whatever it may have been, it will no doubt prove, in the end, a most judicious investment."

74. "Art in Philadelphia," *The Aldine* 8 (June 1876), p. 196.

75. "An Opinion," *The Aldine* 8 (September 1876), p. 294. The controversy over the painting's nudity followed the painting to San Francisco, where Moore had resided for several years as a young man. But here the critics rallied to the side of a painter they called their own: "Humphrey Moore's "Almeh" has drawn crowds of visitors during the week and won universal commendation for some of its many fine qualities. . . . The matter of nudeness and indelicacy troubles none but the hypercritical. That the subject is sensuous without sensuality seems now to be generally conceded." "Art Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1877, p. 5.

76. "An Opinion," *The Aldine* 8, p. 294.

77. Biographical information on Weeks may be found in D. Dodge Thompson, "Edwin Lord Weeks, American Painter of India," *Antiques* 128 (August 1985), pp. 246-58 and Kathleen Duff Ganley, *The Art of Edwin Lord Weeks (1849-1903)* (exh. cat., Durham, New Hampshire: University Art Galleries, University of New Hampshire, 1987). According to Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris*, pp. 107 and 176, Weeks's name does not appear in Gérôme's atelier register, but there is a letter from Gérôme authorizing Weeks to enter the atelier on September 24, 1874. Weinberg assumes that Weeks studied with Bonnat and received private criticism from Gérôme.

78. *A Court in the Alhambra in the time of the Moors* was exhibited in *E. L. Weeks' Pictures* (exh. cat., Boston: Galleries of Noyes & Blakeslee, February 19 and 20, 1878), cat. no. 19. Weeks also painted Orientalist fantasies based on the writings of Washington Irving. *Interior of La Torre des Infantas* (ca. 1882; location unknown), a painting exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1882, was described as a painting "illustrating the legend of the three Moorish princesses, in Irving's 'Alhambra.'" See *Illustrated Catalogue: Fifty-third Annual Exhibition* (exh. cat., Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1882), cat. no. 358.

79. "In the Footsteps of Fortuny and Regnault," *Century Magazine* 23 (November 1881), pp. 29-30.

80. *Catalogue of Very Important Finished Pictures, Studies, Sketches, and Original Drawings by the late Edwin Lord Weeks* (sale cat., New York: American Art Association, 1905), cat. no. 269.

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81. For example, see Fortuny's *Matanza de los Abencerrajes* (ca. 1871; Museum of Modern Art, Barcelona) and Gérôme's *Public Prayer in the Mosque of Amr* (1870; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

82. Bonnat apparently praised *The Three Beggars of Cordoba*, for Weeks wrote of his teacher's enthusiasm for the painting when it was presented to the Pennsylvania Academy: "I can only add that it was considered my best work by the Spanish painters Bonnat, Madrazo, Melida and others. (Bonnat you know is of the Basque race.)" Edwin Lord Weeks to E. S. Coates, aboard the steamer "Cambridge," July 13, 1892, Archives, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Many thanks to Cheryl Leibold for bringing this letter to my attention.

83. Biographical material on Weir may be found in Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1983).

84. Julian Alden Weir to Robert Weir, Madrid, August 5, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 712.

85. Julian Alden Weir to John Ferguson Weir, Madrid, August 12, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 718.

86. Weir and his companion, Filadelfo Simi, signed the Prado Copyist Register on August 9, 1876. *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Box L-34, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid. Weir's copyist permit and a photograph of Raphael's *Portrait of a Cardinal* are in the Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 715.

When Weir revisited the Prado on his return trip to Paris, he found himself more receptive to Velázquez: "[I] found Velasquez not as I did on my first visit, but the leader of the Spanish art, together with Alonzo Cano! Titian pleased me more also, but Raphael, Albert Durer, Holbein, Quentin Matsys, and such serious draughtsmen I always approach with awe and reverence." Julian Alden Weir to his parents, Madrid, October 29, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 786. Weir may have copied Velázquez on this second visit, but his name does not appear in the Copyist Register. He exhibited a copy identified as Velázquez's *Philip II* at the Boston Art Club in 1886 and a copy of *Philip IV* at the Copley Society of Boston in 1906. These two may be the same portrait, as Velázquez did not paint Philip II, only Philip IV.

87. Weir's appreciation for the watercolors by Fortuny in William Hood Stewart's collection is recorded in Foster, "Makers of the American Watercolor Movement," p. 236.

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88. Julian Alden Weir to his mother, Madrid, August 12, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 725.

89. Julian Alden Weir to his mother, Toledo, August 20, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 728.

90. Weir's dislike of Spain was also conditioned by his unhappiness over the failure of an amorous engagement. He admitted as much the following year to his brother, John: "You very likely know my engagement was broken off before I left for Spain which had an infernal effect on me and I have no doubt Spain would have appeared different to me had I gone under other circumstances." Julian Alden Weir to John Ferguson Weir, Paris, May 12, 1877, in Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life & Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 125-6.

91. Julian Alden Weir to his parents, Seville, August 27, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 730.

92. Julian Alden Weir to his parents, Granada, September 12, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 745.

93. Julian Alden Weir to his parents, Granada, September 12, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 760.

94. John Ferguson Weir found a roll of his brother's architectural sketches some years later and remarked upon their precise drawing: "Today I found in the studio a roll of studies made in Spain -- the Alhambra principally. Are those your work? I cannot believe that you ever worked with such minute precision, even to the drawing to a hair's line the arabesques & architectural features of the Alhambra. They look like the work of Gerome [sic], or some pupil of his." John Ferguson Weir to Julian Alden Weir, Branchville, Conn., August 28, 1892, transcript, John Ferguson Weir Papers, Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

95. Julian Alden Weir to his parents, Granada, September 16, 1876, Julian Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 71, frame 761. The sketch that Weir made during this session is probably *Moorish Figure* (1876; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah). See Burke, *J. Alden Weir*, pp. 58-9.

96. Manuel Fernández y González, "Madrid que se va: La Fuente de vecinidad," *La Ilustración española y americana* 14, núm. 8 (April 10, 1870), p. 119.

97. The painting was titled *At the Fountain, Granada*, when sold at the 1889 sale of Weir's work. See *Catalogue of Paintings in Oil and Pastel by J. Alden Weir, N.A. et al.* (sale cat., New York: Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, Ortgies and Co., February 7, 1889), cat. no. 33. I appreciate the National Museum of American Art making their files on this painting available to me.

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98. Weir also brought a camera with him on his trip. Despite having sketches and photographs from Spain, he felt the need for a live model when he returned to Paris and hired an Italian to stand in for one of the Spaniards. Burke, *J. Alden Weir*, pp. 57-9.

99. Julian Alden Weir to his parents, Paris, February 19, 1877, in Young, *The Life & Letters of J. Alden Weir*, p. 120. See also Burke, *J. Alden Weir*, p. 59.

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Chapter 4: Mary Cassatt, the Balcony, and the Bullfight

> Words cannot represent the strange and engrossing excitement which the bullfight inspires. I never have experienced anything similar. The brain is whirled to the pinnacle of excitement and then suddenly the heart stops beating for an instant as rider, horse and bull clash in the deliberate encounter. The sympathy for the poor, defenseless horse is without bounds, and with it comes a flush of indignation that so noble an animal should be brutally destroyed in idle sport. Then to see the ladies, the boasted beauty of Spain; women who must lack some of the sensibility which belongs to a true woman; to see them flirting their fans while a butchered horse trails his entrails before their very eyes. And it is impossible to escape a sense of personal shame from having intentionally witnessed that which requires the most unequivocal condemnation from every standpoint of humanity and civilization.
>
> *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 28, 1878[1]

Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) visited Spain three years after Thomas Eakins.[2] Like Eakins, she had begun her studies in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and left for Paris in 1866, at the end of the Civil War. After completing her academic training in 1872, she traveled to Spain, spent the first few weeks of her sojourn at the Prado in Madrid, and then continued south to Andalusia. Settling in Seville for five months, Cassatt integrated the lessons of the Spanish masters into her work and began to paint original compositions. Following the example of visiting artists before her, she portrayed *majas* on a balcony, bullfighters in the ring, and flirtatious *taberneras*, characteristically Spanish types that derived from the art of *costumbrismo*.

Unlike her male colleagues in Paris, Cassatt was prevented from entering the

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Ecole des Beaux-Arts by a restriction barring women. Forced to acquire her training independently, Cassatt studied with a wide variety of teachers and consequently incorporated a great number of influences into her work. Cassatt received criticism from Eakins's teacher, Jean-Léon Gérôme, during her first year in Paris, and she also joined her friend Eliza Haldeman in a class taught specifically for women by Charles Chaplin. From Gérôme and Chaplin, Cassatt acquired a solid education in the academic method, and in 1867 she moved to the small town of Ecouen in order to study with the genre painter Paul Constant Soyer. Soyer and his colleague, Pierre Edouard Frère, were known for their picturesque paintings of the local peasantry, and Cassatt successfully submitted a sentimental painting entitled *A Mandolin Player* (1868; Private Collection) to the Salon of 1868. Changing teachers yet again, Cassatt moved to nearby Villiers-le-Bel in order to study with Thomas Couture, a painter of less orthodox attitudes than her previous instructors.

Couture had run one of the most popular ateliers in the 1850s, but had closed it in 1863, preferring to offer private instruction in his home in the countryside of France. Known for his bravura brushwork and his emphasis on painting (as opposed to drawing) from the model, Couture published in 1867 *Méthode et entretiens d'atelier*, in which he detailed his ideas and techniques. His reputation also became linked in the 1860s to the rebellious attitude of his most famous student, Edouard Manet, who was making a name for himself with a radical series of works painted in an audaciously direct and unfinished manner. Although Eakins never studied with Couture, he was aware of the Frenchman's reputation and sympathized with his

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methods. "I saw four things by Couture here lately," Eakins wrote to his sister in 1869:

> What a grand talent. He is the Phidias of painting & drawing. Who that ever looked in a girl's eyes or ran his fingers through her soft hair or smoothed her cheek with his hand or kissed her lips or their corners that plexus of all that is beautiful in modelling but must love Couture for having shown us nature again & beauty on canvass [sic].[3]

Cassatt's response to Couture remained unrecorded, but she apparently found his advice valuable and remained in his studio from 1868 to 1869.[4]

Cassatt's final year of training began with the rejection of her Salon submission of 1869, a blow that contributed to her growing disillusionment with the academic establishment. Her mother came to visit in December, and the two traveled to Rome where Cassatt studied with a final master, the painter Charles Bellay. An acceptance at the Salon of 1870 rejuvenated her spirits, and with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, Cassatt returned with her mother to the United States. She joined her family in Altoona, Pennsylvania and began to reacquaint herself with life at home.

Cassatt's desire to visit Spain took concrete form over the next two years. Her earlier exposure to hispanophiles such as Gérôme undoubtedly encouraged her developing interest, and her budding friendship with Emily Sartain propelled the idea forward. Sartain provided Cassatt with the opportunity to hear the fabulous stories brought back by her brother William from his trip with Eakins during the winter of 1869-70, and by May 1871, less than a year after her return from Paris, Cassatt was desperate to find a way to Spain. She wrote to Sartain:

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> I really thought you had completely forgotten me & were preparing to start for Spain with somebody else. Alas! we don't seem any nearer than we were some months ago, at least I don't, I have been abandoning myself to despair & homesickness, for I really feel as if it was intended I should be a Spaniard & quite a mistake that I was born in America, as the German poet says "Spanien ist mein heimats land."[5]

A trip to Pittsburgh provided the means; Cassatt received a commission from the bishop there to copy two paintings by Correggio in Parma, Italy. The money from the copies would finance her trip abroad. From Italy she would travel to Spain.

Bishop Michael Domenec, second bishop of Pittsburgh, came from a family of Spanish origin, and he provided Cassatt with a letter of introduction to his colleagues in Seville.[6] Such personal contacts, Cassatt hoped, would help her enter into Spanish society more fully. On October 21, 1871, Cassatt wrote to Sartain and updated her plans:

> I met an American who has lived a long time in Spain & she gives a very encouraging account of the people & their cleanliness & cooking. I specially wish to see something of Spanish society & with letters I suppose that will be easy; when I said I was to have a letter to the archbishop, I believe I was mistaken, I should have said a letter to *all* the bishops, stamped with the episcopal seal & enjoining them *all* to give me aid & comfort in every possible way. I think it may prove very useful. I wonder if I could get any orders for churches in New York? The Madonna's of Murillio [sic] are great favorites with Catholics.[7]

The two women left together for Europe late in the autumn of 1871.

Arriving in Liverpool, Cassatt and Sartain headed south to Paris, which had been devastated during the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune, before continuing on to Parma so that Cassatt could execute the copies. They were well received in this Italian city, and to the delight of new friends from the Academy at Parma, Cassatt copied Correggio's *Madonna Crowned* and began work on a new Salon submission,

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During the Carnival. This painting, probably the same as *Two Women Throwing Flowers During Carnival* (fig. 4.1), depicts two picturesque Parmesans tossing red and pink flowers down at merrymakers below. With its dramatically compressed space and bold foreshortening, the painting was accepted by the Salon jury and promptly sold, much to Cassatt's satisfaction.[8] Sartain departed for Paris in late April 1872, and Cassatt traveled to Spain by herself the following autumn.

Cassatt arrived in Madrid on Saturday, October 5, 1872, and registered at the Hotel de Paris, one of the city's newest hotels, located in the center of town on the Puerta del Sol (fig. 4.2). Apprehensive about traveling alone, Cassatt wrote long entreaties to Sartain, encouraging her to come down and join her. Sartain hesitated, wrote to her parents for advice, and received a reply discouraging her from the trip from Christian Schussele, her former teacher at the Pennsylvania Academy. "If you were in quest of subjects for paintings it might be well," Schussele asserted. "But as your object, as I understand it, is to learn to paint, Paris is the place by far to be preferred to any other in the world."[9] For Schussele as for most Americans, Spain was a country to visit after formal instruction was completed; Cassatt was ready for such step, but Sartain was not.

Cassatt's hotel was a short distance from the Prado, and she visited this illustrious museum the morning of her arrival.[10] Cassatt had gone to Spain partly to see the Spanish masters, an appropriate step for a painter wishing to broaden her knowledge of art and its history, but her enthusiasm for the paintings in the Prado extended to Italian and Flemish artists of the painterly tradition as well. To Sartain,

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she wrote:

> Velasquez oh! my but you knew how to paint! Mr. Antonio Mor or Moro, whom you were introduced to at Parma has a word or two to say to you Emily. Titien [sic] also would like to introduce you to his daughter who is carrying the head of John the Baptist, holding it up on a platter with her beautiful bare arms. She says the one you saw in Dresden was a copy. Van Dyke's three children at Turin are beautiful, but he has a man in velvet and crimson satin that is a step beyond that in some respects. Oh dear to think that there is no one I can shriek to, beautiful! lovely, oh! painting what arn't you. I am getting wild I must eat some dinner if I can get any.[11]

She reveled especially in the realism of Velázquez and reported that "the men and women have a reality about them which exceed anything I ever supposed possible, Velasquez Spinners, good heavens, why you can walk into the picture."[12] As an expression of her admiration, and in an attempt to learn from his example, Cassatt copied a now unlocated copy of Velázquez's *Don Baltasar Carlos* (fig. 4.3) during her stay in Madrid.[13]

Murillo, whose paintings were rapidly going out of fashion, created a lesser effect, yet Cassatt was still enchanted: "As for Murillo, he is a baby alongside of [Velázquez], still the Conception is lovely most lovely."[14] A week later she felt even more favorably disposed toward his work: "I sincerely think it is the most wonderful painting that ever was seen, this of the Spanish school. Murillo has risen immensely in my opinion since I have seen his St. Elizabeth (fig. 4.4), it is a most tender beautiful thing, and I am told that his St. Anthony of Padua at Seville is even superior."[15] Consistent with the prevailing attitude of her time, Cassatt determined that Murillo prevailed in "high religious expression," and she associated his work with the spirit of Catholicism.[16]

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But Cassatt also went to Spain to find subjects of her own, so after almost three weeks in Madrid, she left for Seville, arriving there on Tuesday, October 26. She again traveled alone, taking a seat in the "dames seules" section of the train, and upon arrival she settled in for a stay of five months.[17] Cassatt described the landscape between Madrid and the South as "immensely sad, vast, and dreary," but Seville, she continued, was "full of color, gay lively, the Cathedral magnificent, orange trees growing in the streets and squares."[18] In the hospitable climate of Andalusia, she hoped to paint outdoors, and with her letters of introduction soon made the contacts necessary to situate herself in a studio located at the Casa de Pilatos, a sixteenth-century palace belonging to the ducal family of Medinaceli (fig. 4.5).[19]

Cassatt's evocative new surroundings undoubtedly fostered her enthusiasm for Spanish life. An eclectic mixture of Spanish and Moorish architectural elements, the Casa de Pilatos had become a tourist site during the nineteenth century, and most guidebooks listed it among Seville's many attractions. Commissioned by the first Duke of Tarifa after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the palace was popularly believed to be an exact replica of the house belonging to Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem. This splendid building combined shady Spanish patios adorned with classical sculpture, brilliant Moorish tile work, and various allusions to Christ's passion such as a model of the True Cross and a copy of the table on which the thirty pieces of silver were counted.[20]

During Cassatt's residence, the Medinaceli family lived in Madrid, and the

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palace was visited only occasionally by relatives and friends of the family. The most frequent visitors were artists and other travelers who wanted to view the building's exotic architecture, and these individuals were welcomed by the Barrera family, who served as caretakers. One of the family, Manuel Barrera, was an amateur painter, and according to Cassatt, it was he who offered her a room in the palace for use as a studio.[21]

At the Casa de Pilatos, Cassatt commenced work on her Spanish subject paintings, and by the end of the year, she had begun *On the Balcony* (fig. 4.6). She described the painting to Sartain on New Year's Eve, 1872:

> My present effort is on a canvass [sic] of thirty and is three figures life size half way to the knee. All the three heads are foreshortened and difficult to pose so much so that my model asked me if the people who pose for me live long. I have one man's figure the first time I have introduced a man's head into any of my pictures.[22]

In the painting, which in its exaggerated foreshortening and picturesque costume recalls Cassatt's *During the Carnival* of the previous spring, three Spaniards stand together on a window balcony. The two brightly-lit women in the foreground lean casually against the railing, one looking down toward the street, the other over her shoulder toward their male companion, who is just emerging from the shadowy interior of a room beyond.

The window balcony is a common feature of Spanish architecture, and many travelers remarked upon its use by women to view the street. Writers sometimes fabricated elaborate fantasies involving women on balconies. Washington Irving in

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The Alhambra (1832) recorded watching a pretty brunette on a balcony carry on "a mysterious correspondence with a handsome, dark, well-whiskered cavalier." Initially Irving supposed a romantic liaison in the making, but when he discovered that the cavalier was the lady's husband, he substituted smuggling for love as the reason for their communication.[23]

The French explicitly associated the balcony with love. Charles Baudelaire included a poem called "Le Balcon," in which the balcony serves as the scene for a passionate encounter between two lovers, in *Les Fleurs du Mal* of 1857. Ten years later, Paul Verlaine published his own steamy version, "Sur le balcon," in which the unmade bed could be seen in the gloom behind the amorous couple (in this case lesbians) standing on the balcony. In an attempt to circumvent the censors, Verlaine published his small book of erotic poetry with a fictitious Spanish-sounding pen-name, "Pablo de Herlagnes," and Segovia as the place of publication.[24]

American writers were generally more restrained. Pointing to the natural modesty of Spanish women on the street, George Parsons Lathrop observed that within the balcony's protective confines they behaved in a less inhibited, more casual way. "Although . . . [Spanish] women avoid meeting male glances when on the sidewalk," Lathrop reported, "they enjoy full license to stand at their high windows, which are called *miradores*, or *lookers*, and contemplate with entire freedom all things or persons that pass."[25] Charles Stanley Reinhart (1844-1896), who provided the illustrations for Lathrop's article, accompanied this text with a drawing of a beautiful young woman openly gazing at the street below (fig 4.7).

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In Spain, as in the United States, a woman's role was in the home, and public activity was generally discouraged. According to a recent historian of social life in Spain, published guides to deportment stressed the importance of "domestic competence [and] social *savoir faire*, especially modesty" in Spanish women of the middle and upper classes.[26] The balcony provided an intersection between public and private space, and its elevated placement removed its occupant from the street while offering her an unobstructed view of the world below. From this position between street and home, Spanish women could see and be seen.

Window and balcony scenes are also common in Spanish painting, and Cassatt's *On the Balcony* can be connected to several artistic precedents. The most famous balcony image of the time was *Majas on a Balcony* (1808-12; Private Collection) by Francisco Goya. Since the time of Goya's death in 1828, the reputation of this Spanish painter had been gradually climbing. The Romantics found his painterly technique and macabre imagination especially compelling, while the Realists who followed appreciated his unidealized portraits and genre characterizations of the Spanish populace. Many considered Goya the artistic heir of Velázquez and Murillo.[27]

Majas on a Balcony became one of Goya's most popular images, and nineteenth-century aficionados recorded the original and several variations, which are now considered copies. Cassatt brought one these copies (fig. 4.8) to the attention of Louisine and Harry Havemeyer in 1901, when the three traveled together to Spain in search of paintings for the couple's collection.[28] She remembered the painting from

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her earlier visit, and while the Havemeyers made a side trip to Granada, Cassatt stayed in Madrid to find it. According to Louisine Havemeyer, Cassatt greeted their return to Madrid with the following words: "I asked W. about a picture of Goya I remembered seeing in Spain many years ago, some women on a balcony. He knew where it was and we went to see it; it took us all day."[29] Eventually the Havemeyers purchased the painting from Francisco de Borbón, who had inherited it from his father, Prince Don Sebastian de Borbón, in 1875.

Between the early 1840s and approximately 1865, the prince's collection was on view at the Convento de la Trinidad in Madrid as part of the Museo Nacional. The collection had been appropriated by the state in 1833 when the prince supported the Carlist pretender to the throne rather than his mother, Queen Isabella. Most of the collection, including the *Majas*, was returned to him in 1865, and for several years the prince displayed these works in his mansion on the Calle de Alcalá. The public was admitted to his private gallery every day from 12 to 3 in the afternoon, and Cassatt may well have visited the collection during her stay in Madrid.[30]

Like Goya's painting, Cassatt's *On the Balcony* features two women in the foreground, leaning against a railing placed parallel to the picture plane. Behind and in the shadows stands the man. Cassatt echoes the Spanishness of Goya's work by adorning her Andalusian models in traditional costumes, complete with flowers, shawls, and fans. Goya clothed the men in his painting in dark mantles, while Cassatt clad her single cavalier less heavily, with a white collared shirt and broad brimmed hat. Furthermore, Cassatt elaborated upon the anecdotal quality of Goya's

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canvas by establishing a casual conversation between her young Spaniard and one of the women in front of him, who coyly lowers her fan in response to his advance.

The fame of Goya's *Majas on a Balcony* was such that Charles Yriarte published a full-page reproduction of it in his 1867 monograph on the artist.[31] Indeed, Cassatt was not the first to make reference to Goya's *Majas*; Goya scholar Nigel Glendinning found it to be the most frequently copied painting by Goya, and Edouard Manet produced his well-known adaptation of the subject, *The Balcony* (fig. 4.9), in 1868-9, three years earlier than Cassatt.[32] Cassatt undoubtedly examined the painting by Manet when she visited the 1869 Salon, for she was studying with Manet's former teacher, Thomas Couture, at the time of the exhibition.[33]

The success of Manet's Spanish subject paintings during the 1860s greatly contributed to the popularity of Spain among other late-nineteenth-century artists. He copied *The Little Cavaliers*, a painting in the Louvre then attributed to Velázquez, and received early recognition for paintings such as *The Spanish Singer* (1860; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).[34] Manet's appreciation for Spanish painting brought him to Madrid in the fall of 1865. Traveling there alone, he had the good fortune to meet Théodore Duret in the dining room of the Hotel de Paris. Duret, well-traveled and interested in art, made the perfect companion, and the two men visited the Prado, Toledo, and a bullfight during Manet's week-long stay.[35] After his trip, Manet derived the composition for *The Execution of Maximilian* (1868-69, Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim) from Goya's *Executions of the Third of May, 1808* (1814; Museo del Prado, Madrid); similarly, he found Goya's *Majas on a*

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Balcony an important source of inspiration for *The Balcony*.[36] In both works the French artist modernized the subjects and softened the overt Spanishness of Goya's originals. *The Balcony* includes Manet's friends Berthe Morisot, Antoine Guillemet, and Fanny Claus, clearly recognizable in contemporary clothing. Moreover, it is devoid of the anecdotal element present in Goya's *Majas*, a quality retained and exploited by Cassatt.

Despite their connections, critics ignored Cassatt's debt to Goya and failed to notice her allegiance to Manet until later in her career.[37] Instead, they remarked on the influence of Bartolomé Murillo, a painter more familiar to American audiences. "In one of the balcony groups," observed a writer who saw the painting at the National Academy of Design in 1874, "there is a leaning girl's head, full of sombre [sic] power, and painted with the best traditions of Murillo."[38] Indeed, it seems likely that Cassatt knew Murillo's *Two Women at a Window* (fig. 4.10) as well as Manet's *The Balcony* and Goya's *Majas on a Balcony*.[39] Murillo's painting was engraved several times during the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries -- most notably in 1848 when William Stirling-Maxwell included it in his monumental text, *Annals of the Artists of Spain* -- giving Cassatt ample opportunity to become familiar with the image.[40] Cassatt may have borrowed the shutter, on the left of her picture, from Murillo's work, and the hand of Cassatt's cavalier, a particularly nice suggestion of three-dimensional depth, recalls the hand of Murillo's laughing figure. Cassatt seems to have reversed the diagonal placement of Murillo's figures, complicating it slightly with the inclusion of the male figure.

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The connections between Cassatt's *On the Balcony* and her sources -- Manet's *The Balcony*, Goya's *Majas on a Balcony*, and Murillo's *Two Women at a Window* -- are provocative when we recall the nineteenth-century criticism of these works. During Cassatt's era, it was commonly assumed that the two women in Murillo's painting were prostitutes from the province of Galicia, offering an amorous solicitation to a passerby below. Stirling-Maxwell, ending with an oblique reference to the biblical story of Rachel and Leah, put it this way:

> Well known at Madrid as *Las Gallegas*, [Murillo's painting] represents two women at a window, one still in the bloom of her teens, and leaning on the sill, the other declining into the 'sere and yellow leaf' and half concealed by a shutter. These fair Galicians, says the tradition, were famous *amancebadas* [courtesans]; and the gallants who were lured to their dwelling by the beauty of the younger frail one, frequently became victims of that sort of deception which made the shepherd-patriarch [Jacob] the unwilling husband of the elder daughter of his maternal uncle [Laban].[41]

Goya's work, too, possessed suggestive associations, and when seen in this light, his use of the balcony window -- and the shadowy quality of the women's protectors -- becomes clear. Goya's *Majas on a Balcony* was described by one writer of 1872 as a depiction of "two dubious beauties . . . fishing for love," and the Spaniard's extensive treatment of the theme of prostitution in both prints and paintings is now well-known.[42] Finally, Morisot's discomfort with the reception of her image in Manet's *The Balcony* deserves recall. "I look strange, rather than ugly," Morisot wrote to her sister, Edma, after visiting the Salon. "It seems that the term *femme fatale* has been circulated among the curious."[43]

But what about Cassatt? Provocative behavior and allusions to prostitution are not what we are accustomed to finding in the work of this genteel woman artist. Yet

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these themes, more commonly found in the work of male artists, may have some relevance here. Indeed, when *On the Balcony* was shown in 1873 at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition, it bore a far more explicit title: *The Flirtation: A Balcony in Seville.*[44]

Flirting was a subject that fascinated Americans of the 1860s and 70s. In an era when questions of behavior received greater attention than today, the manners of a woman in mixed company often provoked comment. *The Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, ran an extensive column on flirting in 1869. Reprinted from the popular magazine, *Saturday Review*, the article began in a playful tone:

> There are certain things which can never be accurately described -- things so shadowy, so fitful, so dependent on the mood of the moment, both in the audience and the actor, that analysis and representation are equally at fault. And flirting is one of them. What is flirting? Who can define or determine? It is more serious than talking nonsense, and not so serious as making love; it is not chaff, and it is not feeling; it means something more than indifference, and yet something less than affection.[45]

Despite its elusiveness, flirting could cross the line between acceptable social behavior and immorality, and the article concluded with an earnest caution to young ladies who chose to flirt with male companions.

Social historians of the late ninteenth century have suggested that sexual and behavioral prohibitions in both Spain and the United States served to confine women to domestic activities. Sexual forwardness, in particular, was discouraged, and activities such as party-going, dancing, and especially flirtation were viewed, in the words of Charles Rosenberg, "as part of a life-style demeaning to middle-class status."[46] In this context, the behavior of the women in Cassatt's *On the Balcony*

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may be viewed as a function of both their (presumably working) class background and, for Americans, their Spanish nationality. "The attitude and gestures [of the figures]," wrote a late Victorian viewer of *On the Balcony*, "are free and animated and give the impression of the class to which the people belong, a class unrestrained by conventions of self-repression and conformity to rigid standards of personal reticence."[47] Like George Hall, who in *Young Lady of Seville and Her Dueña at Church* (fig. 2.12) had also painted Spanish women flirting, Cassatt used the Spanishness of her models as an excuse to titillate the viewers of her painting.

The compositional structure of *On the Balcony* furthers this goal. Here, as in the paintings from which Cassatt's derives, the balcony is parallel to the picture plane, separating the figures in the canvas from the viewer of the painting. This arrangement differs markedly from the artist's later use of the motif in *Susan on a Balcony Holding a Dog* (fig. 4.11). Griselda Pollock has identified this later compositional structure in the work of both Cassatt and her colleague in the Impressionist circle, Berthe Morisot, as a spatial construction in which the artist and viewer are aligned with the female subject. The viewer of these paintings, Pollock convincingly argues, is cut off from the city, and thus forced to experience public space from a feminine perspective.[48] Susan maintains her protected (and sanctioned) position within the home, but Paris is visible beyond her balcony. The artist and viewer share the balcony with her.

In *On the Balcony*, on the other hand, Cassatt's position -- and the position of the viewer -- is closer to that of a passerby on the street below. Murillo and Goya

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exploit this relationship most clearly, for in their works the women look toward the (implied male) viewer, making him the recipient of their proposals. The relationship between subject and viewer in Cassatt's *On the Balcony*, however, is different. Rather than participants in the action, Cassatt and her American viewers relate to the subject of the painting as voyeurs, tourists removed from the intricacies of Spanish life. We *are* passersby, but the women in Cassatt's painting acknowledge our difference (we are Americans, not Spanish) by ignoring our gaze. In this way Cassatt's audience vicariously enjoys knowledge of the flirtation without becoming implicated in its activity.[49]

Upon finishing *On the Balcony*, Cassatt began two other Spanish paintings, *Toreador* and *Offering the Panale to the Bullfighter* (figs. 4.12 and 4.13). In taking up the theme of the bullfight, Cassatt was tackling a quintessential Spanish subject, as well as a controversial one for American viewers. Cassatt did not mention attending the *Corrida* in her letters from Spain, although she apparently read Gautier's graphic description of the fight in his travel book of 1843, *Voyage en Espagne*.[50] It was not uncommon for American women to witness the spectacle, but if Cassatt did, her reaction is unrecorded.

American tourists were ambivalent about the bullfight, and they attended the event expecting to be upset. Anna P. Dixwell (1846-1885), who studied with William Morris Hunt in Boston and at the Academie Julian in Paris, attended several bullfights during her two visits to Spain in 1880 and 1881. Dixwell found her first *corrida* "a

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most extraordinary sight, however you view it, not so brutal as I had thought."[51] Although she enjoyed the national festivity, Dixwell acknowledged that most would find it horrifying: "I can see your hair stand on end when I say that . . . we went to a Bull Fight," wrote the artist to her mother, "and how much straighter it will stand up when I tell you I am glad we did!!!"[52] Dixwell's companions, Lucy Washburn and Marion Jackson, left their first fight after only two rounds; her friend Elizabeth Boott (later, the wife of painter Frank Duveneck) braved the spectacle for four.[53]

Many Americans, like art patron Isabella Stewart Gardner who visited Spain in 1888, expressed disgust at the sight of so many dead and dying animals.[54] Childe Hassam, who in 1883 enjoyed the bullfight's colorful ceremony but detested its brutality, was typical in his reaction: "I thought it was frightful. Disagreeably frightful. The pageant was wonderful. But the other -- I know it reacted on me the same as it would on any other person of high refinement."[55] Novelist Charles Dudley Warner concluded his description of an afternoon at the bullfight with a condemnation of the Spanish pastime. Warner linked the violent passions aroused by the sport to the decline of the Spanish empire:

> We tried to console ourselves for the part we had taken in the day's [bullfight], by the thought that we had once for all discharged the travelers duty in a study of the great national pastime -- the pastime that royalty encourages by its presence, the pastime that reveals and molds the character of a once powerful people.[56]

Americans routinely complained of the sight of disemboweled horses, and their stream of protests finally prompted a royal decree demanding the use of thickly padded protective devices to provide the animals with a greater measure of safety.[57]

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There is a long artistic tradition exploring the life-and-death excitement of the bullfight, and Goya's *Tauromaquía*, published in 1816, served as the most important nineteenth-century source for the development of this imagery.[58] French artists Alfred Dehodencq (1822-1882) and Edouard Manet created paintings in this vein during the 1850s and 1860s. Dehodencq, who lived in Spain from 1849 to 1863, painted *Bullfight in Spain* (ca. 1850; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau) in response to a commission from the French government for the Salon of 1851; Manet incorporated a picador and bull from the fifth plate of Goya's *Tauromaquía* in *Mlle V . . . in the Costume of an Espada* (1862; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and depicted a dead toreador in the foreground of *Episode from a Bullfight* (1864; partially destroyed; *The Dead Toreador*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

Perhaps to improve her chances with American buyers, Cassatt eschewed such violent scenes of the *corrida* and depicted her *toreros* instead in anecdotal scenes of relaxation, calmly lighting a cigarette or accepting the panale, a confection of sponge sugar that was dipped in water and sucked like a popsicle. Like Manet in *A Matador* (fig. 4.14), Cassatt placed her models against an empty background, a format both artists derived -- along with their fluid brushwork -- from the study of Velázquez.[59] Empty backgrounds were also used for *carte-de-visite* photographs of famous *toreros*, marketed as souvenirs and collected in much the same way as baseball cards are today. These cards, which reached their peak popularity during the 1860s and 70s, influenced many artists of Cassatt's generation (fig. 4.15).[60] Cassatt was undoubtedly aware of them.

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Nancy Mathews pointed to the similarity between Cassatt's *Offering the Panale* and the paintings of John Phillip, the Scottish painter who had influenced George Hall during the previous decade. Cassatt's painting is particularly reminiscent of Phillip's *La Bomba* of 1863 (fig. 4.16), a tavern scene in which a dashing *torero* shamelessly flirts with a smiling Spanish *tabernera*.[61] *La Bomba* refers to the name of the tavern, and the words are inscribed on the door to the left.[62] The painting was included in the large retrospective of Phillip's work held in 1873 at the London International Exhibition, and although Cassatt was not in London to see the exhibition, she may well have known about it.[63]

However, narrative paintings of bullfighters were becoming very popular in France during the 1870s, and it may not be possible to identify a single source for Cassatt's pictures. French academics such as Jules James Rougeron (1841-1880), Jehan-Georges Vibert (1840-1902), and Jules Worms (1832-1914) were all painting Spanish subjects, and they also omitted the grisly details of the fight in favor of its picturesque pageantry and colorful costumes. The Salon jury endorsed Cassatt's use of Spanish subjects by accepting *Offering the Panale* for the exhibition of 1873; a year later the Salon included enough Spanish genre paintings to prompt the critic for *Appleton's Journal* to report that "the favorite line of subjects this year appears to be Spanish."[64] Cassatt followed her success in Paris by sending her painting of the flirtatious couple to the National Academy of Design in 1874.

The popularity of Spanish genre themes was fueled by the dramatic success of Mariano Fortuny and his circle. Cassatt, like Eakins, knew Fortuny's work from her

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studies with Gérôme, and she mentioned him along with his brother-in-law, Raimundo Madrazo, in her letters from Spain.[65] Before her departure for Seville, she had seen the collection of William Hood Stewart, an expatriate American particularly fond of Spanish art. Through Stewart, Cassatt became familiar with a large cross-section of modern Spanish painters; aside from works by Fortuny and Madrazo, she saw paintings by Eduardo Zamacoïs Zabala (1843-1871) and Martín Rico Ortega (1833-1908) in his luxurious Paris home.[66]

The same year that Cassatt painted *Offering the Panale*, another of Fortuny's associates, Germán Alvarez Algeciras (1848-1900?), painted *Pelando la pava* (fig. 4.17).[67] Both paintings feature the *torero* dressed in full costume, wearing the *traje de luces* or "suit of lights," which consists of an elaborate silk jacket heavily ornamented with gold braid; a white ruffled shirt; and a black winged *montera* covering the traditional pigtail of braided hair on the back of the head. *Pelando la pava*, an expression that literally translates to "plucking the turkey," refers in colloquial Spanish to flirtation and courtship, making the activity of these figures unmistakably clear. As with the comparison to John Phillip's *La Bomba*, the similarity of Cassatt's work to *Pelando la pava*, to the French genre painters, or to any contemporary genre painting of Spanish life, suggests the prevalence of such themes rather than knowledge on Cassatt's part of specific works of art. Bullfighters, the paintings concur, were often found in amorous situations.

Abraham Archibald Anderson (1847-1940), an American painter who traveled to Spain in the spring of 1877, painted *A Bit of Old Spain* (fig. 4.18) in this same

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mode.[68] Anderson worked briefly with Louis Comfort Tiffany in the early 1870s before studying in Paris with Léon Bonnat.[69] Like Cassatt, he went to Spain after completing his formal training; first he visited Madrid, then he continued south to Andalusia. Anderson is remembered primarily as a portrait painter, and it comes as no surprise that he copied two paintings by Velázquez -- *Los Borrachos* and *Las Hilanderas* -- during his visit to the Prado.[70] *A Bit of Old Spain* depicts a dashing young *torero* strumming a guitar and crooning a love song to a comely maid who leans contentedly back in her chair. The romantic climate is reinforced by the fecund garden setting and the sculptural cupids that cavort on the fountain and window grill. The *torero's* tune is infectious; even a small magpie, conquered by the sweet melody, has left the safety of the trees to attend the two lovers.

All these paintings associate the *torero* with sexual prowess, and they derive this suggestion from ancient traditions that link bulls and bullfighting to fertility rituals. Bull worship was practiced in many parts of the world, including Mesopotamia, Crete, Rome, and Iberia, and the bull symbolized for these cultures both virility and strength.[71] The horns of the bull were often considered powerful phallic symbols, and the Spanish term *cornudo*, from the word for "horn," *cuerno*, refers to a cuckolded man. The association of bullfighting with love thus led to the development of a whole mythology concerning the *torero* and women.

These romantic overtones, like those perceived in Cassatt's *On the Balcony*, were often described in terms of social status. A critic who saw *Offering the Panale* exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts described the canvas as "one

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of a class of subjects that Miss Cassatt is fond of painting. It is a very life-like study of a Spanish bull-fighter coquetting with a *tabernera*, who is offering him liquid refreshment."[72] The *tabernera*, then, is a working girl, a barmaid, and it is her open reception of the *torero's* flirtation that makes her position clear. Bullfighters occupied the same social stratum. Originally an aristocratic pastime, by the nineteenth century bullfighting had become a professional sport, dominated by *toreros* who rose to stardom from the working classes.[73] While in earlier periods, only noblemen had the leisure and horsemanship to participate in the *corrida*, by the nineteenth century *toreros* were usually drawn from the ranks of cattlemen and butchers.

These societal changes, and the increased class fluidity that they signaled, became important subjects for artists of the late nineteenth century.[74] They also contributed in Spain to social tensions that became manifest in the characterization of the *majo*. According to Timothy Mitchell, author of a history of bullfighting, "*majismo* has no direct equivalent in English. It can be defined initially as the personal presentation of style for both men and women of the lower classes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; it was characterized by a bold, sexy, self-assured, and flippant manner of dressing, walking, and talking."[75] Eventually, nineteenth-century aristocrats began imitating the Spanish populace, making distinctions between the classes even more difficult to discern. Imagine the confusion: *toreros* born to the working class were practicing the aristocratic art of *tauromaquía*, while well-born noblemen were walking the streets of Spain acting and dressing like *majos*.

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While engaged in the creation of her *majas* and *toreros*, Cassatt also worked on a series of less ambitious studies of individual Spanish women. These paintings -- *Peasant Woman Peeling an Orange*, *Spanish Dancer with a Lace Mantilla*, and *Portrait of a Lady of Seville* (figs. 4.19, 4.20 and 4.21) -- further document her move toward the painting of modern life. *Peasant Woman* and *Spanish Dancer* depict the same model dressed in two distinctively Spanish costumes. In the first, she wears a dress of forest green with a flowered shawl draped over her shoulders; in the second she covers her head with an elegant lace mantilla. Painted in a surprisingly high-keyed palette of pastel pinks, the *Spanish Dancer* holds an exquisitely ornate fan. In both paintings the model is illuminated from the left and looks out at the viewer. This quality of visual engagement -- the *Spanish Dancer* wears an almost inquiring expression -- convincingly suggests the life of the subject. *Portrait of a Lady of Seville* is the least anecdotal of Cassatt's Spanish paintings, and the subject, an unidentified woman of Sevillian society, makes a striking comparison to Cassatt's portrait of her mother, *Reading Le Figaro* (fig. 4.22), from later that decade. The paintings both depict middle-class women, framed by an expanse of blank wall, seated in nearly complete profile. Although *Lady of Seville* lacks the intense concentration suggested by Mrs. Cassatt's reading of the French newspaper, it displays an uncompromising directness in the rendering of the sitter.

Cassatt's Spanish paintings, like Eakins's, differ from the work of George Hall in this immediacy of effect. Her models are real rather than doll-like, and in *Offering the Panale*, *Toreador*, and *On the Balcony*, they smile, smoke, and flirt with a casual

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ease and natural grace possible only for an artist with extensive formal training. The trips to Spain by Eakins and Cassatt marked important steps in their artistic development; in Madrid they absorbed the realism of the Spanish masters, and in Seville they began to paint themes of modern life. The richness of this experience is suggested by the differences in their careers after this journey. Cassatt moved to Paris, became an Impressionist, and painted over the next decade some of the most socially engaged paintings of her career. Works such as *At the Opera* or *Five O'Clock Tea* (ca. 1878 and ca. 1880; both Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) have been acclaimed by modern scholars for their realist subversion of nineteenth-century behavior and manners. However, these works primarily depict women. Except for in portraits, Cassatt ceased to use male models, and the issues addressed in *On the Balcony* and *Offering the Panale -- majismo*, flirtation, and the social life of the lower classes -- were never confronted in quite the same way again.

Spain, Cassatt's position as a tourist, and her attitude toward the Spanish, seems to have permitted the exploration of such themes, and in her Spanish paintings Cassatt took advantage of this freedom. William Stowe, in his recent study of travel in American culture, observed that Europe "served as a stage for independent self-definition, for establishing personal relations with culture and society that did not necessarily fit the conventional patterns prescribed by hometown and family standards."[76] With the expansion of the American economy in the late nineteenth century, Stowe continued, more self-assured Americans began to offer their own opinions about the object of their travels.[77] Comparing her impressions of Spain

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with those from her previous six months in Parma, Cassatt reported to Sartain that Italians were much more refined than Spaniards: "The great thing [in Spain] is the odd types and peculiar rich dark coloring of the models, if it were not for that I should not stay, the artists here are perhaps more flattering than they were in Parma, but I think the Spaniards infinitely inferior in education and breeding to the Italians."[78]

Cassatt's attitude, in fact, was not uncommon. Although historical Spain evoked the wealth, power, and international domination of the Spanish empire, modern Spain, in the opinion of many Americans, was a country in decline. In Spain, Cassatt and her compatriots found and took advantage of both the past and the present; they visited museums and delighted in the local color. "I see the immense capital that can be drawn from Spain," Cassatt wrote to Sartain, "it has not been 'exploited' yet as it might be, and it is suggestive of pictures on all sides."[79] Her Spanish genre paintings derived their subjects from the tradition of *costumbrismo*, and like the paintings by the American artists who preceded her to Spain, they served to transform the nationalism of this movement into a stereotyped image of Spain fit for foreign consumption.[80] *Majas* and *toreros* became the subjects of their canvases, but the country that offered these possibilities never became their own. Like her compatriots, Cassatt remained a tourist in Spain. She confided to Sartain after several weeks on the Spanish peninsula: "I would not care to live here."[81]

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1. "Andalusia: The Death of the Bull," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 28, 1878, p. 2.

2. Cassatt's first biographer was Achille Segard, *Mary Cassatt: Peintre des enfants et des mères* (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1913); see also Nancy Hale, *Mary Cassatt* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1975) and Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: A Life* (New York: Villard Books, 1994). The following summary of Cassatt's artistic training is derived from the biography by Mathews.

3. Thomas Eakins to Frances Eakins, Paris, April 1, 1869, Thomas Eakins Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 640, fr. 491. William Inness Homer detailed Eakins's response to Couture in *Thomas Eakins: His Life and Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992), pp. 38-9.

4. Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: A Life*, p. 56.

5. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Hollidaysburg, Penn., May 22, [1871], in Nancy Mowll Mathews, ed. *Cassatt and her Circle: Selected Letters* (New York, Abbeville Press, 1984), p. 70.

6. Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 77, n. 1.

7. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Hollidaysburg, Penn., October 21, [1871], in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 76.

8. Emily Sartain to John Sartain, Paris, November 17, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 111.

9. Christian Schussele to Emily Sartain, Philadelphia, November 11, 1872, in *Kindred Spirits, Part II: Manuscripts, Letters and Sketchbooks from The E. Maurice Bloch Collection* (Boston: ars libri, ltd., n.d.), p. 86. Sartain wrote to her parents for advice from Paris on October 13, 1872, Sartain Family Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 2727, fr. 384-9.

10. Cassatt signed for a Copyist Permit at the Prado on October 5, 1872, as #416. *Libro de Registro: Copistas*, March 18, 1864 - October 18 1873, Box L-36, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

11. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Madrid, October 5, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 103.

12. Ibid.

13. The Prado registers do no indicate whether Cassatt copied Velázquez's *Baltasar Carlos on Horseback* or his *Baltasar Carlos as Hunter*. According to Elizabeth Ellis, who is working on the subject of American copyists at the Prado, both of these

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paintings were popular choices with American copyists and both were easily accessible either in the long central gallery or in the Sala de Isabel. Correspondence with the author, November 12, 1993.

14. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Madrid, October 5, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 103.

15. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Madrid, October 13, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 107.

16. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Madrid, October 13, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 108.

17. Cassatt had met up with two of Sartain's friends, Mrs. Birney and Miss Duell, in Madrid, but their paths diverged shortly after.

18. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Seville, October 27, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 109.

19. Like Hall and Eakins before her, Cassatt made significant inroads within the local artistic community. Even gossip made the rounds; one of the Sevillians told her that when Eakins had been in Seville, he painted much better than Moore. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, New Year's Evening, 187[2], Seville, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 116.

20. See the description of the Casa de Pilatos in Harriet Trowbridge Allen, *Travels in Europe and the East: During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1879), pp. 479-80. The Casa de Pilatos remains a tourist attraction to this day.

21. On the history of the Casa de Pilatos, see Joaquín González Moreno, *La Casa de Pilatos en el siglo XIX*. (Seville: Puente-Genil, 1983), pp. 244 and 300. There is no mention of Cassatt's stay in this book. According to Dr. Antonio Sánchez González, Director del Archivo General de la Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, no documentation relating to Cassatt's stay has ever been found at the Casa de Pilatos. Correspondence with the author, July 1, 1991.

22. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Seville, New Year's Evening, 187[2], in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 113.

23. Washington Irving, *The Alhambra* (1832, 1st illus. ed., 1851; repr., New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1982), p. 121. Irving was making his observations from his own balcony in the Alhambra.

24. Nigel Glendinning first mentioned these poems in "Variations on a Theme by Goya: *Majas on a Balcony*," *Apollo*, n.s. 103 (January 1976), p. 47, n. 38.

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25. George Parsons Lathrop, *Spanish Vistas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), p. 13.

26. Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 36.

27. A complete analysis of Goya criticism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be found in Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

28. See Gary Tinterow, "The Havemeyer Pictures," in Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen et al., *Splendid Legacy; The Havemeyer Collection* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), p. 15 and Colta Ives and Susan Alyson Stein, *Goya in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 64-6. The European Paintings Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art kindly made their files on this painting available to me.

29. "W." refers to Joseph Wicht, a dealer in Madrid familiar with the private collections maintained by the Spanish nobility. Louisine Havemeyer told of Cassatt's discovery of the *Majas* in *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* (New York: Privately printed, 1961), p. 153. Cassatt's only other trip to Spain before 1901 occurred during the winter of 1883-84. This trip was made with her mother, who was ill, and most of their time was spent on the coast in Alicante. Therefore, it appears most probable that Cassatt remembered the painting from her 1872-73 trip to Spain.

30. See Henry O'Shea, *A Guide to Spain* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865), p. 297. Nigel Glendinning, in "Variations on a Theme by Goya," p. 42, suggests that the collection was transferred to Pau when Queen Isabel was dethroned in 1868, but I have found no published references to it being in France before 1877. See Fernand Petit, *Notes sur l'Espagne artistique* (Lyon: Scheuring, 1877), p. 71.

Whether Cassatt saw the original *Majas on a Balcony* during her 1872-3 trip to Spain is unclear, although it was on view as part of the Duke de Montpensier's collection in the Palacio de San Telmo in Seville. This painting had been part of Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole in Paris and was sold to the Duke in 1853. The Duke loaned fifty-five of his paintings including five by Zurburán, one by Murillo, three by Velázquez, but none by Goya, to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1874 in order to protect them from the Carlist conflict. See Jeannine Baticle et Cristina Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole de Louis-Philippe au Louvre, 1838-1848* (Paris: Musées de France, 1981), pp. 83-5 and *Catalogue of Pictures Belonging to H. R. H. the Duke de Monpensier* (Exh. cat., Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1874).

31. Charles Yriarte, *Goya* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1867), p. 90.

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32. See Glendinning, "Variations on a Theme by Goya," pp. 40-7. On Manet's *The Balcony* see François Cachin et al., *Manet, 1832-1883* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), pp. 302-7.

33. Cassatt's entry to the 1869 Salon was rejected, but she probably visited the exhibition during her Parisian residence that spring. Manet studied with Couture from 1850-56, and Cassatt's studies with Couture in 1868 are documented by a letter written by Eliza Haldeman to her mother, Mrs. Samuel Haldeman, Villiers-le-Bel, November 20, 1868, Mary Cassatt Papers, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 3658, frames 1124-5.

34. See Joel Isaacson, *Manet and Spain: Prints and Drawings* (exh. cat., Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Museum of Art, University of Michigan, 1969); Rafael Benet, "Manet y Renoir ante Velazquez," in *Varia Velazqueña: Homenaje a Velázquez en el III Centenario de su muerte, 1660-1960*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, 1960), pp. 514-21; and Elie Lambert, "Manet et l'Espagne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 9 (June 1933), pp. 369-82.

35. On Manet's trip to Spain, see Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed. *Edouard Manet: Voyage en Espagne* (Caen: L'Echoppe, 1988).

36. See Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian; Painting, Politics and Censorship* (London: National Gallery Publications in association with Princeton University Press, 1992).

37. Critics did not associate Cassatt's *On the Balcony* with Manet's work until her New York exhibition of 1895. See "Miss Mary Cassatt," *Art Amateur* 32 (May 1895), p. 158; "The Chronicle of Arts," *New York Tribune*, April 21, 1895, p. 25; and "Pictures by Mary Cassatt," *New York Times*, April 18, 1895, p. 4.

Carol M. Osborne also noted similarities between Cassatt's painting and *Gaditanas en el balcón* by José Maria Romero y López, who taught painting at the School of Fine Arts in Seville. See Osborne, "Yankee Painters at the Prado," in Suzanne Stratton et al., *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (exh. cat., New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with The Spanish Institute, 1993), p. 71.

38. "Fine Arts: The National Academy Exhibition, II," *The Nation* 18 (May 14, 1874), p. 321.

39. The notoriety of Murillo's painting is made more apparent when it is remembered that Goya was probably referring to Murillo's *Two Women at a Window* in his *Majas on a Balcony*. See Diego Angulo Iñiguez, "Murillo y Goya," *Goya*, nos. 148-150 (1979), p. 212, in Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez and Eleanor A. Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment* (exh. cat., Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989), p. 160, n. 2.

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40. *Two Women at a Window* was engraved in the eighteenth century by Joaquín Ballester and William Sterling-Maxwell included it in *Annals of the Artist of Spain*, 3 vols. (1848; repr., London: John C. Nimmo, 1891). In addition, several copies of the painting exist. See Jonathan Brown and Richard Mann, *Spanish Paintings of the 15th through 19th Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), pp. 105-9.

41. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 3, pp. 1091-3.

42. J. Puiggiari, "Cuadros fotographicos: Goya -- El Carnaval -- la Maja," in *La Ilustración española y americana* 7 (1872), p. 102, in Glendinning, "Variations on a Theme by Goya," p. 47, n. 30. In Goya's other major balcony painting, *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony* (1808-12; Collection D. Bartolomé March Servera), the theme of prostitution is even more explicit. See Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*, pp. 158-60.

43. Denis Rouart, ed., *Correspondance de Berthe Morisot avec sa famille et ses amis* (Paris: Quatre Chemins-Editart, 1950), in Cachin et al., *Manet*, p. 304.

44. See James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts, *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues from the Beginning through the 1876 Centennial Year*, vol. 1 (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1986), p. 609.

45. "Flirting," *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, July 8, 1869, p. 2.

46. Charles E. Rosenberg, "Sexuality, Class and Role in 19th-century America," *American Quarterly* 25 (May 1973), p. 143. See also Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Puberty to Menopause: The Cycle of Femininity in Nineteenth-Century America," in Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 187. On women's behavior in Spanish society, see Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain*, pp. 32-43.

47. Elizabeth Luther Cary, "Recent Accessions of Modern Art in the Wilstach Collection," *The International Studio* 35 (July 1908), p. XXXI.

48. Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 62-3.

49. Drawing upon the work of Sigmund Freud, Laura Mulvey suggests that there are two modes of viewing an image. The first, scopophilia, can take the form of either voyeurism or fetishism. Pleasure is derived by using "another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight. The second, developed through narcissism and the constitution of the ego, comes from identification with the image seen." The first mode is employed in viewing *On the Balcony*, and the second for *Susan on a*

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Balcony. See Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in Brian Wallis ed., *Art after Modernism: Rethinking Representation* (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984), pp. 361-73.

50. Cassatt mentioned Gautier's travel guide in a letter to Sartain. See Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Madrid, October 13, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 107.

51. *Diary of Anna P. Dixwell*, September 19, [1880], Norbert Heermann Papers, courtesy Bruce Weber. Dixwell was traveling with her friend Annie C. Putnam and Putnam's father, Dr. Charles Putnam. They were joined in Madrid by Madeleine Winer. Dixwell and Putnam returned to Spain in April and May, 1881, with Elizabeth Boott and Lucy Washburn.

52. *Diary of Anna P. Dixwell*, October 10, [1880], Norbert Heermann Papers, courtesy Bruce Weber.

53. Dixwell and her friends attended this *corrida* on April 24, 1881 in Granada, where they were able to see Frascuelo, one of Spain's most renowned *toreros*. *Diary of Anna P. Dixwell*, Norbert Heermann Papers, courtesy Bruce Weber.

54. Mrs. Gardner had a front-row box at the bullring of Seville. When the fight began, she was shocked by the bloodshed and covered her eyes and ears in horror. See Louise Hall Thorp, *Mrs. Jack: A Biography of Isabella Stewart Gardner* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), pp. 136-7.

55. Interview with Childe Hassam, January 31, 1927, Dewitt McClellan Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 503.

56. Charles Dudley Warner, "The Bull-fight," *The Century Magazine* 27 (November 1883), p. 13. Illustrations for this article were provided by Robert Frederick Blum, who traveled through Spain in 1882. Blum's illustrations are a surprisingly frank portrayal of the fight's violence.

57. The decree was signed in 1928 after almost fifty years of complaints. See J. A. Cuddon, *International Dictionary of Sports and Games* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), p. 174.

58. See Alvaro Martínez-Novillo, *La Peintre et la Tauromachie* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988).

59. Harry Willson Watrous (1857-1940) painted his own variation on this compositional theme, called *Bullfighter* (ca. 1881-2; Spanierman Gallery, New York), a decade later. Watrous visited Spain in the company of Harry Humphrey Moore, who introduced him to the paintings of Fortuny. In an interview many years later,

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Watrous claimed to have met Frascuelo, one of Spain's most famous *toreros*, who presented him with a sword as a token of his esteem. He was a small fellow," recalled Watrous. "He was like a cat, . . . just like lightening." Watrous's painting may depict this famous bullfighter. Interview with Harry Willson Watrous, June 16, 1927, Dewitt McClellan Lockman Papers, New-York Historical Society, Archives of American Art, Reel 504, frame 968.

60. Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas, among other artists, used *carte-de-visite* photographs in constructing their paintings. See Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 137-203.

61. Nancy Mathews, *Mary Cassatt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), p. 16. See also Margaret C. Conrads, *American Paintings and Sculpture at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), p. 28.

62. One of the main streets in Granada is the Paseo de la Bomba. The word *bomba* refers to a type of water pump.

63. See *A Catalogue of the Works of John Phillip, R.A., Exhibited at the London International Exhibition* (exh. cat., London: Printed at the Chiswick Press, 1873). Mishoe Brennecke provided me with a copy of this catalogue, for which I am extremely thankful.

64. "Fine Arts: The Salon of 1874," *Appleton's Journal* 11 (June 27, 1874), p. 827.

65. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Madrid, October 13, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 108: "Fortuny is still at Granada, but he is coming here on a trip I believe this month." See also Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Seville, New Year's Evening, 187[2], in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 114: "There is I believe a fine collection of modern paintings owned by an amateur here. Fortuny's Madrazos &c, the gentleman called on me, but his gallery is undergoing repairs and I am not to see it yet. . . . Madrazo paints these gypsies with cheeks like some deep red peaches, and he paints them with Malachite green and white. His modelling and his manner as far as I have seen is fine."

66. Sartain accompanied Cassatt on a visit to Stewart's home after Cassatt's return from Spain, and in her letter describing the collection to her father, she particularly mentions paintings by Fortuny, Madrazo, Zamacois, and Rico. She also states that Cassatt had seen the paintings on a previous visit. Emily Sartain to John Sartain, Paris, May 8, 1873, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 118-9.

67. Germán Alvarez Algeciras was born in Jerez de la Frontera (Andalusia) and studied at the Escuela de Bellas Artes de Cádiz before becoming a pensioner in Rome in 1869. There he joined the Spanish expatriate colony that included Fortuny as well

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as José Jiménez Aranda, the artist with whom he became most closely associated. See Carlos González y Montse Martí, *Pintores españoles en Roma (1850-1900)* (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1987), pp. 46-7. John Phillip also painted several works titled *Pelando la pava.*

68. Anderson exhibited a watercolor of a similar subject, titled *Garden Scene in Seville -- Un Torero y su novia*, at the American Water Color Society in 1878. *Illustrated Catalogue of the Eleventh Annual Exhibition of the American Water Color Society* (exh. cat., New York: National Academy of Design, 1878), cat. no. 221.

69. For biographical information, see Colonel A. A. Anderson, *Experiences and Impressions: The Autobiography of Colonel A. A. Anderson* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933).

70. Anderson signed the Copyist Register at the Prado on April 9 and May 14, 1877. *Libro de Registro de los señores copiantes*, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid, Box L-34. Anderson also signed the Register Book at the Alhambra on April 25 or 26, 1877. *Libro de registro*, April 1, 1872 - March 8, 1883, Archives of the Alhambra, Granada.

71. See Cuddon, *International Dictionary of Sports and Games*, p. 166 and Martínez-Novillo, *Le Peintre et la Tauromachie*, p. 11.

72. "The Spring Exhibition of the Academy of the Fine Arts," *Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph*, April 25, 1878, p. 4.

73. See Timothy Mitchell, *Blood Sport: A Social History of Spanish Bullfighting* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991) and Fátima Halcón, *La Plaza de toros de la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Sevilla* (Madrid: Ediciones el Viso, 1990).

74. The issue of social fluidity and French painting is discussed in T. J. Clarke, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York: Knopf, 1985) and Eunice Lipton, *Looking into Degas: Uneasy Images of Women and Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

75. Mitchell, *Blood Sport*, p. 56.

76. William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 5.

77. Stowe, *Going Abroad*, p. 34-7 and 51-2. Stowe ascribed this attitude to an underlying social and cultural insecurity.

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78. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Seville, New Year's Evening, 187[2], in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 114.

79. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Seville, October 27, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 109.

80. One of the only nineteenth-century critics to suggest this transformation was David Hannay. Writing specifically of the popularity of the Spanish genre paintings by Fortuny and his circle, his observations may be extended to all foreign painters of Spanish subjects: "The popularity of the [Spanish] type is, however, intelligible enough. It certainly is picturesque, and then there is this also which must not be forgotten, that foreigners -- and it is mostly for them that Spanish painters work -- seem to think that the bull-fighter is the most interesting object in the country. They want him, and they get him. Although, however, it has become a tradition that the Spanish bull-fighter is the proper subject for a Spanish painter, the popularity of the type is not a mere matter of routine. Many painters repeat [the subject] simply because it saves them the trouble of looking at life for themselves, or because it sells; but it was a genuine national and artistic sentiment which first recommended "La Tauromaquia" to Spanish painters." See David Hannay, "Pictures of the Ring," *The Magazine of Art* 6 (1883), p. 501.

81. Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain, Seville, October 27, 1872, in Mathews, *Cassatt and her Circle*, p. 110.

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Chapter 5: John Singer Sargent, *Flamenco*, and Bizet's *Carmen*

> After passing through a room where several jolly fellows, or rather wild adventurous-looking characters, were peacefully drinking, we entered a court surrounded by white marble columns; this court, like many more in Seville, was a relic of ancient Moorish architecture. . . . At the corners of the court rose the broad leaves of the banana, lit up by four flickering lamps that shed a faint lustre on this strange, half-tropical vegetation. A number of rude chairs and pine benches awaited the spectators. Half-a-dozen men with chop-cut whiskers were conversing with a number of *majas* in the centre of the court, whom we though we had seen at the *fábrica de tabacos*; the conversation was unharmoniously accompanied by the tuning of guitars.
>
> Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain*, 1874[1]

John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) visited Spain in late 1879 before crossing the straits of Gibraltar on his way to Morocco. Like Eakins and Cassatt before him, he visited Spain at the end of his formal training in Paris in order to supplement his education and to find subjects for pictures. Making productive use of his travels, Sargent copied Velázquez's work in the Prado, painted architectural studies at the Alhambra, and sketched flamenco performances in Seville. Upon reaching Tangier in January 1880, he settled down for several months and painted *Fumée d'Ambre Gris* (fig. 5.1), which he submitted to the Salon of 1880. In Paris two years later he completed *El Jaleo* (fig. 5.2), one of the most ambitious Spanish subjects to be painted by an American artist.[2]

Sargent's expatriate background provided him with greater exposure to the art of Europe than that available to the native-born Americans who preceded him to Spain. Born in Florence to American parents, Sargent spent the first eighteen years

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of his life traveling to the cultural sites and restorative spas of Europe. He first visited Spain in the company of his parents in the spring of 1868, when he was only twelve years of age. According to a letter written by his father, the family made a broad loop through the peninsula, stopping successively in Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Malaga, Granada, and Madrid.[3] J. Alden Weir, who later met Sargent and his family in Paris, spoke with Sargent's mother about traveling in Spain shortly after his own trip of 1876. Weir was impressed by Mrs. Sargent's adventurous spirit and thorough familiarity with the country, and he wrote of their conversation:

> We talked over our comparative voyage in Spain, which was very interesting. She travels so unlike ladies in general, preferring the stage-coach routes and out of the way places to the guide-book rules, that she has amassed a quantity of interesting knowledge, which makes a country interesting in an artistic point of view; but for this, one must have enough esprit to overcome the many difficulties and inconveniences which are always to be encountered. She had been at Granada in the spring of the year at which time she speaks of it as one of the most beautiful places she has ever visited, and this I can easily imagine.[4]

Sargent's interest in travel and culture was undoubtedly acquired from his mother during his peripatetic youth.[5]

When Sargent moved to Paris in May 1874 in order to devote himself to the study of art, he spoke several languages and possessed an air of cosmopolitanism well beyond most Americans his age. In October of that year, Weir described him in a letter to his parents as

> about eighteen years old and one of the most talented fellows I have ever come across; . . . He was born abroad and has not yet seen his country. He speaks as well in French, German, Italian as he does in English, has a fine ear for music, etc. Such men wake one up, and as his principles are equal to his

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talents, I hope to have his friendship.[6]

In Paris Sargent had elected to study with Carolus-Duran (1838-1917), a teacher who advocated painting directly from the model and who had made a name for himself as a fashionable portrait painter. During the five years that Sargent remained in Carolus-Duran's studio, he complemented his lessons by drawing with Adolphe Yvon at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Carolus-Duran derived his teaching methods from an appreciation for the Old Masters, especially those of the painterly tradition.[7] He had studied for two years in his native city of Lille, but on going to Paris in 1853, had eschewed further training in favor of copying in the Louvre. After spending the years 1862-6 in Italy, where he was particularly impressed by Venetian painting, Carolus-Duran went to Spain from 1866 to 1868 in order to copy Velázquez's work in the Prado. Carolus-Duran's paternal grandfather was of Spanish descent, a fact that led some observers to ascribe his affinity for Spanish art to heredity.[8] Upon his return to Paris, he created *The Woman with a Glove* (fig. 5.3), which owed its monochromatic palette, shallow space, and painterly realism to the seventeenth-century Spaniard.[9]

Carolus-Duran's Velázquez-derived brushwork is even more evident in such informal portraits as *Spanish Lady* (fig. 5.4), painted in 1876 while Sargent was working in his studio. Velázquez had been the preeminent portrait painter of the seventeenth century, and Carolus-Duran, followed by Sargent, aspired to similar heights. According to Evan Charteris, Sargent's earliest biographer, Carolus-Duran continually reminded his students: "Velázquez, Velázquez, Velázquez, étudiez sans

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relâche Velázquez."[10] He undoubtedly encouraged Sargent to revisit Madrid when his training was complete in order to learn from the Spanish master's works at the Prado.

It is a measure of Sargent's cosmopolitanism that he made his second trip to Spain in 1879 in the company of two Frenchmen rather than with Americans. The two men, identified by Charteris as Daux and Bac [sic], were Charles-Edmond Daux and Armand-Eugène Bach.[11] Daux and Bach were students in the atelier of Alexandre Cabanel, and both had traveled to Capri during the summer of 1878, at the same time as Sargent. There was an international contingent of painters at work on Capri that summer, and all three exhibited paintings based on their trips there at the Salon of 1879.[12] During their visit, both Daux and Sargent painted Rosina Ferrara (or Ferraro), a dark-eyed Capri woman who frequently modeled for artists.[13] In August 1879, Sargent tried to persuade his mother and sister Emily to accompany him on his journey to Spain and North Africa.[14] He apparently decided to travel with his friends from the summer in Capri when family members declined to join him.

By October 14, 1879, Sargent was in the Prado copying the paintings of Velázquez.[15] The large number of copies attributed to Sargent's trip of 1879 suggest a stay in Madrid of at least a month.[16] Among the copies that he painted are *Don Antonio el inglés* (1879, The Hispanic Society of America, New York), a painting of a dwarf then attributed to Velázquez, but recently reattributed to Juan Carreño de Miranda, and a detail of Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas* (1879, The Alfred Beit Collection, Russborough, Ireland). Both of these copies are visible in a photograph

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of Sargent's Paris studio at 41 Boulevard Berthier (fig. 5.5), which he occupied from 1883 until 1885. Hamilton Minchin, a colleague from Carolus-Duran's studio, saw Sargent's copies and reported that in one, he "could count the brushstrokes." He questioned Sargent about it at the time: "I suppose you hadn't time to finish it?" suggested Minchin. "On the contrary," Sargent replied, "it is to the best of my ability just what I saw in the original."[17] As had Eakins and Cassatt, Sargent found in Velázquez compelling support for the increased painterliness of his own technique.

It was probably around this time that Sargent acquired a large number of Jean Laurent photographs of paintings by Velázquez, a group of which are preserved in a scrapbook in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[18] Photographs of both *Las Hilanderas* and *Don Antonio el inglés* are included in this set, along with reproductions of *The Surrender of Breda*, *The Forge of Vulcan*, *Las Meninas*, and others. Sargent might easily have purchased these prints at the commercial establishment maintained by Laurent on the Carrera San Jerónimo in Madrid.[19] According to Elizabeth Ellis, the general availability of reproductions of Velázquez's paintings in the Prado is significant, and similarities between painted copies and photographic details suggest that some painters "appear to have used the photographs to 'ebauche' their copies before ever setting foot in the Prado."[20] The prints certainly served Sargent as reminders of his trip, if not as aids for the painting of copies.[21]

Sargent's practice, and the manner in which he spent his time in Madrid, may also be inferred through the journal kept by James Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917),

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who followed Sargent's advice on a trip to Spain a year later.[22] Upon arriving in Madrid, Beckwith presented a letter from Carolus-Duran in order to receive his copyist permit, and he worked at the Prado every day except Sunday. It generally took him several days to complete a copy. Beckwith stayed at a small boarding house at 13 Calle Salud near the Puerta del Sol, the same inn used by Sargent the previous autumn, and he attended performances at the theater La Bolsa, again at Sargent's recommendation.[23] In the late afternoon when the museum was closed, Beckwith took Spanish and guitar lessons. Evening entertainment often kept him out late; in the company of friends, he usually strolled to a café for a drink (*horchata de chufas*, a milky beverage flavored with nuts, was a particular favorite) or enjoyed the music at one of Madrid's many theaters.[24] Toward the end of his stay, he made short excursions to the Escorial and Toledo.

Sargent undoubtedly recommended these pastimes and side-trips before Beckwith's departure. Repeatedly asked in later years for ideas about what to see and do in Spain, Sargent suggested visiting both the Escorial and Toledo.[25] During his own trip of 1879, Sargent painted at least one small panel in Toledo, *The Interior of Santa Maria la Blanca* (fig. 5.6), a depiction of a thirteenth-century synagogue, which had been converted to a church in the early fifteenth century.[26] The painting is one of a series of architectural studies painted on panel in which the subject is recorded in a closely-toned palette.[27] In the painting, octagonal pillars with molded plaster capitals support a series of Moorish horseshoe arches that recede rhythmically into space. The building's ancient *azulejos* (glazed tiles) are clearly visible on the base of

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the column at left and on the pavement in the foreground.

Sargent's interest in Toledo's artistic attractions extended from Santa Maria la Blanca to the tomb sculpted by Alonso Berruguete for Cardinal Juan de Tavera in the Hospital de Afuera, and from El Greco's masterpiece *The Burial of Count Orgaz* in the Church of Santo Tomé to the sculpture of Alonso Cano in Toledo's magnificent Cathedral. He wrote to Vernon Lee after his trip: "At Toledo would you see a church outside the walls with a tomb of a cardinal by Berruguete, and a magnificent picture by Greco in another church. It used to be impossible to see Alonso Cano's St. Francis in the Cathedral."[28] Sargent's eclectic interests and his ability to discover forgotten artistic treasures led him to an early admiration for the art of Spain's lesser-known masters. Not until the early twentieth century was El Greco incorporated into the canon of great Spanish painters, but Sargent was recommending his work almost twenty years earlier.[29]

Sargent continued his journey south to Andalusia in November and December 1879, traveling to both Granada and Seville. In Granada Sargent reacquainted himself with the Alhambra and painted several more architectural studies, depicting the Patio de los Arrayanes, the Patio de los Leones, and the small courtyard known as the Patio de la Reja (figs. 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9).[30] All three works, like *The Interior of Santa Maria la Blanca*, are painted with a fluid brush in monochromatic tones of white and yellow. Sunlight flickers off the walls of the palace, and in both *Court of the Myrtles* and *Patio de la Reja* blue sky gleams in the top left corners of the canvas. Lacking any figural or narrative component, these works were clearly painted not for

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exhibition, but rather as experiments in color and light.[31] They may also have been painted as studies for the creation of never executed Salon paintings.[32]

Sargent clearly saw Spain as a gateway to the Orient, and his *Court of the Myrtles* makes an especially suggestive comparison to Harry Humphrey Moore's architectural study *The Alhambra* (fig. 3.24). Both paintings depict the Patio de los Arrayanes. Although Moore's study is more detailed than Sargent's (displaying the influence of Gérôme rather than Carolus-Duran), both are devoid of figures and neither was exhibited at the time of its execution. Moore eventually developed such studies into finished compositions, but Sargent left the Alhambra in frustration after days of poor weather, abandoning with his departure any intention he may have harbored to execute a major Orientalist painting at the site. His correspondence reveals a thwarted desire to work outdoors and disappointment that he could not take full advantage of his trip to Spain: "I regret the many months spent in Spain in the rain and bad weather that quite spoiled the trip as far as painting and enjoyment goes," he wrote his friend Ben Castillo upon arrival in Tangier. "When you carry out your plan of a visit to Spain, be sure to go in the spring; one loses too much by going there in December."[33] In Tangier Sargent and his companions rented a little Moorish house with an open patio in which to paint, and the work Sargent may have hoped to complete at the Alhambra was ultimately carried to fruition under the sunny skies of North Africa.[34] With *Fumée d'Ambre Gris* Sargent created a painting redolent with the exoticism he had first encountered in the Moorish palaces of Spain.

Sargent's interest in the exotic may actually be traced to his youth, and at the

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age of twelve, wrote his friend Vernon Lee, he possessed an "instinct for the esoteric." Trevor Fairbrother asserted in his recent monograph on Sargent that with his images of Capri, Spain, and North Africa, Sargent was responding to the market for exotic, picturesque imagery. "Personally," Fairbrother expanded, "he gratified his need for a release from the primness of his Anglo-Saxon Protestant cultural heritage through esoterically coded sensualism."[35] In Capri during the summer of 1878, Sargent had sought out the dark-skinned island residents as models for his canvases, and his colleagues Daux and Bach undoubtedly continued to encourage this tendency during their trip to Spain and North Africa. *Fumée d'Ambre Gris*, with its monochromatic tonality and Orientalist subject, bears a compelling resemblance to *Une Sentinelle* (fig. 5.10), Daux's Salon painting of 1878. Both paintings depict solitary standing figures surrounded by exotic paraphernalia, and both employ a single dominant color with bright accents of yellow, orange, and blue. The differences in technique -- Sargent's picture is more painterly than Daux's -- attest to differences in the training each received from his teacher, Sargent from Carolus-Duran and Daux from Cabanel.

Daux's subject -- an armed sentry surrounded by guns, a sword, and a hookah -- is commonly found in Orientalist paintings; Moore's *Moroccan Guard* (fig. 3.26) of two years earlier affords an American example. But Sargent's motif of a woman perfuming herself with ambergris from a censer is more unusual, as is his emphasis on the woman's mysterious, rather than sexual, nature. Sargent's sister Emily described the subject as "a figure all draped in white against a white

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background & standing on a rug of rich colour, chiefly orange, black and white, and there is a little blue in the tiles of the floor. She is standing with her arms raised and holding her head-dress over the smoke of an incense burner."[36] Sargent achieved immediate success with *Fumée d'Ambre Gris*. Receiving enthusiastic reviews for the painting at the Salon of 1880, he quickly sold it to an unidentified Frenchman.[37]

Although a lack of sunshine at the Alhambra prevented Sargent from creating a major Orientalist canvas in Spain, Andalusia did inspire him to paint *El Jaleo*, which he executed after his return to Paris and exhibited at the Salon two years later. Sargent could have seen flamenco performances in a variety of places, but Seville is the city most closely associated with Spanish dance. Washington Irving had described an impromptu performance in an Andalusian tavern in *The Alhambra* of 1832:

> While we were supping with our drawcansir friend, we heard the notes of a guitar, and the click of castanets, and presently a chorus of voices singing a popular air. In fact mine host had gathered together the amateur singers and musicians, and the rustic belles of the neighborhood, and, on going forth, the courtyard or patio of the inn presented a scene of true Spanish festivity. . . . We ordered our host to let wine and refreshment circulate freely among the company, yet, though there was a motley assembly of soldiers, muleteers, and villagers, no one exceeded the bounds of sober enjoyment. The scene was a study for a painter.[38]

Some forty years later, Charles Davillier devoted an entire chapter of his book on Spain to dancing in Seville. Davillier named and described the different dances and recorded the words to several traditional songs, and Gustave Doré, his traveling companion, created a series of dancing scenes to illustrate his text. (figs. 5.11 and 5.12).[39]

Sargent's presence in Seville between November 24 and December 2, 1879 is

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documented in the correspondence of Mrs. Henry Adams, who with her husband was also touring the Spanish peninsula.[40] During his stay, Sargent visited the tobacco factory, explored the gypsy quarter La Triana, and sketched the denizens of a typical Spanish tavern (fig. 5.13).[41] He was extremely interested in Spanish music, and wrote to Vernon Lee about the performances he had heard:

> You wished some Spanish songs. I could not find any good ones. The best are what one hears in Andalucia, the half African Malagueñas & Soleàs, dismal, restless chants that it is impossible to note. They are something between a Hungarian czardas and the chant of the Italian peasant in the fields and are generally composed of five strophes and end stormily on the dominant, the theme quite lost in strange fiorituras and guttural roulades. The gitano voices are marvellously supple.[42]

Several years later Sargent contributed six photogravures to *Spanish & Italian Folk-songs*, a compilation of characteristic musical selections translated by his friend Alma Strettel and published in 1887.[43] Creating a Salon painting based on flamenco was a natural outgrowth of Sargent's interest in unfamiliar and dramatic subjects. *Fumée d'Ambre Gris* was conceived in the bright light of North Africa, and *El Jaleo*, its sequel, originated in the shadowy interior of a Spanish tavern.[44]

The development of *El Jaleo* from sketch to finished painting was recently chronicled by Mary Crawford Volk. Two drawings on the verso of a receipt from a Madrid hatmaker's shop (both 1879; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge Mass.) probably document a performance actually witnessed in Spain, and another inscribed with the name and address of Anna Marqueth, a French model (*Studies of a Spanish Dancer*, ca. 1880-1; The Arts Club, London), was probably done after Sargent's return to Paris. According to Sargent's friend Walter Gay, Sargent used a second French

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model, Marie Renard, for the dancing figure in the final version of *El Jaleo*.[45] As with the drawings, Volk has postulated that although some of the canvases may have been painted in Spain, others, such as *The Spanish Dance* (fig. 5.14) and the recently discovered *Spanish Dancer* (fig. 5.15), were painted later in Paris. From conception to completion, the project of creating a major painting based on the theme of Spanish dance absorbed Sargent intermittently for over two years.[46]

The artistic precedents for *El Jaleo* may be found in both Spanish and French art.[47] The painterly technique of Velázquez, so important a revelation for earlier Americans such as Eakins and Cassatt, provided one source, and certain sections of *El Jaleo*, such as the white gown of the dancing figure or the colored shawls on the women at back, are remarkably fluid, with individual brushstrokes easily discernible.[48] The critic for *The Art Journal* described the painting "as reflexes of Spain and its great master, Velasquez: not, let it be understood, a slavish following of his methods, but [a picture] painted by a talented artist whilst saturated with admiration for, and a study of, the man and the country."[49] R. A. M. Stevenson, a student with Sargent in the studio of Carolus-Duran and author of a monograph on Velázquez, acknowledged the importance of the Spanish painter for the development of nineteenth-century figure painting more generally:

> To see the Prado is to modify one's opinion of the novelty of recent art. Landscape and landscape with figure may be more independent of the past, but figure painting certainly owes much to Velazquez. Whether directly or indirectly, whether consciously or unconsciously, artists have decided after half a century of exploration to follow the path of Velazquez. . . . The sight of Velazquez at Madrid does not make us look upon the works of Regnault, Courbet, Manet, Carolus-Duran, Monet, Henner, Whistler, Degas, Sargent and the rest, as plagiary. It rather gives the man of our century confidence

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> that he is following a path not unlike that trod to such good purpose by the great Spaniard.[50]

In the decade after he painted *El Jaleo*, Sargent's works were compared so often to those of Velázquez that Clarence Cook, invoking the sarcastic wit of James Abbott McNeill Whistler, penned a column about Sargent, which he titled "Why Drag in Velasquez?" Cook concluded his article in exasperation:

> Must it not have occurred to every reader of these remarkable interviews, that when four out of five persons interviewed insist on comparing Mr. Sargent with Velasquez, there must be implied at least, a charge of imitation, that, if sustained, would make short work of any claim on his part to originality or even to style! This perpetual dragging-in of the name of Velasquez whenever Mr. Sargent's work is discussed, is most damaging to his reputation as an artist of first rank. An artist of the first rank can never resemble another so strongly as to call up his name with every fresh picture he paints. Mr. Sargent recalls Velasquez; but whom does Velasquez recall?[51]

Despite Cook's protest, and the more general concern that such idolatry of an Old Master could lead to slavish imitation, critics continued to compare Sargent and Velázquez until the early twentieth century. Philip L. Hale listed Sargent above all other followers in an amusing debate between two imaginary art connoisseurs published as "Velasquez and All the Little Velasquezs [sic]" in 1900. "Mr. Sargent, indeed, reminds one of no one so much as of Velasquez. He has the dash and *verve* of the great Spaniard, and, above all, his *modernité*," asserted the first fictitious critic. "Sargent," rejoined the other,

> of whom you write so glibly, is a great painter, a marvelously good draughtsman, but he gets at everything differently; his point of view is different from that of Velasquez. His work is brilliant, definitive, slightly caricaturing, irritating. Velasquez's is strong, suggestive, character-searching, calm. Then Sargent -- clever as he is -- gets his work a little papery. Velazquez, never.[52]

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Such nuances aside, Sargent was clearly the American painter most closely associated with the Spanish master. With the lessons of Carolus-Duran behind him, Sargent was able to absorb and emulate Velázquez's technique far more completely than earlier American painters who had studied in the Prado.

In the 1880s Velázquez was at the top of the pantheon of Spanish artists, but the popularity of Sargent's second source of artistic inspiration -- Francisco Goya -- was rapidly rising to unprecedented heights.[53] In its stark lighting and physiognomic distortion, *El Jaleo* evokes the visceral drama of such paintings as Goya's *El Tres de Mayo, 1808* (fig. 5.16). Joris-Karl Huysmans noted that the seated figures in the back of Sargent's painting were especially Goyaesque. "In the background," Huysmans wrote, "macabre Spaniards strum guitars and clap. These smaller figures, with twisted mouths and raised hands, are taken directly from Goya."[54] Sargent's satin-clad dancer and Goya's linen-shirted victim, both in white with arms outstretched before a wall, make a compelling, if ironic, comparison.

Sargent's appreciation for Goya's work also extended to the Spanish artist's prints. Sargent sent a portfolio of Goya's etchings to Beckwith upon his return to Paris in 1880, and he counseled Vernon Lee to see as much of Goya as possible during her trip to Spain later in the decade:

> At Madrid there is a little church outside the walls that's decorated by Goya, St. Antonio de la Florida, and some very fine Goyas at the Alameda del Duque d'Osuna, wherever that is, and at the Academy of St. Luke, where they will show you besides pictures the early proofs of his books of etchings.
>
> Don't judge Goya only by the things at the Prado and the Escorial.[55]

In 1895 Sargent again recommended Goya's prints, this time to George Vanderbilt:

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> I am sending you to your New York address a volume of Goya's aquatints, which you said you did not know -- They are very bad proofs such as they seli here at the Accademia [sic] de San Fernando from the worn out original plates but they will introduce you to a very remarkable artist. In case you want more of him I recommend the volumes called Los Proverbios, and Los Desastres de la Guerra, also to be had at the Academy of San Fernando, Calle de Alcala.[56]

Sargent kept copies of Goya's *Tauromaquía*, *Los Proverbios*, and *Los Desastres de la Guerra* in his own library as well.[57]

Goya's depictions of the Spanish populace -- the bullfighters, gypsies, beggars, priests, and *majos* of Spain -- may also have appealed to Sargent for their realistic characterization of a broad sector of society. Cassatt had found a provocative precedent for her work in Goya's *Majas on a Balcony* ten years earlier in 1872, and Sargent was likewise fascinated by the diverse social possibilities of life in Spain. He had begun to experiment with such themes before his trip of 1879-80 in *Gitana* (fig. 5.17), the study of a rugged young woman with olive skin and dark braids. Painting the unidealized features of a common gypsy -- or the flamboyant movements of a gypsy dancer -- allowed the painter certain liberties unacceptable in subjects closer to cosmopolitan society.[58]

The art of Edouard Manet, along with that of Velázquez and Goya, is also responsible for Sargent's conception of *El Jaleo*.[59] Manet had painted *Ballet Espagnole* (fig. 5.18) in 1862, twenty years before Sargent's *El Jaleo*, when the dancers from the Teatro Real de Madrid performed *La Flor de Sevilla* in Paris. Manet invited the group to pose for him in the studio lent him by Alfred Stevens, and he portrayed the dancers and musicians arranged in a frieze across the canvas.[60]

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Sargent adopted this frieze-like format for *El Jaleo*, although he eschewed the awkward space and unfinished surface quality of Manet's Realist technique.

Spanish dancers were among the most popular of *costumbrista* subjects, painted by many of the artists -- both Spanish and foreign -- working for the international art market in the late nineteenth century. Many of these paintings, such as *Bohemia bailando en un jardín, en Granada* by Mariano Fortuny (fig. 3.27) or *Fiesta en Sevilla* by Domingo Muñoz Cuesta (fig. 5.19), featured a single female dancer performing before an audience of musicians and friends.[61] Two of them, *The Vito Dance at Seville* by Jules Worms (fig. 5.20) and *Dancing the Jaleo in the Casa de Pilatos, Seville* by Raimundo Madrazo (fig. 5.21) had been purchased by American collectors Henry C. Gibson and Henry Hilton, respectively, in the decade before Sargent painted *El Jaleo*. Sargent's subject, although more sensational than these more picturesque examples, derives from this context.

The theatricality of *El Jaleo*, its stage-like setting and footlight illumination, suggest dramatic sources as well as visual ones, and Georges Bizet's *Carmen*, which premiered at the Opéra-Comique on March 3, 1875, while Sargent was studying in Carolus-Duran's studio, should also be considered a source for the painting.[62] The libretto, derived from the 1847 novella by Prosper Mérimée, concerned a beautiful young gypsy named Carmen who worked in Seville at the tobacco factory. Carmen was voluptuous, passionate, beguiling, and deceitful, and she eventually met her end at the hands of a jilted lover. French audiences were scandalized by the story; they found Carmen's actions immoral and her on-stage murder an affront to the traditions

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of the Opéra-Comique. Extensive publicity led to performances in greater Europe and the United States, but after its close in Paris, *Carmen* was not performed again in the French capital until 1883.[63]

The creators of the opera evoked many aspects of traditional Spanish culture. Bizet, who never actually visited the peninsula, incorporated fragments of both Spanish and Spanish-American music into his score, and his collaborators incorporated traditional flamenco movements into the dance scenes. Costumes and sets were equally picturesque, and an engraving depicting the second act of the opera (fig. 5.22), reproduced in the French periodical *L'Illustration*, might easily be mistaken for a reproduction of one of the many paintings portraying Spanish dancers then in the possession of cosmopolitan collectors. *El Jaleo* was immediately purchased by just such a man, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston, who arranged with the dealer William Schaus to have it shipped to him in the United States after the close of the Salon.[64] Before arriving in Boston, the painting was shown at the London Fine Arts Society, and then in a brief exhibition at the Schaus Gallery in New York, from October 7 to October 17, 1882. Bizet's *Carmen* was also performed in New York that autumn,[65] and although critics did not make direct comparisons between the opera and the painting, the manner in which they were described bears an intriguing similarity.

New York audiences had first seen *Carmen* in 1878, with Minnie Hauk performing the title role at the Academy of Music. According to the critic for the *New York Times*, the action of the opera was "almost offensive in its combined

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puerility and brutality," and the heroine's shameless behavior aroused little sympathy.[66] However, the music and performances were reviewed more favorably, and later critics made no mention of the plot.[67] *El Jaleo* received a similarly mixed reaction. "The subject is destitute of attraction . . . . and the work is sketchy in execution," reported *The Art Journal*, but "its power lies in the profoundness of the impression it gives of the scene."[68] The writer for *The Critic* was similarly ambivalent, declining to approve either the subject or the manner in which is was painted:

> The principal figure in the picture is a dancer, a coarse and hardened woman, posed in a most ungainly attitude, in the glare of the footlights on the narrow stage of some cheap Spanish theatre. . . . The painting is slovenly and the drawing wretched. Still, the very rashness of the attempt makes the picture interesting; and after looking at it for a while, one begins in spite of one's self to enjoy the novel and exquisite range of grays and flesh-tints, and the subtle appreciation of values and of certain curiosities of light and shadow which, if nothing else, will yet gain Mr. Sargent a place among the modern masters of painting.[69]

As with Bizet's *Carmen*, critics of Sargent's *El Jaleo* seemed both attracted and repelled by the Realism of the performance.[70]

Ambivalence about *El Jaleo* quickly turned to whole-hearted acclaim, and many artists sought to emulate Sargent's success, some with literal illustrations of the opera. Beckwith showed a watercolor of the heroine at the exhibition of the American Watercolor Society of 1882, and Ralph Curtis (1854-1922), Sargent's cousin and colleague in Carolus-Duran's studio, spent several months in Andalusia in order to paint a work entitled *Carmen Arrested at the Tobacco Factory* (1888; location unknown), which he exhibited at the Salon of 1888.[71] Curtis described his

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painting while he was at work in Seville: "I am doing my *battle horse* at the Fabrica de Cigarillas -- Carmen's arrest after killing a gipsy girl. You remember of course that splendid page in Mérimée's delicious story from which Bizet took his libretto."[72] Curtis selected several *cigarreras* to model for his canvas, and he joked about his "power to fascinate their vanity by choosing a few (to perpetuate!)" the infamous heroine.[73]

Following Sargent more closely, others avoided direct reference to the opera, allowing Carmen's notoriety to subtly color their images of Spanish women dancing, singing, and playing the guitar. While painting Carmen's arrest, Curtis also created a variation on Sargent's *El Jaleo*, which he described to their mutual friend Isabella Stewart Gardner: "I am doing a Flamenco picture as well as my *Carmen*. It is much more terre à terre than John Sargent's 'page macabre.' I have the audience too, who is to me half the fun. It is realistic to the last paint! and delights the profane sitters."[74] In Seville Curtis attended numerous musical performances, which he enjoyed (but also mocked) for their passion and unrestrained expression of emotion. He told Mrs. Gardner:

> I have not "moved in the first circles" here but have seen many *dark* ones -- especially under the eyes! I go every night to the Gitana "Flamenco" dancing halls & am getting a finished connoisseur of El Jaleo, Tango, Malagueñas, etc. . . . Their songs are Wagnerian in wildness & sensuality & words grand in poetic naiveté as Hugo. . . . Last night a Gitana with the glare of a tigress after a frantic Jaleo, and throwing herself on a sofa with a passion & *emportement* which the divine Sarah would be envious of, threw her arms in the air & with clenched fists & teeth, bawled "Great God above! Oh Malheur!" (repeated twice with a furious accent of guitars and chorus of hands and feet marking time) "Oh how immense is my suffering / How terrible is my misfortune!" (ting ling a ling a ling, twang twang twang in 5 - 3 time). "I am twenty-two years old / And so help me God, I haven't known a man!!"[75]

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Such a bold statement of desire, like the passion of Carmen, would have been inappropriate in the cosmopolitan environment inhabited by Curtis, Gardner, and Sargent. The difference of Spanish culture from their own experience made such songs and actions seem alluring and exotic.

Charles Sprague Pearce (1851-1914), another painter who created a variation on *El Jaleo* for the Salon of 1883, studied with Bonnat from 1873 to 1876.[76] *Prelude!* (fig. 5.23) was executed entirely in Paris, although Pearce had probably visited Spain during the 1870s on one of his several winter trips to Egypt and North Africa. Like the model for the dancing figure in *El Jaleo*, the model for *Prelude!* was French, Pearce's student and eventually wife, Louise Catherine Bonjean.[77] In *Prelude!* Pearce displayed his appreciation for Velázquez in the dark palette and rich handling of the striped black skirt. He also revealed his close study of *El Jaleo* in the red highlights, the exaggerated length of the model's slender fingers, and the musical subject.

The idealization of *Prelude!*, a quality absent in Sargent's canvas, led critics to embrace the painting without the ambivalence they had expressed a year earlier about *El Jaleo*. William C. Brownell wrote for *The Magazine of Art*:

> Of sentiment pure and simple Mr. Charles Sprague Pearce, of Boston, contributed enough and of an excellent enough quality to atone for any lack of the same in the American contingent. His 'Prelude,' an engaging young lady with black hair, a pale and melancholy face, a brilliant and solidly painted red shawl, and a guitar which she was touching with evident discrimination, was a very pretty study indeed, whose sentiment was so frank, that is so unadulterated with sentimentality, that to call it a 'study' at all seems a little like begrudging its just tithe of praise.[78]

The Art Amateur, alluding to the painting's genesis from a well-known picturesque

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tradition, voiced a similar response:

> There was certainly nothing very novel in the idea of 'The Prelude' . . . but the vigor of the painting and the strength and refinement of the coloring testified to the fact that, old as the subjects were, they were freshly conceived by the painter. The profile of the Andalusian girl is dreamy, melancholy, and full of the spirit of music.[79]

Placing his model in a quiet, introspective, and passive pose, Pearce avoided the noisy atmosphere and violent gestures that made Sargent's *El Jaleo* so difficult to accept.

While Carmen was associated with music and dance, she was also identified with the *cigarrera*, another popular Sevillian type from the *costumbrista* tradition. The *cigarrera* worked long hours in the *fábrica de tabacos* and received low wages for her labor, but her hardship (and the violence of several nineteenth-century strikes that sought to improve working conditions) were rarely portrayed in contemporary prints or photographs (figs. 5.24 and 5.25).[80] The women usually entered the factory at a young age, then worked their way up to the position of *cigarreras*, and were paid by the quantity of cigars or cigarettes they rolled.

Charles Davillier and Gustave Doré created the best-known verbal and visual descriptions of these women (fig. 5.26) after their visit to the factory in 1861. Davillier wrote:

> Entering a long gallery, our ears were assailed by a murmur like the sound of ten thousand swarms of bees. Here we found numerous workers, whose hands were employed in rolling cigars with an activity only surpassed by the ceaseless clamor of their voices. As we passed from place to place the busy tongues were arrested for an instant, but the whisperings soon commenced again with redoubled vigor.[81]

Scribner's Monthly reprinted both the text and Doré's illustration in 1875, with a

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patronizing addendum designed to emphasize Spain's difference and flatter by comparison mechanical expertise in America:

> While the work of cigar-making is reduced to a system, this description shows that the Spaniards have not yet learned the advantages of bringing in machinery to aid them in the production of cigars. Everywhere through the country one constantly comes upon the rudest methods of performing the simplest operations.[82]

Eakins had considered the *cigarrera* a suitably picturesque subject for painting, and he had visited the factory in 1869 on his second day in Seville. His description of the *cigarreras*, closely related to Doré's drawing, had also referred to the mothers with babies and the beauty of the young girls:

> I went . . . to the tobacco factory where there are 5000 women Spanish & gypsies employed making segars & sigarettes. They bring their cradle & babies & children & dinner with them. I never saw so much tobacco in my life. Some of the little girls were very beautiful & little things of 10 years old made the segars & sigarettes & packed tobacco as fast as the grown women.[83]

Eakins never actually painted the scene, but Walter Gay (1856-1937), who like Eakins had studied in Paris with Léon Bonnat, did.[84] Gay first traveled to Spain in 1878 with Alfred Quinton Collins (1855-1903).[85] The two copied Velázquez in the Prado and then continued south to Andalusia.[86] During the early 1880s, Gay was friendly with both Sargent and Pearce; he met Sargent in Bonnat's *atelier,* and he kept a studio at 75, Boulevard de Clichy with Pearce and several other Americans. Gay probably returned to Spain after his trip of 1878, for he sent *Las Cigarreras* (fig. 5.27) to the Salon of 1894 and a variation on the subject, *La fabrique de tabac à Seville* (fig. 5.28), to the Salon of 1895.[87] The first of these paintings follows Davillier's drawing quite closely and includes a woman with a cradle in the middle

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ground of the picture. American paintings were rarely exhibited in Spain[88] and almost never discussed by the Spanish press, but *La Ilustración española y americana* reproduced Gay's 1894 work in January 1895 with the following commentary:

> It is not often that we find foreigners translating Spanish types and scenes well, and for this reason the painting by Gay, which was so well received at the exhibition at the Champs-Elysées in Paris last year, seems worthy of the attention of our readers. The faces, the clothing, and the atmosphere are typically Spanish, without exaggeration or mannerism, and are a perfect portrait of this interesting and picturesque social class, which is native to Spain and may not be found in any other European nation.[89]

Gay's variation of 1895 also praised by *La Ilustración española y americana* for its careful avoidance of the "ridiculous fantasies" so often found in foreign paintings of Spanish subjects.[90] Comparison of the attitudes of *Scribner's* and *La Ilustración española y americana* is illuminating; although the Spanish periodical expressed pride in its national types, the American press criticized those types for their lack of sophistication. Earlier manifestations of these viewpoints had appeared in criticism of *costumbrista* subjects painted by Colman, Hall, Cassatt, and other American artists.

Gay's variations on the Carmen theme seems less related to Sargent's famous painting than do the works of William Turner Dannat (1853-1929), who associated himself with Spanish subject matter more closely than any other American artist of the early 1880s. Dannat had spent several years at the academies of Florence and Munich -- and he had copied Velázquez in the Prado, where he met Gay and Collins -- before moving to Paris

in 1879.[91] There he studied with Carolus-Duran, in whose studio he probably came to know Sargent, and with the Hungarian artist Mihály Munkácsy. Dannat developed

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a ruggedly naturalistic style marked by a dark palette and vigorous brushwork, and he began to apply this technique to a series of Spanish subjects in 1882. *Après la messe* (1882; location unknown), which he submitted to the Salon of that year, was notable for its unflinching portrayal of the Spanish peasantry; *The Art Interchange* carried a summary of its appearance:

> As a description of real life and individual types [the painting] is extremely vivid. A priest sits at a table reading aloud from a paper; and the group of listeners is composed of rough Spanish peasants, who are the hardest, toughest, driest looking lot of folks in the world. Their hides are the color of well-seasoned mahogany; they have fathomless wrinkles, and their clothes are a mass of rags.[92]

The paintings that followed were equally unidealized. *Contrebandier aragonais* (fig. 5.29), which earned Dannat a third-class medal at the Salon of 1883, took as its theme the Spanish smuggler. Dressed in the native costume of Aragon in northeastern Spain, the figure stands in a sparsely finished room drinking from an earthenware *porrón* held high above his head. Both this picturesque manner of consuming liquids and the theme of the smuggler were found in other images of Spanish life; Manet had cut *Le Buveur d'eau* (1862; Art Institute of Chicago) from a larger canvas depicting a group of Spanish gypsies, and Doré illustrated both a man drinking from the *porrón* and a group of smugglers in Davillier's *Voyage en Espagne* (figs. 5.30 and 5.31).[93] Smuggling was usually associated with the surreptitious transportation of goods from the free port of Gibraltar into southern Spain, but Aragon's mountainous border with France prompted a certain amount of illicit activity in this region as well.

Dannat's evocation of the Aragonese people, rather than the Andalusian,

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differentiates his work from Sargent's, and the reasons for his focus on this province are undoubtedly two-fold. Aragon was noted for the peculiar dress of its peasantry. A visitor of 1882 described the men's clothing as unlike anything he had ever seen:

> The men as a rule wear no hats, but have instead a coloured handkerchief wound round the head, leaving the top quite bare. They wear knee-breeches slashed down the sides, and tied by strings below the knee, and an open waistcoat. Round the waist they wind a wide sash, which is made to act as the receptacle for articles of various kinds. Here are stowed away pipes, tobacco, money, provisions, and other odds and ends -- the folds of the sash keeping everying as safe as a pocket. . . . On their feet they wear a kind of sandal.[94]

Aragon was also the birthplace of Francisco Goya, and it was in the capital city of Saragossa that Goya received his first training and an important early commission. Dannat's appreciation for Goya's Realism inspired him later in his career to purchase several portraits by the Spaniard, among them *El Conde de Miranda* (1774; Museo Lázaro Goldiano, Madrid), *Andrés Peral* (1798; National Gallery of Art, London), and *Don Pedro, Duque de Osuna* (1785; The Frick Collection, New York).[95] Sargent's own references to Goya, and the success of his *El Jaleo* in 1882, undoubtedly paved the way for Dannat's painting; the French government bought *Contrebandier Aragonais* for its national collection of art after its exhibition in 1883.

For the Salon of 1884 Dannat created a direct variation on Sargent's acclaimed canvas. *The Quartette* (fig. 5.32) depicts four Spaniards dressed again in the distinctive Aragonese costume performing the traditional music of their region. Three of the Spaniards are seated on a low bench -- the guitar player with his back to the audience -- and the fourth leans against a blank wall as he plays the mandolin. Viewers at the Salon immediately compared *The Quartette* to *El Jaleo*, and William

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C. Brownell criticized both paintings for their emphasis on picturesque subject matter over artistic effect:

> There is almost no composition in the picture, hardly any convergence even of line or mass. It is, in fact, picturesque rather than pictorial, as Spanish pictures by foreign painters are apt to be -- as Sargent's "El Jaleo," for example, emphatically was. It comes, of course, from the circumstance that to a foreigner the natural picturesqueness of Spanish material seems so attractive that he makes no attempt to deal with it pictorially; the endeavour to reproduce it interests him sufficiently.[96]

Following Sargent's example, Dannat arranged to place the painting on exhibition in the New York gallery of William Schaus. There the two paintings were compared even more directly by the critic for *The Art Amateur*:

> At Schaus's is 'The Quartet,' the imposing canvas of W. T. Dannat, which reminds one at once of the picture by J. S. Sargent, which a year ago held the same position in the same gallery. Like that, it is a scene in a Spanish tavern, and represents itinerant musicians, except that in Dannat's picture they are the sole actors, while in Sargent's they were merely incidental to the principal figure -- a dancing woman. It is painted in the same sober tone, the highest note being struck by the bows of bright red ribbon on the skirt of the woman's dress, as in Sargent's picture the highest point of color was reached in the orange placed upon a chair.[97]

Dannat's painting was a success, and two years later it was accepted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art as a gift from the artist's wife.

Viewers in both New York and Paris invoked the usual coterie of Spanish precursors when discussing *The Quartette*. Clarence Cook wrote a lengthy review of the piece, expressly declining to discuss Velázquez's importance to Dannat's development, and thereby emphasizing it. "We are not going to throw Velasquez at Mr. Dannat's head, although Velasquez is just now the god of our best young artists' idolatry," declared Cook in *The Studio*. The woman, her hair piled atop her head and

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held in place with a large Spanish comb, was called "the well-known Madrazo type," referring to the *costumbrista majas* by Raimundo Madrazo that were then popular.[98] Both Goya and Ribera might as easily have been suggested; the gaping-mouthed singer at left is a modified recollection of the grotesquely distorted characters found in Goya's paintings and prints, and his leathery skin and deeply-etched wrinkles suggest the naturalism of Ribera's peasants.

With his next major Spanish canvas, *Sacristy in Aragon* (fig. 5.33), Dannat began moving away from such Realism toward a more refined, Whistlerian approach. Theodore Child called this painting "a work of singular and penetrating distinction, which arrests the eye by its simplicity, charms by the verity and purity of its tone, and astonishes by the sureness and directness of its execution." He continued to discuss the painting in terms that further suggest Dannat's move toward aestheticism:

> There is no subject beyond the arabesque of the composition. In a long room with bare gray walls, relieved only by a white poster and another of pale gray green, a portly, red-faced priest is sitting on a long bench with his bands folded over his black robe. Parallel with the bench stands a long table, and beside the priest, with one elbow resting on it, is a Spanish boy in white Aragonese costume bound with black. . . . The aspect of this luminous gray composition is full of distinction, and the arrangement of the long parallel lines that form its basis is remarkable. You might think such lines would seem monotonous and still. No; they are charming. You might think the predominating gray tones of the picture darkening into black would make it cold and uninteresting. No; the grays are luminous, and full of color of the most delicate kind, rich, although neutral, powerful, although containing few visible elements of force.[99]

Focusing exclusively on the painting's tone and composition, Child almost completely ignored the Spanish subject and its participation in the tradition of clerical painting.[100] Jehan-Georges Vibert, who painted both Spanish and clerical subjects,

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often depicted overweight members of the clergy in comic and unsavory situations, and Dannat's rotund, self-satisfied, and inactive priest subtly suggests more than one of the seven deadly sin. George Hall had contributed to this genre of painting almost twenty years earlier with his own caricatures of priests (see fig. 2.18). Although Americans created such mockeries less frequently than their French colleagues did, the anticlerical undertone of *Sacristy in Aragon* should not be overlooked.[101]

Dannat returned to the inspiration of Sargent's *El Jaleo* for one of his last Spanish subject paintings, *Spanish Women* (fig. 5.34), which was shown at the Munich Exhibition in 1892 and the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. As in *The Quartette*, Dannat focused in this canvas on the line of performers behind Sargent's dancer. The rouged and smiling faces in *Spanish Women* recall especially the two women at the far right of Sargent's canvas, and one critic revived the memory of Bizet's opera in his description of its theme: "Dannat could depict a Carmen, without doubt, with all the latent heartless cruelty of the tropical coquette in her features, and his portrayal would commend itself to the Sevillians."[102] After Bizet's production of *Carmen* and Sargent's creation of *El Jaleo*, viewers invariably saw figures such as Dannat's *Spanish Women* as the Spanish personification of a threatening *femme fatale*.

The popularity of *El Jaleo* brought fame to its creator, adaptations of the theme by other artists, and greater familiarity with Sargent's artistic influences. Sargent carried the lessons of Velázquez with him throughout his life, and in the several years after his trip, he incorporated specific aspects of Velázquez's work into

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his own canvases. *Las Meninas* (fig. 5.35), a painting which Sargent copied at the Prado (ca. 1879; Ormond Family Collection), proved one of the most durable sources of inspiration. Sargent adapted the light and space of this painting to views of Venice such as *Venetian Interior* (fig. 5.36), and to portraits such as *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* (fig. 5.37).[103] He returned to Spain to gather material for his murals in the Boston Public Library in 1895, to visit Santiago de Compostela and northern Portugal in 1903, Majorca in 1908, and Granada in 1912. These later visits provided Sargent with a broader familiarity with the Spanish peninsula and additional material for the making of art, but it was the trip of 1879 that inspired the production of *El Jaleo*, a work with lasting impact on the American view of Spain.

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1. Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain*, (1874; trans. J. Thomson, New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1876), p. 315.

2. Sargent's *El Jaleo* received extensive attention from Mary Crawford Volk in *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo* (exh. cat., Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992). Volk's essay provides the most important contextual treatment of Sargent's Spanish painting. Katherine Coburn Nahum provided a psychologically-based interpretation of the painting (and of Sargent's interest in Velázquez more generally) in the third chapter of "The Importance of Velázquez to Goya, Manet and Sargent" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1993). Other good discussions of the painting are found in Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Carter Ratcliff, *John Singer Sargent* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982); and Trevor Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994).

3. FitzWilliam Sargent to George Bemis, Gibraltar, April 11, 1868, George Bemis Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston: "We entered Spain from the side of Perpignan & Barcelona, and have worked our way along leisurely through Tarragona, Valencia, Cordova, Seville & Cadiz to this Rock where we have been spending a week almost & are now waiting for the east wind to subside, and for a steamer to take us on to Malaga. From Malaga we propose going to Granada & then to Madrid, Burgos &c &c to Biarritz, so in to the Pyrenees for the summer."

4. J. Alden Weir to his parents, Paris, December 5, 1876, in Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 114.

5. On Mary Newbold Sargent's influence of her son, see Kathleen Butler, "Tradition and Discovery: The Watercolors of John Singer Sargent" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1994), pp. 13-8.

6. J. Alden Weir to his parents, Paris, October 4, 1874, in Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir*, p. 50.

7. On Carolus-Duran's teaching methods, see H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), pp. 189-98. Also see "Charles-Emile Auguste Durand, Carolus-Duran," in Gabriel Paul Weisberg and Petra ten-Doescchate Chu, *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing, 1830-1900* (exh. cat., Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 279-80.

8. See Weinberg, *Lure of Paris*, p. 191.

9. The painting also owes its conception to Titian's *Man with the Glove* (ca. 1520; Musée du Louvre, Paris) and Edouard Manet's *The Balcony* (fig. 4.9). See

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Weinberg, *Lure of Paris*, p. 193.

10. Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 28.

11. Charteris, *John Sargent*, p. 49.

12. Charteris claims that there were German, French, and English artists working on Capri when Sargent arrived, but he does not identify Daux or Bach among them. See Charteris, *John Sargent*, p. 48.

13. Bach exhibited *Dans le chemin de la Grande-Marine, à Capri*, Daux exhibited *Rosina*, and Sargent exhibited *Dans les oliviers, à Capri* at the Salon of 1879. Sargent used Rosina Ferrara as the model for a number of works, including the dancing figure on the rooftop of *Capri* (1878; The Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Ala.).

14. Emily Sargent to Violet Paget, Chamonix, August 9, 1879, Emily Sargent Papers, Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby College, Waterville, Maine: "John hopes to cross over to Africa from Spain, and would like Mamma and me to join him for a month at Algiers which would be delightful if we could manage it. We should enjoy a trip there immensely, especially were John there, but we are not at all decided yet."

15. According to the copyist registers at the Prado, Sargent signed for permit #630 on October 14, 1879. He gave his address as Salud 13. The subjects that he intended to copy and the duration of his stay are not given. *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Box L-34, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid. See also Juan J. Luna, "John Singer Sargent y el Museo del Prado," *Historia 16* 13 (June 1988), pp. 100-7.

Robert Hinckley, another student in Carolus-Duran's studio, also went to Spain in 1879, and he signed the Prado copyist registers a month earlier, on September 9, 1879. It is not known whether the visits of Hinckley and Sargent overlapped. See *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Box L-34, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

16. The exact number of copies made by Sargent at the Prado in 1879 is unknown. Of the more than twenty-four copies that are dated 1879, at least thirteen are copies of Velázquez. Sargent also signed the Prado registers on July 26 and July 30, 1895 to copy El Greco, Titian, and Tintoretto and again on June 12, 1903 to copy Velázquez. Several of these copies may therefore come from Sargent's later trips to Spain. A list of Sargent's copies was provided by the John Singer Sargent Catalogue Raisonné, a project sponsored by Richard Ormond in London and Warren Adelson of the Coe Kerr Gallery in New York.

17. Hamilton Minchin, "Some Early Recollections of Sargent," *The Contemporary Review* 127 (June 1925), pp. 737-8.

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18. The *Sargent Scrapbook* (undated; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.130.154a-pp) contains drawings, photographs, and clippings that were collected by the artist from throughout his career, but the vast majority of the material seems to come from the late 1870s and early 1880s. The scrapbook was given to the Museum in 1950 by Sargent's sister Violet Ormond.

19. Laurent avidly marketed his prints in France and England as well as in Spain, and Sargent might alternatively have bought the prints at Laurent's store in Paris either before or after his trip to Spain. See Lee Fontanella, *Photography in Spain in the Nineteenth Century* (exh. cat., San Francisco: Fraenkel Gallery, 1984), pp. 22-3.

20. Correspondence with the author, November 12, 1993. Ellis is working on an article about copyists in the Prado.

21. Later in his career, Sargent sometimes depended on photographs for the creation of his watercolors. See Van Deren Coke, "Camera and Canvas," *Art in America* 49 (1961), p. 73.

22. Beckwith had met Sargent as a fellow student in Carolus-Duran's studio. See the James Carroll Beckwith Diary, 1880, National Academy of Design, New York. These diaries were recently microfilmed and are now available as part of the James Carroll Beckwith Papers at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reels 4798-9.

23. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, Madrid, July 2, 1880, National Academy of Design, New York: "This evening I have been to La Bolsa after Sargent's directions. Had some difficulty in finding it but after falling into the Circus by mistake I struck the right place at last."

24. Beckwith patronized the Principe Alfonso, the Apollo, the Jardines del Buen Retiro, the Alhambra, and La Bolsa, among other theaters. Joseph Thouron (1851-1915) was working in Madrid at the same time as Beckwith.

25. John Singer Sargent to Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), London, ca. 1889, John Singer Sargent Papers, Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby College, Waterville, Maine. A page of this fascinating letter, which details Sargent's observations about Spain and Tangier, is unfortunately missing.

26. A photograph of Santa Maria la Blanca is preserved in the *Sargent Scrapbook* (undated; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), again suggesting Sargent's reliance on photographic source material.

27. Eight panels of similar dimensions as *Interior of Santa Maria la Blanca* are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. They include *The Balcony, Spain*; *A Spanish Madonna*; and *Spanish Landscape*, all probably painted in Spain; and *White*

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Walls in Sunlight, Morocco; *Open Doorway, Morocco*; *Courtyard, Tetuan, Morocco*; *Moorish Buildings on a Cloudy Day*; and *Moorish Buildings in Sunlight*, painted in North Africa.

28. John Singer Sargent to Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), London, ca. 1889, John Singer Sargent Papers, Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby College, Waterville, Maine. In the late 1890s, Sargent wrote to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, telling him to visit exactly the same places. John Singer Sargent to August Saint-Gaudens, London, February 18, [1899], Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., Reel 12: "And if you go to Toledo, which not being a damned fool I suppose you will, mind you see the pictures by El Greco at Sto Tome, in the sacristy of the cathedral, at the Museum, and wherever else you hear of any -- and also the splendid tomb of Cardinal Tavera in the 'Hospital de Afuera.'"

Sargent returned to Toledo during a trip of 1902, and at that time he probably painted the watercolor called *Tomb at Toledo* (ca. 1902, location unknown). It was first exhibited at the Carfax Gallery, London in May 1903, and it was deaccessioned by the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., in 1957. This work depicts the *Tomb of the Cardinal Juan de Tavera*, by Alonso Berruguete in the Hospital de Afuera, outside the walls of Toledo. The *Sargent Scrapbook* (undated; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) contains a photograph of the *Sepulcro del Cardenal Tavera* as well as of the *Statuette de St. François*, then attributed to Alonso Cano.

29. On the revival of interest in El Greco during the nineteenth century, see José Alvarez Lopera, *De Ceán a Cossío: La Fortuna crítica del Greco en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1987). American interest followed in the early twentieth century. See also Roger Kimball, "Rediscovering El Greco: An Early 20th-century Quest Prompts a Change of Heart," *Arts and Antiques* 17 (November 1994), pp. 45-6. Sargent registered to copy El Greco's work in the Prado on July 26, 1895. *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, 1887-1895, Box L-3, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

30. Sargent also painted several watercolors during the 1879 trip, including *A Moorish Patio* (ca. 1879; Trustees of the British Museum, London) and *Architectural Sketch* (ca. 1879; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), both of which depict architectural details in the Patio de los Leones. *The Alhambra Vase* (ca. 1879, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.) was also painted at this time. A photograph of the Alhambra Vase is preserved in the *Sargent Scrapbook* (undated; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

31. The first exhibition of Sargent's *Court of the Myrtles* (as well as *Court of the Lions*) occurred in 1899 at Copley Hall in Boston. See *Catalogue of Paintings and Sketches by John S. Sargent* (exh. cat., Boston: Copley Hall, 1899), cat. nos. 88 and 89.

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32. Support for this idea may be found in a second group of photographs preserved in the *Sargent Scrapbook* (undated; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). These photographs by Jean Laurent portray various spaces in the Alhambra such as the Patio de los Leones, the Sala de los Abencerrajes, and the gardens of the Generalife. Encompassing both general views and architectural details, they record the decorative *azulejos* and intricate stucco-work that artists would have needed to provide the requisite authenticity to large-scale exhibition paintings. Following the example of their teacher Gérôme, orientalists such as Moore and Weeks undoubtedly used such aids for the details of their paintings. Such photographs would have served Sargent, as well, had he decided to set a large painting in the Alhambra.

33. John Singer Sargent to Ben Castillo, Tangier, January 4, 1880, in Charteris, *John Sargent*, p. 51.

34. John Singer Sargent to Ben Castillo, Tangier, January 4, 1880, in Charteris, *John Sargent*, p. 50: "We have rented a little Moorish house (which we don't yet know from any other house in the town, the little white tortuous streets are so exactly alike) and we expect to enjoy a month or two in it very much. The patio open to the sky affords a studio light, and has the horseshoe arches arabesques, tiles, and other traditional Moorish ornaments."

35. Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent*, p. 21. Vernon Lee also remarked upon the puritanical side of Sargent's personality. See "J.S.S.: In Memoriam," in Charteris, *John Sargent*, p. 235-6.

36. Emily Sargent to Violet Paget, Nice, March 18, 1880, Emily Sargent Papers, Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

37. A detailed discussion of the painting may be found in Margaret C. Conrads, *American Paintings and Sculpture at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), pp. 172-7.

38. Washington Irving, *The Alhambra* (1832, 1st illus. ed., 1851; reprint, New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1982), p. 25.

39. Davillier, *Spain*, pp. 300-25.

40. Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams were in Seville between November 24 and December 2, 1879. See Ward Thoron, ed., *The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883* (1936; reprint, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1937), pp. 211-5, 438.

41. Sargent recommended visiting the tobacco factory to Vernon Lee in the late 1880s and both the tobacco factory and La Triana, Seville's gipsy quarter, to Julie Heyneman in the late 1890s. John Singer Sargent to Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), ca. 1889, John Singer Sargent Papers, Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby

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College, Waterville, Maine and John Singer Sargent to Julie Heyneman, late 1890s, Julie Heyneman Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

42. John Singer Sargent to Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), Paris, July 9, 1880, in Richard Ormond, "John Singer Sargent and Vernon Lee," *Colby Library Quarterly* 9 (September 1970), p. 163. Sargent also recorded the words to some of these songs on sketches that may have been made at this time (both undated; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.). However, Volk correctly noted that Sargent's interest in Spanish music extended throughout his life, and these sketches may come from one of his later trips to Spain. See Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 134.

43. Sargent's photogravures include several Spanish dancers, a woman playing cards, and a crucifixion. See Alma Strettel, trans., *Spanish & Italian Folk-Songs* (London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1887).

44. The subject of the gypsy in French painting was explored by Marilyn R. Brown, *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985). Brown argued that avant-garde artists, feeling unappreciated by society, identified with the marginalized position of the gypsy.

45. Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 192.

46. Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, pp. 130-97. See also Warren Adelson and Elizabeth Oustinoff, "Sargent's *Spanish Dancer*: A Discovery," *Antiques* 141 (March 1992), pp. 460-71 and Richard Ormond, "Sargent's *El Jaleo*," *Fenway Court* (1970), pp. 2-18.

47. These precedents were identified by critics in both France and the United States. The critic for the *New York Times* succinctly explained: "Owing to [Sargent's] leaning toward the Spaniards -- Velasquez, Goya, Fortuny -- he may be classed to speak very generally indeed among the impressionists, and the thickness of his shadows, the heaviness of his draperies, the boldness of light and shade, the animation of his chief figure, increase the affiliation." "Sargent's 'El Jaleo' at the Schaus Gallery," *New York Times*, October 13, 1882, p. 5.

48. See Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, pp. 52-61.

49. "The Salon from an Englishman's Point of View," *The Art Journal* 44 (1882), p. 217.

50. R. A. M. Stevenson, *Velazquez* (1895; rev. and ann. ed., London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1962), p. 142 and 150.

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51. [Clarence Cook], "Why Drag in Velasquez?" *The Studio*, n.s. 6 (May 16, 1891), p. 234. Whistler originally coined the phrase "Why Drag in Velasquez?" in sarcastic response to an admirer who praised him with the following words: "Oh Mr. Whistler! I think you are the greatest of artists: you are second only to Velasquez!"

52. Philip L. Hale, "Velasquez and All the Little Velasquezs [sic]," *Criterion* 1 (November 1900), p. 15.

53. Volk emphasized the importance of Goya's work for Sargent in *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, pp. 41-4 and 62-3.

54. Joris-Karl Huysmans, in Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 41.

55. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, May 14, 1880, National Academy of Design, New York and John Singer Sargent to Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), London, ca. 1888-9, John Singer Sargent Papers, Special Collections, Miller Library, Colby College, Waterville, Maine. A copy by Sargent of the Goya murals in San Antonio de la Florida is recorded by the John Singer Sargent Catalogue Raisonné.

56. John Singer Sargent to George Vanderbilt, Madrid, July 21, 1895, Biltmore Estate Archival Collection, Asheville, North Carolina, in Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 42.

57. These volumes were sold after Sargent's death at the sale of his library. See Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 42, n. 66, and n. 71.

58. Sargent crossed the thin line of acceptability two years later with his portrait of *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)* (1884; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), the American-born wife of a French banker. Clearly derived from his study of both Velázquez and Goya (note the Goyaesque distortion of the sitter's right arm, which suggests the twisting movements of flamenco dancing), the exoticism of the subject was deemed an affront to French society. See Doreen Bolger Burke, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 3 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 229-35; Trevor J. Fairbrother, "The Shock of John Singer Sargent's 'Madame Gautreau,'" *Arts Magazine* 55 (January 1981), pp. 90-7; and Albert Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," in Patricia Hills, et al., *John Singer Sargent* (exh. cat., New York: Whitney Museum of American Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986), pp. 86-96.

59. Sargent's awareness of Manet's work may have come through Carolus-Duran, who was a friend of the Frenchman. See Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, pp. 46-7.

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60. See Françoise Cachin et al., *Manet, 1832-1883* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), pp. 144-5.

61. Volk includes Regnault's *Salome* (1870; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Gérôme's *L'Almée* (fig. 3.28); and Degas's *L'Etoile* (1876-7; Musée d'Orsay, Paris) in her list of contemporary dance images that may have inspired Sargent. See Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, pp. 47-52. Sargent expressed his admiration for Degas's painting by copying it in pencil in 1877, when it was exhibited at the third Impressionist exhibition. Sargent's copy is in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.

62. A number of operas had been set in Spain before Bizet's *Carmen*, including Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro* (1786) and *Don Giovanni* (1787), and Rossini's *Barber of Seville* (1816). See Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Introduction," in Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 15.

63. The title role was originally performed by Marie Galli-Marié. See "Georges Bizet," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 2 (London: MacMillan Publishers Limited, 1980), pp. 749-63. See also Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, pp. 63-7.

64. Coolidge was apparently compiling a collection of paintings, and he also bought unidentified paintings by Gérôme, Madrazo, and Henner from the same Salon. See Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo*, p. 104, n. 155.

65. The first performance of *Carmen* during the 1882 season occurred on December 9, 1882, seven weeks after the exhibition of *El Jaleo*. This gap in time may account for the absence of direct comparisons between the two works.

66. "Record of Amusements: 'Carmen' at the Academy," *New York Times*, October 24, 1878, p. 5.

67. See "The Italian Opera," *New York Times*, December 10, 1882, p. 8 for a later review of the opera.

68. "Art Notes," *The Art Journal* 8 (November 1882), p. 350.

69. "Mr. Sargent's 'El Jaleo,'" *The Critic* 2 (October 21, 1882), p. 286. Another review may be found in "Sargent's New Picture," *New York World*, October 12, 1882, p. 5.

70. Henry James had a similar reaction: "'El Jaleo' sins, in my opinion, in the direction of ugliness, and, independently of the fact that the heroine is circling round incommoded by her petticoats, has a want of serenity." James continued by comparing the noise and activity of *El Jaleo* to the quiet and passivity of Sargent's

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Fumée d'Ambre Gris. See Henry James, "John S. Sargent," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 75 (October 1887), p. 688.

71. Beckwith's *Carmen* was disliked by at least one New York critic: "Why Mr. Carroll Beckwith should worry us with such grotesques as his 'Carmen,' . . . we do not see. In the opera Carmen does not die by wringing her own neck, like Colonel Crockett's owl. And if she did it would be no subject for a painter." "The Watercolor Society," *New York Daily Tribune*, February 5, 1882, p. 7.

Curtis's painting was exhibited at the Salon as number 678, *Carmen arrêtée à la fabrique de tabac à Seville*. Sargent mentioned the painting in a letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner: "I have not the slightest idea where to write to Ralph. He must be in Paris by this time. . . . Glad to hear that his Carmen is at the Salon." John Singer Sargent to Isabella Stewart Gardner, New York, May 9, [1888], Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 408, frame 225.

Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) also painted a group called *Spanish Dancers* after seeing Sargent's *El Jaleo* at the Salon of 1882. The painting, in deteriorating condition at the Cincinnati Museum of Art, portrays a group of seated dancers encouraging the performance of a foreground couple.

72. Ralph Curtis to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Seville, February 9, [1888], Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 396, frames 209-10.

73. Ibid.

74. Ralph Curtis to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Seville, March 25, [1888], Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 396, frames 269-70.

75. Ralph Curtis to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Seville, February 9, [1888], Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 396, frames 213-16.

76. On Pearce's life and career, see D. Dodge Thompson, "Charles Sprague Pearce," *Antiques* 144 (November 1993), pp. 682-9 and Mary Lublin, *"A Rare Elegance": The Paintings of Charles Sprague Pearce* (exh. cat., New York: The Jordan-Volpe Gallery, 1993).

77. Antonia, as Pearce preferred to call her, modeled for a number of the artist's works, including the French peasant in *The Watercarrier* (1883; Sid and Diana Avery Trust) and *The Shawl* (1890; Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison). He married her in 1888.

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78. W. C. Browneil, "American Pictures at the Salon," *The Magazine of Art* 6 (1883), p. 499.

79. "Charles Sprague Pearce," *The Art Amateur* 10 (December 1883), p. 5.

80. See "Temas y motivos iconográficos en la pintura costumbrista Sevillana," in Antonio Reina Palazón, *Pintura costumbrista en Sevilla (1830-1870)* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979), pp. 57-107

81. Davillier, *Spain*, p. 273.

82. "Spanish Sketches," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (December 1875), pp. 222 and 225-6.

83. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, Seville, December 7 [1869], Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

84. On Gay's life and career, see Gary A. Reynolds, *Walter Gay: A Retrospective* (exh. cat., New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University, 1980) and Walter Gay, *Memoirs of Walter Gay* (New York: Privately printed, 1930).

85. Collins had been sent to study in Paris during the 1870s by the Boston financier and collector of Barbizon paintings, Quincy Adams Shaw. According to Forbes Watson, Collins's brother-in-law, "during his stay in Paris Collins went to Spain & bought some pictures from Quincy Shaw." Whether this event occurred in 1878 or on a separate trip is unknown. Forbes Watson Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel D55, fr. 362.

86. Walter Gay and Alfred Collins signed the Copyist Registers at the Prado on April 21, 1878 as #478 and #479. They gave their address as the Hotel Peninsular, which was located on the Calle de Alcalá. In a different section of the book, titled "Entradas y salidas de copias," Gay also registered to copy *Retrato de Alonso Cano* between April 25 - 26, 1878; *Un Retrato* between April 30 and May 10, 1978; and *Príncipe Baltasar* beginning May 7, 1878. Collins registered to copy *Retrato de Alonso Cano* between April 25 - 26, 1878; *Mercurio y Argos*, between April [2]5, 1878 - May 10, 1878; and *Un Retrato* between April 30 - May 10, 1878. *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Box L-34, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

87. This was not the first time Gay essayed a Spanish subject. He had sent *Souvenir d'Espagne* (ca. 1881; location unknown) to the Salon of 1881 and *Spanish Tailor* (ca. 1884; location unknown) to the Reichard Gallery, New York, in 1884. On *Spanish Tailor*, see "A Half Hour with Pictures," *The Studio*, n.s. 6 (November 22, 1884), p. 92.

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88. Spanish protectionism is partly to blame for the few American paintings exhibited in Spain during the nineteenth century. When the Spanish National Expositions were inaugurated in 1856, rules restricted foreign artists to the submission of only those works actually executed in Spain. In 1871, these rules were relaxed, but new ones restricted acquisitions by the state to the work of native-born artists. Full equality for foreign artists was not achieved until 1876. Among the few American paintings that were sent to Spain were Whistler's *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate* (1884; Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh) and *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* (1871; Muséed'Orsay, Paris), which were exhibited in 1890. Because Spain had a relatively inactive art market, few foreign artists bothered to overcome the high cost of Spanish customs as well as the expense of physically transporting their paintings to Madrid. See Jesús Gutiérrez Burón, "Artistas extanjeros en las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes en el siglo XIX," *Fragmentos* 15-16 (1989), pp. 36-57.

89. Author's translation, "Bellas Artes," *La Ilustración española y americana*, año 39, núm. 1 (January 8, 1895), p. 349: "No es cosa frecuente hallar bien interpretados por extranjeros tipos y escenas españolas, y por lo mismo nos ha parecido digno de la atención de los lectores el cuadro de Gay . . . que tanto agradó en la Exposición de los Campos Elíseos de París del año pasado. Los rostros, las trajes y el ambiente son del todo españoles, sin exageración ni amaneramiento, viéndose perfectamente retratada esta interesante y pintoresca clase social, tan propia de nuestra España, que en ninguna otra nación de Europa tiene semejante."

Twenty years later, the Sevillian painter Gonzalo Bilbao (1860-1938) also painted a version of *Las cigarreras* (ca. 1914, Museo de Bellas Arts, Sevilla), which takes Daviller's drawings as its source. See Enrique Valdeivieso, *Historia de la pintura sevillana: Siglos XIII al XX* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1986), fig. 393.

90. "Bellas Artes," *La Ilustración española y americana*, año 39, núm. 31 (August 22, 1895), p. 99.

91. The meeting of Dannat with Gay and Collins is suggested by their simultaneous work in the Prado. Both Gay and Dannat made copies of Velázquez's *Príncipe Baltasar*, and all three signed the copyist registers in late April and early May 1878. Dannat signed the Prado copyist registers on April 27, May 7, and May 14, 1878 to copy *Felipe 2, Retrato del Príncipe Baltasar*, and *Una Cabeza*. He exited the museum on May 21, 1878. *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Box L-34, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid. A copy of Velázquez's *Aesop* is visible in Dannat's *Studio Interior* (1882; Hirschl and Adler, New York).

92. [William Howe Downes and F. Torrey Robinson,] "Some Living American Painters: A Critical Conversation by Howe and Torrey: William T. Dannat," *The Art Interchange* 37 (July 1896), p. 9.

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93. Charles S. Reinhart created an illustration of a Spaniard drinking from the *porrón* for George Parsons Lathrop's "Spanish Vistas," part 3, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65 (July 1882), p. 222.

94. F. R. McClintock, *Holidays in Spain* (London: Edward Stanford, 1882), p. 103.

95. Dannat owned both *Don Pedro, Duque de Osuna* and *Andrés Peral* in partnership with the Paris dealer Gaston Linden, and he apparently bought and sold Old Master paintings to supplement his income. These two paintings were sold by Dannat and Linden in 1901 and 1902, respectively. Nigel Glendinning kindly provided me with information on Dannat's acquisition of works by Goya. Correspondence with the author, March 25, 1992.

96. W. C. Brownell, "The American Salon," *The Magazine of Art* 7 (1884), p. 498.

97. Montezuma, "My Note Book," *The Art Amateur* 12 (January 1885), p. 29.

98. William Sharp, "The Paris Salon," *The Art Journal* 36 (1884), p. 222.

99. Theodore Child, "American Pictures at the Salon," *The Art Amateur* 14 (May 1886), p. 123.

100. See Eric M. Zafran, *Cavaliers and Cardinals: Nineteenth-Century French Anecdotal Paintings* (exh. cat., Cincinnati: The Taft Museum, 1992).

101. Anticlericalism in the United States was fostered by politics to a lesser degree than in France, where the traditional allegiance between the church and the royal family caused the movement to become an important facet of Republicanism. See Zafran, *Cavaliers and Cardinals*, p. 6 and n. 24-5. Not all critics missed the critical tone in Dannat's canvas. After the painting was acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago, the subject was described as follows: "the priest and his visitor in the sacristy are stupid folk, and [Dannat] painted with a sort of dull energy that quite suites their character as subjects." "The Art Institute of Chicago," *The Art Amateur* 32 (December 1894), p. 19. The Art Institute, which deaccessioned the painting in the early twentieth century, kindly made their files available to me.

102. [Downes and Robinson,] "Some Living American Painters: A Critical Conversation by Howe and Torrey: William T. Dannat," p. 10.

103. Other paintings that derive from Sargent's study of Velázquez include the portrait of Charlotte Louise Burckhardt, exhibited with *El Jaleo* at the Salon of 1882 as *Lady with a Rose* (1882; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which is derived from *Calabazas with Portrait and Pinwheel* (ca. 1634; Museum of Art, Cleveland), and *Spanish Courtyard* (ca. 1880; Private Collection), which derives its dramatic recession into space from *Las Meninas*. For an illustration of *Spanish*

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Courtyard (incorrectly illustrated as *Venetian Courtyard*), see Linda Ayres, "Sargent in Venice," in Hills, et al., *John Singer Sargent*, fig. 34.

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Chapter 6: William Merritt Chase, Robert Blum, and the Sunlight of Spain

> So Spain remains unvisited save by the more adventurous spirits, and a land brimful of interest, rich in grand remains, in quaint costume, poetic landscape, and strong local colour, is deserted in favour of more hackneyed routes. To the artist, Spain is still a mine of unworked wealth. A few great men have drawn from its rich treasures, but there is plenty of good stuff left for all who choose to seek it.
>
> "The Artist in Spain," *The Magazine of Art*, 1881[1]

William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) made the first of his many trips to Spain in the summer of 1881, a year and half after Sargent's trip in the winter of 1879.[2] Although Sargent had studied with Carolus-Duran in Paris, and Chase attended the Royal Academy in Munich, both had received educations that predisposed them toward an appreciation of seventeenth-century art. Munich's Alte Pinakothek contained a rich collection of Old Master paintings, and the professors at the Royal Academy encouraged their students to copy them as part of their training. Chase's development was most deeply affected by the work of Karl von Piloty, who became director of the Academy two years after the American's arrival in 1872, as well as by that of Wilhelm von Diez and Wilhelm Leibl. Leibl had developed a popular style of German Realism based on an *alla prima* technique. Avoiding allegorical and narrative subject matter, he and his followers painted unassuming models with rapid brushstrokes and a deep Old Master's palette. Chase's early works, such as *Keying Up -- The Court Jester* (fig. 6.1), display his mastery of these qualities while

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referring simultaneously to the unidealized subject matter of Franz Hals and Diego Velázquez.[3]

Returning to New York in 1878 in order to accept a teaching position at the Art Students League of New York, Chase quickly aligned himself with the most progressive arts organizations in the city. In the first few years following his return from Europe, he joined the group of artists and writers known as the Tile Club, became the president of the Society of American Artists, and established an elaborately decorated studio in the famous Tenth Street Studio Building. Despite the differences in their backgrounds, Chase's artistic and social successes in New York in the early 1880s in many ways paralleled Sargent's in Paris at the very same time.

When Chase left New York for Europe aboard the Red Star liner *Belgenland* on June 4, 1881, he had not been abroad for three years. Traveling with a group of friends that included James Carroll Beckwith, Chase and his party arrived in Antwerp and promptly boarded a train for Paris.[4] Through Tile Club member J. Alden Weir, Chase met Mary Cassatt, whom he found "quite as original and charming in person as she is in her work. You must make her acquaintance when you come to Paris," continued Chase in a letter to Dora Wheeler, one of his students in New York. "She is not afraid of paint I can tell you."[5] Also in Paris, Beckwith introduced Chase to both Sargent and Carolus-Duran.[6] All these painters -- Beckwith, Weir, Cassatt, Sargent, and Carolus-Duran -- had worked earlier in Spain, and all had ample experience with which to guide their less-traveled colleague.

Chase left Beckwith in France and departed for Spain alone on July 2, 1881.[7]

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Most of his summer was spent in the Prado copying the work of Velázquez, and his enthusiasm for the Old Master painter is readily apparent. He wrote to Wheeler:

> The Old Gallery of pictures is simply *magnificent*. Velazquez is the greatest painter that ever lived. How you would enjoy the pictures by him here. I am sure you would be inspired and encouraged; Velazquez is not like many of the great painters he never discourages one -- but on the contrary -- makes you feel that everything is possible for one to accomplish. . . . I am copying at the Gallery, have finished one large full length figure by Velazquez and have begun another. I will not undertake to describe them as you will soon see them. I have been highly complimented on my first copy. I understand that my way of going to work has created considerable talk here among the painters. It seems they are not accustomed to see a brush and paint used as freely as I find it necessary in order to get the character Velazquez got in his work.[8]

Chase's Munich-derived inclination toward painterliness was obviously increasing with his study of the Spanish artist.

A gap in the copyist registers at the Museo del Prado prevents an exact identification of the paintings copied by Chase during the summer of 1881, but sometime during the early 1880s he completed two copies of Velázquez's *Philip IV*, as well as copies of *Menippus*, *Aesop* (both ca. 1640; Museo del Prado, Madrid), and *Las Hilanderas* (fig. 3.4).[9] Like Sargent's, Chase's reputation became closely associated with the cult of Velázquez. He incorporated the Spaniard's fluid brushwork into his own style, and later referred to Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (fig. 5.35) in the compositions of such works as *Hide and Seek* (1888; The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.) and *Hall at Shinnecock* (1892; Terra Foundation for the Arts, Chicago). At a satirical exhibition held by the Copley Society of Boston in 1906, Chase was wittily represented with *A Chase, After Velasquez*, a painting by the fictitious William Emm with the improbable dimensions of "50 long and 20 high."[10]

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As a teacher, he made repeated trips to Madrid in order to introduce his students to the work of Velázquez.[11]

During his first visit to Madrid, Chase complemented his copying work with the creation of several carefully finished illustrations for George Parsons Lathrop's "Spanish Vistas," which was published serially by *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1882.[12] While Chase was copying Velázquez's paintings in Madrid, Lathrop and Charles Stanley Reinhart (1844-1896), who also provided Lathrop with illustrations, were making an extensive journey through Spain, visiting Madrid, Toledo, Granada, Cordova, and Burgos, among other Spanish cities.[13] Lathrop and Reinhart may have called on Chase during a stop-over in Madrid, as their visits to the Spanish peninsula overlapped by several weeks.[14] Chase's two contributions to their text depict a Spanish peasant and a Spanish monk, each posed frontally against a blank, undifferentiated background (figs. 6.2 and 6.3). The man in *Spanish Peasant* has the coarse, worn features of a worker familiar with the wrinkling effects of the sun, and the head of *Spanish Monk* is deeply shaded, the subject's face obscured by a voluminous hood. In their severe realism and dark tonality, these works recall the realist portraits of Velázquez that Chase was then studying.

Chase arrived back in Paris on the morning of September 4, 1881, in time to join Beckwith and Sargent for breakfast. Beckwith was astonished to find that Chase was completely out of money, but despite his poor financial state the two spent a lively few days in Paris before heading to Antwerp to board their ship home.[15] One of their most memorable visits was to the studio of the Belgian painter Alfred

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Stevens, who commended Chase's salon entry of 1881, *The Smoker* (1875; destroyed), but suggested that Chase begin to lighten his palette.[16] Chase's art was already moving in this direction, and the *New York Daily Tribune* reported upon his return that "as the results of his stay in Madrid, [Chase had] brought back a street scene, which is a study of luminous sunlight, a sketch of a dancing girl, and some large copies of Velasquez."[17] Neither the street scene nor the dancing girl is currently located, but paintings from Chase's next summer in Spain emphatically demonstrate his continued fascination with street scenes and sunlight.

Chase left for his second trip to the Spanish peninsula on June 3, 1882, with a group that again included Beckwith as well as the painters Robert Frederick Blum and Frederick Porter Vinton.[18] Clarence Buel, a writer for *Century Magazine*, accompanied the artists in order to record their festive Atlantic crossing for the readers of the popular periodical.[19] In addition to painting the captain's cabin, a decorative practice inaugurated the previous summer, the artists prepared an elaborate birthday party held on June 9 in honor of Mariano Fortuny. A menu created for the occasion, autographed by the eight guests, includes a reproduction of Fortuny's distinctive signature, inscribed on a palette and accompanied by brushes and tubes of paint.[20] Eight years after the Spaniard's death, Americans still found Fortuny's work worthy of celebration, and it was his example, along with that of Velázquez, that Chase followed most closely on this second trip to Spain.[21]

Arriving in Paris on June 16, 1882, the Americans examined Sargent's *El Jaleo* at the Salon and visited their expatriate colleagues.[22] Beckwith recorded

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making calls on both Sargent and Harry Humphrey Moore on June 23, and later that day he saw Chase, Blum, and Vinton start together for Spain.[23] Arriving in Madrid two days later, the trio attended a bullfight at the Plaza de Toros.[24] Their reactions to the *corrida*, like that of earlier American travelers in Spain, reflects a mixture of delight with Spanish spectacle and disgust with violent Spaniards.[25]

Chase, who had worked the previous summer copying the Spanish masters in the Prado, dedicated himself to finding subjects for his own canvases amidst the street life of the city. *A Spanish Bric-a-Brac Shop* (fig. 6.4), which Chase exhibited at the Society of American Artists in 1884 and the Union League Club a year later, depicts a seated Spanish vendor smoking a cigarette in front of his cluttered stall.[26] *The New York Daily Tribune* described the painting as a canvas "crowded with plates, jugs, tiles, and stuffs rendered with some cleverness."[27] Behind the traditionally attired merchant, up a flight of steps and within the shop's interior, a woman working at a tapestry loom is clearly visible.

In its bright color and picturesque subject, Chase's painting recalls the work of Mariano Fortuny (see fig. 6.5), though the source for both these nineteenth-century artists was undoubtedly Velázquez's mythological painting of Arachne's tapestry shop, *Las Hilanderas* (fig. 3.4). In the foreground of Velázquez's masterpiece, five women perform the routine tasks of making yarn, while in a room behind them the fabled Arachne receives visitors in her studio. Both Chase and Fortuny referred to *Las Hilanderas* in their organization of space, their adaptation of Velázquez's vigorous technique to their brighter palettes, and their reference to the subject of carpets and

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tapestries. As a final homage to his mentor, Chase painted a copy of Velázquez's *Calabazas* (ca. 1635, Museo del Prado, Madrid) on the wall of the bric-a-brac shop.[28]

The shop in Chase's painting probably depicts one of the many found at the Rastro, a flea market held every Sunday morning on the south side of Madrid. The 1888 edition of Ford's guidebook called this district "the quarters of the *Populacho* or rabble of Madrid" and recommended the street fair to those in quest of bargains:

> The plaza is covered with booths and book-stalls, where collectors of bric-à-brac may now and then pick up something worth having. These quarters have long been the homes and sties of *Manolos* and *Manolas* (common people), *Crisperos* (wags), *Gitanos* (gipsies), *Chalanes* (hucksters), and other picturesque rogues, since the days of Quevedo, although of late years they have almost abandoned their natural costume.[29]

Chase was strongly attracted to such environments, and *Spanish Bric-a-Brac Shop* attests to the many hours he spent scouring such places for antiques with which to decorate his Tenth Street studio. He purchased so many items during the summer of 1882 that customs officials in New York held him up for several hours on his return to New York.[30]

Chase's other paintings from this summer are "studies in luminous sunlight," in which he explored the possibilities of painting outdoors. *Spanish Village* (fig. 6.6) depicts an unpaved road leading away from Madrid. A mule stands unsaddled before a crude store-front manned by two Spaniards, and a second animal, carrying a rider, makes its way further down the road. The sky is cloudless and the heat intense; like Eakins's *Street Scene in Seville*, *Spanish Village* displays the intense colors and dark shadows of the midday sun. Chase painted the picture rapidly, and canvas is visible

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from beneath the paint surface on the far right side. Painting the work *in situ*, he carefully inscribed it "Madrid 1882."[31]

Chase painted *Outskirts of Madrid* (fig. 6.7), a second landscape from 1882, at about the same time of day in a location very near that of *Spanish Village*. Again inscribing his view with the date and location, he could have painted this second view by simply turning around 180 degrees and looking toward the skyline of the city. Both paintings depict the southwestern edge of Madrid, an area outside the old city walls that was rapidly expanding with new industry and working-class neighborhoods.[32] With the construction of the railroad and the modernization of the city's industrial sector, the population of Madrid nearly doubled between the years 1857 and 1887. Many of Madrid's new inhabitants were laborers, and the residential areas that sprang up to accommodate their needs were both close to their work sites and make-shift in design.[33]

Chase suggested the presence of such industry in *Outskirts of Madrid* by prominently depicting a large chimney spewing dark smoke into the air. Such admissions of modernization are rare in paintings of Spain, which more typically ignore signs of progress and portray old-fashioned methods of production instead. Lathrop lamented the effects of Madrid's growing cosmopolitanism, but he consoled himself with descriptions of the regional dress of the peasants, who still clothed themselves in native attire.[34] Chase likewise tempered the effects of change by including people of a more traditional, *costumbrista* character in his painting: two women in the foreground -- one shielding her eyes with a fan as she mounts the rise

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at left and the second walking away from the viewer -- carry earthenware *cántaros* (jugs) for drinking water, and a man astride the ubiquitous Spanish mule slowly makes his way down the hot sandy path. Prominently positioned by the side of the road sits a scrawny young urchin, shirtless and shoeless, with an impish grin on his face.

Chase incorporated the woman shading her eyes with the fan and the muleteer with his beast of burden in a third Spanish landscape, *Sunny Spain* (fig. 6.8), the most accomplished and carefully finished of his paintings of Spain. He exhibited *Sunny Spain*, along with *Scene Near Madrid* (possibly *Outskirts of Madrid*), in November 1883 at the Indianapolis Art Association's first annual Art Loan Exhibition. Both paintings were commended for their convincing evocation of sun, light, and heat. The critic for the *Indianapolis Journal* noted:

> Mr. Chase shows a 'Scene Near Madrid' and 'Sunny Spain.' The former is rich in tone, full of warm, subdued color, giving the effect of sunlight delicately, without glare. If any fault at all, it is too dry and too juiceless. 'Sunny Spain' is, again, particularly good in tone. This picture, as well as the former, seems to be a study of the deadening, drying, sapping effect of sunlight in tropical climes, reached without the cheap effect of dazzling highlights or bottomless-pit shadows. The effect of heat; stagnating, absorbing heat, as well as light are rendered. Textures of roof and wall and sand are well given.[35]

Sunny Spain depicts a view of Toledo, which is located about fifty miles south of

Madrid. The city, among the most impressive in Spain, is built on a steep mountain almost completely encircled by the Tagus River. Within the city walls the streets are narrow, tortuous, and frequently unpaved, providing many artistic vistas for visitors

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in search of the picturesque. According to a notice in the *New York Daily Tribune*, Chase "spent the summer [of 1882] mostly in Madrid, though he visited Toledo and other Spanish cities, making many sketches."[36] When Sargent had visited the city during the winter of 1879, his ability to work had been marred by rain, but summers in Toledo are notoriously hot and the city's unrelenting sun provided Chase with perfect conditions for working outdoors and for the lightening of his palette.

According to José Pedro Muñoz Herrera, an art historian specializing in nineteenth-century images of Toledo, *Sunny Spain* depicts the back wall of either the convent of San Pablo or the convent of San Juan de la Penetencia, both of which stood in the southeastern section of the city (see map, fig. 6.9).[37] In the background, across the valley of the Tagus, the cliffs of los Cigarrales are clearly visible. The wine shop at the bottom of the slope, the canvas covered storefront toward the center, and the crucifix on the right wall were all frequent sights in nineteenth-century Toledo, but the inexactitude of the topography suggests that Chase combined three different sketches, one each for the foreground, the middle, and the background, in his final composition. The lack of an inscription designating the place of its execution further suggests that *Sunny Spain*, unlike *Spanish Village* and *Outskirts of Madrid*, was created later in the studio from sketches made on the spot. This rather tentative approach toward *plein-air* painting was shared by Chase's colleagues.[38]

While Chase was busy painting landscapes, Blum and Vinton had set up their easels at the Prado in order to study the seventeenth-century masters, especially

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Velázquez.[39] Vinton, who had studied with Bonnat and ultimately specialized in portraiture, set himself up for an entire summer in the galleries. Upon his return to the United States, he exhibited the fruits of his labor at Doll & Richards Gallery in Boston.[40] *The Boston Evening Transcript* called Vinton's copies "a valuable contribution towards popularizing the work of such a master as Velasquez," and commended "the clearness with which the wonderful character interpretation of Velasquez is preserved." The importance of Velázquez's art, explained *The Transcript*, derived from its realism:

> The figures hardly need to be labelled in order to follow the calling of the subjects. The very age of each individual, indeed, might be guessed at from the canvas better than if you saw a living man with his shifting and changing personality. We talk about realism as if it were a modern growth, but Velasquez reached its acme without any talk of the thing being in the air.[41]

Later critics attributed Vinton's strength as a portraitist to his summer in front of the Spanish master.[42]

Blum copied Velázquez's *Menippus* as well as Ribera's *The Sacred Trinity* before beginning his own landscapes, and he remained in Spain several weeks after the departure of his colleagues.[43] Blum shared with Chase a deep respect for Spanish art, and his admiration for the work of both Velázquez and Fortuny prepared him for a productive summer in the land of these Spaniards.[44] After three weeks in Madrid painting copies as well as "a quaint old church," Blum took the three-and-a-half hour train ride to Toledo.[45] Returning the same day to the capital, he made plans to relocate, and by July 24 he and Vinton were ensconced in the Fonda del Lino, located a short walk from Toledo's Plaza de Zocodover. In a letter to Chase,

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who had remained in Madrid, Blum recorded his enthusiastic response to his new surroundings:

> We are nicely fixed in a house with a patio and Vinton for once was pleased for two consecutive minutes, exclaiming: 'Ah now, *that's* the sort of thing I like!' He keeps on making dire and sundry threats to speak Spanish to the natives, hoping and wishing with blood-curdling ferocity to have the whole Spanish nation by the throat so as to kill it once for all. . . . [The hotel has] about seven cats and two or three birds including one of the Spanish quails, to the delight of Vinton. I supposed it would be considered a very good singer for it keeps on long after dark. Late last night I heard Vinton, in a dream I suppose, mutter something about preferring quail on toast.[46]

Lathrop and Reinhart had stayed at the same inn, one of the few guesthouses available in Toledo. Lathrop, in his description from "Spanish Vistas," elaborated more fully upon the hotel's appearance:

> The fonda had more of the old tavern or posada style about it than most hotels patronized by foreigners. The entrance door led immediately into a double court, where two or three yellow equipages stood, and from which the kitchen, storerooms, and stable all branched off in some clandestine way. Above, at the eaves, these courts were covered with canvas awnings wrinkled in regular folds on iron rods -- sheltering covers which remained drawn from the first flood of the morning sun until after five in the afternoon.[47]

Although Vinton returned to Madrid after a short stay, Blum remained at the Fonda del Lino until Sunday, September 3, 1882, during which time he completed drawings and oil studies for several new works. He had originally planned to leave Toledo early enough to go south to Granada and Seville, but time and money fell short. By early August Blum had decided to make Toledo his base for the rest of his trip.[48]

Toward the end of his visit, Blum met a Spanish watercarrier, or *aguador*, and he sketched him with his donkey on the back of a note jotted quickly to Chase: "I have fallen in with a watercarrier and consequently shall stay here another week.

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That will give me about three or four days in Madrid. . . . I am just beginning to feel like work and here I must be going."[49] His most accomplished study of the man is *A Spanish Watercarrier, Toledo* (fig. 6.10), which he sent to the first autumn exhibition at the National Academy of Design in 1882.[50] The reviewer for *The Critic* described this small panel as "a picture from Spain, of a girl giving drink to a muleteer with brightly-caparisoned donkeys, the scene of a cobble-stoned court before an old green doorway," and *The Art Interchange* referred to it as "an excellent street scene of some donkeys at a gate."[51] Noted collector of American art Thomas B. Clarke apparently admired the painting, for it appeared in his private collection the following year.[52]

Blum painted *A Spanish Watercarrier* in the early morning, and he flooded the street with dazzling sunlight that enters from the right. The location may have been the calle Santa Isabel, the street on which was located the Casa Figueroa, another of Toledo's nineteenth-century tourist inns. The building behind the watercarrier is similar to one still standing there today (fig. 6.11), although differences in this structure's proportions prevent a precise identification.[53] In front of the massive doors of a private dwelling, a picturesque water vendor and a young serving girl are engaged in one of the many routine exchanges of nineteenth-century Toledan life. Perhaps because of Toledo's position high above the Tagus, the acquisition and transportation of water remained a concern throughout the nineteenth century.[54] By the 1880s public fountains, turned on and off at regulated times of the day, brought water to several plazas in the city, eliminating the necessity of bringing water all the

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way up from the river, but drinking water and other provisions were still distributed to private residences by means of the muleteer and his beasts.

Tourists considered the *aguador*, laden high with earthenware *cántaros*, one of the most picturesque sights in Spain. Washington Irving had brought the watercarrier to the attention of Americans in one of the tales of *The Alhambra*, and Richard Ford had sarcastically informed reader of his *Hand-Book* that for every three Spaniards met on the peninsula, at least one was an ass.[55] Continuing this tradition, George Lathrop remarked in "Spanish Vistas" that "the humble ass . . . begins to thrust himself meekly upon you as soon as you set foot in the Peninsula, and you must look sharp if you wish to keep out of his way."[56] In Toledo, where narrow streets were impassable by all but man and mule, the animal was particularly common. Lathrop provided an amusing description of a typical scene in the early 1880s:

> Most of Toledo is traversable only for men and donkeys. These latter carry immense double baskets across their backs, in which are transported provisions, bricks, coal, fowls, water, bread, crockery -- everything, in short, down to the dirt occasionally scraped from the thoroughfares. I saw one peasant, rather advanced in years, helping himself up the steep rise of a street on the hill-side by means of a stout cane in one hand and the tail of his heavy-laden donkey grasped in the other.[57]

Illustrations and photographs often included both donkeys and public fountains. Chase included a drawing of a picturesque donkey loaded with baskets of fruit (fig. 6. 12) in an illegible letter (described later as a secret love letter) to Alice Gerson, the woman he would eventually marry, and Reinhart painted a group of serving girls at a fountain as well as a watercarrier (fig. 6.13) for Lathrop's "Spanish Vistas."[58] Likewise Alexander Wagner, with whom Chase briefly studied while in Munich,

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provided an illustration of a Toledan watercarrier (fig. 6.14) for Théodore Simons's book *Spanien*, published in 1881.[59] Simons dedicated an entire chapter of his book to the distribution of water in Toledo, and the *aguador* painted by Wagner to illustrate it was reproduced for American readers only two years later, in Susan Hale's fictionalized account of a *Family Flight Through Spain.*[60] Photographers also included such subjects in their prints (figs. 6.15 and 6.16). Casiano Alguacil, Toledo's resident photographer, distributed his photographs in Toledo in a manner similar to Laurent in Madrid; Alguacil's prints were available for sale at his store on the calle del Comercio, several paces from the Fonda del Lino. In 1888 ten Toledan views by Alguacil cost ten pesetas, slightly more than a night's stay at the inn.[61]

The *aguador* and his mule appear in paintings as well, and Martín Rico Ortega, a close friend and follower of Fortuny, provides an intriguing example. Like the paintings of his compatriot, Rico's work is characterized by bright colors, a glittering palette, and luminous sunlight. The art dealer Goupil introduced the Spaniard to such collectors as William Hood Stewart, who owned eleven of Rico's paintings when his collection was sold in 1898.[62] Today Rico is most remembered for the shimmering views of Venice that he began painting in the late 1870s, but during his career he also painted a number of works with more traditional *costumbrista* themes. *Plaza and Street, Toledo* (fig. 6.17), which is remarkably similar to Blum's *Spanish Watercarrier, Toledo*, was owned by William Hood Stewart.

Blum examined Stewart's collection during his first trip to Paris in 1880, and

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he had probably read of Rico's paintings two years earlier, when Stewart's collection was exhibited at the Universal Exposition of 1878.[63] Lucy Hooper had written in *The Art Journal* that Rico's landscapes are "among the most remarkable to be found in the Exhibition," and Paul Lefort described Rico as "one of the most brilliant followers of Fortuny" in *L'Art moderne à l'exposition de 1878.*[64] Moreover, Blum may have met Rico in Venice during the summer of 1881, as both were then painting Venetian canals from the seat of a gondola. The two were certainly acquainted by 1885, when Blum informed Chase of the Spaniard's presence in Venice: "Rico is here," wrote Blum; he "has the room next to mine and is doing some charming things."[65]

Blum's *Spanish Watercarrier, Toledo* and Rico's *Plaza and Street, Toledo* share the subject of picturesque donkeys standing idly in front of the doorway of a Toledan household. Both artists were working outdoors, and the paintings possess an appearance of spontaneity and informality that reinforces their impressions of realism. The blue skies and abundant subject matter so prevalent in Toledo -- and in Spain more generally -- promoted this *plein-air* style. In fact, Rico alluded to the large number of Toledan visitors painting outdoors through an incident related in his autobiography, *Recuerdos de mi Vida.* Several years after Blum's 1882 visit, Rico was painting an *aguador* and his donkey outside the walls of the Alcázar when he noticed bright reflections bouncing off the surface of his canvas. Looking up to find their source, he saw a group of cadets from the Spanish army pointing a mirror at him, laughing, and calling him a "painter of burros" along with several other insulting

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epithets. Rico learned to his chagrin that they supposed him an Englishman, painting like a tourist in the hot summer sun![66]

Blum was working in the sun on landscape studies that he planned to expand in the studio, but whether he completed a larger version of *A Spanish Watercarrier* after his return to New York is uncertain.[67] Both he and Chase did return to *costumbrista* subject matter for a series of illustrations produced for Susan Carter's article "Street Life in Madrid." Like the work of earlier American artists, these images portray the people of Spain as if they were mired in the historical past.[68] Admitting that "Madrid is not an old place, . . . it looks in nearly all respects like a new city," Carter turned for local color to a description of the populace.[69] To illustrate this point, Chase and Blum turned to the familiar types of *costumbrismo*: the donkey driver, the beggar, the vendor, and the gypsy. Yet the fictive nature of these illustrations is betrayed in a contradiction of fact, for two of the images illustrating this profile of the capital city, *An Old Street* and *A Street Incident* (figs. 6.18 and 6.19), do not depict the modern streets of Madrid, but rather portray the more picturesque city of Toledo.

According to art historian José Pedro Muñoz Herrera, both Blum and Chase used photography as the basis for these works: *An Old Street* is based on Alguacil's *Una calle de Toledo* (fig. 6.20) and *A Street Incident* is derived from Laurent's *Pobres a la puerta de un convento en Toledo* (fig. 6.21).[70] Earlier American artists in Spain, among them Colman, Hall, Eakins, Cassatt, and Sargent, had also used photography as an inspiration for their work, and the reliance of Chase and Blum on

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the prints of Laurent and Alguacil suggests the degree of importance this medium had acquired. By simply deleting the specificity of their Toledan origin, these images served as representations of the idea of Spain, a country filled with the relics of an undeveloped past.

The principal theme running through "Street Life in Madrid" -- that the people of Spain are essentially unchanged from their forebears -- is most explicit in Carter's text. In "Street Life in Madrid," this attitude lends an air of both ridicule and wonder to the characterization of the Spaniards:

> One is constantly amused and surprised to see that the habits and manners of the Spanish people, as well as their faces, are precisely the same to-day as when Velasquez painted his sharp wiry faces in the "Buveurs," or Murillo his dark children, with their loose straw baskets beside them, their bare, dusty feet, and the cunning look of their long, wide mouths, their narrow, sharp black eyes, and their bony chins.[71]

Murilloesque images, the cult of Velázquez, and Goya's paintings of the populace, continued Carter, were everywhere in Madrid:

> If one finds the subjects of Velasquez, Murillo, and Goya everywhere out-of-doors, within doors a stranger often chances unawares upon some scene, the objects, colors, and chiaroscuro of which could be transferred without a change upon the canvas of either of these masters, and which resembles a picture two or three centuries old stepping from its ancient frame into the present.[72]

Combining both admiration for Spain's old masters and disdain for its current backwardness, this theme appears repeatedly in late nineteenth-century representations of Spain.

After his return to New York, Blum also expanded a second group of Toledan studies into the painting known as *Spanish Courtyard* (fig. 6.22), and consideration of

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this work further demonstrates the similarities between Blum and his contemporaries. Rico's work is again comparable; both Rico's *Patio de la casa de Samuel Levi, en Toledo* (fig. 6.23) and Blum's *Spanish Courtyard* depict domestic courtyards, a characteristic feature of Spanish architecture not generally seen by the casual tourist. In their lightness of touch and brilliance of color, these works clearly derive from that of their friend and mentor, Mariano Fortuny.

Blum's *Spanish Courtyard*, like Chase's *Sunny Spain*, is a composite view, painted from several sketches and incorporating one of Toledo's best-known landmarks. The architecture of *Spanish Courtyard* -- the tiled roof, wood-beamed ceiling, and two-storied balcony -- is undoubtedly Toledan, but the spire of Toledo's cathedral soaring above was probably added later. Artists and writers frequently altered the topography of Toledo to enhance its picturesque nature, and Blum probably added the crown-of-thorns spire to his composition much as Lathrop added it to his topographically impossible description of the view from his window at the Fonda de Lino:

> And beyond the territory of the doves [in the eaves of the hotel] extended a slender bell spire at the end of the cathedral, poised in the bright air like a flower-stalk, with one bell seen though an interstice as if it were a blossom. At another point the main spire rose out of what might be called a rich ticket of Gothic work. Its tall thin shaft is encircled near the point with sharp radiating spikes of iron, doubtless intended to recall the crown of thorns, and in this sign of the Passion held forever aloft, three hundred feet above the ground, there is a penetrating pathos, a solemn beauty.[73]

Muñoz Herrera suggests that Blum's two extant oil studies for *Spanish Courtyard* -- in which the spire is not included -- may have been painted in two different locations.[74] Widespread changes to Toledo's architectural fabric prevent

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precise identifications, but *Spanish Courtyard with Flower Plants* (fig. 6.24) depicts a balcony with Ionic columns similar to the upper gallery of the Casa de la Miñaca (fig. 6.25), a structure that served during the 1880s as a flour mill and bakery.[75] The spire is definitely not visible from this building, and there is no evidence that the Casa de la Miñaca ever had a pool such as the one depicted in *Water Basin with Plants* (fig. 6.26), Blum's second study for *Spanish Courtyard.*

A basin such as this also appears in *Jardín toledano* (fig. 6.27) by Ricardo Arredondo Calmache (1850-1911).[76] Arredondo, who had been introduced to *plein-air* techniques by Carlos de Haes (1826-1898) at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid during the late 1870s, displays in *Jardín toledano* an informality of composition and freshness of stroke closely related to those qualities in Blum's *Water Basin with Plants*. Arredondo settled in Toledo in the early 1880s, but whether he was in the city during the summer of 1882 is uncertain.[77] It is tempting to imagine a meeting between the two artists, especially considering Blum's letter to Chase upon returning to Madrid:

> I left Toledo yesterday evening . . . . I've had an awfully good time of course and made some friends in a few good people. I speak Spanish now like a native and I will only state this as proof of the assertion that whenever I opened my mouth to speak the natives would flock, to gather to their stock of knowledge, to get the correct pronunciation xc xc. No, but I really did surprise them here with the few words I picked up in Toledo. I usually string them all together and then let them take their choice.[78]

Perhaps Arredondo took Blum to see the courtyard in *Water Basin with Plants* -- someone must have taken him as private spaces are not generally open to the casual visitor.[79] But without definitive proof, the possibility of a meeting remains

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conjectural.

During Blum's final days in Toledo, Napoleon Sarony (1821-1896) and F. Hopkinson Smith (1838-1915) joined him for brief visits. Sarony, a successful photographer of New York's theatrical crowd, was a bohemian man-about-town and another member of the Tile Club.[80] Traveling in the company of his wife and daughter, he had just been to Granada to see the Alhambra before meeting Chase in Madrid and then Blum in Toledo.[81] Smith, also a member of the Tile Club, traveled south to Andalusia after visiting Blum.[82] Like Chase and Blum, Smith was traveling in Spain in search of both picturesque subjects and sun-flooded streets, and several of his watercolors from the trip were published in his 1887 book, *Well Worn Roads of Spain, Holland & Italy*. According to his own account, Smith's watercolors "were made on the spot and in the open air," and later in his career he proudly told students that he had never in his life painted a studio picture.[83] "My pictures are begun and often finished in one sitting," declared the artist, "and a white umbrella and a three-legged stool are the sum of my studio appointments."[84]

In Smith's *Street Scene in Seville* (fig. 6.28), the sky is a deep azure, and the stones of the plaza, fountain, and awnings share a rich beige tonality.[85] On the left side of the painting is an ornate stone fountain, such as is frequently found in the plazas of Spain, and women fill their *cántaros* with the cool waters in its basin, pausing to rest and gossip before continuing on their way. A similar scene had been painted by J. Alden Weir in 1876 (see fig. 3.33), and Charles S. Reinhart depicted an

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old-fashioned fountain (fig. 6.29) for Lathrop's "Spanish Vistas." Lathrop provided a verbal description: "At noon and evening the serving-women came out to the fountains, distributed here and there under groups of miniature locust-trees, to fetch water for their houses. They carried huge earthen jars, or cantaros [sic], which they would lug off easily under one arm in attitudes of inimitable grace."[86]

Charles Frederic Ulrich (1858-1908) struck a similarly picturesque chord with his *Washerwomen, Seville* (fig. 6.30). Ulrich had met Chase when he began studying in Munich in 1875, and he spent a great deal of time with Blum in Venice during the mid-1880s.[87] He settled permanently in Germany in 1887, and visited Spain the following spring.[88] Washerwomen (*lavanderas*) were a common subject for artists, illustrators and photographers of late nineteenth century, and Samuel Colman had produced his own Spanish painting on the theme almost twenty years earlier (fig. 1.29). Like Toledan *aguadores* and Sevillian *cigarreras* -- with whom the *lavanderas* were compared -- the subject appealed to foreigners for its old-fashioned dependence on manual labor, and a popular article of 1877 noted that "in Andalusia the washing is all done in stone troughs" like those in Ulrich's picture.[89] Ulrich's washerwomen toil contentedly at their work, the difficulty of their tasks erased from the scene. Although an older, more haggard woman stands in the background, the foreground women are universally pretty, with attractive profiles and youthful skin. The scene is illuminated by a blinding Spanish sun, which sharply reflects off the washbasins and water jugs in the foreground of the picture. Cast shadows are short and dark, and the contrast between them and the sunlight is startlingly intense.

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Frederick Childe Hassam (1859-1935) was also struck by the drama of Spanish light during a trip of the 1880s. Traveling in the company of Edmund Henry Garrett (1853-1929), Hassam visited Spain in 1883 after a sketching tour through England, France, and Italy. On the ship home from Naples to New York, Hassam and Garrett stopped at several Spanish ports, sometimes staying for several days in order to see the Spanish countryside. They traveled inland to visit the Alhambra, but did not have time to visit the Prado.[90] Trained in Boston to become an illustrator, Hassam pursued more formal training at the Académie Julian in Paris from 1887 to 1889, after this visit to Europe. He later attributed the missing links in his itinerary (he also failed to visit the galleries of Holland) to lack of experience; a pilgrimage to see Velázquez held greater import for the completion of his education, and he returned to visit the Prado later in his career.[91]

Hassam's *Church Procession, Spanish Steps* (fig. 6.31) combines the brilliant sunlight of Andalusia with a nod toward Spain's everpresent Catholicism. Avoiding the more stereotyped clerical imagery of Hall and Dannat, Hassam views the procession from a distance, preventing a close examination of the priest and his entourage. The steep hillside features a rock-hewn stairway, one of the many that link the hilltowns of coastal Spain, and the horizon is unusually high, the orange and brown steps separated from the deep blue of the sky by a line of whitewashed houses sparkling brightly in the full midday sun.

Hassam painted *Church Procession, Spanish Steps* in oil, but he executed most of his Spanish work in watercolor, a more convenient medium for travel. *A Street in*

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Denia, Spain and *Spanish Street* (figs. 6.32 and 6.33), both of which were included in his watercolor exhibition held in Boston after his return, were painted in the port city of Denia on the eastern coast of the country.[92] These works also feature traditionally-dressed Spaniards standing in the noonday sun, the time of day clearly indicated by the short, dark shadows cast directly below their feet. As in the work of his compatriots, Hassam's cloudless skies are painted in a rich shade of blue and his light reflects with a glare off the surface of the dwellings. Adding a particularly humorous touch to *A Street in Denia, Spain*, Hassam abruptly cropped the front portion of a donkey standing in the shade, leaving only its backside to close the composition at the right.

Hassam found in Spain a rich store of picturesque subject matter and piercing out-of-door light. His visit, like the trips of his compatriots Smith, Ulrich, and of course, Chase and Blum, marked an important step toward the development of American Impressionism.[93] Many American artists were pushed toward a more high-keyed palette and looser facture during their travels on the peninsula. Spain offered a warm climate that encouraged *plein-air* painting, and the byways of Spain offered scenes of everyday life -- often of the working classes -- with a foreign and old-fashioned accent that distanced their threat to the art-loving public in America.

The American artists who traveled to the Iberian peninsula during the second half of the nineteenth century traveled to this foreign region in quest of inspiration and adventure. Some, like George Henry Hall and Mary Cassatt, derived

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encouragement from the work of Bartolomé Murillo, and others, like Thomas Eakins, John Singer Sargent, and William Merritt Chase, found the forthright realism and fluid brushwork of Diego Velázquez a compelling model for their own development. Americans found inspiration in Spanish art of the nineteenth century as well. Cassatt with *On the Balcony* and Sargent with *El Jaleo* explored the dramatic compositions and societal flux so closely associated with the work of Francisco Goya, while Eakins in *Street Scene in Seville* and Chase in *Sunny Spain* adopted the flickering sunlight and *costumbrista* subject matter of Mariano Fortuny.

These Spanish influences were filtered through the lens of contemporary political tensions over changing balances of power. Americans selectively viewed Spain's land and people, and the paintings produced by these artists embody nineteenth-century assumptions about the historical and future importance of the country that had "discovered" the American continent. Colman's twilight views of Andalusia and Hall's Murilloesque street urchins hark back to Spain's Golden Age, reminding American viewers of its former importance. Eakins, Cassatt, Sargent, and Chase recorded the lives of Spain's picturesque types, delighting in the exoticism of their costumes and manners. Spain was appealing for its contrasts to the United States, but it was also derided for its incomprehensible differences. Acknowledging the duality of American views of Spain -- both the admiration and the disdain -- will better enable an understanding of American goals and aspirations in the late nineteenth century.

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1. Arthur Griffiths, "The Artist in Spain," *The Magazine of Art* 4 (1881), p. 26.

2. Ronald Pisano graciously made his material on Chase's Spanish paintings available to me, and his several books on Chase were indispensable for my work. See especially *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1979); *A Leading Spirit in American Art: William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916* (exh. cat., Seattle, Wash.: Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, 1983); and *Summer Afternoons: Landscape Paintings of William Merritt Chase* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, Little, Brown and Company, 1993). The earliest biography of William Merritt Chase is Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917).

3. The subject of Chase's *Keying Up* suggests his familiarity with the series of dwarf portraits painted by Velázquez some two hundred years earlier. Chase may also have been familiar with nineteenth-century variations on the theme, such as Eduardo Zamacois's popular painting, *The Favorite of the King* (1867; location unknown), then in the collection of William H. Vanderbilt. This painting depicts a richly attired dwarf haughtily descending a magnificent staircase to the bows of his fellow courtiers. Another version of the jester theme is Zamacois's *Court Jesters Playing Bowls* (1868; Private Collection). See Eric Zafran, *Cavaliers and Cardinals: Nineteenth-Century French Anecdotal Paintings* (exh. cat., Cincinnati, Ohio: The Taft Museum, 1992), pp. 150-1 and Barbara Gallati, *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995), p. 20.

4. Also on the ship were Abraham Archibald Anderson, Robert Frederick Blum, and Herbert Denman. Pisano, *A Leading Spirit in American Art*, p. 57,

5. William Merritt Chase to Dora Wheeler, Madrid, July 24, 1881, Archives, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Miss Candace Stimson.

6. The meeting with Carolus-Duran took place on June 23, 1881, and the meeting with Sargent occurred on June 29, 1881. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, June 23 and 29, 1881, National Academy of Design, New York. The Beckwith Diaries were recently microfilmed and are now available as the James Carroll Beckwith Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reels 4798-9.

7. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, July 2, 1881, National Academy of Design, New York.

8. William Merritt Chase to Dora Wheeler, Madrid, July 24, 1881, Archives, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Miss Candace Stimson.

9. The copies were offered for sale in 1896, when Chase sold the contents of his New York studio in order finance a return to Spain. *Catalogue of Paintings, Studio Appointments, Curios, Bric-a-Brac, . . . Belonging to William Merritt Chase, N. A.*

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(sale cat., New York: American Art Association, January 7-11, 1896). The two copies of Velázquez's *Philip IV* and the copy of *Las Hilanderas* are also described by W. A. Cooper in "Artists in Their Studios," *Godey's Magazine* 130 (March 1895), p. 296.

10. *Illustrated Catalogue: A Lone [sic] Exhibition of the Masters of Modern Caricature and Others* (exh. cat., Boston: The Copley Society, 1906).

11. Chase worked with students in the Prado in 1896, 1898, and 1905. His class of 1896 signed the copyist register in February 1896. See *Libro de registro: Copistas, 1896-7*, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid, Box L-2.

12. George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," parts 1-5, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64 (1882), pp. 640-62; 800-20; 65 (1882), pp. 205-22; 371-92; 546-66 and George Parsons Lathrop, *Spanish Vistas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883). Chase's illustrations appear in both the serial and book versions of this text.

13. Reinhart had studied in Paris at the Académie Suisse and, from 1868 to 1870, at the Royal Academy of Munich. Although they lived in Munich at different times, their shared experience in this German city undoubtedly brought Chase and Reinhart together. See "Charles Stanley Reinhart" in *Dictionary of American Biography* 8 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), pp. 490-1.

14. Although no direct evidence of such an encounter exists, it would have been easy for the Americans to arrange a meeting. Lathrop and Reinhart signed the Visitor's Register at the Alhambra on July 9, 1881. Train routes would have required stops in Madrid both on their way to and from Andalusia. Chase arrived in Madrid around July 4, 1881. *Libro de registro*, April 1, 1872 - March 8, 1883, Archives of the Alhambra, Granada.

15. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, September 4, 1881, National Academy of Design, New York.

16. Beckwith records the visit to Stevens as occurring on September 5, 1881. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, September 5, 1881, National Academy of Design, New York. Roof claims that Stevens praised *The Smoker*, and then asked, "But why do you try to make your canvases look as if they had been painted by the old masters?" Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase*, p. 95.

17. "Painters and Their Work," *New York Daily Tribune*, November 6, 1881, p. 5.

18. Abraham Archibald Anderson, George Wharton Edwards, F. H. Lungen, and Arthur Quartley also accompanied the group on the Red Star liner *Pennland*. Blum had crossed with Chase the year before, but had parted in Paris in order to visit Venice. See Bruce Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and His Milieu"

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(Ph.D. diss., The Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 1985), pp. 97-170.

19. The article appeared as C. C. Buel, "Log of an Ocean Studio, *Century Magazine* 27 (January 1884), pp. 356-71.

20. One version of the handwritten menu may be found in the William Merritt Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N69-137, frames 453-6. Another version is reproduced in Buel's article, "Log of an Ocean Studio," p. 358.

21. On the question of Fortuny's influence on the work of Chase and Blum, see Edward J. Sullivan, "Fortuny in America: His Collectors and Disciples," in Fundación Caja de Pensiones. *Fortuny, 1838-1874* (exh. cat., Barcelona: Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación Caja de Pensiones, 1989), pp. 99-117.

22. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, June 16 and 17, 1882, National Academy of Design, New York.

23. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, June 23, 1882, National Academy of Design, New York.

24. Vinton kept the tickets and poster for the bullfight, dated Sunday, June 25, 1882, the day of their arrival in Madrid. He also kept a second poster, dated August 15, 1882, for a bullfight and flamenco performance celebrating the Assumption Day of the Virgin. Frederick Porter Vinton Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel D9, frame 83-4; 92-3.

25. Chase wrote to Dora Wheeler in 1881 that everything in Spain was delightful except "the Bullfights which are simply *terrible*. I have attend[ed] several and each time have been so horrified that I have avowed that I would not go again. I am glad that I am an American and that we have some feeling for poor dum [sic] beasts. I am sure if you saw what I have seen at these fights you would faint. There is a great deal that is picturesque connected with these fights and if one can manage not to see the horrible things that take place it is an artistic treat." William Merritt Chase to Dora Wheeler, Madrid, July 24, 1881, Archives, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Miss Candace Stimson. Blum recorded a similar reaction in an extensive description of the fight written to Alexander Drake, the art editor of Charles Scribner's Sons. He concluded his lengthy epistle with the following observation: "You shift in rapid succession your sympathies from beast to man and back again and as the last bull dies and you look in the calm blue evening sky with an excited and nervous eye you ask yourself if you dislike it as much as you like it and not coming to definite conclusions are likely to leave the knotty point until the next bullfight 'When you will have a better opportunity to judge.'" Robert Frederick Blum to Alexander Drake, Madrid, July 21, 1882, Alexander Drake Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian

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Institution, Reel 3582, frames 876-82.

26. Because Chase did not exhibit *Spanish Bric-a-Brac Shop* until the spring of 1884, Pisano has suggested that Chase painted it in Spain during the summer of 1883. According to Chase's own recollection, he returned to Madrid to see Velázquez in the Prado the year before meeting Whistler in 1885. I have found no other documentation to support a visit to Spain during either 1883 or 1884. See Pisano, *A Leading Spirit in American Art*, p. 63 and William Merritt Chase, "The Two Whistlers--Recollections of a Summer with the Great Etcher," *Century Magazine* 80 (June 1910), pp. 218-26.

27. "Paintings at the Union League Club," *New-York Daily Tribune*, March 13, 1885, p. 5. Although most critics thought the painting remarkably well painted, they found the subject matter trivial and unworthy of such effort. See also "The Society of American Artists, *New York Sun*, June 1, 1884, p. 7.

28. Addison Thomas Millar (1860-1913) also composed paintings with this theme and format, most notably *The Rug Merchant* (n.d.; location unknown). Millar studied with William Merritt Chase during the early 1890s at Chase's Shinnecock summer school before departing for several years study in Paris. He rejoined Chase and his students in the spring of 1896 in Spain, where he worked as a copyist in the Prado. His Spanish and orientalist themes probably date from after this first visit. See Gerald M. Ackerman, *American Orientalists* (Paris: ACR Edition, 1994), pp. 126-9 and *Special Exhibition of Oil Paintings, Water Colors, and Sketches by Mr. Addison T. Millar* (exh. cat., Detroit: Detroit Museum of Art, 1900).

29. Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845; 7th rev. ed., London: John Murray, 1888), p. 80.

30. James Carroll Beckwith Diary, September 29, 1882, National Academy of Design, New York and Pisano, *A Leading Spirit in American Art*, p. 60. Chase's studio, with its lavish and exotic ornamentation, was itself an homage to Fortuny, who had established a similarly decorated and well-publicized work space some ten years earlier. On Chase's studio, see Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "William Merritt Chase's Tenth Street Studio," *Archives of American Art Journal* 16 (1976), pp. 2-14.

31. Americans traveling to Spain in the 1870s had also found Spanish light an important source on inspiration. Thomas Eakins, Harry Humphrey Moore, and Edwin Lord Weeks all worked outside during the visits to the Spanish peninsula. Spanish light continued to be a motivating factor for American artists in the early twentieth century. For example, the Munich-trained painter Theodore Wores visited Andalusia during the summer and autumn of 1903 and produced during this trip a series of *plein-air* landscapes in a modified Impressionist technique. Reproductions of Wores's Spanish paintings and a copy of Wores's Spanish Diary were kindly made available by Drs. A. Jess and Ben Shenson, San Francisco.

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32. Eduardo Alaminos López of the Museo Municipal de Madrid kindly examined a photograph of *Outskirts of Madrid* in July 1994. Señor Alaminos, an expert on the nineteenth-century history of Madrid, was not able to identify the exact site of the painting, but felt very confident that it depicted the newly urbanized southwestern zone of the city.

33. Eduardo Alaminos López et al. *Guía del Museo Municipal de Madrid: La Historia de Madrid en sus Colecciones* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Consejalía de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, 1993), p. 88.

34. George P. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 1, p. 657.

35. "Art Loan Exhibition," *Indianapolis Journal*, November 7, 1883, p. 3.

36. "Return of the Artists," *New York Daily Tribune*, October 8, 1882, p. 5.

37. My observations about Chase's *Sunny Spain*, as well as the Toledan paintings by Robert Blum, could not have been made without the enthusiastic support of José Pedro Muñoz Herrera, who is writing his dissertation on images of Toledo during the late nineteenth century. Muñoz Herrera, who is also the author of *Imágenes de la melancolia: Toledo (1772-1858)* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, Concejalía del Area de Cultura, 1993), provided me with a great deal of original material and a lively dialogue about the American images of Toledo. The site of Chase's *Sunny Spain* was discussed by Muñoz Herrera in correspondence with the author, December 24, 1994 and May 18, 1995.

38. Muñoz Herrera also noted the similarities of Chase's paintings to José Nicolau y Bertomeu's *Alrededores de Madrid* (1882; Location unknown), which was exhibited as number 58 in the exhibition of the Sociedad de Acuarelistas de Madrid in the summer of 1882. Nicolau's painting depicted a line of low houses receding diagonally into the distance in much as the same manner as Chase's *Spanish Village.* The light fixture in the two paintings also appears similar. Corespondence with the author, November 27, 1995.

39. Blum and Vinton signed the copyist registers at the Prado on July 5, 1882. Although Chase may have worked in the Prado during this trip, his name does not appear in the register for 1882. *Libro de registro de los señores copiantes*, June 3, 1882 - July 6, 1886, Box L-1, Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

40. Vinton also exhibited seven copies after Velázquez at the *Loan Collection of Copies of Old Masters by Modern Painters* (exh. cat., Boston: The Copley Society, 1906).

41. "Art Notes," *Boston Daily Transcript*, October 29, 1883, p. 4. Mishoe Brennecke kindly brought this review to my attention.

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42. See [William Howe Downes and F. Torrey Robinson,] "Some Living American Painters: A Critical Conversation by Howe and Torrey: Frederic P. Vinton, N.A.," *The Art Interchange* 32 (May 1894), pp. 137-8: "In Boston he painted a few portraits, until 1882, when he went to Madrid in company with Chase, Blum and Beckwith [sic], and studied the supreme art of Velasquez, whose genius made him thoughtful and modest."

43. Blum's copy of Velázquez's *Menippus* is visible in his pastel *My Studio* (1883-4; Cincinnati Art Museum), and his copy of Ribera's *Sacred Trinity* is in the collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum. Blum also mentioned his copy of Velázquez in a letter to his parents. See Robert Frederick Blum to his parents, Madrid, July 9, 1882, Blum Family Correspondence, courtesy Bruce Weber. The Blum Family Correspondence is written in German. Both George Lamerz and Renate Takkenberg-Krohn kindly provided translations.

Chase and Vinton left Madrid in time to arrive in Paris by August 29, 1882. See James Carroll Beckwith Dairy, August 29, 1882, National Academy of Design, New York.

44. Blum's admiration for Fortuny was especially well known, and friend often referred to him "Blumtuny." See Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and His Milieu," p. 65.

45. Blum's painting of "a quaint old church" is mentioned in "Return of the Artists," *New York Daily Tribune*, October 8, 1882, p. 5. Blum's first visit to Toledo occurred on Sunday, July 16, 1882. He described his visit in a letter to his parents written the following Tuesday. Robert Frederick Blum to his parents, Madrid, July 18, 1882, Blum Family Correspondence, courtesy Bruce Weber.

46. Robert Frederick Blum to William Merritt Chase, Toledo, July 24, 1882, in Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase*, p. 105-6.

47. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 2, p. 811. Lathrop, like Blum, also mentioned "the shrill whistling of the remorseless pet quail" that was kept by the family in the courtyard of the fonda. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 2, p. 819.

48. "Ich hatte zuerst die idee noch Granada und Sevillien zu gehen, aber ist die Zeit zu kurz (auch der Geld nicht so 'plenty') und so werde ich hier bleiben. (I first had the idea of going to Granada and Seville, but time is too short (and money is not too 'plenty') and so I will stay here.)" Robert Frederick Blum to his parents, Toledo, August 3, 1882, Blum Family Correspondence, courtesy Bruce Weber.

49. Robert Frederick Blum to William Merritt Chase, Toledo, August 28, [1882], Drawings Collection, Cincinnati Art Museum, gift of Norbert Heermann.

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50. At least two other versions of the subject are recorded, including *Spanish Muleteer* (ca. 1882; Christie's, New York, December 9, 1983, lot 103) and *A Spanish Muleteer* (ca. 1882; location unknown, reproduced in Mrs. Charles Mason Fairbanks, "Robert Blum: An Appreciation," *Metropolitan Magazine* 20 (July 1904), p. 509.)

51. "The Autumn Exhibition of the Academy," *The Critic* 2 (November 4, 1882), p. 302 and "Autumn Academy," *The Art Interchange* 9 (November 4, 1882), p. 98.

52. The painting sold for $200 while the autumn academy was still on view. See "Art Notes," *The Art Journal* 8 (November 1882), p. 350 and *The Private Collection of Paintings by Exclusively American Artists, Owned by Thomas B. Clarke* (exh. cat., New York: American Art Gallery, 1883), cat. no. 11.

53. The Casa Figueroa was run by two elderly ladies at number 16, calle Santa Isabel, and the facade in figure 6.11 is several doors down, at number 22, calle Santa Isabel. Muñoz Herrera, correspondence with the author, May 18, 1995.

54. On the history of water distribution in Toledo, see Rafael del Cerro Malagón, "Abastecimientos y usos del agua en Toledo," in *Cerca del Tajo: Actuación integral sobre el Tajo a su paso por Toledo* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1995), pp. 199-221. Muñoz Herrera provided me with a copy of this article.

55. Washington Irving, *The Alhambra* (1st illus. ed., 1851; repr. New York: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1982), pp. 247-69 and Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (1845; repr. London: Centaur Press, 1966), vol. 1, p. 71. Irving tells a story about a watercarrier named Peregil and his mule in a story called "Legend of the Moor's Legacy." An illustration of the watercarrier by Felix O. C Darley is included as the frontispiece of this edition.

56. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 1, p. 650.

57. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 2, p. 802.

58. William Merritt Chase to Miss Toadie [Alice Gerson], Madrid, August 6, 1881, William Merritt Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N69-137, frames 707-8. The drawings were also reproduced by Roof, *The Art and Life of William Merritt Chase*, p. 336. Chase wrote a second letter, explaining that his first was a secret love letter, the following day. William Merritt Chase to Miss Toadie [Alice Gerson], Madrid, August 7, 1881, William Merritt Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N69-137, frames 533-4.

59. Wagner's *Spanien* (Berlin: Gebrüder Päter [1881]) was published simultaneously in Paris. See Alexandre Wagner, *L'Espagne* (Paris: F. Ebhardt, 1881), pp. 178-82. Chase studied with Wagner when he first arrived at the Munich Academy. See Pisano, *A Leading Spirit in American Art*, p. 27. Muñoz Herrera suggested these

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connections in a letter to the author, May 18, 1995.

60. Susan Hale, *Family Flight Through Spain* (Boston: D. Lothrop & Company, [1883], p. 94.

61. Alguacil moved his "museo fotográfico" several times during his long career. The store was located on the calle del Comercio in 1888. See Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, p. 596-7.

62. *Catalogue of the Modern Masterpieces Gathered by the Late Connoisseur William H. Stewart* (sale cat., New York: American Art Association, 1898).

63. Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and His Milieu," pp. 98-9.

64. Lucy H. Hooper, "The Pictures at the Paris Exhibition, III: The Spanish Section," *The Art Journal* 4 (1878), p. 317 and "M. Martin Rico . . . reste un des plus brillants émules de Fortuny," author's trans., Paul Lefort, "Les Ecoles étrangères de peinture," in Louis Gonse, ed., *L'Art moderne à l'exposition de 1878* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1879), p. 209.

65. Robert Frederick Blum to William Merritt Chase, Venice, September 6, [1995], Chapellier Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N68-101.

66. Martín Rico, *Recuerdos de mi vida* (trans. Claude Rico Roberts, New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1987). This incident probably took place in 1893.

67. The name Sherwood is inscribed on the back of *A Spanish Watercarrier, Toledo.* John Sherwood, Beckwith's uncle and a collector of contemporary painting, apparently commissioned two Spanish subjects from Blum after his return to New York. Blum wrote in a letter to his parents that one of the pictures was to be twenty-eight by forty inches, and would cost five hundred dollars, and the other was to be forty-five by seventy inches, for which he would be paid eight hundred dollars. The first of these canvases is *Spanish Courtyard* (fig. 6.19), but the second, based on *A Spanish Watercarrier*, is either unlocated or was not completed. See Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and His Milieu," p. 184.

68. Susan Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," *Century Magazine* 39 (November 1889), pp. 32-41. Carter, director of painting at Cooper Union, had studied with Couture during the summers of 1877 and 1878. See Carol M. Osborne, "Yankee Painters at the Prado," in Suzanne Stratton et al. *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (exh. cat., New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with The Spanish Institute, 1993), p. 77, n. 47.

Blum also received a commission from *Century Magazine* to provide illustrations for two articles on the bullfight. See Charles Dudley Warner, "The Bull-fight," *Century Magazine* 27 (November 1883), pp. 3-13 and John Heard, Jr.,

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"Sancho Mitarra," *Century Magazine* 39 (January 1890), pp. 450-55.

69. Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," p. 32.

70. Muñoz Herrera, who identified the convent in Laurent's photograph as an entrance to Toledo's Plaza de Toros, first alerted me to these images. Chase's also used a Laurent photograph, *Tipos populares de Valencia -- El Femater*, as the source for his portrayal of a young girl collectiong garbage, titled *A Scavenger.* Correspondence with the author, May 18, 1995 and November 27, 1995.

71. Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," p. 35.

72. Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," p. 36.

73. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 2, p. 812.

74. Muñoz Herrera, correspondence with the author, December 1994.

75. Vinton made a very similar sketch of this balcony, which is reproduced in Frank T. Robinson, *Living New England Artists* (1888; repr. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), p. 179.

76. This painting, and the similarities between the work of Arredondo and Blum, were brought to my attention by Muñoz Herrera, correspondence with the author, December 1994.

77. According to Muñoz Herrera, a definitive chronology of Arredondo's movements has not yet been constructed. Correspondence with the author, May 18, 1995. On Arredondo, see also Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Ricardo Arredondo: "El pintor de Toledo" (1850-1911)* (Madrid: Arte Español, 1969).

78. Robert Frederick Blum to William Merritt Chase, Madrid, [September] 4, 1882, Chapellier Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N68-101, frames 17-19.

79. Muñoz Herrera suggested that perhaps Blum sketched the patio of Arredondo's house, although again the lack of an exact chronology and dated for Arredondo's purchase of the building and the destruction of the physical structure prevents a definite attribution. Correspondence with the author, May 18, 1995.

80. Ben L. Bassham, *The Theatrical Photographs of Napoleon Sarony* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978), pp. 3-24.

81. Sarony and his family signed the guest register at the Alhambra between August 14 and 20, 1882. *Libro de registro*, April 1, 1872 - March 8, 1883, Archives of the Alhambra, Granada. Blum told his parents that Chase had given Sarony a letter in

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Madrid to be delivered to him in Toledo. Robert Frederick Blum to his parents, Toledo, August 25, 1882, Blum Family Correspondence, courtesy Bruce Weber.

82. According to Smith, Blum took him in Toledo to "the most charming patio [he] ever saw -- used as a backdrop for the best of his Spanish studies." See F. Hopkinson Smith, *American Illustrators* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 45.

83. F. Hopkinson Smith, *Well Worn Roads of Spain, Holland & Italy, Traveled by a Painter in Search of the Picturesque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, 1887), p. 9. *Well Worn Roads* was the first of many books by Smith, who was to distinguish himself as an author in this and later works, including *A White Umbrella in Mexico* (1889), *Venice of Today* (1896), and *A Book of the Tile Club* (1897).

84. F. Hopkinson Smith, *Outdoor Sketching: Four Talks Given the Art Institute of Chicago* (New York: Scribner's, 1915), p. 3.

85. Most of Smith's watercolors were painted in Andalusia. For a list of titles, see *Catalogue of Art Works by Arthur Quartley and F. Hopkinson Smith* (sale cat., New York: Messrs. Ortgies & Co., 1884).

86. Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," part 2, p. 815.

87. See Michael Quick, *American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century* (exh. cat., Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Art Institute, 1976), p. 138 and 157.

88. Ralph Curtis mentioned Ulrich's presence in Seville during the spring of 1888. See Ralph Curtis to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Seville, March 25 [1888], Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers, Archives of American Art, Reel 396, frame 271. Ulrich exhibited a painting titled *Spanish Letter Writer* at the Royal Academy, London, in 1889, providing another reasons to fix his visit to the year 1888. See Meredith Ward, *Adventure & Inspiration: American Artists in Other Lands* (exh. cat., New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1988), p. 109.

89. According to this article, "the full volley of light banter and ironical chaff to which any well-dressed stranger passing among [the *lavanderas*] is exposed, can only be matched in the cigar factories of Andalusia." See "Toilers of the River," *Eclectic Magazine* 88 (February 1877), p. 248.

90. Hassam painted several works at the Alhambra, including *La Puerta del Vino, la Alhambra* (1883, Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1990, lot 49); *El Tocador de la Reina, la Alhambra* (1883, Sotheby's, New York, sale #2169 (1963), lot 14); and *Gateway [La Puerta del Vino], la Alhambra* (1883, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh).

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91. Childe Hassam Interview, January 31, 1927, Dewitt McClellan Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel 503. Hassam returned to Spain with his wife in 1910.

92. *Water Colors by Hassam* (exh. cat., Boston: Williams & Everett's, 1884), number 11 (*Street at Noon--Denia, Spain*) and number 40 (*Street--Denia, Spain*). Garrett, also an illustrator and watercolorist, exhibited his watercolors, including several Spanish subjects, at the Boston gallery of J. Eastman Chase. See *Water Colors by Edmund H. Garrett* (exh. cat., Boston: J. Eastman Chase's Gallery, [1884]).

93. This step toward Impressionism might also be related to the "glare aesthetic," as defined by William H. Gerdts. Although all American painters who displayed an interest in the sharp out-of-door light of Spain did not ultimately develop into American Impressionists, many -- among them Hassam, Chase, and Weir -- did. See Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), pp. 17-21.

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Appendix A: Chronological List of American Artists in Spain, 1800-1899

This list consists of American-born artists who traveled in Spain between the years 1800 and 1900. It was primarily compiled from the Copyist Registers in the Archives of the Museo del Prado, Madrid; the Visitor Registers in the Archives of the Alhambra, Granada; newspaper and periodical notices; and dated works that appear to have been executed in Spain. Following the artist's name is the date of their arrival in Spain, their traveling companion(s), and the date(s) of any other visits during the nineteenth century. Subsequent visits after 1900 are not included. This list is a work-in-progress and will certainly be expanded as future information is uncovered.

1801
David Porter; 1801

1830
Amasa Hewins; 1830

1836
John Vanderlyn; ca. 1836-46

1846
Miner Kilbourne Kellogg; 1846

1848
George R. Bonfield; 1848 (see also 1882)

1852
John Phillips; ca. 1852-4

1854
Charles Callahan Perkins; 1854

1860
Samuel Colman; 1860 (see also 1871)
George Henry Hall; 1860 (see also 1866)

1861
Fritz Sigried George Melby(e); by 1861

1862
Horatio Lorenzo Plumer; 1862

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1863
John W. Ehninger; 1863
Hamilton Gibbs Wild(e); by 1863

1866
George Henry Hall; 1866 (see also 1860)

1867
John Sartain; 1867 with W. Sartain (see also 1883)
William Sartain; 1867 with J. Sartain (see also 1870 and 1906)

1868
John Singer Sargent; 1868 (see also 1879, 1892 and 1895)

1869
Thomas Eakins; 1869 with Moore and W. Sartain

1870
Harry Humphrey Moore; 1870 with Eakins and W. Sartain (see also 1881 and 1892)
William Sartain; 1870 with Eakins and Moore (see also 1867 and 1906)
R. Swain Gifford; 1870 with Tiffany
Louis Comfort Tiffany; 1870 with Gifford

1871
George P. A. Healy; 1871
Samuel Colman; 1871 (see also 1860)

1872
Frederick Arthur Bridgman; 1872 (see also 1873)
Mary Cassatt; 1872 (see also 1884)

1873
Frederick Arthur Bridgman; 1873 (see also 1872)

1875
Robert Hinckley; 1875 (see also 1879)

1876
Julian Alden Weir; 1876
Edwin Lord Weeks; ca. 1876 (see also 1880 and 1897)
Edwin Howland Blashfield; ca. 1876

1877
Abraham Archibald Anderson; 1877

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1878
Susan Nichols Carter; 1878
Alfred Quinton Collins; 1878 with Gay
Walter Gay; 1878 with Collins
William Turner Dannat; 1878
Francis Coates Jones; 1878 with H. Jones
Hugh Bolton Jones; 1878 with F. Jones

1879
Robert Hinckley; 1879 (see also 1875)
John Singer Sargent; 1879 (see also 1868, 1892 and 1895)

1880
James Carroll Beckwith; 1880
Anna Parker Dixwell; 1880 with Putnam (see also 1881)
Anna Putnam; 1880 with Dixwell (see also 1881)
Henry Siddons Mowbray; 1880 with Walker
Henry Oliver Walker; 1880 with Mowbray
Truman Seymour; 1880 (see also 1884)
Henry Joseph Thouron; 1880
Edwin Lord Weeks; 1880 (see also 1876 and 1897)
John Rollin Tilton; ca. 1880

1881
Edward Darley Boit; 1881
William Merritt Chase; 1881 (see also 1882, 1896 and 1898)
Elizabeth Boott Duveneck; 1881 with Dixwell, Putnam and Washburn
Anna Parker Dixwell; 1881 with Boott, Putnam and Washburn (see also 1880)
Anna Putnam; 1881 with Boott, Dixwell and Washburn (see also 1880)
Lucy Washburn; 1881 with Boott, Dixwell and Putnam
Jean-Leon Gerome Ferris; 1881 with S. Ferris
Stephen J. Ferris; 1881 with J-L Ferris
Augustus G. Heaton; 1881 (see also 1882)
Halsey Cooley Ives; 1881
Charles Stanley Reinhart; 1881
Harry Wilson Watrous; 1881 with Moore
Harry Humphrey Moore; 1881 with Watrous (see also 1870 and 1892)

1882
Ellen Day Hale; 1882 with S. Hale
Susan Hale; 1882 with E. Hale (see also 1887)
Robert Frederick Blum; 1882 with Chase and Vinton
William Merritt Chase; 1882 with Blum and Vinton (see also 1881, 1896 and 1898)
Frederic Porter Vinton; 1882 with Blum and Chase

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William Stanley Haseltine; 1882
Albert Pinkham Ryder; 1882
Francis Hopkinson Smith; 1882
Alfred Wordsworth Thompson; 1882
Olin Levi Warner; 1882
Augustus G. Heaton; 1882 (see also 1881)
George R. Bonfield; 1882 (see also 1848)

1883
Edmund Henry Garrett; 1883 with Hassam
Childe Hassam; 1883 with Garrett
Daniel Huntington; 1883
John Sartain; 1883 (see also 1867)
Walter Launt Palmer; ca. 1883
Charles Sprague Pearce; probably by 1883

1884
John White Alexander; 1884
Mary Cassatt; 1884 (see also 1872)
Truman Seymour; 1884 (see also 1880)

1886
Charles Forbes; 1886 with Mills (see also 1895)
Charles E. Mills; 1886 with Forbes
Alicia M. Keyes; 1886

1887
Ralph Wormeley Curtis; 1887 (see also 1888)
Susan Hale; 1887 with J. Johnston (see also 1882)
John Humphreys Johnston; 1887 with S. Hale (see also 1890 and 1893)
Lilla Cabot Perry; 1887 (see also 1894)

1888
Ralph Wormeley Curtis; 1888 (see also 1887)
Charles Frederick Ulrich; 1888

1889
Colin Campbell Cooper; 1889

1890
Philip Leslie Hale; 1890 with Johnston and Hart
William Howard Hart; 1890 with Hale and Johnston
John Humphreys Johnston; 1890 with Hale and Hart (see also 1887 and 1893)

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1891
Charles E. Dana; by 1891
Walter Satterlee; by 1891
George H. Clements; 1891
Eanger Irving Couse; 1891 with Dessar
Louis Paul Dessar; 1891 with Couse
William Henry Hyde; 1891
William Sergeant Kendall; 1891

1892
Frank Myers Boggs; 1892
William Keith; 1892
Julius Rolshoven; 1892
John Singer Sargent; 1892 (see also 1868, 1879 and 1895)
Harry Humphrey Moore; 1892 (see also 1870 and 1881)
Leslie Giffen Cauldwell; ca. 1892
George Hitchcock; ca. 1892

1893
John Humphreys Johnston; 1893 (see also 1887 and 1890)

1894
Charles M. Kurtz; 1894
Lilla Cabot Perry; 1894 (see also 1887)

1895
Frank Duveneck; 1895 with Forbes and Sharp
Charles Forbes; 1895 with Duveneck and Sharp (see also 1886)
Joseph Henry Sharp; 1895 with Duveneck and Forbes
Robert David Gauley; 1895 with Ross
Denman W. Ross; 1895 with Gauley
John Singer Sargent; 1895 (see also 1868, 1879 and 1892)
John Lambert; 1895

1896
William Merritt Chase; 1896 (see also 1881, 1882 and 1898)
Reynolds Beal; 1896 with Chase
Adelaide Gilchrist; 1896 with Chase
Lilian Haines Crittenden; 1896 with Chase
Addison T. Millar; 1896 with Chase
Cadwallader Washburn; 1896 with Chase
Frank Russell Wadsworth; 1896 with Chase
John George Brown; 1896
James Frederick Hopkins; 1896

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Fred Dana Marsh; 1896
Francis Luis Mora; 1896
William McGregor Paxton; 1896
Joseph Pennell; 1896

1897
William Partridge Burpee; 1897
Eastman Johnson; 1897
Edwin Lord Weeks; 1897 (see also 1876 and 1880)

1898
Frederick William MacMonnies; 1898
William Merritt Chase; 1898 (see also 1881, 1882 and 1896)

1899
Prosper L. Senat; 1899
Dodge MacKnight; ca. 1899

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Appendix B: Copyist and Visitor Registers in the Archives of the Museo el Prado, Madrid

The Archives of the Museo del Prado has preserved many of the Copyist and Visitor Registers from the nineteenth century. Although they were kept sporadically, and although some sections are missing, these records form an important source of information about the activities of Americans in Spain. The following is a selected transcription of the North Americans whose names are inscribed in those volumes. Their date of visit, nationality, occupation, local address, canvas size, subject of study, and exit date occasionally accompany the entries. Spelling eccentricities have been corrected for clarity.

Visitor Register, June 10, 1856 - September 2, 1864, Box L-28

October 26, 1857
W. C. Bryant de los Estados Unidos, New York

August 8, 1860
Samuel Colman, American, artist

August 22, 1860
Geo. H. Hall, Amerique, artist

April 15 1861
George H. Hall, U.S., artist

December 19, 1862
H. L. Plumer, Estados Unidos, artista

January 26, 1862
John W. Ehninger, Etats-Unis, New York

Copyist Register, March 18, 1864 - October 18, 1873, Box L-36

September 3, 1871
#284: Jorge Healy, encargado de negocios de los E.U.

October 5, 1872
#416: Mary S. Cassatt, extranjera

Copyist Register, October 27, 1873 - April 30, 1881, Box L-34

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February 3, 1875
#194: Robert C. Hinckley, Hotel Paris

August 9, 1876
#355: Filadelfo Simi, Fonda Leon de Oro, extranjero
#356: Alden Weir, idem, idem

April 21, 1878
#478: Alfredo Collins, Hotel Peninsular
#479: Walter Gay, idem

September 9, 1879
#611: Robert Hinckley, Hotel de la Paz

October 14, 1879
#630: John S. Sargent, Salud 13

May 5, 1880
#674: [Truman] Seymour
#675: Mme. [Truman] Seymour

June 1880
#688: James Carroll [Beckwith], Salud 13
#692: Henry Thouron, Prado 11

September 1880
#719: Madeline Winer, Hotel de Paz
#720: Anna P. Dixwell, id
#721: Anna Putnam, id

March or April 1881
#760: Augusto Heaton

Entradas y salidas de copias, June 8, 1876 - May 18, 1878 [continuation of the same register]

#166: August 9, 1876, Filadelfo Simi, 44 x 38, Retrato de Hombre, August 22, 1876

#167: August 9, 1876, Alden Weir, 44 x 38, Retrato de un cardinal, August 22, 1876

#691: April 9, 1877, A. A. Anderson, 52 x 40, Los Borrachos, May 11, 1877

#778: May 14, 1877, A. A. Anderson, 50 x 60, Las Hilanderas, May 14, 1877

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#2066: April 25, 1878, Walter Gay, 30 x 35, Retrato de Alonso Cano, April 26, 1878

#2067: April 25, 1878, Alfredo Collins, 30 x 35, Retrato de Alonso Cano, April 26, 1878

#2070: April 25, 1878, Alfredo Collins, 40 x 30, Mercurio y Argos, May 10, 1878

#2074: April 27, 1878, William T. Dannat, 69 x 86, Felipe 2°, May 21, 1878

#2076: April 30, 1878, Alfredo Collins, 25 x 35, Un retrato, May 10, 1878

#2077: April 30, 1878, Walter Gay, 50 x 42, Un retrato, May 10, 1878

#2089: May 7, 1878, Walter Gay, 45 x 35, Príncipe Baltasar

#2091: May 7, 1878, Mr. T. Dannat, 54 x 46, Retrato del Príncipe Baltasar

#2100: May 14, 1878, Mr. T. Dannat, 52 x 47, Una cabeza

Copyist Register, June 3, 1882 - July 6, 1886, Box L-1

#275: June 21, 1882, Ellen de Hale [sic], 54 x 41, Estudio de las Hilanderas

#276: June 21, 1882, idem, 46 x 38, Bobo de Coria

#306: July 5, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 107 x 82, El Enano (Velázquez)

#307: July 5, 1882, Robert Blum, 179 x 90, Menippus

#314: July 8, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 191 x 103, Príncipe Baltasar (Velázquez)

#315: July 8, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 142 x 107, El enano del perro (Velázquez)

#316: July 8, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 191 x 126, Felipe IV en traje de caza (Velázquez)

#317: July 8, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 209 x 123, Bufón, Pablo de Valladolid (Velázquez)

#392: August 22, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 190 x 103, El Retrato de Alonso Cano (Velázquez)

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#393: August 22, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 100 x 90, Felipe IV (Velázquez)

#394: August 22, 1882, Frederic Vinton, 80 x 25, Una Virgen

Copyist Register, March 3, 1887 - December 31, 1895, Box L-3

1887

#471: October 1, 1887, Lilla Cabot [Perry], 50 x 36, Príncipe Baltasar, Velázquez

#479: October 5, 1887, Lilla Cabot [Perry], 70 x 55, La Sibila, Ribera

#480: October 5, 1887, idem, 75 x 65, San Bartolomé, Ribera

#490: October 8, 1887, Lilla Cabot Perry, 68 x 53, Dolorosa de Tiziano

#529: November 1, 1887, Liila Perry, 44 x 30, Estudios, Velázquez

#534: November 2, 1887, Lilla Perry, 54 x 60, Da. Ma. de Medici de Rubens

1890

#167: April 8, 1890, John Humphreys [Johnston], 35 x 25, Estudio de las Meninas, Velázquez

#168: April 8, 1890, Philip Hale, 60 x 45, Estudio Retrato Montañés, Velázquez

#169: April 8, 1890, Howard Hart, 65 x 45, Retrato Felipe IV, Velázquez

#180: April 11, 1890, Howard Hart, 40 x 30, Estudio, Velázquez

#181: April 11, 1890, Philip Hale, 60 x 90, Estudio, Velázquez

#182: April 11, 1890, Philip Hale, 90 x 50, Menippus, Velázquez

#183: April 11, 1890, John Humphreys [Johnston], 50 x 70, Estudios, Velázquez

#187: April 14, 1890, John Humphreys [Johnston], 60 x 40, Estudio, Velázquez

#189: April 15, 1890, Howard Hart, 55 x 45, Estudio, Velázquez

#190: April 15, 1890, Philip Hale, 80 x 60, Estudio, Velázquez

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#191: April 15, 1890, Philip Hale, 80 x 60, Estudio, Velázquez

#199: April 19, 1890, Philip Hale, 105 x 70, Estudio, Velázquez

#200: April 19, 1890, Howard Hart, 26 x 20, Estudio, Velázquez

#201: April 19, 1890, Philip Hale, 60 x 45, Retrato de Felipe IV, Velázquez

#250: May 14, 1890, John Humphreys [Johnston], 50 x 60, Estudio, Velázquez

#251: May 14, 1890, idem, 70 x 60, Estudio de los Borrachos, Velázquez

#300: June 14, 1890, [John] Humphreys Johnston, 190 x 140, Las Meninas, Velázquez

1891

#184: April 2, 1891, Louis P. Dessar, 220 x 289, Hilanderas, Velázquez, May 1, 1891

#233: April 24, 1891, Sergeant Kendall, 120 x 75, La Bacchante (Estudio), Tiziano, June 26, 1891

#258: May 6, 1891, Sergeant Kendall, 155 x 138, Las Meninas, Velázquez, June 26, 1891

#268: May 12, 1891, George Clements, 110 x 95, El Príncipe Baltasar, Velázquez

#269: May 12, 1891, William H. Hyde, 100 x 120, Las Meninas, Velázquez

1892

#510: October 26, 1892, Julius Rolshoven, 61 x 42, Retrato, Velázquez

#535: November 3, 1892, Humphrey Moore, 40 x 30, Las Hilanderas, Velázquez, November 15, 1892

1893

#176: April 27, 1893, [John] Humphrey Johnston, 189 x 149, Retrato de Maria Teresa, Velázquez

1894

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#313: May 23, 1894, Lilla Cabot Perry, 60 x 46, Príncipe Baltasar, Velázquez, May 28, 1894

#358: June 4, 1894, Royal Cortissoz, 50 x 20, Estudio, Tiziano

1895

#247: April 6, 1895, Mr. [Charles] Forbes, 45 x 55, Estudio, Velázquez, June 8, 1895

#248: April 6, 1895, Francisco Duveneck, 45 x 55, Estudio, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#253: April 6, 1895, Carlos Forbes, 106 x 85, Niño de Vallecas - Bobo de Coria, Velázquez, June 8, 1895

#254: April 6, 1895, Duveneck, 106 x 83, [Papamascas or Calabacillas?] de Burgos, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#255: April 6, 1895, J. H. Sharp, 70 x 55, Estudio de Velázquez, May 31, 1895

#268: April 9, 1895, J. H. Sharp, 70 x 54, Estudio de Velázquez, May 31, 1895

#270: April 13, 1895, Carlos Forbes, 191 x 107, D. Fernando de Austria, Velázquez, June 8, 1895

#271: April 13, 1895, J. H. Sharp, 209 x 141, Retrato del Príncipe Baltasar, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#272: April 13, 1895, Francisco Duveneck, 209 x 179, Retrato del Príncipe Baltasar, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#274: April 15, 1895, Franco Duveneck, 212 x 147, Infanta María Teresa, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#299: April 23, 1895, Carlos Forbes, 212 x 147, Infanta María Teresa, Velázquez, June 8, 1895

#300: April 23, 1895, J. Henry Sharp, 209 x 172, D. Fernando de Austria, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#321: April 26, 1895, J. Sharp, 60 x 50, Estudio de Velázquez, May 31, 1895

#327: April 29, 1895, John Lambert, 65 x 32, Príncipe Baltasar, Velázquez, June 20,

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1895

#348: May 3, 1895, John Lambert, 155 x 188, Meninas, Velázquez, June 30, 1895

#370: May 6, 1895, J. H. Sharp, 109 x 81, Retrato de Montañés, Velázquez, May 31, 1895

#371: May 6, 1895, id., 107 x 85, Retrato de Doña María Teresa de Austria, Velázquez, id.

#372: May 6, 1895, C. Forbes, 110 x 85, Velázquez

#424: May 13, J. H. Sharp, 65 x 52, Estudio de Velázquez, May 31, 1895

#425: May 13, 1895, Carlos Forbes, 80 x 60, Estudio, Velázquez, June 8, 1895

#426: May 13, 1895, id., 70 x 56, Estudio, Velázquez, id.

#427: May 13, 1895, id., 60 x 45, Estudio, Velázquez, id.

#428: May 13, 1895, id., 60 x 45, Estudio, Velázquez, id.

#429: May 13, 1895, id., 47 x 30, Estudio, Velázquez, id.

#471: May 28, 1895, J. H. Sharp, 52, 72, Estudios, varios, June 22, 1895

#505: June 4, 1895, Francisco Duveneck, 191 x 126, Felipe IV, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#506: June 4, 1895, id., 69 x 56, Felipe Iv, Velázquez, June 22, 1895

#542: June 12, 1895, Juan Lambert, 54 x 49, Estudio, Velázquez, June 20, 1895

#689: July 26, 1895, John S. Sargent, 80 x 54, Estudio, Greco, July 31, 1895

#695: July 30, 1895, John Sargent, 46 x 30, Estudio, Tiziano, July 31, 1895

#696: July 30, 1895, id., 46 x 20, Estudio, Tintoretto, July 31, 1895

#863: October 8, 1895, Robert D. Gauley

#864: October 8, 1895, Denman W. Ross

#918: October 16, 1895, Denman Ross

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#929: October 22, 1895, Denman Ross

#952: October 28, 1895, Denman Ross

Copyist Register, January 2, 1896 - December 31, 1897, Box L-2.

#81: February 20, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 61 x 46, Estudio, Velázquez, March 5, 1896

#85: February 20, 1896, Frank R. Wadsworth, 52 x 40, Estudio, Velázquez, March 18, 1896

#86: February 20, 1896, id., 52 x 40, Estudio, Velázquez, February 26, 1896

#90: February 20, 1896, Cad Washburn, 52 x 40, Estudio, Velázquez, February 2, 1896

#95: February 21, 1896, Adela[ide] Gilchrist, 25 x 20, Estudio, Velázquez

#96: February 21, 1896: Lilian Haines [Crittenden], 45 x 35, Estudio, Velázquez, March 20, 1896

#98: February 22, 1896, Cad Washburn, 46 x 56, Estudio, Velázquez, February 28, 1896

#99: February 22, 1896, Fred Dana Marsh, 41 x 37, Bacanal, Tiziano, March 3, 1896

#100: February 22, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 79 x 64, Estudio, Velázquez, March 5, 1896

#107: February 25, 1896, W. Chase, 210 x 148, Retrato de María Teresa, Velázquez, September 22, 1898

#122: February 28, 1896, Fred Dana Marsh, 27 x 22, Estudio, Velázquez, March 3, 1896

#123: February 28, 1896, Cad Washburn, 56 x 45, Estudio, Velázquez

#125: February 28, 1896, Addison Millar, 24 x 19, la Virgen, Mantegna, February 28, 1896

#130: February 29, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 52 x 41, Estudio, Velázquez, March 11, 1896

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#132: February 29, 1896, W. Chase, 318 x 276, Meninas, Velázquez, September 22, 1898

#155: March 4, 1896, Cad Washburn, 180 x 95, Menipo, Velázquez, April 11, 1896

#156: March 4, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 120 x 85, Estudio, Velázquez, March 18, 1896

#176: March 7, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 79 x 64, Estudio, Velázquez, March 27, 1896

#180: March 9, 1896, Luis Mora, 106 x 83, Bobo de Coria, Velázquez, March 27, 1896

#185: March 10, 1896, Addison Millar, 45 x 36, Estudio, Velázquez, March 13, 1896

#186: March 10, 1896, id., 45 x 36, Estudio, id., March 26, 1896

#187: March 10, 1896, id., 42 x 32, Estudio, id., March 20, 1896

#214: March 13, 1896, Addison Millar, 40 x 32, Estudio, Velázquez, April 8, 1896

#215: March 13, 1896, id., 40 x 32, Estudio, Velázquez, March 24, 1896

#216: March 13, 1896, Cad Washburn, 60 x 50, Estudio, Velázquez, March 24, 1896

#228: March 17, 1896, Luis Mora, 20 x 15, Estudio, Velázquez, September 12, 1896

#236: March 18, 1896, Frank Wadsworth, 52 x 42, Estudio, Rubens, April 18, 1896

#237: March 18, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 111 x 86, Retrato de Montañés, Velázquez, April 4, 1896

#239: March 20, 1896, Cad S. Washburn, 52 x 42, Estudio, Velázquez

#248: March 21, 1896, Cad S. Washburn, 52 x 42, Estudio, Velázquez, April 1, 1896

#253: March 23, 1896, Reynolds Beal, 197 x 108, Estudio, Velázquez, April 10, 1896

#254: March 24, 1896, Lilian Haines [Crittenden], 80 x 62, Estudio, Velázquez, April 13, 1896

#255: March 24, 1896, id., 20 x 30, Estudio, Mazo, April 13, 1896

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#266: March 26, 1896, Addison Millar, 35 x 27, Estudio, Veronese

#274: March 27, 1896, Cad W. Washburn, 52 x 42, Estudio, Velázquez, April 1, 1896

#277: March 28, 1896, Luis Mora, 109 x 87, Retrato de Montañés, Velázquez, April 27, 1896

#282: March 30, 1897, Addison T. Millar, 100 x 80, Estudio, Velázquez, April 4, 1896

#283: March 30, 1896, Addison T. Millar, 46 x 36, Estudio, Velázquez, April 8, 1896

#284: March 30, 1896, Addison T. Millar, 46 x 36, Estudio, Greco, April 1, 1896

#292: April 1, 1896, Cad Washburn, 65 x 55, Estudio, Velázquez

#295: April 1, 1896, Frank Wadsworth, 52 x 41, Estudio, Velázquez, April 18, 1896

#298: April 4, 1896, Cad Washburn, 64 x 54, Estudio, Velázquez, April 14, 1896

#330: April 10, 1896, Addison Millar, 100 x 70, Estudio, Velázquez, April 14, 1896

#349: April 14, 1896, Cad S. Washburn, 58 x 49, Estudio, Velázquez

#355: April 15, 1896, Addison T. Millar, 36 x 24, April 18, 1896

#372: April 18, 1896, Frank Wadsworth, 52 x 41, Estudio, Velázquez

#410: April 28, 1896, Luis Mora, 80 x 60, Estudio, Velázquez, May 9, 1896

#447: May 12, 1896, Luis Mora, 60 x 80, Estudio, Velázquez, May 21, 1896

Copyist Register, January 1, 1898 - April 24, 1900, Box L-4.

#424: September 22, 1898, W. Chase, 230 x 130, Retrato de Doña María de Austria, Velázquez

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Appendix C: Visitor Registers in the Archives of the Alhambra, Granada

The Archives of the Alhambra has preserved three nineteenth-century Visitor Registers that were signed sporadically by visitors to the palace. They cover successively the dates 1829 to 1872; 1872 to 1883; and 1896-1903. The following is a transcription of some of the names inscribed in those volumes. Included are artists, art dealers, and collectors, among others.

1st volume, May 9, 1829 - March 23, 1872.

May 9, 1829
Washington Irving

June 10, 1870
Harry H. Moore, U.S. America

July 9-10, 1870
M. Fortuny, 1870
M. de Fortuny, 1870
R. Madrazo, 1870
G. Washington Smith, Philadelphia U.S.A., July 10, 1870

2nd volume, April 1, 1872 - March 8, 1883.

April 27-28, 1872
Bon. et Bnne. Davillier, Paris

November 17, [1872]
F. A. Bridgman, Paris

September 21, 1875
One hour after midnight by the light of the moon.
Geo. W. Bailey, Lawrence, Mass., U.S.A.
Fred H. Elder, New York
Geo. Elder, Jr., New York
Miss E. E. Elder, New York City, U.S.A.
Miss Louisine W. Elder, September 22, 1875

April 25-26, 1877
Arthur E. White, New York

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J. Jay White, New York
A. A. Anderson, New York

April 12, 1878
Geo. D. Sheldon, Erie, PA, USA
H. Bolton Jones, Baltimore, USA
Wm. Spencer, Erie, PA, USA
Frank C. Jones, Baltimore, USA

September 21, 1879
Robert C. Hickley, Boston, Massachusetts

March 23, 1880
T. Seymour, Major General U.S. Army, New York, USA
Mrs. Seymour
Charles W. Gould
John Chaplin

March 26-28, 1880
H. O. Walker, Estados Unidos
Harry S. Mowbray, do.

September 25-29, 1880
Charles P. Putnam, Boston, US America
A. C. Putnam
Anna P. Dixwell
Arthur Lincoln

October 31, 1880
Dr. Asa Gray & Madame, Cambridge U.S.A.

March 31 - April 2, 1881
Edward D. Boit, Paris

May 12-13, 1881
A. G. Heaton, Phila. U.S.

July 9, 1881
G. P. Lathrop, Boston, U.S.
Chas. S. Reinhart, New York

August 12-13, 1881
Halsey C. Ives, St. Louis, Mo., USA
Edmund A. Engler, St. Louis, Mo., USA

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October 7-11, 1881
Munkacsy

February 8, 1882
Mrs. E. B. Crocker, Sacramento, CA
Miss Amy J. Crocker, do.

June 1-4, 1882
Edward Everett Hale, Boston, E.U. de America
Miss Susan Hale
Miss Ellen Day Hale
Miss Mary Marquand
Grouselle de Paris

June 28-29, 1882
Olin L. Warner, June 1882
Daniel Cottier
Albert Ryder

August 14-20, 1882
Napoleon Sarony, New York, America
Mrs. Nap. Sarony
Miss Belle Sarony

September 11-13, 1882
F. Hopkinson Smith, New York U.S.A.
F. Berkeley Smith

September 29-30, 1882
Wm. S. Haseltine, Roma
Charles H. Marshall, New York

3rd volume, January 28, 1896 - December 28, 1903.

March 11, [1896]
Mary Nelson Dickey, Wheeling, West Virginia USA
Adelaide Gilchrist, Wheeling, West Virginia USA

September 30, [1896]
Emma Asbrand Hopkins, Brooklyn, NY
J. Frederick Hopkins, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn

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October 21-22, 1896
Charles Russell, Albany, New York

November 12, 1896
Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Brown, Boston USA
Elizabeth G. Brown, do.

November 12-14, 1896
Wm. M. Paxton, Boston USA

July 1-5, July 1897
Eastman Johnson, New York
Mrs. Eastman Johnson

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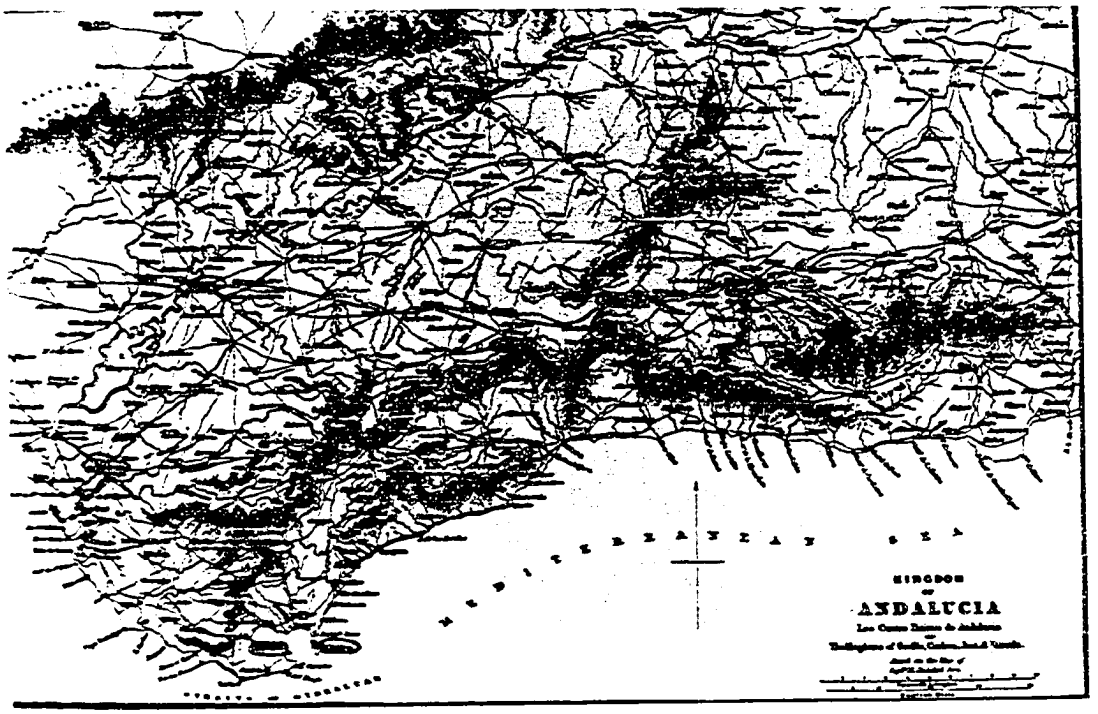

1.1. *Map of Andalusia*; from Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain* (1845; reprint, London: Centaur Press, 1966).

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1.2. *Map of Gibraltar*; from Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain* (1845; reprint, London: Centaur Press, 1966).

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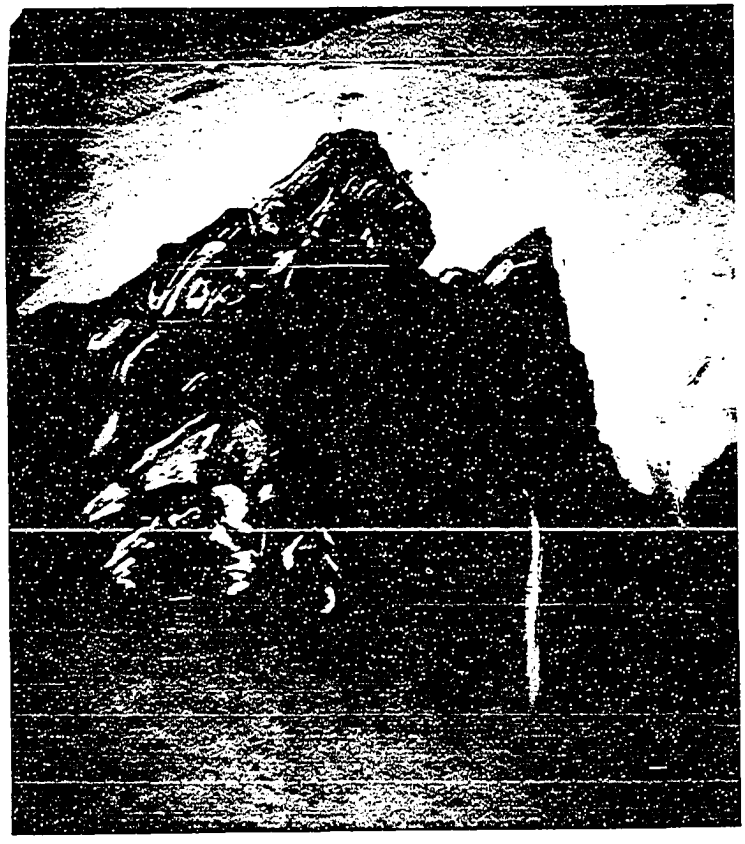

1.3. Samuel Colman, *Gibraltar*, 1860. Pencil heightened with white on brown paper, 12 x 10 1/4 inches. Inscribed and dated bottom center: Gibralter [sic] May 1860. Virginia Steele Scott Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

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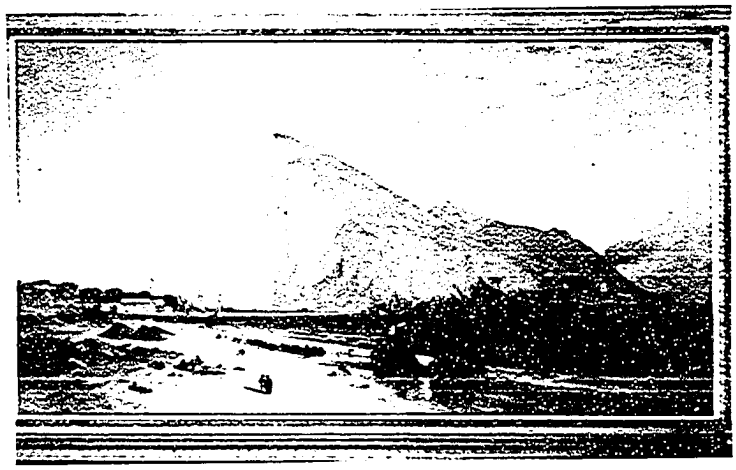

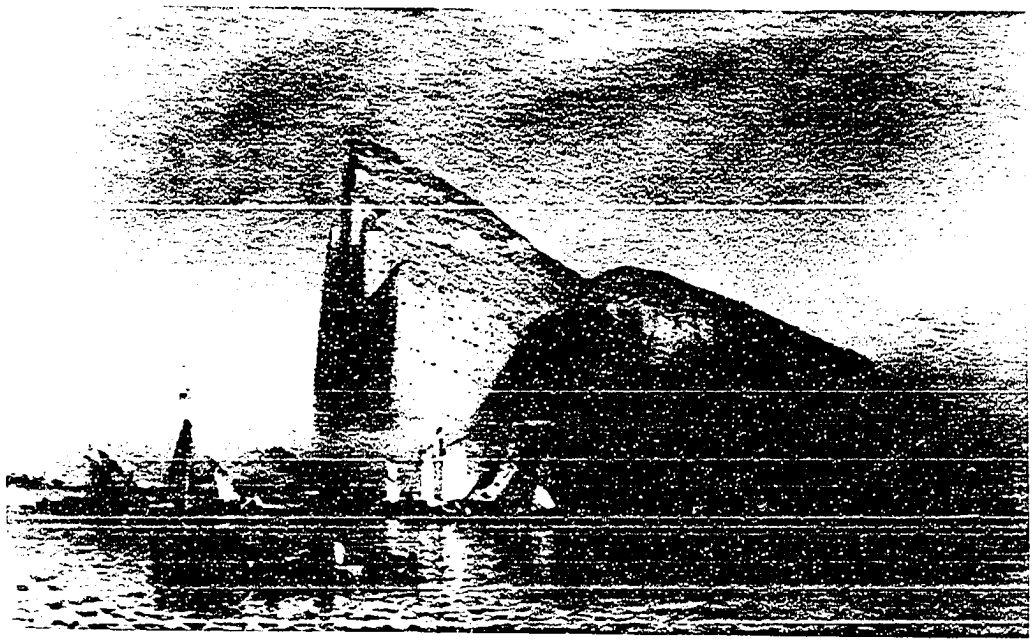

1.4. Samuel Colman, *Gibraltar*, ca. 1863. Oil on canvas, 39 1/2 x 72 inches. Location unknown; formerly Knoedler Galleries, New York.

1.5. Samuel Colman, *Gibraltar*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 15 x 24 inches. Signed and dated lower right: S. Colman 66. George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, Springfield, Mass.

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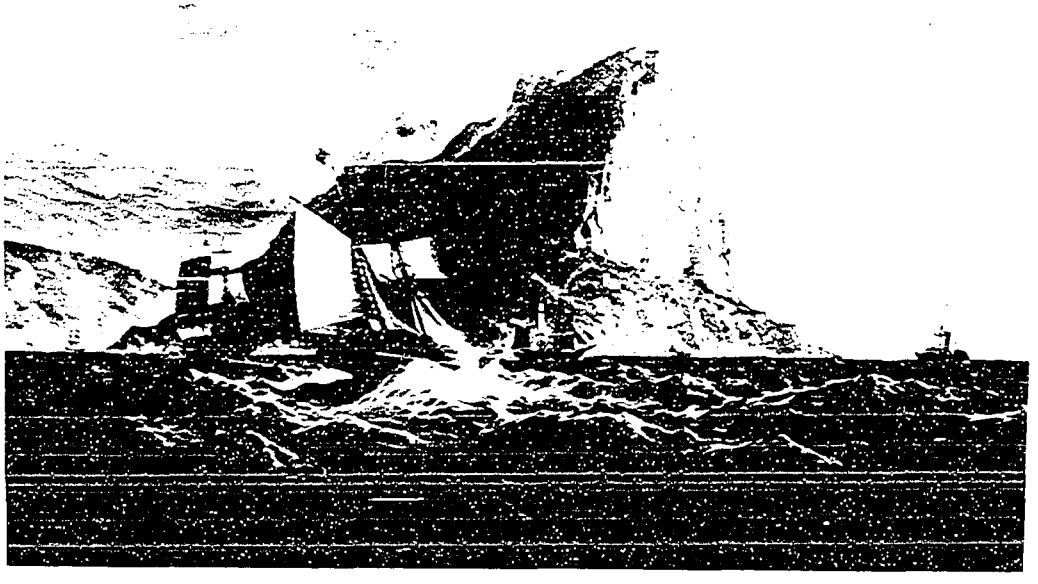

1.6. Charles Temple Dix, *Gibraltar*, undated. Oil on canvas, 40 1/2 x 60 1/8 inches. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

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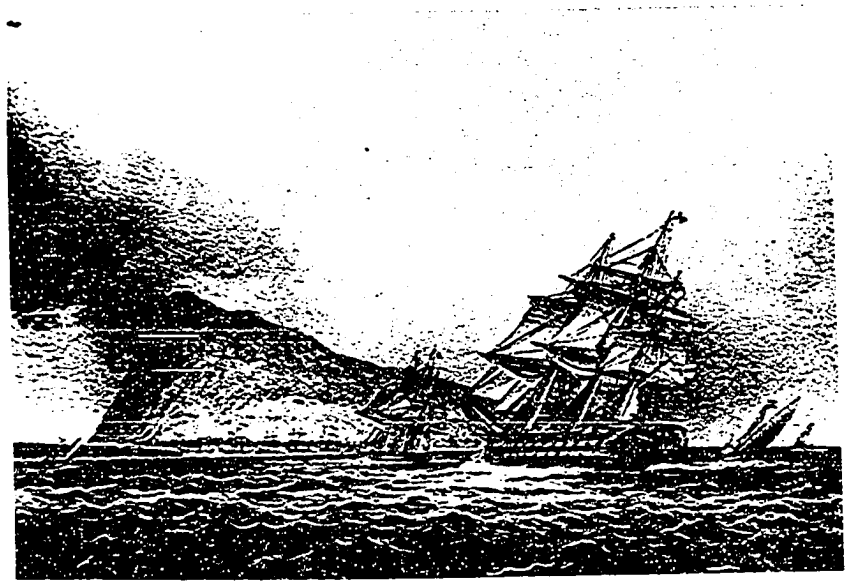

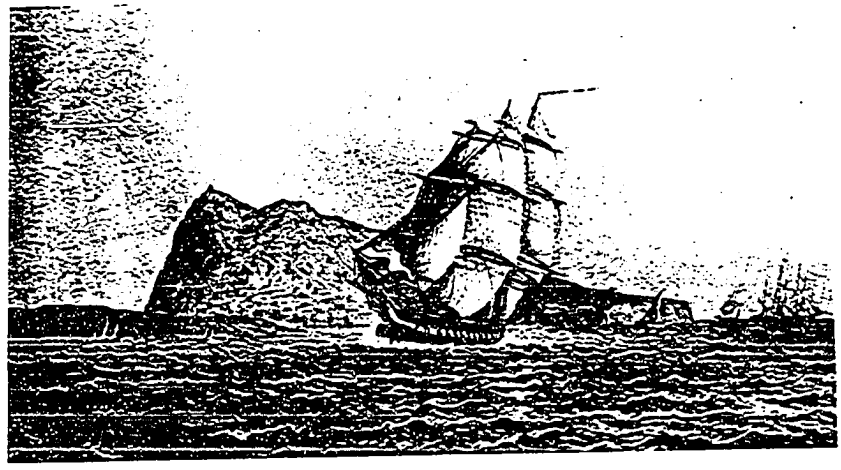

1.7. James E. Buttersworth, *British War Ships Off Gibraltar*, ca. 1842. Oil on millboard, 8 x 12 inches. Private Collection.

1.8. James E. Buttersworth, *American Brig Off Gibraltar*, ca. 1860. Oil on millboard, 7 x 11 1/2 inches. Private Collection.

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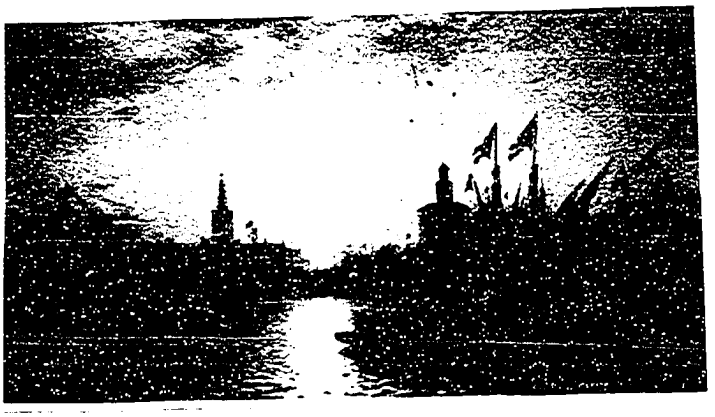

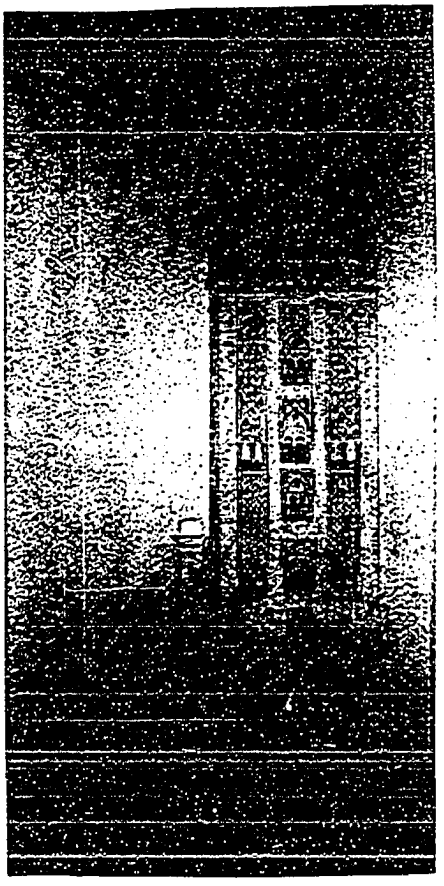

1.9. Samuel Colman, *Harbor of Seville*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 27 1/2 x 47 1/2 inches. Signed and dated lower right: S. Colman 65. Private Collection.

1.10. Samuel Colman, *The Giralda*, 1860. Pencil with gouache on paper, 10 x 5 inches. Signed, dated and inscribed lower left: The Giralda / Seville / Saml Colman, 1860. George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, Springfield, Mass.

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1.11. Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer, *La Giralda desde la calle Placentines*, 1838. Oil on canvas, 35 x 26 inches. Location unknown.

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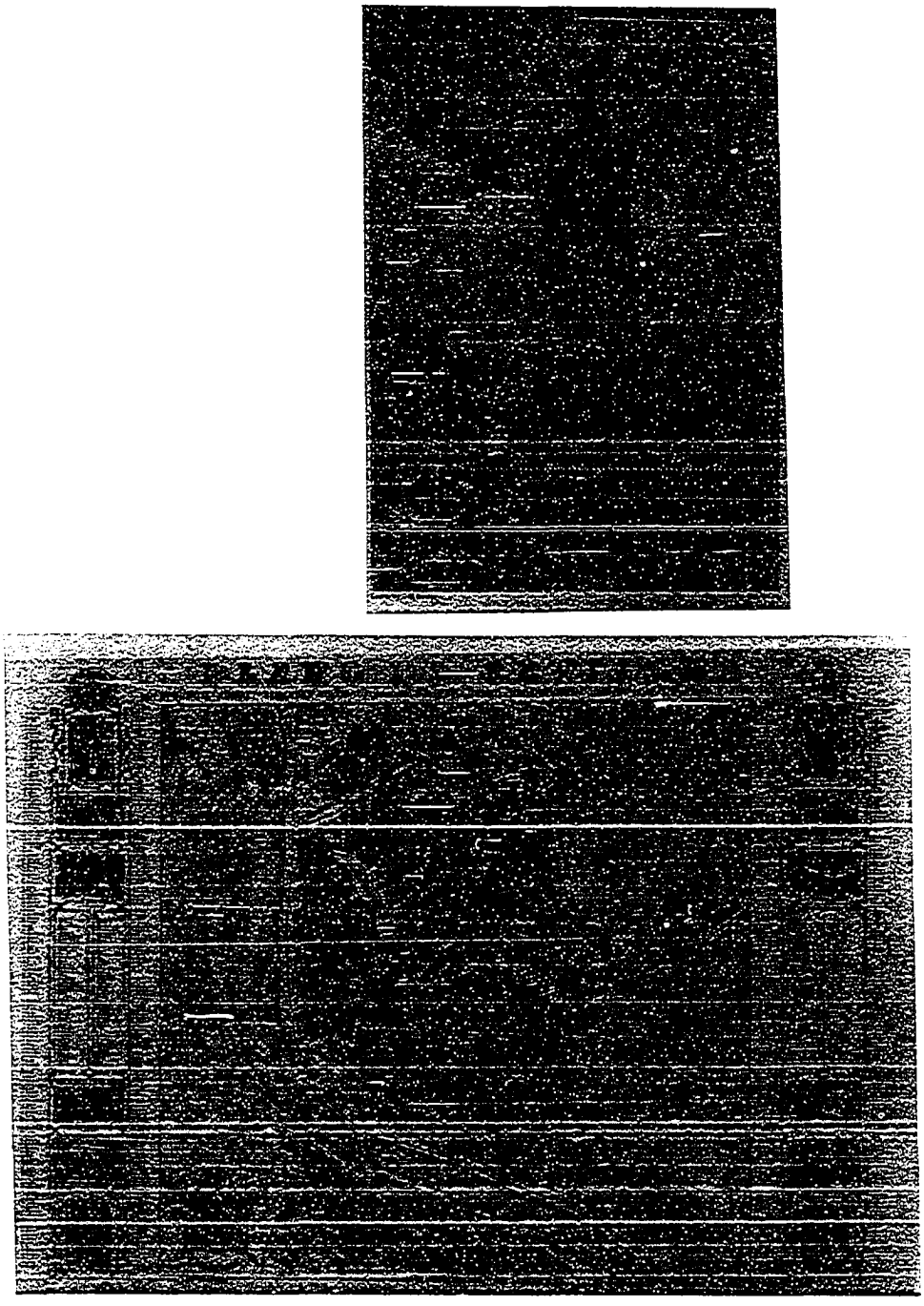

1.12. Engraving after John Frederick Lewis, *La Giralda*, 1833. Fundación Focus, Seville.

1.13. Manuel Alvarez Benavides, *Map of Seville*, ca. 1870. Lithograph, 13 3/8 x 29 1/2 inches. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

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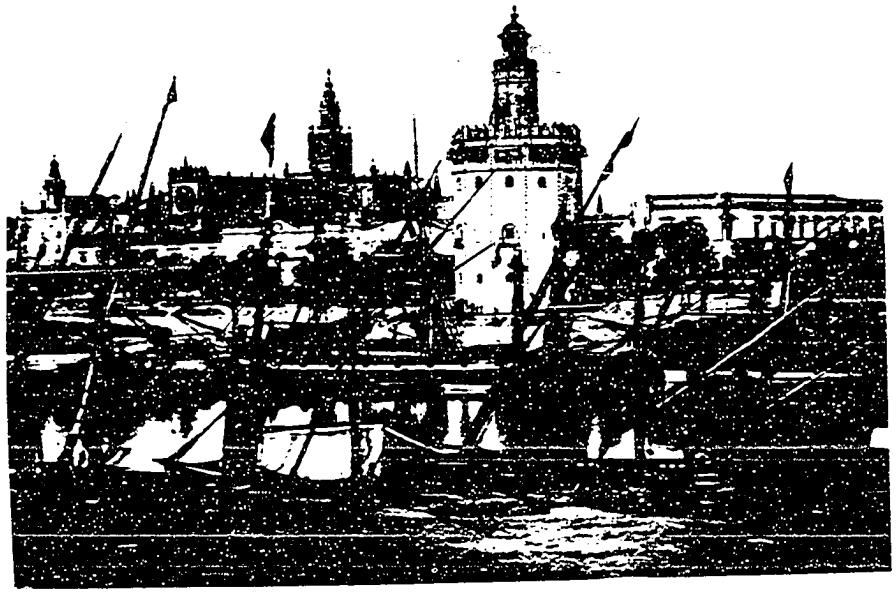

1.14. Charles Clifford, *View of the River, Torre de Oro and Cathedral, Seville*, 1862. Private Collection.

1.15. Samuel Colman, *View of Seville*, ca. 1860. Gouache and chalk on board, 14 x 26 inches. Sotheby, Parke Bernet, Los Angeles, June 23-24, 1980, lot 378 as "View of Salamanca."

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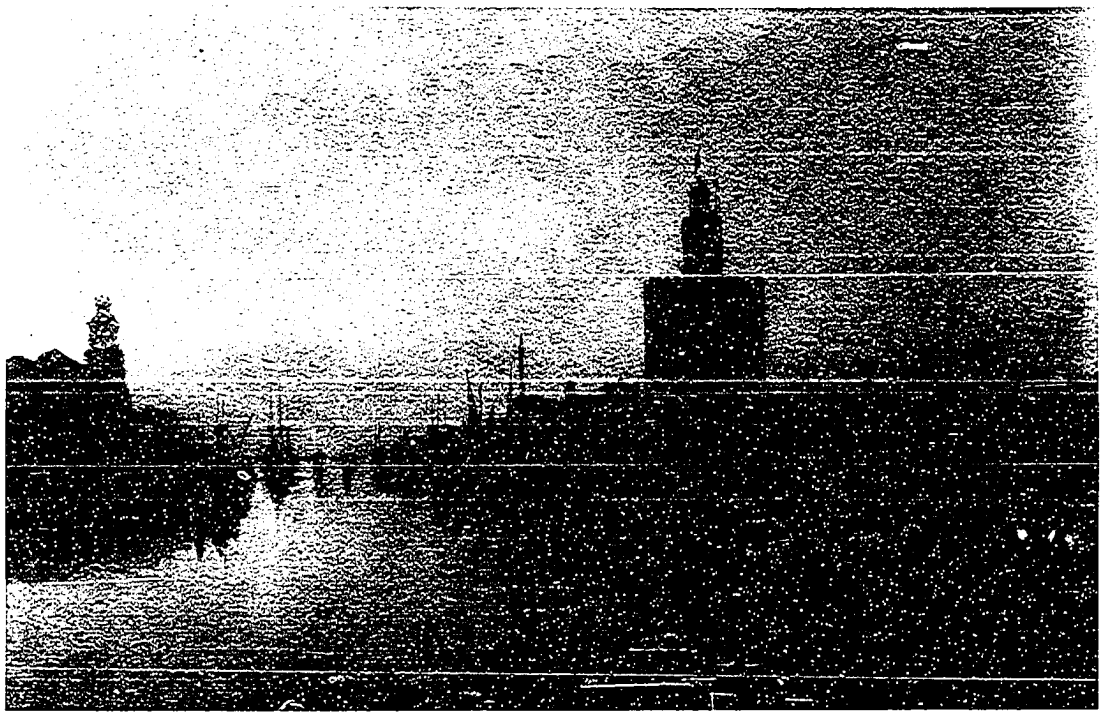

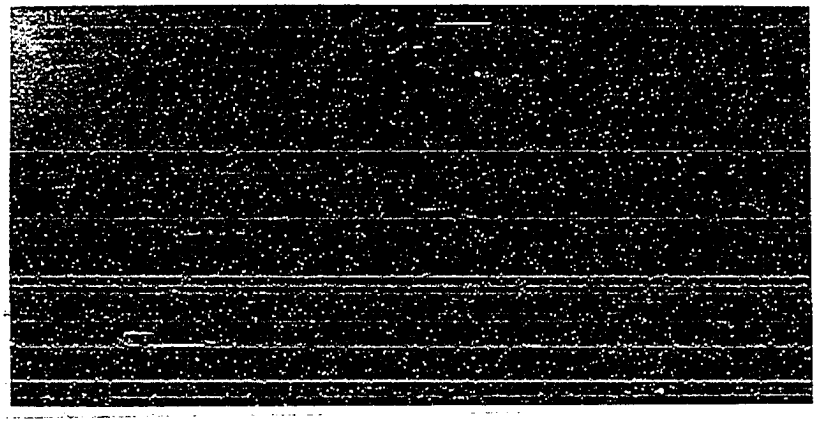

1.16. David Roberts, *The Torre de Oro*, 1833. Oil on canvas, 39 x 48 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

1.17. Attributed to Antonio María Esquivel, *La Torre de Oro*, undated. Oil on canvas, 65 x 31 7/8 inches. Private Collection.

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1.18. Jenaro Pérez Villaamil, *Sevilla en tiempos de los árabes*, 1848. Oil on canvas, 37 3/8 x 49 1/4 inches. Palacio del Pardo, Madrid.

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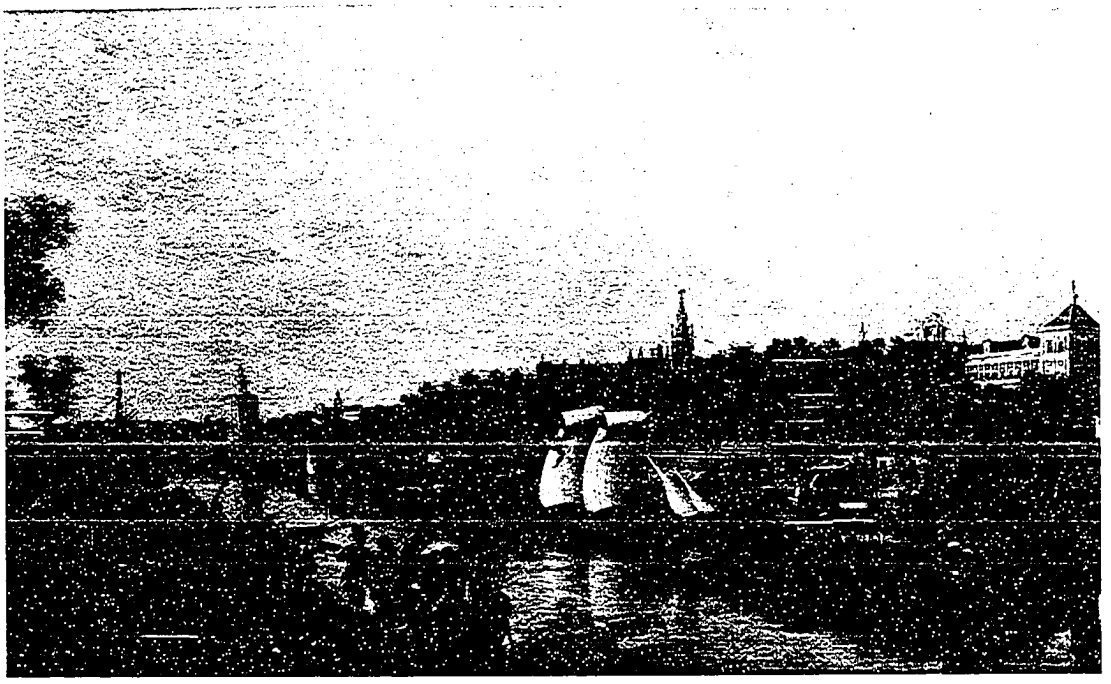

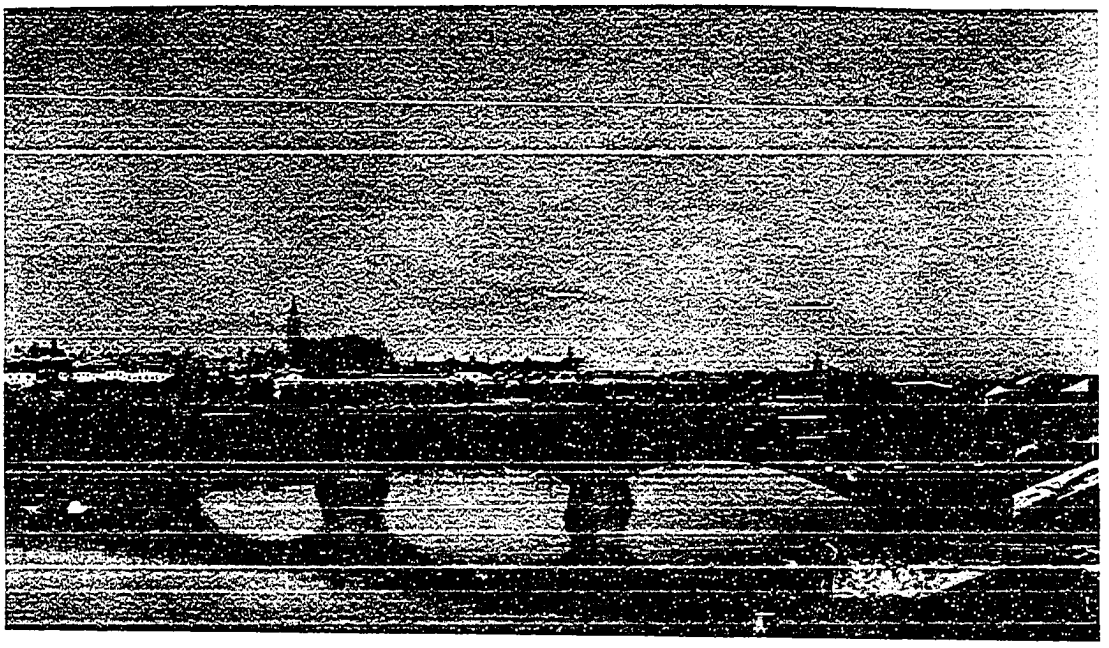

1.19. Manuel Barrón y Carrillo, *La Ciudad desde el Sur*, 1851. Oil on canvas, 53 1/8 x 34 1/4 inches. Museo Nacional, Havana.

1.20. Manuel Barrón y Carrillo, *Vista de Sevilla*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 38 1/4 x 65 3/8 inches. Palacio Real, Madrid.

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1.21. Samuel Colman, *Moorish Mills on the Guadalquivir*, 1860. Pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, 8 x 14 inches. Inscribed and dated lower left: Moorish Mills on the Guadalquiver [sic] / at Cordova June 11th 1860. Location unknown; formerly Emigh Collection, New Britain, Conn.

1.22. Samuel Colman, *Cordova*, 1860. Pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, 8 x 13 inches. Inscribed and dated lower left: Cordova June 11th 1860. Location unknown; formerly Emigh Collection, New Britain, Conn.

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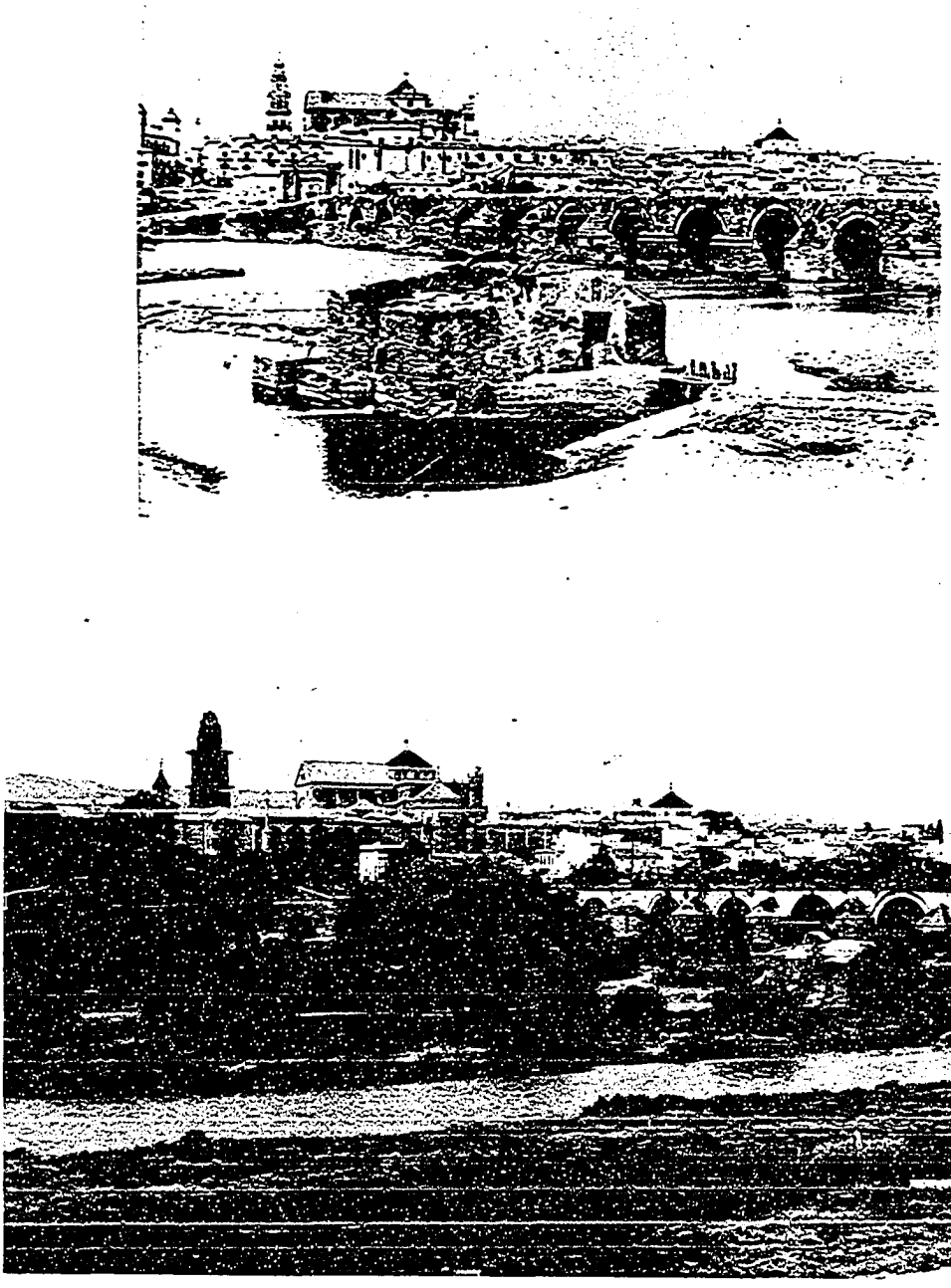

1.23. Charles Clifford, *Puente Romano, Cordova*, ca. 1862. Albumen print from wet collodion negative, 11 1/2 x 16 5/8 inches. Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco.

1.24. Photograph of the town of Cordova with the Puente Romano at right. Photograph by the author, August 1994.

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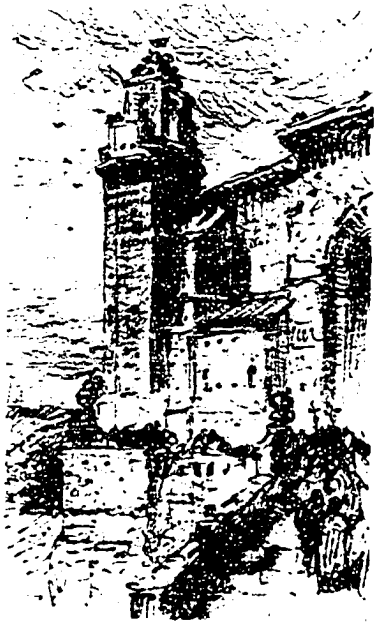

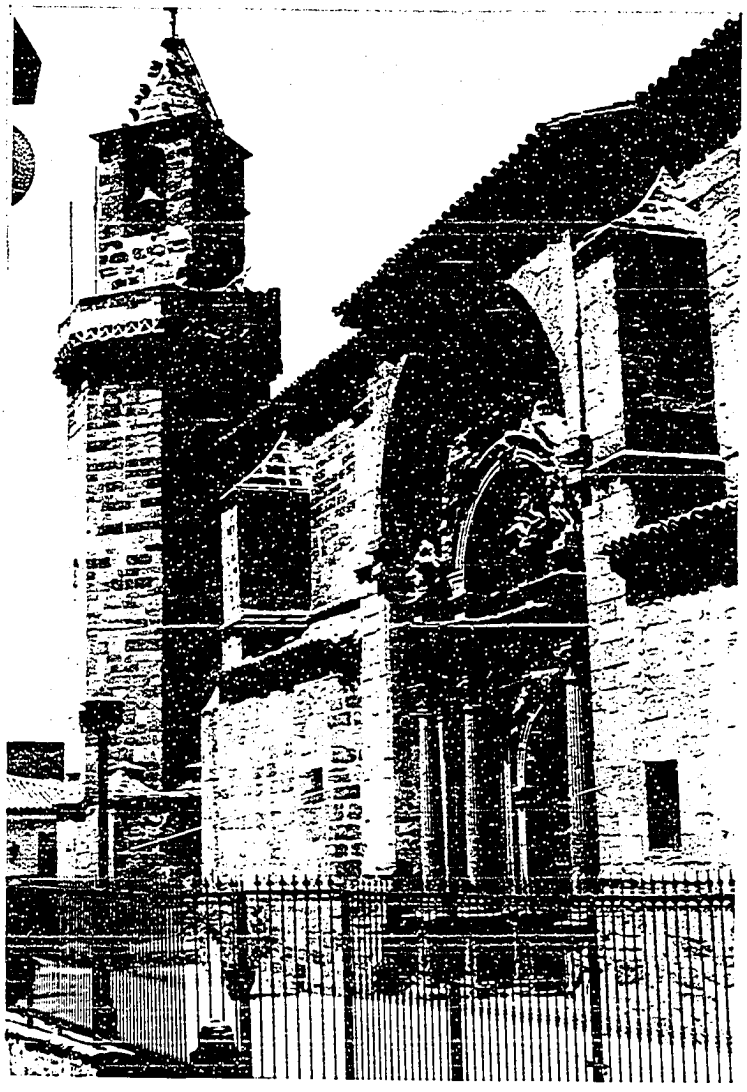

1.25. Samuel Colman, *La Incarnación, Bailén*, 1860. Pen and ink on paper, 4 1/2 x 2 1/2 inches. George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, Springfield, Mass.

1.26. Photograph of La Incarnación, the principal church in Bailén, Spain. Photograph by the author, July 1994.

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1.27. Samuel Colman, *Granada*, 1860. Pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, 12 x 9 inches. Inscribed and dated lower left: Granada June 28th 1860. Location unknown; formerly Emigh Collection, New Britain, Conn.

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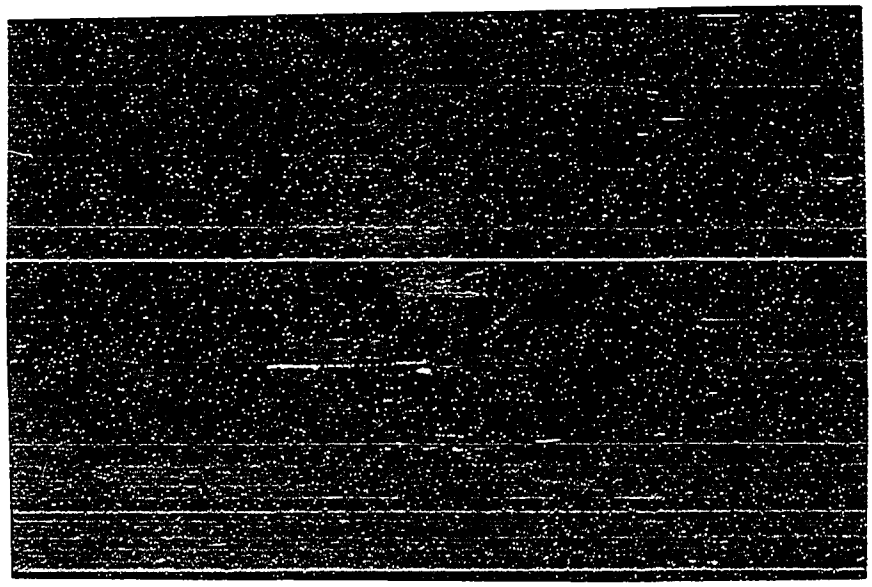

1.28. Samuel Colman, *On the River Xenil*, 1860. Pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, 10 x 15 inches. Inscribed and dated lower left: On the River Xenil / June 30th 1860. Inscribed (incorrectly and in another hand) lower right: Seville / [illegible] / S. Colman. Location unknown; formerly Emigh Collection, New Britain, Conn.

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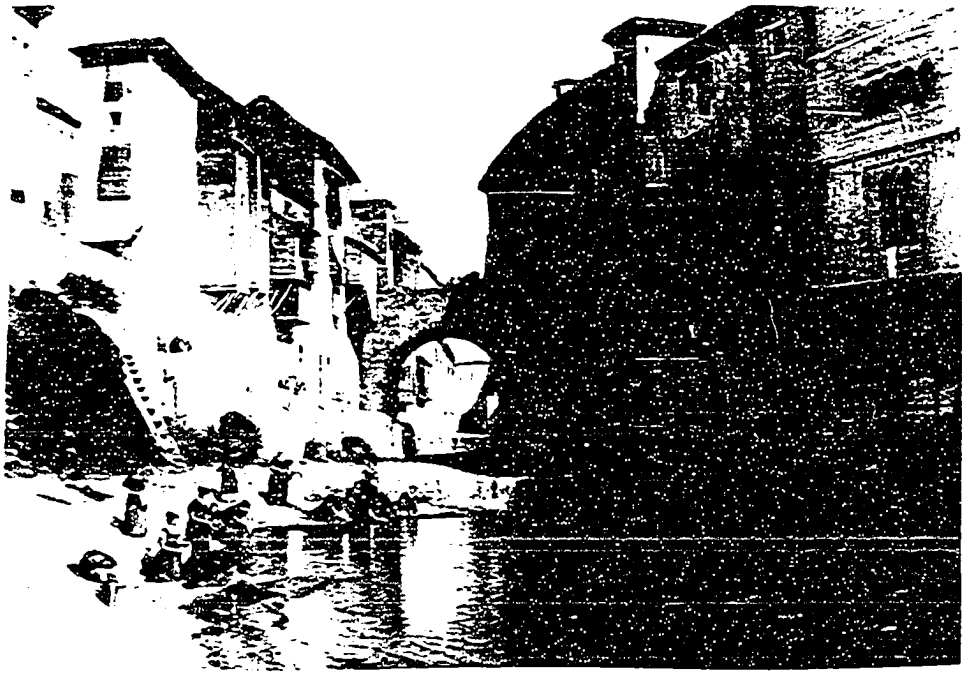

1.29. Samuel Colman, *Washing Day [on the River Darro, Granada]*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 30 x 42 inches. Signed and dated lower right: Sam Colman - 72. Schwarz Gallery, Philadelphia.

1.30. Samuel Colman, *The River Darro, Granada*, undated. Pencil, pen and blue ink, blue and grey wash on cream paper, 6 7/8 x 5 1/2 inches. Signed and inscribed bottom: The River Darro, Granada / Saml Colman. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.

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1.31. David Roberts, *Old Buildings on the Darro, Granada*, 1834. Oil on panel, 17 1/2 x 23 2/5 inches. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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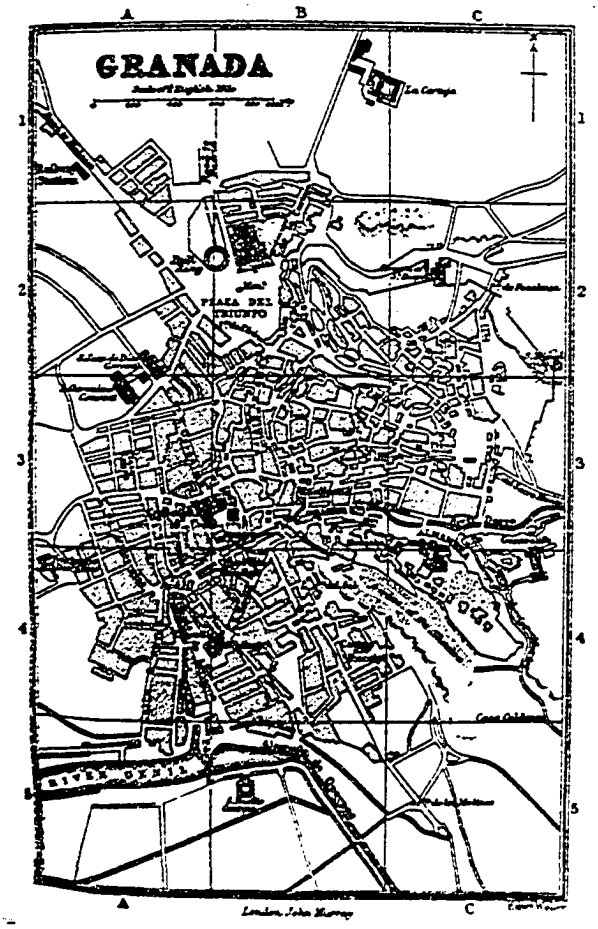

1.32. *Map of Granada*; from Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain.* (1845; 7th revised edition, London: John Murray, 1888).

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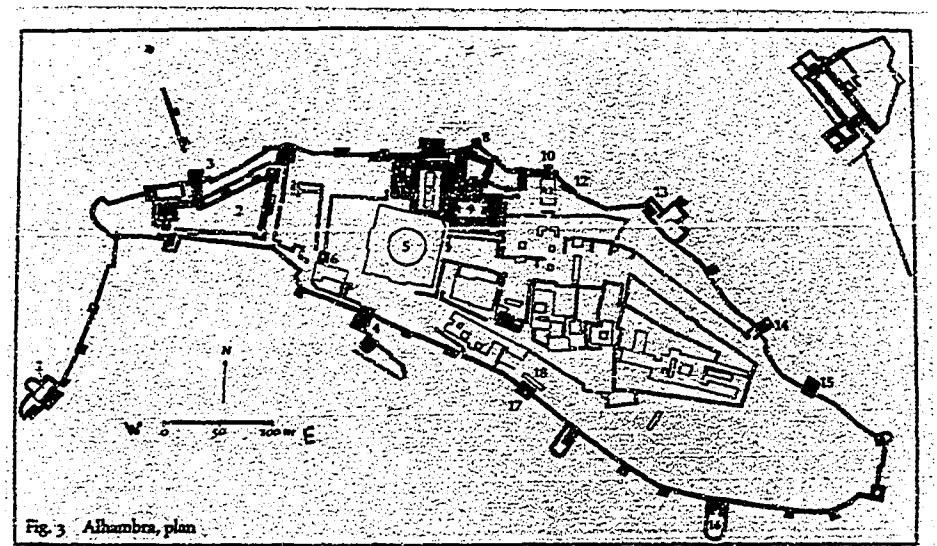

Fig. 3 Alhambra, plan

1. Torres Bermejas; 2. Alcazaba; 3. Puerta de las Armas; 4. Puerta de la Justicia; 5. Palacio de Carlos V; 6. Puerta del Vino; 7. Patio de Comares (Palacio de Comares); 8. Torre del Peinador de la Reina (Torre de Abū'l-Ḥajjāj); 9. Patio de los Leones (Palacio de los Leones); 10. Torre de las Damas; 11. Partal; 12. Oratorio; 13. Torre de los Picos; 14. Torre de la Cautiva; 15. Torre de las Infantas; 16. Puerta de Siete Suelos; 17. Torre de los Abencerrajes (Torre de la Contaduría); 18. Palacio de los Abencerrajes

1.33. *Plan of the Alhambra*; from Jerrilynn D. Dodds, ed. *Al-Andalus; The Art of Islamic Spain* (exh. cat., New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992).

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1.34. Samuel Colman, *Torres Bermejas*, 1860. Pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, 8 1/4 x 12 15/16 inches. Inscribed and dated lower left: Granada / Torre Vermejas [sic] / July 1860. Honolulu Academy of Arts.

1.35. Samuel Colman, *The Generalife*, 1860. Pencil and watercolor heightened with white on paper, 7 1/4 x 13 3/8 inches. Inscribed and partially dated lower left: The Generaliefe [sic] / Granada] 27th J. Honolulu Academy of Arts.

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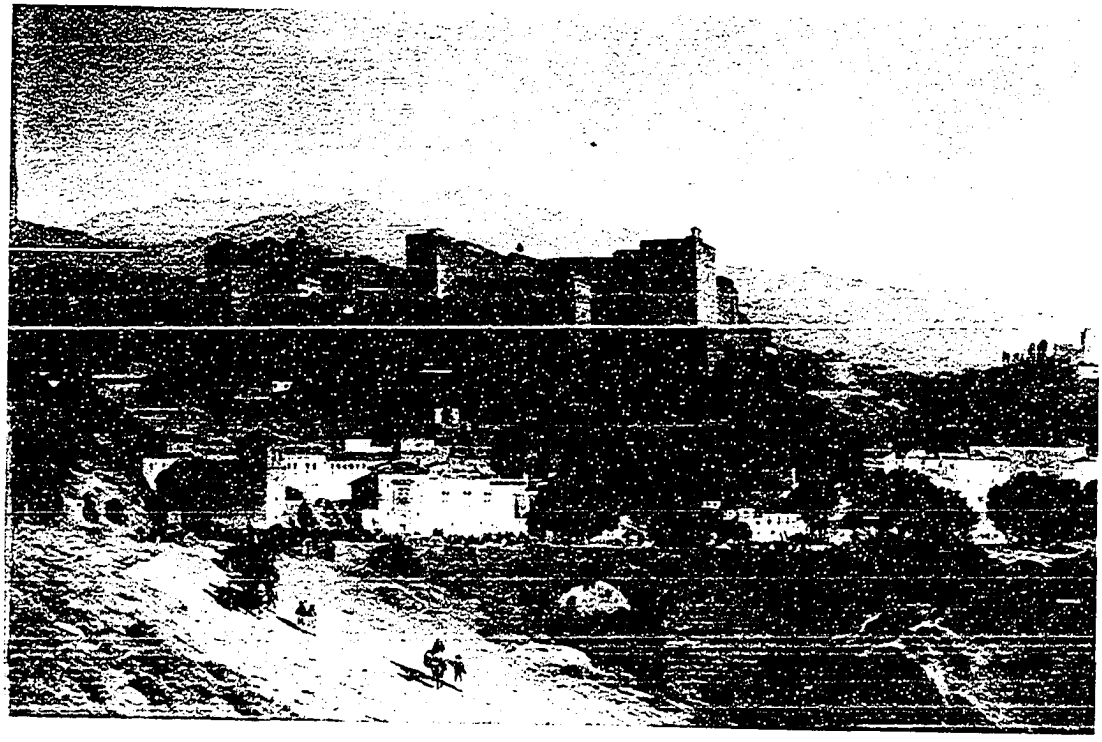

1.36. Samuel Colman, *Granada, Spain*, undated. 9 1/4 x 15 1/8 inches. Signed and inscribed lower right: Colman / Granada. Sotheby's, Los Angeles, June 23-24, 1980, lot 380.

1.37. Samuel Colman, *The Hill of the Alhambra*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 47 1/2 x 71 1/2 inches. Signed and dated lower right: S. Colman 65. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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1.38. Samuel Colman, *Study for The Hill of the Alhambra*, undated. Oil on canvas, 4 x 6 inches. Location unknown; formerly Thomas Colville, New Haven.

1.39. Samuel Colman, *Storm King on the Hudson*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 32 1/8 x 85 7/8 inches. National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

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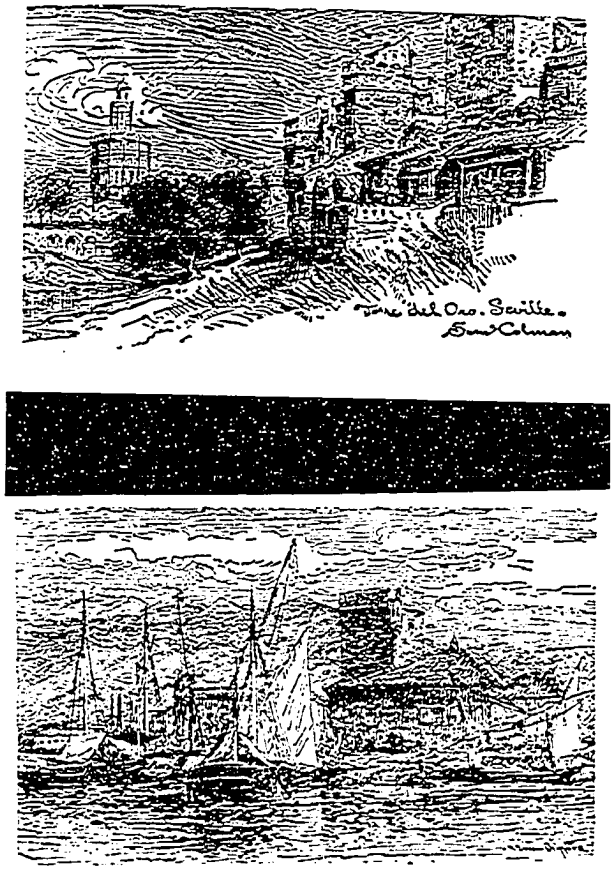

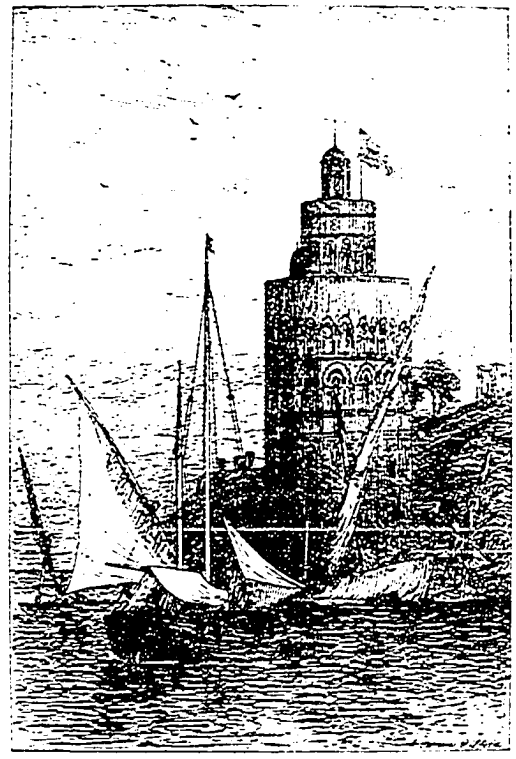

1.40. Samuel Colman, *Torre de Oro, Seville*, ca. 1886, from Edward Everett Hale and Susan Hale, *The Story of Spain* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886).

1.41. R. Swain Gifford, *Malaga*, ca. 1886, from Edward Everett Hale and Susan Hale, *The Story of Spain* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886).

1.42. R. Swain Gifford, *Torre de Oro, Seville*, ca. 1885, from Edmondo de Amicis, *Spain* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885).

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1.43. Louis Comfort Tiffany, *San Roque, Spain*, ca. 1871. Oil on canvas, 11 3/8 x 9 7/16 inches. Private Collection.

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1.44. William Stanley Haseltine, *View from the Alhambra, Spain*, 1882. Watercolor and gouache over graphite on blue paper, 14 x 21 inches. Location unknown; photograph courtesy Hirschl & Adler, New York.

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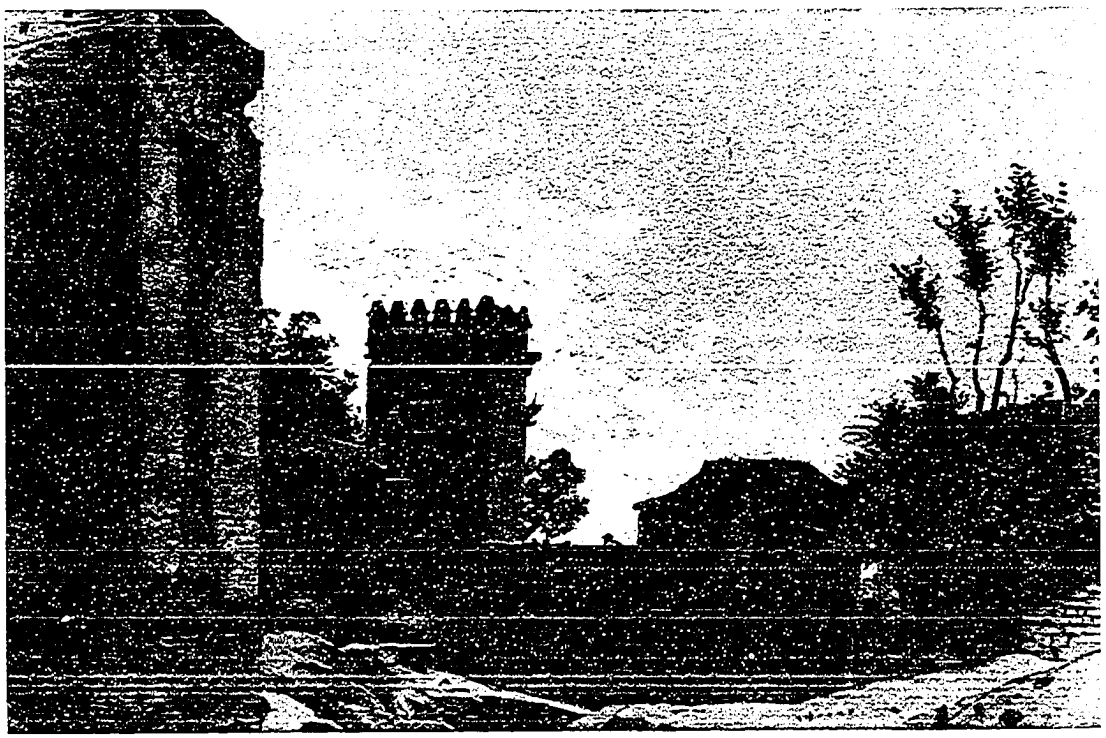

1.45. William Stanley Haseltine, *The Alhambra*, 1882. Watercolor and gouache over graphite on blue paper, 15 1/4 x 23 3/8 inches. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass.

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2.1. Bartolomé Murillo, *Two Boys Eating a Pie*, ca. 1665-75. Oil on canvas, 48 1/2 x 40 1/8 inches. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

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2.2. Bartolomé Murillo, *Children Playing Dice*, ca. 1665-70. Oil on canvas, 55 1/8 x 42 1/2 inches. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

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2.3. Bartolomé Murillo, *The Infant St. John*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 56 x 42 1/8 inches. Boughton House, Kettering, Northants, England.

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2.4. Thomas Gainsborough, *Copy after Grimoux's copy of Murillo's Christ Child as the Good Shepherd*, ca. 1780. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whitbread Collection, Southill, England.

2.5. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Master Wynn as St. John*, ca. 1770. Oil on canvas, 27 1/8 35 3/8 inches. Williams-Wynn Trustees, England.

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2.6. José María Escacena, *Children Playing Cards*, undated. Oil on canvas. Private Collection.

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2.7 José Roldán, *Sevillian Youths Reading the Poster for a Bullfight*, undated. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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2.8. George Henry Hall, *Peasants Returning from the Fields*, ca. 1861. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Location unknown; photograph courtesy the National Academy of Design, New York.

2.9. George Henry Hall, *The Flower Seller*, 1861. Oil on canvas, 29 1/2 x 36 1/2 inches. Signed and dated lower left: G. H. Hall 1861. Spanierman Gallery, New York.

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2.10. George Henry Hall, *Trying His Luck: A Group of Spanish Children*, ca. 1867-70. Oil on canvas, 61 3/4 x 46 3/4 inches. William Doyle Galleries, New York, January 11, 1995, lot 45.

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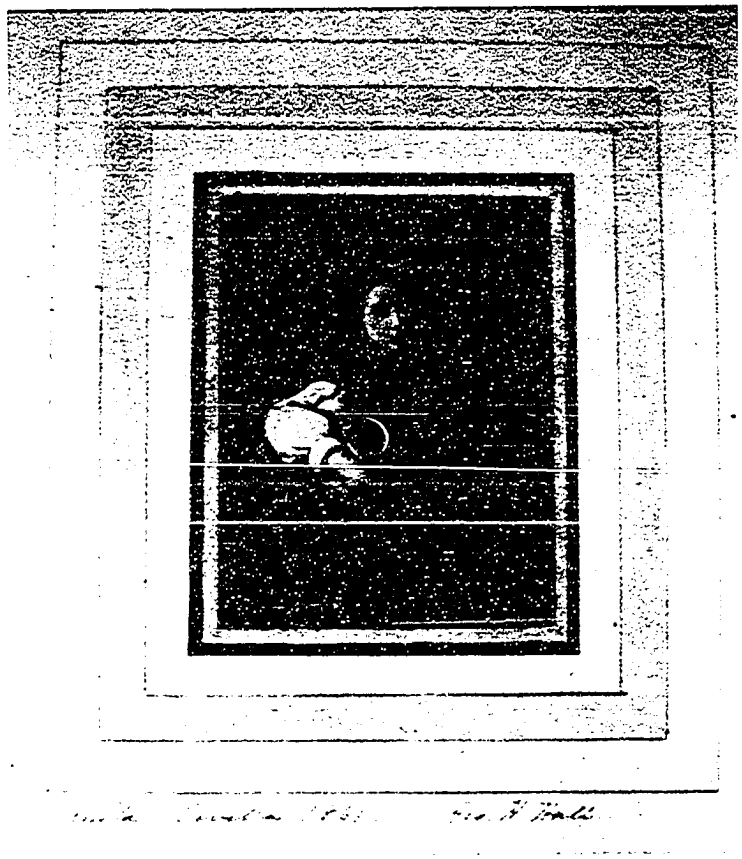

2.11 George Henry Hall, *Anita, A Little Spanish Peasant Girl*, 1861. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Location unknown; photograph courtesy the National Academy of Design, New York.

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2.12. Bartolomé Murillo, *The Flower Girl*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 47 5/8 x 39 inches. The Governors of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.

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2.13. George Henry Hall, *A Young Boy with a Drum*, ca. 1867-72. Oil on canvas, 40 3/4 x 32 1/2 inches. Spanierman Gallery, New York.

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2.14. George Henry Hall, *La Dueña*, ca. 1861. Oil on canvas, 34 x 25 inches. C. G. Sloan & Co., October 6-9, 1977, lot 1447.

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2.15. George Henry Hall, *Young Lady of Seville and Her Dueña at Church*, ca. 1869. Oil on canvas, 49 1/4 x 36 1/4 inches. Craig & Tarlton, Inc., Raleigh, N.C.

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2.16. Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer, *La Maja*, 1846. Oil on canvas. Museo Nacional, Havana.

2.17. José Roldán, *La Caridad*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 48 3/8 x 39 3/8 inches. Palacio Real, Aranjuez.

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2.18. George Henry Hall, *La Feria de Jueves; or Thursday Fair of Seville -- Priests at a Bookstall*, ca. 1867-69. Oil on canvas, 40 1/2 x 32 1/2 inches. Sotheby's, New York, April 21, 1977, lot 36.

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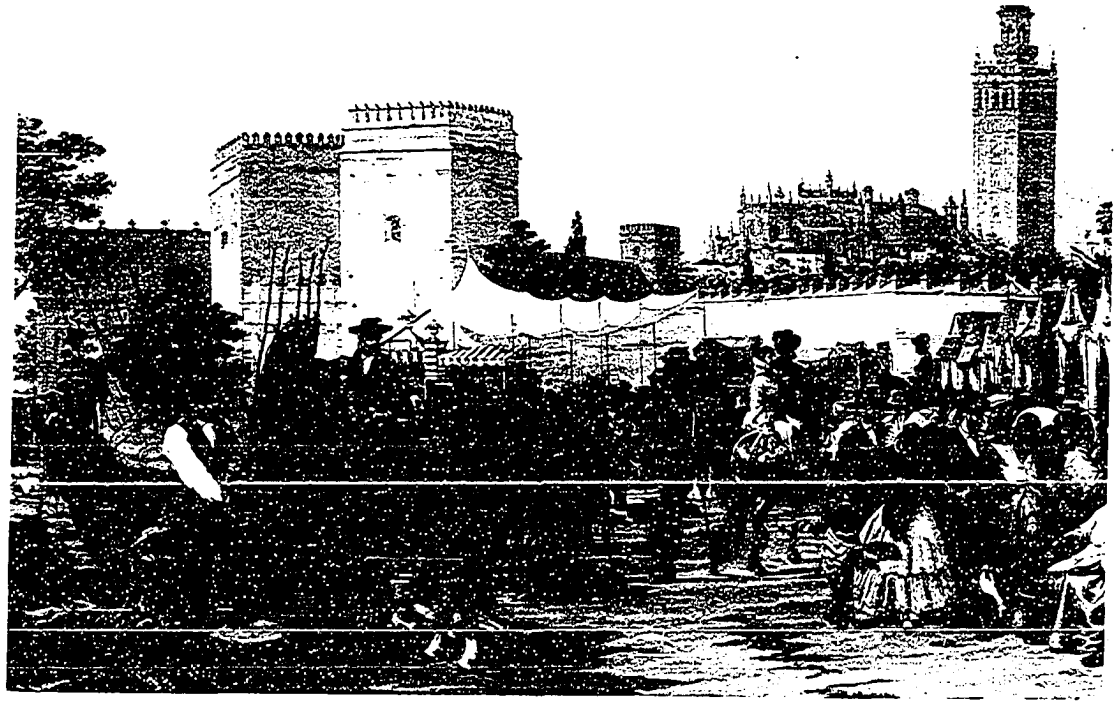

2.19. Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer, *La Feria*, 1855. Oil on canvas, 22 x 31 7/8 inches. Private Collection.

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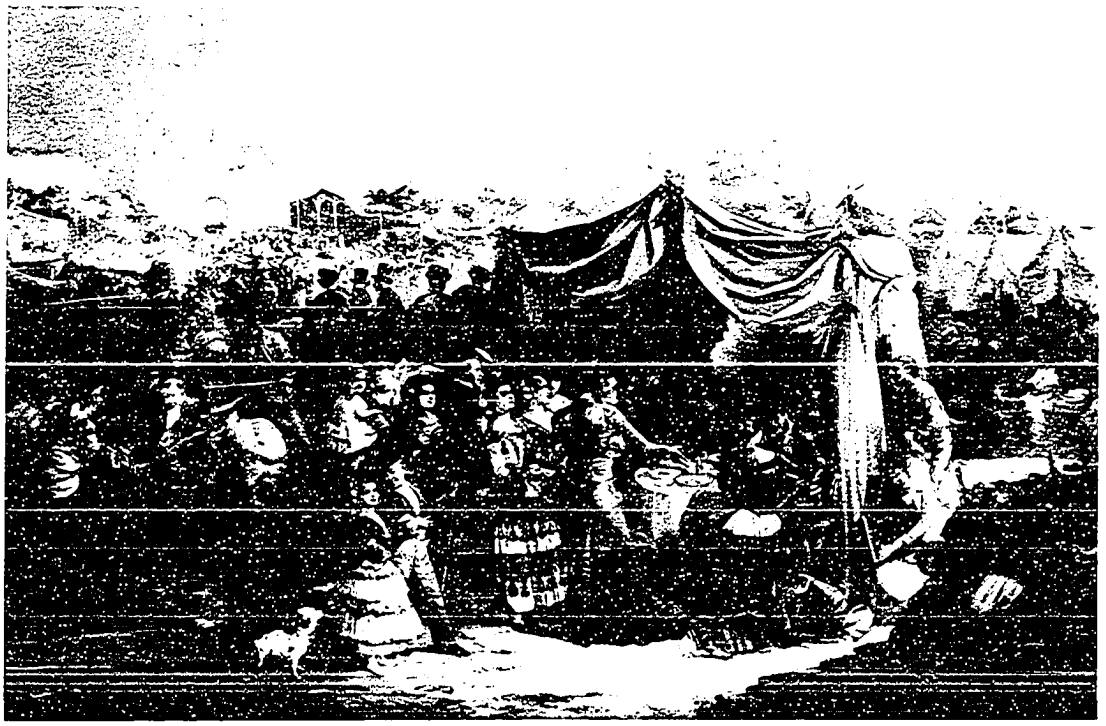

2.20. Manuel Rodríguez Guzmán, *La Feria*, 1853. Oil on canvas, 50 x 69 5/8 inches. Palacio de Riofrío, Segovia.

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2.21. John Phillip, *The Early Career of Murillo*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 72 x 100 inches. The FORBES Magazine Collection, New York.

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2.22. John Phillip, *The Letter Writer of Seville*, 1853. Oil on canvas, 31 x 39 inches. Royal Collection, London.

2.23. John Phillip, *La Gloria; A Spanish Wake*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 56 1/2 x 85 1/2 inches. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

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2.24. Elizabeth Heaphy Murray, *A Cheat Detected: A Spanish Gambling Scene*, ca. 1864. Watercolor on paper, 25 x 29 inches. Location unknown; formerly Baridoff Galleries, Portland, Maine.

2.25. Elizabeth Heaphy Murray, *Church Patronage*, ca. 1860. Watercolor on paper, 35 x 25 3/4 inches. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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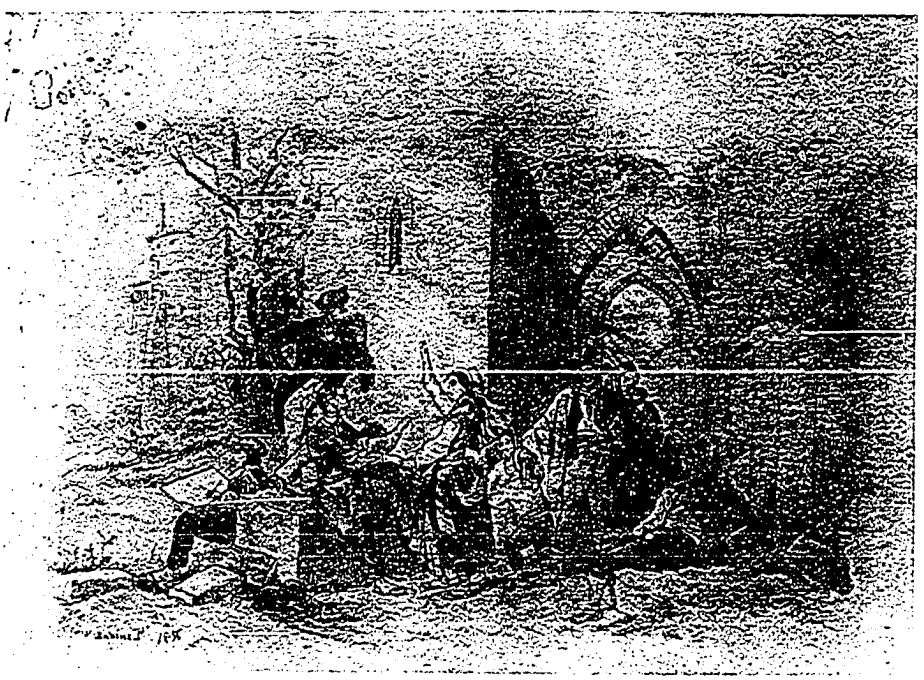

3.1. Thomas Eakins, *Untitled (Spanish Scene)*, 1858. Pencil heightened with white on ink on paper, 11 1/2 x 17 inches. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C.

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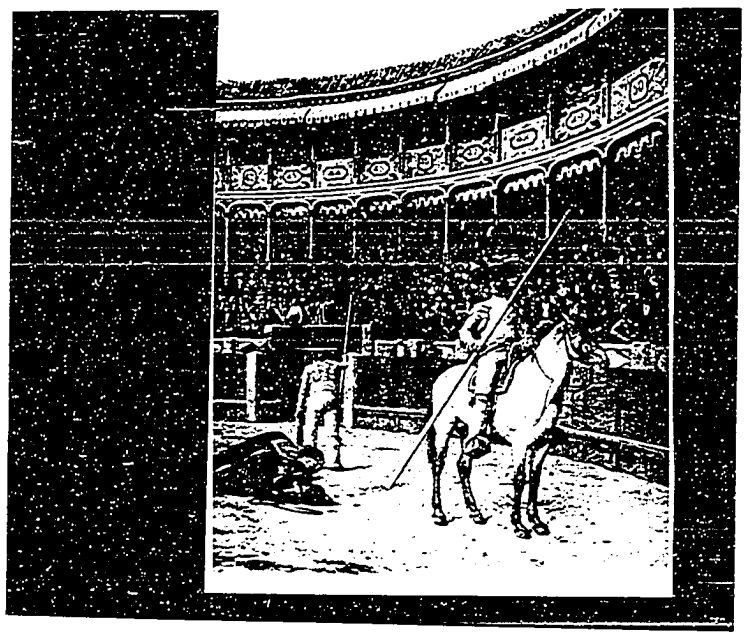

3.2. Jean Léon Gérôme, *The Picador*, 1866-70. Oil on canvas, 28 x 23 3/4 inches. Location unknown.

3.3. Jean Léon Gérôme, *A Picador*, 1867-68. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Location unknown.

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3.4. Diego Velázquez, *Las Hilanderas*, ca. 1656. Oil on canvas, original size approx. 66 3/4 x 74 3/4 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

3.5. Mariano Fortuny, *La Vicaría (The Spanish Wedding)*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 23 5/8 x 37 3/8 inches. Museum of Modern Art, Barcelona.

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3.6. Thomas Eakins, *Carmelita Requeña*, 1869-70. Oil on canvas, 21 1/16 x 17 1/8 inches. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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3.7. Thomas Eakins, *A Street Scene in Seville*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 62 3/4 x 42 inches. Private Collection.

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3.8. Jean Léon Gérôme, *The Pifferari*, 1859. Oil on panel, 15 3/4 x 12 3/4 inches. Private Collection.

3.9. José Sierra Payba, *Vendedor*, ca. 1870. Carte-de-visite photograph collected by Thomas Eakins. Seymour Adelman Collection, Bryn Mawr College Library, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

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figurés exactement, étaient tellement rapprochés, et offraient à l'œil un enchevêtrement si confus, que la carte ressemblait assez à une toile d'araignée. C'est que la culture du riz, qui ne peut avoir lieu que dans des champs submergés une bonne partie de l'année, exige une abondance d'eau extraordinaire : on élève autour de chaque rizière un rebord de terre assez élevé pour empêcher cette eau de s'échapper, et au moyen d'une petite vanne, on peut à volonté en exhausser ou en abaisser le niveau.

Tout le monde nous a assuré dans le pays que les rizières étaient d'un rapport très-productif ; malheureusement les exhalaisons marécageuses sont des plus malsaines, et font tous les ans de nombreuses victimes, ce qui est facile à comprendre dans un pays où la chaleur est excessive. Il est peu de laboureurs qui ne soient sujets aux fièvres intermittentes, et nous ne pouvions, sans être pris de pitié, les voir travailler du matin au soir les pieds dans l'eau et la tête exposée à un soleil brûlant. Il est étrange qu'on ne leur enseigne à prendre aucune des précautions qui sont en usage ailleurs.

C'est autour de la petite ville d'Alberic qu'on voit le plus d'*arrozales;* un proverbe bien connu dans le pays fait allusion aux profits en même temps qu'à l'insalubrité de la culture du riz :

« Si vols vivre poc, y fer te ric.
« Ves ten a Alberic. »

C'est-à-dire : si tu veux vivre peu, et te faire riche, va-t'en à Alberic. Je cite ce proverbe en valencien, afin de donner une idée de l'analogie qui existe entre notre langue et ce dialecte, qui dérive de l'ancienne langue limousine. Quant aux noms de localités, la plupart, dans le royaume de Valence, rappellent bien plus une origine arabe que valencienne ou espagnole : il suffit, pour en donner une idée, de citer les noms de Beni-Muslem, Beni-Mamet, Beni-Parrell, Beni-Farraig, Alfafar, Algemeci, et tant d'autres qui n'ont pas varié depuis plus de huit siècles.

Nous venions de traverser le grand canal appelé *Acequia del rey*, dont les eaux vont se perdre dans l'Albufera ; bientôt après, le magnifique lac nous apparaît dans toute son étendue, encadré à l'horizon par la *Sierra* escarpée de la *Falconera* et par la montagne de Monduber, qui passe pour une des plus élevées du royaume de Valence.

Musiciens ambulants.

Rien ne saurait peindre l'animation extraordinaire qui régnait sur les bords du lac : il faut avoir vu cette fête populaire pour se faire une idée de l'entrain et de la gaieté du caractère des Valenciens. Malgré l'heure peu avancée, la foule était déjà compacte : de nombreux groupes s'étaient formés çà et là ; les uns cherchaient un peu d'ombre sous les *tartanas ;* d'autres s'étaient bravement installés en plein soleil, et faisaient honneur, mais avec la frugalité traditionnelle des Espagnols, à un déjeuner champêtre arrosé de vin noir, qui sortait des outres de cuir sous la forme d'un mince filet. Les petits marchands ambulants débitaient leur *orchata de chufas*, ou leur *agua de cebada*, eau d'orge refroidie dans la neige, et d'autres rafraîchissements, accessoires inévitables de toute fête espagnole. Pendant ce temps-là, les aveugles faisaient bourdonner les guitares et grincer les *citaras*, soit pour accompagner quelque complainte larmoyante, soit pour

3.10. Gustave Doré, *Musiciens ambulants*, illus. in Baron Charles Davillier, "Voyage en Espagne," *Le Tour du monde* 8 (2me sem., 1863), p. 356.

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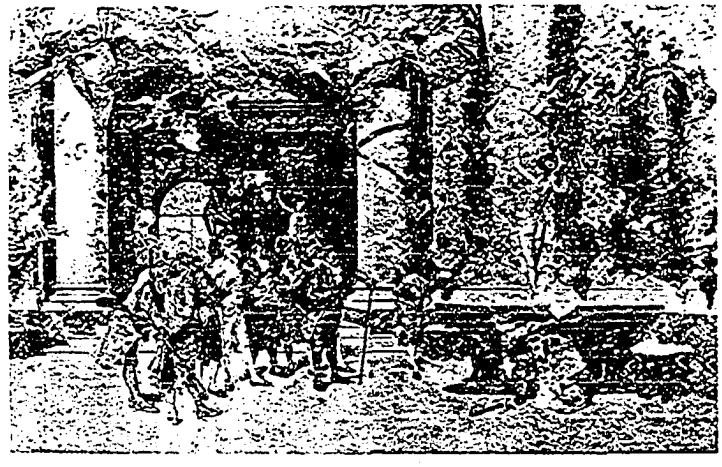

3.11. Thomas Eakins, *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 20 1/8 x 26 1/8 inches. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

3.12. Mariano Fortuny, *The Choice of a Model*, 1868-74. Oil on canvas, 24 3/4 x 37 3/4 inches. Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

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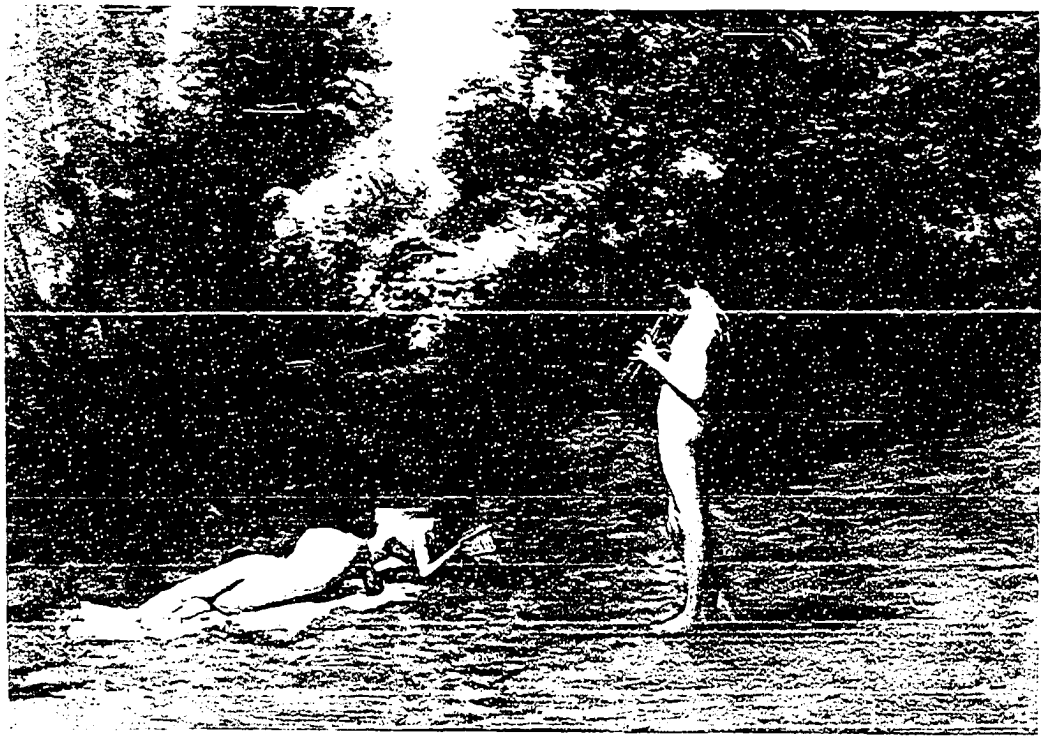

3.13. Thomas Eakins, *Arcadia*, ca. 1883. Oil on canvas, 35 5/8 x 45 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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3.14. Mariano Fortuny, *Idyll*, ca. 1868. Pastel on paper, dimensions unknown. Casón del Buen Retiro, Madrid.

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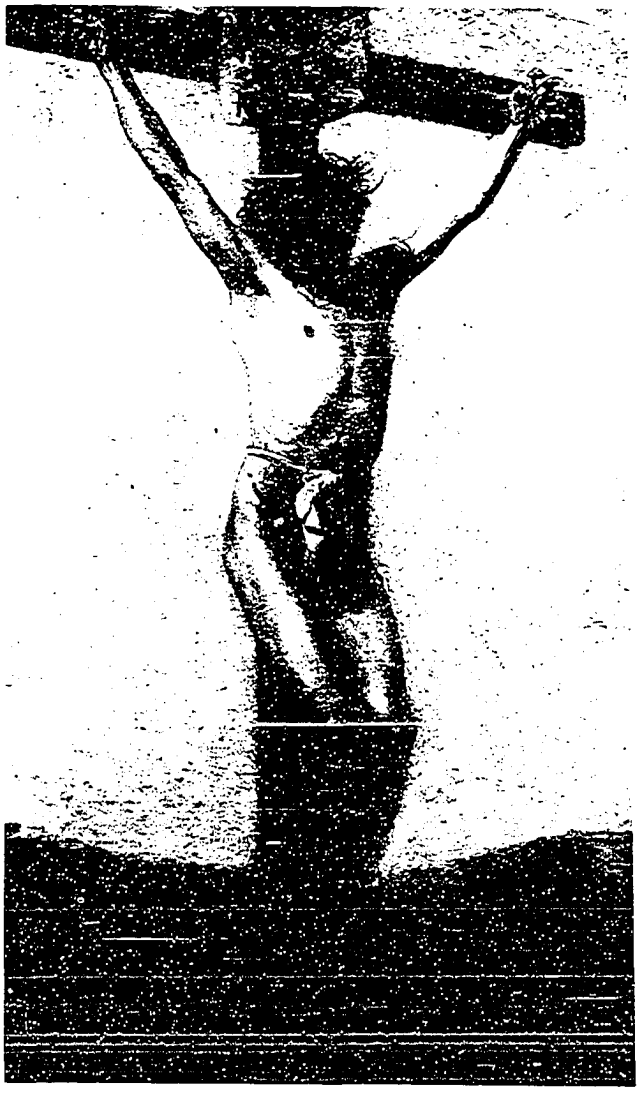

3.15. Thomas Eakins, *Crucifixion*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 96 x 54 inches. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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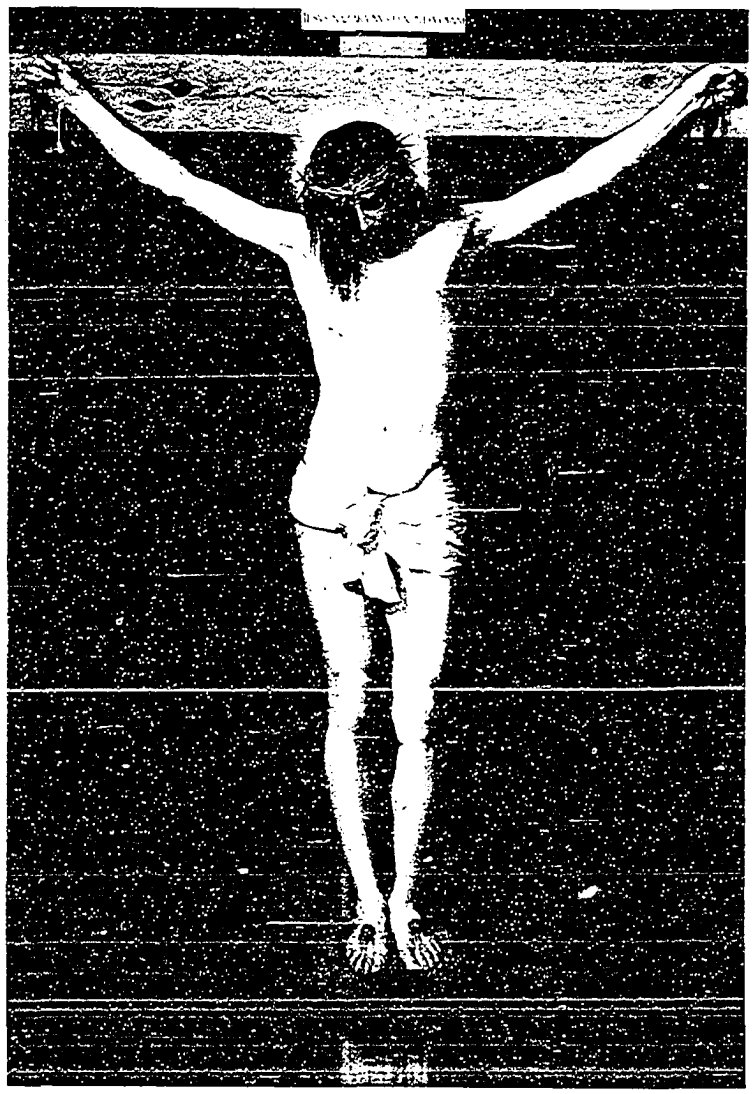

3.16. Diego Velázquez, *Christ on the Cross*, 1632. Oil on canvas, 97 5/8 x 66 1/2 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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3.17. José Ribera, *The Martyrdom of St. Philip*, 1639. Oil on canvas, 92 1/8 x 92 1/8 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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3.18. Diego Velázquez, *Innocent X*, 1650. Oil on canvas, 55 1/8 x 47 1/4 inches. Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome.

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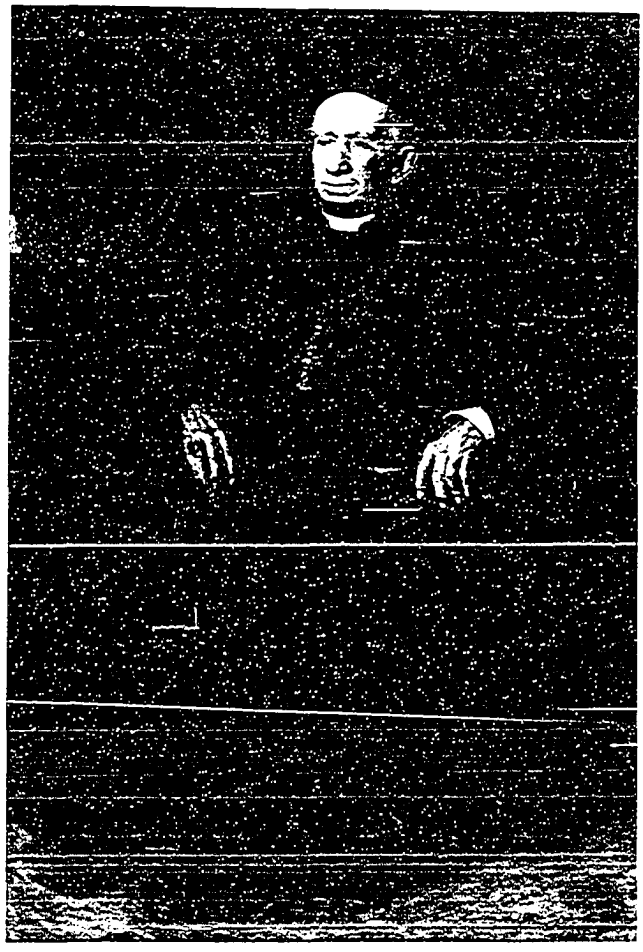

3.19. Thomas Eakins, *Archbishop William Henry Elder*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 66 1/8 x 41 1/8 inches. Cincinnati Art Museum.

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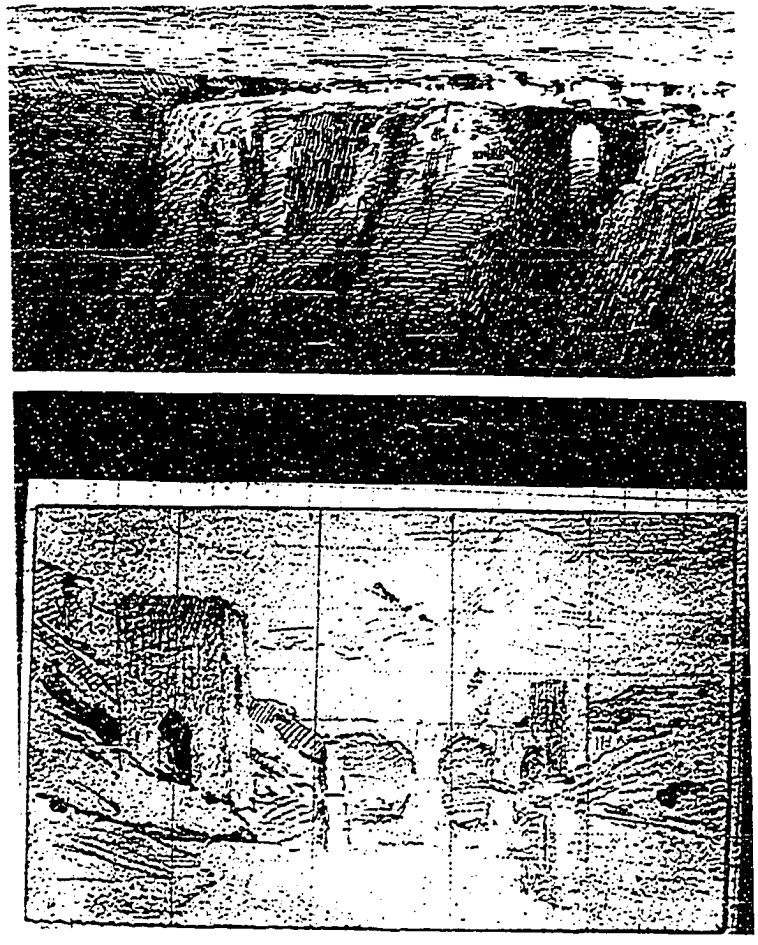

3.20. William Sartain, *View of Ronda*, undated. Ink on paper, dimensions unknown. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

3.21. William Sartain, *Near Toledo*, undated. Ink on paper, dimensions unknown. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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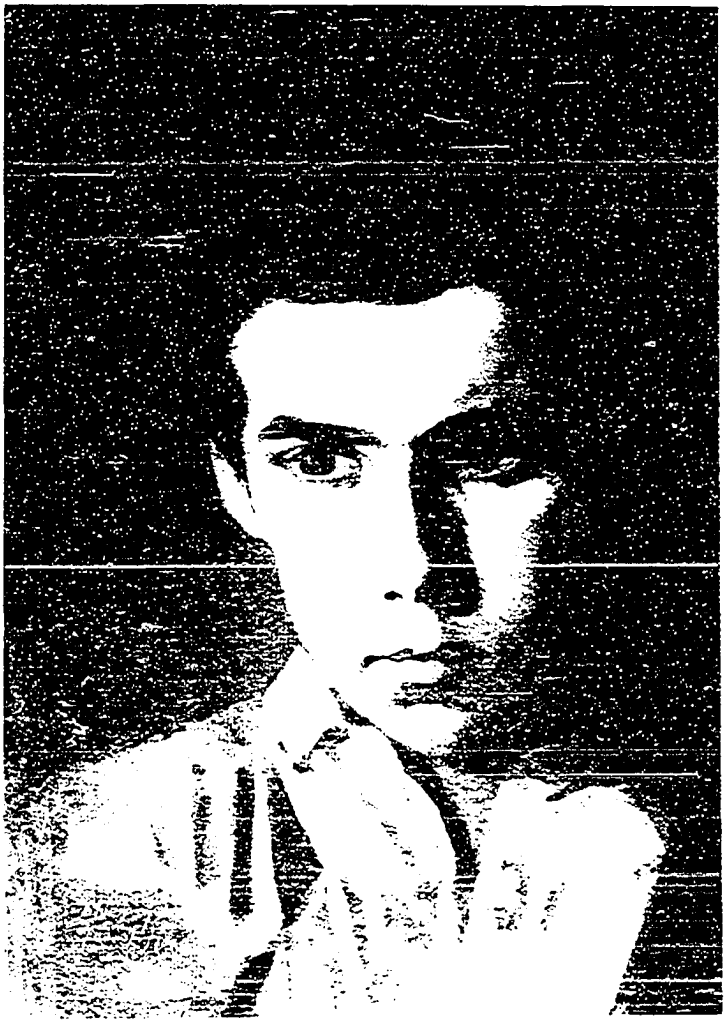

3.22. William Sartain, *Spanish Head*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 15 x 12 inches. Schwarz Gallery, Philadelphia.

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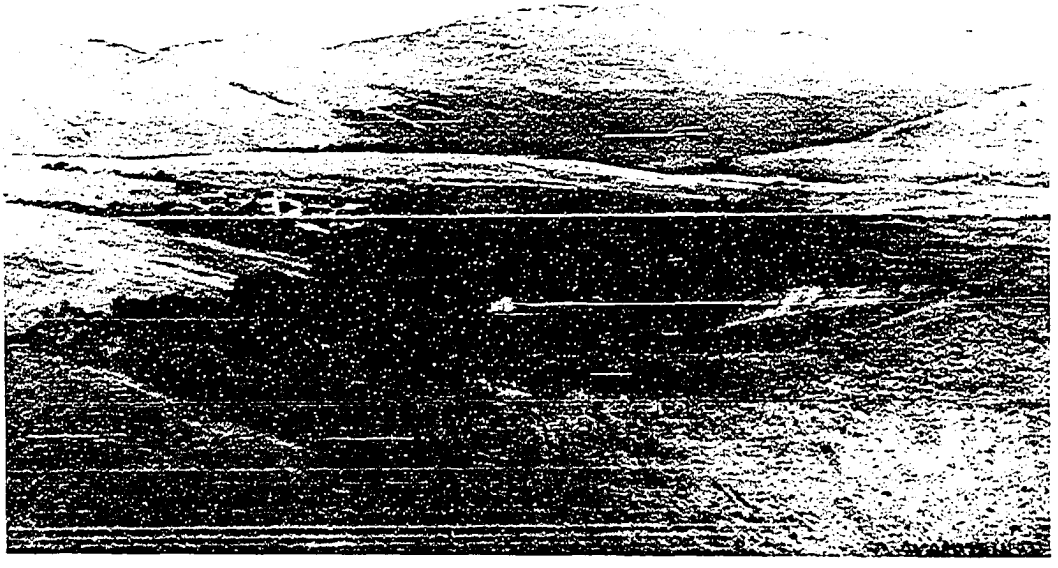

3.23. William Sartain, *The Guadarramas from Segovia*, ca. 1906. Oil on canvas, 13 1/4 x 18 inches. Inscribed verso: 267 / The Guaderramas [sic] from Segovia. Schwarz Gallery, Philadelphia.

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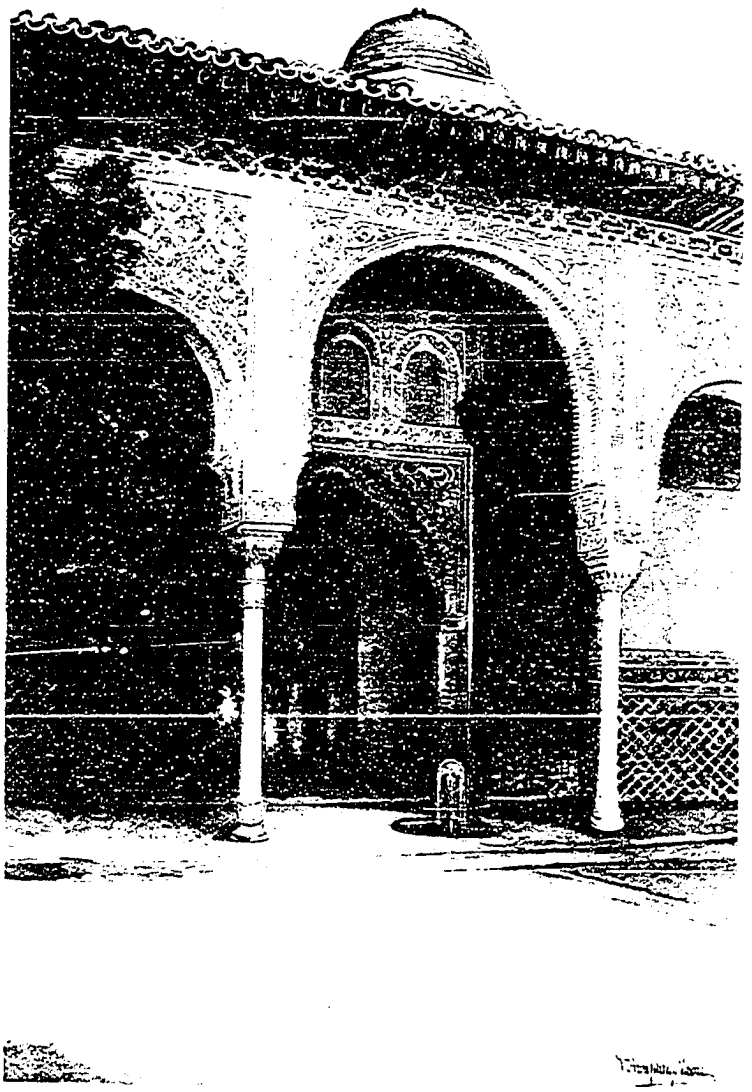

3.24. Harry Humphrey Moore, *The Alhambra*, undated. Oil on canvas, 33 1/2 x 25 1/2 inches. Galerie Intemporel, Paris.

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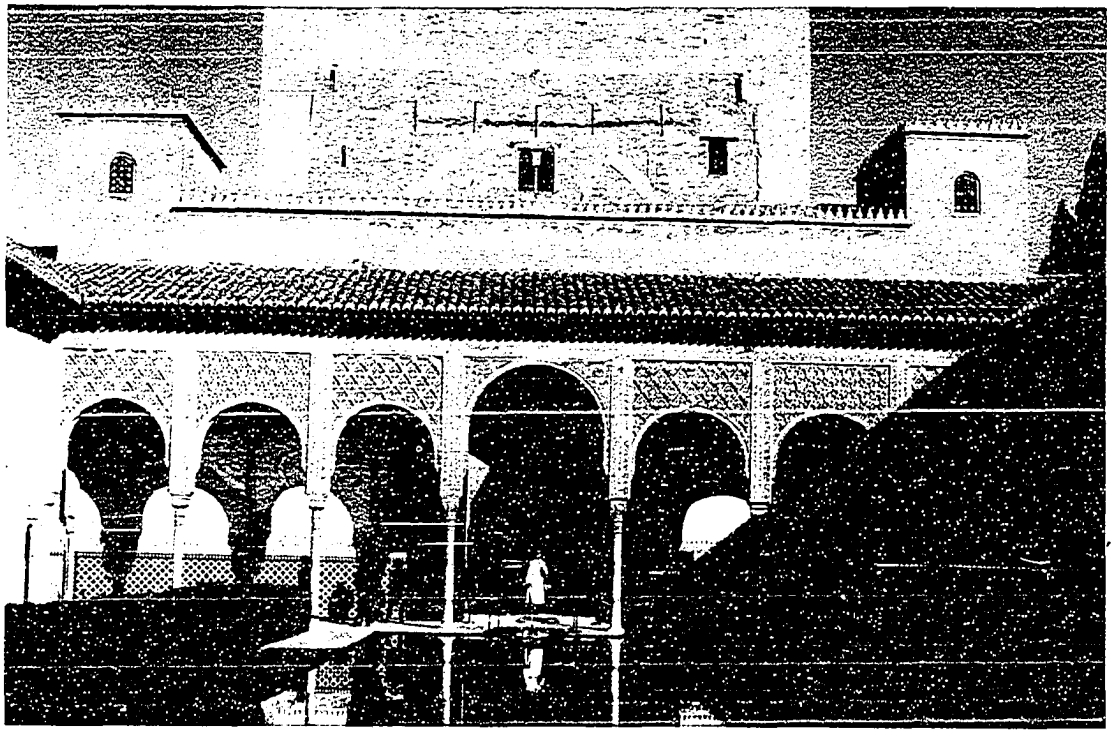

3.25. Photograph of the Patio de los Arrayanes (Patio of the Myrtles); also called the Patio de Comares. Photograph by the author, January 1993.

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3.26. Harry Humphrey Moore, *A Moroccan Guard*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 20 x 12 inches. Signed and inscribed lower right: H. Humphrey Moore / 76. Sotheby's, New York, May 22, 1985, lot 50.

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3.27. Mariano Fortuny, *Gypsy Dancing in a Garden, Granada,* ca. 1872. Oil on canvas, 34 1/4 x 42 1/8 inches. Private Collection.

3.28. Jean Léon Gérôme, *The Dance of the Almeh*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 19 3/4 x 32 inches. Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio.

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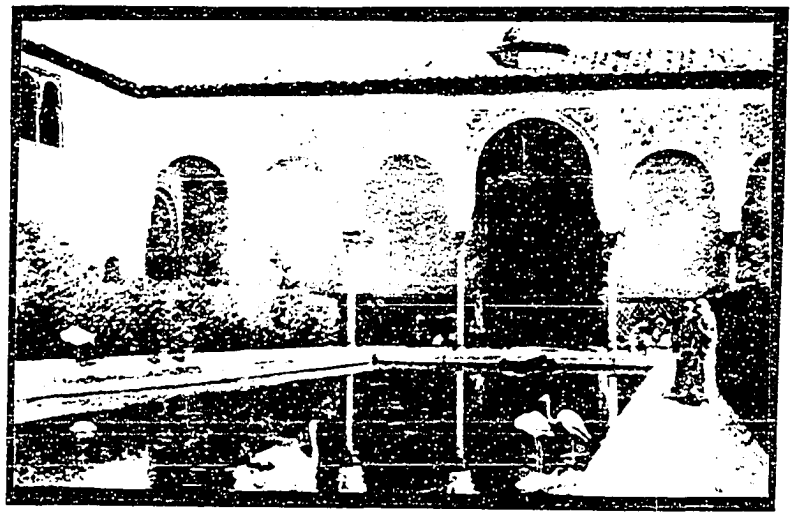

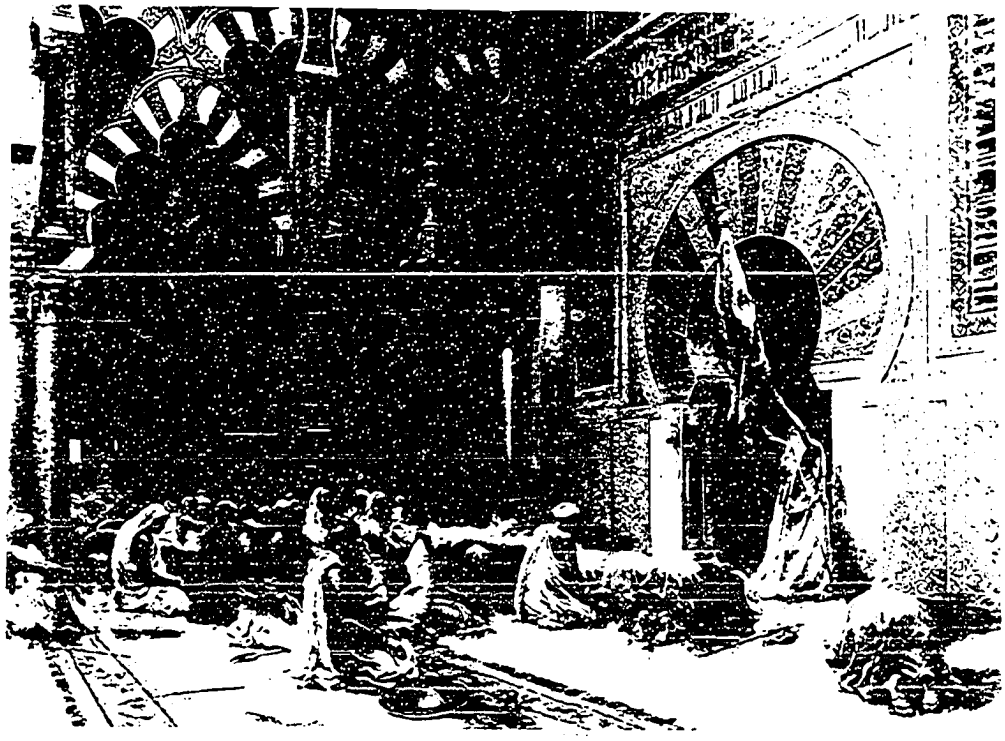

3.29. Edwin Lord Weeks, *A Court in the Alhambra in the Time of the Moors*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 23 x 36 inches. Sotheby's, New York, December 5, 1985, lot 53.

3.30. Edwin Lord Weeks, *Mosque at Cordova*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 56 x 72 5/8 inches. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

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3.31 Edwin Lord Weeks, *A Fruit Market, Granada*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 35 1/4 x 60 inches. Signed and dated LR: E. L. Weeks / Granada 1880. Christie's, New York, May 25, 1995, lot 53.

3.32. Edwin Lord Weeks, *The Three Beggars of Cordova*, ca. 1891. Oil on canvas, 66 x 98 1/2 inches. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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3.33. J. Alden Weir, *At the Water Trough*, 1876-77. Oil on canvas, 17 1/4 x 14 1/4 inches. National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

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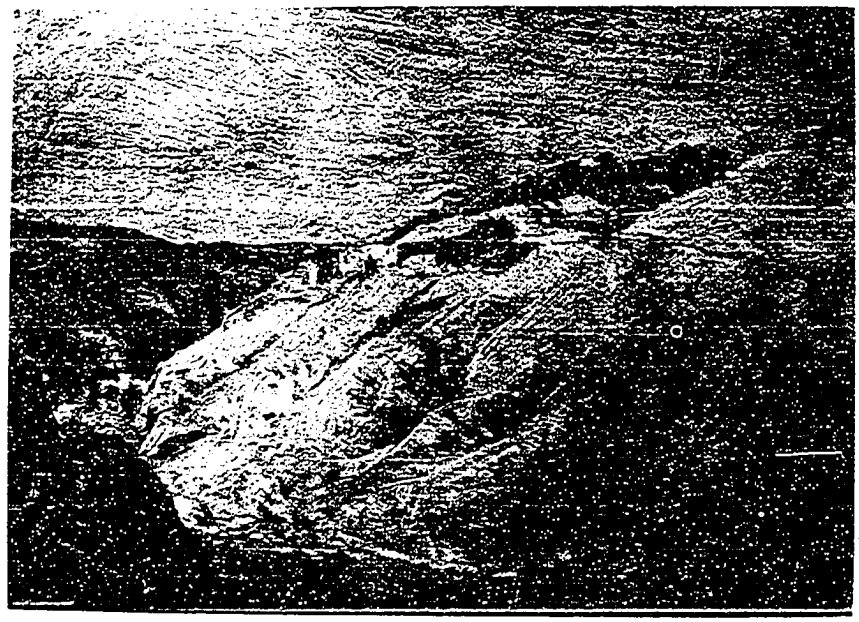

3.34. J. Alden Weir, *Landscape at Toledo*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 7 x 8 7/8 inches. Private Collection.

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4.1. Mary Cassatt, *Two Women Throwing Flowers During Carnival*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 21 1/2 x 25 inches. Private Collection.

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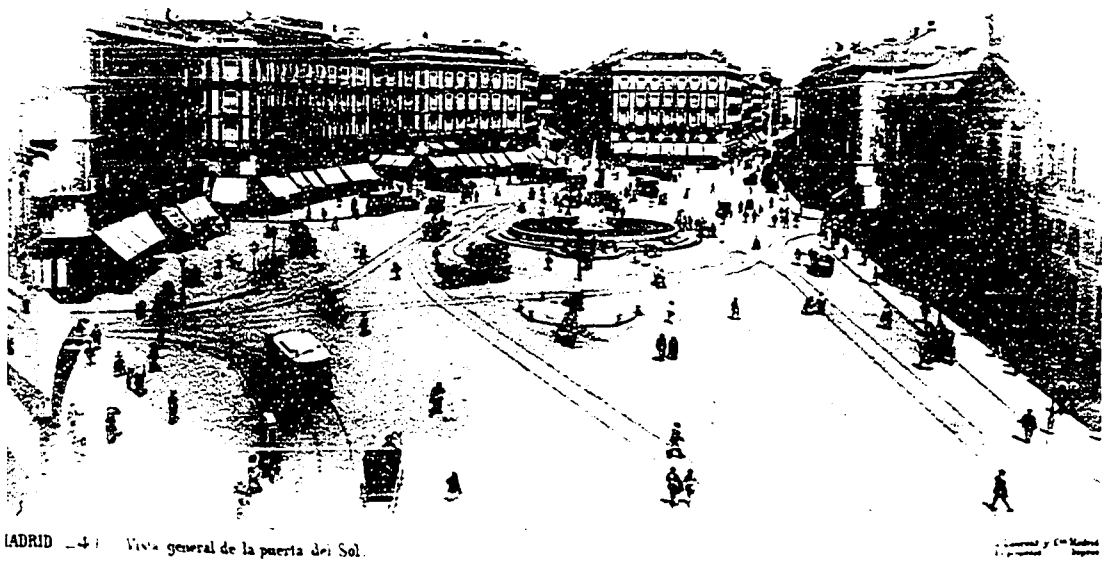

4.2. Jean Laurent, *View of the Puerta dei Sol*, ca. 1865. New York Public Library.

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4.3. Diego Velázquez, *Baltasar Carlos on Horseback*, ca. 1633-35. Oil on canvas, 82 3/4 x 69 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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4.4. Bartolomé Murillo, *Saint Elizabeth Curing the Sick*, ca. 1671-74. Oil on canvas, 128 x 96 1/2 inches. Hospital de la Caridad, Seville.

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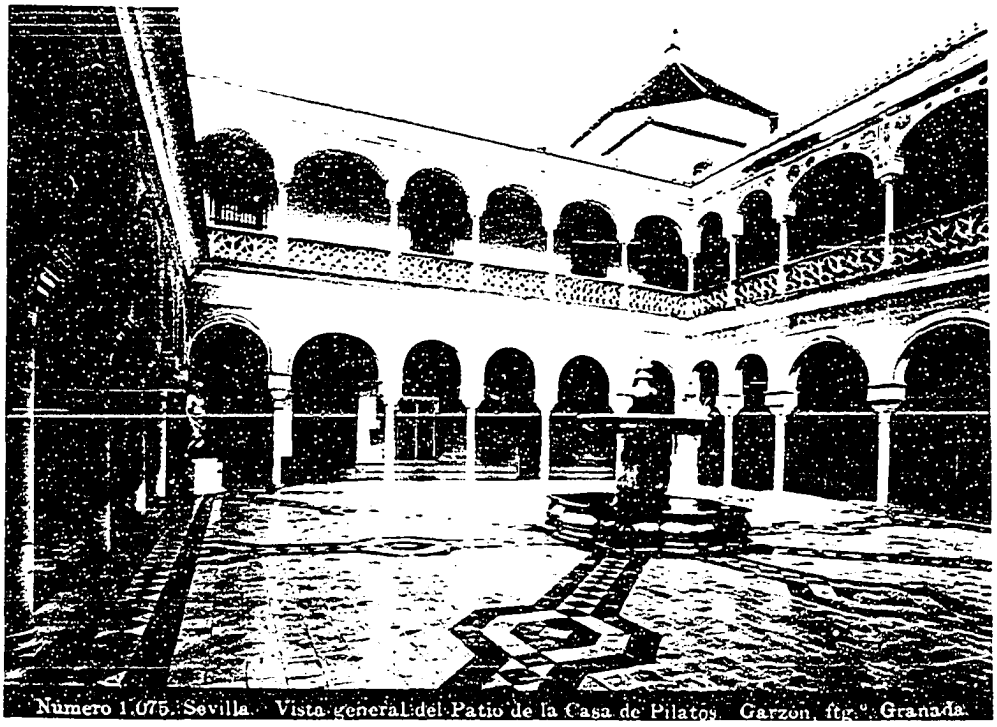

4.5. Rafael Garzón, *View of the Casa de Pilatos, Seville*, ca. 1880-1900. Albumen silver print from glass negative, 6 x 8 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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4.6. Mary Cassatt, *On the Balcony*, 1873. Oil on canvas, 39 3/4 x 32 1/2 inches. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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4.7. Charles Stanley Reinhart, *Dolce Far Niente*, ca. 1881-82. Illustration from George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64 (April 1882).

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4.8. Copy after Francisco Goya, *Majas on the Balcony*, ca. 1824-35. Oil on canvas, 76 3/4 x 49 1/2 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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4.9. Edouard Manet, *The Balcony*, 1868-69. Oil on canvas, 66 1/2 x 49 1/4 inches. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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4.10. Bartolomé Murillo, *Two Women at a Window*, ca. 1655-60. Oil on canvas, 50 1/4 x 41 3/4 inches. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

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4.11. Mary Cassatt, *Susan on a Balcony Holding a Dog*, ca. 1882. Oil on canvas, 39 1/2 x 25 1/2 inches. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

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4.12. Mary Cassatt, *Toreador*, 1873. Oil on canvas, 32 1/8 x 25 3/16 inches. The Art Institute of Chicago.

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4.13. Mary Cassatt, *Offering the Panale to the Bullfighter*, 1873. Oil on canvas, 39 5/8 x 33 1/2 inches. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.

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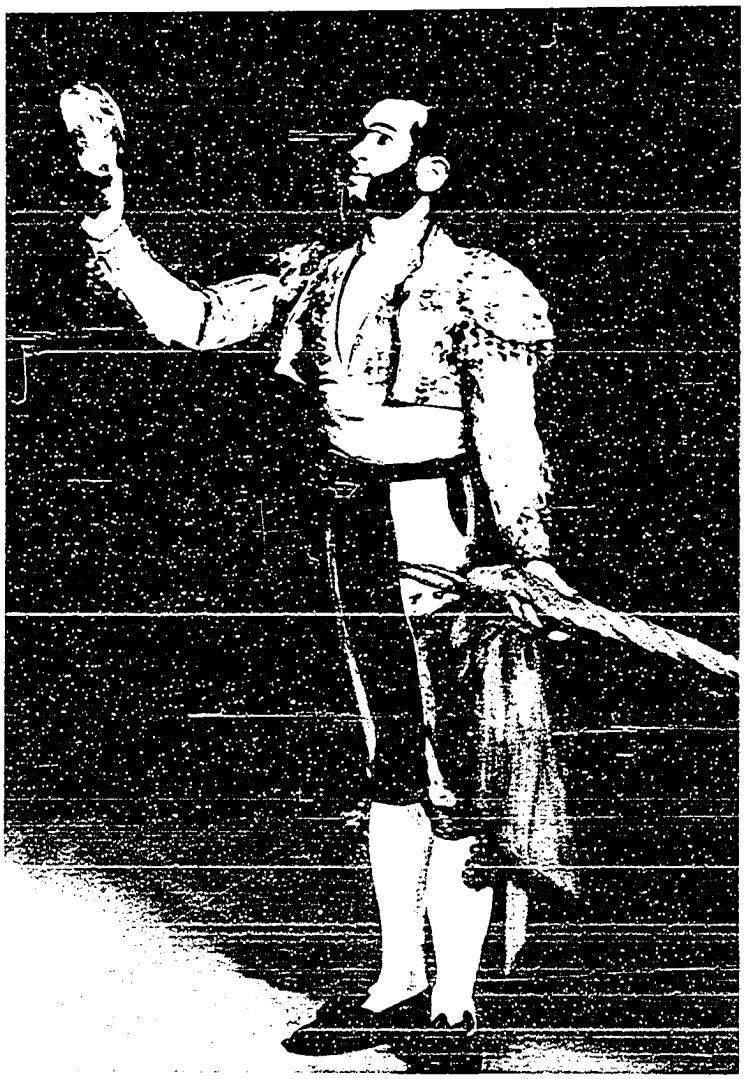

4.14. Edouard Manet, *A Matador*, 1866-67. Oil on canvas, 67 3/8 x 44 1/2 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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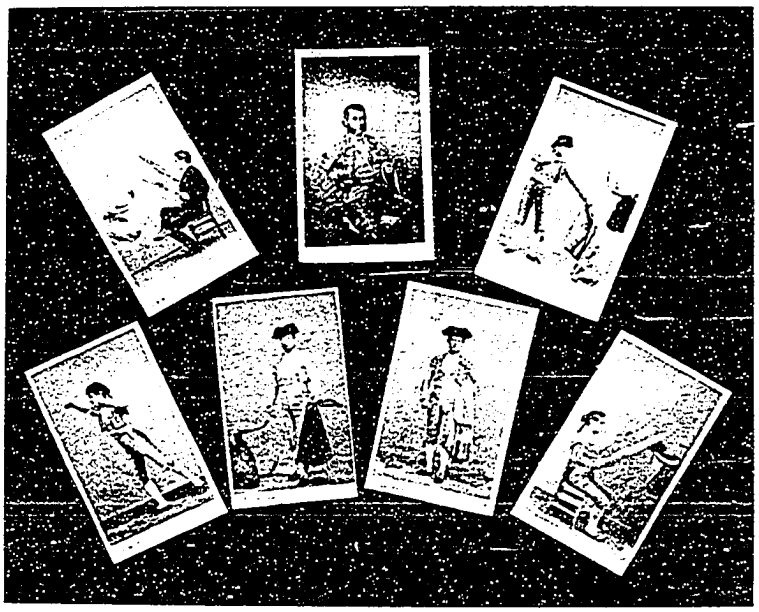

4.15. Jean Laurent, *Carte-de-visite Photographs with Bullfighting Motifs*, ca. 1860. Private Collection.

4.16. John Phillip, *La Bomba*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 36 3/16 x 45 inches. City of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Collections.

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4.17 Germán Alvarez Algeciras, *Pelando la pava*, 1873. Oil on panel, 11 x 7 7/8 inches. Private Collection.

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4.18. Abraham Archibald Anderson, *A Bit of Old Spain*, ca. 1877. Oil on canvas, 18 1/2 x 26 inches. Location unknown.

4.19. Mary Cassatt, *Peasant Woman Peeling an Orange*, ca. 1872-73. Oil on canvas, 22 1/8 x 18 inches. Rainone Galleries, Inc., Arlington, Tex.

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4.20. Mary Cassatt, *Spanish Dancer with a Lace Mantilla*, ca. 1872-73. Oil on canvas, 26 3/4 x 19 3/4 inches. National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

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4.21. Mary Cassatt, *Portrait of a Lady of Seville*, ca. 1872-73. Oil on canvas, 37 3/4 x 30 3/8 inches. Private Collection.

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4.22. Mary Cassatt, *Reading Le Figaro*, ca. 1878. Oil on canvas, 39 3/4 x 32 inches. Private Collection.

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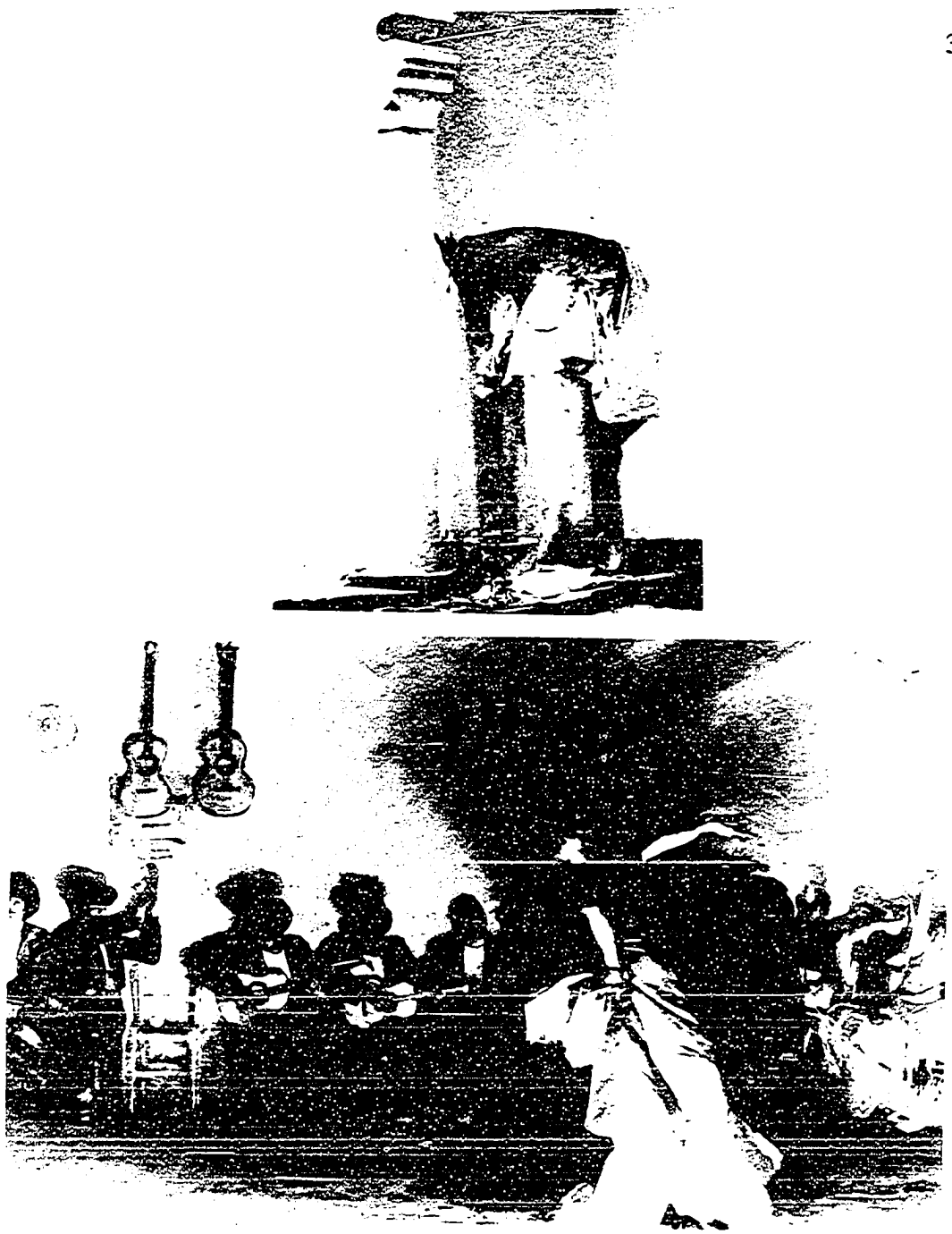

5.1. John Singer Sargent, *Fumée d'Ambre Gris*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 54 3/4 x 35 11/16 inches. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.

5.2, John Singer Sargent, *El Jaleo*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 93 3/8 x 138 1/2 inches. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

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5.3. Carolus-Duran, *The Woman with a Glove*, 1869. Oil on canvas, 90 x 64 1/2 inches. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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5.4. Carolus-Duran, *Spanish Lady*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 10 1/2 x 8 1/4 inches. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.

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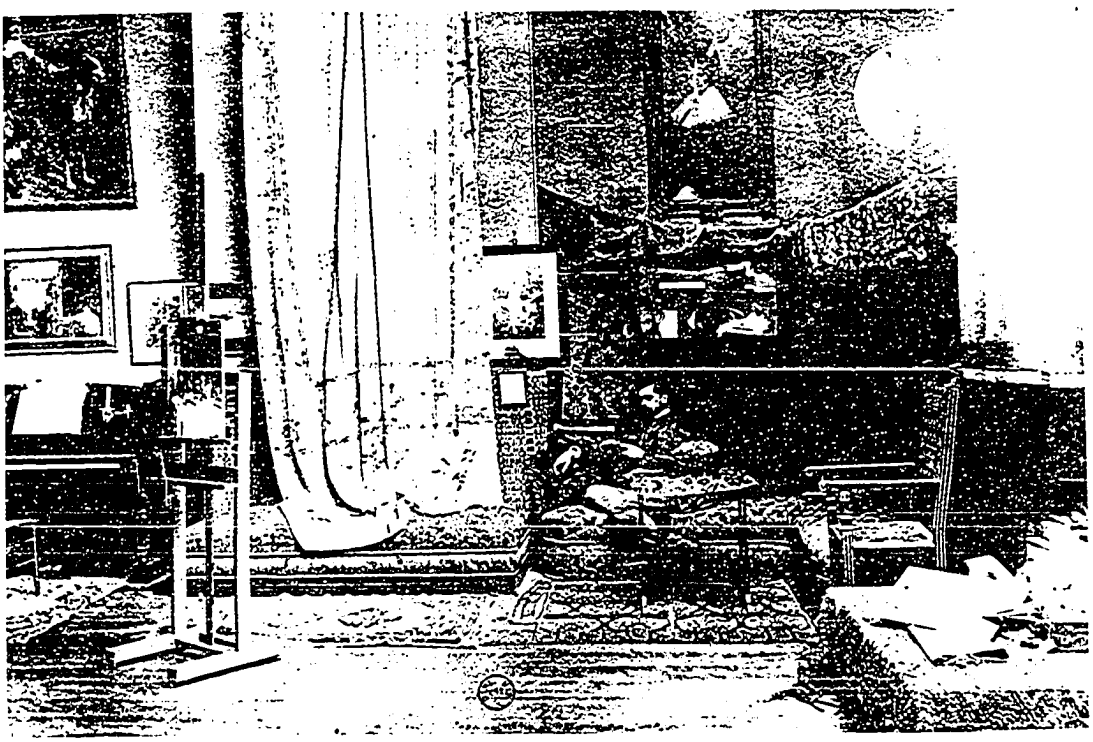

5.5. *Sargent in His Studio at 41 Boulevard Berthier, Paris*, ca. 1885; from Charles Merrill Mount, "Carolus-Duran and the Development of Sargent," *Art Quarterly* 26 (1963), p. 384. The copies Sargent made in Spain are on the left side of the photograph.

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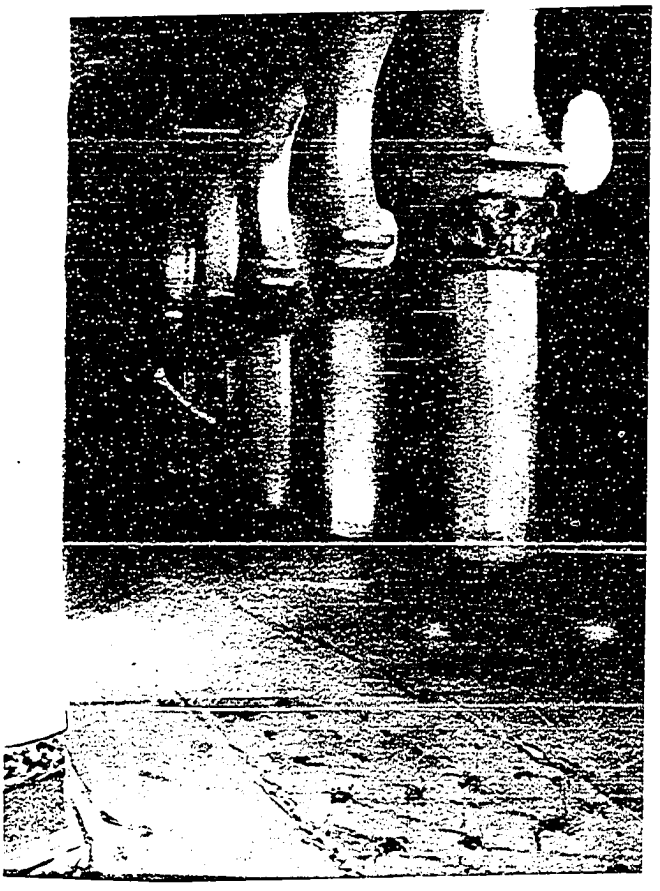

5.6. John Singer Sargent, *The Interior of Santa Maria la Blanca, Toledo*, ca. 1879. Oil on panel, 13 3/4 x 10 1/4 inches. Christie's, London, November 12, 1976, lot 58.

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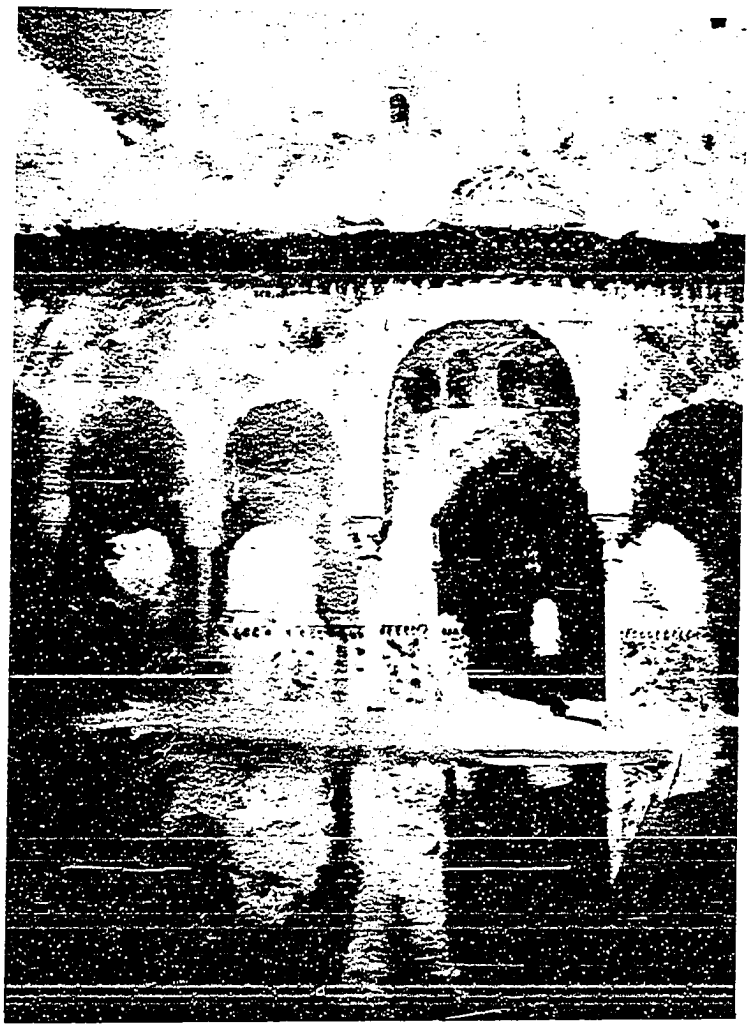

5.7. John Singer Sargent, *The Court of the Myrtles, Alhambra*, ca. 1879. Oil on canvas, 20 1/2 x 17 inches. Ormond Family Collection, London.

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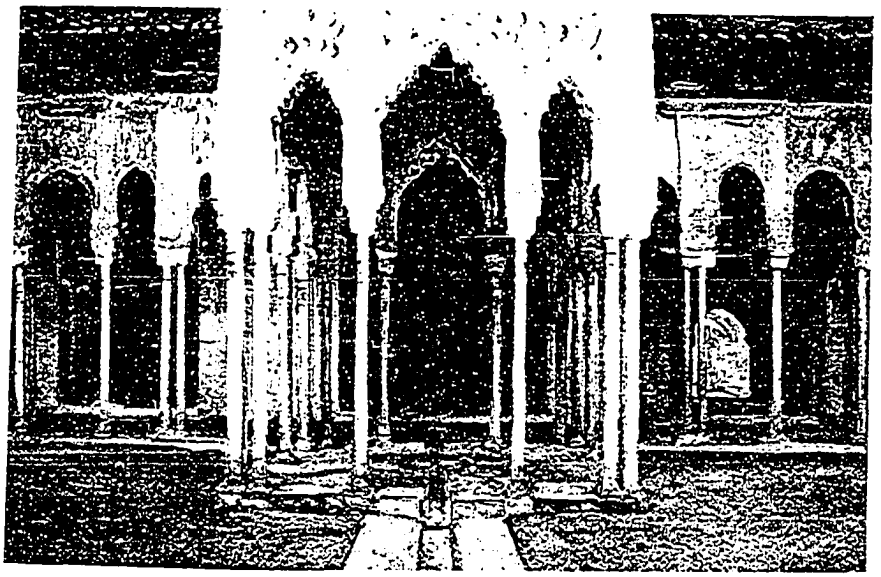

5.8. John Singer Sargent, *The Court of the Lions, Alhambra*, ca. 1879. Oil on canvas, 18 3/4 x 31 1/2 inches. Private Collection.

5.9. John Singer Sargent, *Patio de la Reja, Alhambra*, ca. 1879. Oil on canvas, 18 x 21 1/2 inches. Adelson Galleries, New York.

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5.10. Charles-Edmond Daux, *Une Sentinelle*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 52 x 22 1/2 inches. Sotheby's, London, November 28, 1984, lot 227.

5.11. Gustave Doré, *Gipsy Dancing the Vito Sevillano*, ca. 1862-73; from Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain* (1874; Eng. trans. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1876), p. 313.

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5.12. Gustave Doré, *Gipsies Dancing in a Court of Sevilla*, ca. 1862-73; from Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain* (1874; Eng. trans. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1876), p. 317.

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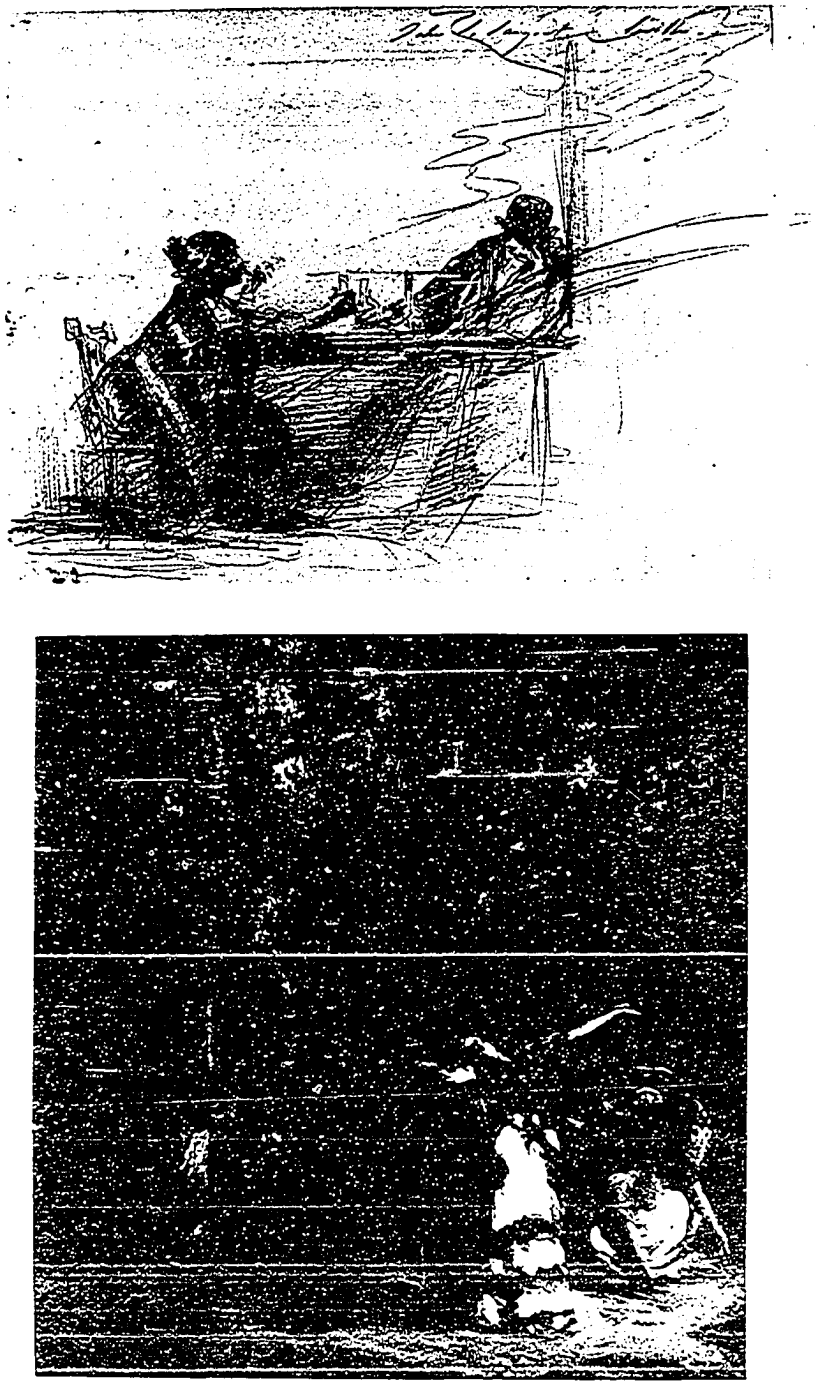

5.13. John Singer Sargent, *Cafe Scene, Seville (from the Sargent Sketchbook)*, 1879. Graphite on paper, 9 3/8 x 13 inches. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Mass.

5.14. John Singer Sargent, *The Spanish Dance*, ca. 1880. Oil on canvas, 35 1/4 x 33 1/4 inches. The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

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5.15. John Singer Sargent, *Spanish Dancer*, ca. 1880-1. Oil on canvas, 87 3/4 x 59 1/2 inches. Sotheby's, New York, May 25, 1994, lot 93.

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5.16. Francisco Goya, *El Tres de Mayo, 1808*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 104 3/4 x 135 7/8 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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5.17. John Singer Sargent, *Gitana*, ca. 1876. Oil on canvas, 29 x 23 5/8 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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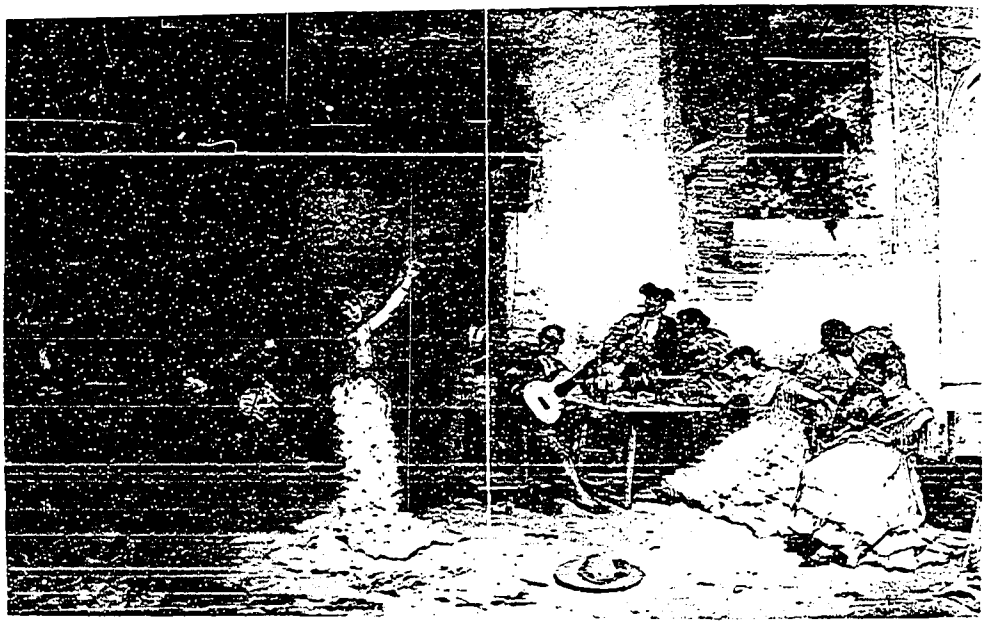

5.18. Edouard Manet, *Ballet Espagnole*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 24 x 35 5/8 inches. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

5.19. Domingo Muñoz Cuesta, *Fiesta en Sevilla*, 1880-90. Oil on two panels, 17 3/8 x 14 inches each. Private Collection.

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5.20. Jules Worms, *The Vito Dance at Seville*, undated. Formerly in the Collection of Henry C. Gibson, Philadelphia, current location unknown; from Edward Strahan, *The Art Treasures of America* (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1879).

5.21. Raimundo Madrazo, *Dancing the Jaleo in the Casa de Pilatos, Seville*, undated. Formerly in the Collection of Henry Hilton, New York, current location unknown; from Edward Strahan, *The Art Treasures of America* (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1879).

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5.22. Scene from the second act of *Carmen*, reproduced in *l'Illustration*, 1875; from *Georges Bizet (1838-1875)* (exh. cat., Paris: Theatre National de l'Opéra, 1938).

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5.23. Charles Sprague Pearce, *Prelude!*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 60 x 48 inches. Private Collection.

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5.24. Antonio Chamán, "Las Cigarreras" from *Costumbres Andaluzas*, 1850-2. Lithograph, dimensions unknown. Fundación Focus, Seviila.

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5.25. Emilio Beauchy, *No. 167, Sevilla, Fá[bri]ca de Tabacos*, ca. 1883. Albumen print from collodion negative, 6 1/8 x 9 inches. Private Collection.

5.26. Gustave Doré, *Cigarreras at Work in the Fábrica de Tabacos of Seville*, ca. 1862-73; from Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain* (1874; Eng. trans. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1876), p. 252.

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5.27. Walter Gay, *Las Cigarreras*, ca. 1894. Oil on canvas, 50 1/8 x 72 7/8 inches. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

5.28. Walter Gay, *La fabrique de tabac à Seville*, ca. 1895. Oil on canvas, 50 1/8 x 67 3/8 inches. Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine.

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5.29. William T. Dannat, *Contrebandier Aragonais*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 120 1/4 x 66 7/8 inches. Musée National de la Coopération Franco-américaine, Château de Blérancourt.

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5.30. Gustave Doré, *Aguadores de Lorca*, ca. 1862-73; from Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain* (1874; Eng. trans. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1876), p. 110.

5.31. Gustave Doré, *Smugglers of the Serrania de Ronda*, ca. 1862-73; from Baron Charles Davillier, *Spain* (1874; Eng. trans. New York: Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, 1876), p. 233.

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5.32. William T. Dannat, *The Quartette*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 94 3/8 x 92 3/4 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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5.33. William T. Dannat, *Sacristy in Aragon*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 53 x 56 inches. Rifkin-Young Fine Arts, New York.

5.34. William T. Dannat, *Spanish Women*, ca. 1892. Oil on canvas, approximately 70 x 90 inches. Location unknown.

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5.35. Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 126 3/8 x 110 5/8 inches. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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5.36. John Singer Sargent, *Venetian Interior*, ca. 1880-2. Oil on canvas, 27 x 34 inches. Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Penn.

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5.37. John Singer Sargent, *The Daughters of Edward D. Boit*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 87 x 87 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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6.1. William Merritt Chase, *Keying Up -- The Court Jester*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 39 3/4 x 24 7/8 inches. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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6.2. William Merritt Chase, *Spanish Peasant*, ca. 1881, from George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64 (May 1882), p. 800.

6.3. William Merritt Chase, *A Spanish Monk*, ca. 1881, from George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65 (September 1882), p. 550.

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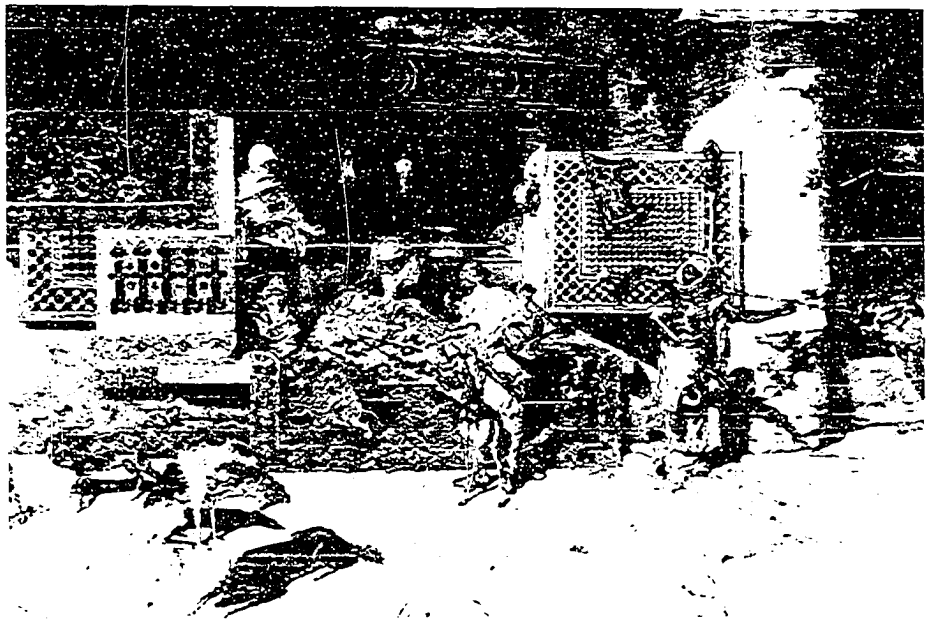

6.4. William Merritt Chase, *A Spanish Bric-a-Brac Shop*, ca. 1882. Oil on canvas, 29 1/2 x 48 1/4 inches. Signed lower left: Wm M Chase. Christie's, New York, December 9, 1983, lot 110.

6.5. Mariano Fortuny, *Vendedor de tapices*, 1870. Watercolor on paper, 23 1/4 x 33 1/2 inches. Museo de Montserrat, Barcelona.

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6.6. William Merritt Chase, *Spanish Village*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 27 3/4 x 40 inches. Signed, dated, and inscribed lower right: Wm M Chase / Madrid 1882. Sotheby's, New York, May 25, 1995, lot 57.

6.7. William Merritt Chase, *Outskirts of Madrid* (probably *Scene Near Madrid*), 1882. Oil on canvas, 32 1/4 x 46 inches. Signed, dated, and inscribed lower right: Wm M Chase/ Madrid / Aug 1882. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

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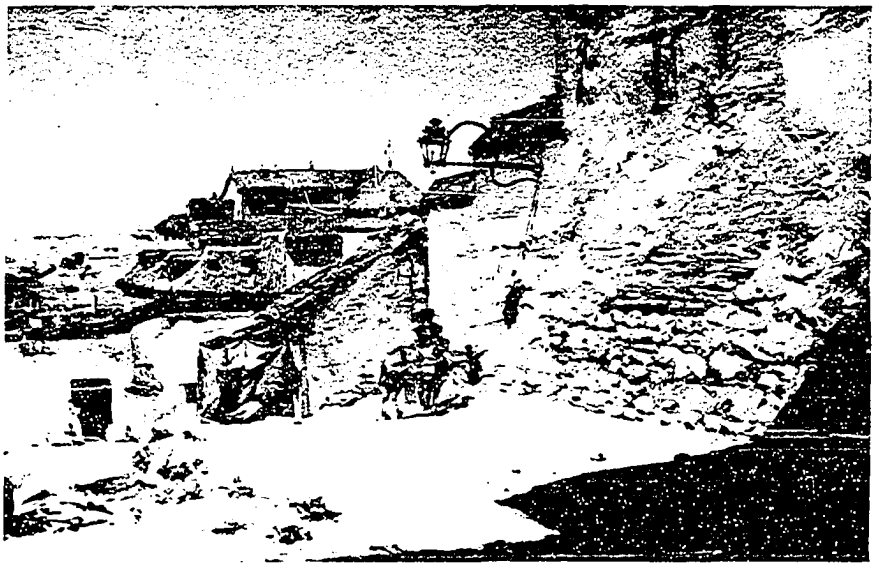

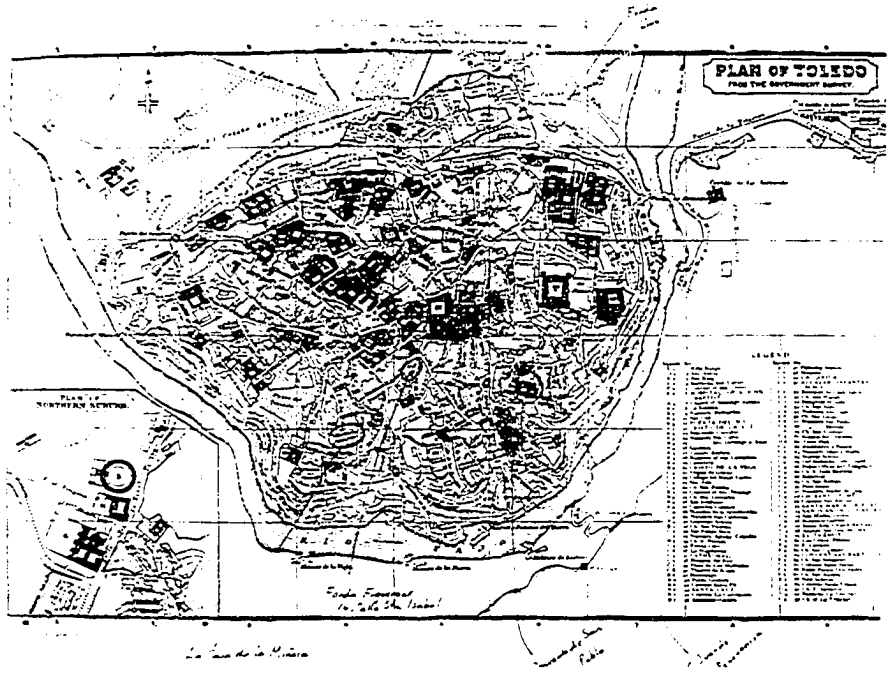

6.8. William Merritt Chase, *Sunny Spain*, ca. 1882. Oil on canvas, 19 1/2 x 29 inches. Signed lower right: Wm M Chase. Spanierman Gallery, New York.

6.9. *Map of Toledo*, ca. 1888, from Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845; 7th ed., London: John Murray, 1888).

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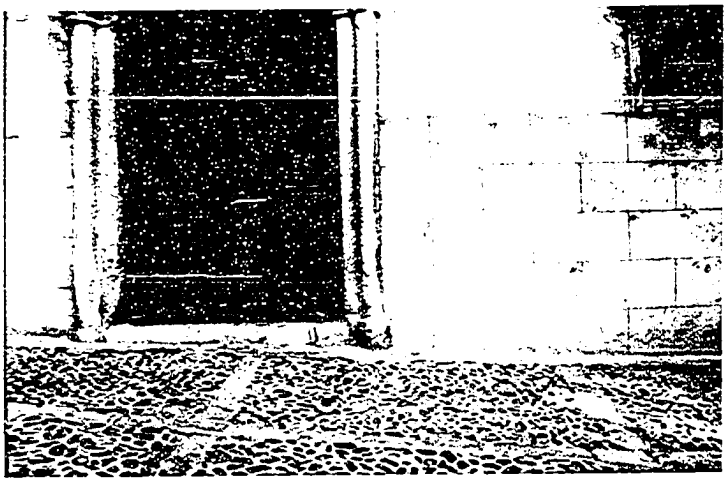

6.10. Robert Frederick Blum, *A Spanish Watercarrier, Toledo*, 1882. Oil on panel, 11 3/4 x 15 3/4 inches. Signed and dated lower left: Blum / 1882. Signed and inscribed verso: Robt. Blum / A Spanish Watercarrier (Toledo) / "Sherwood" / $200. Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1990, lot 64.

6.11. Facade of number 22, Calle Santa Isabel, Toledo. Photograph courtesy José Pedro Muñoz Herrera, May 1995.

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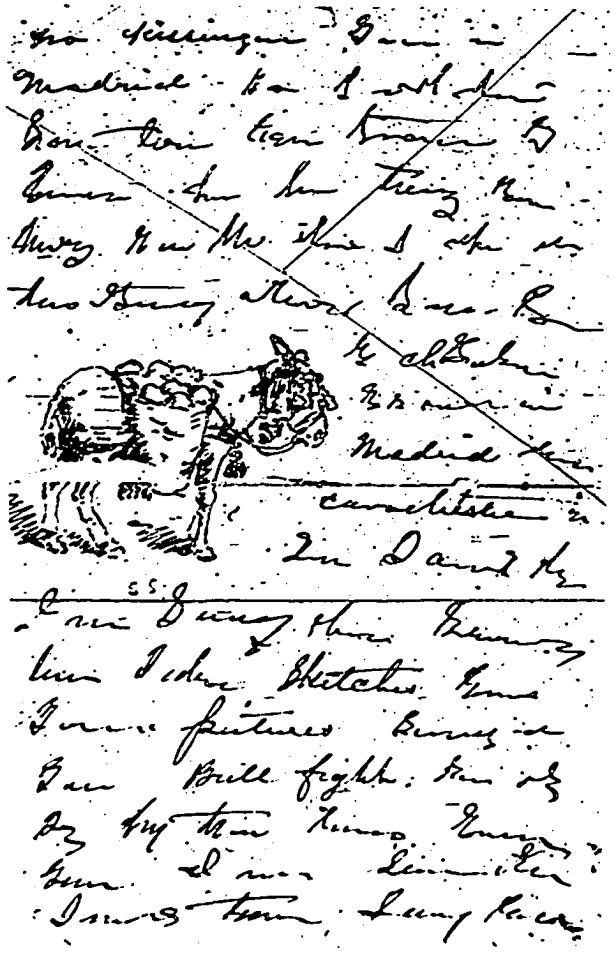

6.12. William Merritt Chase, *Letter to Alice Gerson*, August 6, 1881, William Merritt Chase Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Reel N69-137.

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DONKEYS CARRYING WATER JARS

6.13. Charles S. Reinhart, *Aguador*, ca. 1881, from George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65 (August 1882), p. 385.

6.14. Alexander Wagner, *Watercarrier*, before 1881, from Susan Hale, *Family Flight Through Spain* (Boston: D. Lothrop & Company, [1883]), p. 94.

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6.15. Casiano Alguacil, *Tipos Toledanos,* undated, from Manuel Carero de Dios, et. al., *Toledo en la fotografía de Alguacil, 1832-1914* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1983), p. 45.

6.16. José Rodrigo, *Vendedor de agua, Lorca,* ca. 1870, from Publio López Mondéjar, *Las Fuentes de la memoria: Fotografía y sociedad en la España del siglo XIX* (Barcelona 7 Madrid: Lunwerg Editores, [1989]), p. 186.

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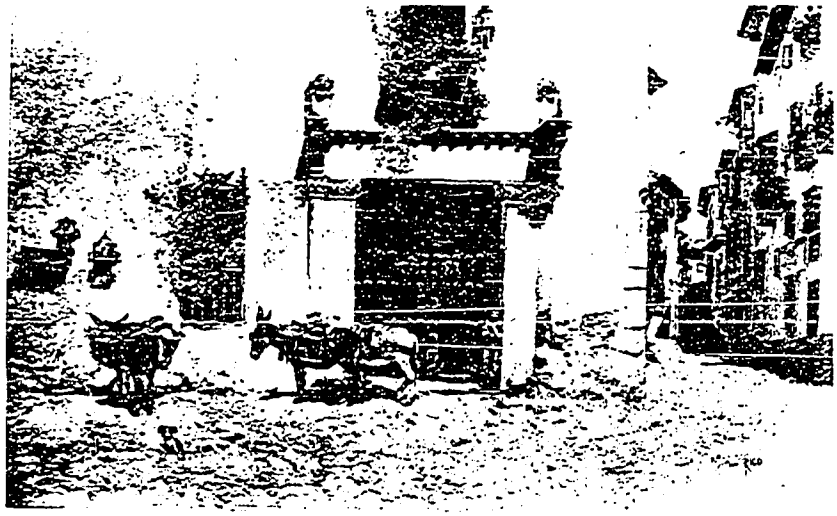

6.17. Martín Rico, *Plaza and Street, Toledo*, undated. Oil on canvas, 8 3/4 x 13 3/4 inches. Location unknown, formerly in the collection William Hood Stewart.

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6.18. Robert F. Blum, *An Old Street*, ca. 1882-9, from Susan N. Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," *Century Magazine* 39 (November 1889), p. 34.

6.19. William M. Chase, *A Street Incident*, ca. 1881-9, from Susan N. Carter, "Street Life in Madrid," *Century Magazine* 39 (November 1889), p. 36.

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6.20. Casiano Alguacil, *Una calle de Toledo*, undated, courtesy José Pedro Muñoz Herrera.

6.21. Jean Laurent, *Pobres a la puerta de un convento en Toledo*, undated, courtesy José Pedro Muñoz Herrera.

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6.22. Robert Frederick Blum, *Spanish Courtyard*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 29 x 40 inches. Signed and dated lower right: Blum / 1883. Private Collection.

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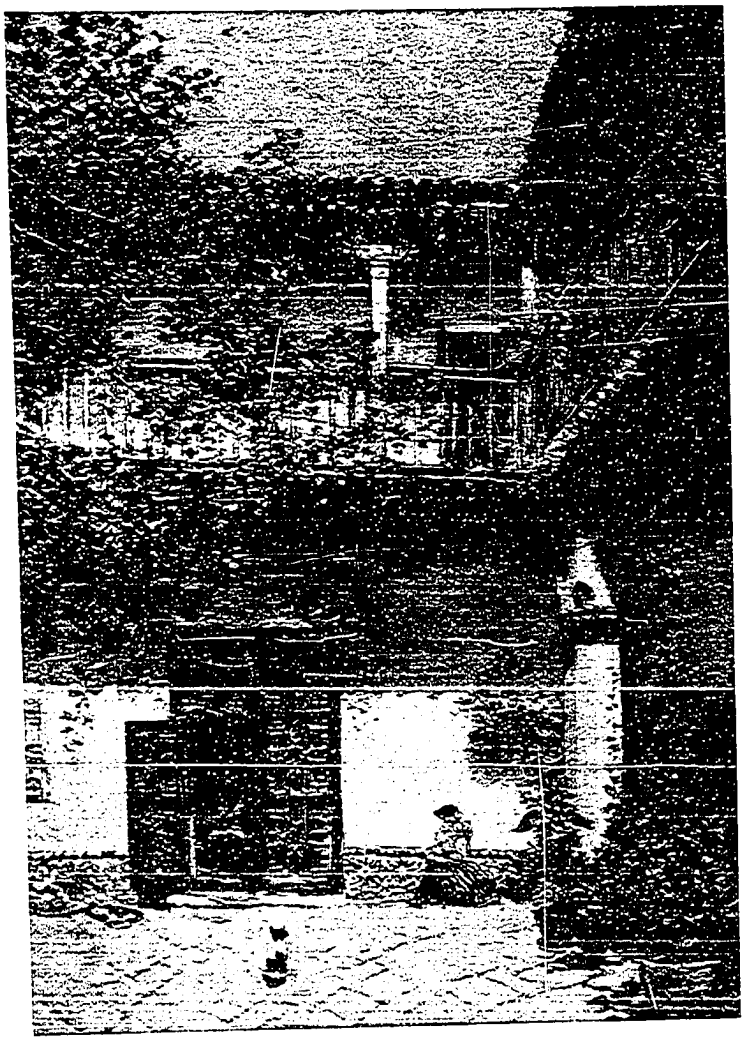

6.23. Martín Rico, *Patio de la casa de Samuel Leví, en Toledo*, undated. Location unknown, from *La Ilustración española y americana*, 1894, courtesy José Pedro Muñoz Herrera.

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6.24. Robert Frederick Blum, *Spanish Courtyard with Flower Pots*, ca. 1882. Oil on panel, 9 3/8 x 12 5/8 inches. Private Collection.

6.25. The upper gallery of the Casa de la Miñaca, Travasía de San Torcuato, Toledo. Photograph courtesy José Pedro Muñoz Herrera, May 1995.

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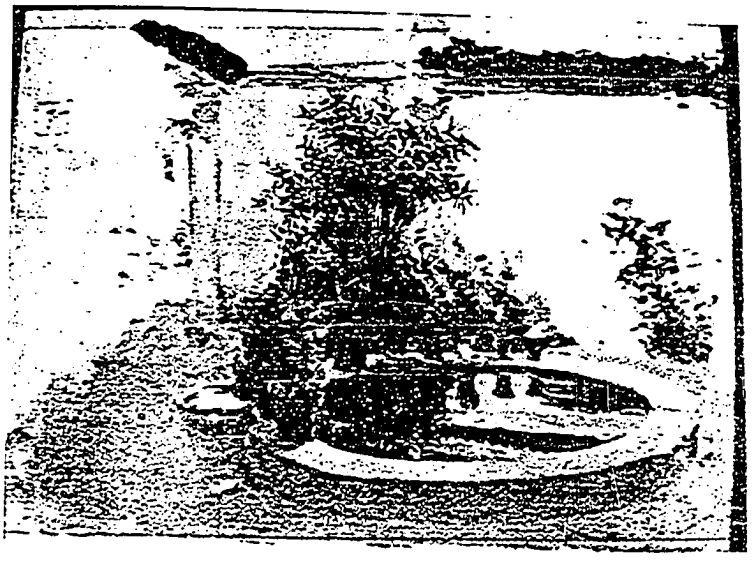

6.26. Robert Frederick Blum, *Water Basin with Plants*, ca. 1882. Oil on panel, 8 7/8 x 12 inches. Cincinnati Art Museum.

6.27. Ricardo Arredondo, *Jardín toledano*, ca. 1895. Oil on canvas, 1,40 x 1,40 meters, Barcelona Art Market, 1994.

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6.28. F. Hopkinson Smith, *Street Scene in Seville*, 1882. Watercolor and gouache over pencil on paper, 14 3/8 x 23 1/4 inches. Signed, dated, and inscribed lower right: F. Hopkinson Smith / Seville - Oct. 82. Private Collection, courtesy Spanierman Gallery, New York.

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6.29. Charles S. Reinhart, *Toledo Servitors at the Fountain*, ca. 1881, from George Parsons Lathrop, "Spanish Vistas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64 (May 1882), p. 813.

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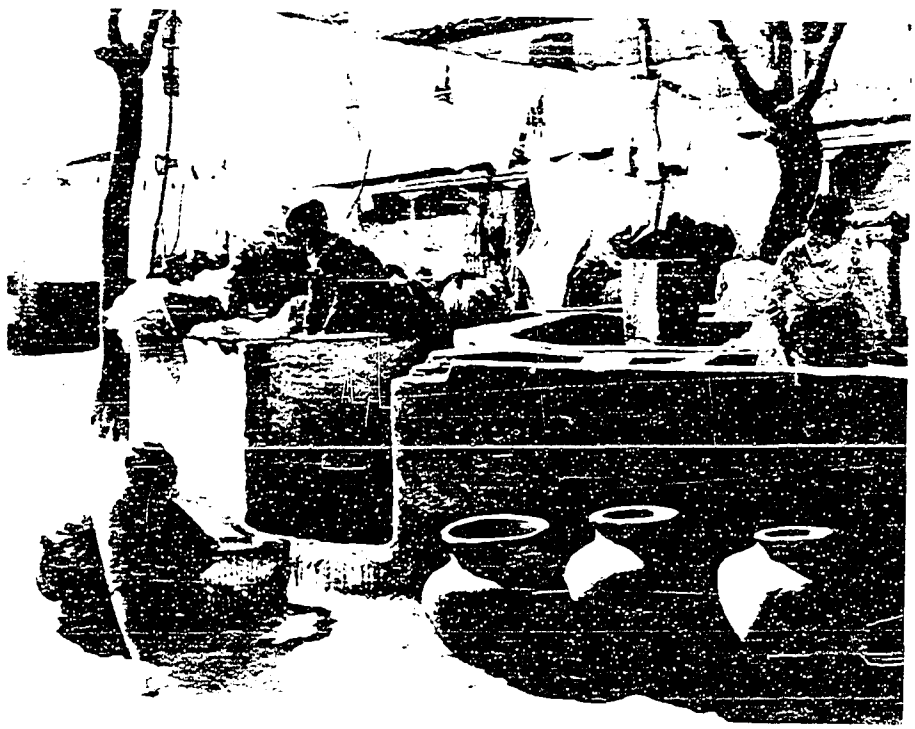

6.30. Charles Frederic Ulrich, *Washerwomen, Seville*, ca. 1888. Oil on wood panel, 19 x 24 inches. Private Collection, courtesy Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York.

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6.31. Childe Hassam, *Church Procession, Spanish Steps*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 12 1/2 x 17 inches. Signed and dated lower left: Childe Hassam / 1883. Sotheby's, New York, November 29, 1990, lot 53.

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6.32. Childe Hassam, *A Street in Denia Spain*, 1883. Watercolor on paper, 11 1/2 x 9 inches. Signed, dated, and inscribed left center: Childe Hassam 83 / Spain. Christie's, New York, December 7, 1984, lot 113.

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6.33. Childe Hassam, *Spanish Street*, 1883. Watercolor on paper, 12 x 15 5/8 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Sources used in the preparation of this dissertation are divided into four categories in order to facilitate the bibliography's use. Section 1 includes books, exhibition and sale catalogues, and dissertations; section 2 is a list of periodical articles; Section 3 itemizes the newspapers consulted; and Section 4 lists manuscripts sources.

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