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The "American School" in Paris: The repatriation of American art at the universal exposition of 1900

Fischer, Diane Pietrucha, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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THE "AMERICAN SCHOOL" IN PARIS:
THE REPATRIATION OF AMERICAN ART
AT THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION OF 1900

by

DIANE PIETRUCHA FISCHER

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

1993

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABBREVIATIONS:
For full citations, consult the bibliography.

AAA	American Art Annual. 3, 1900-01.
Bing	S. Bing, Artistic Culture in America. Benita Eisler, trans. Cambridge, 1970.
Boyd	J. Boyd, The Paris Exposition of 1900. Philadelphia, 1900.
Campbell	J. Campbell, Illustrated History of the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. Chicago, 1900.
COI	Catalogue Officiel Illustré de l'Exposition Décennale des Beaux Arts, 1889 à 1900. Paris, 1900.
Colliers	Collier's Weekly. 25, 1900.
Kunst	Die Kunst für Alle. 16, 1901.
OIC	Official Illustrated Catalogue. Fine Arts Exhibit, United States of America, Paris Exposition of 1900. Boston, 1900.
PE Reproduced	Paris Exposition Reproduced from the Official Photographs Taken Under the Supervision of the French Government. NY, 1900.
Report	Report of the Commissioner-General for the

United States to the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900. 6 vols. Washington, DC, 1901.

Russell — F. Russell, ed., Art Nouveau Architecture. New York, 1979.

Chefs — Chefs d'Oeuvre. 10 vols. Philadelphia, 1900-2.

1 Thomas Cole, THE ARCADIAN STATE, second of THE COURSE OF EMPIRE series, 1836. 39-1/4 X 63-1/4". The New-York Historical Society.

2 Thomas Cole, CONSUMMATION OF EMPIRE, third of THE COURSE OF EMPIRE series, 1836. 51-1/4 X 76". The New-York Historical Society.

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4 Frederic Church, NIAGARA, 1857. 42-1/2 X 90-1/2". The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

5 Edwin Lord Weeks, THE LAST JOURNEY: SOUVENIER OF THE GANGES, BENARES, Salon, 1885. 78-1/2 X 117-1/2". Stuart Pivar, New York.

6 Jean-Léon Gérôme, THE PRISONER, 1861. Oil on panel. 18-7/8 X 30-3/4". Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

7 Thomas Eakins, THE DANCING LESSON (NEGRO BOY DANCING), 1878. Watercolor. 18-1/18 X 22-5/8". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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17 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, LA LOGE, 1874. 32 X 25" approx. Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

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19 Henri Martin, SERENITE, 1899. approx. 11'3" X 17'8". Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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26 Engraving of PALAIS D'ELECRICITE and the CHATEAU D'EAU AT NIGHT. (PE Reproduced).

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33 Alexander Phimister Proctor, VICTORY QUADRIGA. Gilded plaster, U.S. National Pavilion. (Campbell).

34 John Flanagan, EAGLE. Gilded zinc, U.S. National Pavilion. (Campbell).

35 Daniel Chester French, WASHINGTON. Plaster temporarily in the Place d'Iéna. (AAA). [Bronze version, Place d'Iéna, Paris].

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46 Robert Reid's AMERICA, in situ. Portico of U.S. National Pavilion. (Figaro Illustré, 11, p. 17).

47 Augustus Koopman, INDUSTRIAL ARTS. Mural on canvas. 10 X 10'. Palace of Diverse Industries. (Archives Nationales, Paris).

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49 Lyell Carr. Mural on canvas. Standard Oil Exhibit, Department of Mining and Metallurgy. (Report, 4).

50 Carleton Chapman, SERIES OF YACHT RACES. Mural on canvas. U.S. Navigation Exhibit. (Report, 3).

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53 Frederick Lamb, RELIGION ENTHRONED, c.1900. Glass. The Brooklyn Museum.

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55 PLAN, PAINTINGS GALLERIES, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS. (Report, 2).

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58 NORTH SIDE OF GALLERY C, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY B, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais. (Report, 2).

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60 SOUTHEAST CORNER OF GALLERY E, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY F, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais. (Report, 2).

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65 James McNeill Whistler, SYMPHONY IN WHITE NO. I: THE LITTLE WHITE GIRL, 1862. 85-7/8 X 43-1/5" approx. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

66 James McNeill Whistler, SYMPHONY IN WHITE NO. II: THE LITTLE WHITE GIRL, 1864. 30-1/8 X 20-1/8". Tate Gallery, London.

67 James McNeill Whistler, MOTHER-OF-PEARL AND SILVER - THE ANDALUSIAN, 1888-1900. 75-3/8 X 35-3/8". The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

68 James McNeill Whistler, BROWN AND GOLD [SELF-PORTRAIT], 1895/1900. 37-3/4 X 20-1/4". Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow.

69 John Singer Sargent, ASHER B. WERTHEIMER, 1898. 58 X 38-1/2". Tate Art Gallery, London.

70 John Singer Sargent, MRS. MEYER AND CHILDREN, 1896. 79 X 53". Private collection.

71 John Singer Sargent, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, 1899. 58 X 38". Bryn Mawr College Art Collection, Bryn Mawr, PA.

72 Frederick A. Bridgman, PHARAOH'S ARMY DROWNING IN THE RED SEA, 1900. 45 X 83". Formerly the Vaughan Family Trust, London.

73 Edwin Lord Weeks, INDIAN BARBERS: SAHARANPORE, c.1895. 56-1/4 X 75". Joslyn Museum, Omaha, NE.

74 Robert Blum, THE AMEYA, 1890-92. 25-1/16 X 31-1/16". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

75 Engraving after John La Farge's SIVA WITH SIAKUMU MAKING KAVA IN TOFAE'S HOUSE, c.1893-5. Watercolor on velum. (Chefs, 3). Original in Sterling and Francis Clark Institute, Williamstown, MA.

76 Edwin Austin Abbey, PLAY SCENE IN "HAMLET," 1897. 61-1/4 X 96-1/2". Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT.

77 Francis Davis Millet, THE EXPANSIONIST. (OIC).

78 NATIVE WEAVERS AT WORK IN THE BOSNIAN PAVILION. (Campbell).

79 Marcia Oakes Woodbury, MOTHER AND DAUGHTER, 1894. Watercolor. Left and right sections, each 26-1/2 X 12"; center section 26-1/2 X 24-1/2". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

80 Engraving after George Hitchock's MAGNIFICAT. (Chefs, 3).

81 Eugene Vail, EVENING IN BRITTANY, Salon Nationale, 1899. (International Studio, 8, 1899).

82 Sargent Kendall, ST. IVES, PRAY FOR ME, Salon, 1891. (Kunst).

83 Walter MacEwen, SUNDAY IN HOLLAND [DIMANCHE EN HOLLANDE], Salon, 1898. 74 X 47" approx. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

84 Daniel Ridgway Knight, A JULY MORNING, 1895. 96-3/4 X 73". Private collection.

85 Henry O. Tanner, DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN, Salon, 1896. (OIC).

86 Robert Loftin Newman, CHRIST STILLING THE TEMPEST, c. 1898. 14 X 18". Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

87 Alexander Harrison, MYSTERIES OF THE NIGHT, Salon Nationale, 1895. (Brush and Pencil, 4, 1899).

88 James McNeill Whistler, NOCTURNE: BLUE AND GOLD - OLD BATTERESA BRIDGE, 1872/3. 77 X 36" approx. Tate Gallery, London.

89 Winslow Homer, SUMMER NIGHT [NUIT D'ETE], 1890. 30-3/16 X 40-1/8". Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

90 George Willoughby Maynard, IN STRANGE SEAS, 1889. 36-1/8 X 50-5/16". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

91 Charles C. Curran, THE PERIS, 1898. 18 X 32". Dr. Ronald Berg, Monticello, NY.

92 Kenyon Cox, PURSUIT OF THE IDEAL, 1893. Destroyed. (OIC).

93 Will Low, AT THE SPRING, (Carnegie Institute, Annual Exhibition, 1897).

94 Edmund C. Tarbell, VENETIAN BLIND [JALOUISIE], 1898. 51-7/8 X 38-3/8". Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA.

95 Engraving after Julius Stewart's NYMPHS OF NYSA (Chefs, 3). Original in Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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99 William Dannat, PORTRAIT OF THE DUCHESS OF MECKLENBERG (?). (Kunst).

100 Fred Dana Marsh, THE LADY IN SCARLET, c.1900. 77 X 51-1/4". The Newark Museum, Newark, NJ.

101 William M. Chase, PORTRAIT OF MRS. C. (LADY WITH THE WHITE SHAWL), 1893. 75 X 52". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

102 Cecilia Beaux, MOTHER AND DAUGHTER, 1898. 83 X 44". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

103 Cecilia Beaux, PORTRAIT OF MISS [ANNA] FISHER, 1898. 44 X 30". Private collection, Philadelphia.

104 Edmund C. Tarbell, ACROSS THE ROOM. 25 X 30-1/8". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

105 Robert Reid, AZALEAS. 40 X 40". Samuel and Maxime Greenberg.

106 Mary MacMonnies, LILIES AND ROSES [ROSES ET LYS], 1897. 52-1/4 X 69-3/8". Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.

107 Abbott Thayer, VIRGIN ENTHRONED, 1891. 72-5/8 X 52-1/2". National Museum of American Art, Washington, DC.

108 George de Forest Brush, MOTHER AND CHILD, 1895. Circle 39" diam. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

109 Charles Sprague Pearce, MADAME PEARCE [THE SHAWL], c.1888. 81 X 42". Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

110 George de Forest Brush, THE PORTRAIT [THE ARTIST], 1892. 19-3/4 X 23-1/2". Mr. & Mrs. Willard G. Clark.

111 Frank Benson, THE SISTERS, 1899. 40 X 39-1/2". IBM Corporation, Armonk, NY.

112 Robert Vonnoh, LITTLE LOUISE [ELKINS], 1897. (Brush and Pencil, 6, 1900).

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116 Frederick Porter Vinton, ALONSON BEARD. (OIC).

117 John White Alexander, RODIN, 1899. 66 X 48". First National Bank of Chicago.

118 Gari Melchers, THE FENCING MASTER [M. ERNEST NOIR], c.1900. 6' 9-1/4" X 39-1/2". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

119 Thomas Eakins, THE CELLO PLAYER, 1896. 64-1/2 X 48-1/4". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

120 Thomas Eakins, SALUTAT, 1898. 49-1/2 X 39-1/2". Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA.

121 Winslow Homer, THE LOOKOUT - ALL'S WELL, 1896. 40 X 30-1/4". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

122 Julian Alden Weir, MIDDAY REST IN NEW ENGLAND [NOONDAY REST], 1897. 39-1/2 X 50". Pennsylvania

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123 Horatio Walker, SPRING PLOUGHING. (OIC).

124 Charles Schreyvogel, MY BUNKIE, 1899. 25-3/16 X 34". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

125 Engraving after Joseph Sharp's HEAD OF CHEYENNE. Work on paper. (Chefs, 3).

126 Carleton Chapman, ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION AND H.M.S. GUERRIERE, 1895. 29-1/4 X 35-1/2". New-York Historical Society, NY.

127 John La Farge, MT. TOHIVEA, FROM THE EDGE OF AL ROTUI, ISLAND OF MOOREA, SOCIETY ISLANDS, SOUTH PACIFIC, 1891. 17-3/4 X 21-3/4". Watercolor and gouache over pencil on white wove paper, Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA.

128 Walter Palmer, SAN MARCO, VENICE, 1894-5. 27-1/2 X 20". Private collection.

129 Willard Metcalf, SUMMER TWILIGHT [MIDSUMMER TWILIGHT], 1888. 32-1/4 X 35-5/8". National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

130 Theodore Robinson, PORT BEN, DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL, 1893. 28-1/4 X 32-1/4". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

131 Theodore Steele, THE BLOOM OF THE GRAPE, 1893. 30-1/8 X 40-1/8". Indianapolis Museum of Art.

132 George Inness, THE CLOUDED SUN, 1891. 30 X 45". Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

133 George Inness, SUNNY AUTUMN DAY, 1892. 32 X 42". Cleveland Art Museum.

134 Homer Dodge Martin, WESTCHESTER HILLS, c. 1887. 33-1/2 X 60-1/4". Dr. John Larkin.

135 Homer Dodge Martin, NEWPORT NECK, 1893. 29-3/8 X 45-5/8". M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

136 Alexander Wyant, SUNLIT VALE, c.1886. 26 X 20".

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137 Alexander Wyant, IN THE ADIRONDACKS, c.1881. 42-5/8 X 33-1/4". Anthony E. Battelle, Brookline, MA.

138 Alexander Wyant, MOONLIGHT AND FROST, c.1891. 28 X 36". The Brooklyn Museum.

139 William A. Coffin, SUNRISE. (OIC).

140 John Francis Murphy, UNDER GRAY SKIES, 1893. 14 X 18-1/2". Watercolor and pastel. Indianapolis Museum of Art.

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142 Leonard Ochtman, WINTER MORNING, 1898. 28-1/2 X 38". Mark Doren, Grosse Point Park, MI.

143 Charles Harold Davis, SUMMER EVENING. (Carnegie Institute, Annual Exhibition, 1899).

144 Walter Palmer, THE SENATOR'S BIRTHPLACE, 1899. 25 X 35". (Chefs, 3).

145 Henry Ward Ranger, BROOKLYN BRIDGE. 28-1/2 X 36". Art Institute of Chicago.

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148 Howard Russell Butler, CLEARING [MARINE]. (OIC).

149 Winslow Homer, THE MAINE COAST, 1896. 30 X 40". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

150 Winslow Homer, THE FOX HUNT, 1893. 38 X 68-1/2". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

151 Henry S. Bisbing, CATTLE. (OIC).

152 William Merritt Chase, THE BIG BRASS BOWL, c.1898. 35 X 40". Trina, Inc., Fall River, MA, 1979.

153 Childe Hassam, FIFTH AVENUE IN WINTER [SNOWY DAY ON FIFTH AVENUE], 1892. 22 X 28". Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

154 Charles Needham, PARK SNOWS. (Brush and Pencil, 6, 1900).

155 Ben Foster, LULLED BY A MURMERING STREAM [BERCE PAR UN FLOT MURMURANT], 1899. 36 X 28" approx. Museé d'Orsay, Paris.

156 John Humphreys-Johnston, PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S MOTHER [PORTRAIT DE LA MERE D'ARTISTE], 1895. 75-1/2 X 62" approx. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

157 Charles Warren Eaton. THE STRIP OF PINES, 1908. 30 X 36". The Montclair Museum, Montclair, NJ.

158 Francis Tattegrain, LES BOUCHES INUTILES, SIEGE DU CHATEAU-GAILLARD, 1203 [USELESS MOUTHS, SIEGE OF CHATEAU-GAILLARD, 1203]. 16 X 25' approx. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of the American Department of Fine Arts at the universal exposition of 1900 was to confirm "a new position for the United States as an art-producing nation,"[1] in order to prove the existence of an American School of art.[2] Asserting the United States's cultural independence from Europe in this way directly challenged the criticism, cast by French Commissioner Alfred Picard after the 1889 exposition, that American art was "but a brilliant annex to the French Section."[3] Because establishing a national school was the decisive issue for Americans in 1900, this study will focus on defining and analyzing this "school" in light of turn-of-the-century literature.

The desire to found a national school of art coincided with the repatriation of American artists during the 1890s. Repatriation signifies the return to the nation of one's birth, citizenship, or allegiance. It necessarily follows a period of expatriation, during which the expatriate absorbs the customs of the foreign

country. Accordingly, as it will be argued, the repatriated artists of 1900 applied their cosmopolitan experiences to form a new American School.

As the final phase of the late nineteenth-century cosmopolitan movement in American art (1876-1915), the period of repatriation lasted from the 1890s until World War I. Although American artists had been attracted to Parisian ateliers in increasing numbers since mid century,[4] the cosmopolitan movement gained its momentum to a large degree from Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exposition, the first world's fair held in the United States. At the Centennial Exposition, it became clear to Americans that the work exhibited by European-trained artists was technically superior to what was being produced by those who had studied domestically.[5] Consequently, American artists were drawn to European academies and ateliers in unprecedented numbers in order to acquire the best training available.

With its superb art schools, relatively low cost of living, and stimulating environment, Paris became the primary magnet for American art students during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[6] Paris was such a cultural haven that many Americans lingered abroad following their education, without any intent to repatriate. Through their participation in the annual

Salons and other events such as the world's fairs, a number of American artists were able to establish international reputations that would have been impossible to obtain at home.[7] In order to attract critical acclaim and secure patronage, these Americans adopted traditional European, particularly French, methods and subjects that displaced native tendencies.

During the thirty-year period from 1870 until the turn of the century, it is estimated that over 3,000 American artists lived in Paris,[8] with the spiritual climax of the initial, expatriate, phase of the cosmopolitan movement occurring during the 1889 exposition. In 1889, the expatriates dominated the American exhibition and received the majority of critical praise.[9] Typically, the paintings by the expatriates looked "French" rather than "American" in terms of both their academic subject matter and technique.

Americans in the 1890s, however, denounced what they saw as the "foreign" excesses of the paintings exhibition at the 1889 exposition, and attempted to restore a national identity to their art. During this decade, a steady migration homeward, followed by the assumption (or resumption) of uniquely American subject matter, materialized. This spirit of repatriation was activated on the occasion of the World's Columbian Exposition in

Chicago of 1893,[10] when a number of critics converted their allegiance to resident American artists. With its majestic decorative scheme, planned and executed by Americans, the Chicago fair itself played a vital role in establishing confidence for the artists by proving that the United States could vie culturally with Europe.

Repatriation for American artists, both in the 1890s and afterward, was also fueled by the numerous art academies, museums, and galleries that arose nationwide, providing cultural opportunities at home and lessening the need to go abroad. The 1899 sale of the Thomas B. Clarke collection, consisting entirely of American paintings, played a role in boosting the monetary value of native art. For example, the highest price paid for a painting at the estate sale of George Inness in 1895 was a disappointing $3,550 for Storm on the Delaware (1891; Washington University Gallery of Art, Saint Louis, MO). But, at the Clarke sale four years later, the top price--for Inness's Grey, Lowery Day (c.1876-77; Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA)--had risen to $10,150.[11] Even though Inness's paintings could not compete with the dollars spent on French academic or Barbizon art--A. T. Stewart had paid $60,000 for Meissonier's Friedland, 1807 (1875; Metropolitan Museum of Art), and their major patron Clarke stopped collecting contemporary art--

American painters by 1900 were at least encouraged to pursue their own paths and to be hopeful of patronage.

However, while the Chicago exhibition encouraged the swing away from Europe, the true manifestation of repatriation occurred at the universal exposition of 1900 in Paris. For that event, 73% of the paintings were exhibited by stateside artists.[12] This represented a striking contrast to the domination by the expatriates at the 1889 fair. As stated in the introduction to the 1900 exhibition catalogue, the intent was to organize "a truly representative American exhibition," with works "expressing American thought and reflecting American nature."[13]

At the Paris exposition of 1900, the abundance of paintings depicting the land and people of the United States insured that the exhibition would not look "foreign," while the display also served as the basis for an American School of art. Although the designation of a national "school" seems arbitrary today, it mattered to the artists of the time, who wanted their work to be considered on equal footing with European art.

The Department of Fine Arts succeeded in demonstrating the existence of a national school of art in 1900, for the American School was passionately endorsed by the press. Critics on both sides of the

Atlantic proclaimed American art to be surpassed only by the French. As they had in 1889, painters exhibiting with the United States received more medals than any other national group except their French hosts, but with even better results. In 1900, 55% of American painters received medals compared with 43% in 1889. The prizes were awarded by a sympathetic jury dominated by many of the Americans' former French masters--Jean-Léon Gérôme, Jean-Paul Laurens, Gustave Courtois, and Carolus-Duran, among others. Confirming the value of these medals were purchases of American paintings by both private collectors and the French government. In fact, the reception of American art in 1900 was so positive that some reviewers made the audacious prediction that the next impulse in painting was to come from America, signalling a shift in the center of the art world from Paris to New York.[14]

The Paris exposition of 1900 fits within a transitional period in American art history, after the peak of the expatriate period but just prior to the emergence of the Ash Can School and modernism. By the end of the new century's first decade, the nineteenth-

century tendencies popular in 1900 appeared outmoded. Because the issue of repatriation does not fit neatly into any of these traditional categories, turn-of-the-century painting has received little attention. There is no specific study on repatriation, and the significant contributions that the 1900 exposition made to twentieth-century American art--particularly in terms of antiacademicism, cultural nationalism, and boosting the confidence of American artists--have yet to be revealed.

The American fine arts administrators of the 1900 exposition fervently believed that their efforts had marked a new epoch for the new century largely "emancipated from foreign trammels."[15] This conclusion was supported by the major critics and historians of the time, including Charles H. Caffin, Sadakichi Hartmann, Royal Cortissoz, and Samuel Isham. Later scholars, however, criticized the turn-of-the-century artists precisely because of their still-strong European ties. Accordingly, international achievements were often ignored in a sometimes singleminded quest to determine the "Americanness of American art."[16]

As late as 1970, Irving Sandler based The Triumph of American Painting on the assumption that American painting flourished internationally only after World War II, with abstract expressionism.[17] While that movement

did shift the focus of the art world from Paris to New York, the conditions for the transfer did not emerge out of a vacuum. Rather, a number of smaller victories for American art--highlighted by the 1889 and 1900 expositions--had already sowed the seeds for its eventual flowering on an international scale.

Since the 1970s, scholars, such as Michael Quick, in American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century (1976)--the first study to concentrate on expatriation--and others, including Peter Bermingham, Albert Boime, Wanda Corn, Charles Eldredge, Lois Marie Fink, William H. Gerdts, David Sellin, Joshua Taylor, and H. Barbara Weinberg, have sought to dispel modernist biases as well as cultural nationalism.[18] (Ironically, it was the organizers and reviewers of the 1900 exposition who were among the early advocates of cultural nationalism.) These and other historians have worked to (re)legitimize the art of American artists who were heavily influenced by French academic art. This study is motivated by the activities of these scholars (many of whom are considered revisionists), in their willingness to challenge a modernist canon, while it also pursues an interdisciplinary approach initiated by them and other experts on American art and culture.

Literature specializing in art at international

expositions is relatively new, and appeared as a result of revisionist inquiries. An early investigation of American art at the world's fairs was undertaken by Elizabeth Broun in her 1977 dissertation, "American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893."[19] This fair's centennial will be celebrated with the forthcoming exhibition, American Art at the 1893 World's Fair, jointly organized by The National Museum of American Art and The National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., and curated by Carolyn Carr and George Gurney.

The most significant publication on American art at foreign expositions to date is the catalogue to the exhibition Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (1989), organized by Annette Blaugrund for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with essays by noted scholars.[20] Other studies on American art at nineteenth-century world's fairs include Carol Troyen's article, "Innocents Abroad," on the 1867 Paris exposition (1984), and David Huntington's essay in The Quest for Unity (1983), which places American art of the 1876 and 1893 fairs within a cultural context.[21]

Scholars of European art and culture have also begun to examine international expositions. The most exhaustive and incisive contextual investigations to date

in this area are Patricia Mainardi's doctoral dissertation and subsequent book, Art and Politics of the Second Empire (1987), which focus on the 1855 and 1867 universal expositions as catalysts for change. In 1989, the Musée d'Orsay in Paris hosted the insightful exhibition 1889: La Tour Eiffel et l'Exposition Universelle, with an accompanying catalogue. An excellent compilation of selected contemporary reviews of the expositions has been published in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt's The Expanding World of Art, 1874-1902 (1988).[22]

Escalating enthusiasm about world's fairs is reflected in three new research aids, which are multi-disciplinary in scope. The Smithsonian Institution Libraries publication, The Books of the Fairs: Materials About Worlds Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries (1992), includes a historiography of world's fair literature by Robert W. Rydell. It also functions as a guide to the Smithsonian's microfilm series, The Books of the Fairs (1989 +), which renders otherwise fragile and rare material widely available. Another essential resource is Historical Dictionary of the World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988 (1990), edited by John E. Findling, which provides a concise synopsis of each exposition. Lastly, Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus and Anne Rasmussen's Les fastes du progrès. Le

guide des expositions universelles, 1851-1992 (1992) provides a collection of often difficult to obtain statistics on individual expositions.[23]

Older, but still valuable as a research tool, is Julia Finette Davis's bibliography, "International Expositions, 1851-1900," (1967). Geared towards a more general audience, but good sources for illustrations, are Le Livre des expositions universelles (1983), published by the French Ministère de la Culture, and Pascal Ory's Les Expositions Universelles de Paris (1982), both of which concentrate on the European fairs.[24]

Regarding American presence at the nineteenth century world's fairs, Merle Curti's article, "America at the World's Fairs, 1851-1893" (1950) is still helpful as a general history. However, the cultural ramifications of international expositions have since been discussed in greater depth in both Paul Greenhalgh's Ephemeral Vistas (1988), and Robert Rydell's All the World's A Fair (1984), an examination of the American fairs from 1876 to 1916.[25]

For its illumination of Franco-American relations throughout the nineteenth century, Henry Blumenthal's American and French Culture, 1800-1900: Interchanges in Art, Science, Literature, and Society (1975) is indispensable, as it traces inter-cultural exchanges in a

variety of disciplines. A recent bibliographic guide to American expatriation in the early twentieth century is William G. Bailey's Americans in Paris, 1900-1930 (1989).[26]

On the 1900 exposition specifically, Richard Mandell's Paris 1900: the Great World's Fair (1967) is the only history published after the event itself. Besides providing a thorough analysis of the event, Mandell's text contains a superb bibliography designed to facilitate research on the Paris exposition of 1900 as well as expositions in general. This dissertation is indebted to Mandell's synthesis of an extremely multifaceted exposition, while it also challenges some of his conclusions and explores in-depth several areas that he outlined, especially, of course, the fine arts exhibitions.[27]

Several publications exist on specific aspects of the 1900 exposition, particularly its art nouveau art and architecture. The most scholarly of these is Gabriel P. Weisberg's Art Nouveau Bing (1986). Currently, Madeleine Rebérioux, of the Université de Paris, is undertaking an examination of the socio-economic conditions surrounding the 1900 fair.[28]

Consequently, this dissertation is the first study of American art at the universal exposition of 1900. The

exposition's impact upon American art--in terms of criticism, patronage, nationalism, artists' residence, and changes in subject matter and style--will be analyzed within the context of nineteenth-century expositions as well as within the general cultural, economic, and political conditions of the 1890s. While the entire artistic ensemble at the exposition--including sculpture, architecture, stained glass, murals, works on paper, and decorative household goods--will be considered, the paintings exhibition will be the focal point, as it received the bulk of critical attention for leading the fight for American artistic independence at the time.

This thesis comprises five chapters, with the first three chapters providing the context in which chapter four, the discussion of the paintings exhibition itself, will be addressed: Chapter one examines the historical context of the 1900 exposition, including Franco-American exchanges at expositions prior to 1900 as well as the economic, political, and cultural climate in America after the 1893 fair. Chapter two consists of the preparations for the 1900 exposition, including the organizational and judicial framework and the composition of exhibitors. In the third chapter, the exposition site itself is examined, as is the presence of the United States at the exposition as well as the installation of

the paintings exhibition.

Chapter four outlines the American paintings exhibition according to subject category and residence of the painter, and discusses these works in terms of what was and was not considered to be "American" at the time. The data provided in the first four chapters will be analyzed in chapter five. A central part of this final chapter is devoted to French criticism of the American exhibition and its obverse, American criticism of the French displays. From this material, a definition of what the critics believed distinguished the American School from all others will be assembled. Finally, the 1900 exposition will be assessed in terms of its impact on American art via subsequent expositions.

Notes to the Introduction

1. This statement was made by John Britton Cauldwell (1855-1932), Director of the Department of Fine Arts to the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900. John B. Cauldwell, "Report of the Department of Fine Arts," in Report of the Commissioner-General for the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 513.

2. Official Illustrated Catalogue. Fine Arts Exhibit. United States of America, Paris Exposition of 1900 (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1900), xvi. This catalogue was edited by Henry Hobart Nichols (1869-1962), an artist and art historian from Washington, D.C., who served on the Department of Fine Arts staff. Nichols, who also wrote the catalogue introduction, used the expression "National Art," but critics generally employed the phrase "American School."

3. Alfred Picard, Rapport général administratif et technique, vol. 4, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891-2, 111. According to Picard:

> La section des Etats-Unis n'était qu'une brillante annexe de la section française. . . .

In 1900, Picard's statement was translated by H. Hobart Nichols in the Official Illustrated Catalogue, xv.

4. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 25 ff. See Weinberg's discussion of American painters in France prior to the 1850s.

5. David C. Huntington, in The Quest for Unity: American Art Between the World's Fair, 1976-1893 (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Art, 1983), 17.

6. For the history of American art students in Paris, see H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris. By the time period in question, Paris had replaced London, Rome, Düsseldorf, and Munich in attracting American students. According to Weinberg, page 7, approximately

2,200 painters born by 1880 are recorded as having studied formally in Paris.

7. See Lois Marie Fink, American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), for an examination of Americans at the Paris Salons.

8. For the basis for this total, see Fink, 125. Artists were but one group of Americans in Paris at this time. At the onset of the expatriate period in the 1870s, the entire American colony in Paris numbered only about a hundred, but by the end of the century, as many as 10,000 Americans lived there. For these statistics, consult Henry Blumenthal, American and French Culture, 1800-1900: Interchanges in Art, Science, Literature and Society (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 30.

9. Annette Blaugrund, "Behind the Scenes: The Organization of the American Paintings," in Blaugrund et al., Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 17-18.

10. Michael Quick, American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century (Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Art Institute, 1976), 40-43.

11. For a discussion of the auction prices, see William H. Truettner, "William T. Evans, Collector of American Paintings," American Art Journal 3 (Fall 1971): 51-52. An analysis of the Clarke sale with an annotated list of works with sale prices appears in, H. Barbara Weinberg, "Thomas B. Clarke: Foremost Patron of American Art from 1872 to 1899," American Art Journal 8 (May 1976): 77.

12. Cauldwell, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 519.

13. Official Illustrated Catalogue, xvi.

14. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - V. The American Section," Nation 71 (2 August 1900): 89.

15. Official Illustrated Catalogue, xv-xvi.

16. For one conspicuous example of this trend, which was prevalent from the 1930s through the 1960s, see John W. McCoubrey's American Tradition in Painting (New York: George Braziller, 1963).

17. Irving Sandler, The Triumph of American Painting: A History of Abstract Expressionism (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 25.

18. Refer to the bibliography for specific references to these scholars. For an excellent historiography of American art scholarship, see Wanda Corn, "Coming of Age: Historical Scholarship in American Art," The Art Bulletin 70 (June 1988): 188-202.

19. Elizabeth Broun, "American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," Ph.D. diss., (University of Kansas, 1977).

20. Blaugrund, et al., features essays by Annette Blaugrund, Albert Boime, D. Dodge Thompson, H. Barbara Weinberg, and Richard Guy Wilson.

21. Carol Troyen, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," American Art Journal 16 (Autumn 1984): 3-29; David C. Huntington, The Quest for Unity: American Art Between the World's Fair, 1976-1893 (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Art, 1983).

22. Patricia Mainardi, "Universal Expositions of the Second Empire," Ph.D. diss., (City University of New York, 1984), and Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Caroline Mathieu, et al., 1889: La Tour Eiffel et l'Exposition Universelle (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989; Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., The Expanding World of Art 1874-1902, Volume 1: Universal Expositions and State-Sponsored Fine Arts Exhibitions (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

23. The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, with an introductory essay by Robert W. Rydell, (Chicago: American Library Association, 1992); John E. Findling, ed. Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988 (Westport, CT: Greenwood

Press, 1990); Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus and Anne Rasmussen, Les fastes du progrès. Le guide des expositions universelles, 1851-1992 (Paris: Flammarion, 1992). I would like to thank Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus for sharing her data on Paris 1900 prior to publication.

24. Julia Finette Davis, comp., "International Expositions, 1851-1900," The American Association of Architectural Bibliographers, Papers, William B. O'Neal, ed., 4 (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1967); Le livre des expositions universelles, 1851-1989 (Paris: Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, 1983); Pascal Ory, Les expositions universelles de Paris (Paris: Editions Ramsay, 1982).

25. Merle Curti, "America at the World's Fairs, 1851-1893," American Historical Review 55 (1950): 833-56; Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Robert W. Rydell, All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

26. Henry Blumenthal, American and French Culture, 1800-1900: Interchanges in Art, Science, Literature, and Society (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975); Bailey, William G., Americans in Paris, 1900-1930 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

27. Richard D. Mandell, Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). It should be mentioned that histories of the exposition were published contemporaneously with the fair itself. These very useful publications include James Penny Boyd, The Paris Exposition of 1900: A Vivid Descriptive View and Elaborate Scenic Presentation of the Site, Plan, and Exhibits (Philadelphia: P. W. Ziegler, 1900), and James B. Campbell, Illustrated History of the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 (Chicago: Chicago and Omaha Publishing Company, 1900).

28. Gabriel P. Weisberg, Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900 (New York: Abrams, 1986). For a study by the same author that has already been published, see Madeleine Rebérioux, "Approches de l'histoire des expositions universelles à Paris du Second Empire à 1900," Bulletin du centre d'histoire économique et

sociale de la région Lyonnaise 1 (1979): 1-17. In addition, the catalogues of the photography exhibitions from Paris 1900 have been reprinted, in Peter C. Bunnell, ed., The Universal Exposition of 1900, 2 vols., (New York: Arno, 1979).

CHAPTER I

BEFORE 1900: AMERICAN ART AND CULTURE AT THE EXPOSITIONS AND IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Nineteenth-century international expositions functioned as summaries of the past, mirrors of prevailing conditions, and stimuli for change, and were so perceived at the time. For example, the universal exposition of 1900 was labelled by French Commissioner Alfred Picard as the "balance sheet" of the nineteenth century, as well as evidence of "a living faith in progress."[1] As the last such spectacle of the nineteenth century, this "Festival of Progress," as it was called, was expected to be the epitome of exposition productions.

Historical assumptions, linked to the belief in progress, help to clarify not only the underlying agendas of the expositions, but also America's relative position in the world during the nineteenth century, which colored the way its national art was received. Most significant of these suppositions was that not all nations progressed

at the same rate, if they progressed at all. This notion stems from the concept of national character, which presumed that each nation possessed its own personality.[2] According to this theory, nations were viewed as having God-given attributes which centered on both their physical environment and the genetic makeup of their population.

The idea of a "genetic," or "racial" aspect of national character was popular during the late nineteenth century, and was found in both biological and social doctrines which vulgarized Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.[3] The United States of the 1890s--like Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries--was comprised largely of Anglo Saxons, many of whom considered themselves to be the "fittest race" in terms of social Darwinism.[4] However, since the United States was believed to be blessed with seemingly limitless space and natural resources, unlike any country in the Old World, its national character appeared to be unsurpassed.

Another hypothesis which presumed that nations were somehow organic--the belief in a "Course of Empire"--reinforced the idea of national character. In addition to having predetermined character traits, each nation, or "empire," had a life cycle, as outlined by the Frenchman Constantin-Francis Volney in 1791. By the early

nineteenth century, as illustrated in the Thomas Cole series, The Course of Empire (figs. 1 and 2) of 1836, empires were believed to have advanced through the states of "savage," "arcadian," "consummation," and "destruction," to the state of "desolation."[5]

The concept that the progression of empire extended westward emanated from European Enlightenment thought, but was made applicable to America in the poem, "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," by Dean George Berkeley (1685-1753), in which the first line of the final stanza reads: "Westward the course of empire takes its way."[6] Berkeley's theories were later affirmed visually in Emanuel Leutze's 20 X 30' mural Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way [Westward Ho] (1861) for the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C., which takes its title from Berkeley's poem.[7] Placing this mural in the heart of the nation's capitol officially sanctioned the belief in the occidental path of civilization.

In Leutze's mural, the United States had been depicted in the Arcadian stage of Empire, with infinite potential, as symbolized by pioneers greeting the seemingly limitless western frontier. During the 1890s, however, intellectuals reevaluated America's status within the Course of Empire. In his momentous speech to

the Congress of Historians at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner declared that the western frontier was closed, (thus ending the Arcadian phase, and beginning the Consummation of the American Empire). Turner had argued that expansion was the dynamic of American progress.[8] Thus, without a frontier--the source of territorial and economic potential--the United States would be in danger of losing its forward momentum.

It was the historian Brooks Adams, however, who most directly related the issue of Empire to the loss of westward expansion. In short, Adams's The Law of Civilization and Decay (1896) promoted the theory that all Empires are destined, by natural "law," to complete a cycle which begins with barbarism, advances toward civilization, and ends in decay.[9] Adams believed that Empires changed along with commerce centers, and that, at the close of the nineteenth century, one imperial cycle would end and another was fated to begin.

Unlike previous interpretations of the theory, Adams believed that Empires culminated in a Militaristic period and decayed during an Economic phase. Adams feared that the Economic phase--portended by the economic depression of the 1890s and the "greedy" bankers--was threatening.[10] In order to prevent the United States

from declining so soon after it had consummated its Empire, Adams searched for a loophole.

Believing that he had learned a lesson from tracking western civilization since the Roman Empire, Adams concluded that an Empire could save itself from decay by reinvigorating itself. According to Adams, an Empire which has culminated "must probably remain inert until supplied with fresh energetic material by the infusion of barbarian blood."[11]

The historian Walter La Feber has interpreted Adams's "repeal of the 'law'" of decay as both a desperate attempt "to exempt the United States from the fate of the 'law'" and as a justification for U.S. expansionism in the 1890s.[12] By 1897, Brooks Adams, who at the time was closely allied with Theodore Roosevelt, believed that the impending war with Spain would prevent the United States from entering a state of inertia, enabling it to become the first Empire in history to bypass the "law" of decay, and therefore remain eternally in a consummate state. The acquisition of the Philippines (which was to be realized in 1898) would provide the United States with a new frontier. Furthermore, the presumably "barbarian" Philippino blood would reinvigorate the "over-civilized" Anglo-Saxons (taking the place of the all but extinct Native

Americans), giving the nation a newly invincible imperial status on the cusp of the twentieth century.

The first printing of The Law of Civilization and Decay (1896) sold out in three months, and had tremendous influence in Washington, where Adams made certain it appeared in the hands of both Grover Cleveland's Cabinet and the Supreme Court.[13] Brooks Adams's influence also extended, at the very least indirectly, to periodical literature of the late 1890s, where, for example, the rhetoric of Empire was applied to art criticism as never before.

Most conspicuously, the art critic John C. Van Dyke evaluated American art in terms of what he labelled the "track of civilization." According to Van Dyke, the center of art had already proceeded throughout Europe from Athens to Paris, from which it was "ebbing away."[14] Elsewhere, the painter Will Low asserted that the people of the United States were yet "another link in the long chain which brings from Greece through Italy and France to the shore on our western hemisphere."[15]

Furthermore, even before Adams's 1896 book appeared, the artist and critic William Walton (1843-1915) applied the presumption of evolution to American art. In his essay on the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Walton measured the progress of American art against the

achievements of an earlier "empire":

> If we have not yet quite reached the Umbrian or the Venetian school we may be said to have gotten past the primitives and Giotto's "O".[16]

Taking Walton's analogy to its logical conclusion, the United States had just entered a period akin to the Italian Renaissance.

The American Renaissance (1876-1917)--which promoted the idea that America was already experiencing its turn as the next great culture--is thus connected to the larger concepts of national character and the Course of Empire. In viewing themselves as the heirs of western civilization, Americans considered it their patriotic duty to absorb whatever they could from the older "empires," whether through foreign training or by acquiring masterpieces. As the architectural historian Richard Guy Wilson has explained:

> The American Renaissance, by both definition and action, was intensely nationalistic. It appropriated images and symbols of past civilizations and used them to create a magnificent American pageant. America became the culmination of history for an age that believed in progress.[17]

During the American Renaissance period, international expositions--whether held abroad or in the United States--served as barometers of national progress. William Walton, who specialized in these expositions, having written multi-volume catalogues on the 1889, 1893,

and 1900 fairs, viewed the expositions as historical markers for American art, announcing:

> The date of our revival, or renaissance, of the contemporary art of the United States - generally called American art - is fixed at 1876, the year of the "Centennial Exposition" in Philadelphia, when the huge prosperous, commercial, young nation suddenly awakened - at the sight of the marvels of European art and craftsmanship - to the fact that there were other riches in a country's civilization than commercial ones. . . and began to seek in new fields of art, under the inspiration of a new breath. . . . This important date is also fixed at 1893 [the year of the World's Columbian Exposition].[18]

Likewise, Walton maintained that the universal exposition of 1900 signalled "the end of the first twenty-five years of the American Renaissance." The following section on expositions held before 1900 illustrates how each fair helped to define a new phase for American art, in terms of both the composition of the exhibitions and the reviews they received both at home and abroad.

Foreign Expositions

Both the Centennial Exposition of 1876 and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the two major American expositions of the nineteenth century, have been cited frequently in American art historical literature.[19] However, the foreign expositions have only recently been

examined, even though they played a central role in shaping American art in an international context. Participation in expositions abroad from 1851 until 1900 enabled American art to shed its provincial qualities and to become a leading factor in international art.

The first international exposition, the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of all Nations, commonly referred to as London's Crystal Palace Exposition of 1851, contained no oil paintings. Only sculptures, which were considered to be products of industry, were acceptable entries from the fine arts.[20] The main function of the Crystal Palace exposition and its successors was to display products, grouped according to nationality, in order to promote global trade and showcase the latest technology.

Despite the severely limited funding by the United States government--it only provided shipping vessels to England, with no provisions for ground transportation--the 534 American exhibitors did surprisingly well, garnering more awards than most European nations.[21] America was unsurpassed in agricultural machinery such as reapers and draft ploughs, and also excelled in other areas, with Goodyear rubber products, Morse's telegraph, and "American process" daguerreotypes. Beginning with the Crystal Palace exposition, and continuing until the

end of the nineteenth century, Americans emphasized technology over the fine arts at the expositions.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, fifteen major international expositions were assembled throughout the world, with six major ones (out of a total of twenty-two) taking place between 1878 and 1902.[22] Many countries participated vigorously in the expositions. However, the one nation that hosted more expositions than any other, using them to glorify its culture, was France.

In 1855, France responded to its rival Great Britain's Crystal Palace Exposition with the first of five nineteenth century expositions, the other four being held in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900. However, unlike Britain, France welcomed the addition of painting to the exposition, as it was a field in which it felt preeminent.[23]

Art was a valuable commodity for France, and the French authorities used their first exposition to link French nationalism with culture.[24] In these goverment-subsidized expositions, only art that corresponded with the political ambitions of the organizers, such as government officials and established artists, was actively promoted.[25] This art was largely conservative, as the nineteenth-century expositions in

general did not welcome the avant-garde artists, who were often politically at odds with the establishment.

As Patricia Mainardi has observed, the 1855 exposition was the occasion in which France proclaimed itself unrivaled in the field of art:

> In truth, no one in France liked any of the foreign art exhibited in 1855. While this could be ascribed to chauvinism, the fact remains that the best contemporary artists were French. Who was there to equal Ingres and Delacroix? [26]

Mainardi's statement raises an issue that is central to the recent revisionist activity of art historians--the question of quality in art, and who and what determines it. In the field of painting, France was indeed unsurpassed at the time in what it was trying to do--be the standard-bearer of the western tradition--for artists of no other country in 1855 had the technical mastery to manipulate paint as did the French. However, what arose from mid-century French criticism, which still lingers today, is the Franco-centric orientation that the quality of all nineteenth-century art should be determined according to French standards alone.

Beginning with the 1855 exposition, French critics habitually dismissed artists from other countries, often regardless of their talents. This has been interpreted by Albert Boime as a xenophobic tactic that the French used to bolster their own art.[27] The French critics in

1855 believed that all art should be viewed, in effect, through French eyeglasses, and soon they had most of the world believing it too.

However, even when artists from other countries conscientiously emulated French art, the French still did not like foreign art. This paradox is explained by Mainardi who has acknowledged that, "in practice, it was less the art that was judged than its 'national character'."[28] Thus, it will be argued that it was only after American artists applied French techniques to portray identifiably American subjects that the French began to accept their art, and even then only reluctantly.

A result of buying into a Franco-centric view of art during the last quarter of the century was that Americans have been on the defensive regarding the integrity of their national art.[29] Partially as a result of their often bleak depictions, French reviews of American art during the nineteenth century have only recently been unearthed by Americanists to any great extent. Tracing French reviews of American art at the world's fairs since 1855, however, is necessary in order to explain the otherwise bafflingly warm reception that the French gave to American art in 1900.

For example, at the Paris exposition of 1855, the

overall response to America's international debut in painting was disheartening. In part, this was the result of poor planning. Since the U.S. Congress did not approve funding for the fine arts section, the exhibition was little more than an impromptu collection of forty-six readily accessible paintings by thirteen Americans living in France at the time.

Nonetheless, three American painters received medals in 1855 by a jury consisting of fifteen French and sixteen foreign artists and government officials.[30] George Peter Alexander Healy (who alone exhibited twenty of the paintings) and Edward May were both disciples of the popular juste milieu painter, Thomas Couture. Thomas P. Rossiter likewise studied art in Paris, perhaps at the Académie Suisse, which furnished antique and life study facilities, but no instructors.[31] William P. Babcock and William Morris Hunt, however, who had both also studied with Couture, received no awards. This was perhaps due to their association at the time in Barbizon with the realist Jean-François Millet who was then labelled a radical by the government officials and academicians who controlled the exposition.[32]

The 1855 exhibition itself was in no way a representative sampling of American art. At least half of the exhibitors had studied with Parisian masters while

the majority of American painters of this generation sought instruction stateside, sometimes supplementing it with informal study abroad, or by entering academies in art centers such as Düsseldorf. Furthermore, eight of the artists were already Salon exhibitors, which is not surprising, since the exposition replaced the Salon that year.[33]

However, the most blatantly uncharacteristic aspect of the 1855 American fine arts section was that it omitted work by both the leading Hudson River School painters, such as Frederic Church or Asher B. Durand, and the genre painters, such as George Caleb Bingham, who were among the most popular artists at home.[34] Because of the United States's failure to secure an impressive array of paintings, the French criticism of America art in 1855 does not seem totally unwarranted.

The scathingly superior attitude that the French adopted toward American art during the 1855 exposition is best illustrated in Alfred d'Almbert's Flânerie Parisienne aux Etats Unis (1856). D'Almbert's chapter on American art consists of nothing more than three blank pages, an insult of the highest order, implying that America had no art at all. These pages are followed by a three-line narrative that stated that "great artists do not exist in the other world" across the sea.[35]

The conservative, classically-oriented, French painter and critic Etienne J. Delécluze at least acknowledged the American art section at the 1855 exposition. In his book Les Beaux-Arts dans les Deux Mondes, Delécluze praised Healy's Franklin Urging the Claims of the American Colonies before Louis XVI (original destroyed; see sketch, fig. 3).[36]

It is not surprising that Delécluze singled out this work, which had been purchased by the recently deposed French monarch Louis Philippe, a regular patron of the artist. Healy had studied in Paris with Baron Gros, and was deeply influenced by his fellow classmate and friend, Thomas Couture.[37] Healy's adoption of Couture's methods is demonstrated in the existing sketch for Franklin, which reveals a linear structure covered by a wash (similar to Couture's ébauche technique using charcoal and oils) in gradated tones. The composition of Franklin closely relates to both Couture's Enrollment of the Volunteers (begun 1848; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Colmar) and Romans of the Decadence (1847; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), in terms of its emphasis on the foreground and middleground, punctuated by a horizontal thrust.[38]

In addition to appreciating the painting's deft execution, French nationals would have also found the subject of Franklin appealing, for it portrays the

colonist Benjamin Franklin requesting help in gaining independence from Great Britain, and thus symbolizes American subordination to and dependence upon France. This canvas--an exception in terms of its favorable reception in 1855--functions as a history painting serving two nations, thus its subject matter is both French and American.

In general, however, Delécluze perceived American art to exist only on a "trial basis."[39] Although he believed that its methods were imported from England and France, Delécluze found American painting differed from its European models in terms of excecution. Most of all, Delécluze regretted that the art reflected no particularly American character (which can be explained by the absence of the best Hudson River School and genre painters). He asserted that, while technique allowed an artist to be original, the choice of subject is what distinguished the different schools from each other:

> The choice of subjects and the particular character given to the composition are certainly salient traits which distinguish the spirit of the different schools. . . .[40]

Delécluze's call for discernibly American subjects would become the preoccupation of French critics at subsequent expositions, who believed that art should express a national character.

In general, American presence at the 1855 exposition did not maintain the level of excellence it had achieved at the London exposition four years earlier. There was an embarassingly low turnout, largely due to the lack of government subsidies, with only fifty-four exhibitors filling a space reserved for 1,200. However, the next Parisian exposition, which was held in 1867, marked the first significant and federally-funded display of American goods in Europe. In all exposition categories in 1867, the United States won proportionately more awards than any other foreign group, with 853 of the 1,200 exhibits earning medals.[41]

According to Carol Troyen, the organizers of the art exhibition in 1867 aimed to demonstrate that American painting was equal to American machinery and inventions. However, even though a number of these paintings were admired then and are highly regarded today, the exhibition was considered a failure at the time, and the confidence of American artists waned.[42]

To organize the art exhibition, the National Academy of Design nominated Frederic Church, Jasper Cropsey and Edwin White, who were assisted by a selection committee consisting of dealers and collectors. This committee favored native landscape painting as "the department in which the American School of art has gained most

distinction."[43] In 1867, the American critics reiterated Delécluze's call for national subjects, and criticized Congress for its lack of support in the visual arts, in terms of both money and training. Thus, there was a concerted effort on the part of American artists and critics to promote native art.

However, of the eighty-two paintings exhibited, Frederic Church's Niagara (fig. 4) won the only award, a silver medal. This painting of an important national wonder is the embodiment of America's national character in terms of the waterfall's grandeur and untamed power which were unmatched in Europe. Nevertheless, Americans were discouraged. For, even after the exhibition focused on native scenery, as Delécluze had suggested after the 1855 exposition, American art was still placed at the bottom of the awards roster in 1867.

French critics in 1867 continued to assert that American art needed to be liberated from Europe, especially from England (which had dominated as a cultural influence, and whence the critic John Ruskin's ideas, which were popular at the time, emanated). They suggested that American art should reflect local customs as was already the case in the literature of Edgar Allan Poe, James Fenimore Cooper, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[44]

These reviewers failed to acknowledge that works such as Albert Bierstadt's The Rocky Mountains (1863; The Metropolitan Museum of Art), Eastman Johnson's Old Kentucky Home - Life in the South (1859; The New-York Historical Society), and Winslow Homer's Prisoners from the Front (1866; The Metropolitan Museum of Art) did indeed express an American nature. This demonstrates that even after the Americans produced native subject matter they were still not recognized by the French.

One result of the disappointing reception of native art in 1867 was that American collectors began buying European art almost exculsively, and artists, sensing a need to compete globally as the sales of their own productions declined, became more cosmopolitan. In order to do this, aspiring American artists began to seek academic training in French ateliers in unprecedented numbers. They enthusiasically embraced European art, and felt a need to link into its process. As the final report of the 1867 exposition concluded, "French influence in art at this moment extends to every continental country. . . . It is useless to look elsewhere."[45]

During the 1878 fair, which was held just two years after the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the American contingent received the largest ratio of awards

to exhibitors, as it once again excelled in machinery. In the fine arts section, one hundred and twenty seven paintings were exhibited by eighty-seven artists. With some confidence regained since 1867, an unidentified painter writing for Scribner's Monthly was able to find American art superior to several other countries in terms of its independence and variety, and concluded that, "no one, on seeing it, need be otherwise than hopeful as to the future of American art."[46] Most American critics, however, conveyed their surprise at the extent of European influence, and many were leery of what they rightly perceived to be a thriving cosmopolitanism.

Europeans were once again disappointed that American art did not reflect American soil or customs--even though paintings by Eastman Johnson, Sanford Gifford, John Kensett, Worthington Whittredge, and others who specialized in American scenes were included. Paul Lefort, writing for the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, complained:

> Born yesterday, without a history, without a past, there is thus nothing surprising about the fact that America does not possess a national art, where the temperament, the humor, and the character of its race would be translated and neatly affirmed.[47]

In this light, it seems ironic that Frederick Bridgman and William P. Dana, both expatriates in Paris, who made their reputations painting French academic

subjects, rather than resident Americans painting native subjects, were awarded gold medals. John La Farge and Walter Shirlaw, who had been trained in Paris and Munich, respectively, received honorable mentions.[48] From the mixed signals sent by the judges and critics, it seems that what the French wanted was an American art that was technically competent according to their own standards, first and foremost, but which also depicted explicitly American subjects. Still, the awards given in 1878 could only have encouraged Americans to pursue foreign methods, regardless of the reviews favoring native subjects.

In 1878, the younger generation of French-trained artists asserted themselves for the first time abroad in the organization of the American paintings exhibition. This exhibition was installed by expatriates who opted to "sky" the work of native artists whom they felt were old-fashioned. The 1878 exposition thus served to reinforce the animosity between the National Academy of Design and the Society of American Artists, which had seceded from the older organization just the year before, and set the stage for full-blown hostilities between "native" and "foreign" Americans which were to materialize in 1889 and 1900.[49]

Both the 1889 and 1900 expositions were held in Paris, where three-quarters of the American artists of

the period who exhibited at both fairs had studied. French academic instruction was rigorous, focused on the human form, and prepared the students to be professional Salon artists.[50] By 1889, American artists were the largest foreign group represented in the Paris salons, with over 1,000 of them exhibiting there between 1872 and 1899.[51] Their work, like that of other foreigners who had studied in France, lost its regional accent and was often indistinguishable from French academic art.

By the opening of the 1889 exposition, which celebrated the centennial of the French Revolution, the American section was without peer in the area of agriculture, and had continued to confirm its superiority in the machinery display.[52] In terms of art, the 1889 exposition indicated the climax of the expatriate movement, and functioned as America's premiere as a viable international competitor. In 1889, American painters won more awards than any country except France--fifty-seven medals and twenty-four honorable mentions--with the expatriates Gari Melchers and John Singer Sargent receiving Grand prizes. The awards jury in 1889, which was presided over by the French painter Ernest Meissonier, with the Dutch genre painter Daniel Adolf Constant Artz, the critic and painter George Lafenestre, and William Dannat, an American expatriate painter, as

the other officers, favored works which demonstrated proficiency with European techniques.[53]

Most of the 336 American paintings exhibited in 1889 reflected the artists' French academic training, which was then the height of fashion among the conservative circles which participated in the universal expositions. As the critic George Sheldon concluded in 1890, "the best art is cosmopolitan," observing, "the subjects they choose are rarely American. . . they are Parisian, rather than New Yorkian."[54]

Edwin Lord Weeks's The Last Journey; Souvenier of the Ganges (fig. 5), for example, depicts an exotic Near Eastern subject which was popular with the French orientalists. Weeks's painting pays homage to his master Jean-Léon Gérôme's The Prisoner (fig. 6), in terms of its composition, factual reportage, and meticulous linear detail.[55] Expatriate painters, such as Weeks, who was on the American jury for the exposition, strongly dominated in 1889, and bolstered their own work by installing it in separate galleries from what they considered to be the inferior "native" paintings.[56]

Prior to 1889, it was mostly the older generation of American artists who resented the Francophiles. However, during the 1889 exposition, the first voices of protest against the expatriates were heard from the repatriated

"younger men"--themselves products of Parisian ateliers. William A. Coffin (1855-1925), for example, who had studied with Léon Bonnat, and who was awarded a bronze medal for four landscapes at the 1889 exposition, complained that the "works exhibited by the home artists are seen at some disadvantage," and that they were poorly lit in comparison with the work of the expatriates.[57]

The final report on the American fine arts section of the 1889 exposition that art commissioner Rush C. Hawkins submitted to Congress emphasized the excellence of French art, particularly its good government supervision. In anticipation of the City Beautiful Movement which would soon follow, Hawkins called for a "standard of culture which would compel the erection of artistic buildings and enforce the acceptance of better design for public monuments," and suggested that Washington, D.C., become the hub of American art.[58]

However, despite having just supervised the most Gallicized exhibition in the history of American art, Hawkins expressed his desire for a truly national culture. Hawkins's proposal reflects the American Renaissance ideal of taking the best aspects of European culture in order to produce an American art which would be heir to all the ages. In order to fulfill this goal, Hawkins recommended an increase of "native painting on

native subjects."[59]

As Hawkins himself admitted, there continued to be a few artists "here and there" who depicted American subjects. These "Resident Americans," a minority in popularity from the 1870s through the 1890s, kept the idea of a characteristically American art alive. In fact, a number of paintings exhibited in 1889 were undeniably "American" in subject, though not in technique.

Some of the most conspicuously "American" subjects exhibited in 1889--all executed with French methods--included Thomas Eakins's watercolor Negro Boy Dancing [The Dancing Lesson] (fig. 7), depicting a black man teaching a boy to dance; George Inness's view of Watchung Station (fig. 8), near his home in Montclair, New Jersey; Thomas Hovenden's portrait of a famous abolitionist in The Last Moments of John Brown (1884; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) on his way to his excecution; Frederic Remington's A Lull in the Fight (c.1889; unlocated), depicting a Comanche brave on the Texas plains; and Eastman Johnson's The Funding Bill (1881; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which portrays two men discussing a congressional act structured to refund the national debt.[60]

Despite the tremendous advances made by American

artists in French circles since 1855, especially at the annual Salons, most French critics praised American art only tentatively. In 1889, the French reviewers largely adhered to their original assessment of American art as being derivative, no longer of British art, but of their own. While conceding that some Americans were untouched by French influence, Henry Havard boasted that, for the most part, the American school "was hatched by us. They are part of our work."[61] Writing for the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Maurice Hamel found no "national character" in the art of the Americans, calling their work "flagrant imitations" of paintings by Cabanel, Manet, Gérôme, Carolus-Duran, Millet, and others.[62]

These generally chauvinistic remarks by French critics reveal that whether the American portrayed "native" scenes in "native" styles, or rendered French themes in French styles, the French in general still did not appreciate American art. The only remaining option was for Americans to paint American subjects in French styles, a procedure that had already been initiated by Eastman Johnson, Thomas Eakins, Frederic Remington, George Inness, and Thomas Hovenden, and others, as previously mentioned.

Perhaps it was as a result of the relatively few, but noteworthy, American themes executed in French styles

at the 1889 exposition that the tide began to turn. Signs of encouragement for American art can be detected in some of the French reviews. For example, in an otherwise unfavorable assessment of American art at the 1889 fair, Charles Crosnier de Varigny predicted:

> The future is theirs, and we, their elders who have preceded them and have shown them the way, over new worlds, for some centuries, discharge the overflow of our population; these disparate elements, danger[ous] for old civilizations, are recruited as desirable for the newborn civilizations, these impatient ones of freedom and vast spaces. We can be proud of the results obtained by the children of Europe.[63]

Chicago 1893

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893--the first major American world's fair since the Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition--was deeply influenced by the French government's organization of the 1889 exposition. However, unlike the Parisian exposition of 1889 which utilized 228 acres of the city's existing infrastructure, the 1893 fair was built up from over 600 acres of uncultivated land in Jackson Park eight miles from the center of town, and accordingly came to symbolize New World expansiveness.[64]

The Chicago exposition enticed many American

painters to return home after long sojourns in Europe, some of them to participate in the extensive decorative program supervised by Francis Davis Millet, an Antwerp-trained American painter who had been residing in England. In essence, Millet's scheme was an exemplar of the American Renaissance belief in the unity of all of the arts. The mural program he orchestrated enhanced the exposition buildings and sculptures which set the stage for the fair (fig. 9).

American art triumphed in 1893 when it was presented on home territory. This represented a crucial turning point for American art. The more progressive critics redirected their support away from the foreign-looking art favored in the 1870s and 1880s, seeking characteristically American expressions. Coinciding with this new approach, the first sustained predictions that American art would soon transcend all other nations, including France, were articulated at the Chicago fair.

In the eleven-volume catalogue of art exhibited at the 1893 fair, William Walton resolved:

> The development of a culture for art in the United States owes so much to France, so very many of those painters and sculptors who strive to contribute to the building up of the American school have derived both their training and their enlightenment from those hospitable shores, that it will not be without a certain grief that the passing of the sceptre of Art from her hands will be viewed by the younger nation.[85]

Walton's use of the phrase "the sceptre of art" indicates his adherence to the Course of Empire theory, and his expectation that the United States would soon inherit the mantle of western civilization from what he assumed to be the "vanishing school" of France.

Other critics were equally zealous in their conviction that Empire would soon transfer from France to the United States, despite the fact that Americans still flocked to Parisian ateliers by the thousands. The American critic Ernest Knaufft, for example, announced, "we take no second place in the art of the world."[66] Unlike the reviewers just four years earlier in Paris, Knaufft saw national traits in a positive light, and defined "American" art as being "refined, healthy, and genuine." The artists he favored were not the expatriates who were heralded in 1889, but, rather, resident Americans such as Winslow Homer, George Inness, and the Paris-trained George De Forest Brush, who specialized in American Indian themes.

John C. Van Dyke, a professor at Rutgers College in New Jersey at the time, saw the future of art in nationalistic terms, claiming that, by following the course of civilization, the French "race cannot repeat the triumphs of the past. . . ."[67] According to Van Dyke, the future of art belonged not with the "Latins,"

with whom he included the French, but with the Anglo-Saxon Scandinavians and Americans, demonstrating his belief in the genetic aspect of national character.

Furthermore, Van Dyke perceived French art at the Chicago fair as "showing the capricious, or mannered, efforts of her studios instead of the heart of her people."[68] He continued, "judging from this alone, one might well think her art in decline," but then, remembering the 1889 exposition, he cautioned his readers not to ignore the resilience of French art.

In this review, Van Dyke also attacked cosmopolitanism as an evil that negates nationality, claiming that French "influence is to our gain in craftsmanship, but it is to our loss in originality. Parisian ideas may be better than our own but they are not our own." Van Dyke applied a new standard of evaluation to American art in which nationalism rated as highly as quality, as indicated in the following passage:

> The chief value of a nation's art, aside from its being good art, lies in its nationality, its particular point of view, its representation of a time, a clime, and a people. We shall never have any great art in America unless it is done in our own way and is distinctly American.[69]

Van Dyke's biased remarks reveal a striking contrast to the criticism that surrounded the Paris exposition of 1889, just three years earlier. Moreover, with his

emphasis upon embodying nationality, Van Dyke seems to imply that it is acceptable to use foreign styles--as the American Renaissance did--as long as they are applied to themes reflecting American life and land.

Like Knaufft, Van Dyke singled out Winslow Homer and George Inness, two painters of native subjects, as his favorites (figs. 10 and 11). He joined Ripley Hitchock, William Coffin, and others in praising American landscape painting, observing that "we come nearer to having an American school of art in landscape than elsewhere."[70] Rejecting figure painting in favor of landscapes represented a basic reorientation for American art which was crucial in order to break away from French academic influences.

The French press in 1893, however, was still disinclined to praise the Americans, even though a number of them had already met the challenge of painting native subjects using European techniques. Rather, as exemplified by Jacques Hermant's review for the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, the focus continued to be on America's shortcomings. For, while Hermant recognized the "need for an American school," he predicted that it would materialize on a "very distant" day.[71]

Conversely, American opinions of French art in 1893 had changed considerably since 1889. While critics

agreed that the French paintings section at the Chicago exposition was important, some of them, such as William Walton, found that "literary" academic art looked old-fashioned.[72] Impressionism was not included in the official French exhibition, because, even after post-impressionism had already superseded this twenty-year old movement, impressionism was still considered to be radical and an affront to the academic tradition. Therefore, impressionism was deemed inappropriate to represent the France at an international exposition. Because of this, the American exhibition, which had many brightly colored impressionist-inspired canvases, seemed more progressive than the French display.[73]

French impressionism was, however, exhibited at the Chicago fair in the "Loan Collection of Foreign Masterpieces," consisting of paintings lent from American private collections. Royal Cortissoz, a critic for the New-York Tribune, preferred the loan exhibition to the "objective, detached, literal" and "materialistic" official French show, although he observed that not all of the works deserved the title "masterpiece."[74] Cortissoz came to the daring conclusion that American art was "on equal footing with France, not like 1889," and assessed that it could be called "American" with pride. But, while American critics proclaimed victory in

Chicago, they needed to both prove that their success was not just a fluke and to gain international support of their claims. This would have to be done in Europe during the next major exposition in 1900.

After Chicago: Economics, Politics, and Art

The new success of American art and the disappointing reception of French art in Chicago did not go unnoticed in France. Even though few Europeans visited Chicago--compared with the throngs of Americans in Paris--the impact of the exposition was still felt abroad. After the exposition, the French took measures to decipher the reasons for America's new status in many areas, including the field of art.[75]

For example, the French Director of Fine Arts, Henry Roujon, sent Siegfried Bing, a German-born dealer of decorative art with loyalties to France, to the United States to report on the progress of American art.[76] In the account of his findings, La Culture artistique en Amérique (1896), Bing was both impressed with and threatened by innovations in American art, particularly in architecture--the skyscrapers--and in the decorative arts--especially the work of Louis Comfort Tiffany, whom

Bing accepted into his own gallery.

Since Bing believed painting to be a "higher" art than either architecture or the decorative arts, he felt that American painting needed the "precious experience of long traditions in art" in order to be successful.[77] Bing concluded that American painting was at the "threshhold of a richly flourishing era," which no doubt concerned the French authorities to whom he reported.

Bing was not the only agent sent from France to assess the rapid ascension of American art. Notably Paul Drouet of the Société des Beaux-Arts de Caen, although admittedly no expert in art, reported that "artistic centers [in America] are giving birth to schools, lessening the need to go to Europe."[78] Drouet warned that the severe French criticism of American art during the the Chicago exposition had actually backfired against the national interest because it was too instructive, giving the Americans the means to become vital and strong. At the same time, Drouet stressed the importance of France's holding onto first place in art, which implied that that position was no longer taken for granted.

This new decline in confidence on the part of the French coincided with the social, economic, and political problems facing their country in the 1890s. Richard

Mandell has pointed to the political corruption, economic downfall, and a declining birthrate as explanations, adding that "some French intellectuals even suspected that France was losing her pre-eminence in art and literature."[79] Until the 1860s, France had been the world's wealthiest nation; by the 1880s it was having difficulty competing in an international market, which was led by the Germans and Americans.[80]

In addition, a number of specific incidents darkened France's image in the eyes of the rest of the world during the 1890s. The two events of the decade that stand out as illustrations of this were the Panama Canal scandal--which involved journalists who were bribed to lie about the progress made on the canal--and, especially, the Dreyfus affair--a prolonged and highly politicized ordeal which began when an Alsatian Jew was falsely accused of treason by the anti-semitic military in 1894.

Not all was proceeding smoothly in the United States either at the opening of the century's final decade. Even before the Chicago fair closed, a severe economic depression plagued the nation. Additional crises that emerged during the 1890s include the growth of the trusts, the vanishing frontier, violent labor stoppages, the upheaval over free-silver, urban blight, and

government corruptions.[81]

The unpopular Grover Cleveland, who was blamed for the 1893 financial failure, did not seek reelection in 1896. Instead, William Jennings Bryan ran on the Democratic ticket, and eloquently promoted free trade and bimetallism in his renowned "Cross of Gold" speech. Implementing bimetallism--having both a gold and silver standard--would have caused inflation, as silver was much cheaper than gold. As the historian John Cooper, Jr. recently elucidated:

> The free-silver proposal advocated that the United States Treasury would buy all silver offered and convert it into coins at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. Because gold's market value was over $35 an ounce and silver's was less than a dollar, coinage at sixteen to one would have, in effect, cut the value of the already existing gold-backed United States currency in half.[82]

Bimetallism would have benefitted farmers and others who were heavily in debt, as the value of their existing loans would have depreciated, but it would have hurt the wealthy.

However, the free-silver proposal was not legislated, as Bryan was defeated by the Republican William McKinley who ran against bimetallism. To the contrary, McKinley was heavily supported in the Northeast and Midwest by big business and industry, which would stand to lose money had bimetallism been realized.

McKinley's win over Bryan and bimetallism in 1896, and again in 1900, strengthened the corporate factions that were to make the United States prosper economically on an international scale. Tying together the ramifications of these events, the historian Gilbert Fite has observed, "McKinley and the gold standard became symbols of patriotism, nationalism, Americanism, and social stability. . . ."[83]

During the McKinley administration, the United States rose to second place in the world economically, following Germany. These monetary gains, with a return to prosperity in 1897, served to accelerate industry and new technologies. In fact, American industry had been so prosperous after the 1893 depression that the organizers of the 1900 exposition had difficulty rounding up enough corporate exhibitors: The time and expense involved in arranging an exhibition to be sent across the ocean made little sense when business was already booming.[84]

One of McKinley's major strategies to improve the economy had been to raise revenues through high tariffs. As a congressman from Ohio in 1890, McKinley had made his reputation in national politics as the framer of the most protectionist tariff imposed until that time. The Tariff Act of 1890, popularly known as the McKinley Tariff, yielded an enormous trade surplus for the United

States.[85]

Contrary to the increases in other areas, however, the McKinley Tariff had actually lowered the rate for foreign art to 15% ad valorem, from the 1883 rate of 30%. High duties on the importation of art had been imposed in 1883 as a response to French tariffs on American pork, and incited fierce reactions in the art world.[86] By 1894, when Grover Cleveland was president and the Democrats dominated the Senate, paintings and sculpture were put on the free list, in accordance with the Wilson-Gorman Tariff.

Paintings remained on the free list until 1897, when, under the McKinley administration, the Dingley Tariff taxed foreign paintings and sculpture at a rate of 20%.[87] French products most affected by the increase included works of art, champagne and wine, china, gloves, and woolen dress goods--the very items upon which the French prided themselves and depended economically--which were considered to be frivolous luxuries by American lawmakers.

The framers of the bill justified the increased levies by distinguishing between private acquisition for "articles which are simply for personal adornment" and those intended to educate the public, claiming:

The committee could see no reason why a millionare

> should be able to import free of duty hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of paintings and statuary for the decoration of his own house, not for the cultivation of the general public taste, while every humble citizen of this country is contributing his part toward the expenses of Government. Therefore, while still allowing the free importation of art articles, paintings, statuary, etc., for museums or galleries or institutions where the public may reach them, we have so modified this paragraph as to make other importations dutiable.[88]

American artists--resident and nonresident alike--who were grateful to the French for their training, did not agree with the reasoning of the Dingley bill, and banded together to protest the tariffs. An article in The Critic, appearing in April 1897, explained that, "instead of injuring native art, such importations tend to increase the demand for what is good," insisting, "our artists are not blind to their own interests."[89] Believing that the increased levies would harm American artists in France as well as French citizens, the Fine Arts Federation of New York lobbied for paintings and statuary to remain on the free list, but to no avail.[90]

The duties imposed on American artists shipping their work home from Europe also changed in the 1890s. The tariffs of 1870, 1874, and 1883 admitted all art made by Americans on a duty-free basis, without limitation. But in the 1890, 1894, and 1897 bills, this applied only to artists who resided abroad "temporarily." Under the

1897 Dingley Tariff, American artists living abroad for more than five years were taxed at the same rate as the French, at 20%. But in 1899, art was declared duty free if it was made by an American citizen, regardless of how long that person was resident abroad, as long as the artist did not intend to renounce citizenship and planned to return to the United States.[91]

Thus, the 20% tariffs on imported French art which were in place for the 1900 exposition gave American artists a clear economic advantage over their French colleagues, but one that cannot be viewed aside from other economic and diplomatic circumstances. For example, the American tariffs were not unilateral. It was, after all, France's 1881 ban on American pork that triggered the 30% American tariff on French art two years later. Again, in 1892, France instituted the highly protective Méline Tariff to help its own deteriorating economy, which, in turn, again encouraged American retaliation.[92]

The diplomatic relations between France and the United States at the time were deeply affected by these tariffs. As other points of contention materialized, relations only worsened. In particular, the 1898 Spanish-American war, in which France sided with Spain, further discouraged Franco-American ties.

Aside from advancing economically, the United States also increased its status as an international power during the McKinley administration through territorial expansion. McKinley's platform of 1896 on foreign policy called for the enforcement of the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, control of Hawaii (which the Cleveland Administration recognized as a Republic in 1894--annexation came in 1898)--and independence for Cuba.[93] The Spanish-American war of 1898, legitimized by its American supporters in terms of "duty and destiny" to free a beleaguered Cuba from Spain, led to the aquisition of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines by the United States. With these new territories, the United States had effectively become an Empire like France or Great Britain.[94]

Again, as in the realms of both art and economics, France did not welcome competition as a colonizer from its younger "sister republic." Jules Cambon, the French ambassador to the United States who negotiated the 1898 Treaty of Paris ending the war with Spain, did not believe that Americans were ready for such power. As Cambon claimed:

> These people are ignorant and brutal and if they stick their hand in the complicated and patient game that the old world is playing it will little trouble them to set fire to the four corners of Europe.[95]

Cambon's statement reflects France's continued patronizing attitude toward "young" America at the turn of the century.

With economic and military might, the potential of the United States in the late 1890s seemed boundless. Patriotism escalated, kindled by the assumption that there indeed existed a Course of Empire, or "track of civilization," to use Van Dyke's words.[96] This new mood of nationalism influenced the way American art was received by collectors as well as critics. A writer for The Forum in 1899 credited the Spanish-American war with sparking a new interest in collecting native art:

> That the awakening of national pride by the Spanish-American war has had something to do with this new attitude toward native art, there can be no doubt. Prominent artists themselves have admitted as much to me.[97]

However, while attributing the rise in patriotism to the war, this critic also insisted that the greatest single factor in arousing public interest in art of typically American subjects was the sale of the Thomas B. Clarke collection in 1899.

Economic growth after the Civil War facilitated art patronage. However, to the dismay of American artists, their countrymen tended to collect European art. Eventually, the French also became upset by New World acquisitiveness, for example, when wealthy Americans

hoarded their "national treasures" such as Jean-François Millet's Angelus (1859; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), or refused to lend these works to exhibitions in France.[98]

In February 1899, Charles H. Caffin, the editor of the "American Survey" which appeared in the British periodical The Artist, lamented the ignorance of the public regarding American art, explaining:

> For it is a deplorable fact that the American public is practically ignorant of American art. . . . Sometimes we feel inclined to blame our native painters for making their homes abroad. But it is the old story of a prophet not being without honor save in his own country. A Sargent has to become practically expatriated before our purblind public can discover his genius.[99]

While this was basically true, a few serious collectors had already begun to specialize in American art, including Thomas B. Clarke, William T. Evans, and George Hearn, all affluent businessmen from the New York area. Major sales of the Thomas B. Clarke and William T. Evans collections, held just prior to the 1900 exposition, raised the prices of American art, making them more comparable to European art.[100] Four paintings from the Clarke sale and perhaps ten from the Evans sale eventually made their way to the Paris exposition of 1900.

While the market for American painting had recovered somewhat, officials at the 1900 exposition were still

justified in complaining about the lack of enthusiasm for native art. For example, a Theodore Robinson painting selected by an artist's group for the Metropolitan Museum was rejected by the acquisition board. At the same time, however, the French continued to build their own collection of American art in the Luxembourg Museum, which they had begun in 1879, by purchasing seventeen paintings in the decade following the 1889 exposition.[101]

Despite most collectors' indifference to native art, American art institutions proliferated after the Chicago fair, as they had after the 1876 exposition. New York, already the nation's art center, flourished. Men's social clubs, in particular, provided a common ground for businessmen and artists. The Lotos Club, Salamagundi Club, Century Club, Metropolitan Club, Union League Club, and many others in New York were among those frequented by artists. Additionally, a number of new art societies were formed, including the National Society of Mural Painters, the National Arts Club, the National Sculpture Society, the Society of Miniature Painters, and the Fine Arts Federation of New York, which functioned as an umbrella agency for eleven of the most important New York-based art associations.

More elite groups included the Ten American

Painters, formed at the end of 1897, and the Society of Landscape Painters, which was established in 1899. Such growth was not limited to New York, as art institutions and associations sprang up across the country. Art colonies also became popular. For example, the art colony in Old Lyme, Connecticut, the first of many American art villages, was founded in 1899 by Henry Ward Ranger, who was motivated by the Barbizon ideal of community.[102]

In addition, commissions for large scale public projects escalated throughout the nation, fulfilling Rush Hawkins's dream for American art. Murals by leading American artists were installed at the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, and Bowdoin College, but smaller projects emerged throughout the nation as part of the City Beautiful movement. Most importantly, however, art schools with Paris-trained American instructors multiplied, making the need to attend Parisian schools virtually obsolete.

While New York thrived as the capital of American art after the Chicago fair, Americans abroad continued to gain ground in the international art world. During the 1890s, Americans continued to participate in both the Salon des Artistes Français and the dissenting Salon Nationale des Beaux-Arts which had been formed in 1890,

representing the largest group, 20% to 25%, of all foreign exhibitors.[103]

Also in 1890, the American Art Association of Paris, financed by wealthy patrons, was opened by the United States Ambassador to France, Whitelaw Reid, "for the comfort of the 1,500 students of American art in Paris."[104] Reid's intention was "to assist them in the grand aim all Americans had in view of coming to Paris, the development of a national art for America." Other organizations, such as The Paris Society of American Artists and the American Women's Art Association, also opened within the year. Thus, by the time the exposition was inaugurated in April of 1900, the American art community was firmly entrenched in Paris.

As evidenced by the growth of the American art community both at home and abroad--which was bolstered by the United States's expanded economic potency and international presence--great strides had taken place in American art since the 1855 exposition. At the onset of the world's fair era in the 1850s, the assessment of American art was dismal. Until the last decade of the century, American art was to be deemed by French critics as being wholly dependent upon Europe, without a national character refined enough to be taken seriously. It was only in 1893, with the repatriation of foreign-trained

American artists exhibiting paintings with native themes, that the French began to consider American art a legitimate enterprise.

The officials, artists, and critics most involved with the expositions were acutely self-conscious about these transformations. On the occasion of the next Parisian exposition in 1900, for example, critics habitually cross-referenced past expositions in their reviews. The most frequently mentioned of these were Paris 1889 and Chicago 1893. The comparative approach to the world's fairs that was undertaken at the time underscores the significance of studying the universal exposition of 1900 within the context of its predecessors.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Alfred Picard, as quoted in James P. Boyd, The Paris Exposition of 1900 (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler, 1900), 107. On the role of expositions as catalysts, refer to the introduction in Patricia Mainardi, Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 1. For a recent in-depth analysis of the notion of progress, see Christopher Lasch, The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991).

2. For a definition and historiography of the term "national character," see Harry Ritter, Dictionary of Concepts in History (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 291.

3. Ritter, 291. A discussion of Social Darwinism and how it related to the American experience of the late nineteenth century appears in Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in Amerian Thought (1944; rev. ed. New York: George Braziller, 1955), 172.

4. Refer to the section on Anglo-Saxonism in Hoffstadter, 172 passim.

5. Donelson F. Hoopes, American Narrative Painting (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 1974), 15. Hoopes has suggested that Cole was probably familiar with the writings of the Frenchman Constantin-Francis Volney (1757-1820), who wrote the seminal treatise on this theory, Ruines, où méditations sur les révolutions des empires of 1791. For more on Volney, see Anne and Henry Deneys, eds., Oeuvres\ Volney, 2 vols., (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

6. For an analysis of how this relates to American art from the 1840s to the 1870s, refer to Patricia Hills, "Picturing Progress in the Era of Westward Expansion," in

William H. Truettner, ed., The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), especially pages 100-102. Berkeley's own visage has become immortalized in John Smibert's painting The Bermuda Group: Dean George Berkeley and His Family, 1729 (1739; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT).

7. For a discussion of Berkeley's philosophies and how they related to Smibert, see Wayne Craven, Colonial American Portaiture (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 158-163. See also Hills, 117-119, for a discussion of the notion of progress in relation to the Leutze mural.

8. See Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Holt, 1958). My reading of Empire, as it relates to late nineteenth-century America, is indebted to Walter La Feber, The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963), 66. For an excellent historiography of American imperialism, see Hugh de Santis, "The Imperialist Impulse and American Innocence, 1865-1900," in Gerald K. Haines and Samuel J. Walker, eds., American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).

9. Brooks Adams, The Law of Civilization and Decay (1896; repr. New York: MacMillan Co., 1955), 7.

1Ø. It is relevant to note that during the depression of the 1890s, Brooks Adams and his brother Henry, although having descended from four generations of fame and prosperity (both were grandsons of president John Quincy Adams and sons of the Civil War diplomat Charles Francis Adams), were on the verge of bankruptcy. See La Feber, 81. Motivated by his own financial predicament, Adams blamed the "greedy" bankers for the decline of western civilization. According to Adams, "In this last stage of consolidation, the economic, . . . the imagination fades, and the emotional, the martial, and the artistic types of manhood decay." Adams, 7.

11. Adams, 7.

12. La Feber, 83, 84.

13. La Feber, 85.

14. John C. Van Dyke, "Painting at the Fair," Century 48 (July 1894): 439-447.

15. Will H. Low, "National Expression in American Art," International Quarterly 3 (March 1901): 236. For another example, see "Year One of the Empire," Nation 70 (8 February 1900): 105, which refers to the full year which had elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Spanish-American War.

16. World's Columbian Exposition 1893: Official Illustrated Publication, Art and Architecture, with text by William Walton, vol. 1, (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1893), 3.

17. Richard Guy Wilson, "The Great Civilization," in The American Renaissance: 1876-1917 (Brooklyn, New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 12.

18. Chefs d'Oeuvre: Art and Architecture, with essays by William Walton, V[ictor] Champier, and A[ndré] Saglio, vol. 3, (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Son, 1900), 3. See also Chefs-d'Oeuvre de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889, with text by William Walton, 10 vols., (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1889), and Walton's eleven-volume World's Columbian Exposition 1893, as cited in Note 9.

19. References to American art at the domestic expositions appear, notably, in The American Renaissance, 1979, as well as in David C. Huntington's essay in The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs 1876-1893 (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983).

2Ø. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed. The Art of All Nations, 1850-1873: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics (1981; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 56.

21. Merle Curti, "American Art at the World's Fairs, 1851-1893," American Historical Review 55 (1950): 837. According to Curti, George Peabody, an American banker in London, came to the rescue with $15,000 of his own money which was used to unload, transport the exhibits to London, and to decorate the displays. For additional information on American participation in the 1851 exposition, see Marcus Cunliffe, "America at the Great Exhibition of 1851," in Marcus Cunliffe, In Search of America: Transatlantic Essays, 1951-1990 (New York:

Greenwood Press, 1991).

22. Holt, 1 and 9. The six major expositions that took place between 1878 and 1902--which Holt summarizes and for which she reprints reviews--were the Parisian expositions of 1878, 1889, and 1900, the 1888 Barcelona exposition, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and the Turin exposition of 1902.

23. Mainardi, 25.

24. See Holt, 2-3.

25. Mainardi, 25 and 62. According to Mainardi, even the Independent artists who participated on the jury were conservative, as many of them were future Academicians.

26. Mainardi, 97.

27. According to Boime:

> In retrospect the almost complete dismissal of American painting as imitative at the Exposition of 1889 appears as a calculated attempt to reduce the importance of the Americans as a national group vis-à-vis the French.

Albert Boime, "The Chocolate Venus, "Tainted" Pork, the Wine Blight, and the Tariff: Franco-American Stew at the Fair," in Annette Blaugrund, et al., Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 77.

28. Mainardi, 97.

29. Albert Boime, Foreword, in Lois Marie Fink, American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), xvi.

3Ø. Mainardi, 109. The French jurors in 1855 consisted of six academicians, four independent artists, and five government members.

31. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 26. For Rossiter's involvement with the 1855 exposition see Ilene Susan Fort, "High Art and the American Experience: The Career of Thomas Pritchard Rossiter," M.A. thesis (Queens

College of the City University of New York, 1975), 86. Rossiter's own impressions of the 1855 exposition have been documented in T. P. Rossiter, "Correspondence: Notes on the Universal Exposition of Fine Arts in Paris," The Crayon 2 (19 December 1855), 390-91.

32. Mainardi, 83. According to Mainardi, Couture himself received little attention at the 1855 exposition in part because his Romans of the Decadence (1847; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), which served as a metaphor for the defunct July Monarchy, was still disturbing to Prince Napoléon, 80. This was the case despite Couture's popularity at the time, as evidenced by his participation on the selection jury, as well as by his government commissions, for Enrollment of the Volunteers (begun 1848; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Colmar), and three additional ones in 1856. For further illumination, see Albert Boime, "Thomas Couture and the Evolution of Painting in Nineteenth-Century France," The Art Bulletin 51 (March 1969), 50.

33. Fink, 86.

34. For brief accounts of American art at the 1855 exposition, see Fink, 85-7 and Carol Troyen, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," American Art Journal 16 (Autumn 1984): 4-5.

35. Alfred d'Almbert, Flânerie Parisienne aux Etats-Unis (Paris: Librarie Théâtrale, 1856), 145-8. According to d'Almbert: "Les grands artists ne sont pas dans l'autre monde," 148.

36. E[tienne] J. Delécluze, Les Beaux-Arts dans les Deux Mondes en 1855 (Paris: Charpentier, 1856), 65-67.

37. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 35, 44.

38. For a more detailed discussion of Healy's Franklin and how it relates to Couture, see Boime, "Thomas Couture," 577.

39. Delécluze used the phrase "aux essais," 65.

40. Delécluze, 66: "Le choix des sujets et le caractère particulier donné aux compositions sont certainement des traits saillants qui distinguent l'esprit des differents écoles. . . ."

41. Curti, 841.

42. Troyen, 22. For additional analyses of American art and products at the 1867 exposition, see Fink, 87-90, and Curti, 842-6.

43. Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition, 1867, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), 41.

44. Paul Mantz, "Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle: X - Etats Unis," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 23 (1867): 230.

45. Reports of the United States Commissioners, 1867, II: 27.

46. A Painter, "Art at the Paris Exposition," Scribner's Monthly 17 (December 1878): 280-81.

47. Paul Lefort, "Les Ecoles Etrangères de Peinture. Etats-Unis," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 18, 2nd per., (October 1878): 470-85:

> Née d'hier, sans histoire, sans passé, il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce que l'Amérique on soit pas encore en possession d'un art national, où se traduisent et s'affirment nettement le tempérament, l'humor et se caractère de la race.

48. I am grateful to Gerald D. Bolas for sharing his unpublished abstract, "American Painting at the Paris Exposition, 1878."

49. For an in-depth study of this topic, see Jennifer A. Martin Bienenstock, "The Formation and Early Years of the Society of American Artists, 1878-1884," Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1983.

50. Growing literature on French academic training includes: Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Phaidon, 1971), and "The Teaching Reforms of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France," Art Quarterly, n.s. 1 (1977): 1-39; for American art students in Paris, see the writings of

H. Barbara Weinberg, especially The Lure of Paris, as well as "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," American Art Journal 13 (Autumn 1981): 66-84, and The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1984); for a French perspective, see Véronique Wiesinger et al., Le Voyage de Paris: Les Américaines dans les écoles d'art, 1868-1918 (Blérancourt, France: Musée de la coopération Franco-Américaine, 1990).

51. Fink, 125-6.

52. Curti, 851.

53. Annette Blaugrund, "Behind the Scenes: The Organization of the American Paintings," in Blaugrund, et al., Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 27.

54. George William Sheldon, Recent Ideals of American Art (New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1890), 144.

55. For analyses of these two works, see Weinberg, The Lure of Paris, 107-8; Weinberg, Gérôme, 51-54; see also Karen Zukowski's catalogue entry on Weeks in Blaugrund, et al., 223-224.

56. H. Barbara Weinberg, "Cosmopolitan Attitudes: The Coming of Age of American Art," in Blaugrund, et al., 35.

57. William A. Coffin, "The Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition," The Nation 49 (17 October 1889): 110, as cited in Fink, 129.

58. Rush C. Hawkins, "Report on the Fine Arts," in Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition at Paris, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890-91), 3, 7.

59. Hawkins, 110.

60. See D. Dodge Thompson, "'Loitering Through the Paris Exposition': Highlights of the American Paintings at the Universal Exposition of 1889," 62, and Weinberg, 37, both in Blaugrund, et al. While the majority of American award recipients in 1889 lived abroad, it should be noted that Inness, Johnson, and about a dozen other

medallists resided primarily in the United States.

61. Henry Havard, "L'Exposition des Beaux-Arts. Les Ecoles Etrangères II," Revue de l'Exposition de 1889 1 (Paris: n.p., 1889): 292, in which Havard claims:

> Car ces écoles nouvelles ont été couvées par nous; elles sont en partie notre ouvrage.

62. According to Maurice Hamel in "Les écoles étrangères," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 2, 2nd per., (1889): 382:

> . . . il me paraît malaisé de découvrir un caractère national dans l'art américain. . . . Trop de courants se croisent, trop d'imitations sont flagrantes dans son naturalisme superficiel et de bref horizon.

63. C[harles] de Varigny, "L'Amérique a l'Exposition Universelle," 95 Revue des Deux Mondes (15 October 1889): 837-38:

> L'avenir est à eux, et nous, leurs aînés qui les avons précédés et leur avons montré la voie, sur ces terres nouvelles, depuis des siècles, déversons le trop-plein de notre population, ces éléments disparates, danger pour les civilizations vieilles, recrues désirables pour des civilizations naissantes, ces impatients de vie libre et de grands espaces, nous pouvons être fiers des résultats obtenus par ces enfants de l'Europe.

64. Richard Guy Wilson, "Challenge and Response: Americans and the Architecture of the 1889 Exposition, in Blaugrund, et al., 98. A synopsis of the Chicago fair, with statistical information, appears in John E. Findling, ed., Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

65. World's Columbian Exposition, I: 52.

66. Ernest Knaufft, "Art at the Columbian Exposition," Review of Reviews 7 (June 1893): 551, 556. This opinion coincides with the general critical reaction to the fair. See Daniel T. Miller, "The Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the American National Character," Journal of American Culture 10 (Summer 1987): 17-22.

67. Van Dyke, 439.

68. Van Dyke, 440.

69. Van Dyke, 446.

7Ø. Van Dyck, 446; Ripley Hitchcock, The Art of the World Illustrated in the Paintings, Statuary, and Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition vol. 2, (New York: Appleton and Company, 1894), 256; William A. Coffin, "The Columbian Exposition - III," Nation 57 (17 August 1893): 115.

71. Jacques Hermant, "Les Beaux-Arts," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 35 (1893): 453.

72. World's Columbian Exposition, I: 28.

73. William H. Gerdts, American Impressionism (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 142.

74. Royal Cortissoz published a series of articles in the New-York Tribune which is bound in the collection "Art at the World's Fair," at the Frick Art Reference Library. The articles cited here include, "Art at the World's Fair - I," 7; "Materialistic Art - IV," 14; and "The Loan Collection - IX," 27.

75. Richard D. Mandell, Paris 19OO: The Great World's Fair (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 3O1. For an appraisal of French anxieties in the 189Os and how they related to art, see Deborah Leah Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

76. The spelling of Roujon's first name appears to be "Henry," not "Henri," according to his business card in, "Records of the Commission Representing the United States at the Universal Exposition, 19OO," Record Group 43, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Box E 513, (hereafter abbreviated as NARA, RG 43).

77. S[iegfried] Bing, La Culture artistique en Amérique (Paris: n.p., 1896), 11O: "La race n'avait pas eu le temps de se renouveler de d'acquérir une manière d'être distinctive." For a translation of this essay into English, see Artistic America, Tiffany Glass, and Art Nouveau, Robert Koch intro., Benita Eisler trans. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 197O). Silverman finds Bing's advice for the French to emulate the American example in crafts to represent "an ironic reversal of cultural fate," 182.

78. Paul L. M. Drouet, "Notes diverses sur les institutions artistiques et les beaux-arts en général aux Etats-Unis, au Canada et à l'Exposition de Chicago en 1893," Bulletin de la Société des Beaux-Arts de Caen (1896): 301, 302, 318:

> . . . Grâce aux nombreuses collections de peinture des meilleurs maîtres européens, acquises à grands frais, qui existent maintenant en Amérique et qui leur serviront de référence, les jeunes élèves sentiront moins le besoin de venir en Europe. . . .
>
> Cette exposition a été l'objet de critiques très sévéres de la part des écrivains français. . . il est incontestable qu'elle a été extrêmement instructive et suggestive pour les étrangères, et qu'elle leur a donné la mesure de la vitalité et de la puissance du génie-américaine. . . .
>
> Il me paraît donc parfaitement indiqué qu'il est sage de nous soutenir au premier rang et de nous préparer, par des efforts continus, à profiter. . .

79. Mandell, 25.

80. Silverman, 52.

81. Hugh De Santis, "The Imperialist Impulse and American Innocence, 1865-1900," in Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 70.

82. John Milton Cooper, Jr. Pivotal Decades: The United States, 1900-1920 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 21-22.

83. Gilbert C. Fite, "Election of 1896," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, ed., History of American Presidential Elections, vol. 2, (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), 1824.

84. Report of the Commissioner General for the United States to the Universal Exposition Paris, 1900, vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 38.

85. Edward Stanwood, American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century, vol. 2, (1903; repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), 263.

86. See Boime's discussion of the 1883 tariff in Blaugrund, et al., 79ff.

87. Lewis L. Gould, "Diplomats in the Lobby: Franco-American Relations and the Dingley Tariff of 1897," The Historian 39 (August 1977): 659-80. The tariff is reproduced in Congressional Record, 55th Congress, 1st sess., (22 March 1897): 122. For a table of customs duties on specific articles, see the New York World's World Almanac and Encyclopedia 11 (January 1900), 154.

88. Congressional Record, 122.

89. "The Tariff on Books and Art," The Critic 30 (April 1897): 281.

90. According to William Coffin, who represented the United States at the Congress of Fine Arts at the 1900 exposition, the National Free Art League, formed to abolish the Dingley Bill, had 1,200 members. The Mills Bill, which the League promoted, was never passed. "Congress of Fine Arts," in Report of the Commissioner-General, VI: 180.

91. "Good News for American Artists," New York Herald, 7 January 1899, 4.

92. Henry Blumenthal, American and French Culture, 1800-1900: Interchanges in Art, Science, Literature, and Society (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 104. For a history of French tariffs, see Michael Stephen Smith, Tariff Reforms in France, 1860-1900. The Politics of Economic Interest (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 197.

93. Fite, II: 1802.

94. For a history of imperialism in this era, see Eric J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Empire, 1875-1914 (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).

95. As quoted in De Santis, 66.

96. Van Dyke, 446.

97. Gustav Kobbé, "American Art Coming Into Its Own," The Forum 27 (May 1899): 297.

98. Paul Hayes Tucker, Monet in the 90s: The Series Paintings (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989), 58.

99. [Charles H. Caffin], "The Thomas B. Clarke Collection of Pictures by American Artists," The Artist 24 [supplement] (February 1899): xxx-xxxi.

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104. New York Herald, 24 May 1891, 2.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPOSITION TAKES SHAPE: ORGANIZATION, SELECTION, AND REACTION

In 1892, a year before the Chicago fair opened, the Third Republic announced its plans for the Exposition Universelle et Internationale de Paris, 1900.[1] The exposition was to be administered through the French Ministry of Commerce, with Alfred Picard, a prominent civil engineer who had written the final report for the 1889 fair, serving as Commissioner-General. Typically for an international exposition, technological and commercial interests predominated.

However, more than any other host nation, the French also emphasized the visual arts, for it was in this field that France could best display its cultural superiority to the rest of the world. The French administrators were able to obscure problems their country was having competing technologically by spotlighting the fine arts and luxuriant handicrafts, areas in which they excelled commercially. With this in mind, the French exposition

directors advertised Paris as the "omphalos of the world."[2] In ancient Greece, the term "omphalos," meaning navel, referred to the rounded stone in Apollo's temple at Delphi which was considered to be the center of the world. The application of this term implies that the French officials believed not only in the Course of Empire, but also that their nation was the leader of a civilization directly descended from ancient Greece.

France needed to assert its supremacy more than ever during the 1890s, when other nations began to question its role as the arbiter of taste. Initially a reaction to the nations's economic and political woes, this new perception of France was exacerbated by the Dreyfus affair in 1894.[3] To summarize this well-known but multifarious scandal, Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935) was found guilty of high treason for revealing top secrets to Germany. After a humiliating military degradation, he was exiled to Devil's Island off the coast of French Guiana in 1895. However, in 1896, evidence emerged linking another officer, Charles Esterhazy, with the crime, while the original document used to convict Dreyfus was revealed to have been forged.[4]

Because admitting their mistake would have been embarrassing and would have undermined their credibility,

the French military opted to conceal the evidence, and continued punishing an innocent man. As a Jew, Dreyfus became a convenient scapegoat in the fiercely anti-semitic environment of turn-of-the-century France. As news of the cover-up was divulged to the public--most notoriously in Emile Zola's article "J'accuse" of 1898, which led to the author's conviction for libel--international outrage was apparent.[5]

By the summer of 1899, the Dreyfus affair overshadowed all other news from France.[6] Due largely to worldwide pressure, Dreyfus was brought to trial again in 1899, this time in Rennes, away from the publicity surrounding Paris and the exposition. However, in spite of the evidence presented in his favor, and the fact that two of seven judges voted to acquit him, Dreyfus was again convicted and sentenced to ten additional years in prison.

The foreign journalists who had been camped out in front of the Rennes courthouse vehemently denounced the verdict, with the most severe reactions coming from the Anglo-Saxon countries. One American reviewer noted that "The verdict guilty in the trial of Dreyfus yesterday [September 9] sent throughout the civilized world a shudder of horror, indignation, and pity."[7] Condemning the Dreyfus affair, a number of foreign nations

threatened to boycott the 1900 exposition, jeopardizing its existence.[8]

In order to salvage the exposition, on September 19 French President Emile Loubet unwillingly signed a pardon, which Dreyfus accepted. The exposition had been saved. In the end, only eight small countries, of the fifty-three which were invited, declined to participate in the exposition, for reasons not necessarily related to the Dreyfus affair.[9] Nevertheless, the repercussions of the scandal continued to haunt the exposition.

The United States was invited to participate in the exposition as early as 1895. However, following their usual pattern, Congress stalled for two years in appropriating funds, missing the deadline for reserving space for a national pavilion on the Quai des Nations. Eventually, in November 1898, after the Americans exerted considerable diplomatic pressure, the French officials granted space for a U.S. pavilion (between the Austrian and Turkish plots) by decreasing the space previously allocated to each visiting nation. This action underscored the increasing status of the United States at the time.

United States participation in the exposition was administered by the State Department, which was to spend more money than any other visiting nation--7,112,500

francs, or $1,397,500. Even though Germany and Great Britain were apportioned more exhibition space overall, the United States, with over 6,500 exhibitors, was to establish itself as the greatest foreign presence at the fair.[10]

In August 1897, Major Moses P. Handy (1847-1898) received the first presidential appointment as Special Commissioner. Handy, a native of Missouri, had served in the Confederate army and as chief of publicity at the World's Columbian Exposition before becoming editor of the Chicago Times-Herald.[11] In September 1897, Handy arrived in Paris and successfully negotiated an expansion of space for the American exhibitors from 108,676 to 147,403 square feet. Subsequent increases eventually gave the United States a total of 179,996 square feet of exhibition space.[12]

In his report to President McKinley in December 1897, Handy envisioned the 1900 exposition as an opportunity for Americans to bolster foreign trade and to show Europe what had been recently accomplished, claiming, "few Americans realize the preeminence of America. Foreigners know it less."[13] As Handy explained on another occasion to the New York Times, the fine arts played a significant role in his plan:

> In the domain of art we have never been adequately represented. I hope we will secure a better position for the display of the work of American artists than they had in 1889.[14]

Specifically, Major Handy called for better, more "harmonious" installations than had existed previously, to be designed by professional architects and artists. By October 1897, Handy had already been in communication with editors, publishers, artists, and art patrons in order to accomplish his goals.[15] Unfortunately, Handy's plans were interrupted by his untimely death in January 1898. The vacant post was filled by Thomas W. Crindler, Third Assistant Secretary of State. Crindler's report to Congress that spring, concerning the administration of the exposition, urged the appointment of a Commissioner-General to oversee the American operations.

In July 1898, Ferdinand Wyhte Peck (1848-1924) (fig. 12) was appointed as the U.S. Commissioner-General to the 1900 exposition. Peck was singularly well equipped for the position, having served as both first vice president for the Chicago exposition company and chairman of its finance committee. A capitalist with legal training, Peck was one of Chicago's outstanding citizens from one of its most prominent families. Nicknamed "Commodore" for his involvement with the Chicago Yacht Club, Peck was also active on the city's Board of Education, and once functioned as its acting mayor.[16]

Peck was also acclaimed as a cultural leader for his

role in organizing and sustaining the Chicago Opera Festival Association and the Chicago Athenaeum, which promoted philanthropic education. Most notably, Peck had commissioned Adler and Sullivan to design the Chicago Auditorium Association (1886-1890), which contained an opera house.[17] Given his involvement with music, education, and architecture, it is not surprising that Peck was described as being "very desirous of pleasing the artists," even though many of his decisions would later prove to infuriate them.[18]

The United States Commission's official viewpoint toward the fine arts, articulated in the 1901 final report of the exposition to Congress, singled out the fine and industrial arts as having made the most significant American contributions to the fair because they demonstrated prominence in a new area.[19] This represented a departure from previous international expositions, during which American officials had strongly emphasized technology.

Even before Handy and Peck had been appointed, a June 1897 editorial in the New York Times anticipated this new attitude toward the arts, stating that while America was prepared to meet any competition in the department of machinery:

Really it is by the showing that we make in the

> department of fine arts that we shall be chiefly judged by the visitors to the exposition and by the official juries. In truth, we have very little interest in the exhibition as a 'shop show.'[20]

Being accepted by Europeans as a serious art-producing nation became the final frontier in America's quest for Empire, as art was the only area in which Americans had not previously dominated in the expositions. In 1898, the art critic Charles Caffin indicated that America was ready to fulfill such a challenge, when he observed that the public does "not realize that our strides in Art during the past twenty five years have kept pace with the progress we have made in the application of science to the conveniences of life."[21]

After Major Handy's death, it was Benjamin Duryea Woodward (1868-1948) (fig. 12) who unofficially took over as the administration's protector of the arts. A professor of Romance Languages at Columbia University, Woodward was appointed Assistant Commissioner-General in December of 1898. Woodward, who reported directly to Peck, did much of the actual legwork in organizing the exposition, and played a decisive role in negotiating with the French officials for additional gallery space.

In order to implement the art exhibitions, it was necessary to appoint a Director of Fine Arts, who would also work closely with Woodward on matters such as

negotiating space. In February 1898, the National Academy of Design hosted a meeting of arts organizations, involving the Society of American Artists, National Sculpture Society, American Watercolor Society, and the Society of Mural Painters, all based in New York. The purpose of the meeting, chaired by the Academy's president, Frederick Dielman, was to recommend a Director of Fine Arts to Peck who would ultimately be appointed by President McKinley. Among the contenders for the position were the critic Charles de Kay, Halsey Ives of the St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts, who had headed the art section in Chicago, a Charles Alt of Cleveland, and John Cauldwell of New York. Also on the list was the painter and critic William Coffin, who withdrew his name prior to the meeting.[22]

John Britton Cauldwell (1855-1932) (fig. 13) won the artists' endorsement, unanimously on a single ballot. Cauldwell's fortes included his excellent executive skills, knowledge of the French language, love of art, and his ties to the McKinley administration, which the artists believed would be advantageous. Cauldwell also fulfilled the artists' objective not to recommend a member of their own profession, who they believed would be biased toward a particular style or approach to art.[23] Applauding the artists' decision, which he

regarded as being refreshingly apolitical, Charles Caffin described Cauldwell as "a gentleman of means and with no ambition in the direction of public life."[24]

Cauldwell, born in Brooklyn, had attended school in Paris, received an engineering degree at Columbia University, and later took painting lessons both at home and abroad, working as a "skillful amateur." Cauldwell was an active member in a number of New York clubs frequented by the artists, including the Century, University, Union League, and Metropolitan Clubs.[25]

In August 1898, Frederick Dielman and John La Farge (who was then president of both the Society of American Artists and the Society of Mural Painters), went to Washington in order to personally recommend Cauldwell to President McKinley. A month after McKinley appointed him in December, Cauldwell hosted a dinner in honor of Commissioner Peck at the Metropolitan Club in New York, which was attended by Benjamin Woodward, as well as by the artists John La Farge, Alexander Harrison, Frederick Bridgman, Frederick Porter Vinton, Thomas Waterman Wood, Howard Russell Butler, John White Alexander, and others who would play a role in the 1900 exposition.[26]

For the position of Assistant Director, Cauldwell designated Charles Kurtz (1855-1909) of St. Louis, who had previously served as Assistant Chief of the art

department of the Chicago fair (fig. 14). Kurtz was a well-respected critic and art administrator who collected contemporary art, especially the Glasgow School, but also American art, notably work by William Merritt Chase, Ralph Blakelock, Eastman Johnson, Childe Hassam, Julian Alden Weir, Charles Harold Davis, and Henry B. Snell.[27] The artist and art historian H. Hobart Nichols (1869-1962) from Washington, D.C., was selected to edit the official catalogue. Charles C. Curran (1861-1942), a Paris-trained artist living in New York, was named as the Assistant for Painting; and the Newark, New Jersey, native John Flanagan (1865-1952), an expatriate sculptor living in Paris, served as the Assistant for Sculpture.[28]

In addition to Cauldwell and his assistants, the Department of Fine Arts was also administered by a thirteen-member National Advisory Board, consisting of patrons and art professionals throughout the country, which was to be "consulted regarding the general policy and administration" of the department.[29] However, although the Department of Fine Arts was well staffed and highly organized, business did not proceed smoothly. Rather, the department would have to contend with internal conflicts, as well as comply with the often restrictive regulations imposed by the French exposition

authorities.

The Art Exhibitions

In 1900, the French administration installed the fine arts exhibitions in two Beaux-Arts buildings facing each other on the Avenue Nicholas II (now the Avenue Winston Churchill), built for the occasion. The rococo revival Petit Palais, designed by Charles-Louis Girault, housed the retrospective exhibitions of French arts and crafts. Henri Delagne's Grand Palais (figs. 15 and 16), on the site of the newly demolished Palais de l'Industrie (the former home of the Salon, which had been built for the 1889 exposition), contained the exhibitions of nineteenth-century French art as well as foreign art produced since the 1889 exposition.

The "Centennial Exhibition of French Art, from 1800 to 1899" was the highlight of the French retrospective exhibitions. While French art and crafts made prior to 1800 were housed in the Petit Palais, all subsequent art was exhibited in the Grand Palais, as the French considered the nineteenth century to be the pinnacle of their artistic achievement. Roger Marx, the Inspector

General of provincial museums, was responsible for organizing the centennial exhibition, which featured over 2,500 of the 8,100 objects in the French retrospective.

Marx was part of a new breed of progressive art official that emerged within the French government after the 1889 fair.[30] Through their involvement in the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs as well as in other areas, these men aimed to rejuvenate French arts and crafts by promoting a modern style--Art Nouveau--which strove to abandon imitative formulas. Also associated with this group, as well as with the retrospective exhibitions, were Emile Molinier and Gaston Migeon, both curators at the Louvre, and Henry Roujon. Roujon, the Director of Fine Arts, who had earlier sent Bing on his American mission, headed the fine arts displays at the fair. All of these art professionals reported to Jean Claude Georges Leygues (1857-1933), the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. Georges Leygues, known for his "elegant nervousness," had made his reputation by introducing living languages into the French public school system.[31]

Because these government officials were broad-minded, they welcomed impressionist and post-impressionist paintings in the centennial exhibition Marx organized.[32] The centennial exhibition was to become

the only place in the 1900 fair where works by Paul Cézanne, Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir (fig. 17), and their associates, were displayed. Even though impressionism was no longer a new movement by this time, Marx's decision to include it in the centennial exhibition was daring in light of the reactionary stance that the French had taken at previous expositions. At this late date, academic artists such as Jean-Léon Gérôme were still horrified at the inclusion of impressionism in an international exhibition, branding it the "dishonor of French art."[33]

In addition to the French Centennial Exhibition, the "Decennial International Exhibition of Fine Arts, 1890-1900" was also held in the Grand Palais. The decennial exhibition consisted of work done since the 1889 exposition, sub-divided by nationality, and categorized according to media. The French section of the decennial was by far the largest, with over 3,300 works of art in all media, including 1,972 paintings, as well as prints, sculpture, and architecture installed in twenty-three rooms. In contrast, the thirty-one visiting nations plus an international section exhibited fewer than 5,000 works. The United States was to exhibit approximately 550 of these works (342 of which were oils, miniature

paintings, and works on paper) in the international decennial, and would eventually receive approximately 9,133 square feet in total space for all media in the fine arts.[34]

Like the centennial exhibition, the French section of the international decennial was organized under the supervision of Henry Roujon, assisted by Emile Molinier. However, it was Léon Bonnat and other relatively conservative French painters, such as Carolus-Duran and Jean-Paul Laurens, rather than the liberal government officials, who presided over the selection jury, and thus determined the character of the French paintings in the decennial. This jury accepted only the work that met their own rigorous standards. It was thus to be within the context of the conservative decennial exhibition that French art would be compared with that of the rest of the world in 1900.

The selection committee for the French decennial consisted of fourteen jurors each from the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the Société des Artistes Française, the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, and artists without affiliations, and was thus dominated by academicians.[35] All of the usual Salon celebrities, such as William Bouguereau (fig. 18), Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant, Edouard Detaille, and scores of others--about 800

painters in all--were chosen to represent France in the decennial. The most unconventional painters admitted to the decennial, such as Paul Besnard and Henri Martin (fig. 19), showed only tentative impressionist affinities. As such, the French decennial of 1900 was only negligibly more progressive than the one held eleven years earlier.

This conservative approach to the French decennial was criticized by the liberal critic André Mellerio in his pamphlet L'Exposition de 1900 et l'Impressionisme. In sharp contrast to Gérôme's right-wing critique of the centennial exhibition, Mellerio accused the decennial organizers of misrepresenting French art by not including the impressionists. Mellerio considered impressionism to be the crowning achievement of recent French art--that the "exposition should be the pavilion of Impressionism," arguing that omitting it went against the national interest.[36] Without examples of native impressionism, the French display once again looked retrograde in comparison to the exhibitions of the other nations that embraced the style.

The way art was categorized for the 1900 international decennial was likewise deemed outmoded, because it was based on a Salon system designed to accommodate academic art. For this exposition,

Commissioner-General Picard arranged all of the products of the world into eighteen Groups, in which the fine arts constituted Group II. The French classification further broke the Groups into Classes, according to media: Class 7 for paintings (oils, pastels, watercolors, miniatures, and drawings), Class 8 for prints, Class 9 for sculpture, and Class 10 for architecture.

In order to most effectively utilize the small exhibition space they were allotted for paintings--21,593 square feet, with 13,500 square feet of wall space--the Americans would further divide Class 7 into two separate exhibitions: one for oils, watercolors, and pastels, and the other for drawings and miniatures. Each work of art in Class 7 would thus have two exhibition numbers, one in accordance with the French catalogue, and the other from the U.S. catalogue. The oils, pastels, and watercolors were hung in the painting galleries, while the miniatures and drawings were displayed in glass cases in the hallway. Both the American fine arts department and the reviewers concentrated on the painting galleries--in effect, an exhibition within an exhibition--which will be the focus of chapter four.

The American officials and artists thought that Picard's method of categorizing art was obsolete, i.e., there were no provisions in the fine arts Group for

additional media such as stained glass and mural painting. These media, which had become popular during the American Renaissance, were ones in which Americans believed they could excel. While no artist from any country, including France, was allowed to show works in these particular media in the official fine arts section, the French amply represented themselves with murals and stained glass throughout the fair. As the Americans had done earlier in Chicago, the French took advantage of being the host nation.

As early as September 1898, even before the Department of Fine Arts was formed, John La Farge complained to Commissioner Peck that there was no place reserved for American stained glass in the fine arts section, and submitted an application for one hundred feet of wall space for his own work. La Farge, who had been largely responsible for originating the stained glass movement in America two decades earlier, explained:

> The main purpose of my writing to you is one of greater importance than my own special needs. I wish to bring before your most serious consideration the point that an important proportion of American decorative art must consist of stained glass exhibits. The United States have made in this line of art an entirely new departure now recognised [sic.] throughout the entire civilized world, as a specially American product more than equal to any foreign one.[37]

Other artists soon joined La Farge's protest to have

at least some large decorative work displayed at the exposition. Artists' groups, including the Fine Arts Federation of New York, the Society of American Artists, the Municipal Art Society of New York, and the Municipal Art Society of Cincinnati, petitioned to have American mural painters, sculptors, and architects participate in the decoration of the United States pavilion.[38] Because it contained ample space, the national pavilion was the logical choice for such a display. Additional murals and stained glass which would be installed in the Palace of Diversified Industries on the Esplanade des Invalides, will be addressed in chapter three.

Artists working in other media were also perturbed by Picard's limited definition of the fine arts. For example, the photographer, gallery director, and editor Alfred Stieglitz, who fought for the acceptance of photography as a fine art in the 1890s, was asked to organize an exhibition of pictorial photographs from the New York Camera Club. When Stieglitz learned that photography was not to be included in the fine arts grouping in the Grand Palais, but rather with the Liberal Arts in Group III, he refused to have his club participate in the exposition at all.[39] In general, Americans felt that because of such media restrictions, a representative sampling of their accomplishments since

1889 would be impossible. Still, many exhibited their "art" wherever they could.

American Paintings: Selection and Reaction

To select the paintings for the American portion of the international decennial exhibition, the Department of Fine Arts established two National Juries, one based in New York, and the other in Paris. The New York jurors--Cecilia Beaux, Edwin H. Blashfield, John George Brown, William Merritt Chase, Ralph Clarkson, Frederick Dielman, Frank Duveneck, Winslow Homer, Hugh Bolton Jones, John La Farge, George W. Maynard, H. Siddons Mowbray, Edward Simmons, Theodore Steele, Edmund Tarbell, Dwight Tryon, Frederick Porter Vinton, Robert Vonnoh, J. Alden Weir, Charles Woodbury, and Edmund Wuerpel--were all well-established artists making their primary residences in the United States at the time.

Ranging from the academic to the impressionistic, the work of the stateside jurors reflected a variety of styles. Their choices of subject matter were equally diverse. Charles Caffin was correct when he observed that, of the twenty-one jurors, "ten entirely or in part do landscapes or marines."[40] Acknowledging that some

of the jurors overlapped in their specializations, he associated seven with portraiture, seven with figure painting, and three with genre subjects. Caffin approved of the jury's composition, finding "practically every tendency" of turn-of-the-century American painting represented.

A month before the New York jury met in November of 1899, a preliminary selection of work by Western artists was made at the Art Institute of Chicago. This endeavor saved shipping costs and administrative tasks, as only work which passed the initial screening was shipped to the New York jury for final approval. Midwesterners were represented on the Chicago selection committee by Frank Duveneck, Theodore Steele, Edmund Wuerpel, and Ralph Clarkson. Others jurors included the New Yorkers William Merritt Chase (an Indiana native), J.G. Brown, and Robert Vonnoh.[41]

The selection jury that was based in Paris convened in January 1900. Jurors based in Britain included John Singer Sargent, Edwin Austin Abbey and Francis Davis Millet, while John White Alexander, William T. Dannat, Alexander Harrison, Gari Melchers, and Julius Stewart represented Americans living in France.[42] All five Franco-American painters were active in the Parisian art establishment. Among them, only Harrison, who was

primarily a marine painter, did not specialize in rendering the human figure.

As had been the case in New York, the Paris jury of selection was overseen by John Cauldwell. Cauldwell's presence in Paris seems to have been an effort calculated to insure that the expatriates--who were vexed by their meager representation on the selection jury--would not challenge his authority. As early as May 1899, Cauldwell expressed apprehensions regarding the expatriates in a letter to Kurtz, who was in Paris at the time:

> I am quite of the opinion that they [Dannat and the other members of the Society of American Painters in Paris] are making some supreme effort to control the space or obtain [a] separate pavilion, and therefore urge you, confidentially, to keep a sharp look out and unfathom any secret plans that they may have. As you know I am disposed to treat them more than fairly, but we must not for a moment allow them to run this department to the disparagement of the men on this side.[43]

The main target of Cauldwell's suspicions was William T. Dannat, then President of the Society of American Painters in Paris. News from abroad did nothing to allay Cauldwell's anxieties. In a June 1899 letter to Cauldwell, Kurtz relayed:

> Dannat is a very arbitrary man with few friends outside his coterie, but with a tremendous number of enemies and indeed most of the American painters in Paris not members of his Society, [claim] that he is personally inimical to them. [John White] Alexander says that Dannat invariably tries "to run things," that he always tries to assume leadership, and that when he hasn't his way, it means a fight and a lot

of unpleasantness.[44]

In light of the rumors and reports Cauldwell received, it is not surprising that most of the positions in the selection jury were given to stateside artists. In fact, in 1900 the expatriates were outnumbered twenty-one to eight, making a startling contrast to the 1889 selection jury, when the expatriates had a nineteen to twelve advantage. Establishing New York control of the jury would prove to be the key to producing an all-American exhibition, since the stateside jurors tended to select paintings that had been created in the U.S.A., frequently illustrating American people and sites.

In addition to relying on jury submissions, the Department of Fine Arts also actively solicited work. The most prominent American artists were asked merely to supply a list of titles of paintings they were willing to exhibit, and were thus spared the burden of shipping their work to the jury. During the spring of 1899, Cauldwell and Kurtz met with artists in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati, in search of additional paintings.[45]

In May, Kurtz sailed to Europe to procure work directly from the expatriates.[46] However, Kurtz's proposed tour of London, Paris, Munich, and Rome was interrupted in the summer, due to an emergency kidney

operation. In October 1899, Kurtz was replaced as Assistant Director of the Department of Fine Arts by the landscape painter Henry B. Snell (1858-1943), president of the New York Water Color Club. Snell took over Kurtz's assignment, not abroad, but at home by visiting artists' studios in New York, further inhibiting expatriate participation.

Supplementary scouting activities involved requesting work from private collectors and American museums. Paintings acquired for the exhibition that were already in American museums--all executed by resident Americans--include Julian Alden Weir's Noonday Rest (Midday Rest in New England) (1897), Winslow Homer's Fox Hunt (1893), Thomas Eakins's Cello Player (1896), William Chase's Woman [Lady] with the White Shawl (1893), and George de Forest Brush's Mother and Child (1895), from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The Carnegie Museum lent George Inness's Clouded Sun (1891), and Joseph R. De Camp's Woman Drying her Hair (1899), was borrowed from the Cincinnati Museum. Individuals such as J. Montgomery Sears, Mrs. Alfred Corning Clark, Potter Palmer, George Hearn, Andrew Carnegie, Alexander Crombie Humphreys, William T. Havemeyer temporarily parted with work from their own collections in order to support the art department's efforts.[47]

After the list of paintings accepted by the New York jury was released in February 1900, the press was quick to react. Most of the attention focused on who was omitted from the roster, rather than who was listed, for the names of some prominent artists were missing.[48] Some of these painters, such as Dwight Tryon, Edwin Blashfield, and Frank Duveneck served as selection jurors, and so were involved with the exposition in some capacity. However, John Twachtman, as well as Thomas Wilmer Dewing and the expatriate Mary Cassatt (the latter two absent from the 1889 exposition as well), did not participate in the exposition at all. Perhaps Cassatt was simply not interested in exhibiting, as had been the case in 1889.

Charles Caffin wrote that some artists, namely Tryon and Twachtman, were responsible for their own exclusion, but did not explain why.[49] A possible reason for their decision not to exhibit was later revealed in Cauldwell's final report to Congress. In his narrative, Cauldwell disclosed that a number of well-known artists boycotted the exposition because they were insulted by the small gallery space apportioned by the French government for the decennial.[50] With 13,500 square feet of wall space in total for paintings, this space was considerably smaller than the 20,990.3 square feet of wall area

received in 1889. Despite the absence of some celebrities, however, Roger Riordan, writing for the Art Amateur, was pleased with the grouping, declaring, "It is easy to imagine a more satisfactory collection, but it would be found difficult to make a better one."[51]

In order to offset the restrictive exhibition space, Cauldwell's battle plan for Group II was to include only the "best" work produced by American artists since 1889, and to represent all subjects and styles. As a consequence, not many new artists with untested reputations were included. The majority of exhibitors in the American paintings exhibition were artists in their forties.

Born in 1876, Albert Gihon was the youngest artist in Class 7. Gihon was a pupil of Thomas Eakins, the Académie Julian, and the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs. Among the artists whose reputations were to be made in the twentieth century, Alfred Maurer (1868-1932), one of the first Americans to espouse fauvism and cubism, is the most notable. In addition, Maxfield Parrish (1870-1966) exhibited a painting, and William Glackens (1870-1938) was represented by two drawings.

Nonetheless, the well-established painters eclipsed the newcomers, who were largely overlooked by the press. The oldest American painters at the 1900 exposition were

Seymour Joseph Guy and Eastman Johnson, both born in 1824, with Robert Loftin Newman born three years later. John George Brown, John La Farge, Winslow Homer, and James McNeill Whistler all had birthdates in the 1830s. Recently deceased artists who were represented included George Inness, Alexander Wyant, Homer Dodge Martin, Edward Taber, Robert Lamb Picknell, Robert H. Eichelburger, and Theodore Robinson. Curiously, there were only eleven alumni from the 1893 fair in the display of oils, watercolors, and pastels within Class 7, but there were sixty-one from 1889, twenty from 1878, twenty from 1876, and six from 1867.

The United States had the best representation of female artists of all the participating nations in 1900. As Paul Greenhalgh has noted, forty-six American women contributed sixty-five works in the entire Group II decennial (including all paintings, prints, sculpture, and architecture), equalling 20.3% of the American artists. In comparison, French women totalled only 7.2% of the exhibitors from their country, and the average for women artists in the entire international decennial was only 4.6%.[52]

This proportion of women to men reflected the acceptance of feminism in America at the time, relative to Europe. However, Greenhalgh's statistics portray the

American section as being more generous to women artists than it actually was. In reality, most of the American women exhibited small pieces, such as miniature paintings, pastels, and watercolors. Only a handful of them--Cecilia Beaux, Elizabeth Nourse, Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, the eccentric Marquessa Cecilia Smith de Wentworth, and a few others--exhibited oil paintings on canvas which took up more precious gallery space than works on paper or ivory.

In late nineteenth-century America, not many artists had surnames reflecting anything other than an Anglo-Saxon background, which was to change by the time the Panama-Pacific International Exposition opened its gates in 1915. Naturalized American citizens exhibiting paintings in 1900 were relatively few, considering that the exposition fell during a period of mass-immigration. Notable immigrants in the paintings section were J. G. Brown, Henry B. Snell, Albert Sterner, Julian Story, and J. Noble Barlow from England, Robert David Gauley from Ireland, August Franzen from Sweden, Leonard Ochtman from Holland, Eugene Vail from France, and Fanny Grothjean from Germany.

A few other artists, such as John Singer Sargent and Louis Aston Knight, had also been born abroad, but to American citizens. Thus, the majority of exhibitors were

white males of Anglo-Saxon ancestry, who had been reared in the Northeast. The only American of African descent represented at the exposition was Henry O. Tanner, who made his home in Paris.

As the plans for the American decennial materialized, it became evident that the resident Americans had a distinct advantage over their compatriots in Europe. Aside from dominating the selection jury, the stateside artists also exhibited the majority of the 342 works in Class 7 (of which 251 were oils, pastels, and watercolors). The Department of Fine Arts assured that resident Americans would prevail by stipulating that over 70% of the work had to have been produced in the United States.[53] Although he never admitted it specifically, it is evident from his words and actions that Cauldwell strongly favored the resident Americans whom he regarded as liberating American art from French influence.

The overwhelming presence of stateside painters at the 1900 exposition was especially conspicuous because many American artists still lived abroad. Additionally, of the 221 American artists in Class 7, only about fifty had not studied abroad, and only a relatively few had never painted in Europe. In spite of this, approximately 157 of the 221 exhibitors resided full-time in the United States, with the majority of them (about 114) living in

metropolitan New York. Of the remaining painters, it appears that twenty-one hailed from the Boston area, with seven from Philadelphia, and fifteen from other areas in the Northeast. Only ten artists in the Class 7 decennial made their homes in the Midwest.[54]

Determining the exact number of resident and non-resident American artists in the paintings decennial of 1900 is virtually impossible. At the turn of the century, American artists habitually travelled back and forth to Europe. Some artists, for example, are listed with a foreign address in the French catalogue, but with a resident address in the American one. In Cauldwell's final report to Congress of 1901, a smattering of artists are listed with two addresses, one at "home" and another abroad.

Furthermore, artists such as Mary MacMonnies, Francis Davis Millet, and John Singer Sargent, who lived abroad at the time, submitted work through the New York jury rather than through the one in Paris. However, by taking all of the various sources into account, it appears that only about fifty-five of the 221 Americans who participated in the Class 7 decennial exhibition lived in Europe at the time, making the resident Americans a sizable majority in 1900. Of the Americans from Class 7 residing abroad, it seems that two lived in

Holland, ten in England, and forty-three in France.[55]

Aside from European residents, the United States decennial also included artists from Cuba. Although the United States officially denied having its own "colonies" per se in 1900, the recently acquired territories of Cuba and Hawaii exhibited under the nation's colonial grouping in the Trocadéro. In the Trocadéro's Cuban pavilion, which had been granted $25,000 from the Department of War, fourteen Cubans exhibited fourteen paintings, one print, and one sculpture. The official French catalogue lists the Cubans under the United States section; their two awards, granted to Armando Menocal and Leopoldo Romanach, were included in the American total. However, no Cuban artists were listed in either the catalogue or final report published by the United States's art department, perhaps because this exhibit was administered by the Department of War.[56]

The Cubans were virtually ignored by the media. Conversely, the attention the other alleged group of "foreigners"--the expatriates--received was overwhelming, but not necessarily positive. Art writers throughout the nation reproached the expatriates for not being more "American," while they crowned the resident Americans as the new champions of a national art. As an editorial for the Chicago-based Brush and Pencil announced, "the

foreign-American contingent abroad found this time that it did not control the walls, as was too truly the state of affairs in 1889."[57]

Naturally, the expatriates were offended by such assertions. In the weeks following the April 2 opening of the art palaces, the New York Herald, the leading American newspaper published in Paris, printed a series of heated letters and articles concerning the practices of the fine arts department. Opposing the administration's practices was Gari Melchers, a long-term expatriate and member of the Paris selection jury. While Melchers claimed to hold John Cauldwell in esteem, he also thought that "he made a great mistake in making a distinction between [American artists residing in] these two countries," meaning France and the United States, and could not refrain from adding, "I told him so."[58] A letter to the editor signed "Latin Quarter" griped that the expatriates had absolutely no say in the selection of jurors, and that Cauldwell was not an art expert.[59]

A more diplomatic stance was taken by John Beatty, the Director of Fine Arts at the Carnegie Institute, and member of the National Advisory Board, who sent a cablegram to the Herald, warning:

> It would be unfortunate if an accident of this kind should in any measure create a feeling that an American is less of an American because conditions

> over which he has little control force him to reside and work abroad. Some of the most loyal and patriotic Americans I know are painters now residing in Paris, London and other European cities.
>
> Having forced these men to go abroad for recognition, of which they have proved themselves worthy by substantial support without which they could not labor, it would ill become America to deny them any advantages of citizenship. An American is an American just as long as he elects to maintain his loyalty and citizenship. The fact that he paints does not alter the situation.[60]

The "accident" Beatty referred to concerned France's meager allocation of gallery space to the United States's fine arts displays. Competing for restricted space only aggravated the hostility that already existed between the expatriates and resident Americans. Because of their close association with the French art establishment, the expatriates were blamed for the discourteous treatment the Americans believed they were receiving. Indeed, the most nativistic "American Americans" were beginning to regard the "Paris Americans" as being more French than American, which Beatty rightly perceived as being divisive.

By 1900, however, even some seasoned expatriates had grown weary of the strong Euro-centric tenor of late nineteenth-century American art, and sought a balance. As the Paris-based John White Alexander, who served on selection jury, explained:

I was in America last winter and I found that among

> the painters there the feeling was bitter as to the way they had been treated in the Exposition of 1889. I was not here in France at that time, nor was I exhibiting, and so I was not so interested.
>
> The feeling of the American painters in America is undoubtedly that in the Exposition of 1889 the men in Paris got all the honors and all the privileges, and that they 'ran things' to suit themselves. Even if Mr. Cauldwell did discriminate this year in favor of painters on the other side of the Atlantic, I think he would only be "evening things up" a bit and giving them an opportunity they hadn't before.[61]

Despite his expatriate status, Alexander's viewpoint corresponded with those of the Department of Fine Arts. Because of this, it makes sense that Alexander was selected as Cauldwell's envoy to greet Commissioner Peck upon his arrival in Paris during the spring of 1899.[62]

Some stateside artists--such as the old-timers John George Brown and Worthington Whittredge, along with the Paris-trained John La Farge, Childe Hassam, Charles Woodbury, Frederick Porter Vinton, and Frank Benson--claimed they detected no favoritism whatsoever by Cauldwell in their statements to the Herald. As Thomas Waterman Wood, a former president of the National Academy of Design, declared, "Hitherto the Americans resident in Paris have run things to suit themselves. Now, apparently, they have run across a man with backbone in the person of Mr. Cauldwell."[63]

A writer who signed himself "Millionaire Art Patron" shared Wood's sense of retribution, claiming that if an

error was made, at least it was committed for the right reasons, because, "the great strides in American art in the last few years are due almost entirely to the native artists. . . who are beginning to reap their reward."[64] In this series of articles and letters, the New York Herald summed up the growing animosity between the "Paris Americans" and the "American Americans" on the occasion of the 1900 exposition. While the stateside artists resented years of being overshadowed and were trying to "get even," the expatriates were understandably upset by challenges to both their status and their patriotism.

Expatriate painters were not alone in accusing the fine arts department of favoritism, since resident Americans living outside of New York also felt slighted. On 15 April 1900, "Latin Quarter" wrote again to the editor of the New York Herald, conceivably to garner support against the art department, charging that all the decisions regarding the exhibition were made by a New York clique. "Latin Quarter" justifiably asked, "what was done [to select a commissioner and delegates] by the art societies of Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati?"[65] In fact, the New York societies had acted alone in establishing the Department of Fine Arts. The Boston artists, who felt shunned, set up a committee to approach Cauldwell and complain that New Yorkers were

favored.[66] The New Yorker Charles Caffin, nonetheless praised Cauldwell for not bowing to the pressures from regional art centers, but rather, for maintaining his pledge "to make a national, not a sectional exhibition."[67]

Still, it was the expatriates, more than the Americans living outside of New York, who continued to draw attention. Because so many of them had lived abroad for so long and had become assimilated into the European art community, their identity as American artists was no longer taken for granted on either side of the Atlantic. As John Beatty had observed in his cablegram to the Herald, even their patriotism was under suspicion. For these reasons, the fine arts department initially wondered whether they should admit the expatriates into their exhibition at all.

But when Great Britain filed a formal petition against the United States for including the work of American citizens living in England, the Americans responded decisively. Great Britain had protested the fact that John Singer Sargent, Mark Fisher, Edwin A. Abbey, and Francis Davis Millet--all painters who would have enhanced the British exhibition--were officially listed as being in the American section, even though they were established in England.[68]

To challenge the British claim, the American art commission secured a signed statement from each of the artists indicating his desire to exhibit as a United States citizen.[69] Ultimately, the French authorities ruled against the British, and in May 1899 they decreed that artists should exhibit according to their nationality, not their residence.[70] But the fact that the artists' nationalities were questioned at all weakened their status as Americans. The administration could not have welcomed this, as they wanted their artists to be indisputably American in order to promote the idea of a national art.

Sargent himself later explained why he and Abbey had initially assumed they would exhibit in the British section:

> When we decided to exhibit, both Mr. Abbey and myself naturally expected our work would appear in the English section, as our negotiations were conducted through the English commission. We were informed, however, that the French authorities had made out a list of names. . . all of whose works they insisted should be shown in the American section.[71]

To artists with international reputations such as Sargent and Abbey (who had exhibited as Americans in 1889), national labels may have seemed insignificant. However, in order to broadcast the grandeur of American art in 1900, it was essential to include as many celebrities as

possible in the American camp, even if that meant sacrificing some national character. The ultimate measure of success, after all, was winning as many exposition medals as possible.

Organizing the International Awards Jury

Because exposition medals played such a vital role in making reputations of both individual artists and entire countries, the awards jury of 1900 was carefully constructed, not surprisingly, in order to favor the French hosts. The orientation meeting for the Class 7 (paintings) awards jury took place on May 29, 1900, four weeks after the fine arts pavilions opened. As a result of being invited only two days in advance, many visiting nations were unable to be represented at this important meeting where the basic structure of the jury was established.

For the paintings Class, the United States was assigned two jurors--half of their 1889 representation--and one juror each for sculpture, architecture, and prints. Francis Davis Millet and Alexander Harrison were designated as the United States painting jurors in part because they were already in Paris, and could thus attend

the meeting on such short notice.[72]

The composition of the jury had been determined beforehand by the French officials who specified that the president and vice president of the Class Jury were to be of different nationalities, one French and the other "foreign." At the meeting, Jean-Léon Gérôme was elected president of the Class jury for paintings, with the Royal Academician and Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts member Henry William Banks Davis of Great Britain chosen as vice-president. The other officers--all Frenchmen--included Albert-Pierre Dawant, Edouard-Marie Guillame Dubufe, and a Monsieur Larroumet. In total, there were fifty-three Class jurors. No country had more than two jurors other than France, which dominated with thirty regular, and nine supplementary jurors (who voted if there were any absentees).[73]

The Class Jury's mission was to tour each national exhibition as a group and prepare an awards list, which would eventually be submitted to Commissioner General Picard. An award would be made if the majority of the jurors voted favorably upon an artist's entire body of work exhibited, rather than for individual paintings. Awards progressed downward from a grand prize, to a medal of gold, silver, or bronze, to an honorable mention.

Aside from the Class Jury, competitors were also

scrutinized by a Group Jury and a Superior Jury, much as they had been in 1889.[74] The Group Jury, composed of members designated by the Commissioners of the different countries, had the power to revise the awards list prepared by the Class Jury. For paintings, Léon Bonnat served as president with one French, one Dutch, one English, and one Italian vice president. The Superior Jury for painting, presided over by Bouguereau, included the president and vice president of the Group Juries as well as the Commissioners from the represented countries, and had the ultimate power to revise the awards list formulated by the Class Jury.

Americans were disturbed by the way the French academicians administered the international jury. John Cauldwell protested that America's representation on the jury was not in proportion to the number of exhibits nor was it in compliance with the original rules. Millet criticized the lack of organization on the part of the French officials. And Benjamin Woodward was perturbed enough to make an official plea to the French officials for additional American jurors that was rejected.[75]

From space allocations to the composition of the jury, the entire organizational phase of the exposition embodied a series of political struggles. As was customary in international expositions, the host nation

both made and implemented the rules. However, since France asserted its authority so much more forcefully than it had in 1889, the American artists, who had grown accustomed to exhibiting alongside the French, resented their reduced status.

When it mattered most, American artists presented a united front against the French authorities. Even the international disputes between the expatriates and the repatriates, and the regional ones between the New Yorkers and everyone else, were set aside in order to transmit the unified message: that the United States had arrived as Europe's cultural challenger. In order to prove this, the United States commission strove to construct the most imposing, aesthetic, yet also explicitly American presentation possible. Despite numerous obstacles, the fine arts--architecture, sculpture, murals, and paintings--were placed in the service of their country.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. The announcement for the Paris exposition of 1900--which was to be France's fourth exposition on an eleven-year cycle--was made so early in order to insure that Germany would not act upon its own proposal to host an exhibition the same year.

2. Catalogue of Exhibitors in the United States of the International Universal Exposition, Paris 1900 (Paris: Lemercier, 1900), 3. This English language edition was published by the French exposition officials.

3. R. D. Mandell, "The Affair and the Fair: Some Observations on the Closing Stages of the Dreyfus Case," Journal of Modern History 39 (September 1967): 253ff. This article is an excellent summary of international reactions to the Dreyfus affair, and how they affected not only the exposition but also France's declining status in the world at the time.

4. For a detailed summary of these events, see the chronology of the Dreyfus affair in Norman L. Kleeblatt, ed. The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987). It was Lieutenant-Colonel Marie-Georges Picquart who uncovered Esterhazy's wrongdoings in 1896. While Esterhazy faced trial on two occasions, he was acquitted both times, although he was later discharged from the army in 1898 for "habitual misconduct." Picquart, conversely, was imprisoned for divulging military secrets, then freed in June 1899 when the tide of events turned.

5. Emile Zola's first series of articles on Dreyfus appeared in Le Figaro in the fall of 1897. "J'Accuse," which was published in Dreyfussard Georges Clemenceau's L'Aurore on 13 January 1898, provoked anti-semitic riots in the provinces and in Algeria; Zola was soon after tried and sentenced to one year in prison and fined. After Zola was retried and again pronounced guilty in 1898, he fled to England, and returned to France only

when plans were announced for Dreyfus's retrial in June 1899. Interestingly, Zola photographed 286 exterior views of the 1900 exposition which are housed in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. For more on this subject, see Jean Adhémar, "Emile Zola, Photographer," in Van Deren Coke, ed., One Hundred Years of Photographic History: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1975).

6. For an account of this, see Mandell, "The Affair and the Fair," 256.

7. As quoted from the New York Times, in "How the World Views the Dreyfus Judgment," New York Herald, 11 September 1899, 1.

8. According to Mandell, in "The Affair and the Fair," 257-259, petitions to boycott the exposition erupted in the United States, Great Britain, India, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, Argentina, and Turkey.

9. Alfred Picard, Rapport général administratif et technique, vol. 2, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), 247-8. The countries that declined invitations to the exposition were Abyssinia, Andorra, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, the Orange Republic, Siam, and Hawaii (which ended up exhibiting as a U.S. territory).

In addition to external criticism, the French capital was also threatened by its own provinces which had grown weary of Parisian authority. In 1895, for example, the councils of Nancy and Lyons voted to veto the 1900 fair because "it would derange the business of the country and unduly favor the Parisian capitol to the detriment of the other cities. See "A Tide Against a Paris World's Fair," New York Times, 30 August 1895, 5.

1Ø. For these statistics, see Report of the Commissioner-General for the United States to the Universal Exposition Paris, 1900, vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 13-14, 40, and Picard, Rapport général, I: 256. Russia spent second most of the foreign nations, 6,650,000 francs, followed closely by Germany which disbursed 6,250,000 francs.

11. For a brief biography of Handy, see "Major M. P. Handy," The Nineteen Hundred: Paris Exposition Illustrated 6 (January 1898): 4. I am grateful to Emily

Clark of the Chicago Historical Society for supplying further information on Handy. On Handy's successful campaign to publicize and promote the 1893 Chicago fair by disseminating images and text, see Robert W. Rydell, "The Culture of Imperial Abundance: World's Fairs in the Making of American Culture," in Simon J. Bronner, ed., Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 199.

12. Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 15, 35.

13. Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 17.

14. "Paris Exposition of 1900: Handy Talks," New York Times, 26 September 1897, 13.

15. Theodore Stanton, "Notes from Paris," Critic 33 (October 1897): 253.

16. For background information on Peck, see The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago, Minnesota Cities and the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1892); and "Chicagoan, Head to Heels: Ferdinand Wythe Peck Is in All Ways to the Manor Born," (Chicago) Sunday Chronicle, 28 August 1898, n.p. A copy of this article was generously provided by Emily Clark of the Chicago Historical Society.

17. On Peck's involvement with the Chicago Auditorium Building, refer to Charles Gregersen, Dankmar Adler: His Theatres and Auditoriums (Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1990), 65-69.

18. "Artists Recommend J. B. Cauldwell," New-York Tribune, 8 October 1898, 5. Perhaps the first difference of opinion Peck had with the artists was when he claimed that they were premature in recommending a fine arts director, declaring, "such an appointment would be timely a year from now. There is enough time to hang pictures on the wall." As quoted in "Mr. Peck Back from Paris," New York Times, 13 November 1898, 17.

19. Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 69.

20. "Art at the Exposition of 1900," Editorial, New York Times, 22 June 1897, 2.

21. Charles H. Caffin, ed., "Where We Stand Today," The Artist [supplement] 23 (September 1898): 1.

22. "For Art Commissioner to Paris," New-York Tribune, 27 February 1898, 6.

23. "J. B. Cauldwell Recommended," New-York Tribune, 7 August 1898, 6; see also "Art Topics of the Week," Saturday Review of Books and Art, New York Times, 13 August 1898, 535.

24. Charles H. Caffin, ed., The Artist [supplement] 25 (August 1899): xxv.

25. Unfortunately, relatively little is known about Cauldwell, who was a bachelor, or his art collection. His papers, which have not been located in any archival collection, are presumed to have been lost or destroyed. Cauldwell's will, on file at the New York Surrogates Court, reveals that, among other personal items, he possessed a fine collection of antique and modern arms, as well as paintings in oil and watercolor (which are not itemized). From his involvement with the 1900 exposition, it is known that Cauldwell favored contemporary landscapes, and that he purchased Harry Van Der Weyden's The Hillside (unlocated) from the American paintings display.

26. "Dinner to Commissioner Peck," New York Times, 14 January 1899, 2.

27. For Kurtz's correspondence relating to the 1900 exposition, see the newly acquired Papers of Charles Kurtz, c. 1881-1980s, Archives of American Art annex, Washington, D.C., Box 15/34. Kurtz's collection of Glasgow paintings has been recently analyzed in Arleen Pancza-Graham, "Charles Kurtz and the Glasgow School: An American Critical Response," Archives of American Art Journal 31 (number 3, 1991), 14-25. I am indebted to Arleen Pancza-Graham, who is preparing a dissertation on Kurtz, for her assistance. For an overview of Kurtz's collection at the time of his death, see the catalogue to his estate sale held on February 24 and 25, 1910, Catalogue of Oil Paintings, Water Colors, and Drawings of the Late Charles M. Kurtz, Ph.D. (New York: Fifth Avenue Galleries, 1910).

28. Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 516-17.

29. John B. Cauldwell, "Fine Arts Circular No. 2," in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 529. Refer to Appendix B for a list of individuals involved with the Department of Fine Arts, including the National Advisory Board. The Advisory Board consisted primarily of Northeasterners, including four from New York, which gave the other areas of the country limited representation.

3Ø. Deborah Leah Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 109ff, 139-141.

31. Benoit Yvert, ed., Dictionnaire des ministres (1789-1989) (Paris: Perrin, 1990), 520-22.

32. Roger Marx actively courted the impressionists, who were reluctant to participate in an exhibition sponsored by a government which had historically shunned them. For a synopsis of Claude Monet's negotiations with Marx, see Paul Hayes Tucker, Monet in the 90s: The Series Paintings (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1988), 266.

33. Gérôme regarded the acceptance of impressionism as "le déshonneur de l'art français!", as quoted in Pascal Ory, Les expositions universelles de Paris (Paris: Editions Ramsay, 1982), 64.

34. Picard, Rapport général, IV: 58, 125. Foreign nations receiving more space for the fine arts than the United States (with 822 square meters of total space), included Russia with 1,122 square meters, Germany with 1,058 square meters, and Italy with 834 square meters. The total "cimaise," or wall space (on which paintings could be hung) was 2,130 meters for the French decennial but only 3,350 for the thirty-one visiting nations combined.

35. Picard, Rapport général, I: 83.

36. André Mellerio, L'Exposition de 1900 et l'Impressionisme (Paris: H. Floury, Editeur, 1900), 25. According to Mellerio, ". . . il fallait - le palais de l'Impressionisme." Mellerio, a champion of the minor media revolution which undermined academicism, was the author of the essay "La lithographie originale en couleurs," of 1898. This essay is translated in English by Margaret Needham in Philip Dennis Cate and Sinclair Hamilton Hitchings, The Color Revolution: Color

Lithography in France, 1890-1900 (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1978).

37. John La Farge to Ferdinand Peck, 2 September 1898, in "Records of the Commission Representing the United States at the Paris Universal Exposition," Record Group 43, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C., E 505, folder 140 (hereafter abbreviated as NARA, RG 43).

38. Edward Hamilton Bell to Peck, 27 April 1899; Douglas Volk to Peck, 8 May 1899, and Paul Blackmar to Charles Coolidge, 6 May 1899, all in NARA, RG 43, E 505, folder 140.

39. Alfred Stieglitz, Letter, "Why American Pictorial Work is Absent from the Paris Exhibition," The Amateur Photographer 32 (5 July 1900): 44.

40. Charles H. Caffin, ed., "The American Survey," The Artist [supplement] 26 (October 1899): xlii.

41. Presumably, Chase's plans changed, as Henry B. Snell substituted for him in Chicago. Only forty six paintings were submitted to the Western jury, of which eighteen were accepted. The artists apparently "thought their chances too small to even make any trial." See "Art Notes," Brush and Pencil 5 (November 1898): 93.

42. "American Art at Paris: Director Cauldwell Names the Exposition Committee," New York Times, 13 January 1900, 7.

43. John B. Cauldwell to Charles M. Kurtz, 22 May 1899, Kurtz Papers.

44. Draft of a letter dictated by Charles M. Kurtz to John B. Cauldwell, June 1899, Kurtz Papers.

45. For the general itinerary, see "Art at the Paris Exposition," New York Tribune, II, 5 March 1899, 3. The Cincinnati tour is mentioned in "American Art in Paris: Plans of the Commission for the Exposition of 1900," New York Times, 6 April 1899, 1. This tour is described in correspondence in the Kurtz Papers.

46. For Kurtz's intended travel plans, see "Abroad on an Art Mission," New-York Tribune, III, 7 May 1899, 2. See also Kurtz's more detailed itinerary, for 1 June

through 1 September, in the Kurtz Papers.

47. See Harrison Morris's tribute to the lenders to the Paris exposition in, "Growth and Needs of American Art," The Independent (6 May 1901): 1118-1123, in Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Records, Archives of American Art, P 53, frames 486-88.

48. For an account of the New York jury meeting see "Art Works for the Paris Fair," New-York Tribune, 11 November 1899, 10. A list of the 168 oils, watercolors, and pastels selected by the New York jury is printed in "Our Art in Paris," The Mail and Express, 27 February, 1900, 7. Analyses of this list appear in "Pictures for Paris," New York Times, 4 March 1900, 22; and "American Art at Paris," Brush and Pencil 6 (June 1900): 127-33.

49. Charles H. Caffin, "Our Exhibit at the Paris Exposition," Artist [supplement] 28 (July 1900): ix.

50. Cauldwell, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 515.

51. Roger Riordan, "The Paris Exposition. I - Some American Exhibits," Art Amateur 42 (April 1900): 102.

52. Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Expositions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 191-3.

53. "American Art at Paris," New York Times, 28 February 1900, 6.

54. Approximately 123 of the 174 artists whose oils, watercolors, and pastels were hung in the paintings galleries within Class 7 submitted their work through the stateside jury. About half of these painters were based in the metropolitan New York region. The remainder--with the exception of only eight Midwesterners--lived in other areas in the Northeast.

55. For the painters' addresses as they were listed in the Official Illustrated Catalogue, see Appendix A.

56. Catalogue illustré officiel de l'Exposition décennale des Beaux-Arts, 1889 à 1900 (Paris, 1900: repr. New York: Garland Press, 1981); for background on the U.S. administration of the Cuban exhibits, see Report of

the Commissioner-General, I: 249f.

57. [Charles Francis Browne], "The Editor," Brush and Pencil 6 (April 1900): 96.

58. "American Artists' Exhibits," New York Herald, 8 April 1900, 1. I am grateful to Joanna D. Catron of Belmont, The Gari Melchers Memorial Gallery, for providing me with a copy of this article.

59. "Latin Quarter," Letter, "Art at the Exhibition," New York Herald, 7 April 1900, 4. This byline is most likely a reference to the periodical the Quartier Latin, which was the journal of the American Art Association of Paris at the time.

6Ø. John W. Beatty, Letter, "American Artists," New York Herald, 6 April 1900, 3.

61. "American Art at the Exposition," New York Herald, 1 April 1900, 1. I am deeply indebted to Sarah J. Moore, who went to great lengths to copy this article for me at the Versailles annex of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

62. Cauldwell to Peck, 22 April 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 513.

63. "American Artists at the Exposition," New York Herald, 4 April 1900, 3.

64. "Millionaire Art Patron," Letter, "Better to Err on the Right Side," New York Herald, 7 April 1900, 4.

65. "Latin Quarter," Letter, "American Art in Paris," New York Herald, 15 April 1900, 4.

66. References to the Boston protests appear in American Architect and Building News 65 (12 August 1899): 17-18, and in "Say No Favoritism Will be Shown," New York Tribune, 6 July 1899, 8.

67. Charles H. Caffin, "The Advisory Board and Fine Arts Juries for the Paris Exposition," The Artist [supplement] 26 (October 1899): xliii.

68. See the reference to the Daily Express article reasoning that since Sargent and Abbey are Royal Academicians, they should exhibit with the British, in

James B. Campbell, Campbell's Illustrated History of the Paris International Exposition Universelle of 1900 (Chicago: Chicago and Omaha Printing Company, 1900), 144.

69. Cauldwell to Woodward, 21 February 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 505, folder 140, claiming that Sargent, Fisher, Abbey and Millet have all signed papers "which indicates their desire to exhibit with us."

70. Woodward to Cauldwell, 4 May 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 505, folder 140. In this letter, Woodward answered Cauldwell's question regarding the status of the expatriates in France: "I have received the ruling of the French Authorities to the effect that American artists having produced works of art in France will be allowed to exhibit said works in the American Section. In other words, the nationality of the artist decides the question of space where he exhibits."

71. John Singer Sargent, as quoted from The London Mail in "The Note Book," The Art Amateur 43 (July 1900), 32.

72. John B. Cauldwell, "Report of the Department of Fine Arts," in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 53. The other Americans on the Class jury for the fine arts were John White Alexander for prints, Paul Bartlett for sculpture, and Thomas Hastings for architecture. Refer to Appendix B.

73. F. D. Millet, "Paintings, Cartoons, Drawings, (Class 7)," in Report of the Commissioner-General, V: 149.

74. Picard, Rapport général, pièces annexes, 71-3.

75. Cauldwell, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 522; Delaunay-Belleville to Woodward, 9 May 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 508; Millet, in Report of the Commissioner-General, V: 149.

CHAPTER III

"'ROUND THE EXPOSITION": CREATING A NATIONAL PRESENCE IN THE "CITY OF LIGHT"

On April 14, the exposition of 1900--the largest such event measured in terms of attendance until the New York World's Fair of 1964--opened with elaborate festivities. On that sunny spring day, French President Emile Loubet officially inaugurated the exposition in the Salle des Fêtes within the Galerie des Machines. Light radiated through the assembly hall's 130-foot high cupola of stained glass. The predominantly red interior was decorated with tapestries, as well as with murals by Flameng, Cormon, Maignan, and Rochegrosse (fig. 20). Yet, while the completion of the Salle des Fêtes had been rushed in order to receive the 50,860,801 visitors who would eventually pass through the gates, the exposition as a whole was not completed until the end of June.[1]

The 1900 exposition occupied 336 acres in four major

divisions within Paris (figs. 21 and 22). This made it 96 acres larger than the 1889 exposition, but only about half the size of the Chicago fair. The main entrance to the exposition on the Place de la Concorde was distinguished by René Binet's Porte Monumentale. On top of this Moorish-styled entryway stood Gabriel Jean Paul Moreau Vauthier's fifteen-foot high sculpture La Parisienne, dressed in the latest creation by the house of Paquin (fig. 23).[2]

Upon entering the grounds through the Port Monumentale travelling west, a fairgoer would immediately encounter the two permanent structures built for the exposition, the Grand Palais and the Petit Palais, which accommodated the fine arts. To the left of the art palaces, the elaborately sculpted and gilded Pont Alexandre III, erected in honor of France's 1893 Dual Alliance with Russia, linked the banks of the Seine (fig. 24).

On the left bank, the Pont Alexandre III led into the Esplanade des Invalides, the second major division of the site, which housed the Palace of Diversified Industries. Between the Invalides and the Pont de l'Alma, national pavilions representing countries from around the world stood on the Quai des Nations. Further westward, the Champ de Mars section showcased exhibits of

machinery, electricity, mining, textiles, education, and agriculture. Directly across the Seine from the Champ de Mars, the Trocadéro (the fourth section of the main fairgrounds), contained colonial exhibitions featuring real "natives" on display. Additional exhibition space for machinery and agriculture was constructed in the Vincennes annex just east of the city, where the second modern Olympics were hosted.

Interspersed throughout the main fairgrounds in the center of Paris were tantalizing sideshows such as the Maison du Rire and the reconstructed village of "Old Paris." Other popular amusements included the moving sidewalk (fig. 25) and Ferris wheel, which had both been sensations seven years earlier in Chicago.

But the real spectacle of the fair was electricity--exploited as a symbol of Progress--which was generated from the all-glass Palais d'Electricité on the Champ de Mars (fig. 26).[3] Directly in front of this structure of 5,000 multicolored lights was the Château d'Eau, incorporating a series of cascading fountains reflecting light from both above and below. Other dramatic uses of electricity included the colored lights on the new bridge and the 7,000 electric lamps illuminating the eleven-year-old Eiffel Tower, also on the Champ de Mars (fig. 27). At night especially, the fair lived up to its two

most common epithets: the City of Light, and the Fairie City.

While many American visitors found the exposition grounds to be exhilarating and modern, others, such as the art critic Charles Caffin, considered the fair to be "bewildering, bizarre, and exasperatingly inartistic," declaring that the French themselves christened it a "pastry cook's nightmare."[4] It was especially in comparison with the Chicago exposition, which had been a testament to American Renaissance refinement and overall unity, that Caffin and other American critics self-righteously proclaimed the Paris fairgrounds to be ugly and nondescript.[5] To them, it appeared that Paris, the most aesthetic of cities, had forsaken good taste.

As had been the case in Chicago, most of the pavilions were Beaux-Arts concoctions, seemingly inconsistent with the exposition's commitment to Progress. However, some new styles of architecture were to be found on the fairgrounds. Especially modern in terms of its clean lines was Eliel Saarinen's Finnish pavilion, made of indigenous wood. But the most prevalent new trend at the exposition was art nouveau. Art nouveau elements were most conspicuous in the Pavilion Bleu restaurant with its whiplash curves (fig. 28).

Additionally, in the Esplanade des Invalides section stood the art nouveau pavilions of the decorative arts dealer Siegfried Bing and the flamboyant American star of art nouveau performance, Lole Fuller. Fuller's serpentine theater, designed by Henri Sauvage, was crowned by a statue of the dancer by Pierre Roche. When Fuller performed, swinging her diaphanous veils, colored light filtered through the stained glass roof into the interior of the pavilion, becoming part of her act (fig. 29). The renowned sculptor Auguste Rodin and the designer Hector Guimard also had private pavilions nearby. Extending beyond the fairgrounds were Guimard's graceful art nouveau entrances to the Paris métro.

Unlike the 1889 fair, when technology was emphasized in structures such as the Eiffel Tower, art nouveau design at the 1900 exposition focused on the organic and hand-wrought. This coincided with the then-current tendencies of the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs.[6] The Union Centrale, which was steered by government officials--such as Roger Marx, Gaston Migeon, and Emile Molinier, who had organized the centennial and decennial exhibitions--fostered nostalgia for an earlier, less industrialized, and more economically successful France.

The aim of the Union Centrale was to resurrect past forms in order to generate a modern style. By rekindling

an interest in eighteenth-century arts and crafts, this organization fueled a rococo revival, which became an important element of French art nouveau of the 1890s. By advancing the decorative arts, the officials also aimed to abolish the Davidian hierarchy of the fine arts which had placed painting at the top and completely dismissed the utilitarian crafts.[7]

The Union Centrale's historical bent was seemingly inconsistent with the primary purpose of a universal exposition: to increase commerce by showcasing technology and catering to the public entertainment (which in turn fostered consumerism). However, the luxury handicrafts that they promoted--objects such as china, glassware, and tapestries--were made to be sold abroad, and thus to boost international trade. Ironically, these were the very items that had been targeted as being "frivolous" by the American lawmakers who framed the Dingley Tariff of 1897. As previously mentioned in chapter one, this 20% tax discouraged what would have been an otherwise enthusiastic American market for these goods.

Like the Union Centrale officials, the organizers of the nineteenth-century world's fairs tended to cloak commercial ambitions under the rubric of culture by envisioning themselves as educators. For example, Commissioner-General Alfred Picard's system of

classification for the 1900 exposition began with Education (Group I). Education was immediately followed by the Fine Arts in Group II. The Fine Arts were, in turn, succeeded by the Groups devoted to science, technology, and other explicitly commercial pursuits. In other words, the fine arts followed education as being the least commercial of human activities, despite their importance to the French economy.

Since art was considered to be a "civilizing agent," it played a vital role in the didactic sectors of the expositions, and was physically separated from other human activities in its own division on the right bank. However, unlike literature or music, art lent itself to being displayed, and was also a principal commodity for France. Thus, to the French at least, exhibiting the fine arts along with utilitarian products at the expositions did not seem altogether peculiar, as all objects of manufacture, whether handwrought or machine-made, could be bought and sold.

Syzygy, the pairing of opposites--between art and technology, pure knowledge and commerce, and the old with the new--became a leitmotif of this turn-of-the-century exposition. In his essay "The Dynamo and the Virgin," which had been inspired by a visit to the 1900 exposition, the American historian Henry Adams was struck

by the contrast between human nature--the Virgin--and of the latest technology--the dynamos.[8]

Technology--primarily the generators that astonished Adams, as well as wireless communication and radioactivity--drew inquisitive crowds. However, images of women dominated the fairgrounds. Towering female forms capped the Port Monumentale, the Palais d'Electricité, the United States Pavilion, and the Loïe Fuller theater, to name a few, and paintings of women inundated the fine arts galleries. As Adams realized, the year 1900--with its mystical aura--would be remembered as an historical line of demarkation. Thus, the contrast between the old and the new, the natural and the man-made, seemed all the more poignant.

America in Paris: Architecture and Sculpture

American presence at the 1900 exposition conforms to Adams's perceptions, as reflecting both the old and the new. While the fine and decorative arts exhibitions expressed time-honored sentiments, the technological displays were the epitome of modernity. In areas where it would be advantageous, Yankee ingenuity was emphasized

to outdo the "older," less automated European nations. Americans believed that being on the leading edge of technology would be their key to a bright future, since such advancements exemplified Progress.

The 6,500 American exhibitors at the 1900 exposition occupied 179,966 square feet of space, not including the national pavilion. Although this was not the largest allocation of space, it was used to the utmost advantage. As a result of both steadfast negotiations and a certain degree of opportunism, the United States succeeded in being better represented at the exposition than any other visiting nation.

At the fair, the Americans erected ten special pavilions (bested only by Great Britain which had twelve), including those devoted to the U.S. army and navy, large machinery, and bicycles. Even though most reviewers found the German displays to be slightly more imposing, they were very impressed by the Americans' business-like approach of demonstrating their inventions in front of the fairgoers.[9] For example, Americans at the exposition operated steam engines, a working weather bureau, and a printing press, which published a special Paris exposition edition of the New York Times.[10]

However, the American contingent to the exposition was also careful not to construct an image of the United

States as a mere technological upstart. Rather, it attempted to package the nation as being a worthy inheritor of Western civilization. In order to establish a legitimate lineage, the exposition officials turned to the past, using both classical and colonial revival architecture to illustrate their intentions.

Nowhere was this better illustrated than in the United States pavilion since the American officials were deeply concerned about what type of message the structure would convey about their country and its people. After all, the pavilion, situated along the Quai des Nations, was the single greatest representative of the United States at the fair. Thus, selecting the pavilion's architectural style and features became a purposeful task.

The designs submitted to Commissioner Peck for the competition for the United States pavilion--by the firms of Holabird & Roche, Wilson & Marshall, and Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge--were all executed in the American colonial style. In their cover letter, the Shepley firm reasoned that the colonial style was the most suitable one for the pavilion, as it was:

> . . . the characteristic style of our country--one that has survived the test of time, and has not proven itself to be ephemeral; a style characteristic of the South as well as the North, and one that is dignified and impressive. . . .[11]

The colonial revival, which had emerged as a patriotic response to the United States centennial, was well represented at the 1893 Chicago fair--when Daniel Burnham recommended it for the state pavilions--and lingered until the Depression of the 1930s.[12] As a result of their Beaux-Arts training, American architects had the ability to imitate any era they desired. In this way, the colonial is one among many nineteenth-century architectural revivals. In terms of its eighteenth-century origin, as well as its nationalistic and nostalgic connotations, the colonial revival paralleled the rococo revival in France.

At the 1900 exposition, John Getz, the Chief of Decoration for the United States commission (who also happened to be Siegfried Bing's New York agent), was to apply colonial motifs throughout the displays. In order to portray America as having an authentic and unique cultural past, Getz employed the California "mission style" in the agricultural section, and "modern colonial" in the divisions of chemistry and textiles (fig. 30).[13]

However, by 1900, even though the colonial revival was viewed as being genuinely American, its association with a time of political and economic submission to Europe, prior to American independence, was probably one that the commission wanted to avoid. Constructing a

colonial style national pavilion on a European site would have contradicted the commission's objective to present the United States as an autonomous world power.

The only architectural "style" available at the time that would have asserted American independence from Europe was the skyscraper. Even a modestly proportioned tall building would have communicated its national character, as the skyscraper was an American invention. Moreover, skyscrapers had become embodiments of American technological prowess, corporate power, and modernity--concepts that both coincided with the goals of the commission and intimidated the Europeans. Because skyscrapers originated in the New World less than two decades before the exposition as products of the post-Civil War expansion, they also symbolized the myth of the western progression of Empire.[14]

Americans had reason to assume that their new type of architecture would be welcomed at the exhibition because it had been already endorsed by the French art officials. In his 1896 report to Henry Roujon, Siegfried Bing extolled American skyscrapers. Additionally, the Union Centrale recently acquired designs from Louis Sullivan, who had designed skyscrapers among other building types, for their Musée des Arts Décoratifs.[15] Upon hearing that Louis Sullivan "would feel very anxious

of obtaining to erect the building for the American section in Paris," French officials from the Chicago fair, along with members of the Union Centrale, petitioned Peck to give the commission to Sullivan (who had earlier worked for Peck on the Chicago Auditorium Building), but to no avail.[16]

It was not that skyscrapers or Sullivanesque ornamentation were shunned in the American exhibition as iconoclastic, the way impressionism had been slighted in the French sections. Designs for tall office buildings, including Ernest Flagg's Singer Building, were included in the Group II architectural exhibition in the Grand Palais (fig. 31). John Getz even used a "Sullivanesque" design to house the American educational exhibits. However, even with the French recommendations, the American commissioners did not consider a skyscraper to be suitable for the national pavilion. Apparently, they were still not convinced that skyscrapers could project the impression of culture, tradition, and democracy that they wanted to communicate to the Europeans.

Instead, the commissioners decided that the architectural style which would best express a national character was the classical. Neoclassicism had been the style of early Federal government buildings, and so it embodied both an historical and nationalistic relevance.

Furthermore, since it originated in Greece, classicism was an appropriate style with which to convey the democratic ideals and self-proclaimed cultural lineage of the United States. Classicism's link with the Roman empire would give the pavilion an aura of imperial power that satisfied the United States commission in 1900, reflecting America's foray into colonialism during the Spanish-American War.

Of the competitors for the commission, only Richard Howland Hunt submitted a design similar to his father's classical Administration building in the Columbian Exposition. Although Hunt's Roman revival concept prevailed, the contract for the pavilion was given to another architect. In December 1898, the commission was awarded to Charles Coolidge (1858-1936), who worked on it pro bono. Coolidge, a protégé of Henry Hobson Richardson, had studied at both Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and was a partner in the Boston firm Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge. The Frenchman Georges Morin-Goustiaux was hired as a Consulting Architect to be available on the site. Morin-Gostiaux would be instrumental in getting through red tape and persuading the French construction workers to do their jobs. George B. Post, a New Yorker known for his engineering innovations, and a veteran of the Chicago

fair, served as the pavilion's Consulting Architect.

The 160' high, domed, central plan pavilion was an example of Beaux-Arts eclecticism (fig. 32). According to Coolidge, the building was "a reproduction or modification, if possible, of the Administration Building at the Worlds Fair in Chicago. . . ," describing it as:

> A structure in the classical style, with pilasters similar to the White House, surmounted with a dome and cupola and supplemented in front with a high portico. . . .[17]

The pavilion's resemblance to the United States Capitol was also striking, and added an air of authority. Although the structure was made of the temporary material "staff"--(a plaster, fiber, and straw mixture popular for exposition buildings)--it was ornamented with elaborate decorative moldings, including green laurel leaves on the dome, thus continuing the legacy of Chicago's White City.

While some critics bragged that the American pavilion looked austere and dignified in the circus-like atmosphere of the fairgrounds, others were disappointed. Never prone to understatement, Charles Caffin voiced his disapproval regarding the choice of styles:

> The United States pavilion, it is sad to admit, is neither flesh, fowl, nor good red herring. Clearly it should have represented the Colonial style; it purports to be classical, but exteriorly looks like a toy, and the inside suggests the waiting room and offices of a railroad terminus.[18]

Royal Cortissoz was even more critical of the national

pavilion, griping, "from top to bottom the outside speaks of a tenth rate Power and the inside recalls a cheap hotel."[19] European reviewers in particular could not fathom how classical forms could bespeak American democracy, and regarded the pavilion as proof of the United States's lingering dependence upon Europe.

Following the recommendation of the preeminent American sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the approval of Coolidge, Peck commissioned A. Phimister Proctor (1862-1950) to design a Victory quadriga for the top of the pavilion's sixty-five foot high portico (fig. 33).[20] Proctor, a native of Ontario who was raised in Denver, had been educated mostly in New York, spending just a year in Paris. For the Chicago exposition, Proctor had sculpted animals in staff. Because he had also been responsible for the horses in Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Logan and Sherman monuments, Proctor had accumulated considerable experience with large scale animal subjects.

Proctor's gilded quadriga for the pavilion symbolized the winged Goddess of Victory in her triumphal chariot drawn by four horses and accompanied by two running boys. This grouping was intended to be symbolic of the conquest, democracy, energy, and youth of the United States. Compositionally, it was was reminiscent

of Daniel Chester French and Edward Clark Potter's Columbus quadriga for the peristyle at the 1893 fair. Proctor's full-scale production was assisted by three European sculptors as well as by the Americans Amory C. Simons, Edmund Quinn, and Carolyn Peddle (Carolyn Peddle Ball).[21]

John Flanagan (1865-1952), who was living in Paris at the time, received the commission to sculpt a 12' high eagle in gilded zinc for the pinnacle of the building, which, like the quadriga, contrasted brilliantly with the white staff. Flanagan's additional eagles in plaster graced the pavilion's four corners (fig. 34). The presence of the national bird suggested the independence, courage, and vision of the United States. For the central arch, plaster spandrils were molded by Hermon MacNeil (1866-1947), a specialist in American Indian themes, who had been trained both at home and in Paris before spending several years in Rome.[22]

For the two niches flanking the main portico, Clara Hill (d. 1935) sculpted portrait busts of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant, further identifying the pavilion with the United States. Hill's portrait busts symbolize the victory of the North, and therefore, of industry, after the Civil War. An otherwise obscure sculptor, Hill received the coveted assignment through her father's

connections in the Treasury Department. The $800 for this last-minute addition was deducted from the $6,000 originally intended for Proctor's quadriga.[23]

The sculptural highlight of the pavilion's exterior, however, was a plaster replica of Daniel Chester French's (1850-1931) equestrian Washington, dominating the main entrance (figs. 32 and 35). Standing on a McKim, Mead & White pedestal of Tennessee marble, the horse was modelled by Potter. The American commission to the fair purchased the plaster version of Washington from the Daughters of the American Revolution, which had ordered the original bronze. The D.A.R.--itself a colonial revival group formed in the 1890s--raised funds for French's bronze sculpture, which it bequeathed to France on behalf of all American women. The $5,000 the D.A.R. received from the American commission for the plaster was applied to their own fund for the sculpture. French did not profit at all by this transaction, claiming that he was, "not only willing but desirous" to be associated with the national pavilion.[24]

In French's words, Washington is "supposed to be taking command of the army at Cambridge and dedicating his sword to the service of his country."[25] With its careful attention to anatomical detail, this monumental equestrian work typifies French's Beaux-Arts style.

Iconographically, this work conforms to the building's eighteenth-century architectural theme. As the venerated "father" of the United States, Washington personified Enlightenment ideals about democracy. Thus, it was thematically, rather than stylistically, that the pavilion best communicated its Americanness.

On 3 July 1900, the anniversary of this event, the D.A.R. statue was unveiled in Paris near the fairgrounds, in the Place d'Iéna. John Philip Sousa's band played for the Washington celebration, as well as on the following day, when Paul Bartlett's (1865-1925) plaster replica of Lafayette was unveiled in the Place du Carousel (fig. 36). On this Independence Day, Americans overran Paris. The drapeau Américain flew everywhere. One huge flag was draped over the statue; others were worn on lapels or swung over the boulevards and from the boats on the Seine, with a forty-eight-foot long American flag suspended from the top of the Eiffel Tower. For the occasion, John Getz also decorated the national pavilion with additional flags and gave it extra illumination.[26]

Lafayette was donated to France by the school children of America to honor the French hero of the American Revolution, whose grave in the cemetery of the convent of the Petit Picpus in Paris had been marked with only by a plain granite tombstone.[27] In part, the

statue functioned as a repayment for Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi's colossal Liberty in New York harbor. But it was more than that.

As a diplomatic gesture, the gift of Lafayette aimed to alleviate Franco-American tensions surrounding the Spanish-American and trade wars. One French reviewer reasoned that, because of its new generosity as evidenced by the Lafayette gift, America could no longer be considered a British colony, adding, "the Spanish-American War cannot trouble our relations."[28] Above all, the statue was intended to strengthen the bond between the two republics by recognizing, in a very public way, America's debt to France for helping it gain independence from Great Britain.

To raise the half a million dollars required for the project, a nation-wide Lafayette Commission was formed under the direction of Commissioner Peck. The anniversary of the fall of Yorktown--19 October 1898--was designated as Lafayette Day. Paul Bartlett (1865-1925) was selected to sculpt Lafayette by a committee comprising the architect George Post, John La Farge, and the sculptor John Quincy Adams Ward. A controversy ensued, as other sculptors were infuriated that no competition was held for this quarter-of-a-million-dollar commission.[29]

In December 1898, France accepted the gift for the Louvre in a meeting attended by Ambassador Cambon, Henry Roujon, Georges Leygues, and Benjamin Woodward. In 1908, the bronze original of Lafayette, with an American granite base by Thomas Hastings, was placed in the Court of the Louvre.[30] Woodward's procurement of this prime location at the Louvre, once the royal residence and now the emotional center of the French art establishment--thus a diplomatic as well as an artistic coup--helped to root Americans and their art in Paris.

The United States commission to the exposition considered Lafayette, a self-conscious tribute to the Italian Renaissance master Andrea del Verrocchio's Colleoni monument (begun 1481; Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice), to be the most important American presence in Paris at the time of the fair. In this work, Bartlett tried to capture the general's French heritage, by, as he phrased it, "expressing the richness of his costume, his handsome trappings and the elaborately plaited paine [sic.] and tail of his horse."[31] In its homage to the quattrocento and with its allusions of grandeur, Lafayette was a demonstration of American Renaissance ideology.

In 1889, Bartlett had been the only American sculptor to receive a medal at the exposition, but in

1900, Americans were to be outranked only by the French themselves in the sculpture class.[32] An impressive twenty-three of the thirty-one American exhibitors won awards, with French, Frederick MacMonnies, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens each earning a grand prize. Eleven of the seventy American entries for sculpture in Group II were installed on the ground floor of the Grand Palais, dominated by a plaster of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's (1848-1907) General Sherman. (fig. 37).[33] Like French's Washington and Proctor's Lafayette, General Sherman was a larger than life-sized equestrian subject from American history. The image of this Civil War hero, led by the winded goddess of Victory, conveys a sensation of grandeur and immortality. By combining the real features of Sherman and the ideal ones of the goddess, this work exemplifies Beaux-Arts sculpture.

Additional sculptures and reliefs were exhibited on the second floor of the Grand Palais, in display cases in the hallway and in the painting galleries (see figs. 55-62, and 64). Outside of the Fine Arts grouping, small works in bronze by Frederic Remington, Karl Bitter, Bessie Potter Vonnoh, and others, were also found in the Palace of Diversified Industries (fig. 38)[34].

More visible to the public, however, were the monumental sculptures, included in the official Fine Arts

grouping, but placed on the exposition grounds rather than inside the Grand Palais. Proctor's two American Pumas (Prospect Park, Brooklyn) stood guard at the Porte Monumentale entrance, with Douglas Tilden's Football Players nearby (fig. 39). Situated near the Grand Palais were MacMonnies' Army and Navy (Prospect Park, Brooklyn) and George Grey Barnard's Michelangelesque The God Pan (Columbia University), which had been lent by the estate of Alexander Corning Clark (fig. 40).

MacMonnies sent a mixed iconographic message to the fair by also exhibiting non-American subjects, thereby displaying his Beaux-Arts' training that enabled him to execute a wide range of subjects: Sir Henry Vane (Boston Public Library), commemorating a Massachusetts colonial governor, was positioned at the right of the Petit Palais entrance, while the mythological Venus and Adonis (Brookgreen Gardens, Murrells Inlet, South Carolina) appeared on the left. Cyrus Dallin's equestrian Medicine Man also stood in a prime location, between the Petit Palais and the Pont Alexandre III (fig 41).

The undeniably "American" subjects by Dallin, Tilden, Proctor, and MacMonnies were placed in well-travelled areas, amplifying the national presence on the fairgrounds. In terms of subject matter, these works broke away from traditional Beaux-Arts themes. Even

Barnard's Pan, although classical in subject, abandoned academic correctness with a personal and expressive execution that went beyond the traditionally historical or mythological Beaux-Arts subjects. Many of these monumental sculptures had already been slated for public parks. As such, they belonged to the American City Beautiful movement (c.1900-1910) which attempted to elevate the standards of public living through art and architecture.[35]

Decorative Arts and Interior Installations

The outdoor sculptures were highly visible at the exposition. However, since they were scattered throughout the fairgrounds, their nationalistic implications were diluted. Ensembles of architecture, sculpture, and painting had become important during the American Renaissance, as was amply demonstrated at the Chicago fair. However, the only possible place in the exposition of 1900 where Americans had control of a space both large and visible enough to favor such an assemblage was in the national pavilion. For this reason, in spite of whatever shortcomings he believed the building had, Roger Riordan asserted that the pavilion would "probably

be taken as the chief artistic exhibit of this country."[36]

The United States pavilion functioned as a "comfortable American club," a national oasis in the middle of Paris, and a place to rest weary feet. The interior of the pavilion contained a post office, administrative offices, rooms for California, Massachusetts, and New York--states which had paid for the privilege--lounges, a restaurant, and featured an Otis elevator, a novelty in Paris at the time.[37] A pontoon was built on the adjoining pier so that Americans would not have to touch French soil when travelling by boat from the American exhibits in the Vincennes Annex to the national pavilion, as both sites had been officially transferred to the United States for the exposition. In essence, a "little America" had been created in the middle of Paris to accommodate the multitude of U.S. visitors.

Aside from providing comfort to United States citizens, the pavilion served as an unofficial annex for the fine and decorative arts. On 20 June 1899, Charles Coolidge, John Cauldwell, and George Post had approached Peck for permission to organize a committee to nominate artists for the interior decorations. They justified their request for an appropriation of $30,000 to $50,000,

by arguing that "the design already accepted for the National Pavilion is of such a monumental character that proper mural decorations are essential to its success."[38]

Peck, replying that the funds for the pavilion had already been exhausted, nonetheless pledged $10,000 for decorations the very same day. However, in his letter dated 6 July naming his appointees to the decorations committee, the commissioner diluted his generosity, stipulating that the committee would have to raise an additional $20,000 in order for his offer to be valid.[39]

The decorations committee for the national pavilion was headed by Post, who was assisted by Coolidge and Cauldwell. Comprising the other nine members were the artists and art professionals Charles Hutchinson, Howard Russell Butler, John La Farge, Daniel Chester French, Charles McKim, Halsey Ives, Henry Van Brunt, Robert Swain Peabody, and the art-collecting capitalist Henry Walters.

Citing the Dreyfus affair as his "sufficient excuse," Peck abandoned his commitment altogether, in a letter dated 14 September, 1899. Written just five days after the Rennes verdict, Peck's letter reasoned that the scandal might prevent the committee from raising money. He then suggested that the committee abandon their

"expensive" project, urging them to replace the proposed murals with photomechanical reproductions of the frieze in the dome of the United States Capitol.[40]

Peck's behavior infuriated the decorations committee so much that Butler was ready to abandon the project altogether. For, in addition to going back on his word, Peck had also insulted the committee's intelligence. First of all, Peck's plan to reproduce the rotunda frieze would not be a celebration of American mural painting, as the mural had been painted by two Italians, Constantino Brumidi and Filippo Costaggini. Furthermore, the frieze was incomplete. Worst of all, installing a reproduction rather than a hand-painted mural would have been considered in poor taste, totally inconsistent with American Renaissance ideals. Peck's proposal, however, was never implemented.[41]

Rather, the decorations committee persevered until a plan they could accept was approved. In October 1899, Post and Butler wrote to Peck recommending Francis Davis Millet (1846-1912) to supervise the decorative scheme at a salary of $200 a week.[42] Millet, an American painter who had trained in Antwerp and was based in England, was a logical choice, as he already had extensive experience with international expositions.[43] In 1873, Millet had served as secretary to Charles F. Adams for the Vienna

Exposition, and in 1878 was named an international juror for the United States in Paris. For the Chicago fair, Millet had been responsible for organizing the massive decorative program. In 1900, he also served as a Class Juror for the international decennial paintings exhibition.

According to Coolidge, Peck was "violently opposed in the first place to the scheme as proposed in the letter signed by Mr. Post and Mr. Butler but finally on my urgent recommendation, decided to approve the scheme and send for Mr. Millet. . . ."[44] Given the history of this project, Peck's opposition to the plan was probably more a reaction to Millet's salary than a criticism of his talent.

By January, however, the financial outlook was improving, since the committee had raised $21,000 in donations. Notable contributors included the states of New York, California, and Massachusetts (the states with their own rooms), the businesses of Tiffany and Company, and McCormick Harvester, and individuals such as the art collectors William L. Elkins and William T. Evans.[45] Despite this brief period of optimism--during which Peck again made a pledge of $9,000--the U.S. Commission ended up paying only $1,896 for decorations, representing the difference between the cash the committee eventually

raised ($26,325) and that which they disbursed.[46]

With the available funds, Millet was able to execute a relatively modest but compelling plan for the interior. Colonial revival furniture, designed by the Boston-based Davenport Company, was used throughout in order to express a national identity. The California room was appropriately decorated with redwood furniture. Coolidge explained that "the aim was to keep everything in this line essentially American and not to copy English or French furniture, which has lately become so popular."[47] However, Coolidge admitted that, as time elapsed, French furnishings were introduced into the pavilion, placing the committee "open to the common but unwarranted reproach that we have no style of our own, not even in furniture."

Dominating the rotunda was Solon Hannibal Borglum's wild and imposing sculpture Stampede (fig. 42). Borglum (1868-1922), who had trained with Frémiet at the Académie Julian, returned to America, where he specialized in Western themes, in the late 1890s. The uncontrollable might of the broncos, done in the malleable and light-reflecting medium of bronze, symbolized American power and energy. Stampede contrasted with the refined classical spirit of the Proctor and French sculptures on the pavilion's exterior, thus expressing a different

facet of the nation's character.

From the balconies of the rotunda hung plaster emblems with the Stars and Stripes motif and names of the states, arranged in the order they joined the Union. A mural of a huge American flag was installed on the saucer-shaped ceiling of the lantern, and two dozen 8' X 12' red, white, and blue flags floated from the balcony. American flags were so prevalent at the exposition that over $7,500 on them alone was spent by the United States commission. Such overtly nationalistic iconography did not go unnoticed in the press. Royal Cortissoz was "disgusted" by what he described as the over-use of the Stars and Stripes, and its primary colors.[48]

For his decorative scheme, Millet had originally envisioned a display of distinctly "American" paintings by the stateside artists Frederic Remington, Thomas Moran, Arthur B. Frost, Elbridge A. Burbank, and Edwin L. Henry who specialized in American themes.[49] Millet could not carry out his plan, however, as much of the pavilion's space reserved for painting was already filled with the overflow from the Grand Palais decennial, including William Lamb Picknell's French scene, Morning on the Loing at Moret (fig. 43). However, there was room for a few paintings outside of the official paintings exhibition. These were secured for the pavilion from

American artists in Paris by John Getz.[50]

Fortunately, the mural program for the pavilion had been rescued, even though it suffered extreme budget cuts. Until Peck backed out of his $10,000 pledge, $25,000 had been reserved for murals. After that, only $9,000 was available for mural decorations in the national pavilion. Upon the recommendation of Millet, Elmer Ellsworth Garnsey (1862-1946), received half of the mural budget to execute four lunettes, a border around the dome of the pavilion, as well as the previously-mentioned flag mural. Garnsey, who had made a specialty of mural work--receiving experience at the Chicago fair, the Boston Public Library, and the Library of Congress--had studied entirely "at home."

Each of Garnsey's four 9' X 27' lunettes (fig. 44) depicted the United States seal in the center with names of the presidents, over a gold background. The lunettes were garnished with such items as oak leaves, cotton balls, grains, fruits, stars, Indian corn, and the winged staff (commerce), becoming a virtual cornucopia of American iconography.

The remaining $4,500 was slated for the decoration of the hemicycle and ceiling of the portico. Apparently, the committee originally considered employing Edward Simmons, Willard Metcalf, and Augustus Koopman.[51]

However, it was Robert Reid (1862-1929) who received the commission, for, as Cauldwell expressed it:

> Personally, I am inclined to think that if Reid would take the matter up we would get something in the way of decoration that would create more of a stir than any other available man.[52]

Reid had impeccable credentials for the project, having executed murals for the Columbian Exposition, the Library of Congress, and the New York Appellate Court.[53] For the 1900 Paris exposition, Reid's task would prove to be monumental: his mission was to represent the entire American mural movement, with just one example, in the center of Paris.

Reid's America Unveiling her Natural Strength (8' X 28') (figs. 45 and 46), depicts the allegorical spirit of America, lifting her veil and looking very much like a contemporary American woman. To the left of America, a winged nude allegory of Electricity, the force of the future, appears holding an arc-lamp. On Electricity's left, a farm family, along with an Indian and his attribute of corn, bordered by an apple tree, represent the West. The winged personification of Steam, the force of the past, to the right of America, is flanked by Manufacture and Education (the East), and a black woman who appears with cotton and an orange tree (the South). Like the Indian, the black woman is relegated to the

periphery of the composition, far removed from the ideal Caucasian figure of America. All of the figures are placed in front of a background of skyscrapers and the ever-present Stars and Stripes.

Although not all of the reviews of Reid's mural were glowing, a critic for the Tribune, perhaps Royal Cortissoz, claimed that with this work, Reid had "found himself." The colors, described as "a luminous cool blue sky, and plangent reds in the flag, rich greens of heavy foliage, soft flesh tones of the three main figures, and the dusky skins of the Indian and black woman," were extolled for being both vigorous and restrained.[54]

Reid's America is a prime example of Henry Adams's perceptions regarding the virgin and the dynamo at the exposition. Adams's concept is visualized by the figures of the "old" Steam and the "new" Electricity who link arms and support the figure of America. The iconography of this mural was calculated to present the visual image of America that the commission wanted: one of power, diversity, and prosperity, with confidence in the technology of the future--seen on the left side of the mural, especially in the skyscrapers--but also with roots in an agrarian past, as found in the grouping on the right. America's gesture, suggestive of a bride removing her veil (and thus ready to lose her innocence),

symbolizes the nation's coming of age, as it becomes fully aware of its power and resources, and its transition from the Arcadian to the Consummate stage of empire at the dawn of a new century.[55]

American murals were found in other exposition areas as well. In December 1899, Commissioner Peck secretly pressured Millet to give Augustus Koopman (1867/9-1914), a protégé of Senator William A. Clark of Montana, a mural commission. Clark was one of the wealthiest men in the country, a major art patron, a lender to the exposition, and a target for contributions by the decorations committee.[56] Eventually, Millet had little choice but to succumb to Peck's wishes by granting Koopman a commission. However, Clark, who was then in the midst of being charged with election fraud, never came through with a donation.[57]

Millet claimed he had little respect for Koopman's work, even though Koopman, who had been trained at the Académie Julian, was a seasoned Salon exhibitor. Rather than give him work in the national pavilion, as Clark had desired, Millet arranged for Koopman to paint a mural for the Palace of Diversified Industries on the Esplanade des Invalides. Although Koopman was probably not paid for his work, as there are no disbursements listed for him in the treasurer's report, a mural by him entitled

Industrial Arts (fig. 47) appears as part of the official mural program in the American fine arts catalogue.

Koopman's 16' X 10' semi-circular mural was placed in the transom under one archway to the American section of decorative arts in the Palace of Diversified Industries. This allegory of Commerce and Industry consists of female figures who are partially covered with real green velour drapery, symbolic of the "decorative feature of textiles in combination with plastic and mural art."[58]

The other archway to the American exhibits was decorated with Albert Herter's Industrial Arts (10' X 10') (fig. 48). Herter (1871-1950), who had studied with both Cormon and Laurens, was the son of Christian Herter, one of the Herter Brothers who owned a furniture and interior design firm in New York. Like Koopman's mural, Herter's was also partially obscured by drapery, which emphasized the tactile qualities of the various media on display. Above Herter's mural, two sculpted cherubic youths (artist unknown) stood on the transom holding a polychromed American shield which was topped by an American eagle, intended to symbolize vigor and industry. In front of the mural on the floor appeared two sculptures by Karl Bitter, modelled on the spot by his pupil Bruno L. Zimm, symbolizing pottery and metal work.

Elsewhere on the fairgrounds, Lyell Carr exhibited a decorative painting on canvas for Standard Oil's display in the department of Mines and Metallurgy on the Champ de Mars (fig. 49). Carleton Chapman painted a series of yachts for the navigation exhibition (fig. 50). Reportedly, there were also large-scale photomechanical reproductions of American murals representing different periods in the history of printing in the American Publishers's Building on the Esplanade des Invalides.[59]

The Palace of Diversified Industries functioned as the repository for the exhibits from Group XII, Decoration and Furniture, and Group XV, Diversified Industries. These groups included household objects such as stationery, jewelry, cutlery, pottery, and the previously mentioned works of art in bronze. In this pavilion, decorative and utilitarian objects were exhibited by diverse artists, artisans, and companies.[60]

Highlights of Group XII, include plaster decorations by Karl Bitter, as well as the aforementioned murals by Elmer Garnsey, Lyell Carr, Augustus Koopman, Albert Herter, and Robert Reid (even though the Carr, Garnsey, and Reid murals were exhibited elsewhere). Also included in Group XII were the Artistic Furniture of A.H. Davenport, Decorative Hangings by Candace Wheeler,

Upholsters' Decorations by Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, Ceramics by Greuby Faïence and George Ohr, and works in Stained Glass by Louis Tiffany, J. & R. Lamb, Frank Lathrop and others, which will be addressed separately.

In Group XV, Diversified Industries, Works of Art in Bronze, as previously mentioned, were exhibited by Karl Bitter, Frederic Remington, Bessie Potter Vonnoh, Tiffany & Co., Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, and others. Tiffany & Co. also exhibited Stationery, Cutlery, Silversmiths' and Goldsmiths' Wares, Jewelry, and Brushes. These two Groups of industrial arts ended up being the only demonstration of the thriving American Arts and Crafts movement at the exposition.

Louis Comfort Tiffany's (1848-1933) work (exhibited under the aegis of Tiffany & Co., Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, and Louis Tiffany), drew the most attention for this section. Over one hundred pieces of Tiffany's work were contained in a number of exhibition classes, ranging from glass to metalware. A highlight of the Tiffany displays was the resplendent art nouveau glass and silver gilt Punch Bowl with Three Ladles (fig. 51). Another focal point of Tiffany's collection at the fair was the Renaissance revival Adams Gold Vase designed by Paulding Farnham (1893-1895; Metropolitan Museum of

Art). For his participation in the exposition, which also included work in Bing's art nouveau pavilion, Tiffany won a number of grand prizes and was made a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor.[61]

Of all the decorative arts representing America at the 1900 exposition, the exhibits of stained glass were the most popular with reviewers. In an article for the April edition of the Art Amateur, circulated before the exposition opened, Roger Riordan described the plans for an octagonal room which was to be lit entirely by four panels of American glass in what he called the "building devoted to Liberal Arts." In fact, this room was situated in the Palace of Diversified Industries.[62] According to Riordan, windows by John La Farge and Louis Comfort Tiffany--rivals who were both initiators of the stained glass movement in America during the 1870s--as well as by Maitland Armstrong, and J. & R. Lamb were to have been installed. However, the actual installation differed from Riordan's report, suggesting that a last-minute alteration probably occurred. For example, no evidence has been found linking windows by either La Farge or Maitland Armstrong with this room.

Quite possibly, John La Farge surrendered the rotunda project after his own plans for exhibiting stained glass windows in the national pavilion were

thwarted. In June 1899, even before Millet was hired, La Farge received Peck's approval to have his own room of stained glass in the national pavilion. However, in December, Peck rescinded his permission because other glass artists threatened to boycott the exposition entirely if La Farge, who was on the decorations committee, received such special consideration.[63] Thus, La Farge may have been adverse to exhibit his work alongside the artists who foiled his plans.

Evidence indicates that the rotunda in the Palace of Diversified Industries was decorated with two Tiffany windows: Four Seasons (Morse Gallery of Art, Winter Park, Florida) and River of Life (Jeptha H. Wade Memorial Chapel, Lakeview Cemetery, Cleveland) (Fig. 52). The other two slots were occupied by Frederick S. Lamb's Religion Enthroned (fig. 53) (the only window that Riordan reported actually seeing), and a window by Francis Lathrop.[64] In the galleries behind the rotunda, additional windows by Tiffany, the California Art Glass company, and others, were installed as part of the Group XII display.

The Paintings Installation in the Grand Palais

Although American stained glass was celebrated in 1900, most of the art reviews for the exposition focused on oil painting, the medium taken most seriously in determining a nation's artistic aptitude. The international paintings decennial of 1900 was the largest exhibition of fine arts ever assembled until that time. This was due to the fact that the French section was enormous. In terms of layout, France reserved over half of the space in the Grand Palais for its own art, while the visiting nations were actually allocated considerably less space than they had been at the 1889 fair (fig. 54). Among the visitors, France's ally Russia had the largest space, followed by Germany, Italy, and the United States.[65]

The only aspect of the exhibition arrangements that pleased the Americans was their location, on the second floor of the Grand Palais, between the galleries of Great Britain and Japan. American paintings were eventually assigned six main rooms on the second floor of the Grand Palais, and an additional room downstairs (fig. 55). Given the strong ties they had with France, American artists and officials were deeply offended by the shortage of space. In spite of this physical impediment,

the American artists managed to exhibit more work than any nationality except the French themselves.

From the beginning, a major effort was made by the American commission to secure additional gallery space for oil paintings. Negotiations were instigated by Cauldwell, filtered through Woodward, and received by Louis-Marie-Gabriel Delaunay-Belleville, the French Director-General of Works, who ran the day-to-day operations of the fair. In addition to tapping the usual diplomatic channels, Cauldwell organized meetings of American artists residing in France to advance his cause. Cauldwell's efforts resulted in a petition, signed by fourteen expatriate painters, demanding more space from the French authorities.

The artists' letter, addressed to Woodward and forwarded to the French officials in February 1900, complained that unless the space is increased, "it will be absolutely impossible for them to make an exhibition, which will, in any sense, be representative."[66] Protesting that while they, as expatriates, could submit only one work each (which was later increased to three), the artists criticized that many French artists were exhibiting as many as eight canvases. They claimed that it "becomes a question whether it would not be better to refrain from exhibiting entirely rather than to do so in

such a manner." The artists' petition continued:

> We feel this is a very serious matter for us and considering the very hospitable manner in which the French Artists have been treated by the various American Expositions and the great market America is and has been for French Art, we believe that if the matter was laid before the French Authorities by you [Woodward], they could hardly refuse to make an additional allotment even though only enough to add one more room to the United States Section.

The letter was signed by the French Legion of Honor "Officiers," John Singer Sargent and William Dannat, and by the "Chevaliers," Edwin A. Abbey, Charles Sprague Pearce, Walter Gay, Frederick Arthur Bridgman, Julius Stewart, Gari Melchers, Walter MacEwen, Ridgway Knight, Eugene Vail, and Edwin Lord Weeks, all members of the Parisian art establishment.

Despite the eminence of its sponsors, this petition alone was unsuccessful in securing additional space for the artists. However, after Cauldwell and Woodward exerted additional pressure on the French officials, fifty-eight additional feet of line were given to the Americans at the last moment (in a separate gallery on the ground floor). André Saglio of the French decennial committee, who is also listed as an author in William Walton's Chefs d'Oeuvre, was responsible for the increase. Still, even with this hard-earned expansion, the American paintings exhibition had only 13,500 square feet of wall space compared with 20,990 in 1889.[67]

Another issue the expatriates brought up in their letter was that they had become accustomed to exhibiting more than one work each in Paris at the annual exhibit of the Société des Artistes Français. This Salon was held a month early in 1900 so it would not conflict with the exposition. Because the exposition was about to take place in the Salon's new home, the Grand Palais, the Salon was held in the clubhouse of the Société Hippique on the left bank that year. In contrast to previous Salons, the few Americans participating in the Salon of 1900--among them Bridgman, Weeks, Knight, and Hitchcock--exhibited only one work apiece.[68]

The other, "dissident" Salon, the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, opted to suspend their 1900 exhibition because of the exposition, but they too had previously included a number of American artists. In 1899, for example, the SNBA exhibited the work of over twenty Americans. Walter Gay exhibited ten paintings there that year, when about half of the Americans were represented by more than two paintings.

The Americans at the exposition were also severely restricted by the number of paintings they could display in 1900. For example, in 1889, eight artists had been represented by six or more paintings. In 1900, however, the most any artist exhibited was four paintings. Only

Winslow Homer and the recently deceased George Inness, who were considered masters of "American" art, received that honor. Twenty-one other artists exhibited three paintings each, but the majority exhibited only one or two canvases. Determined to assemble the best exhibition of American art possible despite the confined space, John Cauldwell told the New York Times, "I see nothing to prevent our placing a small but dignified exhibit" in the Grand Palais.[69]

Due to the last minute increase in gallery space, additional works by John Humphreys-Johnston, Eugene Vail, Edwin Weeks, Alexander Harrison, Charles Macilhenny, James Whistler, and Alexander Wyant were added by Cauldwell's department, too late to be listed in the official French catalogue. Conversely, some paintings recorded in the French catalogue do not appear in the later American version. These paintings were probably not exhibited, as they also do not appear in Cauldwell's final report of 1901.[70]

The Jury of Installation for American paintings consisted of three expatriates--Walter MacEwen, Walter Gay, and Charles Sprague Pearce, and three artists who resided stateside--Curran and Snell of the art commission, and Francis C. Jones, who later resigned. In contrast to the 1889 exposition, paintings by resident

and nonresident Americans were hung together in order to demonstrate the unity and strength of American art. Still, even with this new outward demonstration of togetherness, conflicts were still reported to have taken place between the New York and Paris hanging committees.[71]

The installation itself, however, reflected nothing but harmony between the two factions. Even though the resident Americans outnumbered the expatriates, their canvases were considerably smaller, because they were not intended to be Salon pieces, and so the exhibition looked balanced. The artists who were given prime locations, most of whom were cosmopolitan, include both resident and nonresident Americans alike: John Singer Sargent, John White Alexander, George Inness, George de Forest Brush, Winslow Homer, James McNeill Whistler, Abbott Thayer, Edwin Lord Weeks, Walter Gay, Francis Davis Millet, Daniel Ridgway Knight, and James Carroll Beckwith (figs. 56 - 61).

In the hallway leading to the painting galleries on the second floor, miniature paintings, drawings, prints, architectural drawings, and sculptures were displayed (fig. 62). Over forty miniatures were exhibited, many by members of the newly-established Society of Miniature Painters (1899)--such as Isaac Josephi, William J. Baer,

and Lucia Fairchild Fuller (fig. 63). Miniature painting, which had lost its popularity after the daguerreotype captivated America in the early 1840s, was experiencing a revival at the end of the century. The miniature revival of the 1890s was an expression of antimodernism, as it favored old-fashioned craftsmanship over machine-derived images.[72]

Drawings, etchings, and engravings by artists such as Edwin Austin Abbey, Charles Dana Gibson, William Glackens, Joseph Pennell, and Albert Sterner further enhanced the display in the corridor. However, despite the popularity of these media at the time, the small works of art at the exposition attracted little critical attention, probably because they were overpowered by the more noticeable oil paintings, sculpture, and decorative arts.

Positioned at the entryway to the paintings galleries was Augustus Saint-Gaudens's relief, the Shaw Memorial, with his Amor Caritas nearby (fig. 64). Like his General Sherman downstairs in the sculpture rotunda, the Shaw Memorial pays tribute to a Civil War officer. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw had led the first black infantry--the Massachusetts 54th--into a losing battle, in which Shaw and most of his troops perished. Symbolically, this huge relief represents not only the

reunion of a divided country after the Civil War, but also observes America's moral triumph over slavery. In this way, the Shaw Memorial also commemorates the victory of the North, and thus of technology and progress. And, although Saint-Gaudens's executed the relief with Beaux-Arts finesse, the subject itself was undeniably American.

To house the paintings exhibition, Cauldwell designed an aesthetic environment, and carefully selected the color scheme only after he knew which paintings were to be installed. For the gallery walls, Cauldwell choose a fabric in a "quiet gray-green, between sage and olive." He was delighted that the grayish-salmon tone carpet, which lay over cocoa matting, harmonized "perfectly with the walls."[73] A reviewer for the Paris-based New York Herald agreed, noting:

> . . . these rooms appeared to me to be better decorated than those of the other sections. The hangings are uniformly pale green, decked with embroidered palms and surmounted by a large painted frise [sic.], ornamented with laurel leaves in gilt, and the coat of arms of the United States. The effect is very quiet, and very pretty.[74]

In the center of each room sat a circular divan on which was placed a small sculpture. These sculptures appear to have been selected for their "American" themes: Proctor's Panther (Corcoran Gallery; fig. 59) and Indian on Horseback (Portland Museum, Oregon; fig. 57), McNeil's Snake Dance (unlocated; fig. 58), and Solon Borglum's

Horse and Indian (unlocated; fig. 56). All of these small bronzes perpetuated the lore of the Wild West, connoting America's dynamism and expansiveness. Bessie Potter Vonnoh's A Young Mother of 1896 (National Academy of Design; fig. 60) could also be interpreted as carrying a nationalistic message by celebrating what was perceived to be the sanctity of American motherhood.[75]

Cauldwell concluded that the American galleries were the most "dignified, harmonious, and artistic" in the Fine Arts building, and many critics agreed. This aesthetic type of gallery design itself, with its refined Oriental overtones, had been found earlier in the exhibitions of The Ten American Painters, who also chose wall colors to coordinate with their paintings. In 1905, Stieglitz's Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession were likewise decorated in olive and salmon tones reminiscent of Cauldwell's installation.[76] All of these "total environments" for displaying art, however, take their cue from Whistler's approach to gallery design which was first evidenced in his Peacock Room of 1877, and which was continued in Whistler's other installations.

Cauldwell's rarefied exhibition space was yet another example of the U.S. Commission's packaging of "America" for the 1900 exposition. With his tasteful installation, Cauldwell attempted to convey that the

United States was a cultured nation, with citizens capable of creating and appreciating aesthetic nuances. America's absorption of "high culture" had already been expressed elsewhere on the fairgrounds, in the exterior of the classical Beaux-Arts national pavilion, but in a different way.

As has been illustrated, the commission advertised the United States in a variety of ways at the exposition. Their agenda had been to demonstrate not only America's new cultural status, but also its economic, technological, imperial, and agrarian riches. For example, Coolidge's pavilion, expressing both cultural refinement and imperial power, housed Solon Borglum's rambunctious bronco, suggesting America's raw energy; Reid's awakening America stood before a background of skyscrapers, as well as an expansive and fruitful terrain. Coded messages were not limited to the installations on the fairgrounds, but also extended to the iconography of many of the paintings themselves. In the paintings exhibition, themes which were already popular in American art assumed new meanings within the context of the exposition, thus reinforcing the objectives of the commission.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. For the exposition's attendance compared with other fairs, see Richard D. Mandell, Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), xi. Good contemporary descriptions of the opening festivities are found in "Superb Spectacle in the Grounds," New York Herald, 15 April 1900, 1-2, as well as in "Paris Exposition Formally Opened," New York Times, 15 April 1900, 1-2. For an American account of the murals in the Salle des Fêtes, see "Mural Decorations at the Paris Exposition," Critic 36 (June 1900): 513-18. See also James Boyd, The Paris Exposition of 1900: A Vivid and Descriptive View and Elaborate Scenic Presentation of the Site, Plan, and Exhibits (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler, 1900), 542. According to Boyd, each of the muralists received $5,600: Feu Auguste Flameng for Industry; Fernand Cormon for Electricity; Albert-Pierre-René Maignan for Agriculture; and Georges Rochegrosse for Social Economy.

2. Mme Paquin (? - 1936) established her own house of fashion in 1891, and served as president of the French fashion section at the exposition. For an analysis of La Parisienne, see Deborah Leah Silverman, Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 288.

3. According to Boyd, 522, all of the furniture in the Palais d'Electricité--which he described as a "vaporish and fairy-like vision"--was made of glass, including the drapery. On the top of the pavilion was a sculpture of the goddess Electroyene by the Polish countess Iza Albazzi de Kwiatowska, a student of Falguière and Dupuis. In the large basin of the Château d'Eau was a thirty-two-foot-high allegorical group which has been described as representing "Humanity led by Progress, marching onward toward the Future," in Paris Exposition Reproduced from the Official Photographs Taken Under the Supervision of the French Government (New York: R.S. Peale, 1900), n.p. For a colorful description of electricity on the fairgrounds, see Roger Riordan, "The

Paris Exposition," Art Amateur 43 (August 1900): 61.

4. C.H.C. [Charles H. Caffin], "The Paris Exposition," Evening Post, 15 June 1900, 7. Indeed, as the Frenchman Frantz Jourdain concluded:

> This architecture of confectionery and icing sugar assembled to indulge a tribe of Caribs, cynically insults both good taste and good sense; it is the logical consequence of the baleful doctrines taught at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. . . .

F. Jourdain, "L'Architecture à l'Exposition universelle. Promenade à bâtons rompus," Revue des arts décoratifs 20 (1900): 245, as quoted in translation in Franco Borsi and Ezio Godoli, Paris 1900: Architecture and Design (New York: Rizzoli, 1978), 33.

5. James Douglas, "The Paris Exposition - VIII. In General," Nation 71 (30 August 1900): 168. Although Samuel Swift also found the Chicago fair to be "more unified" and more amenable to large crowds than Paris 1900, unlike his compatriots, he stressed Paris's cultural advantages and international appeal; see Samuel Swift, "Paris vs. Chicago," Mail and Express, 25 July 1900, 3.

6. Silverman, 109-111, and 139.

7. Silverman, 111.

8. Henry Adams, "The Dynamo and the Virgin," in The Education of Henry Adams (1918; repr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), 379-390.

9. This observation was made by Robert Donald, the editor of the London Municipal Journal, in "The Paris Exposition: The Industrial Side," Outlook 66 (8 September 1900): 105.

1Ø. The Paris edition of the New York Times was published on the fairgrounds by George Ochs from 31 May until 31 October 1900.

11. Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge to the Commissioner General for the United States [Ferdinand Peck], 27 December 1898, "Records of the Commission Representing the United States at the Paris Universal Exposition," National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 43, Box E 541, Correspondence of the American Architect, 1899-1900, folder 2 (hereafter abbreviated as, NARA, RG 43).

Robert Roche, the archivist at this still extant Boston firm, has confirmed by telephone on 23 October 1991 that the firm owns no records pertaining to the exposition of 1900.

12. For an excellent study of the colonial revival, including sections on the expositions, see William B. Rhoades, The Colonial Revival, 2 vols., (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977). See also Alan Axelrod, ed., The Colonial Revival in America (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), especially Susan Prendergast Schoelwer's essay, "Curious Relics and Quaint Scenes: The Colonial Revival at Chicago's Great Fair."

13. John Getz, "Report of the Department of Decorations," in Report of the Commissioner-General for the United States to the Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 299-301.

14. For a revisionist discussion of Louis Sullivan's theories regarding the skyscraper as a symbol of national destiny, see David S. Andrew, Louis Sullivan and the Polemics of Modern Architecture: The Present against the Past (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

15. Robert Twombly, Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work (New York: Viking Penguin, 1986), 267-8. The Musée des Arts Décoratifs acquired designs from Sullivan's Transportation Building at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

16. C. Kraube (?), André Bouilet, et al., to Peck, n.d., NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 3. It should be noted that by this time, Adler had left Sullivan for financial reasons during the 1890s economic depression, and Sullivan himself was financially strained, as commissions declined.

17. Charles A. Coolidge, "Report of the Architect," in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 200. See also "American Headquarters," New-York Tribune, 6 August 1899, 10.

18. C.H.C. [Caffin], "The Paris Exposition," 7.

19. Royal Cortissoz, "The Fair in Full Dress," New-York Daily Tribune, 9 July 1900, 7.

2Ø. Coolidge to A. Phimister Proctor, 7 July 1899, offering the $5,200 commission, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 53; and Coolidge to George B. Post, 8 July 1899, E 541, folder 33.

21. References to Proctor's assistants appear in Georges Morin-Goustiaux to Woodward, 30 January 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 53, and Hester Elizabeth Proctor, ed., Alexander Phimister Proctor: Sculptor in Buckskin, an Autobiography (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 139.

22. Benjamin Woodward to Hermon MacNeil, 30 May 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folders 43-50, authorizing Mac Neil to execute the commission for 4,000 francs.

23. J. R. Hill to Coolidge, 13 July 1899, and Coolidge to Woodward, 18 July 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 505, Sculpture, folder 309.

24. Daniel Chester French to George F. Shepley, 19 April 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 505, folder 300.

25. French to Coolidge, 29 March 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 505, folder 140.

26. John Getz, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 298.

27. See the Prospectus of Proposed La Fayette Monument in NARA, RG 43, E 505, folder 66.

28. "La Statue de Washington," Le Monde Illustré 86 (31 March 1900): 219:

> Les nuages qui parurent s'élever entre la France et les Etats-Unis au cours de la guerre hispano-américaine ne purent troubler l'accord ni affaiblir les résolutions.

29. Charles H. Caffin, "The American Survey," The Artist 26 [supplement] (May 1899): xvi.

3Ø. Minutes of a Meeting, 12 December 1898, in the Office of the Architect of the Louvre, NARA, RG 43, E 546, Misc. Printed Material.

31. On the importance of this statue see Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 65; Paul Bartlett, as quoted in Chefs d'Oeuvre: Art and Architecture, vol. 3,

(Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1900), 35.

32. I am grateful to Roberta K. Tarbell who shared a chapter of her book with me prior to its publication; see Tarbell's The Emergence of Modern American Sculpture: Innovations of the Early Twentieth Century (London: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). For a good contemporary review of the sculpture section, see Katherine de Forest, "A Triumph of American Sculptors," World's Work 1 (November 1900): 190.

33. A map and key to the installations, both inside the Grand Palais and on the fairgrounds, are printed in John B. Cauldwell, "Report of the Department of Fine Arts," in Report of the Commissioner-General for the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), with the key on pages 490-491.

34. For a listing of Class 97, Works in Bronze, Cast Iron, and Wrought Iron, Repoussé Work, within Group XV (Diversified Industries), see Report of the Commissioner-General, V: 406.

35. For a history of the City Beautiful Movement, see William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

36. R[oger] R[iordan], "The Paris Exposition," Art Amateur (April 1900): 100.

37. "Exhibition Features," New York Tribune, 6 June 1900, 8.

38. Post, Coolidge, and Cauldwell to Peck, 20 June 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-4.

39. Peck to Coolidge, 20 June 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-5; and Peck to Post, Coolidge, and Cauldwell, 6 July 1899, folder 29-4.

40. Peck to Coolidge, 14 September 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-5.

41. Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 159; Coolidge to Cauldwell, 12 October 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29.

42. Post and Butler to Peck, 26 October 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541.

43. Concerning Millet's involvement with international expositions, and on the artist in general, see H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Career of Francis Davis Millet," Archives of American Art Journal 17, no. 1 (1977): 2-18.

44. [Coolidge] to Cauldwell, 2 November 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-3. Millet himself was at first reluctant to accept the position due to the Dreyfus affair.

45. Peck to Post, 23 January 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 541, reasoning that since $21,000 was raised, the U.S. commission to the exposition would give $9,000.

46. Peck to Post, 23 January 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-4; for an account of the actual disbursements, see Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 158.

47. Coolidge, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 203-5.

48. R[oyal] C[ortissoz], "The Fair in Full Dress," 7.

49. Millet's plans are described in a memo to the Art Commission for the Decoration of the National Pavilion dated 15 January 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-14.

5Ø. Millet to Coolidge, 15 December 1899, RG 43, NARA, E 541, folder 29. I am grateful to Erica Hirshler of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for helping me verify the Picknell painting. No catalogue listing the contents of the national pavilion has been found. However, some items are mentioned by John Getz in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 318. Notably, Getz refers to paintings by Eugene Vail and a portrait of McKinley by George Peixotto.

51. How seriously Metcalf was considered is unclear, however, his name is mentioned in connection with the commission in a letter from Coolidge to Millet, 27 November 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-14, as follows:

> I do not know Metcalf's work, but if you and Cauldwell and McKin [sic] agree, I will certainly not make any objections.

And, in a letter to Coolidge, 31 October 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29, Cauldwell summarized his own views:

> Simons is not at all well, and I doubt very much whether he would touch it - in fact, I don't know whether Reid would.
>
> As to Koopman, he is a protégé of Senator Clark, he has not done enough in this line to place him on the level with the other men, and it would be risky, I feel to try him in this emergency.

52. Cauldwell to Coolidge, 31 October 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 29-3.

53. For the fullest treatment of Reid's career to date, see H. Barbara Weinberg, "Robert Reid: Academic Impressionist," Archives of American Art Journal, 15, no. 1 (1975): 2-11.

54. "America at Paris," New-York Tribune, [Illustrated Sunday Supplement], 1 March 1900, 6.

55. After the exposition closed, the murals and furnishings for the national pavilion were slated to become the property of the three states who had contributed to the decorations, California, Massachusetts, and New York. A preliminary search through the archival holdings of these states has come up with nothing, and the murals are presumed "lost."

56. For more on Clark and his collecting habits, see The William A. Clark Collection: An Exhibition Marking the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Installation of the Clark Collection at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, (Washington: The Corcoran Gallery, 1978).

57. See the "confidential" letter of Peck to Millet, 11 December 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 19.

58. Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 270, 305.

59. Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 309-311. See also James B. Campbell, Illustrated History of the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 (Chicago:

Chicago and Omaha Publishing Company, 1900), 98.

60. For the most recent listing of the contents of Groups XII and XV at the time of the exposition, see Report of the Commissioner-General, V: 392-407.

61. For accounts of Tiffany's participation at the exposition, see Glass from the World's Fairs (Corning, NY: Corning Museum of Glass, 1986), and Alastair Duncan et al., Masterworks of Louis Comfort Tiffany (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989).

62. R[oger] R[iordan], "The Paris Exposition," Art Amateur 42 (April 1900), 100-102. Gardner Teall, in "Artistic American Wares at the Exposition," Brush and Pencil 6 (April 1900): 176, described this room as, "the upper part of the American pavilion. . . ." Subsequent scholars have continued to misidentify this octagonal room by similarly locating it in the United States Pavilion; see Siegfried Bing, Artistic America, Robert Koch, intro., Benita Eisler, trans. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

63. For correspondence pertaining to the La Farge windows, see especially, Coolidge to Cauldwell, 27 June 1899, and Coolidge to Bancel La Farge, 5 December 1899, NARA, RG 43, E 541, folder 45.

64. I am grateful to James Yarnall for so generously sharing his knowledge of La Farge, and to Kevin Stayton at The Brooklyn Museum, and David Adams for information about the Lamb window. The Tiffany, Lamb, and Lathrop windows are documented as having been placed in the rotunda, in, Map of the Grounds Showing United States Buildings and Exhibit Sections (Paris: U.S. Commission to the Paris Exposition, 1900), n.p. Ed. Didron, in "Les Vitraux à l'Exposition," Revue des arts décoratifs 20 (1900): 276, mentions a window in opalescent glass by Lathrop depicting Jonathan and David, quite possibly the one in the rotunda.

The only American glass artists who are listed as having participated in the official exhibition in Class 67 are: California Art Glass, J. & R. Lamb, Frank Lathrop, Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, Louis Tiffany, and Fred Wilson; see Report of the Commissioner-General, III: 151.

65. Alfred Picard, Rapport général administratif et technique, vol. 4, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), 125. In Group II (Fine Arts), the visiting nations were given the following amount of exhibition space: Russia - 1,122 square meters; Germany - 1,085 square meters; Italy - 834 square meters; and the United States - 822 square meters.

66. John Singer Sargent et al. to Woodward, 14 February 1900, NARA, RG 43, E 505, General Correspondence, folder 140 (Cauldwell Correspondence); a French translation of this letter is on file in the Archives Nationales, Paris, Series F21, Box 4066; see also Woodward's cover letter to Delaunay-Belleville in this box dated 22 February 1900.

67. Report of the Commissioner-General, I: 53. An unsigned carbon of a letter to Woodward dated 23 February [1900], Archives Nationales, Series F21, Box 4066, possibly by Delaunay-Belleville, claims that an increase of space had already been given to the United States even before the request was made, as follows:

> Je ne puis que me borner à vous rappeler que c'est tout-à-fait spontanement et sans avoir été invité par vous, que je vous ai[?] fait connaître à la date du 22 septembre 99 une augmentation d'emplacement.

The Saglio increase occurred after this.

68. For a review of the American section, see Vance Thompson, Cosmopolitan 29 (May 1900): 17, who maintained that this Salon was especially good for the younger Americans who had been given little space in the international exposition.

69. "The Week in Art," New York Times, [Saturday Supplement], 22 July 1899, 494.

7Ø. The oil paintings that appear in the French catalogue, but not in either the American catalogue or Cauldwell's final report, are: Thomas Eakins's Between Rounds, Frank Benson's Decorative Figure, William Dannat's Portrait of Otero, George Inness's Valley on a Gloomy Day, Francis Lathrop's Grey Day, Lucy Lee-Robbins's A Study in Blue, George Maynard's Sport, Edmund Tarbell's The Bath, and Sadie Waters's The Virgin with Lilies.

71. R[oyal] C[ortissoz], "American Art in Paris," New-York Tribune, 22 July 1900, II, 1.

72. I am indebted to Lewis Rabbage who generously shared his knowledge of late nineteenth century miniature painting. According to the International Studio 7 [supplement] (June 1899), n.p., the exposition was an important outlet for the American Society of Miniature Painters: "It is contemplated to prepare an exceptional display of American miniatures for the Paris Exposition, 1900, and to obtain official recognition as a body."

73. Cauldwell, in "Report of the Department of Fine Arts," Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 520.

74. "Fine Art Palaces Opened," New York Herald, 2 May 1900, 1.

75. A.C. Simons's Surprise, which was the centerpiece of Gallery F, has not been located. I am grateful to David Dearinger who provided the locations for many of these sculptures.

76. For references to these gallery designs see, respectively, William H. Gerdts, American Impressionism (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 179; Robert Doty, Photo-Secession: Stieglitz and the Fine-Art Movement in Photography (1960; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1978), 38; and Dianne H. Pilgrim, "Decorative Art: The Domestic Environment," in The American Renaissance, 1876-1917 (Brooklyn, New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 117.

CHAPTER IV

A WALK THROUGH THE AMERICAN PAINTINGS EXHIBITION

Portraiture and Figure Painting

It made sense for Cauldwell to fashion the American paintings installation after the precepts of James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903). Whistler was, after all, hailed by some critics as the greatest painter alive in the 1890s. Royal Cortissoz, for example, designated him the "greatest selective genius among living painters."[1] Such adulation was not limited to American critics. The Frenchman Camille Mauclair proclaimed, Whistler "dominates turn-of-the-century painting."[2]

Sophisticated and urbane, Whistler proved that one could be an American and thrive in the international art scene. As writer for the Nation, observed:

> Mr. Whistler, of course, is to be considered apart. It makes no difference where he works, where he travels, where he lives, he still remains himself and his art his own, unaffected by the fashions and movements of the day. He is no more French because

> he happens to have his headquarters in Paris than Velasquez was Italian after his visit to Italy, or Rubens Spanish after his journey to Spain. Whatever may be the future of art in America, the country can already claim one of the world's masters.[3]

Thus, having Whistler associated with the Americans--unlike in 1889 when he exhibited with the British (because the Americans would not give him full control over what he exhibited)--added further legitimacy and prestige, as well as a Grand Prize, to the American section.

Whistler, who had been born in Lowell, Massachusetts, and educated at West Point, always considered himself to be an American. This was the case despite the fact that Whistler left in 1855 for Paris, where he studied with Marc-Charles-Gabriel Gleyre, and never returned to his native land. In 1863, Whistler allied himself with the radical French artists who opposed academicism when he exhibited Symphony in White Number I: The White Girl (fig. 65) at the Salon des Refusés. This same painting was exhibited in the American section of the 1867 Exposition Universelle, where it was hung in a dark corner, and received no honors.[4]

As an established master in his mid-60s in 1900, Whistler received a Grand Prize from members of the same French academic elite that had refused his work from the

Salon almost a half century earlier. Their praise became even more paradoxical when one of the three paintings he exhibited in 1900, entitled Symphony in White Number II: The Little White Girl (fig. 66), was a variant of his controversial canvas from the Salon des Refusés.

Symphony in White Number II had been completed in 1864, considerably earlier than the 1889 deadline that the French officials imposed for paintings open to competition in 1900. It is likely that this painting was added at the last minute, as it does not appear in the French catalogue to the exhibition. In spite of the early date of Symphony in White Number II, the judges were to award Whistler a Grand Prize which angered some reviewers.[5]

At the exposition, Whistler also exhibited Mother-of-Pearl and Silver - The Andalusian (fig. 67), which was begun in 1888 but dated 1900, and a self-portrait, Brown and Gold (fig. 68), originating from 1895 and completed in April 1900. Unlike Symphony in White Number II, both of these are extremely subtle portraits. The critic Gustave Geffroy described the self-portrait, which was based on Velázquez's Pablo de Valladolid (c. 1632) in the Prado, as being "vague like an apparition, and [yet] so striking, so real."[6]

The other American painter to be awarded a Grand

Prize, John Singer Sargent (1856-1925), was also an expatriate with a stunning international reputation. In exposition reviews, Sargent was typically placed in the paragraph following Whistler because he was considered to be the second most important American painter. And, like Whistler, Sargent was also generously represented by three canvases. In some ways, Sargent was even more marginally American than Whistler, because he was born in Florence to American parents, did not travel stateside until the age of twenty, and lived most of his life abroad. It was only in the 1890s that Sargent spent a considerable amount of time in America while painting murals for the new public library in Boston.

Still in his forties, Sargent was of a younger generation than Whistler. He had studied with Carolus-Duran, who, unlike the other Parisian masters, emphasized form over line. As a portraitist of both the new rich and the old elite, Sargent took Carolus-Duran's use of bravura brushwork to a new height. Sargent's nouveau-riche sitters whose portraits were shown at the exposition include the London art dealer Asher B. Wertheimer (fig. 69), who appears with his large black poodle dog, as a confident and affluent businessman. In another example, Sargent placed Mrs. Carl Meyer and Children (fig. 70) within a luxuriant interior. This

painting exudes a regal formality and rococo opulence which are enhanced by sensuous color and an exuberant manipulation of paint.

The fact that the sitters in both portraits are affluent Jews could be perceived as an editorial in paint in support of Captain Alfred Dreyfus. Sargent, who is said to have valued and respected his Jewish clients, placed them in guises traditionally reserved for the nobility, which would have piqued the anti-Dreyfusards. Visitors to the exposition, sensitized by the Dreyfus affair, probably would have recognized the sitters as Jewish, as had reviewers on previous occasions.[7]

While, as in Whistler's case, Sargent's showing at the exposition was relatively conservative in terms of style, the subjects he exhibited were ones that could have easily aroused status anxiety among the visitors. This was not the first time Sargent had offended his French hosts. In 1884, Sargent exhibited his portrait of the practically bare-shouldered American expatriate Virginie Gautreau, Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau) (1884; The Metropolitan Museum of Art) at the Salon where it unleashed a scandal. By showing this work, Sargent had "breached the codes of Salon etiquette" and was ostracized by the Parisian art world as a result.[8] Perhaps Sargent exhibited the Wertheimer and Meyer

portraits as an act of revenge for the Madame X fiasco--as it could be interpreted as a demonstration of sympathy for Dreyfus and thus against the French government--for by 1900 Sargent was an artistic personality who could no longer be dismissed.

Although Sargent's 1899 portrait of Miss M. Carey Thomas (fig. 71) does not have an opulent air like either the Wertheimer or Meyer portraits, it would have been anxiety-provoking to exhibition-goers in its own right. Carey Thomas is an imposing three-quarter length portrait of the president of Bryn Mawr College, dressed in somber academic robes with dark blue velvet Ph.D. stripes. Sargent did not portray Thomas as the typical ideal American woman found in most paintings of the 1890s. Rather, according to one contemporary critic, this portrait "embodies all the glory and all the danger of the feministe movement by synthesizing the qualities of the most highly organized type of 'new woman'."[9]

Concerning Whistler's and Sargent's distinctiveness at the exposition, Royal Cortissoz explained that although their paintings may not be American, "at least they have nothing to identify them with any other school. They are original works of genius, their authors are Americans, they belong to us, and there's an end to it."[10] However, in the preceding paragraph of the same

article, Cortissoz was critical of the other expatriates, particularly those residing in France, for not producing distinctly "American" work.

Perhaps Cortissoz isolated Whistler and Sargent from the others because they were international celebrities. Identifying them as Americans--even though they did not paint American subjects--served to advance the reputation of American art. In addition, more than the other expatriates, Whistler and Sargent were pace-setters, whose anti-academic styles were easily discernible from the generally conservative flock.

Unlike Whistler and Sargent, most expatriates produced work which was more attuned to French academic practices, in terms of both subject matter and method of execution. In The History of American Painting of 1905, Samuel Isham listed the subjects he considered to be essentially European as the "religious, mythological, historical, and nude."[11] To Isham's list can be added paintings with identifiably foreign subjects, including orientalist themes (popular with French academicians), European peasants, and fashionably dressed parisiennes.

While some repatriated artists continued to render subjects they were introduced to in Paris, most of them abandoned these themes at home. As adherents of the realist tradition, repatriated artists avoided subjects

which were no longer available to them, and adapted conventional European themes and treatment to accessible models and places. Thomas Eakins, for example, forsook European subjects in favor of Philadelphia scenes in the early 1870s, and George de Forest Brush, a fellow student of Gérôme, focused on painting native Americans upon his return from France a decade later. For this reason, their work naturally looked more American than what was being produced abroad.

The figure paintings and portraits in the American decennial exhibition of 1900 range from the most "foreign"--detailed narrative or genre paintings of exotic subjects--to the most "American"--paintings of cowboys and Indians. Artists such as Eakins and Brush continued to apply French methods in order to portray American people and places. By the 1900 exposition, however--even though many works were still tightly rendered--strict academic technique was suspected of being too French to represent the American School. In order to create a truly national art, artists began to relax the standards they had worked so hard to obtain in Parisian academies and ateliers in order to assert their cultural independence.

The American paintings that looked most conspicuously European to the critics in 1900 were

executed for the most part by Americans living in Paris, and involved themes from history, literature, or the bible, located in far-away places. More than any of the other Americans exhibiting in the decennial, Frederick Arthur Bridgman (1847-1928) and Edwin Lord Weeks (1849-1903) perpetuated their master Gérôme's penchant for exotic locales and archaeological exactitude.[12]

Bridgman, who had successfully exhibited paintings with Oriental themes since the 1870s, contributed Pharaoh's Army Drowning in the Red Sea (fig. 72) to the decennial of 1900. With its dramatic waves and academically rendered teeming horses, this epic biblical narrative is indistinguishable from French Salon art. When Bridgman began his Exodus series in 1891, it fulfilled his desire to create both Middle Eastern and religious subjects. However, at the 1900 exposition, the subject perhaps communicated an additional meaning to its audience. Pharaoh's Army Drowning in the Red Sea depicts an episode of the Jewish exodus from Egypt. In this context, the Pharaoh's army has been interpreted to be symbolic of the French military who wallowed in shame after Dreyfus was pardoned in the fall of 1899.[13]

Although Edwin Lord Weeks's (1849-1903) Indian Barbers--Saharanpore (fig. 73) illustrates a contemporary everyday event, this genre scene is nonetheless exotic in

terms of its Oriental locale. Technical details, such as tattered garments and the documentary quality of the street scene, reveal Gérôme's influence. These particulars were also necessary to convey a believable scene, since this painting is related to an illustration for his book From the Black Sea Through Persia and India of 1896. Weeks, who had been granted a gold medal in 1889, received no award at all in 1900 for his work, which left Royal Cortissoz "absolutely cold."[14]

Although most of the foreign themes exhibited in 1900 were done by expatriates, artists residing stateside also contributed works illustrating exotic places. This indicates that there is no definitive formula for separating the work of the "American Americans" from that of their expatriated peers. Many American artists at the turn of the century were peripatetic and had a cosmopolitan orientation to both art and life, which made rendering foreign subjects seem natural.

During a trip to Japan for Scribner's Magazine toward the end of his career, the New Yorker Robert Blum captured the beauty of everyday life in A Flower Market in Tokio (c. 1891; Manoogian Collection), as well as in The Ameya (fig. 74). The latter painting depicts a Japanese candy-blower, in essence a craftsman, who specialized in creating birds, animals, and masks out of

syrup.[15] Although variegated in terms of color and texture, Blum's paintings generally adhere to the linearity and volumetric form of academic technique, which he acquired at Cincinnati's McMicken School of Design and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, as well as through his travels in Europe.

Although highly respected in 1900 as a leader of the "New Men" of the 1870s, John La Farge (1835-1910) was not well represented in the decennial. La Farge, who had been among the first Americans to absorb both French Barbizon and Oriental influences, exhibited only two watercolors, both of which had been inspired by his excursion to the remote South Seas with Henry Adams between August 1890 and November 1891.

In the Samoan genre scene, Girls Making Kava (Siva with Siakumu Making Kava in Tofae's House) (fig. 75), half-naked, brown-skinned women prepare an intoxicating ceremonial drink which their American visitors would sample.[16] This watercolor may be a faithful record of native customs, but it is also a rendition of an ideal paradise. With respect to La Farge's sense of light and fresh approach to watercolor, Girls Making Kava corresponds with the naturalism and antiacademicism of the French Barbizon school La Farge had admired since the 1850s, as opposed to the tight linearity of Weeks and

Bridgman.

Americans working in the village of Broadway in Worcestershire, England, utilized detail as the orientalists did, to convey a believable scene. However, the exotic nature of the Broadway paintings had more to do with the element of "time" rather than with "place." Edwin Austin Abbey's The Play Scene in "Hamlet" (fig. 76) is an historical painting of a literary subject. Abbey approached this Shakespearean tragedy by portraying the Danish court watching their future foretold by actors who are not depicted.[17] Abbey received a gold medal for this painting, with its Pre-Raphaelite detail and flatness, as well as for three illustrations.

Although they lived abroad, Abbey and the other Americans in England were often spared the criticism that Cortissoz and others tossed at their compatriots residing in France for looking too academic. In general, the Britain-based artists did not aim to produce Salon art, as did the Americans in France. Their acceptance can also be explained in terms of the Anglomania which swept the United States during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. English history or culture that developed prior to the American Revolution would have been viewed nostalgically by New World critics, since many Americans had British ancestors. For example, as

William Walton commented about Abbey's Hamlet, Shakespeare "is the common property of England and America."[18]

Francis Davis Millet's Elizabethan genre scene The Expansionist (fig. 77), depicting a gentleman pondering over travel memorabilia, reflects the artist's proclivity for both historical subjects and collectibles.[19] In the late 1890s until its completion in 1897, Millet was engaged in restoring his sixteenth-century Abbot's Grange studio to its original state. Around the time of the 1900 exposition, however, Millet turned his attention from British themes such as this to American ones. Millet's insistence on colonial furnishings and preference for explicitly American art for the national pavilion at the fair coincided with and perhaps even fortified this transition. Due to his participation on the international awards jury, Millet was ineligible for a medal in 1900.

As in 1889, figure paintings of European peasants were plentiful in the American decennial display. However, unlike Abbey's or Millet's work, which evokes the past, peasant paintings were thematically contemporary. Peasant themes thus technically fell within the dictates of realism. However, peasants were exotic in their own way because they represented a way of

life, threatened by extinction, which seemed old-fashioned and alien to middle and upper-class artists and their patrons.[20] This was especially true for Americans, who had no peasant class of their own.

Of all the international visitors to the 1900 exposition, peasants alone stood out in their colorful home-spun regional costumes.[21] Their distinctiveness was emphasized even more, since some peasants were actually placed on display for the more "civilized" fairgoers to ogle, many times justified as anthropological exhibitions (fig. 78).[22] In contrast, members of the middle class dressed similarly to each other in ready-to-wear garments. Mass-production of clothing rendered peasant crafts, such as weaving and spinning, virtually obsolete by the turn of the century.

Paintings of peasants thus betrayed their European origin. As an artistic genre, peasants were also associated with Europe, as they had been popularized by the Frenchman Jean-François Millet. Millet, whose work was enthusiastically collected in the United States, had an enormous influence on American artists. Most Americans who depicted peasants worked in art colonies in either Brittany or Holland that had been fashioned after Millet's Barbizon model.[23]

European peasants as subjects were attractive to

Americans in part because they symbolized values, such as hard work and spirituality, which were believed to be on the brink of extinction. The same antimodern qualities Americans extolled after the Centennial Exposition in the colonial revival and the Arts and Crafts movement--for instance quality handwork versus shoddy machine-made objects--can be associated with peasant paintings. A trace of the nationalist sentiment inherent in the colonial revival may also be present, for the peasants of 1900, unlike their urban compatriots, lived much like the European ancestors of many Americans. Artists such as Walter Gay, Marcia and Charles Woodbury, and Emma Lampert Cooper exhibited canvases of peasants as industrious craftspeople. Marcia Oakes Woodbury's watercolor triptych, Mother and Daughter (fig. 79), depicts two women from the Catholic town of Laren, Holland, engaged in the dying crafts of carding and spinning wool.[24]

As in Woodbury's triptych, in which the mother clutches a rosary, peasants were also characterized as a devout lot, holding fast to traditional values. Although the Netherlands was chiefly Protestant, Roman Catholic themes were fashionable among Americans painting there. Conceivably, the artists were attracted to Catholicism's mystical heritage, which was more conducive to religious themes than Protestantism's more temporal character.

George Hitchcock, for example, who founded the American colony in Egmond, Holland, in 1883, depicted a Dutch peasant in the role of the Madonna, complete with halo and lilies, within her hortis conclusis, in his painting Magnificat (fig. 80).

Religious paintings of Catholic Brittany in the American decennial exhibition include Eugene Vail's Evening in Brittany (fig. 81), in which a Breton woman wears a crucifix around her neck, branding her as one of Christ's faithful. The downtrodden mother and daughter in Sargent Kendall's St. Ives, Pray for Me (fig. 82) are very possibly invoking the intercession of the little known thirteenth-century saint Ivo Hélory of Kermartin, Brittany, who was an advocate for the poor. Notorious for their unorthodox rituals, Breton Catholics actually worshipped saints, some of whom were unknown to Rome.[25] In this regard, the denizens of this separatist province seemed more exotic and primitive than other European peasants.

More mundane Protestant themes appear in Elizabeth Nourse's In the Church at Vollendam (1892; Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum), depicting a group of spirited children in the Reformed Dutch church in an otherwise Catholic town.[26] Walter MacEwen's life-sized Dimanche en Hollande (fig. 83) portrays three generations

of women wearing the regional Sunday dress of the Hattem region. In this painting, the youngest woman holds the family Bible, symbolic of the piety she will impart to future generations. More than Catholic images, Protestant themes corresponded with the religious ancestry of the United States. Protestant paintings also related to the colonial revival because they recalled the Dutch heritage of New York.[27]

While peasant imagery was relatively common at the 1900 exposition, its acceptance among the critics had subsided. Paintings which would have been commended in 1889 for their absorption of European methods and subjects were being censured in 1900. Charles Caffin, for example, dismissed the peasant paintings by Walter Gay, Ridgway Knight, Walter MacEwen, and Charles Sprague Pearce, and others, for having "a little of the cleverness and a great deal of the commonplace quality which characterize French painting."[28] Royal Cortissoz found Walter Gay's work, as exemplified by The Weavers (unlocated), to be "empty of interest," and derided Ridgway Knight's A July Morning (fig. 84) for having the "smug sweetness of a Christmas card."[29] In summarizing the work done abroad, Cortissoz concluded, "it is not American work. It does not even properly represent us."

Aside from devout peasants, other explicitly

religious themes also appeared in the American section, with the majority of them having been created abroad. In keeping with Protestantism's aversion to the devotional images of Catholicism, religious subjects were relatively scarce in America. The popularity of religious themes in 1900, evoking the past and the unearthly, can thus be explained in part by the anti-realist influence of symbolism in the 1890s, which reflected the fin-de-siècle taste for escapism.[30]

The symbolists rejected materialism, emphasizing the spiritual and introspective. Even Protestant symbolists participated in a widespread Catholic revival, which was favorable to religious subject matter. Among the works with symbolist overtones in the American exhibit is Henry Ossawa Tanner's 1896 Salon painting Daniel in the Lion's Den (fig. 85). In its careful execution of the lion, this canvas is reminiscent of the animal paintings produced by Tanner's teacher Jean-Paul Laurens. Daniel, Tanner's first major religious work, depicts an enslaved prophet, which may have been meaningful to Tanner as an African-American.[31] Within the context of the Universal Exposition of 1900, this work assumes an additional significance. It is possible that, along with Sargent and Bridgman, Tanner protested the Dreyfus affair by exhibiting this painting of an unjustly persecuted

Hebrew.

Robert Loftin Newman (1827-1912), who resided in New York at the time, avoided strict academic training by studying with Thomas Couture and later had contact with Jean-François Millet. Newman's Christ Stilling the Tempest (fig. 86) represents the miracle, described in the Gospel of Matthew, in which Christ walks on water. This canvas has a spiritual intensity, centering on the small, radiant figure of Christ who remains calm in a raging storm. Such expressive emotion is found elsewhere in American art of the time only in the work of Newman's reclusive friend Albert Pinkham Ryder, who did not exhibit at the 1900 fair.

Other paintings in the American exhibition contained a spiritual element without being linked to any organized religion, and so were less traditionally European in terms of subject. Like Newman in Christ Stilling the Tempest, the expatriate Alexander Harrison's Mystery of the Night (fig. 87) also juxtaposes a contemplative figure with the sea. However, Harrison's painting merely suggests the supernatural. It represents a boy on the brink of an unpredictable yet expansive future symbolized by the vast sea. Harrison's theme is indebted to Whistler's nocturnes in its use of darkness, water, and atmosphere as evocative forces (fig. 88). However,

Harrison, a student of Gérôme, did not dissolve form like the elder master.

Even Winslow Homer (1836-1910), the archetypal "American American" realist painter in 1900, infused an element of spirituality into his work. Homer, a veteran of both the 1867 and 1878 expositions, received his first medal ever in 1900--a gold--for three canvases, including Summer Night (fig. 89). In this work, Homer represented two women dancing on a porch in front of a Prout's Neck seascape. Summer Night is naturalistic in terms of the way this nocturnal scene is believably rendered. However, with its mysterious moon-lit glow and ominous male figures in the middle distance, its effect is that of a provocative dance of life. Homer's Summer Night belongs to an international millenial tendency toward introspection, which Robert Rosenblum has exemplified by Anders Zorn's Midsummer Dance (1897; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) in the Swedish section of the decennial, but which also includes Edvard Munch's Dance of Life (1899-1900; Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo).[32]

Some artists turned to mythology rather than to religion or dream-like reality in order to evoke an otherworldly, escapist sensation. In his 1889 painting In Strange Seas (fig. 90), which had been executed in Paris, George Willoughby Maynard depicted mermaids--

creatures who were known for luring men into unsafe seas and then later abandoning them to die.[33] Their bewitching conduct made mermaids appropriate subjects for symbolist paintings.[34] However, these aquatic sirens were also characters found in ancient legends like the Odyssey, and thus belong to traditionally European subject matter.

Likewise, Charles Curran conjured up peris, the alluring fairy-like creatures from Persian mythology (fig. 91). Curran's The Peris is an outdoor scene in which gossamer-clad nymphs caress a bower of oversized white roses. Like Maynard, Curran lessens the erotic implications in his painting by fashioning the models as unobtainable mythological creatures as opposed to real women.

Although mythological themes had become popular along with Paris training during the 1870s, few such scenes were exhibited in the American decennial of 1900. Most of the mythological paintings that were exhibited, including Kenyon Cox's Pursuit of the Ideal (fig. 92), depicted generalized rather than specific myths. In their paintings with mythical overtones, Curran and Cox, both products of French academies, rendered sheer fabrics to reveal their command of human anatomy.

Nudes had long been associated with the old masters

and French art, and were thus perceived to be "European" subjects. Throughout the history of American art, nudes had been painted but were never fully accepted, often being regarded as illicit in a country with a strong Puritanical tradition.[35] Just a few years before the 1900 exposition, Frederick MacMonnies's nude Baccante with Infant Faun (1893; Metropolitan Museum of Art) was rejected for the courtyard of the Boston Public Library, and a shipment of nude paintings by the French impressionist Pierre-Auguste Renoir was confiscated by United States customs agents for being indecent. In 1907, regarding his distaste for the painting of nude models, Caffin revealed, "one does a lot of things in Paris that one would not speak of in New York or Philadelphia or Boston."[36]

However, with the rise of French training in the late 1870s, concentrating on the study of live models, nudes had become more commonplace than ever in American art. Thorough analysis of the human form became essential to artists such as Thomas Eakins and Kenyon Cox, for example, as part of their scientific approach to painting. Nudes also provided a high-minded link with the Western cultural tradition, especially the classical and Renaissance periods which the Americans so admired.

Still, paintings of nudes in the American section

were relatively uncommon. As Samuel Isham observed a few years after the exposition, "such subjects were not in accord with the national habits."[37] Recounting his visit to the exposition in "The Dynamo and the Virgin," Henry Adams described what he perceived to be America's sexlessness in art, language, and education in 1900.[38] Adams argued that Americans in contrast to the Europeans, were unable to fully appreciate the power of female sexuality, because they believed that sex was sinful. Except for Will Low's At the Spring (fig. 93) and works by the Bostonians Edmund Tarbell (fig. 94), Joseph DeCamp, in Woman Drying Her Hair (1899; Cincinnati Art Museum), and Louis Kronberg, who were well known as figure painters, few nudes were exhibited by resident Americans. Coinciding with Adams's observations, these models, who expose only their backs or their sides, do not radiate sexual energy.

Julius Stewart (1855-1919), an expatriate serving on the Paris jury of selection, posed his presumably French models more openly than did the resident Americans. Stewart was the only American to be included in Paul Armand Silvestre's lavishly illustrated tome Le Nu à l'Exposition 1900. Nymphs of Nysa (fig. 95), one of two nudes by Stewart in the decennial, depicts two sun-dappled young women standing in the woods as integral

parts of nature. Nymphs of Nysa bears strong similarities to work in the French section such as Antonin Mercié's Eve (fig. 96), in terms of its almost photographic precision that Stewart learned from Gérôme. The somewhat seductive smile of the nymph on the left betrays Stewart's affinities with Beaux-Arts realism. However, even Stewart's nudes fail to confront the viewer directly, unlike the French artist's more voluptuous and dynamic Eve. Even with her biblical pedigree, Eve nonetheless remains more a "channel of force," (to use Adams's words) than Stewart's neo-paganistic nymphs.

In general, American artists in Europe portrayed women with less attention to Victorian propriety than did their counterparts at home. This was especially true in the case of paintings of performers. For example, the expatriate Julian Story's Columbine (fig. 97)--a stock figure in the commedia dell'arte--reveals a mid-calf hemline which was too high to have been socially acceptable at the time for everyday dress. Foreign actresses and dancers were popular models for paintings because they were somewhat exotic, and were generally not of the same class as the artists or patrons. Since they did not reflect American standards, they did not require the same degree of modesty that would have been expected of a real American woman.

The Paris-American William T. Dannat's (1853-1929) Otero (fig. 98) conforms with the realist theme of Spanish dancers, which had been established by Eduard Manet in the 1860s and perpetuated by artists such as John Singer Sargent and William Merritt Chase in their paintings of the dancer Carmencita (1890, Musée d'Orsay; and 1890, Metropolitan Museum of Art, respectively). Otero, which appears in the French catalogue, was most likely accepted to the exhibition, but was probably never installed. It is not listed in subsequent catalogues or reports. This could be interpreted as a reflection upon Dannat's declining reputation. For example, after the 1889 exposition, Dannat was the only American artist to be honored with admittance into the French Legion of Honor.[39] In 1900, however, Dannat's tightly rendered work merited no commendations at all. Royal Cortissoz claimed that he mentioned Dannat's paintings (which also included the unlocated Portrait of Miss C.) in his review last, because, "that unimpressive position is eminently suited to their demerits."[40]

The relaxation of hemlines and necklines in contemporary dress was a result of the latest work of the French couturiers. American women abroad could dress more fashionably than those at home because Paris was the only place to purchase haute couture. The latest

examples of high fashion in the American exhibition were worn by femmes du monde, such as an unidentified woman--perhaps the Duchess of Mecklenberg--in a portrait by Dannat (fig. 99). This canvas reveals a daring décolletage that none of the resident American women appearing in the decennial could rival.

A year before he returned to the United States, Fred Dana Marsh (1872-1961) portrayed his wife in the latest Parisian fashion in The Lady in Scarlet (fig. 100)--wearing a plumed hat, neck band, and a sequined, scarlet, off-the-shoulder dress. This painting can be read in terms of Henry James's observations on the distinctions between the way women dressed in Paris and at home. In The Ambassadors of 1903, James compared the New England dowager Mrs. Newsome with the fashionable expatriate Maria Gostrey, who is dressed like Mrs. Marsh:

> Mrs. Newsome's dress was never in any degree "cut down" ["in respect to shoulders and bosom"], and she never wore around her throat a red velvet band.[41]

This could be interpreted as a generational as well as national difference, which is also the point, since it reveals French influence upon modern dress.

In contrast to the way gentrified women in Europe were portrayed, even young women at home were seldom depicted in garments revealing bare shoulders, low necklines, or high hemlines. William Merritt Chase's

gold medal picture Woman with a White Shawl, exhibited as Portrait of Mrs. C. (fig. 101), which was lent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, epitomizes the wholesome ideal of American womanhood at the time. According to the artist, Mrs. Clark, the model for the painting, was the original "Gibson Girl," with her "clear-cut face with a splendid profile - a steadfast expression of sweetness, loveliness, womanliness, and above all else, dignity and simplicity. . . ."[42] Martha Banta has asserted in her 1987 book that the Gibson Girl (named after the illustrations of Charles Dana Gibson), in her role as the "nation's primary means for identifying its values to the world," needed to look like a White Anglo-Saxon Princess.[43]

Cecilia Beaux's Mother and Daughter (fig. 102) exemplifies turn-of-the-century puritanical values. This full-length double portrait documents the social debut of the daughter of a Philadelphia shipper and financier. Both Mrs. Clement Griscom and her daughter Frances are elegantly yet modestly wrapped in their evening cloaks. In her debut as a marriageable American women, Frances displayed regular Northern European features and proper attire that insured that she was the best "breeding stock."[44] In contrast, Beaux's Portrait of Miss [Anna] Fisher (fig. 103) represents the emerging type of

American woman, a 5' 11" athletic "New Woman," who dares to wear an open, but not risque, neckline.[45]

In figure paintings such as Edmund C. Tarbell's Across the Room (fig. 104), American women were often portrayed lounging about in unpretentious yet expensive dresses, just as ornamental as the art objects surrounding them. Beautiful, idle women were reflections of their husbands' material success during a flourishing economic period in America. However, images of American women as introspective creatures were at odds with a quickly changing reality. As the Frenchman S. C. de Soissons observed in 1898:

> The American woman is neither languishing, nor romantic; she lives on real meat and live doings. . . . Lawn tennis, garden parties, football, skating, rowing absorb all of her time without leaving a moment for day dreaming.[46]

As was the case with peasant paintings, artists, who wanted to please their male patrons, idealized the traditional lifestyles of American women.

One tactic that served to reinforce the nostalgic notion of woman as ornament was to title paintings after the objects depicted, rather than the woman portrayed, as exemplified in Edmund Tarbell's The Venetian Blind (fig. 94). This practice deemphasized the woman's presence as human being because she loses top billing to inanimate objects. In a less materialistic vein, women were also

identified with flowers, as in Robert Reid's Azaleas (fig. 105), and Mary MacMonnies's self-portrait with her daughter, Lilies and Roses (fig. 106). These titles suggest that women, like flowers, are beautiful, delicate, and prolific elements of nature. Both Reid and MacMonnies responded to the light and color of impressionism in these open-air scenes, while retaining the solid form of their academic training. Aside from these floral paintings, few canvases in the exhibition portrayed women out of doors.

Nowhere in the exhibition was American womanhood more exalted than in Abbott Thayer's Virgin Enthroned (fig. 107). Virgin Enthroned was perceived to be such a powerful icon of American femininity that Royal Cortissoz rhapsodized, "a nation that could produce a work like this, the foreigner must say, is a nation to reckon with."[47] At the exposition, critics such as Cortissoz praised this canvas for representing real American womanhood. Indeed, Thayer's children, his daughter Mary in the central position, are portrayed as recognizable individuals.

However, in addition to communicating the chastity of his elder daughter, Virgin Enthroned also conveyed associations with the past as well as with the supernatural. As the reviewer for the Nation explained:

> . . . the dignity of the composition, suggested by the early Italian and Flemish Madonnas, and the independence with which Mr. Thayer, adapting it to his modern method, has steered clear of. . . sensationalism. . . . Love of beauty has been his inspiration, and so well has he succeeded that the little child, wholly modern and American, kneeling to the right of the Virgin, against the vague blue background, is as lovely as the angels of Bellini. It would have been strange had a gold medal been refused.[48]

At first glance, it seems inconsistent that such a potent symbol of American womanhood should be presented in the guise of the Virgin at a time when the United States was attempting to assert its cultural independence. However, it was only after the Catholic Madonna had been secularized (and therefore Protestantized), modernized, and Americanized by artists that the Virgin became an appealing pictorial theme at the turn of the century.

In fact, it was precisely the historical and spiritual elements that gave Virgin Enthroned and other paintings of the American Virgin at the exhibition their significance. As a product of the American Renaissance, these images are heir to the western pictorial tradition, especially of the Italian Renaissance--the period which the sometimes haughty Americans believed their own era equalled. For example, in the Pennsylvania Academy Mother and Child (fig. 108), George de Forest Brush appropriated the tondo format of Italian Renaissance paintings, suggesting a legitimate artistic pedigree.

While the traditional religious character of the Madonna and Child is evoked, Mother and Child also serves as a portrait of Brush's wife and daughter (with their son on the sidelines in the position customarily reserved for John the Baptist). Thus, the double identity of the sitters--as mother and child in contemporary dress as well as Madonna and Child--serves a dual purpose. In addition to imparting a spiritual meaning, this portrait also presents Brush himself as both a model citizen and Christian for "having" such a wholesome family.

Paintings such as Brush's celebrated American women as the vessel of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock. Brush's own lineage corresponds with this notion, since his Dutch ancestors had been established in America since the seventeenth century. Furthermore, depicting women such as Brush's wife, who had already given birth, as the Virgin, implied that a sexless conception had taken place. This coincides with Henry Adams's perception of America as a sexless society. The American Virgin paintings also suggested that, like the Madonna, the sitter was morally superior to all other women. What differed, however, was that while the status of the Virgin Mary was unique in Catholicism, any upstanding white Anglo-Saxon woman could aspire to the position of American Virgin in the United States. American Virgins

were more democratic, and thus characteristically American.

The American Virgin paintings of around 1900 were also responses to an even deeper, more spiritual need--the desire for a goddess figure. Henry Adams believed that although the "force of the Virgin was still felt at Lourdes, and seemed to be as potent as X-rays. . . neither Venus nor the Virgin ever had value as force" in America.[48] Protestant mariolatry was not uncommon during the heyday of symbolism, as evidenced by the numerous paintings of the subject and the rise in Anglo-Catholicism.[50]

By instilling the American Virgins with cultural and spiritual intensity, artists such as Thayer and Brush created a force to challenge the Catholic Madonna. This was especially useful during an era of mass immigration from predominantly Catholic eastern and southern Europe which threatened Anglo-Saxon prominence in America. Peasants who had seemed charming in their own quaint European villages quickly lost their exotic appeal when they were transformed into American factory workers on Ellis Island.[51] These new immigrants would not be considered fully American until they shed the last vestiges of foreign accents and appearances.[52]

In contrast, the paintings of the Virgin by American

artists done in Europe usually retain their original Catholic identity. In Europe, only wholesome country women, as opposed to femmes du monde, were worthy of posing for the elevated role of the Madonna. These women, as exemplified by Hitchcock's Magnificat (fig. 80), are not secularized as in the American Virgin paintings, but assumed the identity of the Catholic Madonna about to be filled with the Holy Spirit, as the title of this painting indicates. Hitchcock's fidelity to Catholic dogma is in the academic tradition, as exemplified by Bouguereau's La Vierge et l'Enfant (fig. 18) in the French decennial, which celebrates the Assumption of the Virgin into heaven.

Mother and child paintings were popular on both sides of the Atlantic, with artists as diverse as John White Alexander, Walter Gay, Walter MacEwen, Albert Sterner, Mary MacMonnies, Cecilia Beaux, John Singer Sargent, and George de Forest Brush exhibiting paintings of the subject at the exposition. A number of artists posed members of their own family for these portraits, as in the case of Thayer and Brush. This contrasts with the 1889 Paris exposition, when only Edwin Blashfield and Edmund Tarbell exhibited paintings of their spouses.[53] In 1900, however, the resident Americans George de Forest Brush, Benjamin Porter, James Carroll Beckwith, and the

expatriates Fred Dana Marsh (fig. 100), Julian Story, and Charles Sprague Pearce (fig. 109) exhibited portraits of their wives; many others displayed likenesses of their children or parents, as in the case of Irving Wiles's The Artist's Mother and Father (1899; Corcoran Gallery).

This turn toward intimate portraiture is best illustrated by Brush's The Artist (fig. 110) of 1892, the first of the artist's mother and child series. In this portrait, Brush includes himself, sitting on the floor sketching his young family. He is both part of the painting and observer, proud father and professional artist. Brush's son Gerome (appropriately named after his master), stands in the center, while his demure wife Mary, dressed in a plain dark gown, tenderly holds daughter Nancy. The children's nurse, whose presence is an indicator of the Brushes' economic success, stands behind the trio.[54]

Like their mothers, American children--the hope of the country's future--were also rendered in an ideal light. Frank Benson submitted two paintings of his children to the 1900 exposition, Children in the Woods (1898; private collection), a portrait of Eleanor and George, and his more luminous The Sisters (fig. 111) depicting his daughters Elisabeth and Sylvia. Painted in a breezy impressionistic style, these canvases imply both

innocence and a bright future for these all-American children who seem to radiate health.[55] Other paintings of children that were exhibited include Abbott Thayer's portrait of his children, Brother and Sister (1889; National Museum of American Art), Robert Vonnoh's commissioned portrait, Little Louise [Elkins] (fig. 112), and paintings by Gari Melchers and Julius Rolshoven.

Since the 1870s, figure paintings of women had dominated American art. In part, this was a response to the increased exposure Americans had to French art, in which paintings of women were commonplace. The social climate of the time also supported the pictorial shift from landscape and genre paintings to figure paintings of women. Women were regarded as being more culturally astute than men, and so were perceived as civilizing agents.[56] Thus, the paintings of wholesome American women in the decennial, as opposed to the femmes fatales in the European sections, presented the United States as a civilized "empire" which had not yet slipped into the decadence of decline.

By 1900, however, masculine themes, although never totally abandoned, gained increased significance to counter the French-influenced refinement and femininity associated with the Gilded Age. Males were associated with the Dynamo, rather than the Virgin, and were

appropriate subjects for expressing the modernity of the United States. John George Brown (1831-1913), who had been at the height of his career in the 1870s, before French influence became rampant, managed to maintain his reputation. Brown's Heels Over Head (fig. 113), an energetic, and perhaps unruly collection of gamins doing hand springs, is reminiscent of the numerous genre paintings of the Jacksonian era depicting active boys and men. Because Brown's models are recent immigrants (unlike the artist who had been in the United States for nearly half a century by this time), this work also recalls peasant paintings in its depiction of the picturesque "other."

The figure paintings and portraits of men submitted by other stateside artists likewise reflected a renewed sense of virility in American art. Eastman Johnson, another veteran of the antebellum period, who had been one of Thomas Couture's first American students, exhibited Prisoner of State (fig. 114). Resurrecting this 1874 painting of a defiant political prisoner looking toward the sunlight beyond the bars of his cell, may have been yet another demonstration of American outrage against the incarceration of Alfred Dreyfus.

William Henry Hyde's Henry Codman Potter of New York (unlocated; photograph at the Frick Art Reference

Library) and Archibald Anderson's Elihu Root (fig. 115), are both portrayals of reputable and powerful men. The Episcopal Bishop Potter was famous for leading a campaign against corruption in New York, which included condemning wealthy art collectors for not opening their galleries to the public.[57] Root, the nation's highest paid corporate attorney of the 1890s, was made Secretary of War in 1899. As model citizens, both men were worthy of representing their nation at the exposition, presenting an interesting foil to the corrupt French military in the wake of the Dreyfus incident.

In Anderson's portrait, Root looks the viewer straight in the eye. He exudes a distinguished and business-like air, which is reinforced by the austere background. In terms of its clear delineation, this portrait recalls the work by the artist's master, Léon Bonnat. Caffin later labelled psychological portraits like those of Potter and Root, and Frederick Porter Vinton's Alonson Beard (fig. 116) as having "character versus esprit," functioning as "powerful records of the strong breed that is shaping the life of affairs in modern America."[58]

In paintings with "esprit," in contrast, "a flat manner of painting" and ethereal considerations outweigh individual personalities. A painting full of "esprit" is

John White Alexander's portrait of Auguste Rodin (fig. 117), which immortalizes France's most famous sculptor, rather than its highest paid lawyer or most eminent cleric. Alexander's sitter is an aesthete rather than a man of action or social commitment, and the portrayal is marked by Whistlerian subtlety and vagueness, as were Alexander's two other paintings at the fair.

A portrait by an expatriate with more character than esprit, however, is Gari Melchers's (1860-1932) Fencing Master (fig. 118). At the 1889 fair, Melchers, a long-term expatriate, had been honored with a Grand Prize. Conversely, in 1900, Melchers was awarded absolutely nothing for the three paintings he submitted. In his review of the American decennial, Royal Cortissoz dismissed Melchers's work for its "rude realism."[59]

Melchers's Fencing Master is a figure painting which also functions as a portrait d'apparat, revealing something particular about the sitter's occupation. The artist's friend, the Frenchman Ernest Noir, is formally outfitted in a fencer's uniform.[60] Melchers, who had studied in Düsseldorf as well as with Lefebvre and Boulanger, remembered his lessons in both modelling and figure drawing. Tight detail is achieved uniformly throughout the composition.

In contrast to Melchers, the status of the resident

American Thomas Eakins's (1844-1916) work increased during the last few years of the nineteenth century. Eakins's reputation had been strained since the 1876 Centennial exposition when The Gross Clinic (Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia) was installed in the U.S. Army Post Hospital, rather than in the fine arts section, due to its grisly realism.

In 1896, however, Eakins's Cello Player (fig. 119) won the Temple Fund Purchase prize from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, the same institution that had dismissed the artist a decade earlier for numerous reasons, including his unabashed attitudes towards nude models in his art classes.[61] Eakins, who had studied with both Gérôme and Bonnat, paid relentless attention to both detail and the anatomy of the figure. However, Eakins's model Rudolph Hennig practices the cello in a normal suit,[62] and so exudes a more casual, and thus American, demeanor.

Salutat (fig. 120), which Eakins also exhibited in 1900, was praised at the time for being "as astonishing in its vigor and truth as his portrait."[63] Salutat depicts the victorious Billy Smith after a prize fight. In terms of both composition and execution, particularly in the analysis of the male anatomy, this work is reminiscent of Gérôme's Ave Caesar (1859; Yale University

Art Gallery).[64] However, critics who were eager to establish an American School of art in 1900 were among the first of many who saw only the American subject, and were blinded to French influence upon Eakins.

Between Rounds (1899; Philadelphia Museum of Art), another painting from Eakins's fight series, was also accepted to the exhibition, but may not have been installed, as it was not included in either the American catalogue or final report. Even more than Salutat, Between Rounds takes the viewer behind the scenes into the male world of sports. In his History of American Art of 1902, the critic Sadakichi Hartmann praised Eakins's efforts in presenting masculine subjects, claiming, "Our American art is so effeminate at present that it would do no harm to have it inoculated with just some . . . brutality. . . ."[65]

Like Eakins, Winslow Homer painted American male and sporting themes throughout the expatriate period. Homer, one of the few American artist who had not been trained abroad during this period, had lived on the Maine coast since 1883, specializing in man's struggles with the forces of nature. The Lookout - All's Well (fig. 121), depicting a rugged sailor sounding the all clear to his shipmates after a storm, seemed especially American with its emphasis upon physical strength and self-reliance.

This is reinforced by Homer's rough brushwork and powerful asymmetrical composition.

In other paintings of men in the American decennial, New World farmers were honored in Julian Alden Weir's impressionistic Midday Rest in New England (fig. 122) and Horatio Walker's more muted Spring Ploughing (fig. 123). The farming theme in these works may have been inspired by the Barbizon School. However, only a little sentimentality and exoticism of the earlier French painters remain. Weir's painting, for example, represents contemporary wage-earning farmers during their lunch break. Although farmers were becoming a vanishing breed at the time, they could still be found throughout the New England countryside.

Other resident Americans translated the exotic genre themes they assimilated in France into an American idiom. For example, pharaohs and sheiks were displaced by cowboys and Indians. Western themes were especially timely in 1900, since the American frontier had just been officially closed a decade earlier and the native American population had all but been exterminated. These events radically altered the geographic and racial composition of the nation, and how Americans saw themselves as evidenced in social theories of the time. Responding to this shift, the historian Frederick Jackson

Turner rejected European influence in a momentous speech to the Congress of Historians at the Chicago exposition in 1893, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In this lecture, Turner professed that America's national character was shaped not by Europe, but by the western frontier.[66]

Turner's frontier spirit is reflected in Charles Schreyvogel's (1861-1912) My Bunkie (fig. 124), an action-packed western drama idealizing an earlier era. This painting of cavalrymen at battle with Indians (who do not merit inclusion in the painting) focuses on one soldier assisting a bunk mate who has lost his mount.[67] My Bunkie could easily pass for a patriotic caricature of Theodore Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" charging up San Jan Hill as they had just two years previously.

Roosevelt, who was the vice president of the United States in 1900, popularized this new image of American masculinity. From his writings about the struggle with the Indians in his multi-volume The Winning of the West (1889-1896), to his military escapades during the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt had become the embodiment of both American manliness and imperialism.

Victory for Schreyvogel's cavalrymen over a group of invisible Native Americans was virtually guaranteed, both in terms of pictorial narrative and of reality.

Therefore, this battle scene was palatable for a genteel audience. Paintings of confrontational subjects were uncommon in turn-of-the-century American art. Unlike the earlier Parisian expositions--which showcased works such as Eastman Johnson's Old Kentucky Home - Life in the South (1859; The New-York Historical Society; at the 1867 exposition) and Eakins's 1878 watercolor The Dancing Lesson (fig. 7; at the Paris exposition of 1889)--no paintings of blacks or immigrants (with the possible exception of J.G. Brown's Heels Over Head), both threats to Anglo-Saxon authority, were included in the exhibition of 1900.

The only portrayal of an American Indian in the paintings galleries was Ayer Elbridge Burbank's Thi-ich-no-pa (Navajo) (unlocated); Joseph Sharp's Head of Cheyenne (fig. 125), was exhibited with the watercolors. Additionally, no paintings relating to critical current issues such as labor disputes or urban strife were exhibited in the paintings display. Even references to American history were rare in the paintings decennial, as their appearance would have run counter to the interests of the exposition organizers in publicizing domestic problems for an international audience.[68] The aim was to advertise the United States as a utopia.

The only oil paintings in the exhibition that

related to specific incidents in the nation's past were two figureless ship portraits by Carleton Chapman (1860-1925). Chapman's Oregon in Action (unlocated), depicting a ship that had won a naval victory in the 1898 Spanish-American War, would have been interpreted by exhibition visitors as a symbol of American victory over Old World Spain. Likewise, Chapman's Constitution and Guerrière (fig. 126) commemorates the U.S. conquest of the Guerrière during the War of 1812. This ship, which had originally been a French frigate, was captured by the British during the French and Indian War. Thus, in two paintings, Chapman has illustrated triumph over Spanish, French, and British colonialism in the Americas.

Even though some of the best prizes in the American decennial were to be awarded to portrait and figure painters, Cauldwell described what he saw as "a weakness in our figure paintings" in his final report on the exposition to Congress.[69] Cauldwell's preference for landscape as an expression of nationality was shared by the critics.

For example, while a critic for the Boston Transcript dated the birth of "American" portraiture and figure painting to the 1893 exposition, he traced uniquely American landscape painting to the Paris exposition of 1889, claiming:

> While there is no questioning the merit of our portrait school, as represented at Paris, Americanism may not be predicated on it with the same unhesitating, uncompromising assurance as of our landscape school. . . . The average American landscape astray in a French exhibit could hardly escape detection; the average American portrait, on the other hand, similarly displaced, might readily be mistaken for the product of a Frenchman's brush.[70]

The reviewer attributed this to the "impossibility of giving to a portrait 'local color' which is so easy to do in landscape." In the Nation, this sentiment was reiterated:

> But when all is said, it is not in the portraits that the originality of the American artist is revealed. What strikes me most is the fact that an entirely new school of American landscape has sprung up in America.[71]

Landscapes, Marines, Still Lifes, Animals, and City Scenes

American artists--expatriate and resident alike--exhibited relatively few paintings of "foreign" scenery at the 1900 exposition, conceivably because such scenes did not convey national character. Among the resident Americans, John La Farge contributed a watercolor from his South Seas excursion, Mt. Tohivea, from the Edge of Rotui, Island of Moorea, Society Islands, South Pacific,

1891 (fig. 127). Views of Venice were displayed by Walter Palmer (fig. 128) and William Gedney Bunce, and Thomas Allen sent a painting depicting England's Grasmere Meadows.

The most popular of foreign sites among American artists in 1900, however, continued to be the French countryside. Since the 1860s, Americans had habitually ventured outside of Paris in search of picturesque locations, first as art students during their summer break, and again as professionals. Even though he had specialized in New England scenes since returning home from France in 1889, Willard Metcalf exhibited his colorful impressionistic view of French rooftops in Midsummer Twilight (fig. 129).

William Lamb Picknell's (1853-1897) On the Banks of the Loing (fig. 43) faithfully records the river which runs through the town of Moret-sur-Loing near Barbizon where the artist lived until his death in 1897. This work was displayed apart from the decennial installation--in the United States national pavilion. Because he had already died, Picknell was ineligible to receive a medal, and so his presence in the Grand Palais was not required for that purpose. However, other recently deceased artists, such as Theodore Robinson, George Inness, and Alexander Wyant, who specialized in American scenery,

were not similarly banished. It appears, then, that Picknell's work may have been exiled because his subject matter is foreign and would not have enhanced the crusade for an American School of art.

In a review for Brush and Pencil, the Americans who exhibited landscapes of foreign scenes were castigated. The writer Ellis T. Clarke reasoned that an American artist "may paint brilliant canvases that please for an hour, but in interpreting foreign scenes he must needs [sic.] look through alien eyes, and his pictures will likely be characterized by lack of sympathy and truth." As Clarke elaborated:

> Those who are guilty have yet to learn that there shall be more joy over one honest and sincere American horsepond, over one truthful and dirty tenement, over one unaffected sugar-refinery, over one vulgar but unostentatious coal wharf, than there shall be over ninety and nine Mosques of St. Sophia, Golden Horns, Normandy Cathedrals, and all the rest of the holy conventionalities and orthodox bosh that have gone to gladden the heart of the auctioneer and deprave American artists.[72]

Clarke's conviction that an artist must paint familiar subjects in order to be "honest" echoes often repeated Ruskinian and realist precepts, but with an added sense of nativism.

Unlike any other subject in painting during the turn of the century, identifiable American scenes literally mirrored the United States and functioned as patriotic

symbols. A good example of this is Theodore Robinson's (1852-1896) Port Ben, Delaware and Hudson Canal (fig. 130), the same painting that the Metropolitan Museum's board had rejected for purchase a few years earlier. Painted the summer after Robinson returned to America in 1892, Port Ben represents a specific location in Naponoch, New York, in the Catskill Mountains.

When it opened in 1828, the Delaware and Hudson Canal was a symbol of American technological strength. Since Robinson had been searching for American subject matter when he arrived home from France, the nationalistic content of this painting was probably intentional.[73] Robinson's desire to represent his native land could have been inspired by his friend Claude Monet. In the 1890s, Monet expressed his own patriotism with a number of uniquely French scenes, such as his Rouen Cathedral series.[74]

At the exposition, impressionistic landscapes were exhibited by the estate of the American-trained Edward Taber (1863-1896) a specialist in Vermont scenes (fig. 124), as well as by the Munich-educated William Chase (1849-1916), who submitted the first of his many Long Island landscapes, First Touch of Autumn (unlocated). Theodore Steele (1847-1926), who had also studied in Munich, exhibited The Bloom of the Grape (fig. 131), an

autumnal scene along Indiana's Muscatatuck River.[75] Steele was the lone representative in 1900 of the Hoosier School of American impressionism, which had been so admired at the Chicago fair only seven years earlier.

Along with the figure paintings by Frank Benson, Mary MacMonnies, Julian Alden Weir and a few others, these landscapes were among the surprisingly few examples of impressionism in the American section. This was so even though American artists had domesticated impressionism by the 1890s, and that movement continued to be popular until the first World War.[76] One possible explanation for this is that Cauldwell preferred more muted paintings which harmonized with his exhibition design. However, as will be explained later, many other factors were also involved.

Rather, the pictorial tendency that dominated American landscapes at the 1900 exposition was tonalism. Many of the landscapes in the American galleries--while not immune to impressionist and realist influences--were primarily tonalist; they were muted in color and refined but not belabored in terms of execution. Tonalism, a style which was contemporaneous with American impressionism, was most influenced by the work of both James McNeill Whistler and the French Barbizon painters, but was also inspired by the Hague School.[77]

The Barbizon School's nostalgia for the past reappeared in the tonalists' adoration of craftsmanship, which was also reinforced by the arts and crafts movement and the colonial revival. Tonalists strove for a hand-made look in their paintings. Brushwork was visible, and sometimes layers of glazes created an enamel-like surface. Following Whistler's example, frames were often custom-made to suit individual paintings.

Even though tonal paintings were object-like when displayed in coordinating hand-carved frames, the tonalists strove to be antimaterialistic--another Whistlerian tendency. This was achieved through atmospheric effects, subtle textures and gradations of color, and unpretentious subject matter. In this way, tonalism was antithetical to impressionism, which attracted buyers with bright colors and, in the case of American impressionism, solidly constructed objects.

The small, elegant canvases that the tonalists submitted to the American decennial display had never been seen before as a group in Europe. The tonalists, who did not desire to produce Salon-style art, rarely sent their work abroad. In tune with Cauldwell's aesthetic installation, the tonalist paintings appeared particularly harmonious.

The three landscape painters who were extolled for

having initiated an American School of landscape painting were George Inness, Alexander Wyant, and Homer Dodge Martin, all of whom displayed tonalist tendencies before they died in the 1890s. Although he was a contemporary of the earlier Hudson River School generation, George Inness (1825-1894) had never truly adopted wide panoramas or minute details when they were fashionable. Because he was inspired early on by the Barbizon painters and Whistler's aestheticism, George Inness seemed hopelessly European to mid-century American critics.

For the 1889 decennial, when his work was beginning to be appreciated, Inness refused to participate, but the art committee secured one of his works anyway from a private lender.[78] At the 1893 Chicago fair, Inness exhibited fifteen landscapes, more than anyone else. All but one of these canvases were lent by his agent, the New York collector Thomas B. Clarke.

At the Clarke sale of 1899, Inness's The Clouded Sun (fig. 132) had fetched an impressive $6,100 from the Carnegie Institute. Henri Pène du Bois claimed that Inness's works sold so well at that auction because the artist "understood color the way a great poet understands rhyme."[79] By the time the exposition of 1900 opened, Inness was hailed as the one true leader of the new American School of landscape painting, generously

represented by three canvases, The Clouded Sun, The Mill Pond (fig. 11), and A Sunny Autumn Day (fig. 133).[80]

Inness's works from the 1890s, as exemplified by The Clouded Sun, belong to his late, tonalist style. The Clouded Sun is bathed in a steady ethereal light, which peeks through the darkened clouds. An overall gray-green tonality and soft focus permeate this lyrical canvas. Inspired by his religious beliefs, Inness's flattened forms convey the two-dimensional otherworld of the Christian sect of Swedenborgianism, rather than a three-dimensional reality. For Inness, every object in the material world had an anti-materialistic correspondence in the spirit world. According to the critic Charles De Kay, Inness believed that "the symbolization of the Divine Trinity is reflected in mathematical relations of perspective and aerial distance," thus explaining Inness's almost abstract approach to pictorial space.[81]

The mystical connotations of the landscapes by Inness and others at the turn of the century coincide with the mysticism and escapism inherent in symbolism. In essence, Inness portrayed the "spirit" of the place rather than the actual earthly place itself, thus abandoning naturalism for a purified pictorial space. These landscapes continue the associational overtones found in American landscapes since the 1820s, however,

their symbolic meaning reflected the concerns of the 1890s.

In Hudson River School paintings, the Creator's presence was implied with a "magisterial gaze,"[82] or "God's-eye view." This assured American viewers that the United States was being endoweded with a Manifest Destiny to conquer the continent. The meticulously rendered canvases of mid century recorded every detail of the expansive and uncultivated New World as it entered the Arcadian phase of Empire.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century, however, when the frontier had already been conquered, a new visualization of God's beneficence upon the nation was needed to correspond with an Empire on the threshold of Consummation. In Inness's late landscapes, there is an all-over metaphysical presence. God is thus everywhere, symbolized by the celestial light which seems to permeate every fiber of the canvas. As De Kay has explained, "In the mind of Inness, religion, landscape, and human nature mingle so thoroughly that there is no separating the several ideas."[83] The countryside is idealized to such an extent that it is transformed into the New Jerusalem of Swedenborgianism. Just like any Anglo-Saxon woman could potentially become an American Madonna, similarly any "wholesome" American location

could ostensibly attain a heavenly perfection.

The type of landscape that was venerated by Inness and his fellow tonalists was intimate and "civilized," as opposed to both the "savage" panoramas of the Hudson River School or views of the "decadent" city, metaphorically analogous to the later stages of Empire. The overcrowded city, with its rapidly increasing dependence upon industrialization, was generally too stress-provoking to serve as a tonalist paradise.

Most tonalist painters and patrons, themselves feeling like "overcivilized" city dwellers, mainly from New York, took refuge in landscapes which recalled the often rural past of their own childhoods.[84] In The Clouded Sun, a field with trees, country homes, a solitary figure, and a cow, provided for a spiritually renewing and nostalgic site for turn-of-the-century viewers.

Although Inness's The Clouded Sun and other paintings at the exposition provide no visual clues as to the identity of the site, critics believed they embodied an American essence. The art historian Michael Quick has pointed out that such paintings had a patriotic appeal, as "established farms and villages are deeply rooted in our national identity."[85] But it was more than that.

Already attractive rural sites were further

complemented by a hazy vision which acts as an equalizer unifying discordant form, light and color. Soft focus vision does not reveal flaws. Because tonalist scenes are so equivocal, the viewer is asked to fill in the details with his\her own imagination. This keeps the potential for perfection--the ultimate realization of Progress, or the apogee of Empire--alive. Because nothing is fixed, anything (as long as it is uplifting) is possible.

For Inness and his contemporaries, ignoring details also meant abandoning the French academic realism practiced by Americans such as Picknell, for instance, in On the Banks of the Loing (fig. 43). Inness's work of the late 1880s and early 1890s was also perceived as being uniquely American stylistically as well. In 1900, the critic for the Nation proclaimed that Inness had surpassed French Barbizon painting with his new style by relinquishing the French painters' austerity.[86] But he also created a new type of space, replicating not the material world but one consistent with the internal order of the picture frame, and the two dimensional quality of the canvas--a modern quality which has been linked with post-impressionism.

Homer Dodge Martin (1836-1897), whose work also brought high prices at the Clarke sale, was likewise

represented in the decennial by three works: Westchester Hills (fig. 134), Newport Neck (fig. 135), and The Adirondacks (The Berkshire Museum). Unlike Inness, Martin's canvases in the exhibition portray specific American scenes of the northeastern countryside. Westchester Hills, which had been sold in the Evans sale earlier in 1900 for $5,300, is documented by its title. Although this work has an overall tonality and muted colors, its wide angle view and high degree of detail is reminiscent of the Hudson River School.

Alexander Wyant's (1836-1892) work at the exposition included Sunlit Vale (fig. 136), In the Adirondacks (fig. 137),[87] and Moonlight and Frost (fig. 138). The vista in Wyant's A Sunlit Vale from 1886 is expansive--again, a hold-over from the Hudson River School tradition. However, the more recent Moonlight and Frost of c. 1891, which had been lent to the exposition by Mrs. George Hearn, is intimate in focus, with a muted palette and opalescent light. With its full haloed moon and chilling frost, this painting elicits an emotional response.

In 1896, Inness, Wyant, and Martin had been included along with ten younger artists in an exhibition entitled American Landscape Painters, held at the Lotos Club in New York. This exhibition was organized by the collector William T. Evans, the club's new chairman. The club's

members also included the painter Henry Ward Ranger and the collector George Hearn, fellow champions of the tonalist aesthetic. Evans's show sowed the seeds for formation of the Society of American Landscape Painters, which held its first exhibition in 1899 at the American Art Association Galleries in New York.

In effect, the Society of Landscape Painters functioned as the tonalist organization.[88] The Society was an elite group, as each member belonged to either the Society of American Artists or the National Academy of Design. Unlike another select group founded just a year earlier, the Ten American Painters, the landscape society did not secede from the larger organizations.

All but one of the twelve members of the landscape society, the cattle painter Carleton Wiggins, exhibited in Paris in 1900. Eight of the members--Walter Clark, George Bogert, Charles Harold Davis, Robert Minor, Frederick Kost, John Francis Murphy, Bruce Crane, and Walter Palmer--received some sort of award, leaving only William Coffin, Leonard Ochtman, and Robert Swain Gifford empty-handed.

William Coffin (1855-1925), who had been offended in 1889 by the preferential treatment given to the expatriates, must have felt vindicated as an "American American" in 1900, even though he personally did not reap

official rewards. Coffin's red-streaked Sunrise (fig. 139), painted on a snowy morning, is typical of the Society of Landscape Painters's tonalist work in its attention to moods of nature, and subtle gradations of tone.

The tendency to express nature's dispositions, in terms of times of day or seasons of the year, was popularized by the Barbizon artists and was later adopted by the impressionists. Moodiness is also apparent in such tonalist landscapes as John Francis Murphy's silvery Under Gray Skies (fig. 140), Bruce Crane's Signs of Spring (fig. 141), Leonard Ochtman's, Winter Landscape (fig. 142), and Charles Harold Davis's Summer Evening (fig. 143). While these paintings are not site-specific, the artists painted "what they know and love, and have learned the spirit and form of - their own American hills and woods and water," as Charles Caffin phrased it.[89] They captured the essence rather than a photographically accurate picture of a place. Palmer's The Senator's Birthplace (fig. 144), depicts a humble house in the snow. While this work does not identify either the politician or the site, it is still an obvious tribute to the American Dream of a country boy rising to prominence.

Although Henry Ward Ranger (1858-1916) was not a member of the landscape society, he was considered to be

a leader among the tonalists, and exhibited two paintings at the exposition, Becky Cole's Hill (unlocated) and Brooklyn Bridge (fig. 145). In particular, Ranger was influenced by both French and Dutch Barbizon art, but considered himself to be essentially self-taught. It is fitting that while American tonalist landscapes hung in the Grand Palais, Ranger was establishing the first American art colony in Old Lyme, Connecticut, nicknamed "The American Barbizon."[90]

In 1900, regional approaches to landscape painting were emerging. A New Hope, Pennsylvania, style of landscape painting, inspired by tonalism, impressionism, and realism, was detectable in the work of Francis Lathrop, Edward Redfield, and Walter Elmer Schofield. Schofield's January Evening (fig. 146) is typical of the Bucks County snow scenes he did since 1897, less colorful than most impressionist work, but more robust and naturalistic than the tonalist creations.

An artist working in a highly individualized tonalist mode was Ralph Blakelock (1847-1919). Blakelock won his only award ever at the Paris fair of 1900 for a work simply entitled Landscape, lent by George Hearn. The specific painting that Blakelock exhibited in 1900 has not been identified, which is not unusual considering Blakelock's erratic oeuvre. Blakelock's canvases of the

1880s and 1890s, however, were generally laden with dark tones and layers of paint and glaze, inspired by the Barbizon School.[91] Blakelock, who was both a spontaneous and emotional painter, received no academic training abroad. Along with Eakins, Homer, and Ryder, Blakelock--a specialist in American landscape and Indian themes--was to soon be erroneously heralded as one of the few Americans who were untouched by French art during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

With the absence of Dwight Tryon, John Twachtman, and the figure painter Thomas Wilmer Dewing from the American decennial, some of Whistler's greatest disciples were not represented at the fair. Even with these omissions, it would be difficult to overestimate Whistler's influence upon the tonalists in 1900. Whistler's presence was felt not only in Cauldwell's rarefied installation itself, but also in the overall ambiance of many of the paintings. This was especially visible in the figure paintings of John White Alexander and John Humphreys-Johnston as well as in the nocturnes and seascapes of the tonalists.

Like Whistler, the Paris-based Alexander Harrison (1853-1930) began his career with the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, which intensified his love for the sea. Harrison later spent time in Brittany with the

French peasant painter Jules Bastien-Lepage after studying formally with Gérôme at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1900, Harrison exhibited two figureless seascapes in addition to Mysteries of the Night (fig. 87). In spite of his status as a prominent expatriate, American critics claimed that Harrison was not "hopelessly French."[92] This can be attributed to the fact that the sites in the four paintings Harrison exhibited are not identifiably French.

Twilight (fig. 147), a moonlit seascape most likely depicting the coast of Brittany, is saturated with palpable light and air. It thus shares qualities with both the French Channel coast and Barbizon painters. In terms of its nocturnal theme, it is reminiscent as well of Whistler. Harrison, who had won a gold medal in 1889, was ineligible for an award as a member of the international jury.

As previously mentioned in the section on figure painting, the sea as a subject for art connoted spirituality at the turn of the century. The resident American George Bogert's (1864-1944) Sea and Rain (1893; unlocated) depicts breakers sweeping the shore under an atmospheric gray-green sky while a ship hugs the horizon. However long and arduous the ship's voyage would be, the rainbow insures that it will be a safe one. Howard

Russell Butler (1856-1934), a New Yorker who had served on the decorations committee for the national pavilion, exhibited Clearing (fig. 148). By its title alone, the viewer is assured that the storm is over and the future will be bright.

Aside from being evocative, American marine paintings also carried patriotic overtones. As the art historian Roger Stein has noted, American culture was defined by the sea, which served as its barrier from Europe.[93] Critics interpreted the marine paintings at the exposition in this way, as symbols of American self-sufficiency.

Winslow Homer's Maine Coast (fig. 149), a vigorous seascape devoid of humanity, depicts Prout's Neck, where the artist had lived since 1883.[94] This work was lent to the exhibition by F. A. Bell who had just purchased it from the 1899 Clarke sale for the hefty sum of $4,400. Maine Coast exudes a rough realism which is apparent in the specificity of the rocks and rushing breakers. However, its reductive palette and composition, as well as its moodiness, relate to tonalism as well. In his review of the exposition, the illustrator Francis Hopkinson Smith rhapsodized that Maine Coast:

> . . . could have kept an American bareheaded for hours if he had enough red corpuscles running through his veins to set his heart tingling when his

> eye lighted on some master-effort of his countryman. If there was another landscape in the Exposition expressing more power, truth, beauty and poetry. . . I could not find it.[95]

Just two years later, in his book American Masters (1902), Charles Caffin crowned Homer as "preëminently the most representative of American painters," whose work was "not traceable to European influences."[96] The work of this sixty-four year old artist had already been seen in Paris at the 1867 exposition (when he had indeed been exposed to French painting), but it seemed especially refreshing in 1900 as an antidote to the residues of foreign training and expatriation.

In Fox Hunt (fig. 150), Homer emphasized the life and death struggle of a fox being hunted by crows in a snow-covered landscape. Other animal paintings in the American paintings decennial included Henry Rankin Poore's Hounds (unlocated), and an American puma by Proctor (unlocated), the sculptor of the quadriga on the national pavilion. In addition, Henry S. Bisbing exhibited Cattle (fig. 151), depicting cows nestled on a hillside. Farm animals were favorite Barbizon subjects, reminiscent of rural life, that became popular with the tonalists during the turn of the century.

On the whole, however, there were few paintings in the American decennial fitting into categories other than

portraits, figure paintings, seascapes, and landscapes. The only still lifes in oil that were exhibited included William Merritt Chase's Big Brass Bowl (fig. 152), with its energetic brushwork acquired during the artist's student days in Munich, and one of John Weir's many paintings with the title Roses. Still lifes in watercolor or pastel included flower paintings by Emily Scott and Harriet Foss, and pomegranates by Clara MacChesney.

In the American decennial of 1900, the subject that emerged with the most vitality was the modern American metropolis. This modern theme negated the antimodern pastorales of the tonalists; it celebrated progress over nostalgia, and Adams's dynamo, not the Virgin. City scenes had been part of the topographic landscape tradition of the eighteenth century, then became popular with French realists during the mid nineteenth century and the impressionists in the 1870s. Whistler had also utilized urban subjects in the late 1850s. William Merritt Chase, Childe Hassam, and other Americans working with impressionistic methods adopted the city as a motif in the 1880s.

Nevertheless, the city scenes shown in the 1900 American decennial transmitted a new message to the exhibition-goers in Paris: that of the United States's

passage from an agrarian to an industrial nation--the "Consummation" of Empire--on the brink of a new century. The American urban scenes in the 1900 decennial looked especially innovative within the context of the exposition, which took place in the midst of Old Paris. Nothing in the French decennial or in Paris itself rivaled the vigorousness and modernity of the American city scenes.

Childe Hassam's Fifth Avenue in Winter (fig. 153) suggests a snap shot view of New York City with its asymmetrical, Degas-like composition and stop-action quality. Painted from a second-story window, the painting has the high vantage point favored by the impressionists. This scene is animated with street cars and pedestrians bustling in a New World metropolis.

In Needham's hazy Park Snows (fig. 154), depicting an indeterminate New York park, the height of the twenty-story building contrasts with the diminutive figures strolling in the park, making it a celebration of New York's "tall buildings." Until the turn of the century, skyscrapers were not suitable subjects for portrayal in the fine arts because of their association with commercialism. However, they were soon adopted as nationalistic symbols of American genius.[97] Like Hassam, Needham aestheticized his subject by surrounding

it with clean white snow and atmospheric effects. In 1900, American painters, like Alfred Stieglitz's circle of pictorial photographers, could not yet bear to reflect the imperfections of the city directly; they had to soften the focus.

Urban American technology made its most impressive display, however, in Henry Ward Ranger's Brooklyn Bridge (fig. 145). When it was completed in 1883, John Roebling's East River Bridge, connecting Manhattan and Brooklyn, was the longest suspension bridge in the world. This bridge captured the essence of turn-of-the-century America by contrasting the old with the new: the Gothic towers with the steel cables. Like Ranger's painting, the bridge is a symbol of modernity executed in an antimodern style. Well into the twentieth century, the bridge functioned an icon as well as an inspiration for artists. As the painter Joseph Stella later explained, "it impressed me as the shrine containing all the efforts of the new civilization of AMERICA."[98]

In terms of subject matter, Ranger's painting of the bridge anticipated Sadakichi Hartmann's essay, "A Plea for the Picturesqueness of New York."[99] Published in the fall of 1900, Hartmann's article recommended the city as a viable subject for art. Although still veiled in a tonalist mist, urban subjects such as Ranger's Brooklyn

Bridge paved the way for the unflinching realist themes of the so-called Ash Can School less than a decade later.

As illustrated from this stroll through the galleries, American paintings in the 1900 decennial cannot be easily codified, as they embraced a wide variety of themes and styles. The canvases ranged from the most "foreign" scenes, such as Bridgman's academically rendered Old World pharaoh, to the most "American" ones, such as Ranger's tonalist Brooklyn Bridge. While at times the work of the expatriates and repatriates is virtually indistinguishable, largely due to their shared knowledge of French academic technique, it can be determined that a definite shift had occurred since the 1889 exposition away from established European subject matter toward expressly American themes.

Most conspicuously, nationality was communicated through a variety of specified pictorial types: the chaste American woman, the innocent American child, the virile American man, the fertile American land, and the technologically superior American city. The models for these paintings where readily available to the group of realist painters who had returned home from Europe in the 1890s searching for a national expression. However, the paintings imaged "America" in an idealized, sometimes politicized manner, with scant references to the

country's problems. Rather, the composite portrait of the United States was compiled by an elite segment of society--the artists, administrators, critics, and patrons--who were determined to establish an American School of art which would soon supercede all of its predecessors.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Royal Cortissoz, "Egotism in Contemporary Art," Atlantic Monthly 73 (May 1894): 648, as cited in Sarah Burns, "Old Maverick to Old Master: Whistler in the Public Eye in Turn-of-the-Century America," American Art Journal 22, no. 1 (1990): 28-49, a recent assessment of Whistler's largely self-constructed reputation.

2. Camille Mauclair, "La Décennale Etrangère," La Grande Revue de l'Exposition, 10 July 1900, 178. According to Mauclair:

> M. James Whistler domine la peintre de la fin du siècle par un de ces indéfinissables prestiges du génie qui ne supportent de comparaison qu'à eux-mèmes, et ne peuvent être commentés.

3. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - V. The American Section," Nation 71 (2 August 1900): 89.

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

5. H[enri] Franz, "The Editor - "The Grands Prix for Painting at the Paris Exposition - I - A Protest," The Magazine of Art 25 (November 1900): 1. Franz claimed that Dagnan-Bouvert and Alfred Stevens also exhibited works painted earlier than the 1 May 1889 deadline.

6. Gustave Geffroy, "L'Exposition Décennale de la Peinture," Vie Artistique 7 (1901): 129, quoted in Andrew McLaren Young, The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler, vol. 1, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 195: "vague tout d'abord comme une apparition, et si saissant, si réel."

7. The claim that Sargent "admired, and thoroughly enjoyed painting, the energetic features of the men and the exotic beauty of the women of the Semitic race," was

made by the painter William Rothenstein, who added, "He urged me to paint Jews, as being at once the most interesting models and the most reliable patrons." See William Rothenstein, Men and Memories, vol. 1, (London: Faber and Faber, 1931), 195, as quoted in Carter Ratcliff, John Singer Sargent (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 231. Although Sargent's intentions may have been pure, his references to the exoticism and "reliable" patronage of his clients perpetuate stereotypes widely held at the time. Ratcliff also cites Henry Adams, Henry James, and Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer, who commented, with varying degrees of condescension, upon the Jewishness of Sargent's sitters.

8. Albert Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," in Patricia Hills, et al., John Singer Sargent (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1986), 91. Boime interprets Madame X as "a testament to a compact between two cocky Americans to thumb their noses at envious foreign hosts."

9. "Painting in Paris. Brilliant Portraiture," Boston Evening Transcript, in Cecilia Beaux Papers Archives, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. I am indebted to Tara Tappert for bringing this article to my attention.

1Ø. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1.

11. Samuel Isham, The History of American Painting (New York: The Macmillan Company, 19O5), 468.

12. Concerning Gérôme's influence on his American students, see H. Barbara Weinberg's The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1984), and The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991).

13. Ilene Susan Fort, "Frederick Arthur Bridgman and the American Fascination with the Exotic Near East," Ph.D. diss., (City University of New York, 199O), 4OO-4O4.

14. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1. I am grateful to Janet Farber of the Joslyn Art Museum for her help in identifying this work.

15. Bruce Weber, "Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and his Milieu," Ph.D. diss., (City University of New York, 1985), 353-54.

16. For an examination of La Farge's Pacific excursion, see James L. Yarnall, "John La Farge and Henry Adams in the South Seas," The American Art Journal 20, no. 1 (1988): 51-109. I am indebted to Jim Yarnall for sharing his knowledge of La Farge's participation at the exposition.

17. Yale University Art Gallery, Edwin Austin Abbey (1852-1911) (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1974), 43. For a recent examination of Abbey's English period, see Marc Simpson, "Windows on the Past: Edwin Austin Abbey and Francis Davis Millet in England," The American Art Journal 22, no. 3 (1990): 64-89.

18. Chefs d'Oeuvre: Art and Architecture, vol. 3, with essays by William Walton, V[ictor] Champier, and A[ndré] Saglio, (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Son, 1900-2), 26.

19. H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Career of Francis Davis Millet," Archives of American Art Journal 17, no. 1 (1977): 12-13.

20. See Gabriel P. Weisberg, The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing, 1830-1900 (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 8-9.

21. Richard D. Mandell, Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), x.

22. Robert Rydell has written extensively on the topic of "human exhibits" in his book, All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

23. Concerning American art colonies abroad, see especially Peter Bermingham, Art in the Barbizon Mood (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of American Art, 1975), David Sellin, American Painters in Brittany and Normandy, 1860-1910 (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1982), and Michael Jacobs, The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1985).

24. Annette Stott, "American Painters Who Worked in the Netherlands, 1880-1914," Ph.D. diss., (Boston University, 1986), 192.

25. Theodore Zeldin, France 1848-1945, vol. 4, (1973; repr. Oxford University Press, 1980), 55.

26. Stott, 265-6.

27. Stott, 338-39.

28. C[harles] H. C[affin], "American Art in Paris," The Evening Post, 11 August 1900, 5.

29. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1.

30. See Charles C. Eldredge, American Imagination and Symbolist Painting (New York: Grey Art Gallery, New York University, 1979).

31. Dewey F. Mosby, et al., Henry Ossawa Tanner (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), 93, 258-59. I am grateful to Ilene Susan Fort for supplying information on this painting, prior to its publication in Ilene Susan Fort and Michael Quick, American Art: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1990), 225-27.

32. Robert Rosenblum, in Robert Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, Nineteenth-Century Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), 461.

33. Natalie Spassky, American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume II (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 580.

34. Eldredge, 62-4.

35. For the history of the nude in American art, see William H. Gerdts, The Great American Nude (New York: Praeger, 1974).

36. Charles H. Caffin, The Story of American Painting: The Evolution of Painting in America from Colonial Times to the Present (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1907), 166.

37. Isham, 464.

38. Henry Adams, "The Dynamo and the Virgin," in The Education of Henry Adams (1918; repr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 384-85.

39. Annette Blaugrund, "Behind the Scenes: The Organization of American Paintings," in Blaugrund et al., Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 28.

4Ø. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1.

41. Henry James, The Ambassadors (1903; repr. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1985), 34.

42. As quoted in Ronald G. Pisano, A Leading Spirit in American Art: William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916 (Seattle, Henry Art Gallery, 1983), 66.

43. Martha Banta, Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Culture and History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 104.

44. Banta, 109.

45. I am indebted to Tara Tappert for so generously sharing her knowledge of Beaux. See Tara Tappert, "Choices - The Life and Career of Cecilia Beaux: A Professional Biography," Ph.D. diss., (George Washington University, 199O).

46. S. C. de Soissons, "Her Majesty, The American Woman," Artist 23 (September 1898): 66.

47. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1.

48. N.N., 9O.

49. Adams, 383.

5Ø. See the analysis of Adams in T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 188O-192O (1981; repr. New York: Pantheon, 1983).

51. Alan Trachtenberg, in Naomi Rosenblum, ed., America and Lewis Hine, Photographs 19O4-194O (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1977), 123.

52. Banta, 109.

53. D. Dodge Thompson, "'Loitering Through the Paris Exposition': Highlights of the American Paintings at the Universal Exposition of 1889," in Blaugrund, et al., 57.

54. See George de Forest Brush, 1855-1941: Master of the American Renaissance (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1985), and Nancy Bowditch, George de Forest Brush (Peterborough, NH: Noone House, 1970).

55. William H. Gerdts, "Frank Benson - His Own Man: A Study of the Artist's Development and Its Critical Reception," in Frank W. Benson: The Impressionist Years (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1988), 41.

56. Leila Bailey Van Hook, "The Ideal Woman in American Art, 1875-1910," Ph.D. diss., (City University of New York, 1988), 7.

57. For information on Bishop Potter, see newspaper clippings in Clarke Scrapbooks, Archives of American Art, N 598, frame 25.

58. Charles H. Caffin, The Story of American Painting: The Evolution of Painting in America from the Colonial Times to the Present (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1907), 257.

59. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1.

60. Joseph G. Dreiss, Gari Melchers: His Works in the Belmont Collection (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 105-6.

61. Eakins's scandal-ridden resignation has been recounted frequently, but it has been recently elucidated in detail in Kathleen A. Foster and Cheryl Liebold, Writing About Eakins: Manuscripts in Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection (Philadelphia: Univerity of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 69ff.

62. Lloyd Goodrich, Thomas Eakins, vol. 2, (Cambridge: Harvard Univerity Press), 86.

63. N. N., 89.

64. For analyses of Gérôme's influence on Eakins, see Weinberg, The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme, 39, and Gerald M. Ackerman, "Thomas Eakins and his Parisian Masters Gérôme and Bonnat," Gazette des Beaux-Arts series 6, 73 (April 1969), 235-56.

65. Sadakichi Hartmann, A History of American Art, vol. 1, (Boston: L.C. Page, 1902), 203, as quoted in Lloyd Goodrich, Thomas Eakins, II: 203.

66. Richard Hofstadter and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Turner and the Sociology of the Frontier (New York: Basic Books, 1968).

67. Doreen Bolger Burke, American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume III (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 401-4.

68. Unlike the oil paintings exhibition, the sculpture and drawings displays included work which alluded to both historical events and problems at home. Saint-Gaudens's Sherman and Shaw monuments referred to Civil War generals, and Borglum, Dallin, MacNeil, and Proctor exhibited sculptures of American Indians, as has already been discussed in chapter three. The drawing and print display included portraits of American figures such as George Washington, Paul Revere, Abraham Lincoln, and Generals Sherman and Lee, and Rufus Zogbaum exhibited two illustrations relating to the Spanish-American war.

69. John B. Cauldwell, "Report of the Department of Fine Arts," in Report of the Commissioner-General for the United States to the Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 556.

70. "Painting in Paris," Boston Evening Transcript, Cecilia Beaux Papers.

71. N.N., 80.

72. Ellis T. Clarke, "Alien Element in American Art," Brush and Pencil 7 (October 1900): 44, 47.

73. H. Barbara Weinberg, Rubin lecture, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 14 May 1991.

74. Paul Hayes Tucker, Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts in association with New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 143-44.

75. Martin Krause, The Passage: Return of Indiana Painters from Germany, 1880-1905 (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1991), 130.

76. See William H. Gerdts, American Impressionism (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984).

77. William H. Gerdts, in Gerdts, et al., Tonalism: An American Experience, (New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, 1982), 21-2.

78. Blaugrund, in Blaugrund et al., 19.

79. Henri Pene du Bois, "Why Inness' Pictures Bring Thousands," New York Journal, 26 February 1899, in Archives of American Art, Clarke Scrapbooks, N 598, frame 377.

80. A fourth painting by Inness, Valley on A Gloomy Day (1892; IBM Corporation, Armonk, New York) appears in the French catalogue to the 1900 exposition, but not in either the later American catalogue or the final report to Congress.

81. Charles De Kay [Henry Ekford, pseud.], "George Inness," The Century 24 (May 1882): 63, as quoted and analyzed by Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., in Cikovsky and Michael Quick, George Inness (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985), 38. For further examination, refer to Cikovsky's earlier work on Inness, such as George Inness (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 51.

82. Albert Boime, The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny and American Landscape Painting, c. 1830-1865 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

83. De Kay, 63.

84. According to Lears, craftsmanship was a form of "therapy for tired businessmen," xv.

85. Michael Quick, "The Late Style in Context," in Cikovsky and Quick, George Inness (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985), 53.

86. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - V. The American Section," 71 (2 August 1900): 89.

87. For their assistance in locating the version of In the Adirondacks that was exhibited in 1900, I would like to express my appreciation to Robert Olpin for sharing his Wyant files with me, as well as to Anthony E. Battelle, Esq., and Schweitzer Galleries.

88. Gerdts, Tonalism, 27.

89. Charles H. Caffin, "The American Survey," The Artist 24 [supplement] (February 1899): xxii.

90. See Jeffrey Andersen, et al, Old Lyme: The American Barbizon (Old Lyme, CT: Lyme Historical Society, Florence Griswold Museum, 1982).

91. I am grateful to Abraham Davidson, who is preparing a catalogue raisonné of Blakelock's work, for his advice on this painting.

92. Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris," 1.

93. Roger Stein, Seascape and the American Imagination (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. 1975), 1.

94. For a recent evaluation of Homer's seascapes see David Latham, "Winslow Homer and the Sea," in Philip C. Beam, et al., Winslow Homer in the 1890s: Prout's Neck Observed (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990).

95. F. Hopkinson Smith, "The Pictorial Side of the Exposition of 1900," Outlook 67 (January 1901): 41.

96. Charles H. Caffin, American Masters of Painting (1902; repr. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 79 and 71.

97. Merrill Schleier, The Skyscraper in American Art, 1890-1931 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 7, 14.

98. Joseph Stella, "The Brooklyn Bridge, A page of my life," transition 16 (June 1919): 87, as quoted in Lewis Kachur, "The Bridge as Icon," in The Brooklyn Museum, The Great East River Bridge (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.), 154.

99. Sadakichi Hartmann, "A Plea for the Picturesqueness of New York," Camera Notes 4 (October 1900): 91-97.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

Although it has been largely forgotten since the first decade of the twentieth century, the universal exposition of 1900 constituted a momentous event for American art. At the 1889 fair, American art had "come of age."[1] But it was not until 1900 that American artists and critics celebrated the birth of their own national school of art and its parity with the European schools. Self-congratulatory reviews reflected a passionate rediscovery of America itself as a source for artistic inspiration; but, in order for the American School to have international credibility, it was necessary that foreign critics recognize its existence.

It was especially crucial to the American art establishment that French reviewers acknowledge the existence of an American School. France's status as the international center and primary place for art education made its recognition imperative. Furthermore, since the French had traditionally been America's harshest critics, their approval in 1900 convinced the Americans they had

passed the final test in attaining an art of their own.

As it happened, French enthusiasm for American art at the exposition was unprecedented. Three major factions of the French art establishment rewarded American artists even more conspicuously than they had in 1889: the exposition medals were chosen mainly by academicians, Legion of Honor admissions and Luxembourg Museum purchases were made by government officials, and criticism was published by individuals who were not necessarily allied with either of the other two groups.

The response American artists received from the French in 1900 represented a diametric shift from that occasioned by the 1855 exposition, when American art had been so embarrassingly repudiated by Alfred d'Almbert. In fact, even more than in 1889, no other visiting nation came close to matching the United States in terms of awards and critical praise in art in 1900.

Shifting Relations with France: Awards, Purchases, and Criticism

At the 1900 exposition, the United States came in third place overall for awards among the visitors in the twenty exposition Groups. America was outstripped by

Germany, which had produced a technological display calculated to overwhelm its French rivals, and by Russia, France's close political ally.[2] However, Americans were victorious in the second modern Olympics held at the Vincennes annex, largely due to the participation of Ivy League athletes. In addition, as discussed in chapter three, the United States was the most visible visiting nation at the exposition, in terms of pavilions and patriotic displays. In contrast to earlier French expositions, it was the American artists--rather than the so-called "apathetic" industrialists--who fared best in 1900.[3] In fact, the only group of visual artists who did not feel justly rewarded were the potters, who staged a protest during the awards ceremony in the Salle des Fêtes.[4]

With 114 medals, the American artists in Class 7 did better than those of any other nationality except the French who received 521 medals.[5] It is not surprising that the exposition hosts kept most of the awards for themselves, as the conservative Class Jury was predominantly French, as outlined in chapter two. Within Class 7, the 174 American painters, excluding those who exhibited only miniatures and drawings, received 96 medals.

In 1889, the United States had also led in awards

for paintings received by visitors, with 81 medals and honorable mentions to 189 painters. Awards, then, for paintings increased from 43% to include 55% of the Class 7 exhibitors. However, the number of awards granted had also increased since 1889. Commissioner Picard justified the augmentation of awards as reflecting the "perfection of products" since 1889.[6] But doling out medals was also an easy way to placate foreign exhibitors in the wake of the Dreyfus affair. Because so many medals were given in 1900--1,490 for Class 7, and 2,609 for all of Group II--their significance became somewhat diluted.

As in 1889, the United States earned two Grand Prizes in Class 7, this time for the work of the international artist-celebrities James McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent. Seven gold medals--four more than in 1889--were granted to Winslow Homer, Cecilia Beaux, George de Forest Brush, William Merritt Chase, Abbott Thayer, Edwin Austin Abbey, and John White Alexander. Twenty silver and eleven bronze medals were awarded to Americans as well.[7]

In addition, the Americans received thirty-eight Honorable Mentions in Class 7. This category of citations was judged separately from the others; Honorable Mentions were selected not by the international awards jury but by a juror representing the country being

reviewed. For the United States, it was Francis Davis Millet who had the authority to select the Honorable Mention awards.[8]

Despite his own status as an expatriate painter, only a few of the Millet's thirty-nine Honorable Mention selections were awarded to artists living outside of the United States. Rather, Millet conferred the majority of Honorable Mentions on resident Americans such as Ralph Blakelock, Charles Warren Eaton, John Ennecking, Robert Minor, John Francis Murphy, Walter Palmer, Henry Snell, Elmer Schofield, Charles Curran, Joseph De Camp, Theodore Steele, Willard Metcalf, including the young painter and illustrator Maxfield Parrish, and the elder realist Thomas Eakins. Millet also rewarded the miniature painters Martha Wheeler Baxter, Caroline Houston, and Isaac Josephi, and the Cuban painter Armando Menocal.

In his report, Millet summarized what he perceived to be his fellow international jurors' assessment of the American section:

> The United States section received the unqualified applause of the jury, not only for its tasteful installation, but for the quality of the works shown, and it was the common remark that, next to the French section, it was the most worthy of praise. The reproach, which has become stale from frequent repetition, that the American pictures are echoes of the French school, was on this occasion absolutely unheard, and the consensus of opinion was undoubtedly to the effect that our artists are now walking in paths of their own choosing.[9]

Because Millet participated in the planning stages of the exposition, he was privy to the administration's goal to prove that American art was no longer an appendage of the French School. To quell these assertions, made after the 1889 exposition, H. Hobart Nichols revealed that "the Director of Fine Arts for the United States at the present Exposition has endeavored to place before the world a collection of art that cannot be characterized in like manner."[10] The Honorable Mentions Millet granted thus strengthened the administration's case.

The gold, silver, and bronze medals awarded by the international jury in 1900 also indicated a significant departure from the support of American expatriates, who dominated in 1889, in favor of United States residents. All but two of the seven gold medal recipients, John White Alexander and Edwin Austin Abbey, had permanent addresses in the United States. In total, the 123 resident painters (who had produced 73% of the paintings exhibited) garnered 68% of the awards. In contrast, many well-established expatriates who were accustomed to winning awards, such as Gari Melchers, William T. Dannat, Daniel Ridgway Knight, Edwin Lord Weeks, and Julus Stewart were completely ignored by the jury in 1900. In 1889, Stewart was the only one in this group who was not rewarded with either a medal or a Legion of Honor

conferral.

As mentioned in chapter two, the Class jury for painting, which was presided over by Jean-Léon Gérôme, was 62% French, with the remainder representing the thirty-one visiting sections combined. Many of the French jurors, such as Bonnat, Bouguereau, Collin, Carolus-Duran, Robert-Fleury, Laurens, and Lefebvre, were former teachers of the Americans. Only a handful of award winners, notably the gold medalists Edwin Austin Abbey, John White Alexander, and Winslow Homer, had not studied formally in Paris.

Since the French masters were believed to have helped their students succeed in competitions,[11] their presence on the jury most likely facilitated the American effort. The academicians would have recognized, and thus admired, their own stylistic influence in the paintings exhibited. However, French academicians since Delécluze also favored art which expressed a national character, as they believed every country should have its own "school" of art. According to one of his American students and namesakes, Jean-Leon Gerome Ferris, Gérôme himself encouraged his students to paint what was familiar rather than to "imitate blindly European methods and subjects."[12]

In addition to winning over the academicians, the

Americans had also earned the favor of some key French critics and government officials. The artist-critic Georges Lafenestre, who praised American art in his reviews, served as a Class juror. Other American allies on the Class jury included the liberal art administrators Léonce Bénédite and Emile Molinier.

In 1900, the French government also honored American artists with a number of Legion of Honor conferrals, in comparison to 1889 when William T. Dannat was the only artist elected. Of the individuals who had helped to produce the art exhibitions in the Grand Palais and in the United States pavilion, four were elected as Officers, including Alexander Harrison, John La Farge, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and John Cauldwell. The newly elected Chevaliers were the international awards jurors John White Alexander and Francis Davis Millet (who had also managed the decoration of the national pavilion). The long-term expatriates Julian Story and John Humphreys-Johnston--the only Legion of Honor recipients who had not served on any of the exposition committees--were also chosen to be Chevaliers.[13]

While exposition medals and Legion of Honor bestowals enhanced an artist's reputation, success was most tangibly demonstrated through the purchases of paintings. In 1900, the French government reinforced the

academicians' enthusiasm for American art by acquiring four paintings from the exposition; three other paintings from the exhibition eventually entered public museums. This equals the seven paintings which ended up in French museums from the 1889 exposition. With thirty-one American paintings acquired by the French government between 1878 and 1900, French purchases of American art were uncommon. However, even though this number appears to be low, considering how many Americans exhibited at the Salons during this period, it surpassed purchases of art executed by other foreign groups by at least six times.[14]

The principal French champion of American art at the turn of the century was Léonce Bénédite, Curator of the Luxembourg Museum in Paris. At the exposition, Bénédite admired the work of George Inness, Homer Dodge Martin, and Robert H. Eichelberger, all recently deceased "native" landscapists. Bénédite had intended to acquire work by the repatriated artists Julian Alden Weir and Frank Benson, as well as landscapes by George Inness and Henry Ward Ranger, but never did.[15] Instead, Bénédite purchased Winslow Homer's Summer Night (fig. 89) and Ben Foster's Lulled by a Murmuring Stream (fig. 155) as well as two works by staunch expatriates, Walter MacEwen's Dimanche en Hollande (fig. 83) and John

Humphreys-Johnston's Portrait de ma Mère (fig. 156).[16]

MacEwen's painting, featuring religious Dutch peasants rendered in an academic style, was the most "European" looking of the lot. Humphreys-Johnston's portrait of his mother, done in an almost monochromatic brown-olive palette, is reminiscent of Whistler's famous painting of his own mother, Arrangement in Grey and Black Number I: The Artist's Mother (1871; Musée d'Orsay) purchased for the same museum in 1891, but without the older painting's distinctive profile.

Bénédite's more daring acquisitions for the Luxembourg included two paintings by the resident Americans Ben Foster and Winslow Homer. Foster's harmonious Lulled by a Murmuring Stream epitomizes tonalist landscape of the time. The subject, a muted country road in Cornish, New Hampshire, celebrates the simple things in life (fig. 155). Homer's marines, conversely, as exemplified by Summer Night (fig. 89), with its jewel-like blues, demonstrated "a rare verve" to Louis de Fourcaud.[17] Homer's painting, reminsicent of the Scandanavian "blue" paintings by Peder Severin Krøyer and Harald Sohlberg, was not an overt example of the native spirit in American art. However, both Foster's and Homer's paintings did represent a new subject area for the Luxembourg collection--American scenery.

Bénédite documented his reactions to American art on a number of occasions. In his essay for the French jury's report, Bénédite took pride in what he saw as France's role as the "mother" of American art.[18] Nonetheless, he found the most interesting phenomenon of the exhibition to be America's "beginning of emancipation" from France. In his final report on the Department of Fine Arts, Cauldwell included the following extract from a letter he had received from Bénédite:

> I have had no difficulty in observing in your brilliant exhibition a strong movement, unknown to us, less in contact with European centers, more local, and which no doubt marks the beginning of a really national school.[19]

Bénédite, then, was a defender of the American School, even though he also seems to have admired more typically French-inspired works as well.

While Bénédite's purchases were made on behalf of the French government for a national museum, Georges Leygues, the French Minister of Fine Arts, bought American art for his own collection.[20] Leygues had already demonstrated his general acceptance of American art when he approved the installation of Paul Bartlett's Lafayette for the Louvre courtyard, and he had also encouraged Bénédite to purchase characteristically American work for the Luxembourg. However, the fact that the leading French official in the field of art acquired

four American canvases with his own money is notable. This act symbolized France's sanctioning of American art, not as a grand public gesture, as was the case with the Luxembourg acquisitions, but as a personal preference.

Leygues's purchases represent a cross-section of the American paintings display. The Sargent Kendall painting that Leygues acquired was either St. Ives, Pray for Us (fig. 82) or Cloud's Shadows (unlocated), the two works Kendall exhibited in 1900. Kendall's St. Ives, Pray for Us was done in Brittany. This work, with its academic rendering and religious overtones, exemplifies the peasant paintings created by expatriates, and is typical of Kendall's work at the time. From Curran, it is reasonable to suspect that Leygues purchased The Dew (unlocated) rather than The Peris (fig. 91) which was already in a private collection. Curran's work at the time, as demonstrated by The Peris, was influenced by impressionism's bright palette, yet it was academically rendered.

On the other hand, Charles Warren Eaton, a follower of George Inness who had received no formal training abroad, specialized in tonalist landscapes. Eaton's work from the exposition has not been located, but includes an oil painting, River at Evening, a watercolor, Spirit of the Twilight, and a pastel, The Marsh in Winter.

However, as exemplified by his 1908 Strip of Pines (fig. 157), Eaton's paintings contain the subtle nuances of color and atmosphere associated with tonalism. Leygues would have considered Eaton's work to represent the American School of landscape painting.

Lastly, Leygues purchased Homer Lee's The Building of the Sky-Scraper (unlocated). Leygues's choice of a painting depicting a twenty-story American building completed his collection of representative American art from the exposition. As has been mentioned previously, skyscrapers were admired by the French officials in Leygues's circle. Siegfried Bing had been enthusiastic about these "tall buildings" in his 1896 government report, and other public servants had recommended Louis Sullivan to receive the commission for the United States pavilion. Like Bénédite, Leygues still patronized the more traditional work of the expatriates, while he also appreciated the more naturalist attitude of the "American Americans."

Leygues's and Bénédite's endorsements of American art were essential in 1900, as they represented the French government's acceptance of American culture into the community of elite nations. While tracing all of the public and private purchases made from the exposition is a task beyond the scope of this thesis, it is useful to

mention that other foreign collectors were apparently also interested in acquiring American art. An article in the New York Times, for example, noted that both Russian and Viennese collectors attempted in vain to buy American art which had already been sold to Americans.[21]

Not all Frenchmen responded as warmly to American art as did Bénédite and Leygues. The most negative criticism slung at the American artists was by Commissioner General Picard, who claimed that nothing at all had changed since 1889 (when he had lambasted American art for being an "annex" of the French School). Picard, however, was not an art expert, and had his own political agenda as the director of a state-run exposition.[22]

While sales figures may have been the ultimate measure of success by raising the market value of American art, it was through the French press that American art was most publicized in 1900. Camille Mauclair, for example, a champion of the French painters Les Nostalgiques, which included Edmond Aman-Jean and Henri Martin, even if unintentionally, indirectly praised American art by pronouncing Whistler to be the "best painter alive."[23] Mauclair considered Whistler to be "the only foreigner who has carried influence on our [French] school." In addition, Mauclair commended the

Whistlerian paintings of John White Alexander, Alexander Harrison, and John Humphreys-Johnston, as well as the more energetic work of John Singer Sargent.

Unlike Mauclair, most French critics paid considerable attention to the American art display, observing that a great deal had changed since the previous exposition eleven years earlier. In the Revue Encyclopédique, Auguste Marguillier, although finding American art eclectic, with nothing to carry "the mark of a special race," admitted that the Americans demonstrated "a vitality more youthful and virile than that of Europe."[24]

Léon Greder, in his essay on "foreign" art at the exposition, concluded that "most [Americans] have first rate talent, but their work cannot be classed outside the French school. . . ." However, Greder also acknowledged that "this exposition shows us that in the United States there exists a pléiade of artists who know their trade well, can rival their European colleagues; this pléiade has all the qualities necessary to create a new school, however, which has already shown that it will exist, without having to say so."[25]

The critic and painter George Lafenestre was more complimentary, observing that while Americans bore the mark of their European education, there was a growing

liberation from foreign sources:

> It is one of the foreign sections where, in twenty years, the progress has been the most rapid and decisive, and where one can foresee the next period when the American painter, totally emancipated and independent, will become one of the active factors in international art.[28]

The most optimistic evaluation of American painting in 1900 appearing in the French press was written by the critic Louis de Fourcaud. As de Fourcaud explained:

> It has been said elsewhere that America could have artists, but that she has never had an art. It seems to the men of old Europe that commercial and industrial genius smothers aesthetic genius. . . .
>
> With the richness that is spreading to the United States, the desire to refine it leads to the most intimate comprehension and the most delicate of ideas, formats, nuances, characters and makes elegance the choice. . . . Little by little, amateurs are becoming connoisseurs. At the same time, young men, perfectly gifted, are initiated to the art of masters in Paris, London, and Munich, and by studying ancient masterpieces, many of these painters having achieved just renown, have elected to live among us. Some of them, to the contrary, have reintegrated into their own country. At this time, this movement of reintegration is increasing. Year after year, the number is larger and the young artists of the future who, their studies ended in Europe, deliberately establish themselves in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston to paint the types, customs, and the landscapes of their native land. It is thus which the American has been able to place in line, in the Palace on Avenue d'Antin, next to the canvases by Americans living in the old world, of a long series of works by American painters painting under their own sun, their own sky. One does not know, assuredly, if this means that this assembly constitutes a school profoundly unified, of open blossoming of original qualities, but at least evidence of a school, which is aware of itself, is already frankly constituted.[27]

While no other French commentator was as emphatic as Louis de Fourcaud regarding the existence of an American School of painting, others had indeed voiced varying degrees of support. For example, Bénédite believed that a national school was "beginning" to materialize, and Greder, Marguiller, and Lafenestre expressed enthusiasm about the future of the "youthful" school. Thus, there was sufficient support within the Parisian art establishment to arguably recognize the existence of an American School in 1900.

The French were not the only foreigners to applaud the American paintings decennial. Favorable reviews of the American exhibition also appeared in German, British, Austro-Hungarian, Norwegian, and Italian periodicals.[28] In summarizing the reviews, it appears that the unprecedented success of the American painters in 1900 can be attributed to the fact that they had finally achieved what critics had been requesting since the 1855 exposition: an art that was technically conservative according to European standards, with both enough traditional themes to appear cosmopolitan and enough native themes to comprise a national school.

At the same time the French expressed enthusiasm for American art, however, many Americans became disenchanted with France and its art. This coincided

with American reactions to France's economic decline and political woes centering on, but not limited to, the Panama Canal scandal and the Dreyfus affair. In fact, the Americans had been criticizing the French for their decadence since the 1830s.[29] Even a consummate expatriate such as Henry James based his literary characters on contrasting innocent young America, as symbolized by Daisy Miller or Isabel Archer, with world-weary Europeans such as Madame Merle and Countess de Vionnet. After the Dreyfus incident, France no longer seemed capable of cultural infallibility to many Americans who considered morality to be a necessary component of great culture.

In his survey of French art at the exposition, William Walton concluded that it had "very frequently strayed into fields that are alien or evil."[30] Walton based his charges on the subject matter of French art which he claimed included "the sordid, the pathological, the pestilential, and even the infernal." Although Walton did not substantiate his remarks, the critic Roger Riordan did elaborate.

Riordan was especially perturbed by a painting he referred to as Les Bouches Quatiles [sic.], most likely Francis Tattegrain's Les Bouches inutiles, siège du Château-Gaillard, 1203 (fig. 158) in the French

decennial. Tattegrain's painting depicts an incident from French history during which the town of Château-Gaillard, on the verge of starvation and threatened by invaders, drove out its defenseless citizens--the elderly, sick, and handicapped--in order to feed those who were able to fight. The outcasts' only hope of survival was to resort to cannibalism. Riordan described this canvas as one "in which a score or so of cannibals precipitate themselves upon a dying boy," and added:

> One wonders where the artist could have got his models. Compared with this, Jean Veber's cripples fighting for a pocketbook and Henri Martin's black-robed and bat-winged Pleasure leading her followers to destruction in the sands are merely grotesque, and Rochegrosse's [?] over-strained allegory becomes commonplace.[31]

Repulsive subjects such as these were nowhere to be seen in the American exhibition, even in the work of the expatriates.

Although the French decennial also had its share of devout peasants and bucolic landscapes, the American reviewers focused on the lurid themes not found in the American section. Writing for the New York Mail and Express, Samuel Swift reported:

> It is proverbial that painters whose artistic end and aim is to get their canvases admitted to the Salon often select repulsive or sensational themes and work them out in vast dimensions, so that no matter what neighbors their pictures may have on the walls of the coveted gallery, the mere size and urgency of their productions must bowl over all

opposition.[32]

Swift was particulary struck by the "dozens of wounded, gory, emaciated men" in paintings with military themes. Even in "European" subjects that were included in the American decennial--which Riordan listed as the historical, allegorical, and nude--the French versions seemed more decadent to American eyes than the work of the expatriates.

Aside from the moral degradation they saw in French art, American critics and artists were also newly disappointed with academicism in 1900. The French decennial was overwhelmingly academic, featuring works by Bouguereau, Bonnat, Constant, Laurens, Robert-Fleury, Lefebvre, and others, whose style did not seem to have "progressed" since the 1889 exposition. Reacting to the French exhibitions, Roger Riordan resolved:

> In the interminable French galleries scores upon scores of huge canvases oppress the eyes with their cruel evenness of execution. All are good from the academic standpoint, but none good enough.[33]

In essence, the French were chided for exhibiting the same old thing. Because the impressionists and post-impressionists were essentially neglected at the exposition, the picture of French art was once again so skewed in 1900 that one American critic could observe, "there are no signs of new movements, no daring

departures, no gay proclamations of rebellion," concluding that the 1890s was a decade of "much needed rest" for the French.[34]

Such remarks were not limited to the exposition, nor even to foreigners. Even before the fair opened, the American Rowland Strong was convinced that "The French, as a whole, seem to be losing the art faculty more and more every year. . . ."[35] In 1899, the fine arts minister Georges Leygues cancelled a speech intended to praise the Prix de Rome winners because he was reportedly disappointed in the work of these "future professors."[36]

It was Walton, however, who summed up the new antiacademic sentiment most succinctly:

> From Paris, the source of artistic light twenty five years ago, the scepter seems to be surely departing, - the most fervent of the élèves of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts of that period, now return to shake their heads mournfully over the winners of the Salons and the decadence of Carolus and Bonnat.[37]

Walton's observations were linked to the then widely held references to the life spans of civilizations appearing in contemporary literature.

For example, the author Richard Whiteing, writing for Century, personified the countries of Europe, deeming France the oldest at ninety years of age:

> They [the French] were a polity and a civilization when the English analogue of man in the street was

> Gurth the swineherd, and when Italy had for the moment crumbled back into the animate dust of the races out of which Rome was made. Oh how old they are![38]

Accordingly, Whiteing dated England at sixty years of age, followed by Germany at forty-five, and Spain nearing thirty. In reference to France, he asked, "Can an old people make itself young again?" implying Whiteing's adherence to the Course of Empire theory. Another article predicted the decline of French as an international language and the "doom of the Latin Races," of which France was included.[39]

Other observations appeared to verify the predictions of France's cultural regression. In the annual Salons, critics worldwide had grown accustomed to viewing French art flanking the art of other nations. Seeing French painting isolated in the centennial and decennial exhibitions, therefore, cast it in a new light by emphasizing its national tendencies for the first time since 1889. In reference to this, the critic for the Nation observed that while the French decennial and centennial expositions represented a reunion of the two Salons, "the absence of foreigners in their midst is a loss."[40]

Because Americans had exhibited most of the "foreign" work in Salons in the 1890s, their absence at

the French decennial and centennial exhibitions would have been particularly noticeable. Americans took pride in the significant role they had played in French art during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In addition to their participation in the Salons, Americans also helped to shape the history of French art by functioning as dependable art patrons. As Frances Keyzer explained in 1898: "We reproach the Americans that they invented Bouguereau, but as [Paul] Bartlett remarked. . . "We also invented Millet!"[41]

France had been a gracious host to American art students since mid-century, but well before 1900, many Americans no longer felt unconditionally welcome in the Parisian ateliers. As early as 1886, French students at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts issued a brochure complaining of the "invasion of the Ecole by foreigners," which primarily targeted the Americans.[42] This was, in part, a reaction to the 1883 tariffs on French art imposed by the American government, viewed by the French as proof of America's ingratitude for all France had done to educate its artists.

As the Ecole and private ateliers were infiltrated with foreigners, so were the Salons, threatening French domination in art. By the turn of the century, Americans seemed to be everwhere in Paris. One reviewer described

the Fourth of July festivities of 1900 as "the American Invasion of Paris," claiming that Paris was becoming a "little America."[43] In this light, the inadequate exhibition space and jury representation allotted to foreigners at the exposition appear to be acts of self-preservation on the part of French academicians, acts that had not been necessary in 1889.

Even the distribution of exposition medals by the French-dominated jury seems to have been biased toward the French disproportionate to their talent. For, while the French retained 1,095 of 2,609 awards in Group II for themselves, the remaining 1,514 medals were divided among the thirty-one visiting sections combined. A French reviewer for the L'Aurore criticized his compatriots for their inhospitable treatment of foreign guests at the exposition, claiming:

> It is necessary to declare bluntly that the princes of French art have, under these circumstances, demonstrated themselves to be the most finished vulgarians, which fact is in no wise excused or ameliorated by the eminent superiority of the canvases with which they have loaded the walls. These messieurs have taken for themselves, and for a few privileged ones whom they have deigned to favor, three-quarters of the space devoted to the fine arts in this Exposition to which all the countries have been invited. . . . Our artists have a singular form of comprehending and practicing hospitality. They have thought, doubtless, that, in excluding others, they would be able to demonstrate irrefutably that they existed and that they alone were endowed with genius. Alas! They have demonstrated irrefutably only the boorishness of

their great minds.[44]

France's national identity was fused with its art, and any threat to its cultural preeminence must have been difficult for its citizens to accept. The young America, already an economic menace, was now vying artistically as well. Feelings of self-doubt among the French officials had already surfaced in 1896, when Henry Roujon sent Siegfried Bing to report on the recent success of American art. In his report, Bing admitted that American crafts and architecture were already superior to French products. Like other French critics, Bing claimed that a national school of painting needed more "time" than other media to mature, but he did not dare to guess how much time was needed.

The expatriates, who had been congratulated for placing American art on the international map in 1889, were by 1900 accused of being virtually treasonous. Sentiments such as the one expressed by a nativist painter in the following letter to the New York Herald are reminiscent of attitudes against expatriation commonly held in the 1870s:

> They [the expatriates] pay no taxes in America, take no part in her wars or political struggles, and some do not even speak the English language, their object being to catch the American customer and get their pictures in the country free of duty.[45]

Other writers censured expatriation, not for

patriotic reasons, but rather for artistic ones. In 1905, for example, Samuel Isham claimed that the greatest drawback of expatriate life was being associated with the "worn-out, empty formalists" of France. Isham supported this assessment by observing that France's boast to triumph in 1900 was "wofully [sic] unfulfilled." In contrast to the artists who had returned to America, Isham found that among the expatriates:

> . . . only one or two had advanced, more had distinctly retrograded; but most were about where they had been before, doing the same work in the same way with a slightly increased facility and a somewhat diminished enthusiasm.[46]

Royal Cortissoz also voiced his dissatisfaction with expatriation, as follows: "With scarcely an exception those Americans who belong emphatically to the French school have exchanged their birthright for a mess of pottage."[47] Extremists, such as Ellis T. Clarke, in his article, "The Alien Element in American Art," reasoned that the successful showing of American art in Paris yielded the following lesson: "Expatriation is a mistake, both as regards the future of the individual artist and as regards the future of American art."[48]

Even studying abroad with no intention to become expatriated afterward was newly discouraged by the turn of the century. Charles Caffin recommended, "If the American still needs to come to Paris to perfect his

technique, let him, having done so, hasten as soon as possible to leave it for saner and sincerer conditions." Elsewhere, Caffin concluded, "the influence of Paris to-day is devitalizing, except to the strongest individuals."[49] Another critic, describing the "Dangers of Paris for the American Student," warned: "No good American can be other than unhappy in Paris."[50]

This new spirit of disillusionment with expatriation and Parisian training voiced by Isham, Cortissoz, Clarke, and Caffin was reflected in a 1913 or 1914 unpublished statement by Thomas Eakins, a student of Gérôme and an adherent of his methods:

> If America is to produce great painters and if young art students wish to assume a place in the history of the art of their country, their first desire should be to remain in America, to peer deeper into the heart of American life, rather than to spend their time abroad obtaining a superficial view of the art of the Old World. In the days when I studied abroad, conditions were entirely different. The facilities for study in this country were meager. There were even no life classes in our art schools and schools of painting. Naturally one had to seek instruction elsewhere, abroad. To-day we need not do that. It would be far better for American art students and painters to study their own country and portray its life and types. To do that they must remain free from any foreign superficialities.[51]

Because Eakins was one of the first of a great wave of Americans to study in Paris--before French-trained artists taught in American art schools--his statement functions as a closure for the epidemic of French

training which had fomented during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In addition to appearing more original than the expatriates, the Americans who remained at home were cheered for being the only true representatives of American art. As the critic for the Nation--who admitted that he was less acquainted with the work of the resident Americans--claimed, "But it seems to me that whatever is freshest in the art of America comes from the men who have stayed at home and ignored Salons, and made a movement of their own."[52] In the Macbeth Gallery's periodical Art Notes, the term "American Artists" was defined as excluding those "who, claiming citizenship here, live so long abroad that they produce work as 'foreign' as that of any foreigner."[53]

Defining an "American School"

The 1900 exposition had an impact on American art in terms of cultural nationalism which lasted well into the twentieth century. At the exposition, there was a self-conscious and politically-motivated campaign to both define and promote the new American School. John Cauldwell, Charles Coolidge, Francis Davis Millet, and

Benjamin Woodward all struggled to have their exhibits exude a powerful, democratic, and independent spirit, which they believed was essentially American.

Throughout the fairgrounds, the United States's installations were designed in styles that were considered to be intrinsically American. Especially prominent were the California Mission style, with its native American influence, and the American Colonial style. However, even Roman-revival decorations, with their obvious European lineage, were appropriated to express an American ethos. For although Coolidge's national pavilion was classical in style, its symbolism--suggesting imperial strength and a democratic spirit derived from Roman and Greek sources--was deemed suitable for the occasion.

In the Fine Arts section, the domination of repatriated artists and art was preordained by the organizing committee. Individual works were carefully screened and installed to relay the desired message. Paintings by the resident Americans Thayer, Homer, Brush, Chase, and Inness were placed in prime locations. Even in the galleries where canvases by expatriates were hung in choice locations, they were neighbored by the work of "American Americans," so they were not overwhelming. For example, in Gallery B, Sargent's Mrs. Carl Meyer and

Children was balanced by Homer's Summer Night on the left and Northeaster on the right (fig. 57). Paintings of wholesome American women and a pristine countryside dominated, showing only the ideal aspects of American life, as if illustrating a travel brochure. Canvases describing anything unpleasant were omitted.

The tenor of the exhibition would have been strikingly different had the expatriates been given their fair share of exposure. For example, there might have been more large narrative scenes and nudes. Given such careful planning on the part of Cauldwell and his associates, it is not surprising that many critics found an American School to exist at the 1900 Paris exposition. But how was this new school to be defined?

Just as American cities at the turn of the century were composed of immigrants of different European nationalities, critics reviewing the exhibition believed that American art thrived precisely because it was a mixture of art from many nations--a veritable Melting Pot. This was easy to understand since Americans had travelled widely for inspiration. Europeans marvelled at the cultural diversity of America, for, as Louis de Fourcaud exclaimed, "The American people are composed of all imaginable elements. . . ."[54]

The task at hand for Cauldwell's committee, however,

was to create an exhibition that would present a unified culture based upon "all imaginable elements." In other words, the true aim of the Melting Pot was to assimilate and thereby Americanize immigrants rather than to celebrate cultural or physiological differences.[55] This was possible as long as the elements were not too dissimilar. The American standard from which these elements emanated had already been set by the dominant European settlers in the Northeast, as preference was given to Anglo-Saxon physical traits, a Christian orientation, and the English language. In essence, this was the northern European culture, which was then generally accepted by the Anglo-Saxon American ruling class to supercede the southern "empires" of Greece, Italy, Spain, and France.

All of this coincides with the American Renaissance belief in America as the heir to Western civilization. By the end of the century, Americans could not only proclaim that they were "heir of all the ages," but could also conclude that the American School was to become "the School of the Twentieth Century."[56] A uniquely American art, therefore, would be based upon taking the best elements from only the best civilizations in order to produce an art which would transcend all predecessors. This Melting Pot theory can accommodate both the "native"

Winslow Homer as well as the expatriates Whistler and Sargent as American artists. The question is, as Paul Greenhalgh has asked, when did things cease to be European and become American?[57]

The Melting Pot hypothesis was convenient in that it was virtually all-inclusive. However, critics also identified specific traits, some of which were already stereotypes, as being particularly American. Charles Caffin, himself a naturalized American from Great Britain, defined the American national characteristics as "sincerity, wholesomeness and pursuit of perfection: tending towards an art which is elevated in feeling, reticent, and earnest. . . ."[58]

Samuel Isham recorded his own definition of American art in 1905 as follows:

> Art is still so new an interest with us that we have not yet had time to be weary of the simple, natural things of life, and so be forced to go in search of the abnormal and eccentric in order to stir a jaded taste. Moreover we are notably free from the baleful influence of the "Salon picture," the great "machine" swollen to impracticable dimensions and striving to attract attention by its strangeness or violence. From this follows also the second characteristic of our art, its cheerfulness, its optimism. We are sentimental. We feel proudly the tender melancholy of the autumn woods or the twilight sky; but we do not like pain or misery.[59]

French critics arrived at similar conclusions about American art. According to George Lafenestre, "The common character . . . is energy, sanity and intensity of

impression, by very simple and clean expression," adding, "the dilettantism of the old world, myth, religion, and fantasy, "do not have a large place in the new [world]."[60]

Subject matter became the most essential component in defining the American School of 1900. The traditionally Old World subjects that Lafenestre listed--mythology, religion, and fantasy--did not conform with the "wholesome" and "independent" image the proponents of the American School wanted to project in 1900. Instead, the ideal American image was expressed in paintings that literally illustrated wholesomeness or independence. Thus, paintings of virginal women, innocent children, and strong men who <u>looked</u> American, were especially appropriate subjects for the American School.

Although seemingly antithetical to images of sweet children, paintings of robust men also came to denote America in 1900. The self-reliant American man, in keeping with the pioneer spirit of the pre-Centennial era, symbolized America's strength and independence. At the exposition, the works of Eakins and Schreyvogel, in particular, portrayed active male prize-fighters and cowboys. Such imagery would become more conspicuous in the Theodore Roosevelt era, and would soon be expressed in the paintings of the Ash Can School.

While paintings of the American people relayed certain messages to viewers, landscapes of native scenery were rated by exposition reviewers as being the most American of subjects.[61] After all, landscapes, marines, and city subjects were actually "portraits" of America itself. In his history book of 1901, Sadakichi Hartmann identified landscape as "undoubtedly [the] most popular branch of our art, and is encouraged by dealers."[62]

Hartmann's enthusiasm for landscape painting reversed the preference for figure painting as epitomized in Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer's 1886 Book of American Figure Paintings. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the popularity of figure painting increased along with French training, which centered on the human figure. Thus, figure painting, at least in the academic style employed by the majority of Americans in 1900, smacked of French methods. To artists who generally did not receive formal instruction out of doors, landscape painting would have seemed less academic than figure painting.

Another reason for landscape painting's advance in popularity was nationalistic, based on its link with the Hudson River School, the United States's first truly indigenous art movement. For the most part, artists and

critics in 1900 shunned the meticulous detail of the Hudson River School. However, when Frederic Church's death coincided with the planning of the exposition early in 1900, one reviewer, perhaps Charles Caffin, eulogized this artist, whose work had been out of favor for a couple of decades, for having created possibly the "most celebrated landscape ever painted in America," with Niagara (fig. 4).[63] This critic futher claimed that Church's death encouraged "some retrospective thoughts upon American landscape painting," and made analogies between the Hudson River School, which was praised for its sincerity, and the Society of Landscape Painters.

Aside from subject matter, the way in which paint was applied to the canvas also determined a painting's degree of Americanness. A "wholesome," "innocent" look was not achieved with slick and impersonal academic surfaces. Rather, visible brushwork, which assured the viewer that the work was "hand-made," was preferred by domestic critics in 1900.

For example, in an article for Metropolitan Magazine, the artist James Carroll Beckwith, a student of Carolus-Duran and a long-time instructor at the Art Students League in New York, announced:

> . . . we no longer worship what we knew in our hearts was not the apex of aesthetic achievement. We are no longer groping for a bizarre technique.

> We have slowly come to a recognition that a sanity of purpose and a normality of workmanship are not wholly incompatible with good art. We no longer worship at the shrine of the blue-bloused peasant of France or his brother in Holland in a pair of clodhopping sabots. American subjects, and a wholesome, natural painter-like method of reproducing in an individual manner what is presented to us at home, is the slogan that is gradually leading us to the goal of a distinctive national art.[64]

In addition, paintings created in the United States also differed from European productions in that they were generally smaller. This was consistent with the private homes they adorned in contrast to the baronial "Salon Machines" done abroad.

In general, Caffin, Hartmann, and the other critics who defined the American School around 1900 shied away from using stylistic labels. However, if they promoted any one tendency it was tonalism. Although tonalism was influenced by the French, via the Barbizon School, it did not carry connotations of decadence as did academicism, with its bucolic and nostalgic subject matter and visible brushwork. In addition, by 1900, Barbizon painting had been both domesticated and collected in the United States for almost forty years, and so had lost much of its original French identity. By the turn of the century, American artists had had the time to supplant Barbizon techniques with their own. Tonalism was thus seen as an American invention.[65]

Because it was considered to be uniquely American, tonalism was the appropriate style to represent the American School in 1900. Tonalism's debt to Whistler also made it American and gave it status. Whistler's influence provided an air of refinement, demonstrating that not all Americans were tasteless and materialistic, but were able to appreciate subtlety and suggestion.

For the most part, tonalist art was collected by urbanites who felt "over-civilized" and burdened by the quick advances in technology, and thus appreciated tonalism's escapist qualities.[66] As the New Yorker John Cauldwell surmised, "there is a marked tendency among our best painters to maintain a tonal arrangement of color. . . ."[67] Not surprisingly, many supporters of tonalism, like Cauldwell, were McKinley republicans. In keeping with the tenor of McKinley's administration, tonalism was both elitist and nationalistic. As one art critic, correlating McKinley's military victory with the battle for culture, announced, "we are not fighting the Philippinos but the Philistines."[68]

Other stylistic tendencies, such as impressionism, had also acquired a native accent by the 1890s. American impressionists tended to be more conservative than their French peers, and so retained solid figural construction rather than dissolving form. The choice of native

subjects, as exemplified by Theodore Robinson's Port Ben (fig. 130), also Americanized impressionism. The momentary lapse of enthusiasm for impressionism at the American decennial of 1900 can thus be attributed to the strong degree of nationalism the United States contingent brought to Paris.

While impressionism was considered to be less French than academic art in general--as it had not been sanctioned by the French government until 1900, when it was included in the centennial exposition--its origins were still undeniably French. Claude Monet, one of the movement's initiators, had continued to specialize in impressionistic French landscapes with nationalistic overtones. Perhaps the most important reason why impressionism was slighted in 1900, however, was not so much that it was a French invention, but that it was not an American one. For this reason, impressionism was not the style on which to base the American School.

Although tonalism and impressionism overshadowed it at the exposition of 1900, realism, as illustrated by the work of Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins, was to become the true standard of Americanness during the early twentieth century. Again, realism is traced to France of mid century. But, as an essentially "styleless" style, realism did not contain the reputedly European excesses--

of either high finish or excessive bravura brushwork--that the Americans avoided, and thus suggested a spirit of democracy and wholesomeness.

Turn-of-the-century artists and critics knew how to decipher what was and what was not American in American art. As the reviewer for the Nation observed, "They [the American artists] do not strive after technical eccentricity, they make no attempt at what is called impressionism, or any other ism, except Americanism."[69] Thus, Greenhalgh's question--as to when European tendencies end and American ones begin--was answered in 1904 in the preface to the catalogue of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, which provided the recipe for the American picture, as follows:

> The exhibit of paintings in the United States sections demonstrates again, a fact made plain at the Paris Exposition, and cordially acknowledged there, that we have a distinctive American art, so individual that it can be mistaken for no other. American art, like American literature, is eclectic; but when from the technique of the foreign school the artist comes home for his subject, his interpretation and his atmosphere, we have the American picture.[70]

Legacy of Cultural Nationalism: Subsequent Expositions

As suggested in the above quotation, the American

paintings section of the 1900 fair made its mark most immediately in its influence upon subsequent exhibitions. There were to be no more Parisian decennial expositions in the twentieth century, in part due to what was perceived to be the economic failure of Paris 1900.[71] The great era of expositions, however, was to flourish until World War I, with the United States functioning as both active participant and host. Of particular relevance in estimating the significance of Paris 1900 are the exhibitions of American art at the domestic expositions--the Pan-American International Exposition of 1901, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, and the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915--where Americans controlled the production.

Even before the Pan-American Exposition opened in Buffalo, New York, during the summer of 1901, the American paintings display from the Paris exposition had already been "brought home" on two occasions, allowing Americans to see the international triumph first hand. Cauldwell's initial ambition, to reinstall the entire exhibition in New York, never materialized. Instead, twenty-five installation photographs of the American decennial were exhibited in New York's Century Club, where John Cauldwell was a member.[72] The other, more significant, display of paintings from the Paris

exposition occurred at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts coinciding with their annual exhibition of 1901.

For the exhibition, "American Pictures from the Paris Exposition," the Pennsylvania Academy installed seventy-five loan paintings and six from their own collection which had been seen in Paris. Although not stated in the catalogue, this exhibition contained only work done by resident American artists.[73] The omission of the expatriates could have been attributed to the long and costly ocean voyage for the paintings to Philadelphia, except that work by Americans residing in Europe which had also been in Paris (such as Alexander's Rodin and Humphreys-Johnston's Mystery of the Night, for example) was installed in the Academy's annual exhibition in the adjacent galleries. More likely, the exclusion of expatriates was intentional, in order to promote the stateside painters.

Including only the work of resident American artists gave the false impression that the Paris show was more "native" than it actually was. Such an effect would have weighed heavily upon the viewing public, since the Paris exposition was still topical, with articles appearing regularly in periodicals. Although there were some foreign scenes in the Philadelphia exhibition, such as

Robert Blum's A Flower Market in Tokyo and The Ameya, most of the work had nationalistic overtones, as exemplified by Homer Martin's Westchester Hills, Henry Ward Ranger's Brooklyn Bridge, Julian Alden Weir's Noonday Rest in New England, William Merritt Chase's White Shawl, and Theodore Robinson's Port Ben, to name a few. Paintings from the Academy's annual exhibition in the same building, which included fourteen paintings from the exposition, sold exceptionally well in 1901. Reviewers attributed the sudden increase of prices to America's success in Paris the previous summer.[74]

Unlike the Philadelphia display, which was attended mainly by a local art-going public, Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition of 1901 attracted all types of visitors. This exposition in downtown Buffalo, New York, was, as Charles Caffin explained, "a work of art" unto itself.[75] For the Buffalo fair, American artists in many media banded together to create the artistic ensemble they were unable to produce in Paris. The exposition site was beautifully landscaped under the direction of John M. Carrère, of Carrère and Hastings, and was embellished with sculpture orchestrated by Karl Bitter, and a color scheme chosen by Charles Y. Turner. Buildings ranged in style from the Spanish Colonial United States government pavilion to the skyscraper

Electric Tower.

Since the new Albright gallery, which was being built for the occasion, was not completed, the art exhibitions were housed in a temporary building "where few go," but, as the same critic claimed, "when you find it, you are repaid."[76] The paintings exhibition in Buffalo benefitted from the lessons learned in Paris a year earlier. With William Coffin as the Director, and Charles Curran (who had served as the Assistant for Painting in Paris) hired as the Assistant Director, a "refined" atmosphere was once again attempted in the installation. Charles Caffin praised the ensemble, which consisted of work done since the 1876 Centennial, as being "the best collection of American pictures ever yet presented in a single display."[77] Caffin added that, with this exposition, "American art has reached the fulfillment of manhood and still has the buoyant vitality of youth," in terms of the Course of Empire.

The mistakes made in planning the Paris exhibition were also avoided, as almost all of the artists were directly invited, thus insuring that quality art would be procured. This replaced the public announcement made for the Paris exposition calling all artists to submit work. In the catalogue, fifty-five titles appear to be in common with the 1900 exposition, meaning that over 20% of

the American paintings from the Paris show were reassembled in Buffalo.

In 1901, the stateside artists dominated the expatriates in an even more dramatic way, as only forty-seven of over 270 artists in the catalogue were listed as having foreign addresses. Work done by "permanent" residents of Europe was not even admissible, probably as a device to emphasize the Americanness of American art. A number of sculptures from Paris, including Saint-Gaudens's Shaw and Sherman monuments, and a small model of Paul Bartlett's Lafayette also embellished the galleries and exposition grounds.[78] A. Phimister Proctor's Victory Quadriga (fig. 33), designed for the U.S. National Pavilion in Paris, was divided into four parts and reinstalled over each entrance to the Ethnology Building.

As opposed to the Paris exposition, American art at the Pan-American exhibition was not subject to international scrutiny, as entries were limited to work produced by North and South Americans. One critic gleefully announced, "the art of the old world will be excluded. Even the productions of those American artists who have become permanent residents of Europe will not be admitted."[79]

Such nativist sentiment corresponds with the

overtones of isolationism and superiority implicit in the term Pan-Americanism--the cooperation of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, excluding all others--on which the exposition was based. It was also on the Pan-American's exposition grounds that the tragic assassination of President McKinley shocked the nation. With the swearing in of the rugged war hero Theodore Roosevelt as the new president came the transition away from McKinley's elitist policies, favoring corporations and the wealthy, into a new era of populism.

In contrast to the Pan-American Exposition, the St. Louis fair of 1904 was international in scope, as it commemorated Thomas Jefferson's 1803 Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon, which had more than doubled the size of the United States. The theme of this fair once again celebrated a break with Europe. As an international event, the 1904 fair featured twenty-six foreign sections which exhibited a total of 5,468 oil paintings.

Through their participation in this exposition, the French were reminded of the Louisiana Purchase which effectively eliminated their presence in the western hemisphere. Again, French writers felt the need to confirm their artistic aptitude vis-à-vis the rest of the world. The preface to the French catalogue explains that, while it would have been very easy to rest on the

laurels gained during the nineteenth century, France "is not intimidated, because she feels, in the bottom of her heart, always fresh, always abundant, sources of her genius."[80]

Clearly rattled by the negative reviews of 1900 that claimed that French art was no longer innovative, the French officials for the St. Louis fair featured the work of the formerly shunned impressionists Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and Sisley. Perhaps another indication of their insecurity came when, although they had sent an important exhibition to St. Louis, the French opted to be kept out of the competition for awards.[81]

As the sequel to the Chicago exposition, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition accepted work produced since 1893. Of the 903 American oil paintings shown in St. Louis, only about twenty had been previously exhibited at the 1900 Paris fair. In addition, there was a retrospective section of American art done between 1803 and 1892, reminiscent of the French centennial exhibition in 1900.

As in Buffalo, the organizers of the St. Louis fair took the opportunity to accentuate the successes and improve upon the deficiencies of the Paris exposition. Once again, the paintings installation was designed to achieve a "harmonious balance."[82] There was a separate

section for murals, and industrial art was incorporated as an official exposition category for the first time in this country.

By 1904, certain individuals in the field of art had become exposition specialists. Halsey Ives, who had been Chief of the Department of Fine Arts in Chicago in 1893, was hired in the same capacity again. Veterans of Paris 1900 included Charles Kurtz, who functioned once again as Ives's assistant, and John Cauldwell, who served on the Advisory Board. While there were included many seasoned artists whose careers took off after the Centennial exposition, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition also marked the occasion at which a new generation of "new men" appeared, including Thomas Anshutz, William Glackens, Robert Henri, and Jonas Lie.

San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Again, the theme centered on New World accomplishments. While European countries were invited, the onset of the first World War discouraged all but twelve foreign nations from participating. Although the French sent 460 works of art, they again declined to participate in the international competition.

In spite of all that had changed in fifteen years,

some ideas engendered on the occasion of the 1900 Paris exposition were reiterated in 1915. The critic J. Nilsen Laurvik, for example, continued to preach that American art had been regenerated in 1876 on the occasion of the Centennial exposition. And, as Sadakichi Hartmann had announced shortly after the closing of Paris 1900, Laurvik saw landscape as "the one domain of our art in which the genius of American painting achieves its most characteristic and truly national expression."[83]

Laurvik's definition of what was American in American art also derives from turn-of-the-century theory:

> One looks in vain. . . for anything approaching this clear, vibrant sensitiveness and simplicity of statement in the work of foreign artists. It is a quality essentially American; the product of assimilated influences that have been both refined and revitalized. This was recognized by foreign critics even as far back as the 'eighties as the distinguishing mark of that they at that early date called the "American School," which today finds its fullest and most varied expression in the diverse art of landscape painting.[84]

Many of the organizers and participants of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition were alumni of the 1900 exposition. Once again, Robert Reid, among others, was commissioned to paint murals, comprising eight ceiling panels for the dome of the art building. Whistler, Sargent, Chase, Hassam, Redfield, Melchers, Tarbell, and others were honored with their own galleries.

Impressionism dominated the 1915 exhibition and its practitioners attracted most of the awards.[85] However, it was the newer tendencies, such as Ash Can realism and all varieties of European modernism, ranging from expressionism to futurism, which were regarded as enlivening the show.[86] Within the context of World War I, and succeeding the appearance of modernism in America, the Panama-Pacific exposition came to represent not only the swansong of nineteenth-century styles popular in 1900 but also of the American Renaissance as a whole.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. See H. Barbara Weinberg, "Cosmopolitan Attitudes: The Coming of Age of American Art," in Annette Blaugrund et al., Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989).

2. For a breakdown of the medals according to type, see Alfred Picard, Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris. Rapport général administratif et technique, vol. 5, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), 204.

3. In "The American Awards at Paris," New York Times, 2 September 1900, 18, the author claimed that art, rather than industry, was the source of national pride at the exposition.

4. For a reference to the potters' protest during the 24 August awards ceremony, see "The Exposition Awards," New York Times, 3 September 1900, 1.

5. Picard, Rapport général, pièces annexes, 743: The Germans received 91 medals, followed by the Russians with 71. The United States total of 114 includes two Cuban artists, Armando Menocal and Leopoldo Romanach. For the 1889 statistics, see Annette Blaugrund, "Behind the Scenes: The Organization of the American Paintings," in Blaugrund et al, Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 27.

6. Picard, Rapport général, 5: 203.

7. For a complete list of awards, see entries for individual artists in Appendix A.

8. See F.D. Millet, "Paintings, Cartoons, Drawings," in Report of the Commissioner-General for the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900, vol. 5, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 151.

9. Millet, in Report of the Commissioner-General, 5: 151.

1Ø. Official Illustrated Catalogue, Fine Arts Exhibit. United States of America. Paris Exposition of 1900, with an Introduction by H. Hobart Nichols (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Company, 1900), xv.

11. See H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 224. Weinberg notes that Americans made useful contacts with their professors at the Académie Julian, who were "frequently and well placed on Salon juries."

12. As quoted in Weinberg, The Lure of Paris, 93. Jean-Leon Gerome Ferris, "Autobiography," Literary Digest, 7 July 1928; typed transcript in the files of the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

13. Journal Officiel de la République Française, (16 March 1901): 1761.

14. Susan Grant, "American Paintings Acquired by the French Government, 1879-1900," M.A. thesis, (George Washington University, 1983), 28, 91, and 93.

15. See "Growing Market for American Pictures, New York Sun, 4 March 1901, in Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Scrapbooks, P 53, frame 455; and "American Art Praised," New-York Tribune, 9 December 1900, in Archives of American Art, Clarke Scrapbooks, N 597, frame 682.

16. For documents pertaining to the Luxembourg purchases, see the Artist Files, Documentation, Musée d'Orsay. See also Archives Nationales, Series F21, Boxes 4209 and 4221. Harrison's En Arcadie (1885), which had been exhibited at the 1889 exposition, was also purchased by the French government in 1900. See Grant, pp. 84-5.

17. L[ouis] de Fourcaud, "Les Peintres Américains à l'Exposition," Le Gaulois du Dimanche [Sunday Supplement], (15-16 September 1900), 2:

> Un robuste exécutant, de personalité très accentuée, insuffisamment connu en Europe, est M. Winslow Homer: son matelot criant dans la nuit. Tout va

bien auprès de la cloche du navire et ses deux paysages de mer accusent une verve rare.

18. Léonce Bénédite, "Exposition de 1900. - Beaux-Arts," in Rapports du Jury International, 2ème partie (Paris: Imprimerie nationale), 508-514. This essay, with a few alterations, also appears in Bénédite's article "Les Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900. Le peinture Etrangère," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 24, series 3 (July 1900).

19. Cauldwell, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 513.

2Ø. For references to Leygues's purchases, see "Mr. Cauldwell Returns," New York Times, 8 December 1900, 8; see also "American Art Praised," New-York Tribune, clipping dated 9 December 1900, Clarke Scrapbooks, frame 682.

21. "Mr. Cauldwell Returns," 8; "American Art Praised," Clarke Scrapbooks, N 592, frame 682.

22. Alfred Picard, Le Bilan d'un Siècle, vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 286-88.

23. Camille Mauclair, "La Décennale Etrangère," La Grande Revue de l'Exposition (10 July 1900): 178.

24. Auguste Marguillier, "L'art étrangèr (Exposition décennale, 1890-1900)," Revue Encyclopédique (22 September 1900): 742. According to Marguillier:

> Les Anglo-Saxons des Etats-Unis montrent une vitalité plus jeune et plus virile que ceux d'Europe. Instruits dans nos ateliers, trempés par les études de plein air, rompus aux difficultés du métier, s'attachant à la recherche du caractère, leur exposition est plus intéressant que celle d'Angleterre. Par contraire rien, ni dans la forme, ni dans le fond n'y porte la marque d'une race spéciale: tous les genres de peinture s'y trouvent représentés; c'est l'éclectisisme dans toute sa pléntitude.

25. Léon Greder, Loisirs d'art. Mélanges. La peinture Etrangère à l'Exposition de 1900, (Paris, 1901): 118: ". . . ne permet pas de les classer en dehors de l'Ecole française." On pages 121-22: "Cette exposition nous montre qu' aux Etats-Unis il existe une pléiade

d'artistes connaissant bien leur métier, pourant rivaliser avec leures confrères européens, et cette pléiade a toutes les qualités requises pour créer une nouvelle école que l'on pressent déjà sans pouvoir toutefois dire qu'elle sera."

26. Georges Lafenestre, "La Peinture. Les Ecoles Etrangères," Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne 8 (October 1900): 218:

> C'est une des sections étrangères où, depuis vingt ans, le progrès ont été les plus rapides et décisifs, et l'on peut prévoir l'heure prochaine où la peintre américaine, tout à fait émancipée et indépendante, deviendra un des facteurs actifs de l'art universel.

Lafenestre's essay also appears in Jules Comte, ed., L'Art à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900 (Paris: Librarie de l'art ancien et moderne), 1900.

27. De Fourcaud, 1:

> On disait autrefois que l'Amérique pourrait avoir des artistes, qu'elle n'aurait jamais un art. Il semblait aux hommes de la vielle Europe que le génie industriel et commercial dût étouffer en elle tout génie esthétique. . . .
>
> Avec la richesse s'est répandu, aux Etats-Unis, le désir de l'affinement qui mene à la comprehension plus intime et plus délicate des idées, des formes, des nuances, des caractères et fait du luxe de l'elégance choisie. . . . Peu à peu, les amateurs improvisés sont devenus des connaisseurs. En même temps, de jeunes hommes, parfaitement doués, se sont initiés à l'art auprès des maîtres de Paris, de Londres et de Munich, et en étudiant les anciens chefs-d'oeuvre, beaucoup de ces peintres ayant conquis un juste renom, ont élu domicile parmi nous. Quelques-uns, par contre, ont réintégré leur patrie. A cette heure, ce mouvement de réintégration va croissant. D'année en année, le nombre est plus grand des jeunes artistes d'avenir qui, leurs études terminées en Europe, s'établissent délibérément à New-York, à Philadelphie, à Boston pour y peindre les types, les moeurs et les paysages de la terre natale. C'est ainsi que l'Amérique a pu mettre en ligne, au Palais de l'avenue d'Antin, à côté des toiles américaines habitant le vieux monde, de longues séries des ouvrages de peintres américains, peignant sur leur propre sol, sous leur

propre ciel. On ne saurait, assurément, prétendre que cet ensemble témoigne d'une école profondément unifiée, en plein épanouissement de qualités originales, mais au moins témoigne-t-il d'une école déjà franchement constituée et qui prent conscience d'elle-même.

28. See "American Art Praised," Clarke Scrapbooks, N 597, frame 682. For an excellent review of the American paintings decennial in German, see O. Golwin, "Americanische Malerei," Die Kunst für Alle 16 (15 March 1900): 273-82, which, while still lukewarm, is more favorable than the modernist Julius Meier-Graffe's Die Weltausstellung in Paris (Paris: Verlag von F. Krüger, 1900). I am grateful to Marsha Morton who helped me with the German translations.

29. Henry Blumenthal, American and French Culture, 1800-1900: Interchanges in Art, Science, Literature, and Society (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 176.

3Ø. The Chefs d'Oeuvre: Art and Architecture, vol. 1, with essays by William Walton, V[ictor] Champier, and A[ndré] Saglio, (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Son, 1900-1902), v.

31. Roger Riordan, "The Paris Exposition," The Art Amateur 43 (August 1900): 62.

32. Samuel Swift, "French Art at the Exposition," Mail and Express, 28 July 1900, 14.

33. Riordan, "The Paris Exposition," 62.

34. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - III. The French Fine-Arts Section - II," Nation 71 (12 July 1900): 31.

35. Rowland Strong, "Parisian News of a Week," New York Times, 7 May 1899, 7.

36. "Is French Art Declining?" New York Herald, 8 May 1899, 3.

37. The Chefs d'Oeuvre, III: 15.

38. Richard Whiteing, "Paris Revisited," Century 59 (February 1900): 489.

39. "Are the Latin Races Doomed?" Nation 69 (1899): 482. This author believed that the "decadence of the Latin races is a fixed fact," citing "the Spanish collapse, the Dreyfus agony," and the "Italian riots" as recent evidence.

40. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - III: The French Fine Art Section - II," 31.

41. Frances Keyzer, "Some American Artists in Paris," International Studio 4 (March 1898): 247.

42. For a discussion of "L'envahissement de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts par les étrangères, declarations des élèves français," (Paris: Librarie des Imprimeries Réunies, 1886) and its ramifications, see Lois Marie Fink, American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution in association with Cambridge University Press, 1990), 130-31.

43. "Paris," Collier's Weekly 25 (4 August 1900): 7.

44. As quoted in Chefs d'Oeuvre, I: 30-31.

45. Letter signed "Fair Play," New York Herald, 15 April 1900, 4.

46. Samuel Isham, The History of American Painting (New York: MacMillan, 1905), 415.

47. Royal Cortissoz, "American Art in Paris: It's Standing in the City and in the Exposition," New-York Tribune, II, 22 July 1900, 1.

48. Ellis T. Clarke, "The Alien Element in American Art," Brush and Pencil 7 (October 1900): 44.

49. See Charles Caffin, "The Art and Influence of Paris To-Day," The Artist 29 [supplement] (October 1900): iii; and C[harles] H. C[affin], "American Art in Paris," Evening Post, 11 August 1900, 5.

50. C.L.F., "Dangers of Paris for the American Student," Nation 71 (23 August 1900): 149.

51. As quoted in Lloyd Goodrich, Thomas Eakins vol. 2, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 268-69.

52. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - V. The American Section," 90.

53. Art Notes, no. 5 (November 1897): 1.

54. De Fourcaud, 1.

55. Martha Banta discusses the "aesthetics of assimilation" into the Melting Pot, in light of both the popular press and physiognomic treatises at the turn of the century, in Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 92ff.

56. See Leigh Hunt, "Art in America," The Collector 9 (1 November 1898): 5; also see "Why Not a National Art," The Collector 9 (15 February 1899): 1.

57. Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 127.

58. Caffin, "American Art in Paris," 5.

59. Isham, 561.

60. According to Lafenestre, 218:
> Le caractère commun. . . est l'énergie, saine et intense, de l'impression, par des moyens d'expression très simples et très nets. . . . Le dilettantisme du vieux monde, mythologie, religion, fantaisie, ne tient pas grande place dans l'art du nouveau.

61. See the citations regarding landscape painting in chapter IV, especially, "Paintings in Paris," Boston Transcript, Cecilia Beaux Papers Archives, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and N.N., "The Paris Exposition - V. The American Section," 80.

62. Sadakichi Hartmann, A History of American Art, vol. 1, (Boston: L. G. Page, 1902), 106-7.

63. "American Studio Talk," International Studio 9 [supplement], (February 1900): xiii.

64. Carroll Beckwith, "The Outlook for American Art and Artists," clipping from the Metropolitan Magazine, Clarke Scrapbooks, N 598, 405.

65. William H. Gerdts, "American Tonalism: An Artistic Overview," in William H. Gerdts, et al, Tonalism: An American Experience (New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, 1982), 25.

66. See Robert R. Preato, "Collectors of American Tonal Painters: Charles Lang Freer, Thomas B. Clarke, William T. Evans, and George A. Hearn," in Gerdts et al, Tonalism: An American Experience.

67. Cauldwell, in Report of the Commissioner-General, II: 552.

68. "The Society of Landscape Painters," Brush and Pencil 4 (May 1899): 114.

69. N.N., "The Paris Exposition - V. The American Section," 90.

70. Official Catalogue of Exhibitors. Universal Exposition, St. Louis, U.S.A., 1904. Department of Art, n.p., 1904.

71. Determining the success of the exposition in economic terms is difficult as balance sheets vary. Picard's original 1902 financial report, estimating that the exposition lost 2 million francs, has been used by Richard Mandell and others to proclaim the exposition an economic failure. Subsequent reports, however, placed profits as high as 9.5 million francs. Recently, the exposition was deemed a "financial success," by Robert Brown, in John E. Findling, ed., Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 162.

72. "At the Century Club," New York Sun, 25 April 1901, n.p.

73. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. American Pictures from the Paris Exposition, 1901. I am indebted to Susan Danly, of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, for bringing this exhibition to my attention.

74. "Growing Market for American Art," New York Sun, 4 March 1901, n.p., clipping in Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Records, P 53, frame 455. Additional reviews of this exhibition are also contained in this scrapbook.

75. Charles H. Caffin, "The Pan-American Exposition as a Work of Art," World's Work 2 (August 1901): 1049.

76. Charles de Kay, "Paintings at the Pan-American," New York Times [supplement], 7 July 1901, 13. For a history of American art at the Pan-American Exposition, see Joanne Marie Thompson, "The Art and Architecture of the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N.Y., 1901," Ph.D. diss. (Rutgers University, 1980). I am grateful to Janice Lurie, Assistant Librarian at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, for her assistance with research on this exposition.

77. Caffin, "The Pan-American Exposition as a Work of Art," 1051.

78. For a list of these sculptures, see Thompson, 151, 176, and 177.

79. Katherine V. McHenry, "Fine Art at the Pan-American Exposition," Brush and Pencil 7 (January 1901): 216.

80. Exposition Internationale Universelle de Saint-Louis. Catalogue Général Officiel de la Section Française, n.p., 1904, 217: ". . . elle ne s'imite pas, parce qu'elle sent au fond d'elle-même, toujours fraîches, toujours abondantes, les sources de son génie."

81. Official Catalogue of Exhibitors. Universal Exposition. St. Louis, U.S.A., 1904. Department of Art, n.p., 1904.

82. Official Illustrations of Selected Works in the Various National Sections of the Department of Art with Complete List of Awards by the International Jury, with an Introduction by Halsey C. Ives, (St. Louis, 1904), xxvii.

83. J. N. L[aurvik], in John D. Trask and J. N. Laurvik, eds., Catalogue de Luxe of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific Exposition (San Francisco, 1915), 12.

84. Laurvik, 12.

85. William H. Gerdts, American Impressionism (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 301.

86. Michael Williams, "A Pageant of American Art," Art and Progress 6 (August 1915): 348; Christian Brinton, Impressions of Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, with a Chapter on the San Diego Exposition and an Introductory Essay on the Modern Spirit in Contemporary Painting (New York: John Lane Co., 1916), 17.

CONCLUSION

The universal exposition of 1900 functioned as the international debut of an American School of art. In terms of both official recognition and critical acclaim, this new national "school" outshone all others at the fair, except the French. The triumph of American art in 1900 resulted from not one but several factors that influenced the judges and critics as well as the artists themselves.

First and foremost, the quality and character of the American exhibition itself appealed to both domestic and foreign reviewers. Since an overwhelming majority of the artists who exhibited had studied in Paris, many of the paintings were technically impeccable. However, because a number of canvases depicted uniquely American subjects, the American exhibition could no longer be dismissed as a "mere annex of the French School," as it had been in 1889. Thus, American art at the 1900 exposition finally achieved what French critics had been asking for since 1855: work that adhered to French methods, yet also

reflected a national character.

By relinquishing French academic subject matter, the American paintings looked refreshingly new to critics on both sides of the Atlantic. Stylistically, however, American painting in 1900 was still somewhat restrained. While many painters relaxed their brushwork in response to the Barbizon School and impressionism, most were not ready to abandon traditional perspective and solidly constructed form. American painting was attractive to moderate critics both at home and abroad in 1900 because it represented a compromise between ultra conservative academicism and radical post-impressionism.

Another factor that helped shape critical reactions was the United States administration's packaging and presentation of America and its art. By requiring that over 70% of the exhibited work be produced stateside, John Cauldwell and his associates helped to both define and foster an American School. Installations on the fairgrounds were executed in styles calculated to promote the United States as a powerful nation, mature enough to have its own indigenous culture. Paintings and sculptures also transmitted political messages, from condemning the Dreyfus affair to proclaiming America's moral superiority over Europe. For the American contingent, art played a much more important role than it

had in previous Parisian expositions.

The victory of American art in 1900 can also be viewed within the contemporary interpretation of the Course of Empire. Writers who believed that Empires had life spans, such as Brooks Adams, John C. Van Dyke, William Walton, and Will H. Low, indicated that the United States Empire had recently entered its consummate phase. Since a consummate Empire was necessarily culturally mature, the successful reception of American art at the 1900 exposition was not only expected, but was also predestined, according to critics on both sides of the Atlantic who accepted the theory. In this way, the expanded status of American artists in 1900 coincided with and was reinforced by their country's new identity as an economic and military superpower.

At the same time--at least among the conservative circles which participated in the expositions--French culture was considered to be experiencing a decadent decline, having already reached its apogee. American artists remained "grateful" to France for their education. Nevertheless, as Cauldwell implied in his final report, "To-day we have many well-equipped institutions in which the student can develop an artistic temperament. . . ." rendering French training no longer imperative.[1] As a result of a migration homeward in the

1890s, the expatriates who had dominated American art since the late 1870s were newly disparaged in 1900 by "born-again" Americans--themselves former expatriates or students of French art.

In spite of the negative reviews they received, the expatriates played a crucial role in determining the success of American art at the fair. As members of the international art community, the expatriates had prepared the world for the acceptance of American art through their participation in the Parisian art scene, especially through the Salons. It was, after all, the expatriates who had successfully negotiated for additional gallery space and won the only two grand prizes for American painting at the exposition.

In addition, the expatriates added sophistication to the American section. Exhibiting only paintings of native scenery and "wholesome" people would have smacked of a provincialism inconsistent with the image of power that the exposition organizers wanted to establish. The repatriated artists needed the expatriates. Most of them were former expatriates themselves, and thus carried the same baggage as their compatriots living across the ocean--the knowledge of French academic technique.

The Parisian site itself was psychologically essential for the American artists, as it was the place

where most of them had studied. More importantly, Paris, as the undisputed capital of the art world, was the foremost city in which to be recognized by critics worldwide. Thus, it was only in Paris that American artists could declare their independence from French art.

The exposition of 1900 did not eradicate expatriation, as some American artists remained abroad until World War I. After the war, a new generation of Americans in Paris was recognized at both the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Salons as comprising an Ecole Américaine.[2] In general, these artists seemed unable to realize the debt they owed to their turn-of-the-century forebears: that their own distaste for French academicism had originated with artists working with nineteenth-century methods.

The disregard of the American success at the 1900 universal exposition in histories written after the first World War, then, can be explained by the acceptance of modernism. When modernism was sanctioned--particularly when France embraced its own radicals in an attempt to revive its cultural identity--the rules changed. The work exhibited would have looked hopelessly outmoded, the achievements of 1900 would have seemed meaningless, and the exposition was therefore forgotten.

Although the universal exposition of 1900 has been

neglected, it contributed to subsequent American art in ways other than promoting cultural nationalism and antiacademicism. Significantly, the 1900 exposition bolstered the confidence of American artists to an unprecedented level. Due to the tenacity of their predecessors, beginning with the 1855 exposition, to compete with Europe, the expatriates of the twentieth century were secure enough with their own identity to become not only participants in the international scene, but innovators as well.

After 1900, a number of Americans began to participate in an international avant-garde, both at home--initially with the Stieglitz Circle--and abroad. Others continued to develop and redefine an American School, beginning with The Eight of 1908 (who were, incidentally, not reputed for their "wholesomeness"). Thus, the American exhibition at the Paris exposition of 1900 must not be dismissed as merely a perpetuation of French nineteenth-century methods, but rather should be regarded as a bridge to the twentieth century, as it accommodated both the old and the new.

The Paris exposition of 1900 helped to create the conditions for the emergence of American modernism and The Eight. This conclusion is substantiated by the writings of consistent thinkers such as Charles Caffin

and Sadakichi Hartmann, who championed an American School around the turn of the century, then soon after advocated modernism.[3] Most importantly, the 1900 exposition sowed the seeds for New York to displace Paris as the center of the art world. However, the predictions for this, made at the time of the exposition, were fulfilled only during World War II, when, for the first time, European artists, seeking political freedom, expatriated to the United States.

Notes to the Conclusion

1. John B. Cauldwell, "Report of the Department of Fine Arts, in Report of the Commissioner-General for the International Universal Exposition Paris, 1900, vol. 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 514.

2. For an excellent examination of expatriation after World War I, see Elizabeth Turner Hutton, American Artists in Paris, 1919-1929 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988).

3. See, especially, Sandra Lee Underwood, Charles H. Caffin: A Voice for Modernism, 1897-1918 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983, and Jane Calhoun Weaver, ed., Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

APPENDIX A

Official Illustrated Catalogue. Fine Arts Exhibit.

United States of America

Paris Exposition of 1900.

Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1900

Annotated Version, Paintings Exhibition

NOTE:

This catalogue contains selected data from the original edition including the artists' places of birth, education, and addresses at the time of the exposition. Information not directly connected with the exposition, such as previous awards and professional affiliations, has been omitted. Unlike the original catalogue (in which paintings were generally numbered according to their placement in the galleries), artists are listed here alphabetically. All excerpts from the original catalogue appear in bold; all annotations are printed in regular type; where necessary, spelling and editorial changes have been made.

Titles of the paintings, watercolors, and pastels precede the catalogue number listed in the Official Illustrated Catalogue; the catalogue number to the French Catalogue général officiel follows in parentheses. All works are oil on canvas unless otherwise indicated. Lenders to the exposition are listed in bold as in the original catalogue. Supplemental information--such as the death dates of the artists, the medals awarded for the exposition, dates of the paintings, and the current or last known location of the paintings---appears where known in regular type.

CATALOGUE

ABBEY, EDWIN AUSTIN 1852-1911
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Address: Fairford, Gloucestershire, England. Gold Medal.

Play Scene in Hamlet, 1897. 131 (1); Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT

ABBOT, KATHERINE G. 1867-1929
Born in Zanesville, OH. Pupil of H. Siddons Mowbray, William M. Chase, of New York, Léon Merson, Jean Geffroy, and Delance, of Paris. Address: Paris. Bronze Medal.

Anxiety. 135 (5)

ALEXANDER, JOHN WHITE 1856-1915
Born in Pittsburgh. Pupil of the Royal Academy, Munich, and of Frank Duveneck. Address: Paris. Gold Medal.

The Mother. 9 (6)

Portrait of Rodin, 1899. 17 (7); First National Bank of Chicago

Autumn. 13 (8)

ALLEN, THOMAS 1849-1924
Born in St. Louis. Pupil of the Royal Academy, Düsseldorf, Germany; studied three years in France. Address: **Boston.**

On Grasmere Meadows. 122 (9); lent by **Boston Art Club**

ANDERSON, ABRAHAM ARCHIBALD 1847-1940
Born in New York City. Pupil of Bonnat, Cormon, and Collin, Paris. Address: New York City.

Hon. Elihu Root, c. 1890. 205 (10); Association of the Bar of New York City

BARLOW, T. [sic./JOHN] NOBLE 1861-1917
Born in Manchester, England. Became an American citizen 1887. Pupil of Constant, Lefebvre, and Delance, Paris. Address: **St. Ives, Cornwall, England.** Silver Medal.

One Summer Night. 83 (19)

BEAUX, CECILIA 1855-1942
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of William Sartain, the Julian School, and the Lazar School, Paris. Address: Philadelphia. Gold Medal.

Mother and Daughter [Mrs. Clement A. Griscom and Frances Griscom], 1898. 35 (21); lent by Clement A. Griscom, Esq.; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

Mother and Son [Mrs. Beauveau Borie and Son Adolph], 1896. 117 (22); lent by Beauveau Borie, Esq.; Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, TX

Portrait of Miss [Anna] Fisher, 1898. 204 (23); lent by George H. Fisher, Esq.; Private collection

BECKWITH, JAMES CARROLL 1852-1917
Born in Hannibal, MO. Pupil of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and of Carolus-Duran, Paris. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.

Portrait of Mrs. Beckwith, c. 1900. 141 (26); University of Notre Dame, Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame, IN

BENSON, FRANK WESTON 1862-1951
Born in Salem, MA. Pupil of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Académie Julian, Paris, under Boulanger and Lefebvre. Address: **Salem, MA.** Silver Medal.

Children in the Woods, 1898. 49 (28); Private collection

The Sisters, 1899. 201 (29); I.B.M. Corporation, Armonk, NY

BISBING, HENRY SINGLEWOOD 1854-1919
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of J.H.L. de Hass, New York, and F. de Vuillefroy, Paris. Address: Paris. Silver Medal.

The Meadow. 199 (31)

Cattle. 156 (32)

BLAKELOCK, RALPH ALBERT 1847-1919
Born in New York City. Self-taught. Honorable Mention.

Landscape. 97 (33); lent by George A. Hearn, Esq.

BLUM, ROBERT 1857-1903
Born in Cincinnati. Studied at the McMicken School of Design, Cincinnati, Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and in Paris. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.

The Ameya, c. 1892. 161 (34); lent by Mrs. A.C. Clark; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A Flower Market in Tokio [The Flower Market, Tokyo], c. 1891. 174 (35); Manoogian Collection, Detroit

BOGERT, GEORGE H. 1864-1944
Born in New York City. First studied art under Thomas Eakins. Went to France in 1884, and studied under Raphael Collin, Aimé Morot, and Puvis de Chavannes. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.

Sea and Rain, 1893. 96 (36); lent by William Clausen, Esq.; formerly the National Museum of American Art, 1909-1985; Christie's, New York, 1985

BOHM, MAX 1868-1923
Born in Cincinnati. Pupil of Jean-Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant, Paris. Address: Etaples, P. de C., France. Silver Medal.

On the Sea. 206 (37)

BRECKENRIDGE, HUGH HENRY 1870-1937
Born in Leesburg, VA. Pupil of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and of Bouguereau, Ferrier, and Doucet, of Paris. Address: Philadephia. Honorable Mention.

Lantern Glow (pastel). 207 (39); lent by H.J. Breckenridge, Esq.

BRIDGMAN, FREDERICK ARTHUR 1847-1928
Born in Tuskegee, AL. Pupil of J.L. Gérôme, Paris. Address: Paris. Silver Medal.

Pharaoh [Pharaoh's Army Drowning in the Red Sea], 1900. 24 (40); formerly The Vaughan Family Trust, London

The Arab and his Horses. 120 (41)

BROWN, JOHN GEORGE 1831-1913
Born in Durham, England. Pupil of Robert Scott, Lander, and William B. Scott, England, and of Thomas Cummings, of New York. Address: New York City.

Heels over Head, c. 1894. 155 (42); Manney Collection, New York

BROWNE, CHARLES FRANCIS 1859-1920
Born in Massachusetts. Studied at the Art Museum, Boston; Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, under Gérôme. Address: Chicago, IL.

Reflections. 16 (43)

BRUSH, GEORGE DE FOREST 1855-1945
Born in Tennessee. Pupil of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Gérôme, Paris. Address: New York City. Gold Medal.

Mother and Child, 1897. 39 (44 or 45); lent by J.M. Sears, Esq.; Addison Gallery of American Art,

Phillips Academy, Andover, MA

Mother and Child, 1895. 183 (44 or 45); lent by Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

The Artist [The Portrait], 1892. 7 (46); lent by Potter Palmer, Esq.; Mr. and Mrs. Willard G. Clark

BUNCE, WILLIAM GEDNEY 1840-1916
Born in Hartford, CT. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.

Venice. 100 (47); lent by E.F. Milliken, Esq.

BURBANK, ELBRIDGE AYER 1858-1949
Born in Harvard, IL. Studied at the National Academy, New York, 1874; under Emil Carlsen, Felix Regimes, and J.F. Goodkins, of Chicago; later under Paul Navin and Frederick Fehr at Munich. Address: Chicago.

Thi-ich-no-pa (Navajo). 208 (48)

BUTLER, HOWARD RUSSELL 1856-1934
Born in New York. Address: New York City.

Clearing [Clearing, Marine]. 123 (49)

CARL, KATE [KATHERINE AUGUSTA] 1862-1938
Born in Louisiana. Pupil of Gustave Courtois. Address: Paris. Honorable Mention.

The Mirror. 194 (51)

CHAPMAN, CARLTON THEODORE 1860-1925
Born in New London, CT. Studied at Arts Students League and National Academy, New York, and Académie Julian, Paris. Address: New York City.

Constitution and Guerrière [Engagement Between the U.S. Frigate Constitution and H.M.S. Guerrière], 1895. 209 (56); New-York Historical Society, New York

Oregon in Action. 210 (57)

CHASE, WILLIAM MERRITT 1859 [sic.] 1849-1916
Born in Franklin, IN. Pupil of Wagner and Piloty in Munich. Address: New York City. Gold Medal.

Woman with a White Shawl [Portrait of Mrs. C. (Lady with the White Shawl)], 1893. 121 (58); lent by Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

First Touch of Autumn. 149 (59)

The Big Brass Bowl. 41 (60); lent by H.K. Porter,

The Big Brass Bowl. 41 (60); lent by H.K. Porter, Esq.; Trina, Inc., Fall River, MA, 1979

CHURCH, FREDERIC STUART 1842-1924
Born in Grand Rapids, MI. Studied at the National Academy of Design and with Walter Shirlaw. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.
The Sorceress. 124 (62); lent by Mrs. Potter Palmer

CLARK, WALTER 1848-1917
Born in Brooklyn. Pupil of the National Academy of Design and Professor Wilmarth and of the Art Students League, New York. Address: New York City.
A New England Village. 38 (67)

COFFIN, WILLIAM ANDERSON 1855-1925
Born in Allegheny, PA. First studied at the Yale Art School; pupil of Léon Bonnat, Paris. Address: New York City.
Sunrise. 200 (69)

COMAN, CHARLOTTE BUELL 1833-1924
Born in Waterville, NH. Pupil of James R. Prevoost, Harry Thompson, and Emile Vernier, Paris. Address: New York City.
A Winter Morning (watercolor). 211 (70)
A Hill of Hazel Bushes (watercolor). 212 (71)

COOPER, EMMA LAMPERT 1860-1920
Born in Nunda, NY. Pupil of Harry Thompson, Paris, J. Kever, Holland, and William M. Chase, New York. Address: Paris.
The Bread Winners (watercolor). 213 (72); Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester

COUSE, EANGER IRVING 1866-1936
Born in Saginaw, MI. Pupil of the National Academy of Design, New York, under L.E. Wilmarth and Edgar Ward; 1886, Académie Julian, Paris, under Bouguereau and T. Rober-Fleury, and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.
Along the Quai. 118 (73); lent by W.H. Burger, Esq.

COX, KENYON 1856-1919
Born in Warren, OH. Pupil of Gérôme and Carolus-Duran. Address: New York City.
Pursuit of the Ideal. 140 (75); destroyed, as per National Museum of American Art files

COX, LOUISE HOWLAND KING 1865-1945
Born in San Francisco. Pupil of the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League of New York. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Leonard. 70 (76)

CRANE, BRUCE 1857-1937
Born in New York City. Pupil of A.H. Wyant. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.
Signs of Spring. 147 (77); lent by L.G. Bloomingdale

CURRAN, CHARLES COURTNEY 1861-1942
Born in Hartford, KY. Pupil of the Art Students League of New York, Benjamin Constant and L. Doucet, of Paris. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.
The Dew. 214 (78)
The Peris. 139 (79); lent by C.C. Glover, Esq.; Dr. Ronald Berg, Monticello, NY

CURTIS, CONSTANCE ? - ?
Born in Washington, DC. Studied at the Art Students League of New York [1888-1898; and possibly again in 1921]; pupil of William M. Chase and Robert Reid. Address: New York City.
Joan (watercolor). 215 (80)

DANNAT, WILLIAM TURNER 1853-1929
Born in New York. Pupil of the Munich Academy and Munkácsy; also studied in Paris and Italy. Address: Paris.
Portrait of the Duchess of Mecklenburg. 31 (82)
Portrait of Miss C. 68 (83)

DARLING, WILDER M. 1856-1933
Born in Sandusky, OH. Pupil of the Académie Julian, Jean-Paul Laurens, and Benjamin Constant, Paris. Address: Laren, North Holland. Bronze Medal.
Helping Mother, 1900. 8 (84); Toledo Museum of Art

DAVIS, CHARLES HAROLD 1856-1933
Born in Amesbury, MA. Pupil of Otto Grundman and Museum of Art, Boston, and of Boulanger and Jules Lefebvre, Paris. Address: Boston. Bronze Medal.
Summer Evening. 176 (85); lent by Oliver G. Ricketson, Esq.
Clouds over Water. 146 (85)

DEARTH, HENRY GOLDEN 1863 [sic.] 1864-1918
Born in Bristol, RI. Bronze Medal.
Autumn. 15 (87)

DE CAMP, JOSEPH RODEFER 1858-1923
Born in Cincinnati. Studied at the Cincinnati School of Design under Frank Duveneck, and at the Royal Academy, Munich. Address: Boston. Honorable Mention.
Woman Drying her Hair, 1899. 179 (50); lent by Cincinnati Museum; Cincinnati Art Museum

DESSAR, LOUIS PAUL 1867-1952
Born in Indianapolis. Pupil of the National Academy of Design, New York, W.A. Bouguereau and Fleury, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Sheep in the Dunes. 43 (88)

DICKSON, MARY ESTELLE ? - ?
Born in the United States [St. Louis, MO]. Pupil of Tony Robert-Fleury and Jules Lefebvre. Address: Paris. Bronze Medal.
Fancy Head. 153 (90)

DONOHO, GAINES RUGER 1857-1916
Born in Church Hill, MI. Pupil of Boulanger, Lefebvre, Bouguereau, and Fleury. Address: East Hampton, Long Island, NY.
Moonlight in Egypt Lane. 216 (91)

EAKINS, THOMAS 1844-1916
Born in Covington, KY. Pupil of Gérôme, Bonnat, and Dumont, Paris. Address: Philadelphia. Honorable Mention.
The 'Cello Player [The Cello Player (Rudolph Hennig)], 1896. 114 (93); lent by Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia
Salutat, 1898. 143 (94); Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA

EATON, CHARLES WARREN 1857-1954
Born in Albany, NY. Pupil of National Academy of Design and Art Students League of New York. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.
The Marsh in Winter (pastel). 67 (96)
Spirit of the Twilight (watercolor). 109 (97)
River at Evening. 93 (98)

EICHELBURGER, ROBERT H. ? -c.1900
The Wave. 22 (99); lent by Brayton Ives, Esq.

ELLIS, HARVEY 1852-1904
Born in Rochester, NY. Pupil of Edwin White, N.A. Address: Rochester, NY.
Silhouettes (watercolor and ink on paper), 1899. 217 (100); Strong Museum, Rochester

EMMET, LYDIA FIELD 1866-1952
Address: New Rochelle, NY.
Garden Days. 218 (101)

ENNECKING, JOHN JOSEPH 1841-1916
Born in Minster, OH. Pupil of Bonnat and Daubigny, Paris, and of Lear, Munich. Address: Boston. Honorable Mention.
Twilight. 48 (102)

FISHER, WILLIAM MARK 1841-1923
Born in Boston. Studied in Boston and Paris. Address: Newport, Essex, England.
The Swineherd. 219 (103)

FOSS, HARRIET CAMPBELL c.1860-1957
Born in Middletown, CT. Pupil of J. Alden Weir, Alfred Stephens, and Gustave Courtois, Paris. Address: Paris.
Pink Phlox (pastel). 220 (104)

FOSTER, BEN 1852-1926
Born in North Anson, ME. Pupil of Abbott Thayer, New York, and Luc Olivier Merson and Aimé Morot, Paris. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Lulled by the Murmuring Stream [Bercé par un flot murmurant], 1899. 101 (105); Musée d'Orsay, Paris

FRANZEN, AUGUST 1863-1938
Born in Norrköping, Sweden. Pupil of Dagnan-Bouvert, Paris. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Charity. 221 (106)
The House Builders. 77 (107)

FROMUTH, CHARLES H. 1863 [sic.] 1861-1937
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of Thomas Eakins. Address: Concarneau, France. Silver Medal.
Fishing Boats. 82 (108)
Dismantled Boats. 80 (109)

GALLAGHER, SEARS 1869-1910
Born in Boston. Pupil of Tommaso Juglaris, Boston, of Jean-Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant, Paris. Address: Boston.
Foggy Weather (watercolor). 222 (115)

GALLISON, HENRY H. 1850-1910
Born in Boston. Pupil of Bonnefoy, Paris. Address: Boston. Honorable Mention.
Grey Day. 2 (116)

GAULEY, ROBERT DAVID 1875-1943
Born in Ballylag, Ireland. Pupil of Denman Ross of Cambridge, the Art Museum of Boston, MA, and the Julian Academy, Paris. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Polly. 128 (118)

GAY, WALTER 1856-1937
Born in Hingham, MA. Pupil of Léon Bonnat. Address: Paris. Silver Medal.
Maternity. 18 (119)
The Weavers. 185 (120)

GIFFORD, ROBERT SWAIN 1840-1905
Born on the island of Naushon, MA. Pupil of Albert Van Beest, Holland. Address: New York City.
Headwaters of the Westport River. 10 (123)

GIHON, ALBERT DANKIN 1866 [sic.] 1876- ?
Born at Portsmouth, NH. Pupil of Thomas Eakins, Philadelphia; Benjamin Constant, Jean-Paul Laurens, Gérôme, A.T.A. Motley, and the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs. Address: Paris.
Old Mill, Picardy. 6 (124)

GROTHJEAN, FANNY 1871- ?
Born near Hamburg, Germany. Pupil of Courtois, Girard, Paul J. Blanc, Pierre Fritel, and A.G. Delécluze. Address: New York City.
The August Moon. 224 (127)
The New Moon. 223 (128); lent by Mrs. Britton Busch

GUY, SEYMOUR JOSEPH 1824-1910
Born in Greenwich, England. Pupil of Ambrose, Gérôme, Paris, and Buttersworth, of London. Came to the United States in 1854 and established himself as a portrait and genre painter. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Rest. 127 (130)
Preparing for To-morrow. 115 (131)

HARRISON, THOMAS ALEXANDER 1853-1930
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of Gérôme at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and of Bastien-Lepage. Address: Paris. Hors Concours.

Twilight [Twilight, Marine]. 29 (135)
Mysteries of the Night, c. 1895. 225 (136)
Evening in the Sun [Feux du soleil], c. 1897. 3 (137)
Landscape. 226 (no French number)

HARRISON, LOVELL BIRGE 1854-1929
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of Carolus-Duran and Cabanel, of Paris. Address: Plymouth, MA.

Morning off Santa Barbara. 158 (138)

HASSAM, CHILDE 1859-1953
Born in Boston. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre, Paris. Address: New York. Silver Medal.

Snowy Day on Fifth Avenue [Fifth Avenue in Winter], c.1892, 145 (139); lent by Carnegie Institute; Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh

HAYDEN, CHARLES H. 1856-1901
Born in Plymouth, MA. Pupil of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Boulanger, Collin, and Lefebvre, Paris. Address: Boston. Bronze Medal.

A Connecticut Hillside. 33 (140); deaccessioned by Cincinnati Art Museum, 1945

HERTER, ALBERT 1871-1950
Born in New York City. Pupil of Art Students League of New York and of F. Cormon and Jean-Paul Laurens, of Paris. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.

Sorrow (watercolor). 190 (141)

HITCHCOCK, GEORGE 1850-1913
Born in Providence, RI. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre, Paris. Address: Egmond Hoef, Holland. Bronze Medal.

Magnificat. 26 (147)
Vanquished [Vaincu], c. 1898. 148 (148); Musée d'Orsay, Paris

HOLMAN, FRANK 1865-1930
Born in Attleboro, MA. Pupil of Carolus-Duran and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Address: Paris. Honorable Mention.

Portrait of my Mother, c. 1894. 227 (151)

HOMER, WINSLOW 1836-1910
Born in Boston. Pupil of National Academy School and Frederick Kindel. Address: Scarboro, ME. Gold Medal.

The Fox Hunt, 1893. 192 (152); lent by Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

The Maine Coast, 1896. 58 (153); lent by F.A. Bell, Esq.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

"All's Well" [The Lookout: All's Well], 1896; 107 (154); lent by Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Summer Night [Nuit d'été], 1890. 61 (155); Musée d'Orsay, Paris

HOUSTON, FRANCES C. 1867-1906
Born in Hudson, MI. Studied in Paris under Lefebvre and Boulanger. Address: Boston.

Portrait. 151 (158)

HUMPHREYS JOHNSTON, JOHN 1857-1941
Address: Paris. Silver Medal.

Portrait of the Artist's Mother [Portrait de la mère d'artiste], 1895. 88 (159); Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Le Mystère de la Nuit. 195 (160)

Fortune (Paysanne). 87 (161)

HYDE, WILLIAM HENRY 1858-1943
Born in New York City. Studied in Paris with Boulanger, Lefebvre, Doucet, and Alexander Harrison. Address; New York. Honorable Mention.

Portrait [Bishop Henry Codman Potter]. 177 (162); lent by Bishop Henry Codman Potter; City Club of New York, 1932

INNESS, GEORGE 1925-1894
Born in Newburgh, NY; died at Bridge of Allan, Scotland. Pupil of Regis Gignoux, New York.

The Mill Pond, 1889. 56 (166); lent by Emerson McMillin; The Art Institute of Chicago

The Clouded Sun, 1891. 66 (164); lent by Carnegie Institute; Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh

Sunny Autumn Day, 1892. 40 (163); lent by Chauncey J. Blair, Esq.; Cleveland Art Museum

JOHNSON, EASTMAN 1825-1906
Born in Lowell, ME [sic./MA]. Pupil of Professor Lentye in Düsseldorf. Address: New York City.

Prisoner of State, 1874 (oil on academy board).

110 (167); lent by Homer Lee, Esq.; Private collection

JONES, HUGH BOLTON 1848-1927
Born in Baltimore, MD. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.
November. 62 (168); lent by C. C. Glover, Esq.

KAELIN, CHARLES S. 1858-1929
Born in Cincinnati. Pupil of the Cincinnati Art School, the Art Students League of New York, and Cincinnati Museum Association. Address: Cincinnati, OH.
Melting Snows (pastel). 228 (172)

KENDALL, MARGARET STICKNEY 1871- ?
Born on Staten Island, NY. Pupil of J. Alden Weir, Julius Rolshoven, and Sargent Kendall. Address: New York.
Pastures and Pudding Stones. 229 (175)

KENDALL, WILLIAM SERGEANT 1869-1938
Born in Spuyden Duyvil, NY. Pupil of the Art Students League, New York, Thomas Eakins, Philadelphia, Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Olivier Merson, Paris. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.
St. Ives, Pray for Me, c. 1891. 157 (176)
Cloud's Shadows. 230 (177)

KNIGHT, LOUIS ASTON 1873-1948
Born in Paris. Pupil of Jules Lefebvre, Tony Robert-Fleury and Ridway Knight, Paris. Address: Poissy S. et O., France. Bronze Medal.
The Riverside Path (watercolor). 30 (178)

KNIGHT, DANIEL RIDGWAY 1839-1924
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of Gleyre and Meissonier. Address: Poissy, S. et O., France.
A July Morning, 1895. 168 (179); Private collection

KOOPMAN, AUGUSTUS 1869-1914
Born in Charlotte, NC. Studied at Pennsylvania Academy Fine Arts; Bougeuerau and Fleury; pupil of Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Address: Paris. Bronze Medal.
Two Forces, c. 1897. 132 (180); formerly the Cosmos Club, Washington, DC

KOST, FREDERICK WELLER 1861-1923
Pupil of National Academy Schools. Address: New York. Honorable Mention.
Old Vanderbilt Dock. 90 (181); lent by George

Inness, Jr., Esq.

KRONBERG, LOUIS 1871/1872-1965
Born in the United States. Pupil of Jean-Paul Laurens, Benjamin Constant, and Raphael Collin, Paris. Address: Boston.
Study from the Nude (pastel). 231 (182)

LA FARGE, JOHN 1835-1910
Born in New York. Address: New York.
Girls Making Kava [Siva with Siakumu Making Kava in Tofae's House] (watercolor on Japanese mulberry velum), c. 1893-5. 106 (183); lent by Mrs. Bancel La Farge; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA
Mt. Tohivea, Society Islands [Mt. Tohivea, from the Edge of Rotui, Island of Moorea, Society Islands, South Pacific, 1891] (watercolor and gouache over pencil on white wove paper), 1891. 164 (184); Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge

LATHROP, FRANCIS 1849-1909
Born at sea, near the Hawaiian Islands. Pupil of Ford Madox-Brown and Sir Edward Burne-Jones. Address: New York City.
Portrait of the Artist. 113 (185)

LATHROP, WILLIAM LANGSON 1859-1938
Born in Warren, IL.
Grey Day. 232 (186); lent by Judge Horace Russell

LEE, HOMER 1856-1923
Born in Mansfield, OH. Studied under his father and Robert Mackintosh, Toronto, Canada; afterward studied abroad. Address: New York. Honorable Mention.
The Building of the Sky-scraper. 112 (188); purchased from the exposition by Georges Leygues

LEWIS, ARTHUR ALLEN 1873- ?
Born in Mobile, AL. Studied with Bridgman and Gérôme. Address: Paris. Honorable Mention.
Portrait of Michael Robinson. 233 (190)

LOCKE, CAROLINE T. ? - c.1909
Purple Rhododendrons. 198 (191)

LOCKWOOD, WILTON ROBERT 1861-1914
Born in Wilton, CT. Pupil of John La Farge, also studied

in Paris. Address: Boston. Silver Medal.
The Violinist, c. 1897. 130 (192); lent by Andrew Carnegie, Esq.; Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1946

LOW, WILL HILCOCK 1853-1932
Born in Albany, NY. Pupil of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Gérôme, and Carolus-Duran, Paris. Address: Bronxville, NY.
At the Spring, c. 1897. 175 (193)

MAC CHESNEY, CLARA TAGGART 1861-1928
Born in San Francisco. Pupil of San Francisco Art School, Gotham Art School, Colarossi School, Paris, and William, Mowbray, Courtois, and Giradot. Address: New York City.
Pomegranates (watercolor). 234 (195)

MAC EWEN, WALTER 1860-1943
Born in Chicago. Pupil of Cormon and Tony Robert-Fleury, Paris, France. Address: Paris. Silver Medal.
Portraits. 21 (197)
Sunday in Holland [Dimanche en Hollande], c. 1898. 188 (198); Musée d'Orsay, Paris
Pieter Van Wint. 63 (199)

MAC ILHENNY, CHARLES MORGAN 1858-1904
Born in Philadelphia. Studied in Philadelphia. Honorable Mention.
November Evening. 20 (200); lent by Judge Horace Russell
On the Highlands. 150 (no French number); lent by Samuel T. Shaw, Esq.

MAC KUBIN, FLORENCE 1861-1918
Born in Florence, Italy. Pupil of Deschamps, of Paris, and Julius Rolshoven and Professor Herterrich, of Munich. Address: Baltimore, MD.
Portrait of Mrs. Rockwood Hoar (miniature), 1898. 202 (197); Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore

MAC MONNIES, MARY FAIRCHILD 1858-1946
Born in New Haven, CT. Studied in School of Fine Arts, St. Louis, Académie Julian, Paris, and with Carolus-Duran. Address: Paris. Bronze Medal.
Lilies and Roses [Roses et lys], 1897. 197 (203); Musée de Rouen

MARSH, FRED DANA 1872-1961
Born in Chicago. Entered Art Institute of that city, 1890; remained in Art Institute until 1893. Address: Paris. Bronze Medal.
Portrait [The Lady in Scarlet (Alice Randall Marsh)], c. 1900. 235 (203); The Newark Museum, Newark, NJ

MARTIN, HOMER DODGE 1836-1897
Born in Albany, NY; deceased; Pupil of William Hart, New York.
Newport Neck, 1893. 119 (204); lent by Lotos Club, New York; M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco
The Adirondacks. 99 (205); lent by Samuel Utermyer; The Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, MA
Westchester Hills, c. 1887. 79 (206); lent by Edward F. Millikin, Esq.; Dr. John Larkin, White Bear Lake, MN

MAURER, ALFRED H. 1868-1932
Born in New York. Studied at the National Academy of Design, under Edgar M. Ward. Address: Paris.
Portrait [At the Window]. 181 (207); Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, DC

MAYNARD, GEORGE WILLOUGHBY 1843-1923
Born in Washington, DC. Pupil of Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp, Belgium. Address: New York City.
In Strange Seas, 1889. 167 (208); lent by William T. Havemeyer, Esq.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

MAYNARD, GUY ?- ?
Born in Chicago. Studied in Art Institute of Chicago and in Paris. Address: Paris.
Portrait. 236 (210)

MEAKIN, LEWIS HENRY 1850-1917
Born in England. Studied in Munich under Professors Raupp, Gysis, and Loeffts. Address: Cincinnati, OH.
Eden Park Reservoir. 237 (211)

MELCHERS, JULIUS GARIBALDI 1860-1932
Born in Detroit. Pupil of Lefebvre and Boulanger. Address: Paris.
The Fencing Master, c. 1900. 56 (212); Detroit Institute of Arts
Portrait [Man with a Cloak], c. 1900. 55 (213);

National Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art, Rome

The Sisters, c. 1895. 178 (214); National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

METCALF, WILLARD L. 1858-1925
Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.

Summer Twilight [Midsummer Twilight], 1888. 193 (215); National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

MILLET, FRANCIS DAVIS 1846-1912
Born in Mattapoisett, MA. Pupil of Van Lerius, Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Address: Broadway, Worcertershire, England. Hors Concours.

The Expansionist. 182 (216)

Unconverted. 152 (217); lent by "Black and White"; Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1940

MINOR, ROBERT CRANNELL 1840-1904
Born in New York. Pupil of Van Luppen, Antwerp, and Diaz and Boulanger, Paris. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.

Moonlight. 129 (218)

MUHRMAN, HENRY H. 1854-1916
Born in Cincinnati. Studied at Munich. Address: London.

Trees and Pond. 91 (220)

Broad Stairs. 71 (221)

MURPHY, JOHN FRANCIS 1853-1921
Born in Oswego, NY. Self-taught. Honorable Mention.

Landscape. 34 (222); lent by W.B. Lockwood, Esq.

Under Grey Skies (watercolor and pastel), 1893. 75 (223); lent by H.H. Harrison, Esq.; Indianapolis Museum of Art

NEEDHAM, CHARLES AUSTIN 1844-1923
Born in Buffalo, NY. Pupil of August Will and the Art Students League of New York. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.

Park Snows, c. 1898. 25 (224)

A River Bank (watercolor). 238 (225)

NETTLETON, WALTER 1861-1936
Born in New Haven. Graduate of Yale University, 1883. Studied under Lefebvre and Boulanger, and afterward under Carolus-Duran and Alexander Harrison. Address: Stockbridge, MA.

Early Snowfall. 239 (227)

NEWMAN, ROBERT LOFTIN 1827-1912
Born in Richmond. Went in Europe in 1850 to study art. Pupil of Thomas Couture. Visited Barbizon several times. Address: New York City.
Christ Stilling the Tempest, c. 1898. 240 (228); lent by Edward D. Page, Esq.; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond

NEWMAN, WILLIE BETTY 1865-1935
Born in Tennessee. Studied at Cincinnati Art School, under T.S. Noble, later studying in Paris with Benjamin Constant, J.P. Laurens, and Bouguereau. Address: Paris.
Reverie. 241 (229)

NICHOLLS, RHODA HOLMES 1854-1930
Born in Coventry, England. Pupil of the Bloomsbury School of Art, London, where she won the Queen's Scholarship. Address: New York City.
Search the Scriptures (watercolor). 102 (230)

NORTON, WILLIAM EDWARD 1843-1916
Born in Boston. Pupil of the Lowell Institute of Boston, and of George Inness, of Jacquesson and Vollon of Paris. Address: London.
Normandy Fish-weir. 242 (231)

NOURSE, ELIZABETH 1859-1938
Born in Cincinnati. First studied in Cincinnati, later studied under Boulanger and Lefebvre at the Julian Academy in Paris, then became a pupil of Carolus-Duran and Henner, Paris. Address: Paris. Silver Medal.
In the Church at Volendam, Holland, 1892. 243 (232); Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle

OCHTMAN, LEONARD 1854-1934
Born in Bonnemaire, Holland. Address: Mianus, CT.
Winter Morning [Winter Sunrise], 1898. 172 (233); Mark Doren, Grosse Point, MI
Autumn Twilight, 1899. 138 (234); lent by A.C. Humphreys

PALMER, WALTER LAUNT 1854-1932
Born in Albany, NY. Pupil of F.S. Church, New York, and Carolus-Duran, Paris. Address: Albany, NY. Honorable Mention.
The Senator's Birthplace, 1899. 203 (235)
San Marco, Venice, 1894-5. 244 (236); Private collection

PARRISH, CLARA WEAVER 1861-1925
Born in Selma, AL. Pupil of the Art Students League, New York, H. Siddons Mowbray, J. Alden Weir, and William M. Chase. Address: New York City.
Portrait (pastel). 180 (238)

PARRISH, MAXFIELD 1870-1966
Born in Philadelphia, PA. Pupil of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and Howard Pyle. Address: Windsor, VT. Honorable Mention.
The Sandman, 1896. 137 (239); lent by Mrs. Michael Van Beuren, Esq.

PEARCE, CHARLES SPRAGUE 1851-1914
Born in Boston. Studied under M. Léon Bonnat. Address: Auvers, S. et. O., France.
The Shawl [Madame Pearce], c. 1888. 46 (240); Elvejem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison

PERRINE, VAN DEARING 1869-1955
Born in Kansas. Studied in New York at the Cooper Union, National Academy of Design, and with William M. Chase. Address: New York City.
The Flower Market in Winter. 11 (242); lent by William M. Chase, Esq.; Sold in Chase Sale, 1912

PICKNELL, WILLIAM LAMB 1853-1897
Born in Boston. Pupil of Gérôme, Paris, and George Inness.
Morning on the Loing at Moret, c. 1895. 245 (243); lent by Mrs. W.L. Picknell; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

PLATT, CHARLES ADAMS 1861-1933
Born in New York. Pupil of National Academy of Design and Art Students League, New York; Académie Julian, under Boulanger and Lefebvre, Paris. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.
Winter. 19 (244); lent by Boston Art Club
Clouds. 4 (245); lent by C.S. Houghton, Esq.

POORE, HENRY RANKIN 1859-1940
Born in Newark, NJ. Pupil of Peter Moran, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, National Academy, New York, and of Luminais and Bouguereau, Paris. Address: Orange, NJ.
The Wounded Hound. 37 (246)

PORTER, BENJAMIN CURTIS 1843-1908
Born in Melrose, MA. Studied in Boston with Dr. Rimmer, in Italy and France, principally self-taught. Address: New York. Bronze Medal.
Portrait of Mrs. Porter. 196 (247)
Portrait of Master P. [Sydney Porter]. 246 (248)

PROCTOR, ALEXANDER PHIMISTER 1860-1950
Pupil of Puech and Injalbert, Paris. Address: Paris.
A Puma. 105 (249); lent by James S. Inglis, Esq.

PYLE, HOWARD 1853-1911
Born in Wilmington, DE. Address: Wilmington, DE. Bronze Medal.
The Buccaneers Christmas (illustration), c. 1899. 160 (250); lent by Horatio R. Harper, Esq.

RANGER, HENRY WARD 1858-1916
Born in New York State. Travelled extensively, but self-taught. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.
Beck Cole's Hill. 36 (251); lent by Mrs. A.C. Humphreys
Brooklyn Bridge. 165 (252); The Art Institute of Chicago

REDFIELD, EDWARD WILLIS 1868-1965
Born in Bridgeville, DE. Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and under Bouguereau and Fleury. Address: Alfort, Seine, France. Bronze Medal.
The Bridge at Joinville, 1898. 57 (253)
The Road to Edge of Hill. 54 (254); lent by Chauncey Blair, Esq.

REHN, FRANK KNOX MORTON 1848-1914
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of the National Academy, New York. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.
A Northwester in Gloucester Harbor. 126 (255)

REID, ROBERT 1862-1929
Born in Stockbridge, MA. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre, Paris. Address: New York City. Silver Medal.
Azaleas, c. 1900. 173 (256); Samuel and Maxine Greenberg, 1973

ROBINSON, THEODORE 1852-1896
Born in Irasburg, VT. Deceased. Pupil of Carolus-Duran and M. Gérôme.
The Canal [Port Ben, Delaware and Hudson Canal], 1893. 27 (264); lent by Society of American

Artists; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

Woman at the Piano, c. 1887. 186 (no French number); lent by Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

ROBINSON WILLIAM S. (1861-1945)
Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.

Early Evening. 52 (266)

ROLSHOVEN, JULIUS C. (1858-1930)
Address: Detroit. Honorable Mention.

"My Great-grandmother's Finery", c. 1899. 247 (268)

SARGENT, JOHN SINGER 1856-1903
Born in Florence, Italy. Pupil of Academy of Fine Arts, Florence, and of Carolus-Duran, Paris. Address: London. Grand Prize.

Portraits of Mrs. Meyer and Children, 1896. 60 (270, 271, or 272); Private collection

Portrait of Asher B. Wertheimer, 1898. 5 (270, 271, or 272); lent by Asher B. Wertheimer, Esq.; Tate Gallery, London

Portrait of Miss M. Carey Thomas, 1899. 14 (270, 271, or 272); lent by Bryn Mawr College; Bryn Mawr College Art Collection, Bryn Mawr, PA

SAXON, JOHN GORDON 1860- ?
Born in Troy, NY. Studied in Paris under Lefebvre, Tony Robert-Fleury, and Merson. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.

Sunset in the Dunes. 64 (279); lent by A.C. Humphreys

SCHOFIELD, WALTER ELMER 1867-1944
Born in Philadelphia, PA. Studied in Philadelphia, Academy of Fine Arts, and in Paris under MM. Bouguereau, Doucet, and Ferrier, and Aman Edmond Jean. Address: Ognotz, PA. Honorable Mention.

January Evening, c. 1898. 94 (274)

SCHREYVOGEL, CHARLES 1861-1912
Born in New York City. Studied in Munich under Frank Kirchbach and Carl Marr. Address: Hoboken, NJ. Bronze Medal.

My Bunkie, 1899. 28 (275); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

SCOTT, MRS. EMILY MARIA SPAFORD 1832-1915
Born in Springwater, NY. Pupil of the National Academy of Design and Art Students League, New York; studied in Paris. Address: New York City.
Yellow Roses (watercolor). 248 (276)

SEARS, SARAH CHOATE 1858-1935
Born in Cambridge, MA. Pupil of the Cowles Art School and Museum of Fine Arts. Address: Boston. Honorable Mention.
Portrait of a Lady in White (pastel). 74 (277); lent by Mrs. T.C. Fairchild
Romola. 104 (278); lent by C.A. de Gersdorff, Esq.

SHARP, JOSEPH HENRY 1859-1953
Born in Bridgeport, CT. Studied in Antwerp under Charles Verlat, Munich Academy under Carl Marr, with Jean-Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant, Paris. Address: Cincinnati.
Head of Cheyenne. 249 (279)

SHERWOOD, ROSINA EMMETT 1854-1948
Born in New York City. Pupil of William M. Chase and Julian Academy. Address: New York City.
Portrait Study (watercolor). 116 (281)

SNELL, HENRY BAYLEY 1858-1943
Born in Richmond, England. Address: New York City. Honorable Mention.
Twilight at Sea (watercolor), c. 1899. 73 (287); lent by A.C. Humphreys, Esq.

STEELE, THEODORE CLEMENT 1847-1926
Born in Indiana. From 1880 to 1885 studied in Munich under Professors Bentzer and Loeffts. Address: Indianapolis. Honorable Mention.
The Bloom of the Grape, 1893. 50 (290); lent by The H. Lieber Company; Indianapolis Museum of Art

STERNER, ALBERT EDWARD 1863-1946
Born in London, England. Studied in Birmingham, England, and later at the Julian Academy, Paris, and with Boulanger and Lefebvre, also at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Address: Nutley, NJ. Bronze Medal.
Portrait of a Lady (watercolor). 250 (292)
Mother and Child (watercolor). 111 (293)

STEWART, JULES [JULIUS] 1855-1919
Born in Philadelphia. Pupil of J.L. Gérôme and R. de

Madzo. Address: **Paris.**
Nymphs of Nysa [Nymphes de Nysa], c. 1899. **84** (296); Musée d'Orsay, Paris
Laughing Woman. **1** (297)

STORY, JULIAN RUSSELL 1857-1919
Born in Oxford, England. Pupil of Frank Duveneck, Boulanger, and Lefebvre. Address: **Paris.** Silver Medal.
Columbine. **251** (298)
Portrait of his Wife, Emma Eames. **86** (299); possibly the canvas owned by the Metropolitan Opera Association, New York

TABER, EDWARD M. 1863-1898
Address: **New York City.**
Mt. [Mount] Mansfield in Winter, 1895. **252** (301); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

TANNER, HENRY OSSAWA 1859-1937
Born in Pittsburgh. Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts under Thomas Eakins; afterward pupil of Jean-Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant. Address: **Paris.** Silver Medal.
Daniel in the Lions' Den, c. 1896. **89** (302); original is lost; c. 1907-18 version in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art

TARBELL, EDMUND C. 1862-1938
Born in West Groton, MA. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre. Address: **Boston.** Bronze Medal.
Venetian Blind, 1898. **125** (303); Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA
Across the Room, c.1899. **72** (304); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

THAYER, ABBOTT HANDERSON 1849-1921
Born in Boston. Pupil of Professor Wilmarth and Henry D. Morse, and of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts with Lehman and Gérôme. Address: **Dublin, NH.** Gold Medal.
Brother and Sister [Mary and Gerald Thayer], 1889. **159** (310); lent by **A.A. Carey, Esq.**; National Museum of American Art, Washington, DC
Virgin Enthroned, 1891. **98** (311); lent by **J. M. Sears, Esq.**; National Museum of American Art, Washington, DC
Young Woman, c.1898. **92** (312); lent by **George A. Hearn, Esq.**; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

THERIAT, CHARLES JAMES 1860- ?
Born in New York. Studied with Jules Lefebvre and Boulanger in Paris. Address: Le Mee, par Melun, S. et M., France. Honorable Mention.
Portrait. 78 (316)

THOMAS, STEPHEN SEYMOUR 1868-1956
Born in San Augustine, TX. Studied in Paris under Jules Lefebvre and Benjamin Constant and Alexander Harrison. Address: Paris. Bronze Medal.
Lady in Brown (pastel). 134 (317)

VAIL, EUGENE LAURENT 1856-1934
Born in Dervan, Brittany. Studied under Cabanel at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, later under Messrs. Dagnan-Bouvert and Raphael Collin. Address: Paris.
Evening in Brittany, c. 1899. 189 (318)
Voice of the Sea. 69 (319)
Morning in October. 42 (320)

VAN BOSKERCK, ROBERT W. 1855-1932
Born in New Jersey. Pupil of R.S. Gifford, and of A.H. Wyant, New York. Address: New York City.
Landscape. 253 (38)

VEDDER, SIMON HARMON 1866-1913
Born in Montgomery County, NY. Studied at the schools of the Metropolitan Art Museum of New York, afterward at the Académie Julian in Paris, under Bouguereau and T. Robert-Fleury, and at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts with Gérôme; also with Léon Gleyre. Address: London.
Portrait [Auguste Suchetet], c. 1894. 187 (321)

VINTON, FREDERICK PORTER 1846-1911
Born in Bangor, ME. Pupil of William M. Hunt and Dr. William Rimmer, Boston, Léon Bonnat and Jean-Paul Laurens, Paris; also studied in Munich. Address: Boston. Silver Medal.
Portrait of Alonson W. Beard. 144 (322); lent by U. S. Customs House, Boston

VONNOH, ROBERT W. 1858-1933
Born in Hartford, CT. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre, Julian Academy. Address: Rockland Lake, New York. Bronze Medal.
Miss Mildred Blair. 163 (323); lent by Chauncey J. Blair, Esq.
Little Louise Elkins, 1897. 166 (324); lent by W.L. Elkins, Esq.; Mrs. Wharton Sinkler (née

Louise Elkins), 1967

WALDEN, LIONEL 1862-1933
Born in Norwich, CT. Studied with Carolus-Duran. Address: Paris. Silver Medal.
Fishing in the Bay, c. 1899. **154** (325)

WALKER, HORATIO 1858-1938
Address: **New York City.**
Spring Ploughing. **53** (326); lent by **George A. Hearn, Esq.**

WALL, A. BRYAN 1872-1937
Born in Alleghany City, PA. Pupil of A. Wall. Address: **Alleghany City, PA.**
Sheep. **45** (327)

WATERS, SADIE 1869-1900
Address: **Paris, France.** Honorable Mention.
The Virgin with Lilies (miniature), c. 1896. [Not in American catalogue, but in U.S. Final Report] (328)

WEEKS, EDWIN LORD 1849-1903
Born in Boston. Pupil of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Léon Bonnat, Paris. Address: **Paris.**
Indian Barber [Indian Barbers: Saharanpore], c. 1895. **191** (329); Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha
The Awakening of Nourredin. **12** (330)
On the Road to Ispaham, c. 1896. **32** (not in French catalogue)

WEIR, JULIAN ALDEN 1852-1919
Born in West Point, NY. Pupil of Robert W. Weir and of J. L. Gérôme. Address; **New York.** Bronze Medal.
Ice Cutters, 1895. **81** (333); lent by **C.E. Ladd, Esq.**; Private collection
Portrait of a Young Girl in Grey. **169** (334)
Noonday Rest [Midday Rest in New England], 1897. **51** (335); lent by **Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts**; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

WEIR, JOHN FERGUSON 1841-1926
Born in West Point, NY. Studied under his father, Robert W. Weir; also studied in Holland, France, and Italy. Address: **New Haven, CT.**
Roses. **23** (336); lent by **Miss Hegeman**

WEYDEN, HARRY VAN DER 1868- ?
Born in Boston. Studied in London, under Mr. Legros, at the Slade School; later with Mr. Fred Brown at his own school of art; studied at M. Jean-Paul Laurens's private academy and at Julian's in Paris. Address: Pas de Calais, France. Bronze Medal.

Calm. 255 (337)

The Hillside. 47 (338); lent by Dr. Daniel Serrand; John B. Cauldwell, 1901

WHISTLER, JAMES ABBOTT McNEIL 1834-1903
Born in the United States. Pupil of Gleyre, Paris. Address: Paris. Grand Prize.

Brown and Gold [Self-Portrait], c. 1895-1900. 108 (339 or 340); Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow University

Mother of Pearl and Silver - The Andalusian, 1888-1900. 103 (339 or 340); National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

Symphony in White [Symphony in White No. II: The Little White Girl], 1864. 76 (no French number); Tate Gallery, London

WILES, IRVING RAMSAY 1862/1-1948
Born in Utica, NY. Pupil of his father, Art Students League, New York, and of Lefebvre and Carolus-Duran of Paris. Address: New York City. Bronze Medal.

Portraits [The Artist's Mother and Father], 1889. 162 (342); Corcoran Gallery, Washington, DC

WOODBURY, CHARLES HERBERT 1864-1940
Born in Lynn, MA. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre. Address: Boston. Bronze Medal.

The Green Mill, 1896. 170 (343); M.I.T. Museum, Cambridge, MA

A Rock in the Sea. 171 (344); destroyed, as per Woodbury scrapbook, M.I.T. Museum

WOODBURY, MARCIA OAKES 1864-1913
Born in Lynn, MA. Studied at the Julian Academy, Paris. Address: Boston.

Mother and Daughter (watercolor), 1894. 184 (345); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The Smoker (watercolor). 136 (346)

WUERPEL, EDMUND H. 1866-1958
Born in St. Louis. Pupil of the St. Louis School of Fine Arts, W.A. Bouguereau, Gabriel Ferrier, and Edmund Aman-Jean, Paris. Address: St. Louis.

Dreaming Waters. 85 (347)

WYANT, ALEXANDER HELWIG 1836-1892
Born in Ohio. Deceased. Pupil of Hans Gude, Düsseldorf.
Sunlit Vale, c. 1886. 44 (348); lent by H.H. Benedict, Esq.
Moonlight and Frost, c. 1891. 133 (no French number); lent by Mrs. Geo. A. Hearn; The Brooklyn Museum
In the Adirondacks, 1876. 142 (349); lent by Miss Mary Hearn; Anthony E. Battelle, Brookline, MA

APPENDIX B

List of Selected Organizers/ Participants

Department of Fine Arts

Director: John Britton Cauldwell

Assistant Director: Charles Kurtz (resigned); Henry B. Snell

Assistants to the Director: Charles C. Curran (painting), John Flanagan (sculpture), H. Hobart Nichols (editor of catalogue)

National Advisory Board

Thomas Allen, John W. Beatty, Daniel H. Burnham, Howard Russell Butler, Thomas B. Clarke, Walter Cook, J. Templeman Coolidge, Joseph H. Gest, Charles L. Hutchinson, Halsey C. Ives, Samuel H. Kauffmann, Harrison S. Morris, and James W. Ellsworth

Selection Juries, Chicago and New York

Paintings: Cecilia Beaux, Edwin H. Blashfield, John G. Brown, William M. Chase, Ralph Clarkson, Frederick Dielman, Frank Duveneck, Francis C. Jones, H. Bolton Jones, John La Farge, George W. Maynard, H. Siddons Mowbray, Edward Simmons, Theodore C. Steele, Edmund C. Tarbell, Dwight W. Tryon, Frederick Porter Vinton, Robert W. Vonnoh, J. Alden Weir, Charles H. Woodbury, and Edmund H. Wuerpel

Illustrations and Drawings: Otto H. Bacher, B. West Clinedist, Arthur B. Frost, Howard Pyle, William A.

Rodgers, William T. Smedley

Miniatures: William J. Baer, Laura C. Hills, Isaac A. Josephi, Emily Drayton Taylor

Etchings and Engravings: A. W. Drake, Frank French, Henry Wolf

Sculpture: John Quincy Adams Ward, Herbert C. Adams, Charles Grafly, Bela R. Pratt, Lorado Taft, Daniel Chester French

Architecture: John M. Carrère, Frank Miles Day, Robert Swain Peabody, Cass Gilbert, William R. Mead, Charles I. Berg

Selection Juries, Paris

Paintings, Drawings, and Engravings: Edwin A. Abbey, John W. Alexander, William T. Dannat, Alexander Harrison, Gari Melchers, Francis Davis Millet, John Singer Sargent, and Julius Stewart

Sculpture: Paul W. Bartlett, Frederick MacMonnies, A. Phimister Proctor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens

Hanging Committee

Charles C. Curran, Walter Gay, Francis David Millet, Walter MacEwen, Charles Sprague Pearce, Henry B. Snell, Francis C. Jones (resigned)

Sculpture Installation Committee

Frederick MacMonnies, Augustus Saint-Gaudens

International Awards Jurors, Fine Arts: Group II

Paintings and Drawings: Francis Davis Millet, Alexander Harrison

Etchings and Engravings: John White Alexander

Sculpture: Paul W. Bartlett

Architecture: Thomas Hastings

Delegates to the Fine Arts Congress

William A. Coffin, Augustus Saint-Gaudens

Decorations Committee, National Pavilion

American Architect: Charles A. Coolidge

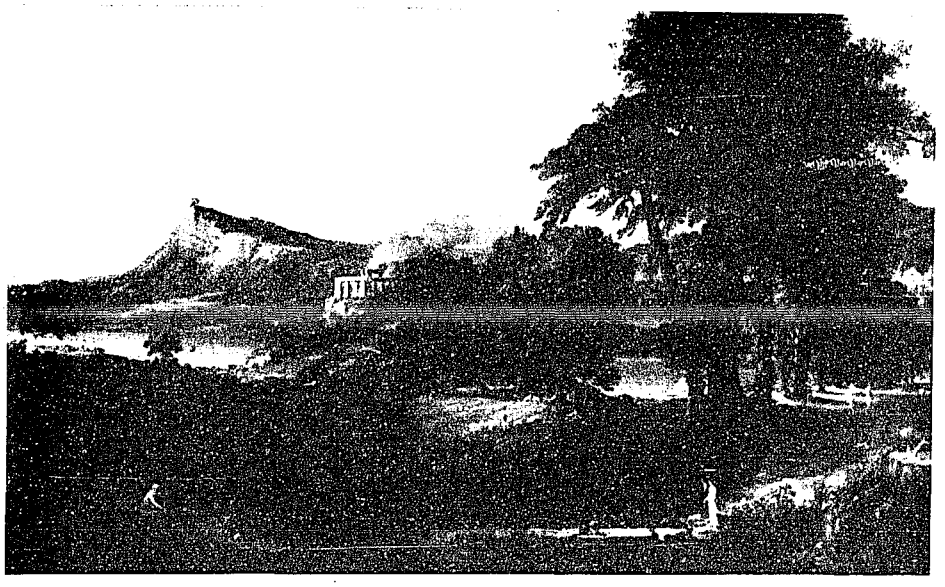
Consulting Architect: George B. Post

Director of Fine Arts: John B. Cauldwell

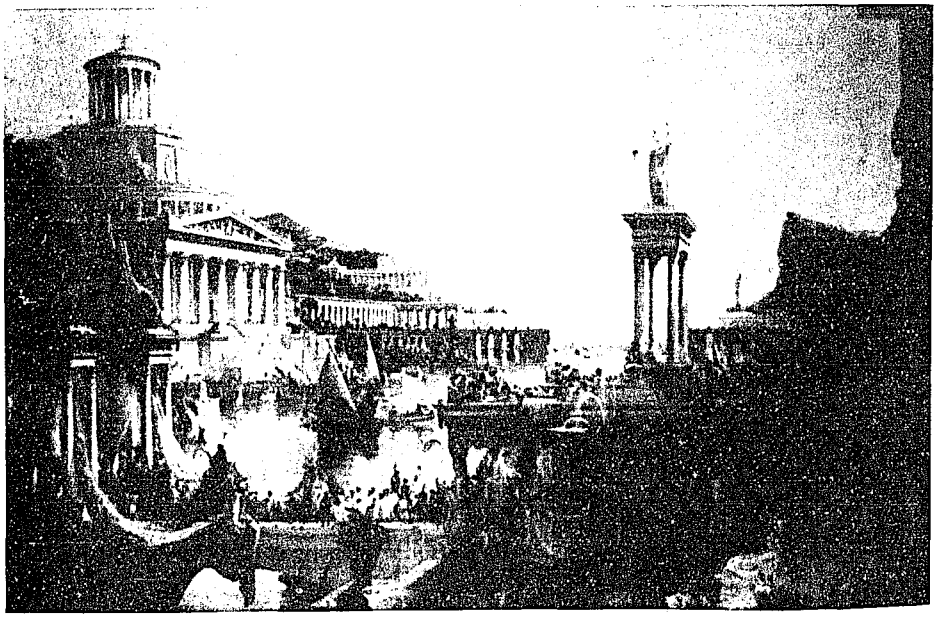
Howard Russell Butler, Daniel Chester French, Charles L. Hutchinson, Halsey C. Ives, John La Farge, Charles F. McKim, Robert Swain Peabody, Henry Van Brunt, Henry Walters

ILLUSTRATIONS

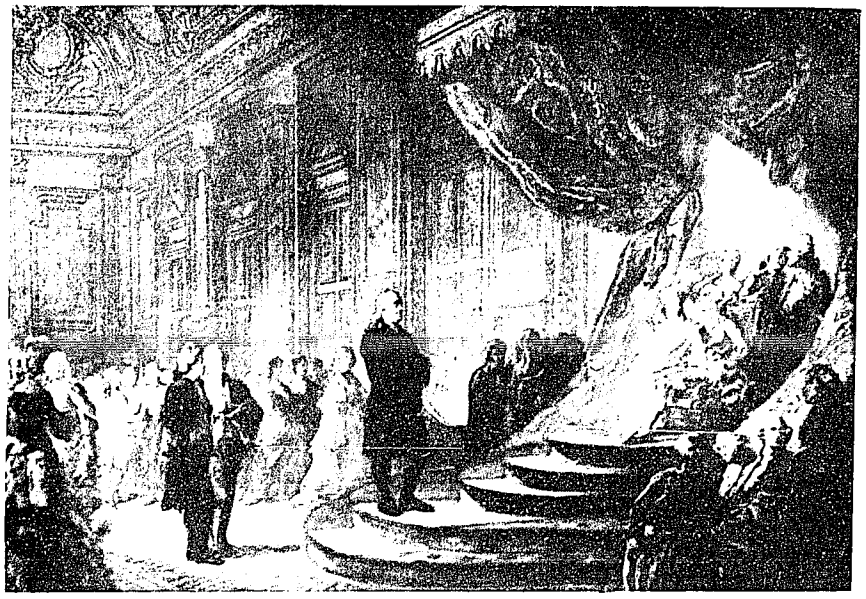
Unless otherwise noted, all paintings are oil on canvas, and all photographs document the Paris exposition of 1900. Dates, dimensions, and collections are listed where known. Vertical illustrations that appear horizontally are indicated with an arrow [←].



1 Thomas Cole, THE ARCADIAN STATE, second of THE COURSE OF EMPIRE series, 1836. 39-1/4 X 63-1/4". The New-York Historical Society.



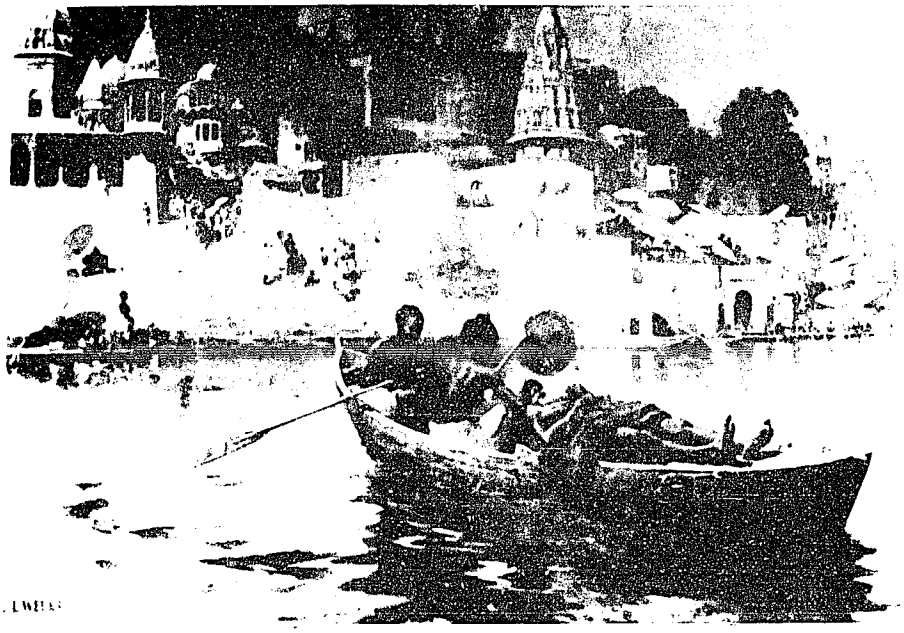
2 Thomas Cole, CONSUMMATION OF EMPIRE, third of THE COURSE OF EMPIRE series, 1836. 51-1/4 X 76". The New-York Historical Society.



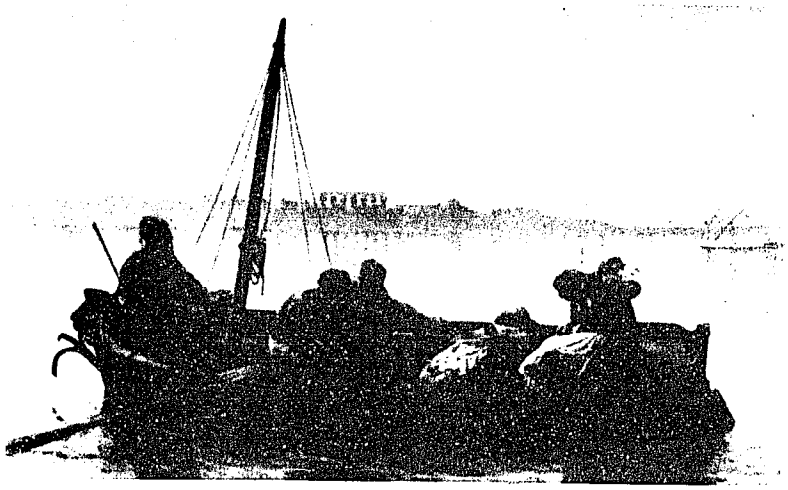
3 G. P. A. Healy, Sketch for FRANKLIN URGING THE CLAIMS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE LOUIS XVI, c. 1847. 25 X 36-1/2". American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. [Original lost in Chicago fire of 1871.]



4 Frederic Church, NIAGARA, 1857. 42-1/2 X 90-1/2". The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



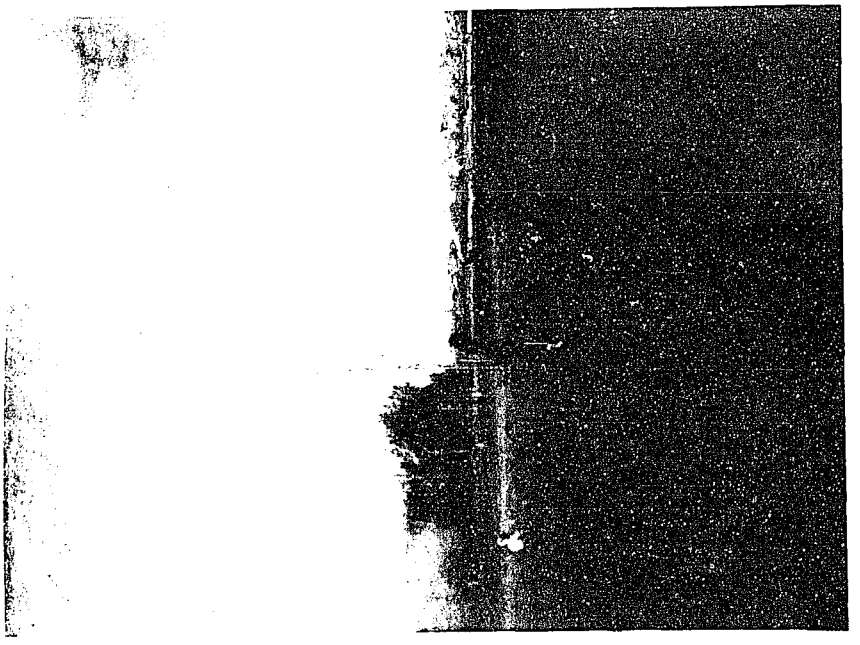
5 Edwin Lord Weeks, THE LAST JOURNEY: SOUVENIER OF THE GANGES, BENARES, Salon, 1885. 78-1/2 X 117-1/2". Stuart Pivar, New York.



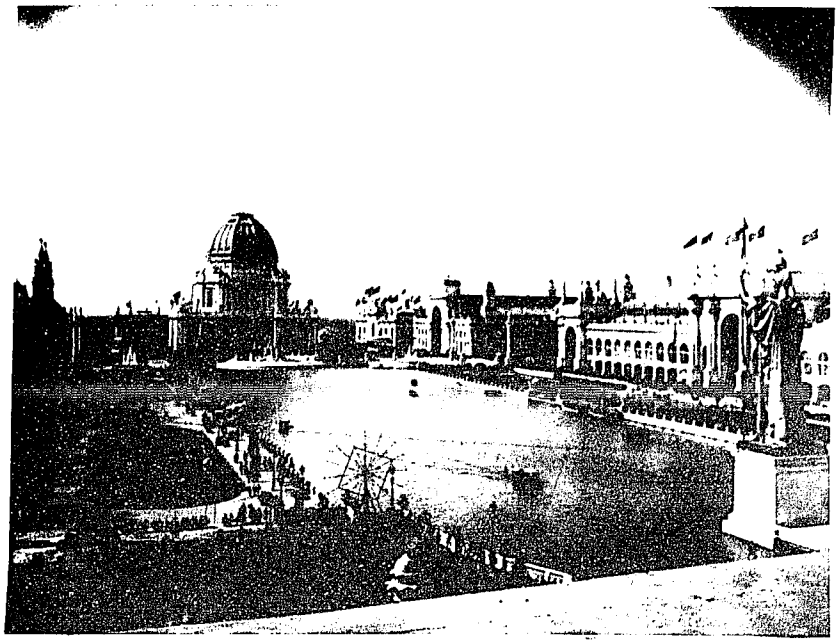
6 Jean-Léon Gérôme, THE PRISONER, 1861. Oil on panel. 18-7/8 X 30-3/4". Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.



7 Thomas Eakins, THE DANCING LESSON (NEGRO BOY DANCING), 1878. Watercolor. 18-1/18 X 22-5/8". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



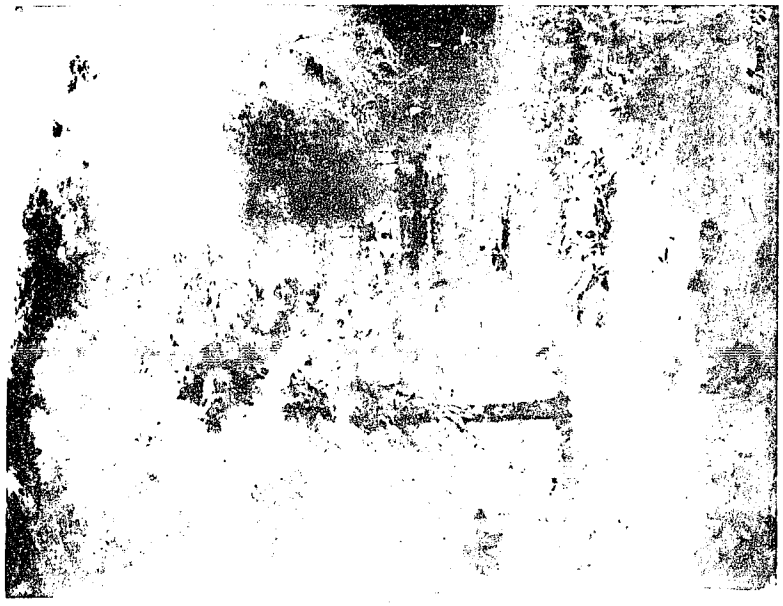
8 George Inness, A SHORT CUT, WATCHUNG STATION, N.J., 1883. 37-1/4 X 29". Philadelphia Museum of Art. ←



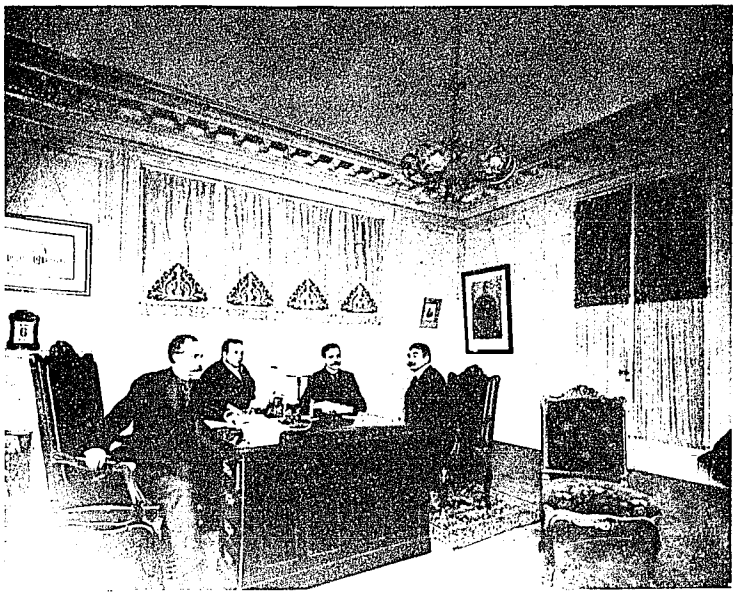
9 COURT OF HONOR [FACING THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING], World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Library of Congress.



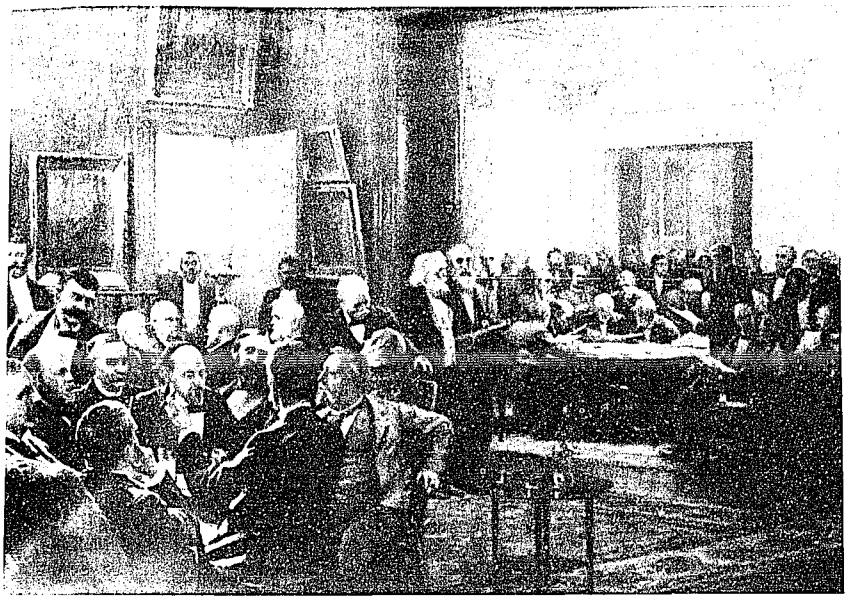
10 Winslow Homer, EIGHT BELLS, 1886. 25 X 30". Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA.



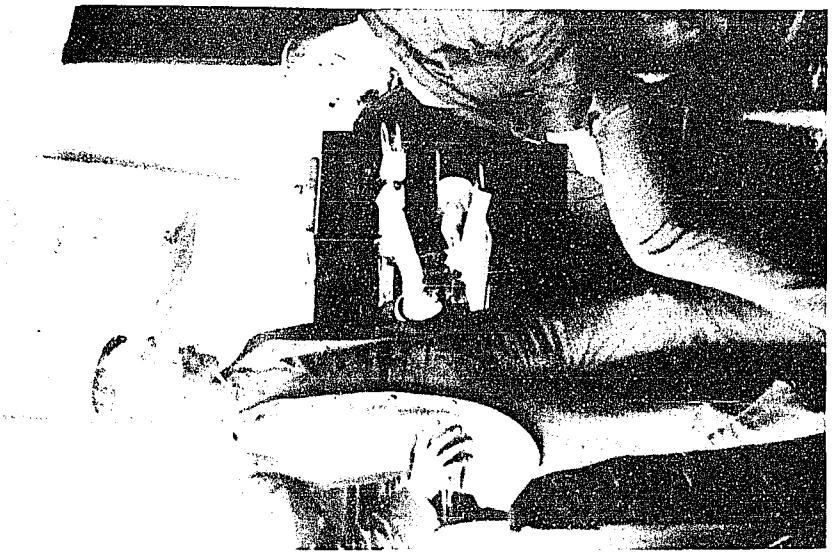
11 George Inness, THE MILLPOND, 1889. 37-1/2 X 29". The Art Institute of Chicago. ←



12 INTERIOR VIEW OF COMMISSIONER GENERAL PECK'S PRIVATE OFFICE, U.S. National Pavilion. Left to right: Ferdinand Peck, Benjamin D. Woodward, Georges Morin-Goustiaux, Alexander S. Capehart.



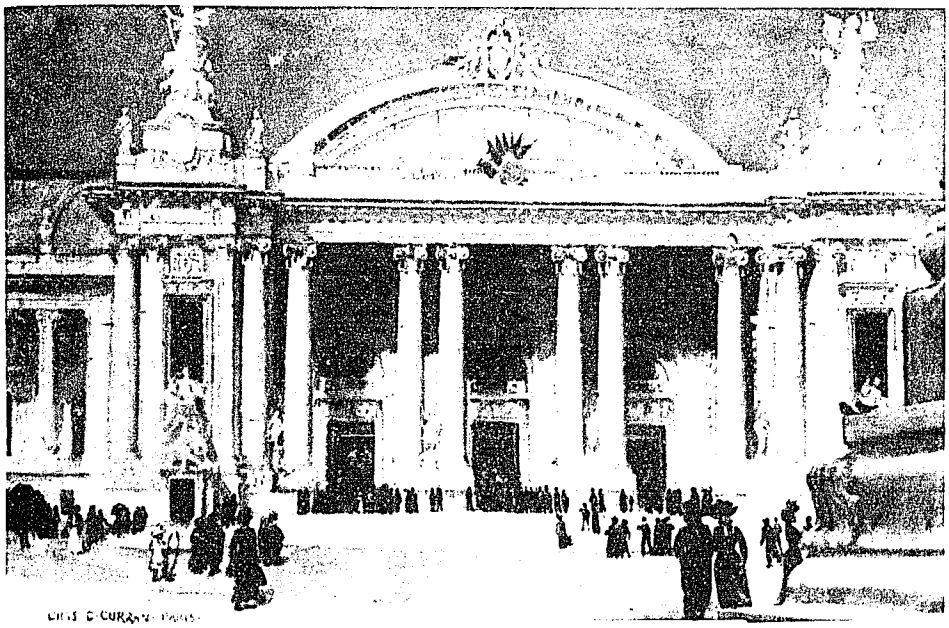
13 Charles Y. Turner, SATURDAY NIGHT AT THE CENTURY, 1894. 25-7/8 X 35-7/8". The Century Club, New York, NY. Cauldwell is depicted prominently in this painting, standing fourth from the left, with a moustache and bow tie.



14 HALSEY IVES (right), the chief of the Department of Fine Arts at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, with CHARLES M. KURTZ, his assistant. (Charles M. Kurtz Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution).



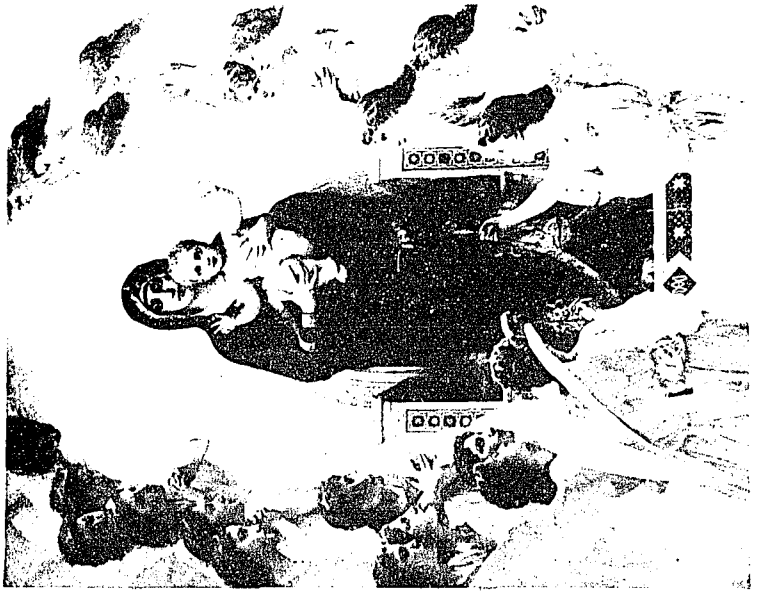
15 Stereo photograph of THE GRAND PALAIS OF FINE ARTS, Underwood & Underwood.



16 Charles C. Curran, GRAND PALAIS DES BEAUX ARTS, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1900: SOUVENIER DE NOTRE SEJOUR A PARIS, oil on artist's board, 10 X 15". Berry-Hill Galleries.



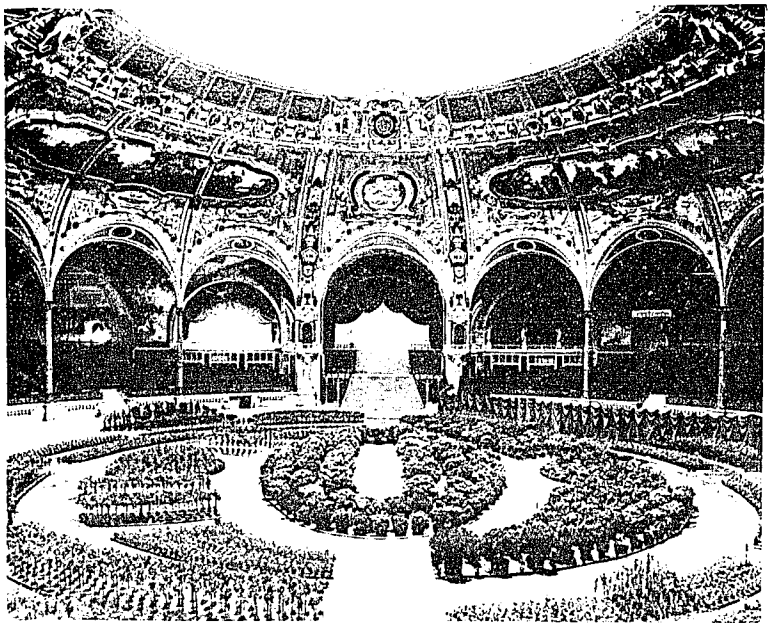
17 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, LA LOGE, 1874. 32 X 25" approx. Courtauld Institute Galleries, London. ←



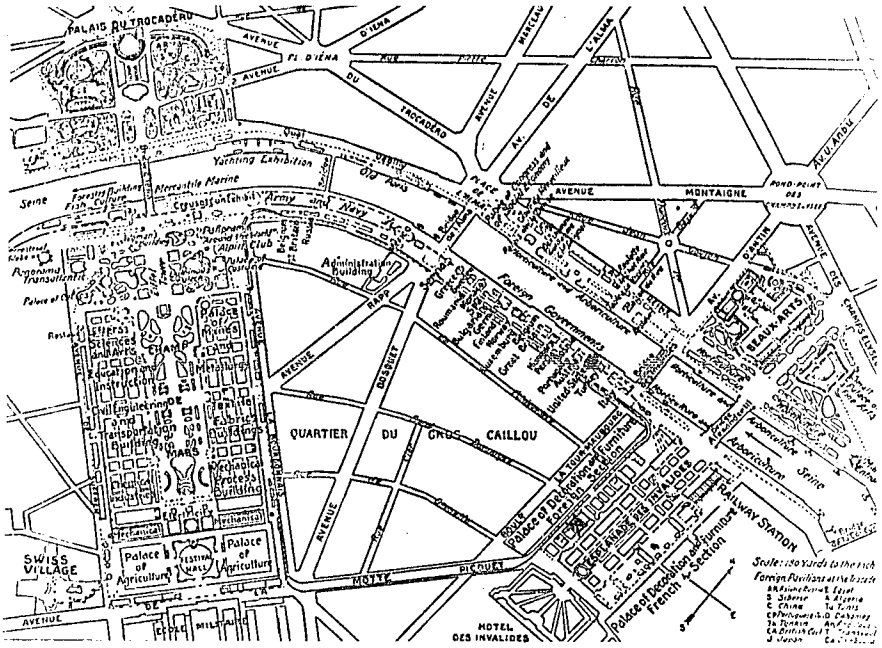
18 William Bouguereau, LA VIERGE ET L'ENFANT, 1900. 70-7/8"h. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. ←



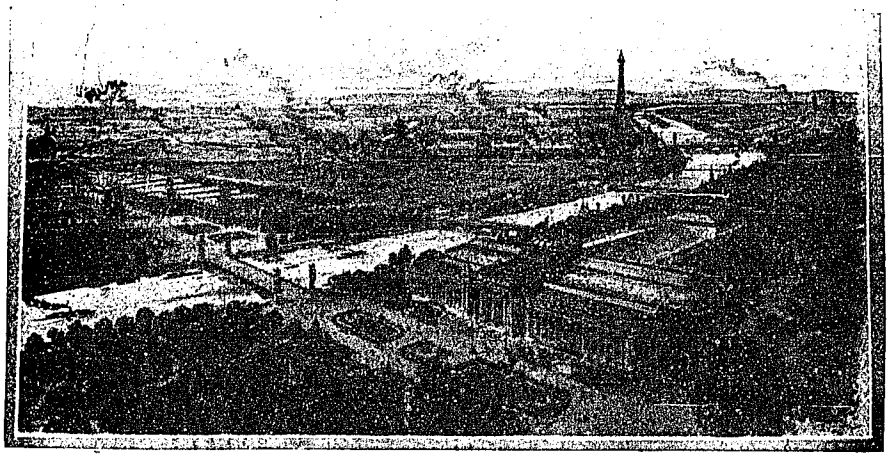
19 Henri Martin, SERENITE, 1899. 3,47 X 5,44. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



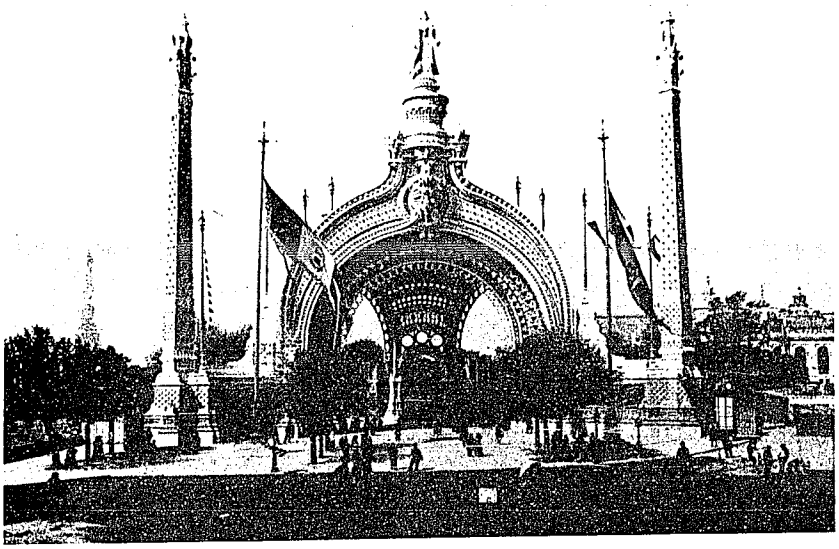
20 SALLE DES FETES



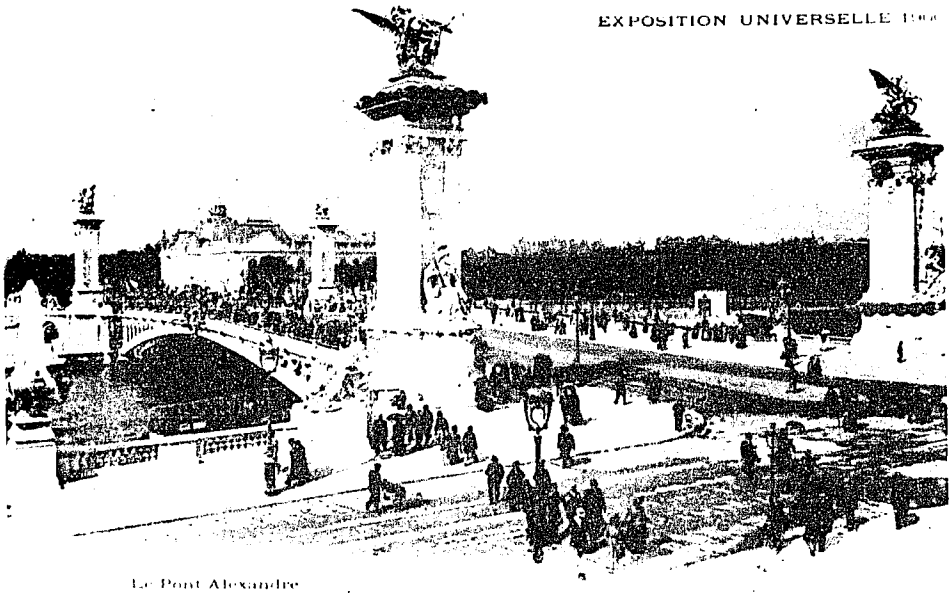
21 PLAN OF THE PARIS EXPOSITION



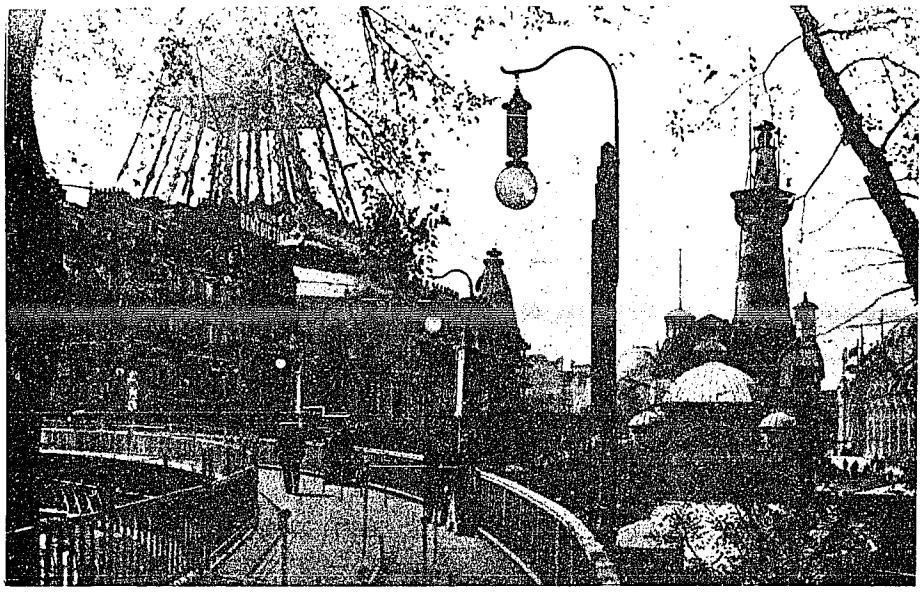
22 GENERAL VIEW OF THE PARIS EXPOSITION



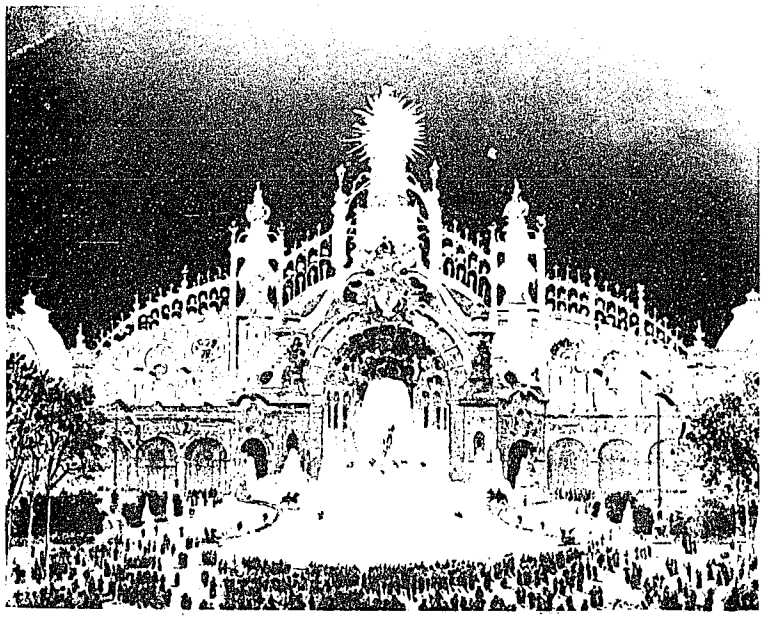
23 René Binet, PORTE BINET



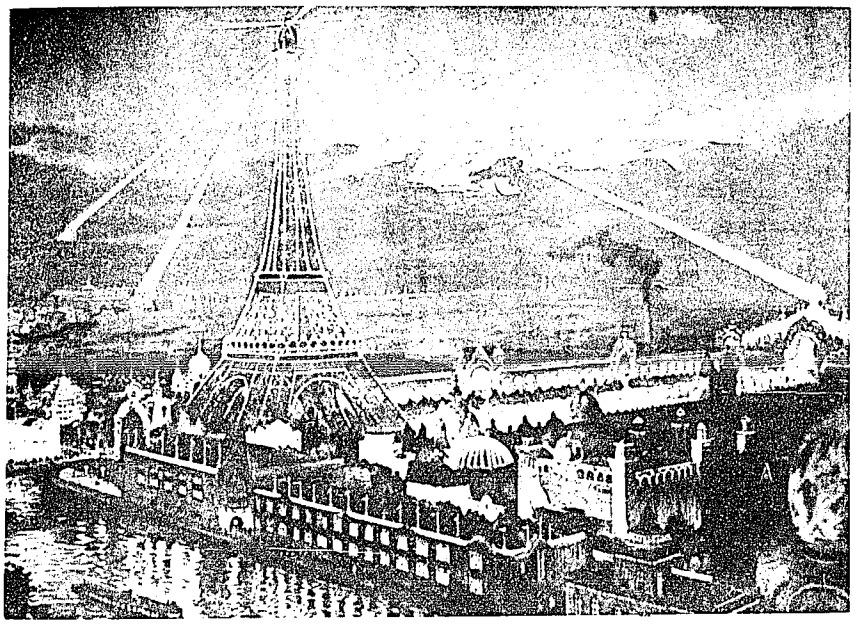
24 Post Card of the PONT ALEXANDRE III



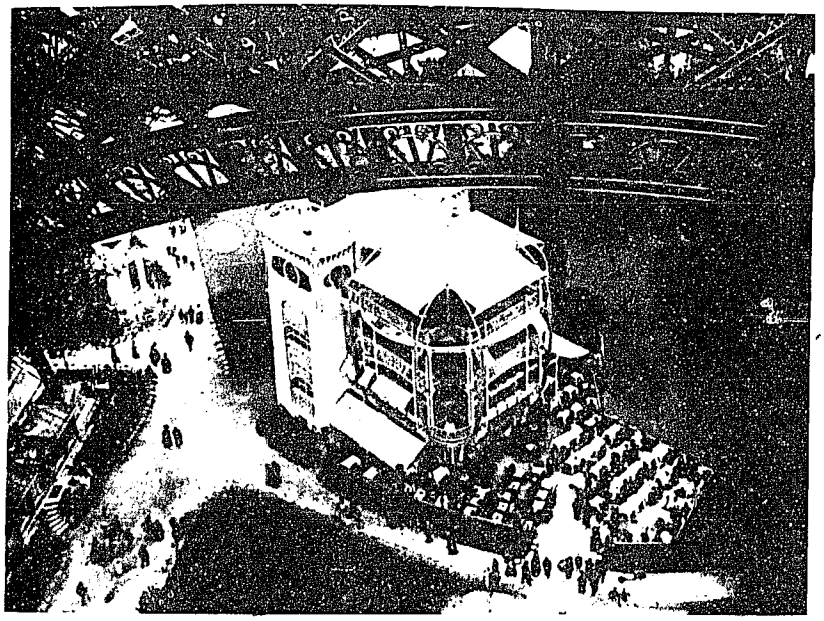
25 SCENE ON THE MOVING SIDEWALK



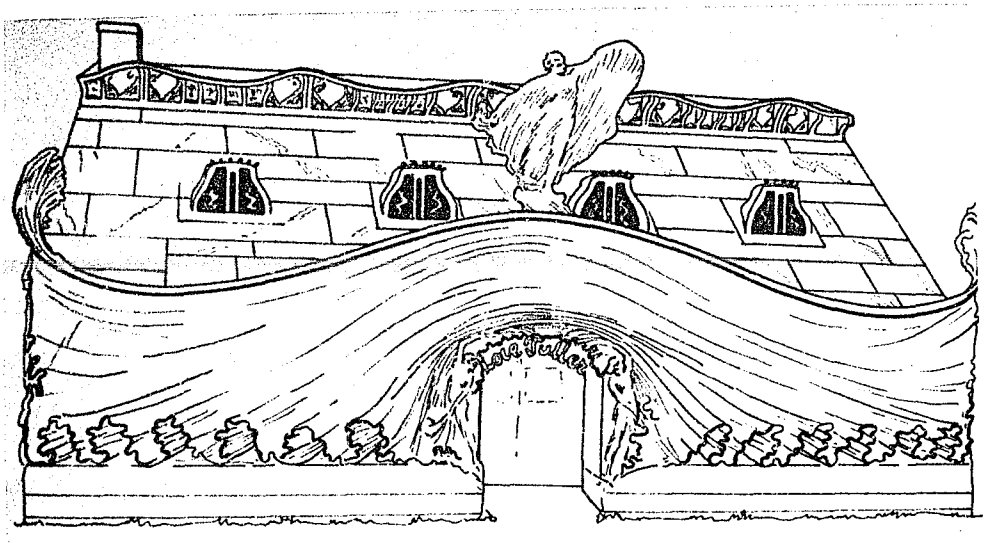
26 Engraving of PALAIS D'ELECRICITE and the CHATEAU D'EAU AT NIGHT



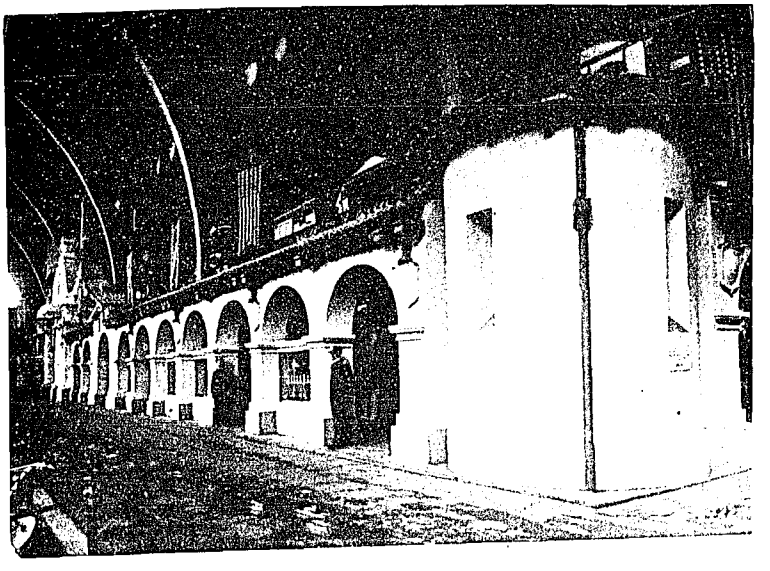
27 Illustration of NIGHT VIEW OF THE EIFFEL TOWER, PARIS 1900. Smithsonian Institution Libraries.



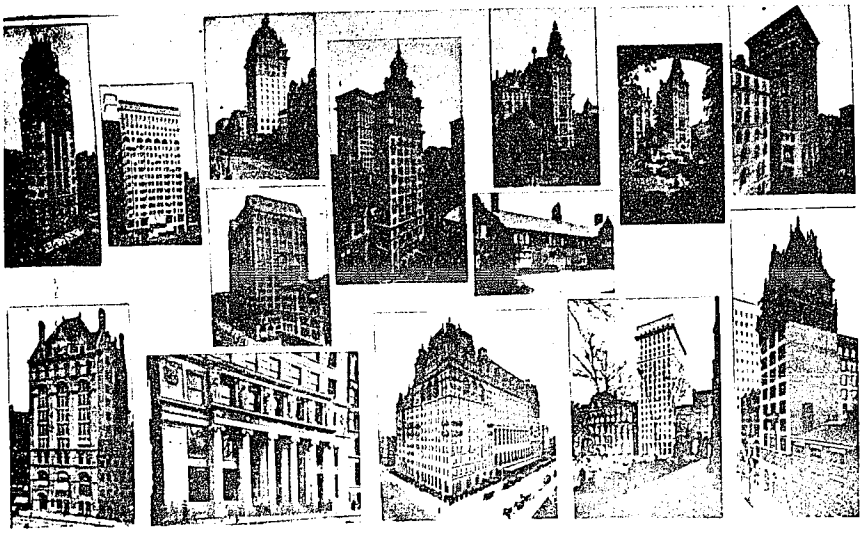
28 Emile Zola, THE EIFFEL TOWER, PARIS. With René Dulong's Pavillon Bleu restaurant below. Dr. François Emile Zola, Gif-sur-Yvette, France.



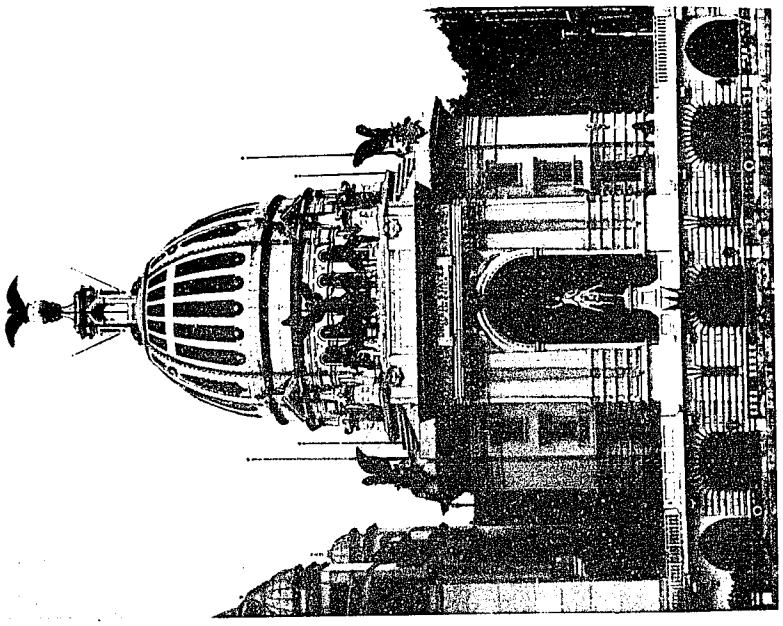
29 Henri Sauvage and Pierre Roche, LOIE FULLER PAVILION



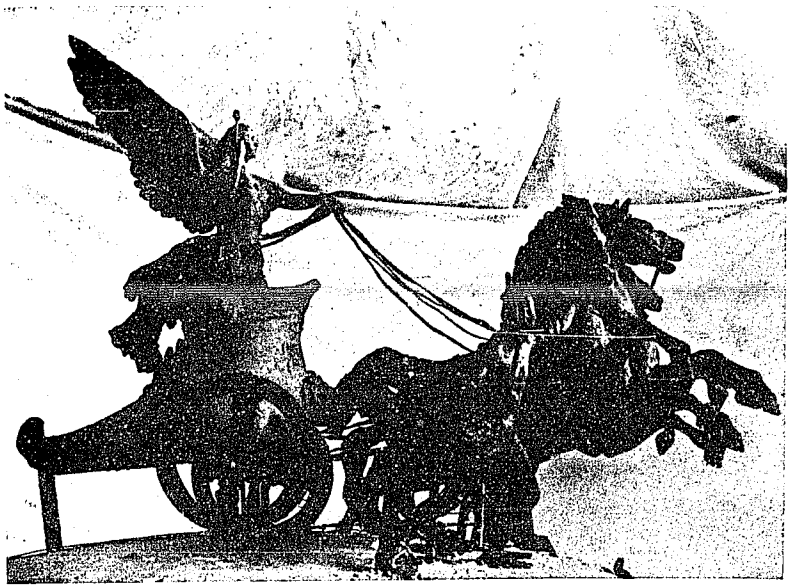
30 VIEW OF FACADE LOOKING WEST, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, Champs de Mars.



31 U.S. ARCHITECTURAL EXHIBITION, TALL BUILDINGS, Grand Palais.



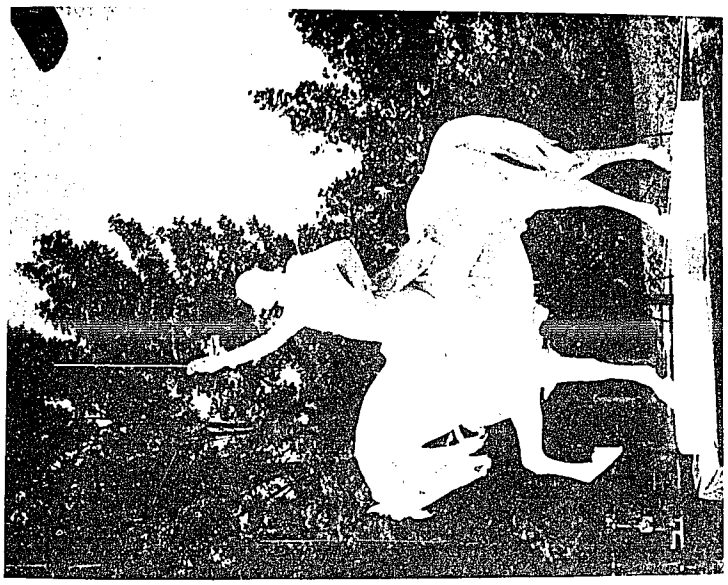
32 Charles Coolidge and Georges Morin Goustiaux, U.S. NATIONAL PAVILION. ←



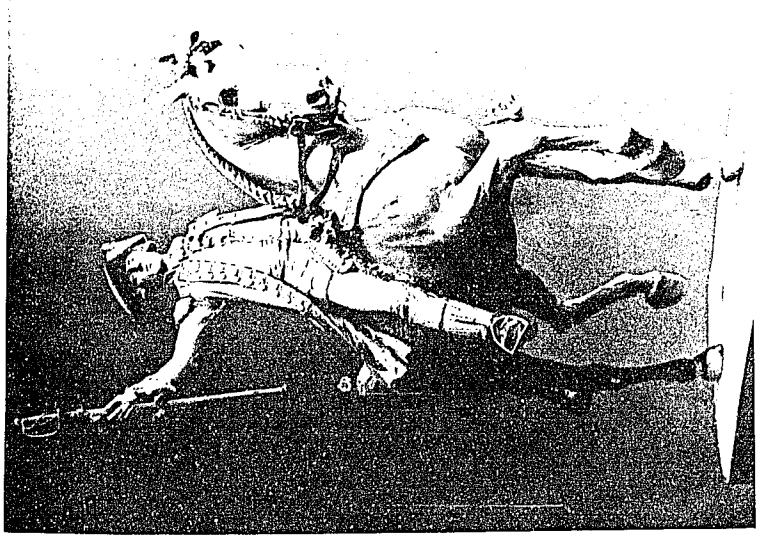
33 A. Phimister Proctor, VICTORY QUADRIGA. Gilded plaster, U.S. National Pavilion. Unlocated.



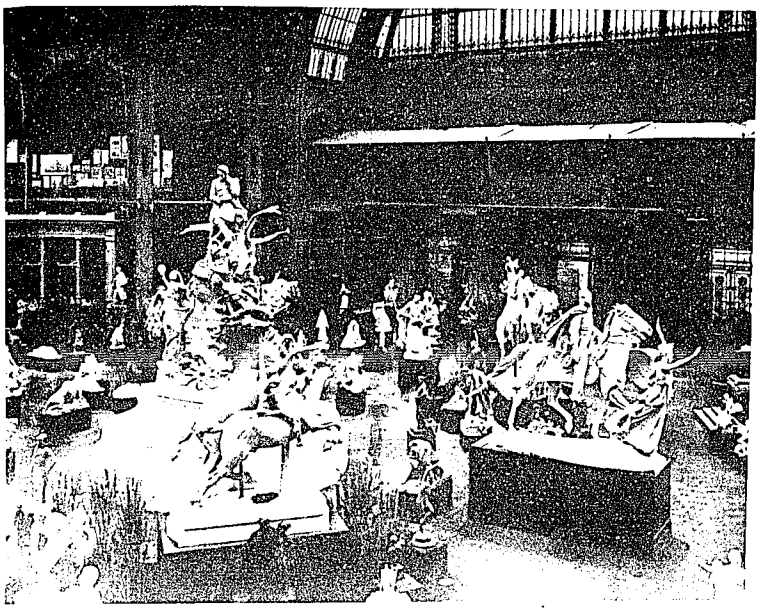
34 John Flanagan, EAGLE. Gilded zinc, U.S. National Pavilion. Unlocated.



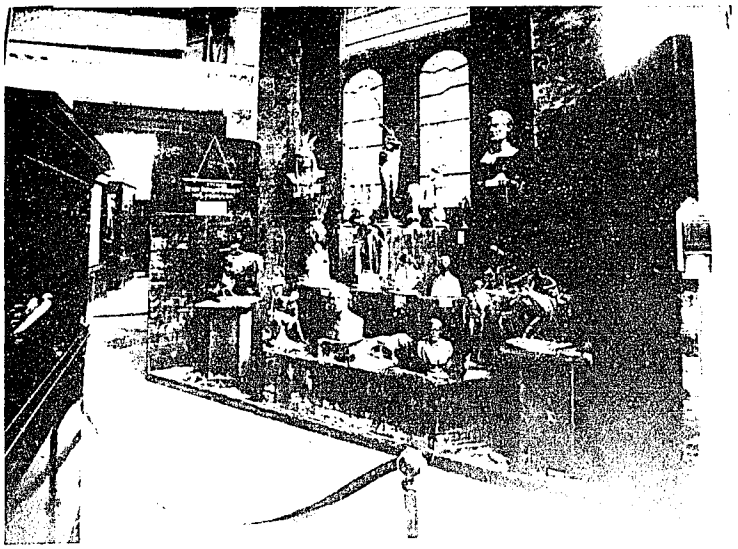
35 Daniel Chester French, WASHINGTON. Plaster temporarily in the Place d'Iéna. [Bronze version, Place d'Iéna, Paris]. ←



36 Paul Bartlett, LAFAYETTE. Plaster temporarily in the Place du Carousel, Paris. [Bronze version, courtyard, Musée du Louvre, Paris]. ←



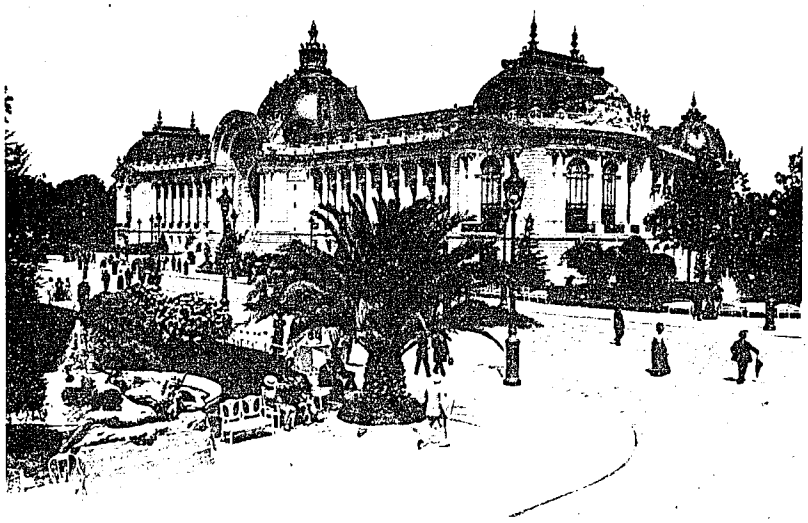
37 SCULPTURE EXHIBITION, Grand Palais, with Augustus Saint-Gaudens's GENERAL SHERMAN. Plaster (destroyed). [Bronze version, Central Park, New York].



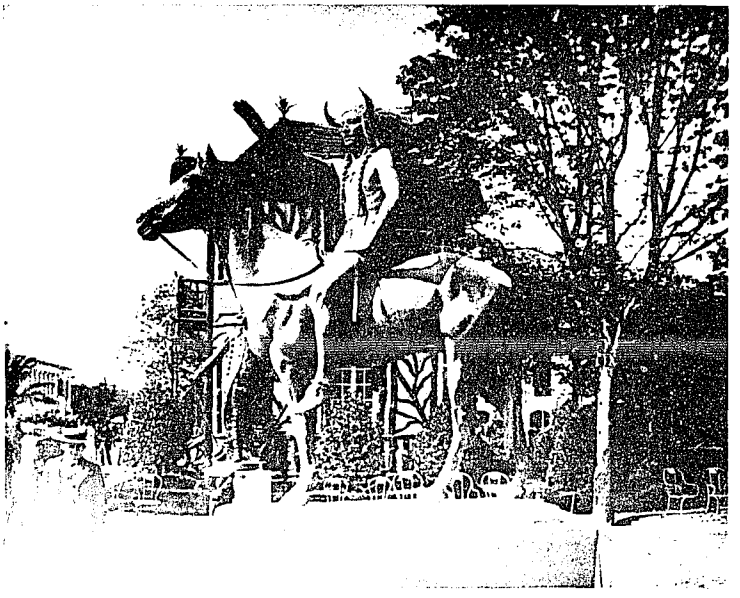
38 SMALL BRONZES, U.S. Section, Palace of Diversified Industries.



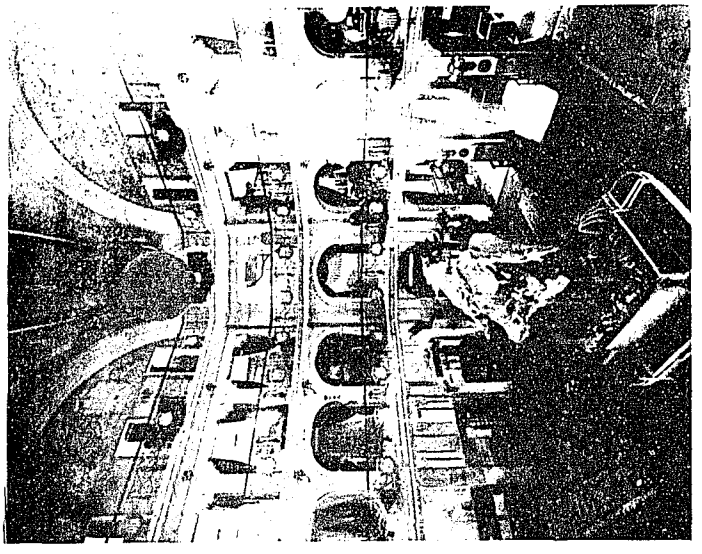
39 Douglas Tilden, FOOTBALL PLAYERS at the 1900 exposition. Plaster. [Bronze version, U.C. Berkeley, Life Sciences Building].



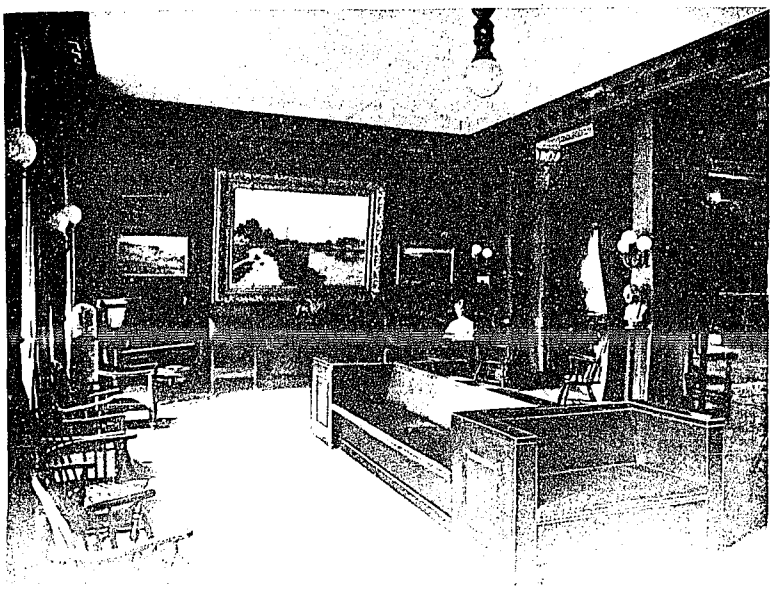
40 George Grey Barnard. GOD PAN, 1899, at the 1900 exposition. [Bronze version, Columbia University].



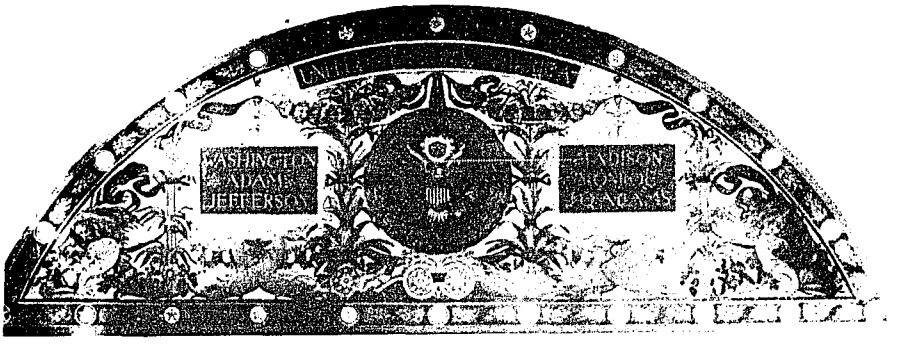
41 Cyrus Dallin, MEDICINE MAN, 1899, at the 1900 exposition. [Bronze version, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia].



42 Solon Borglum, STAMPEDE. Bronze. Installed in the U.S. National Pavilion. ←



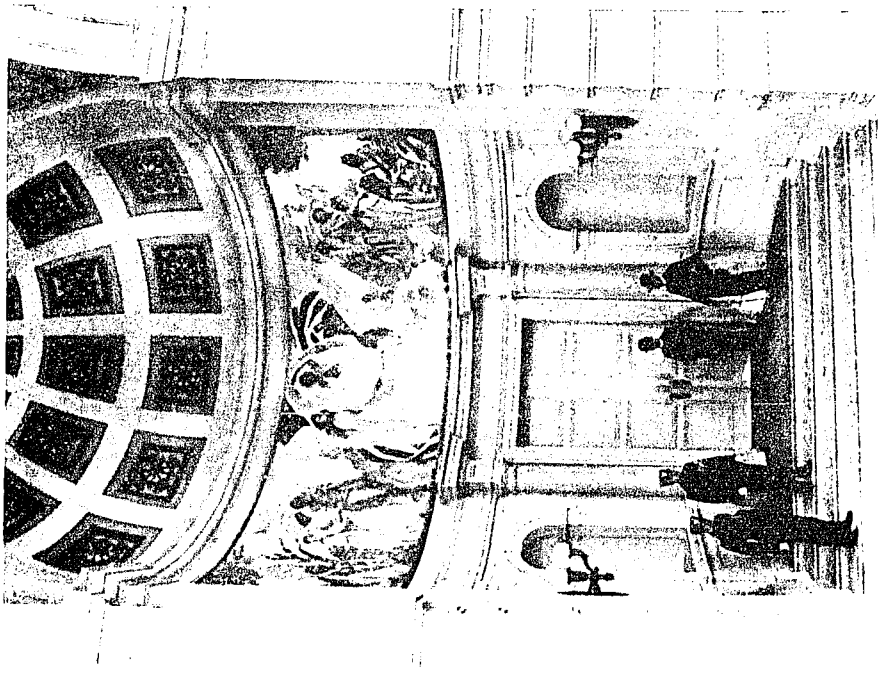
43 Interior, U.S. National Pavilion, with William Lamb Picknell's MORNING ON THE LOING AT MORET. 57-7/8 X 82-3/4". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



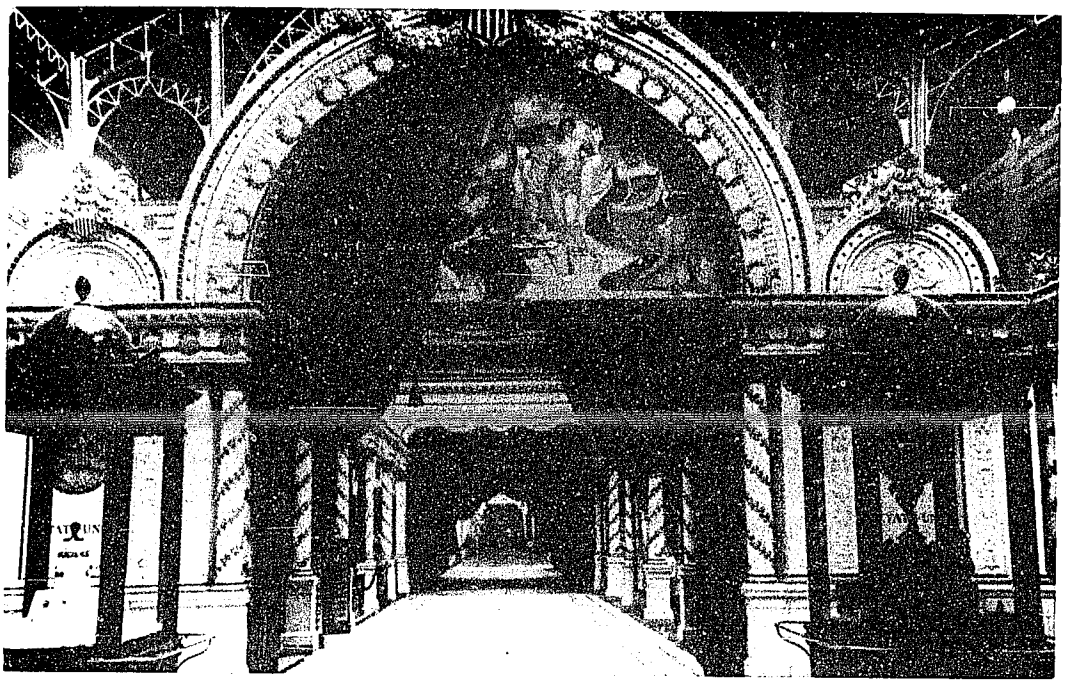
44 Elmer Garnsey, LUNETTE. Mural. U.S. National Pavilion. Unlocated.



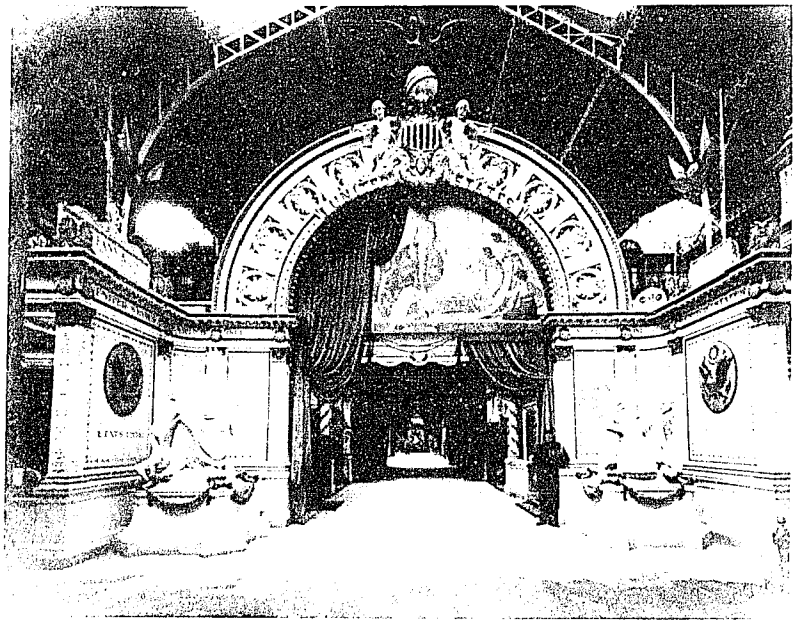
45 Robert Reid, AMERICAN UNVEILING HER NATURAL STRENGTH. Mural. U.S. National Pavilion. Unlocated.



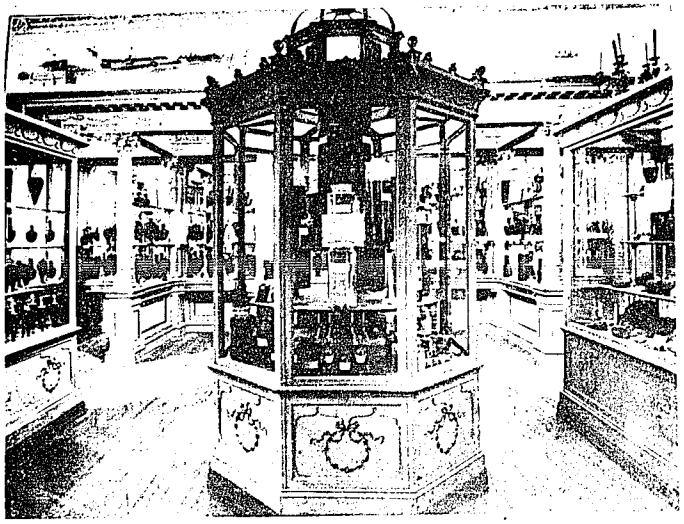
46 Robert Reid's AMERICA, <u>in situ</u>. Portico of U.S. National Pavilion. ←



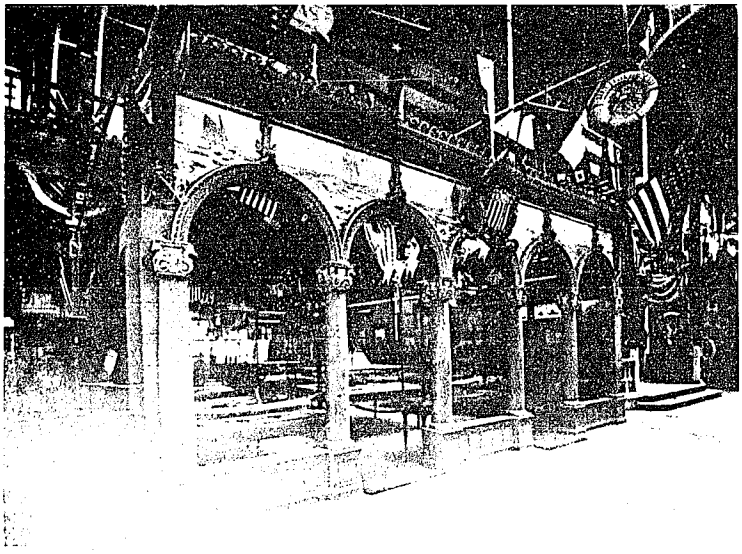
47 Augustus Koopman, INDUSTRIAL ARTS. Mural on canvas. 10 X 10'. Palace of Diversified Industries. Unlocated.



48 Albert Herter, INDUSTRIAL ARTS. Mural on canvas. 16 X 10'. Palace of Diversified Industries. Unlocated.



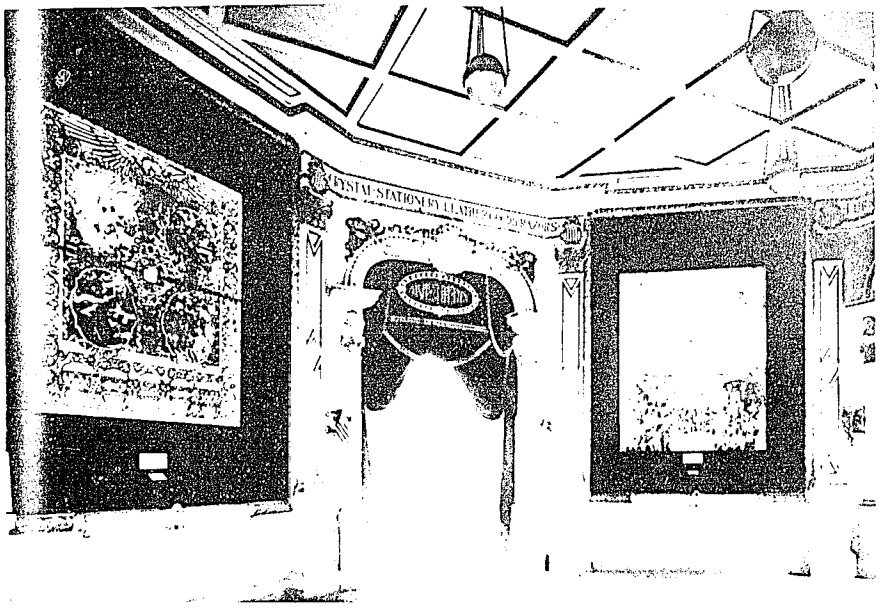
49 Lyell Carr. Mural on canvas. Standard Oil Exhibit, Department of Mining and Metallurgy. Unlocated.



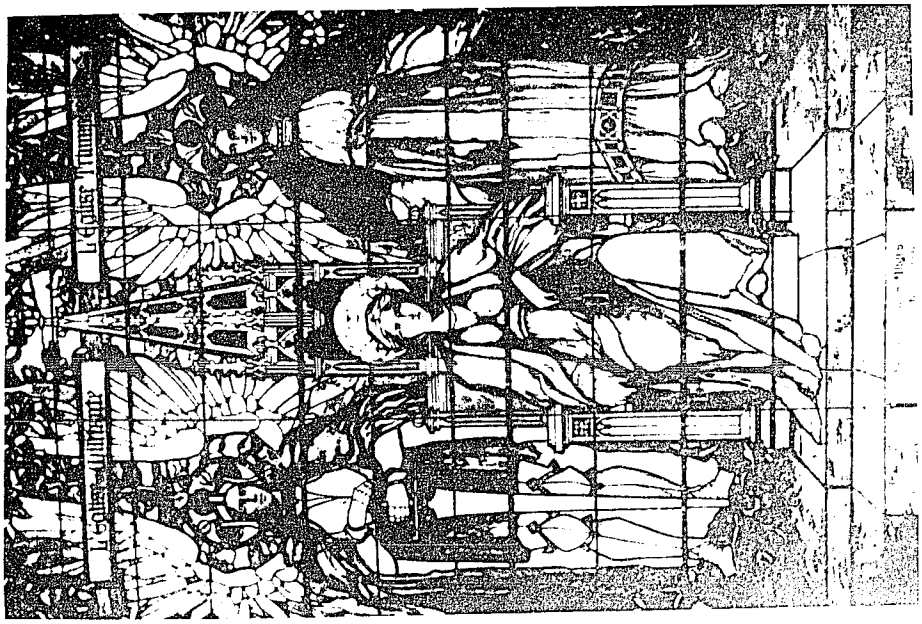
50 Carleton Chapman, SERIES OF YACHT RACES. Mural on canvas. U.S. Navigation Exhibit. Unlocated.



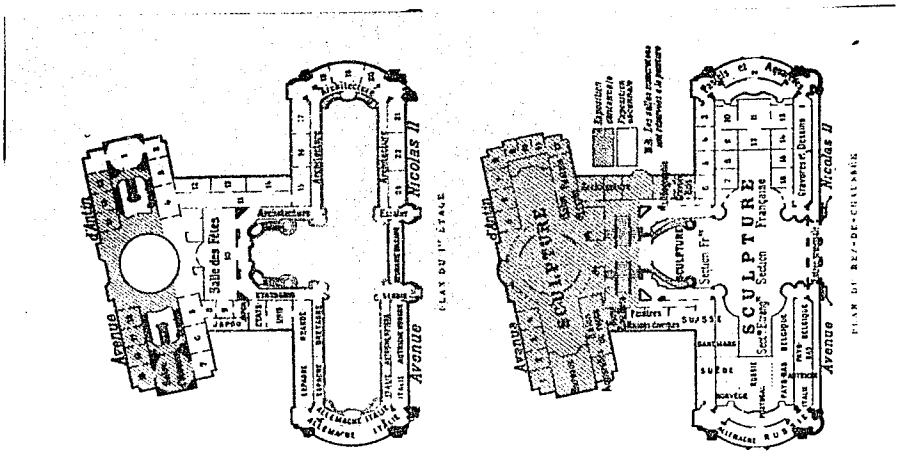
51 Tiffany Studios, New York. PUNCH BOWL WITH THREE LADLES, 1900. Favrile glass and gilded silver. Bowl: 14-1/4 X 24"; ladles: 2-1/2 X 3-1/2 X 10". Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.



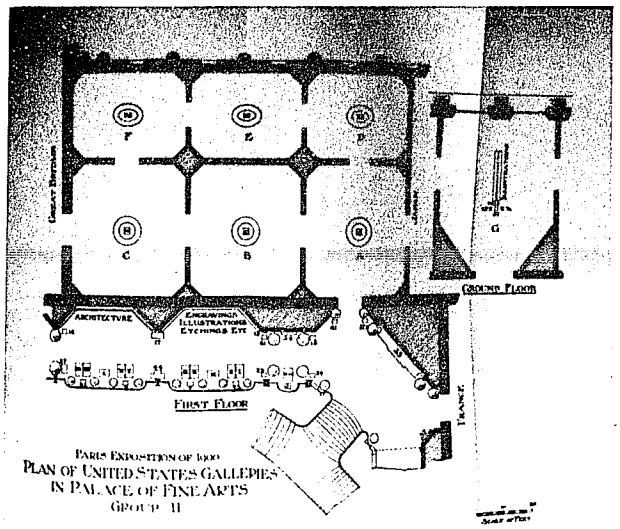
52 Installation view, Palace of Diversified Industries, showing Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, FOUR SEASONS WINDOW, 1897. Leaded favrile glass. 78 X 45". Private Collection; and CONSUMMATION OF THE DIVINE PROMISE IN THE PASSING OF THE GOAL FROM THE EARTHLY ABODE TO THE HEAVENLY HOME [RIVER OF LIFE]. Jeptha H. Wade Memorial Chapel, Lakeview Cemetery, Cleveland



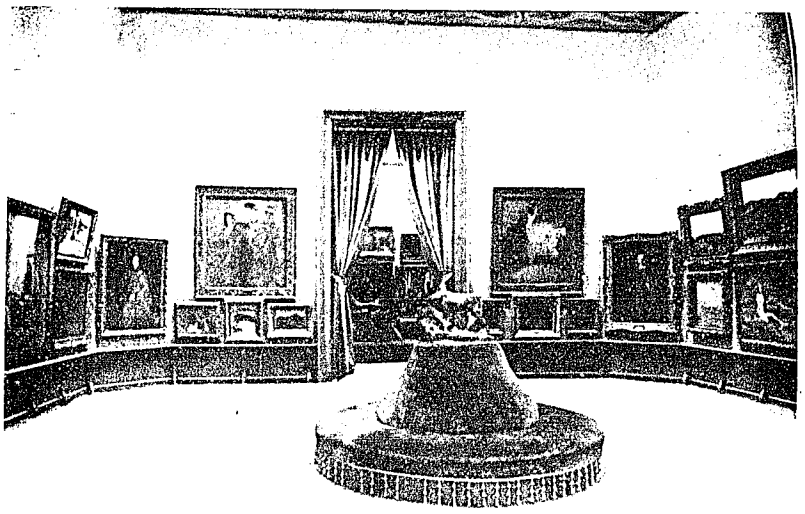
53 Frederick Lamb, RELIGION ENTHRONED, c.1900. Glass. The Brooklyn Museum. ←



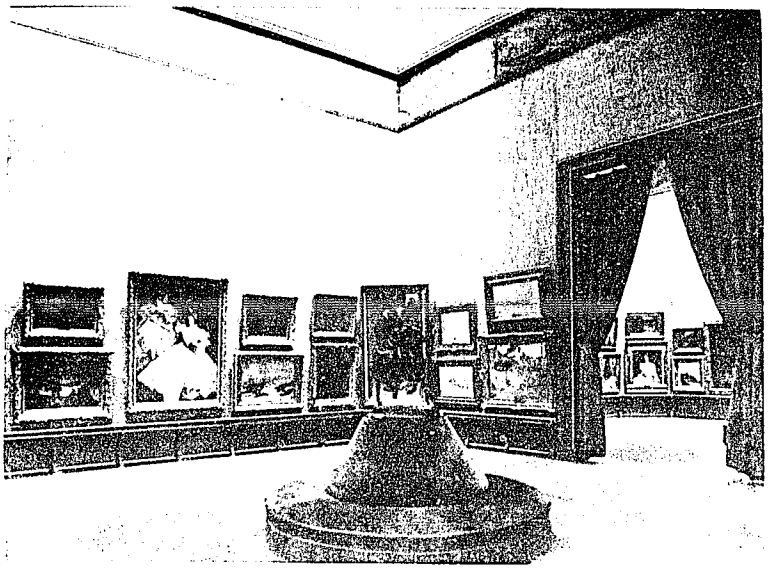
54 PLAN, EXPOSITION OF FINE ARTS, Grand Palais. ←



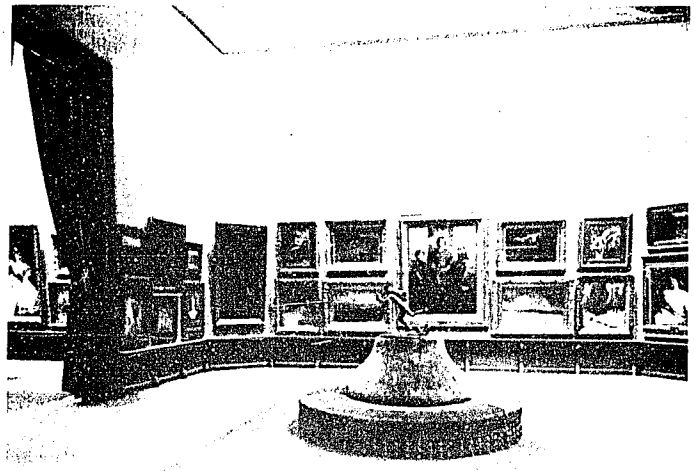
55 PLAN, PAINTINGS GALLERIES, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS, Grand Palais.



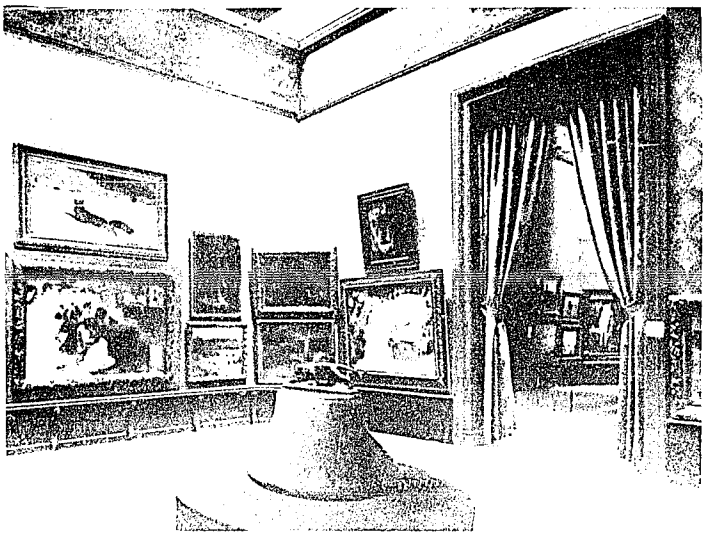
56 SOUTH SIDE OF GALLERY A, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY D, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais.



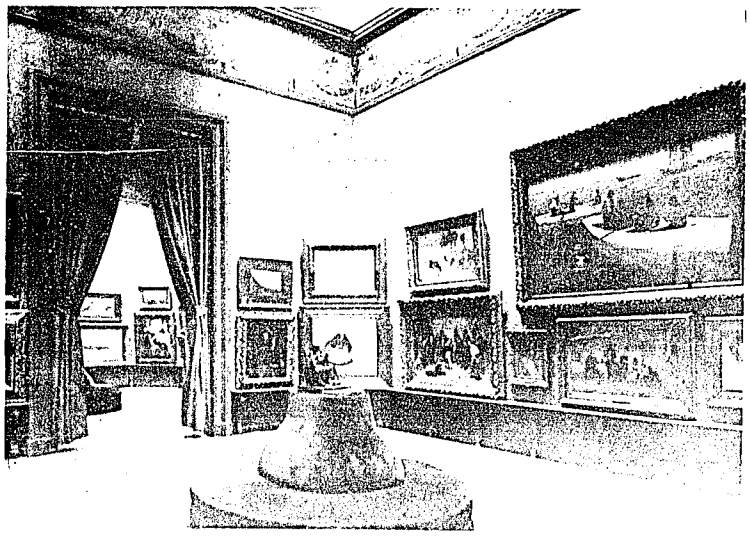
57 NORTH SIDE OF GALLERY B, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY C, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais.



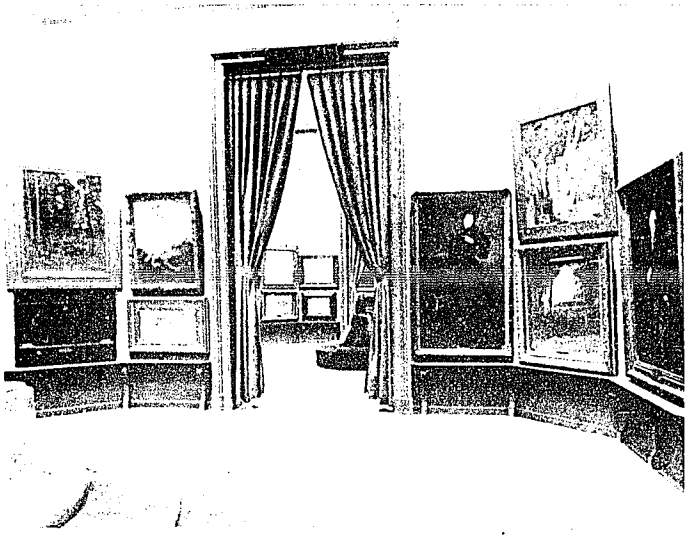
58 NORTH SIDE OF GALLERY C, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY B, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais.



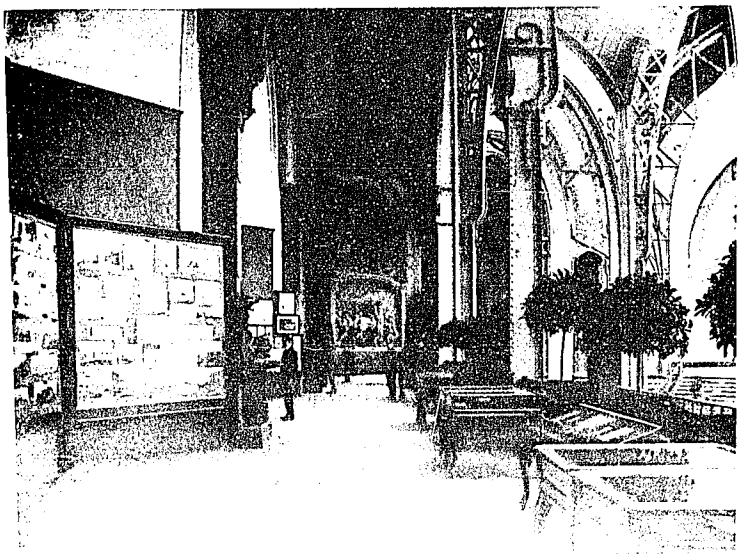
59 NORTHWEST CORNER OF GALLERY D, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY A, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais.



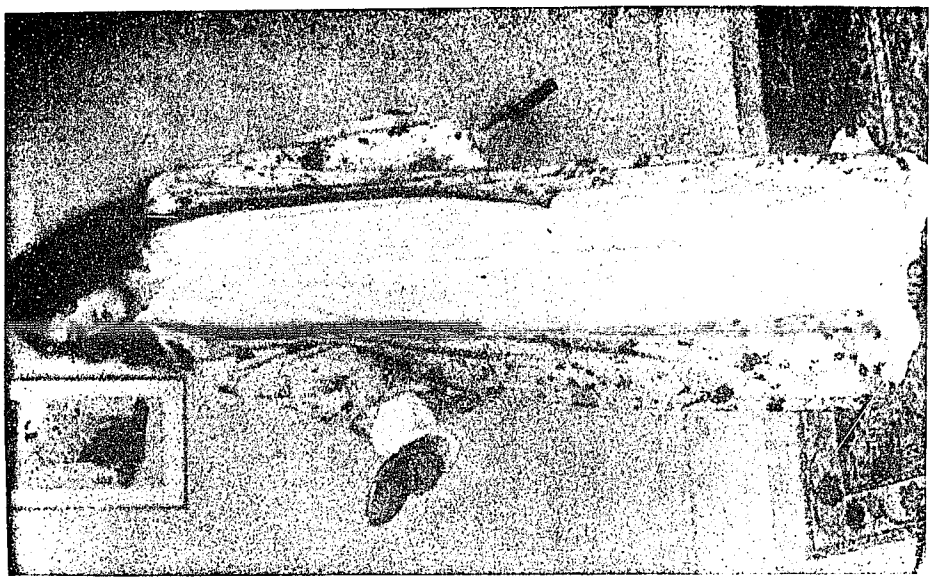
60 SOUTHEAST CORNER OF GALLERY E, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY F, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais.



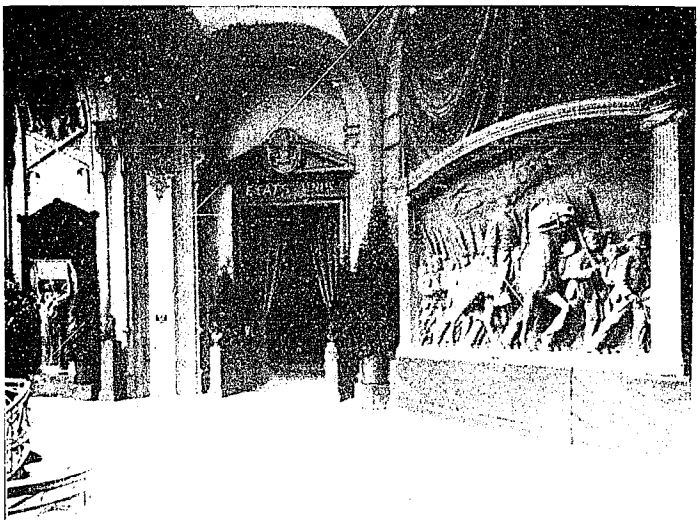
61 WEST SIDE OF GALLERY F, LOOKING TOWARD GALLERY E, American Paintings Exhibition, Grand Palais.



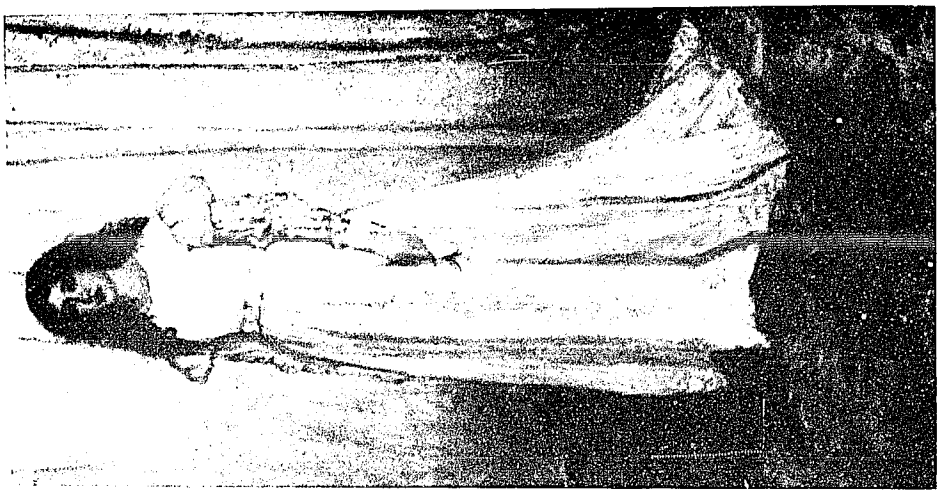
62 CORRIDOR LOOKING WEST, SHOWING PORTION OF THE AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL PANEL AND BLACK AND WHITE EXHIBIT ON THE LEFT, WITH MINIATURE CASES AND MEDALLIONS ON THE RIGHT, Grand Palais.



63 Lucia Fairchild Fuller, GIRL WITH HAND GLASS, miniature painting. Unlocated. ←



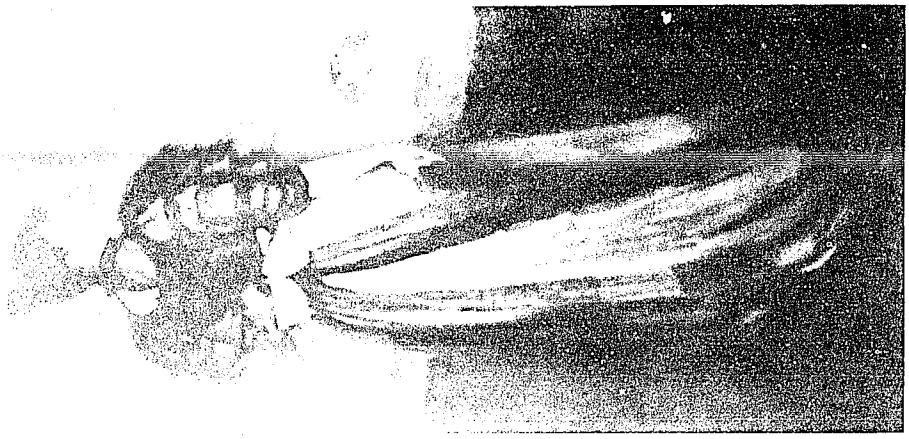
64 ENTRANCE TO THE AMERICAN PAINTINGS GALLERIES, Grand Palais, with plaster of Augustus St. Gaudens's SHAW MEMORIAL [Bronze version, Boston Commons] and his AMOR CARITAS. Bronze. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



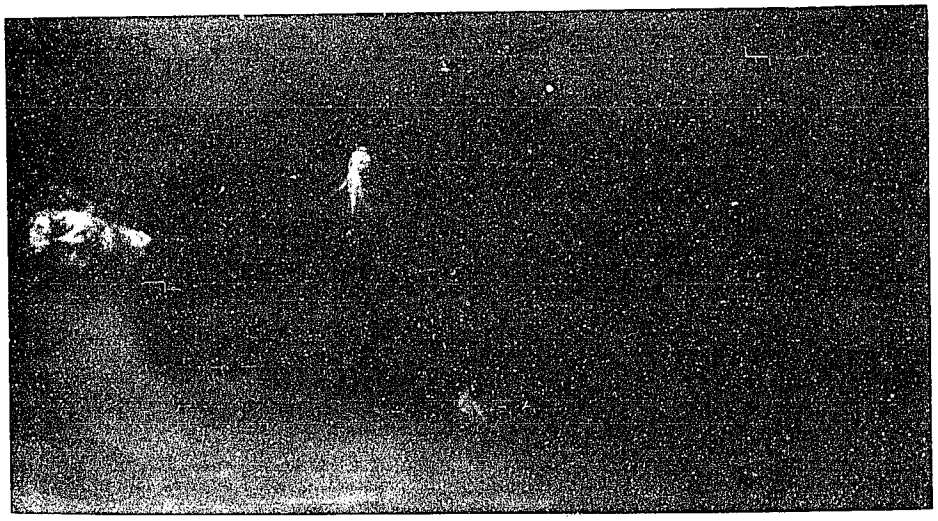
65 James McNeill Whistler, SYMPHONY IN WHITE NO. I: THE LITTLE WHITE GIRL, 1862. 85-7/8 X 43-1/5" approx. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. ←



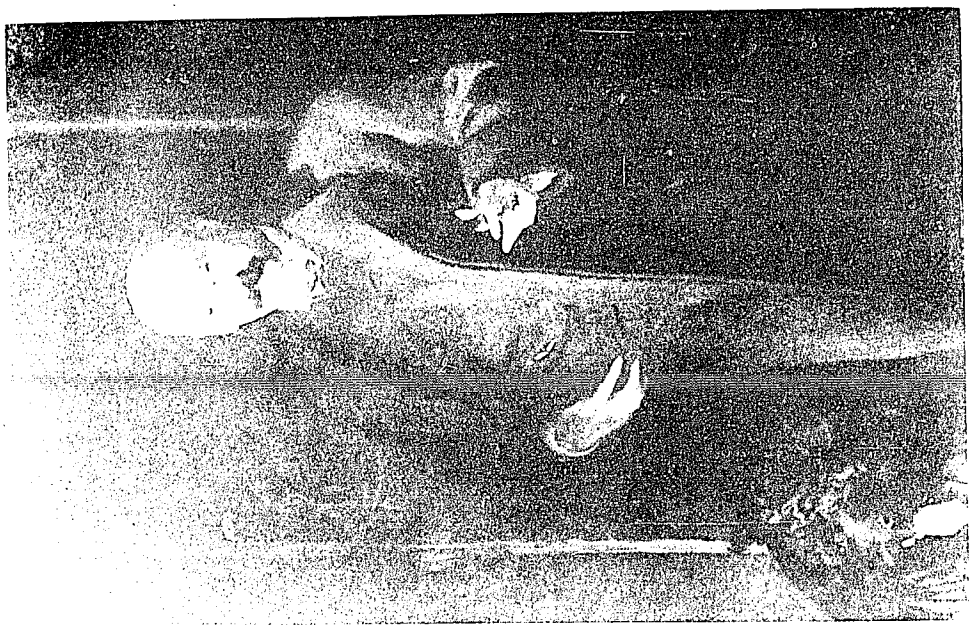
66 James McNeil Whistler, SYMPHONY IN WHITE NO. II: THE LITTLE WHITE GIRL, 1864. 30-1/8 X 20-1/8". Tate Gallery, London. ←



67 James McNeil Whistler, MOTHER-OF-PEARL AND SILVER - THE ANDALUSIAN, 1888-1900. 75-3/8 X 35-3/8". The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. ←



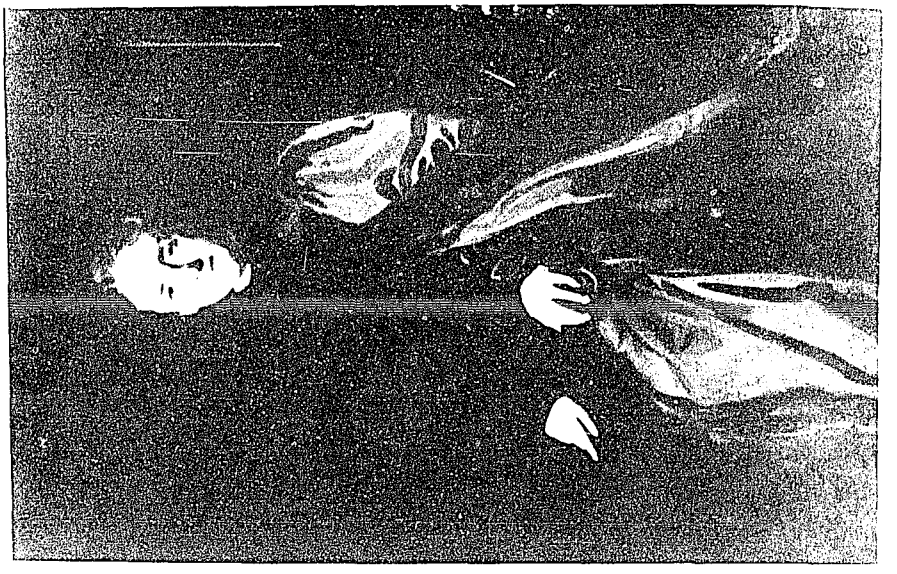
68 James McNeil Whistler, BROWN AND GOLD [SELF-PORTRAIT], 1895/1900. 37-3/4 X 20-1/4". Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow. ←



69 John Singer Sargent, ASHER WERTHEIMER, 1898. 58 X 38-1/2". Tate Art Gallery, London. ←



70 John Singer Sargent, MRS. MEYER AND CHILDREN, 1896. 79 X 53". Private collection. ←



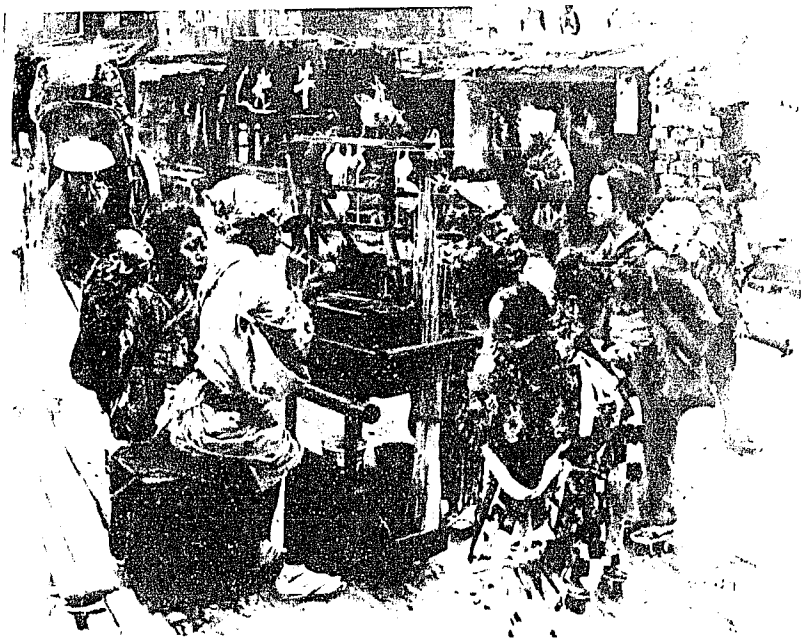
71 John Singer Sargent, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, 1899. 58 X 38". Bryn Mawr College Art Collection, Bryn Mawr, PA. ←



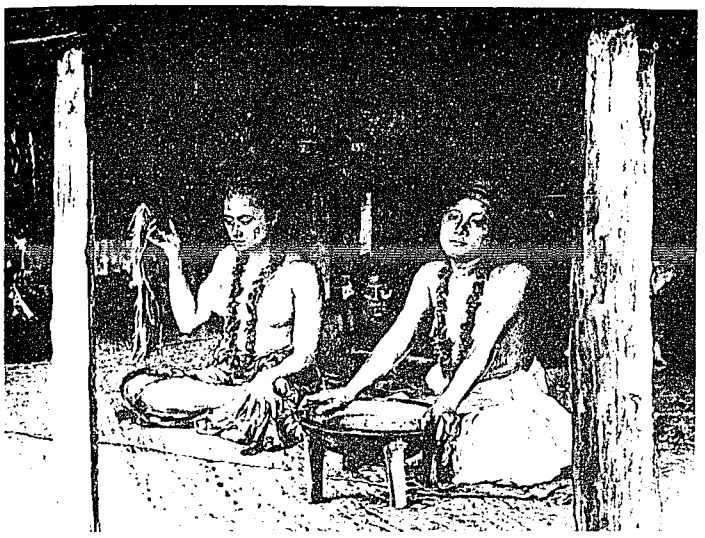
72 F.A. Bridgman, PHARAOH'S ARMY DROWNING IN THE RED SEA [PHARAOH CROSSING THE RED SEA], 1900. 45 X 83". Formerly the Vaughan Family Trust, London.



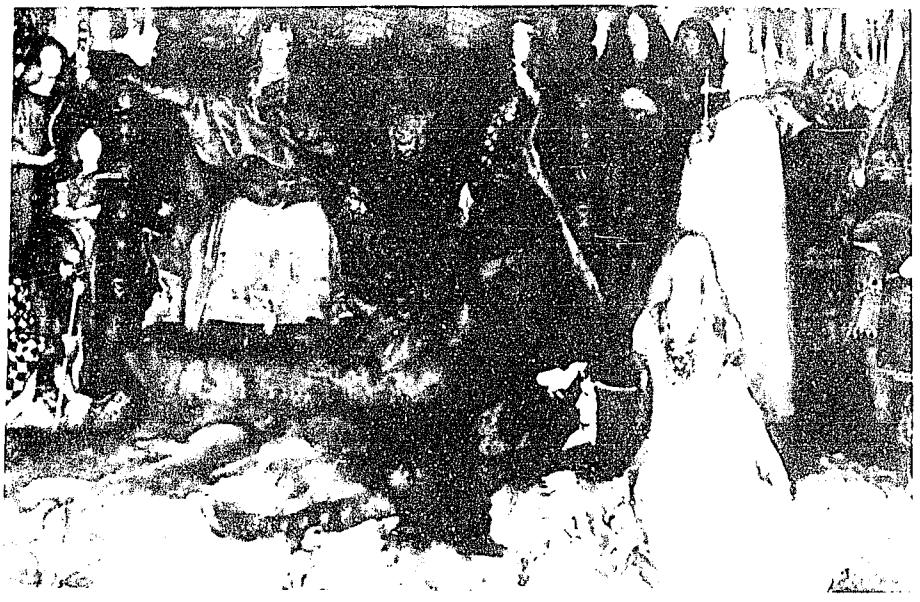
73 Edwin Lord Weeks, INDIAN BARBERS--SAHARANPORE, c. 1895. 56-1/4 X 75". Joslyn Museum, Omaha, NE.



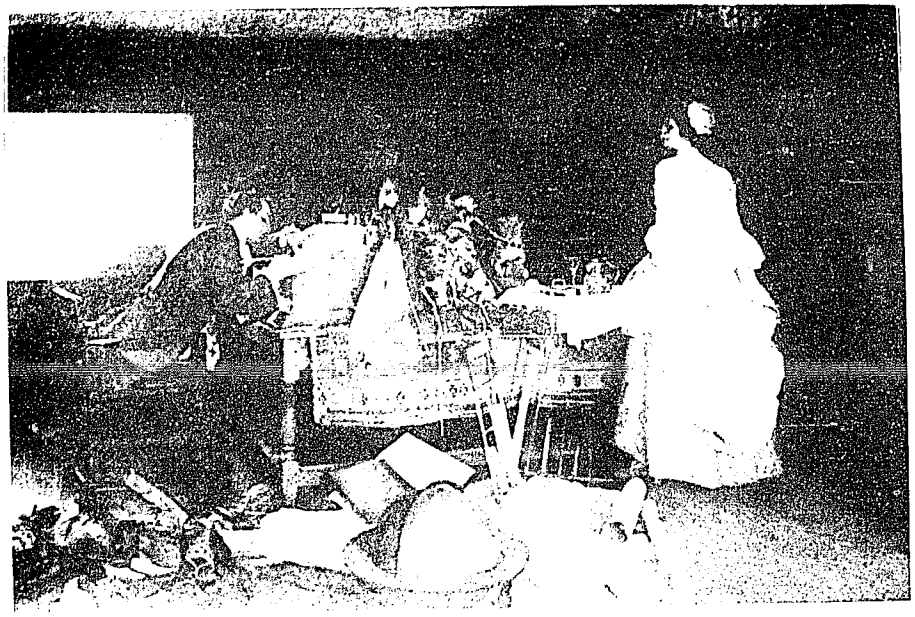
74 Robert Blum, THE AMEYA, 1890-92. 25-1/16 X 31-1/16". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



75 Engraving after John La Farge's SIVA WITH SIAKUMU MAKING KAVA IN TOFAE'S HOUSE [GIRLS MAKING KAVA], c.1893-5. Watercolor on velum. Original in Sterling and Francis Clark Institute, Williamstown, MA.



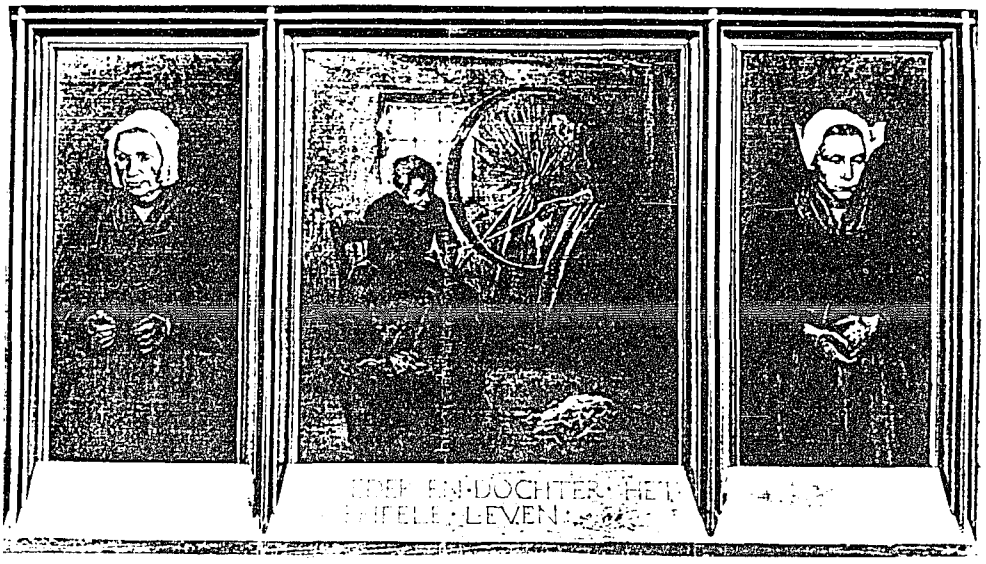
76 Edwin Austin Abbey, PLAY SCENE IN "HAMLET", 1897. 61-1/4 X 96-1/2". Yale University Art Gallery, New



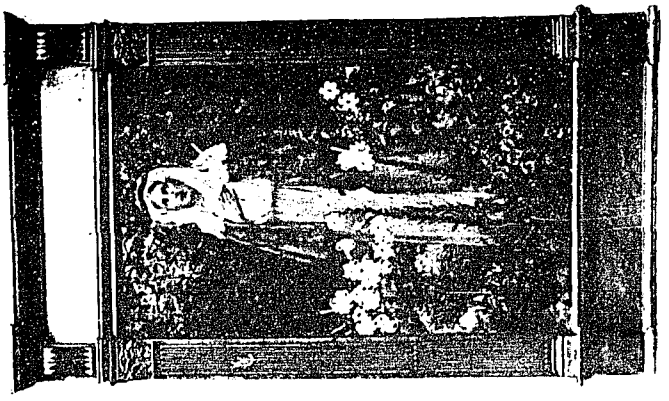
77 Francis Davis Millet, THE EXPANSIONIST. Unlocated.



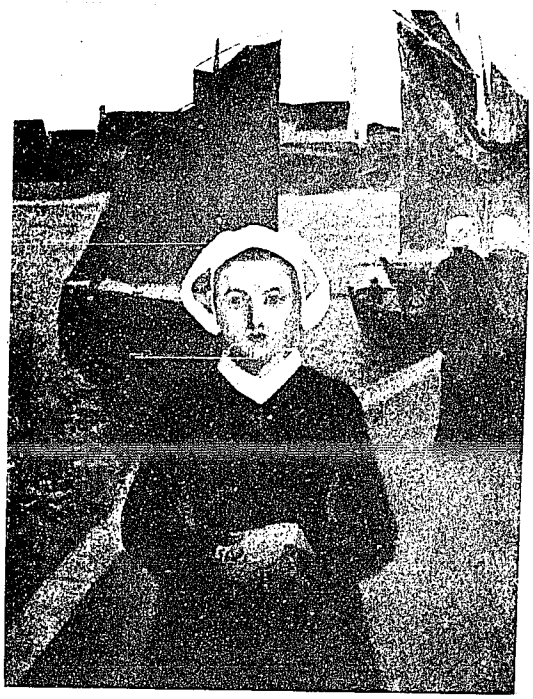
78 NATIVE WEAVERS AT WORK IN THE BOSNIAN PAVILION.



79 Marcia Oakes Woodbury, MOTHER AND DAUGHTER, 1894. Watercolor. Left and right sections, each 26-1/2 X 12"; center section 26-1/2 X 24-1/2". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



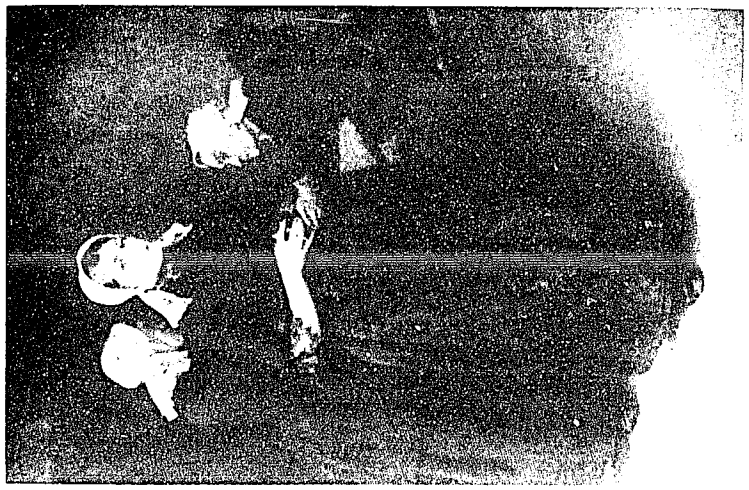
80 Engraving after George Hitchock's MAGNIFICAT. Unlocated. ←



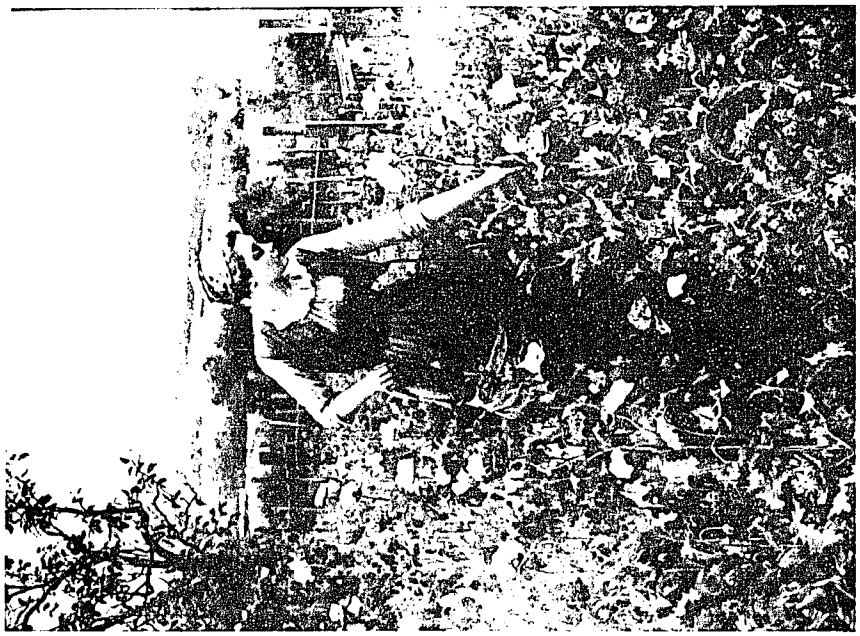
81 Eugene Vail, EVENING IN BRITTANY, Salon Nationale, 1899. Unlocated.



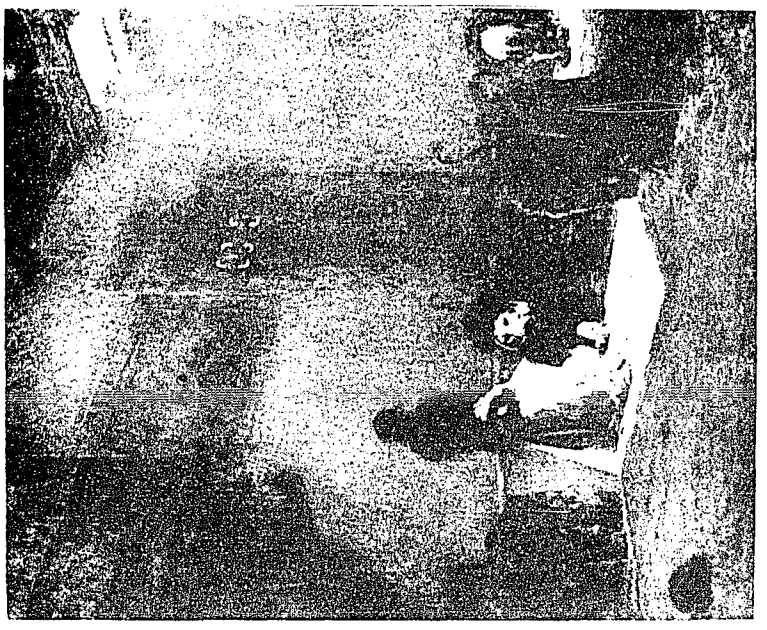
82 Sargent Kendall, ST. IVES, PRAY FOR ME, Salon, 1891. Unlocated.



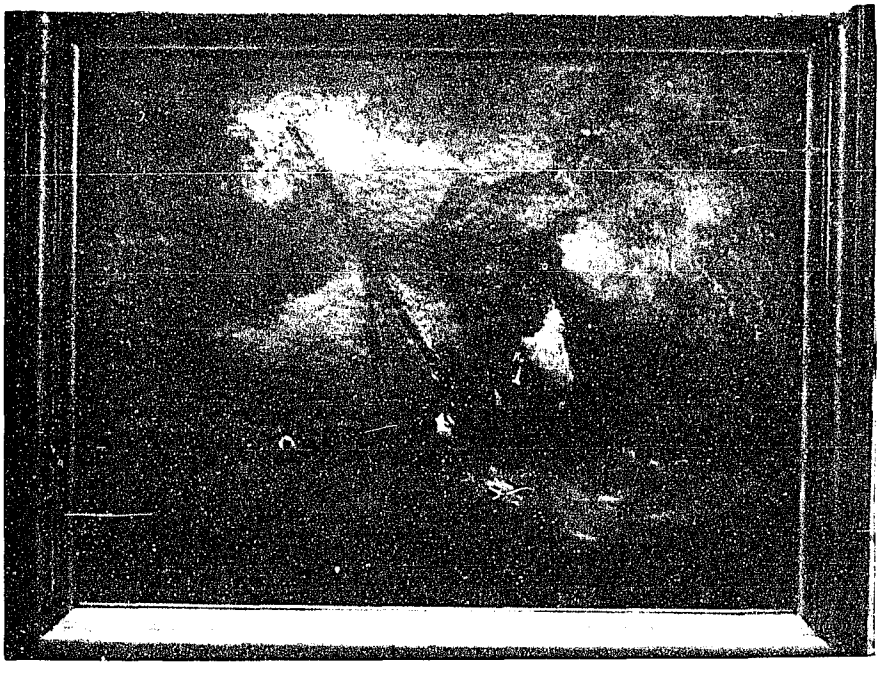
83 Walter MacEwen, DIMANCHE EN HOLLANDE, Salon, 1898. 74 X 47" approx. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. ←



84 Daniel Ridgeway Knight, A JULY MORNING, 1895. 96-3/4 X 73". Private collection. ←



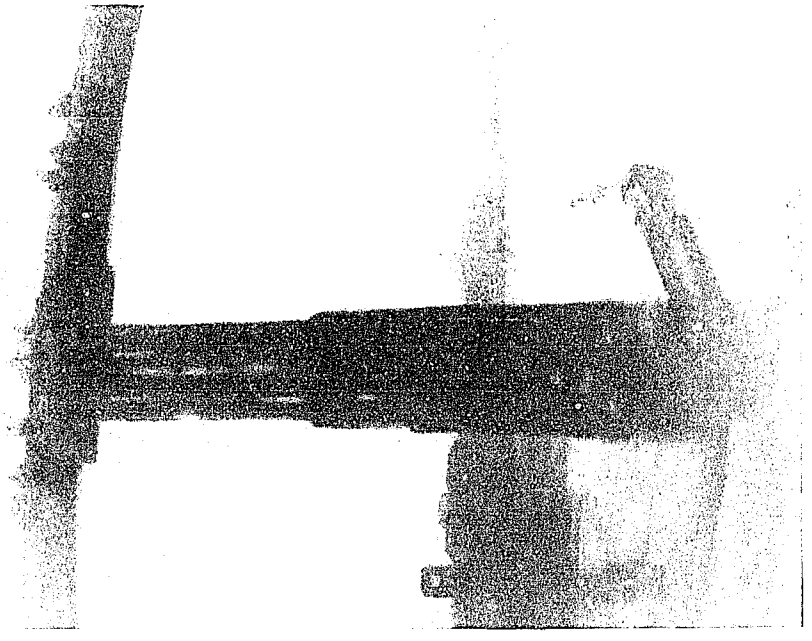
85 Henry O. Tanner, DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN, Salon, 1896. Lost. [c. 1916 version, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, CA.] ←



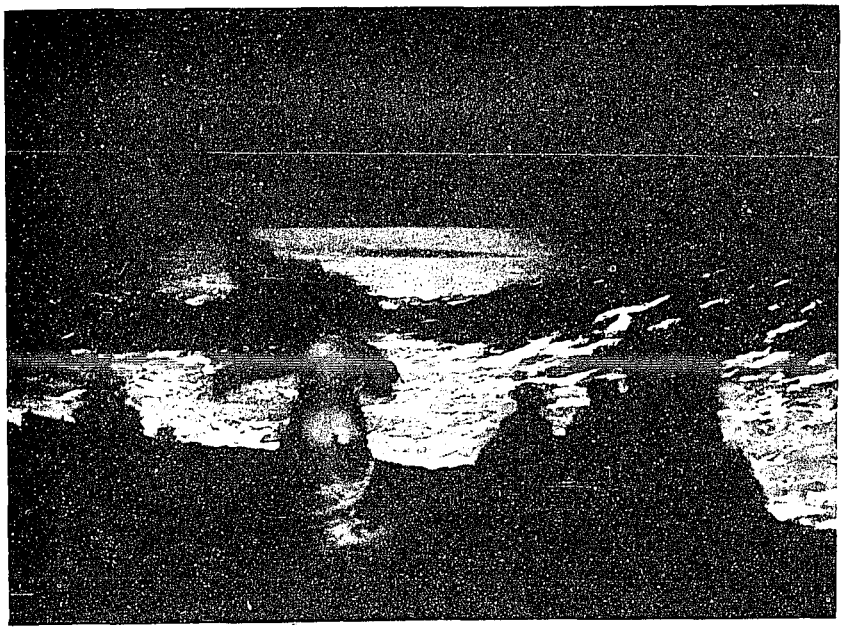
86 Robert Loftin Newman, CHRIST STILLING THE TEMPEST, William T. Evans Collection, 1898. 14 X 18". Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.



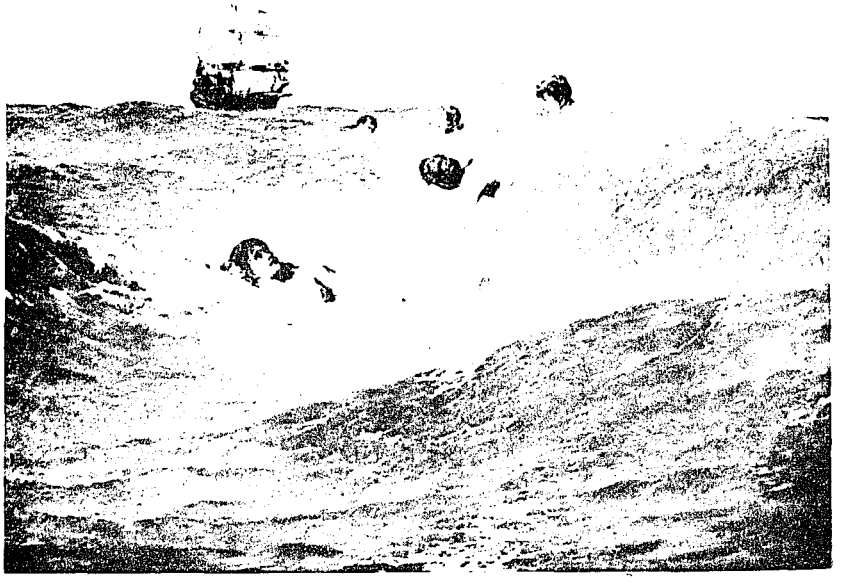
87 Alexander Harrison, MYSTERIES OF THE NIGHT, Salon Nationale, 1895. Unlocated.



88 James McNeil Whistler, NOCTURNE: BLUE AND GOLD - OLD BATTERESA BRIDGE, 1872/3. 77 X 36" approx. Tate Gallery, London. ←



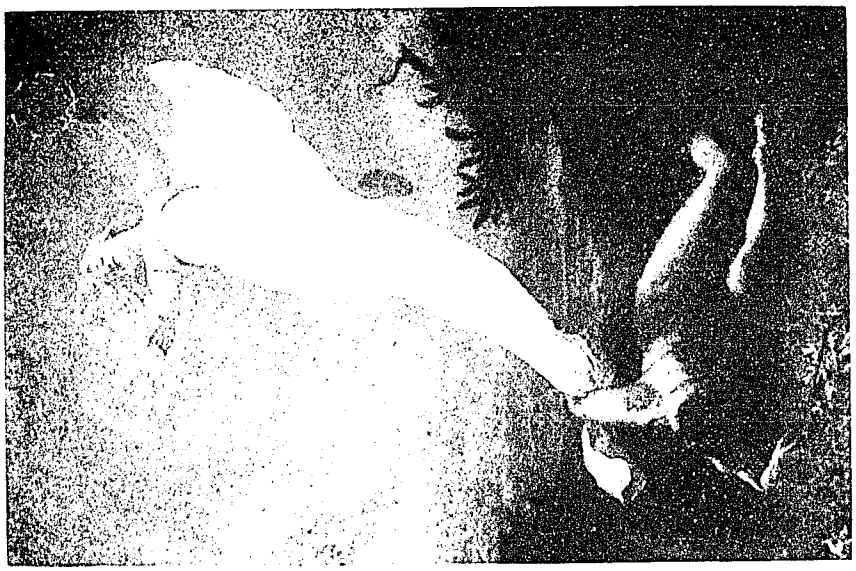
89 Winslow Homer, SUMMER NIGHT [Nuit d'été], 1890. 30-3/16 X 40-1/8". Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



90 George Willoughby Maynard, IN STRANGE SEAS, 1889. 36-1/8 X 50-5/16". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



91 Charles C. Curran, THE PERIS, 1898. 18 X 32". Dr. Ronald Berg, Monticello, NY.



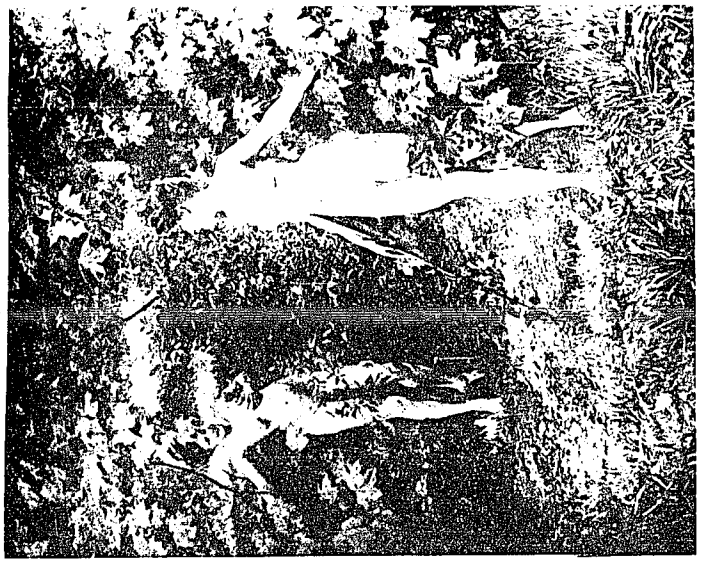
92 Kenyon Cox, PURSUIT OF THE IDEAL, 1893. Destroyed.



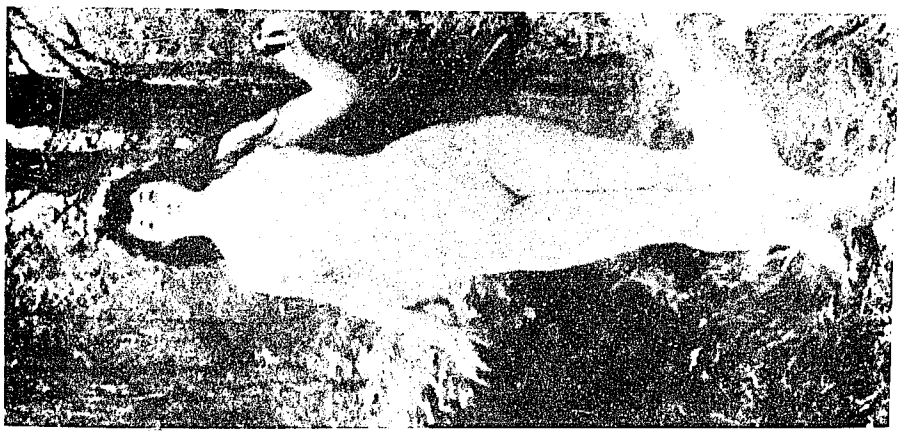
93 Will Low, AT THE SPRING, (Carnegie Institute, Annual Exhibition, 1897). Unlocated. ←



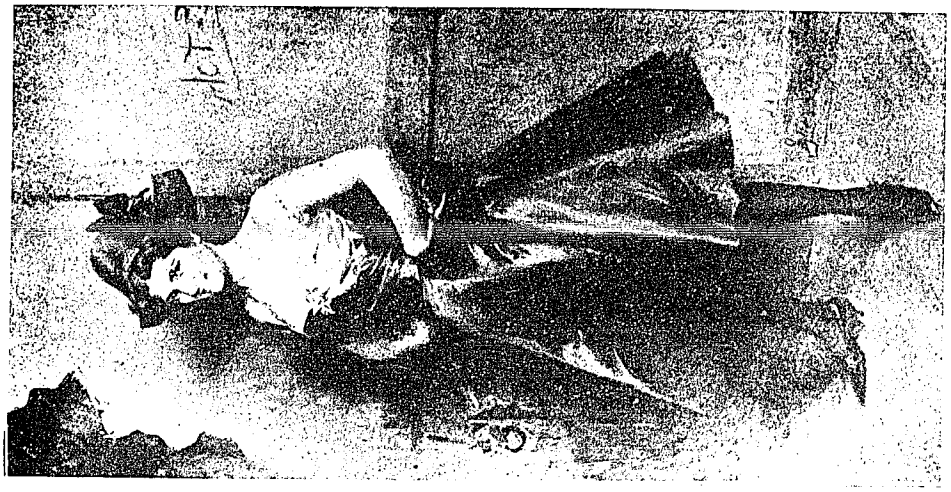
94 Edmund Tarbell, VENETIAN BLIND [JALOUISIE], 1898. 51-7/8 X 38-3/8". Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA. ←



95 Engraving after Julius Stewart's NYMPHS OF NYSA [Nymphes de Nysa], c. 1899. 56 X 45" approx. Original in Musée d'Orsay, Paris. ←



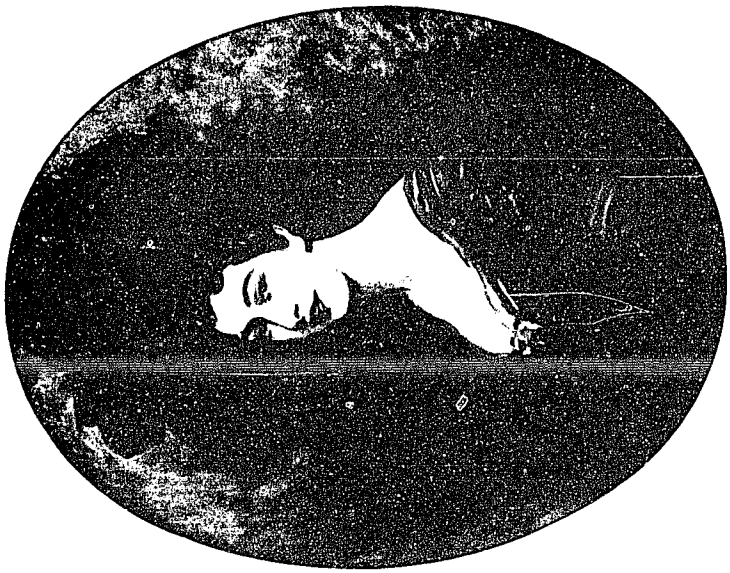
96 Antonin Mercié, EVE. Unlocated. ←



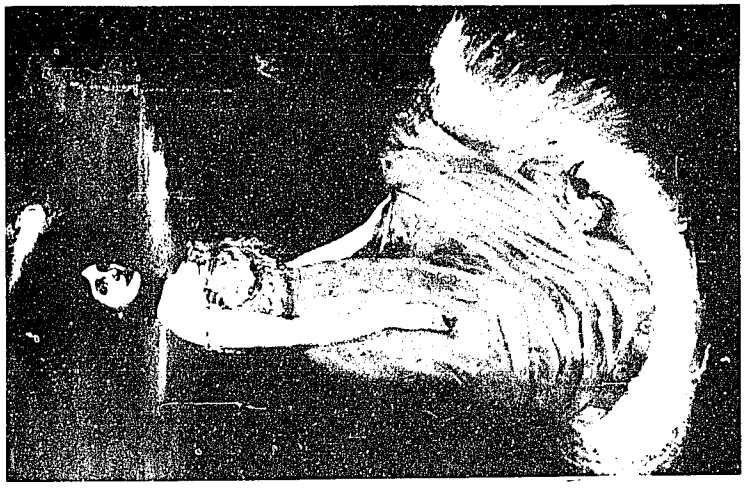
97 Julian Story, COLUMBINE. Unocated. ←



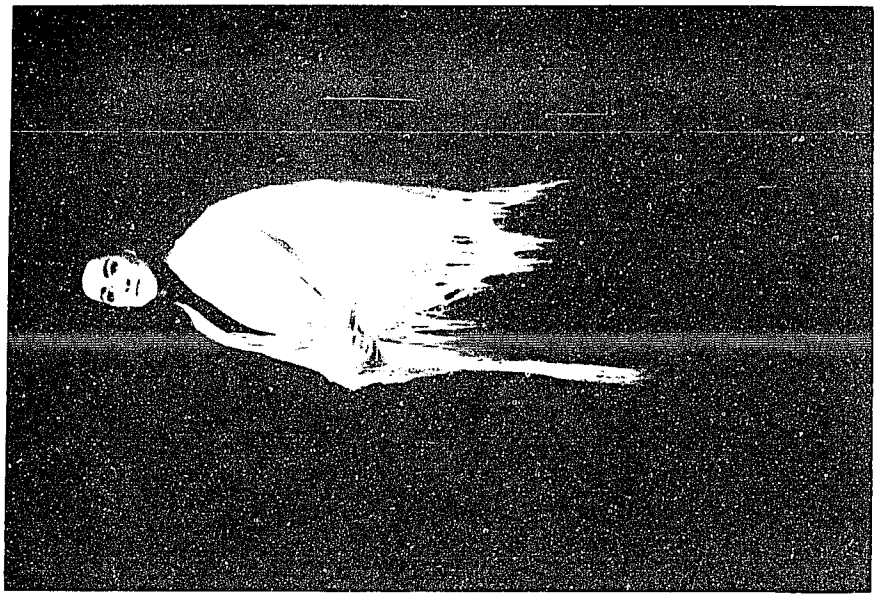
98 William Dannat, OTERO, (Salon Nationale, 1896). Unlocated. ←



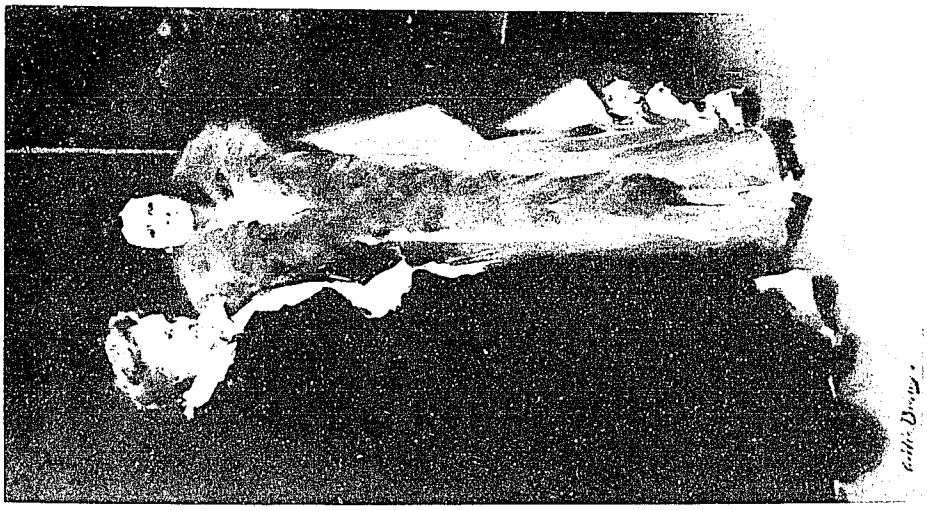
99 William Dannat, possibly the PORTRAIT OF THE DUCHESS OF MECKLENBERG. Unlocated. ←



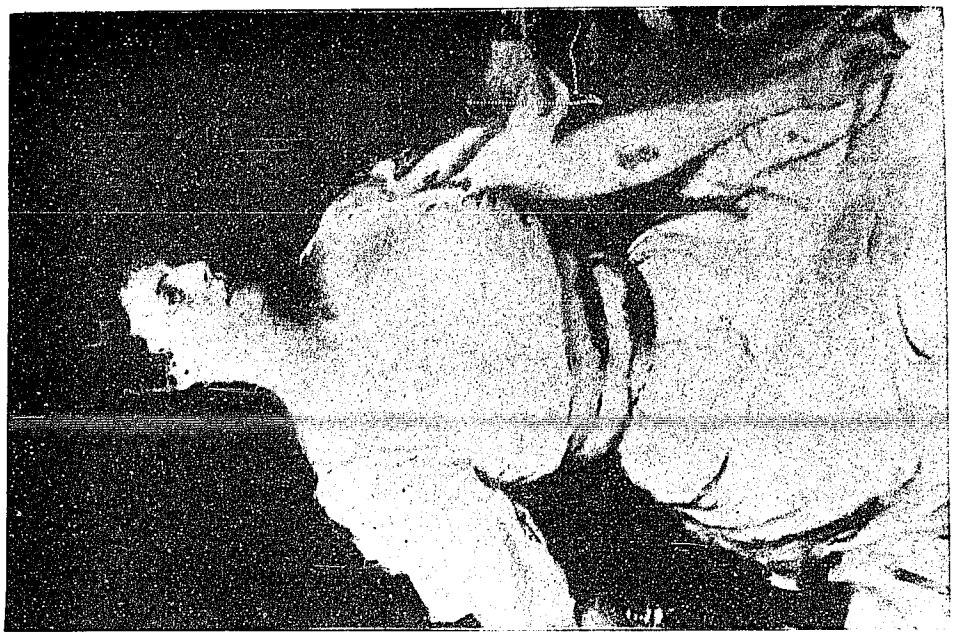
100 Fred Dana Marsh, THE LADY IN SCARLET, c.1900. 77 X 51-1/4". The Newark Museum, Newark, NJ. ←



101 William M. Chase, WOMAN WITH A WHITE SHAWL, 1893. 75 X 52". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. ←



102 Cecilia Beaux, MOTHER AND DAUGHTER, 1898. 83 X 44". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. ←



103 Cecilia Beaux, PORTRAIT OF MISS [ANNA] FISHER, 1898. 44 X 30". Private Collection, Philadelphia. ←



104 Edmund C. Tarbell, ACROSS THE ROOM. 25 X 30-1/8". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



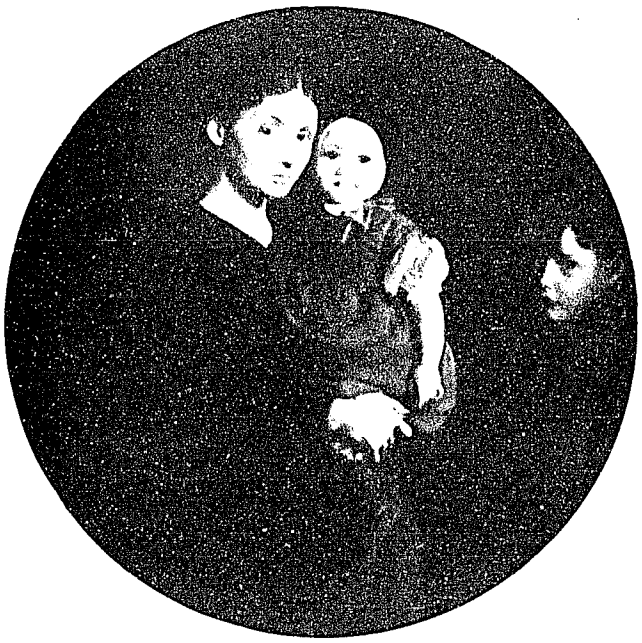
105 Robert Reid, AZALEAS. 40 X 40". Samuel and Maxime Greenberg.



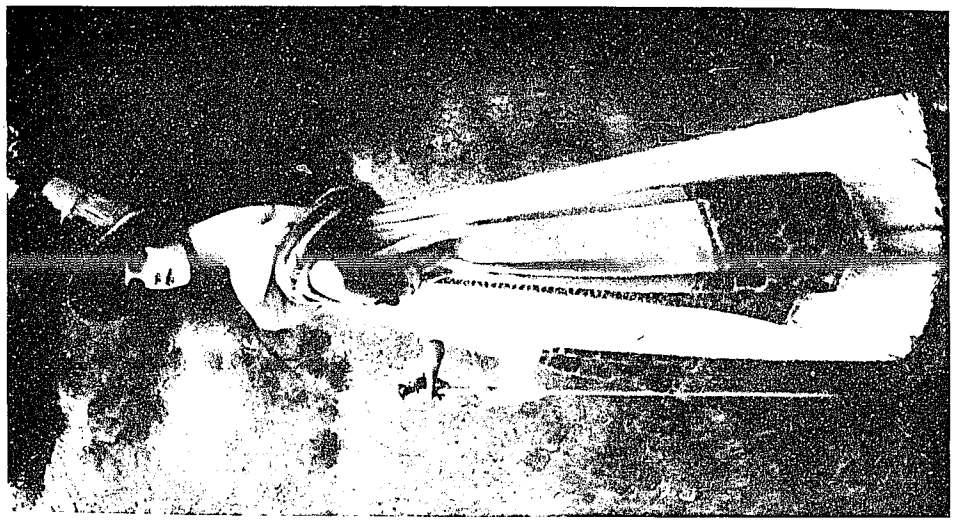
106 Mary MacMonnies, LILIES AND ROSES, 1897. 52-1/4 X 69-3/8". Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.



107 Abbott Thayer, VIRGIN ENTHRONED, 1891. 72-5/8 X 52-1/2". National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C. ←



108 George de Forest Brush, MOTHER AND CHILD, 1895. Circle 39" diam. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.



109 Charles Sprague Pearce, THE SHAWL [MADAME PEARCE], c.1888. 81 X 42". Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison. ←



110 George de Forest Brush, THE ARTIST [SKETCHING HIS FAMILY], 1892. 19-3/4 X 23-1/2". Mr. & Mrs. Willard G. Clark.



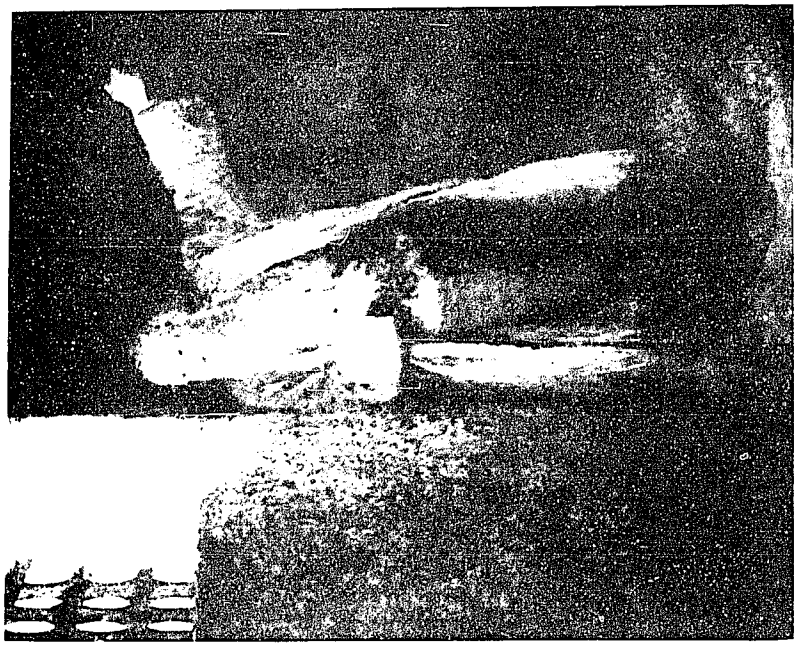
111 Frank Benson, THE SISTERS, 1899. 40 X 39-1/2". IBM Corporation, Armonk, NY.



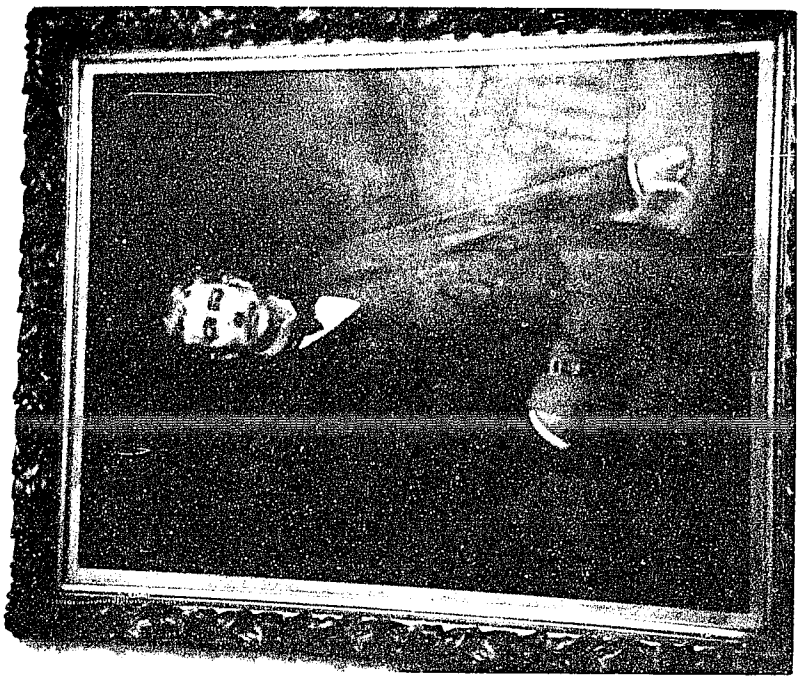
112 Robert Vonnoh, LITTLE LOUISE [ELKINS], 1897. Unlocated.



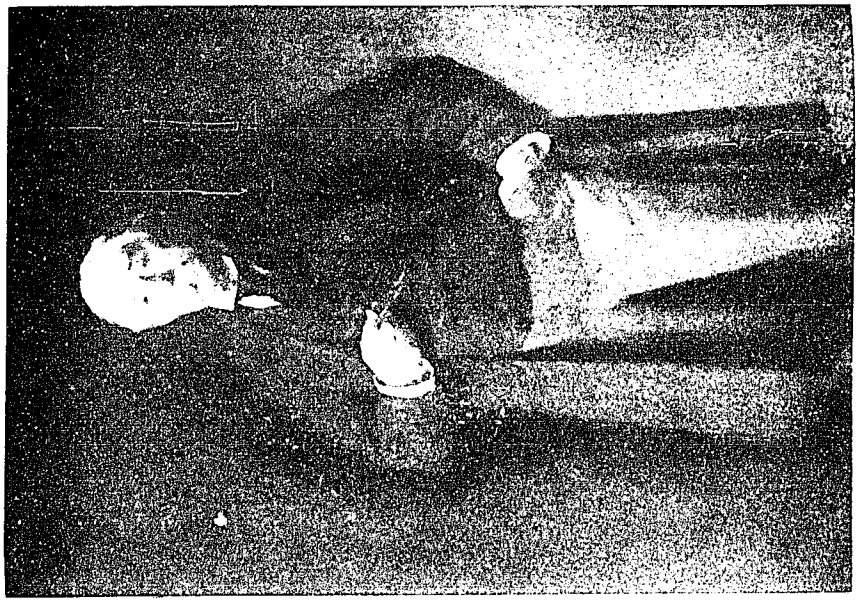
113 J.G. Brown, HEELS OVER HEAD, c.1894. 40 X 60". Manney Collection, NY.



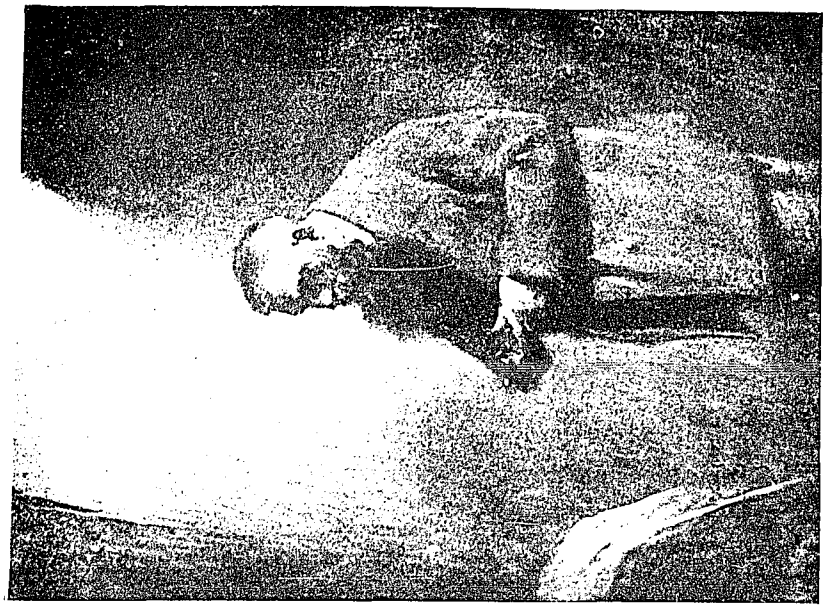
114 Eastman Johnson, PRISONER OF STATE, 1874. Oil on academy board. 26-1/2 X 22-1/8". Private Collection.



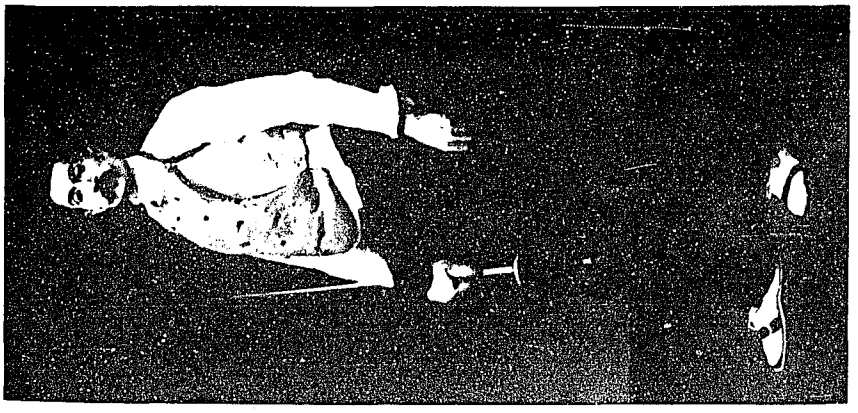
115 Archibald Anderson, ELIHU ROOT, c.1890. 55-1/4 X 43-1/4". Association of the Bar of New York City. ←



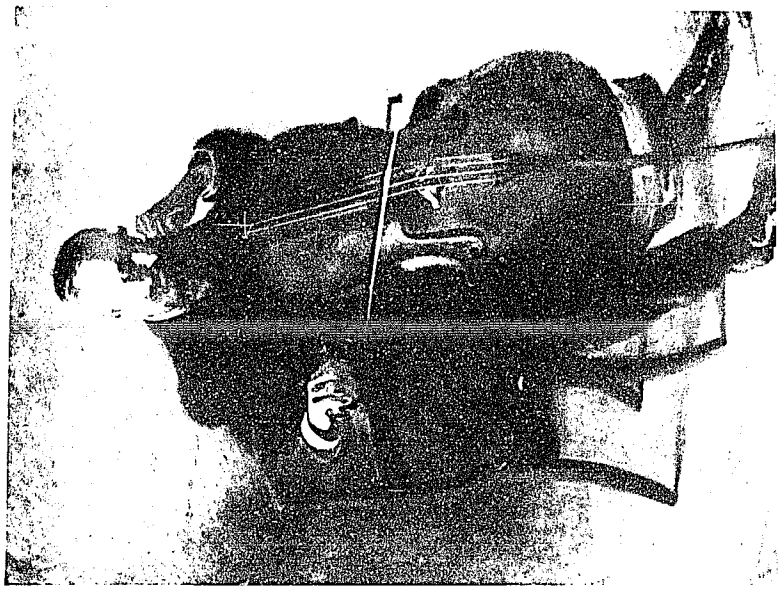
116 Frederick Porter Vinton, ALONSON BEARD. Unlocated. ←



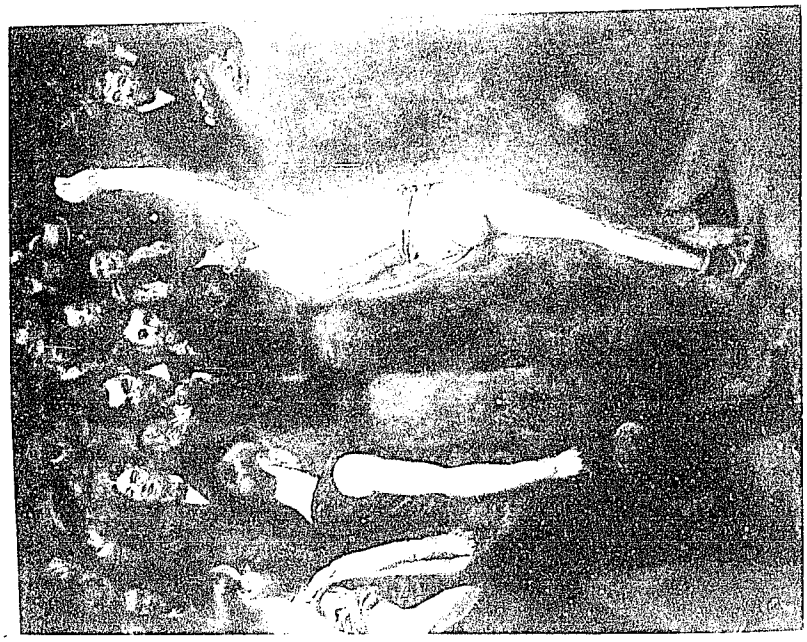
117 John White Alexander, RODIN, 1899. 66 X 48". First National Bank of Chicago. ←



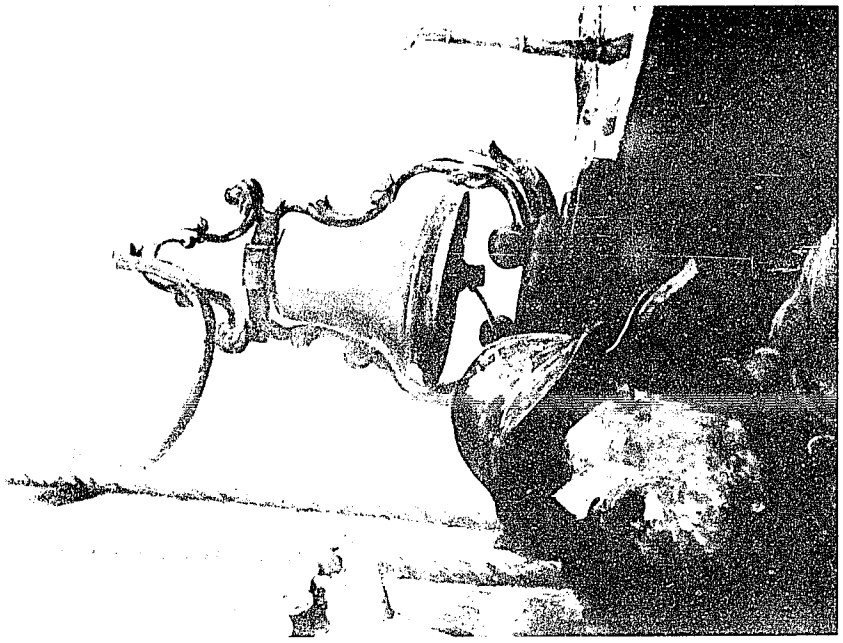
118 Gari Melchers, THE FENCING MASTER [M. ERNEST NOIR], c.1900. 6' 9-1/4" X 39-1/2". The Detroit Institute of Arts. ←



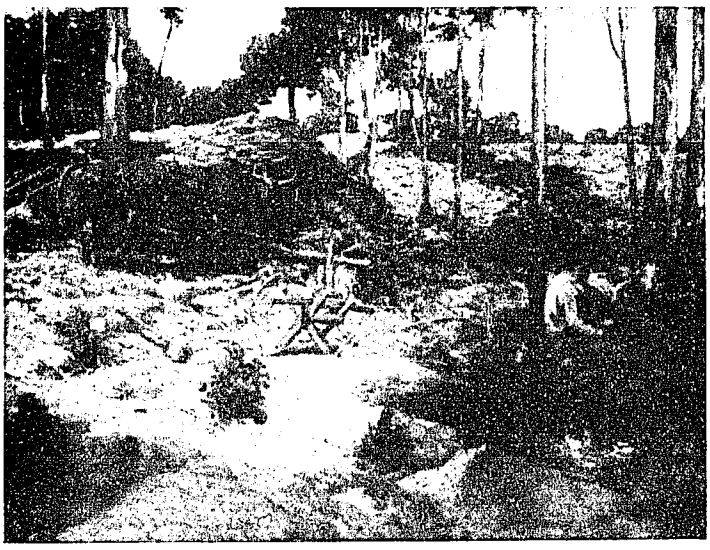
119 Thomas Eakins, THE CELLO PLAYER, 1896. 64-1/2 X 48-1/4". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. ←



120 Thomas Eakins, SALUTAT, 1898. 49-1/2 X 39-1/2". Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA. ←



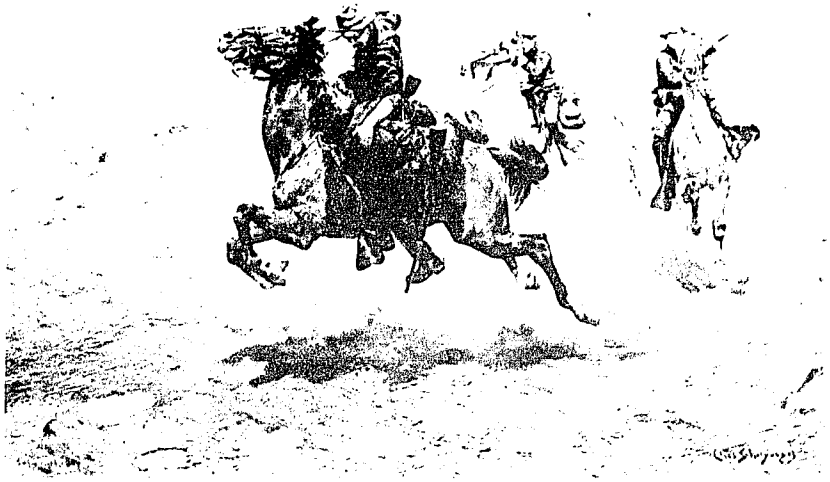
121 Winslow Homer, THE LOOKOUT - ALL'S WELL, 1896. 40 X 30-1/4". Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. ←



122 Julian Alden Weir, MIDDAY REST IN NEW ENGLAND [NOONDAY REST], 1897. 39-1/2 X 50". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.



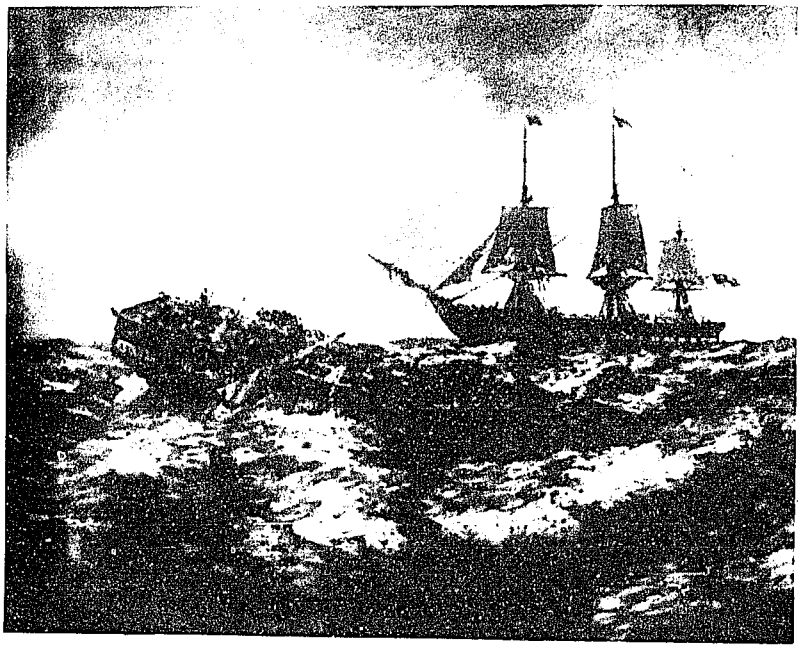
123 Horatio Walker, SPRING PLOUGHING. Unlocated.



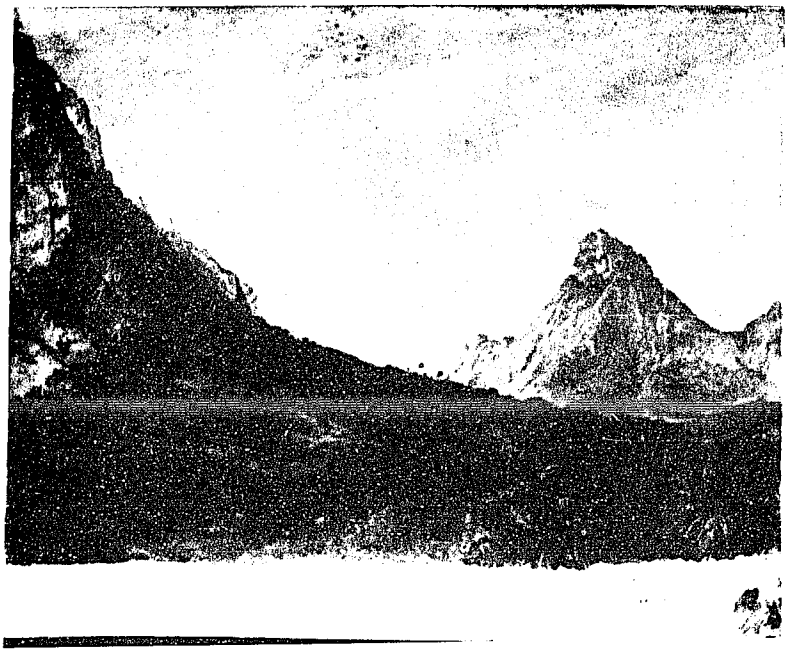
124 Charles Schreyvogel, MY BUNKIE, 1899. 25-3/16 X 34". Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



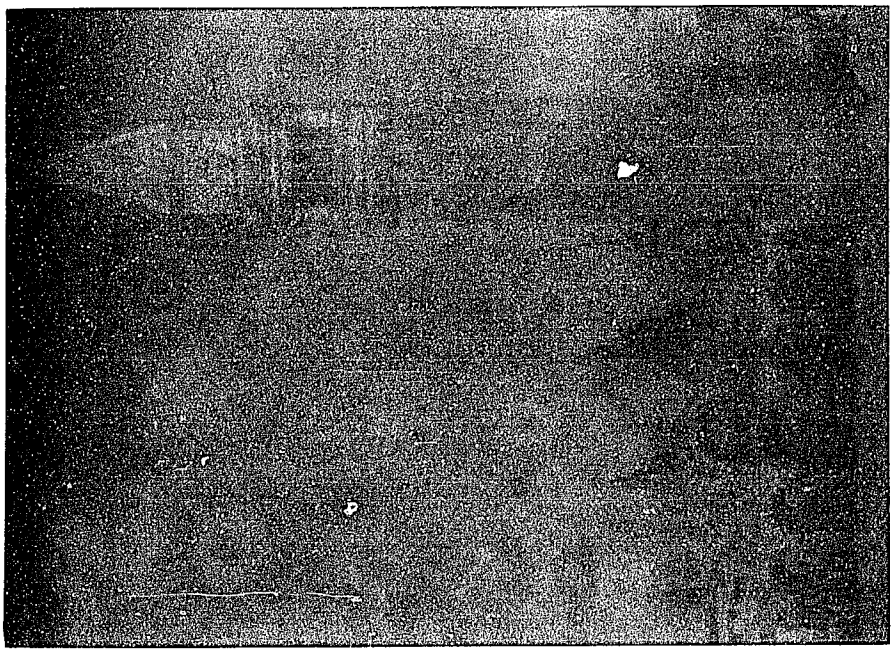
125 Engraving after Joseph Sharp's, HEAD OF CHEYENNE. Work on paper. Unlocated.



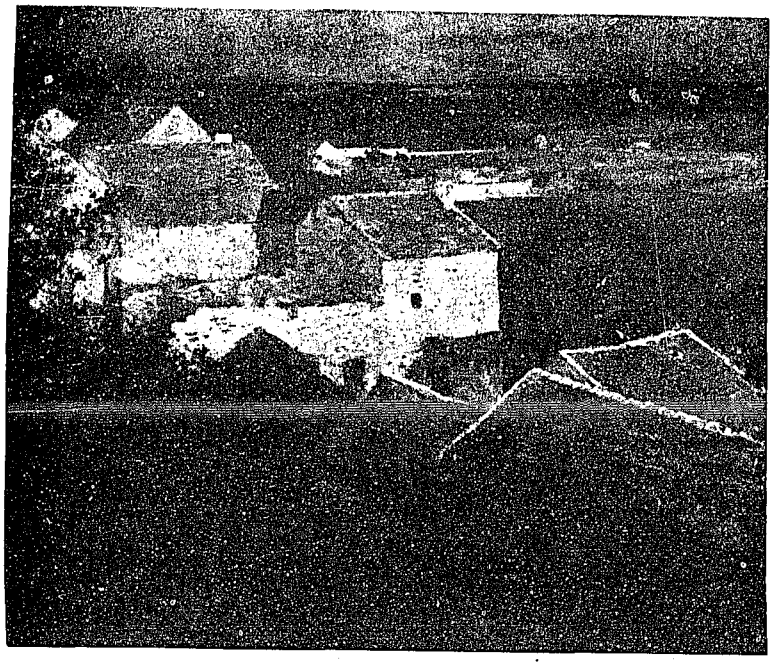
126 Carleton Chapman, ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION AND H.M.S. GUERRIERE, 1895. 29-1/4 X 35-1/2". New-York Historical Society, NY.



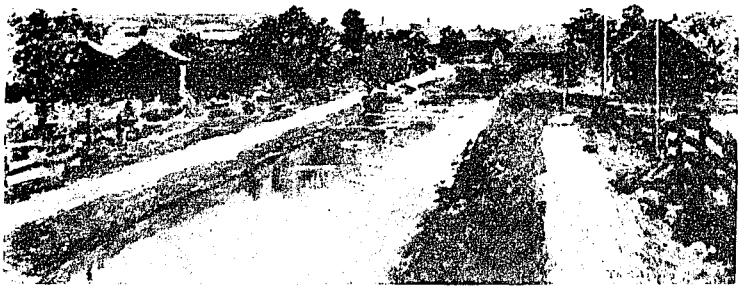
127 John La Farge, MT. TOHIVEA, FROM THE EDGE OF AL ROTUI, ISLAND OF MOOREA, SOCIETY ISLANDS, SOUTH PACIFIC, 1891. 17-3/4 X 21-3/4". Watercolor and gouache over pencil on white wove paper, Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA.



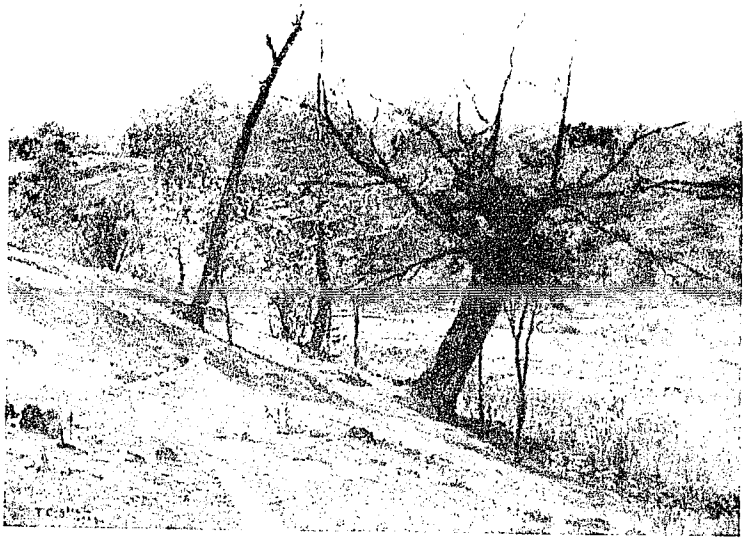
128 Walter Palmer, SAN MARCO, VENICE, 1894-5. 27-1/2 X 20". Private collection. ←



129 Willard Metcalf, MIDSUMMER TWILIGHT, 1888. 32-1/4 X 35-5/8". National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



130 Theodore Robinson, PORT BEN, DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL, 1893. 28-1/4 X 32-1/4". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.



131 Theodore Steele, THE BLOOM OF THE GRAPE, 1893. 30-1/8 X 40-1/8". Indianapolis Museum of Art.



132 George Inness, THE CLOUDED SUN, 1891. 30 X 45". Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.



133 George Inness, SUNNY AUTUMN DAY, 1892. 32 X 42". Cleveland Art Museum.



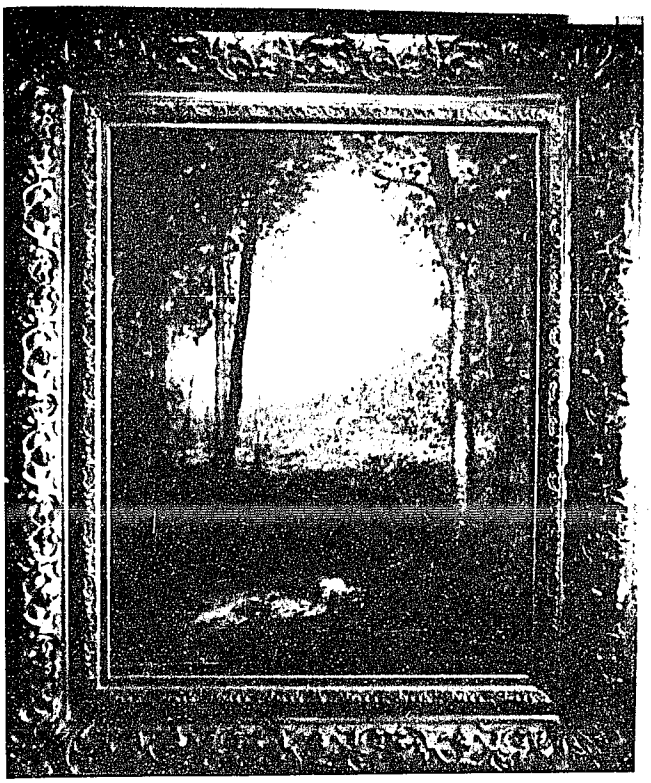
134 Homer Dodge Martin, WESTCHESTER HILLS, c. 1887. 33-1/2 X 60-1/4". Dr. John Larkin.



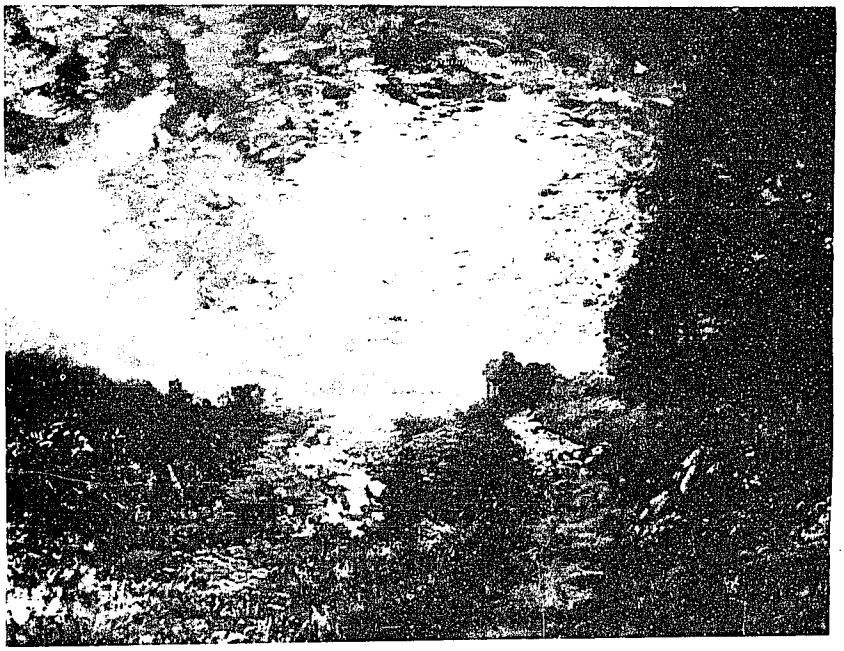
135 Homer Dodge Martin, NEWPORT NECK, 1893. 29-3/8 X 45-5/8". M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.



136 Alexander Wyant, SUNLIT VALE, c.1886. 26 X 20". Unlocated.



137 Alexander Wyant, IN THE ADIRONDACKS, c.1881. 42-5/8 X 33-1/4". Anthony E. Battelle.



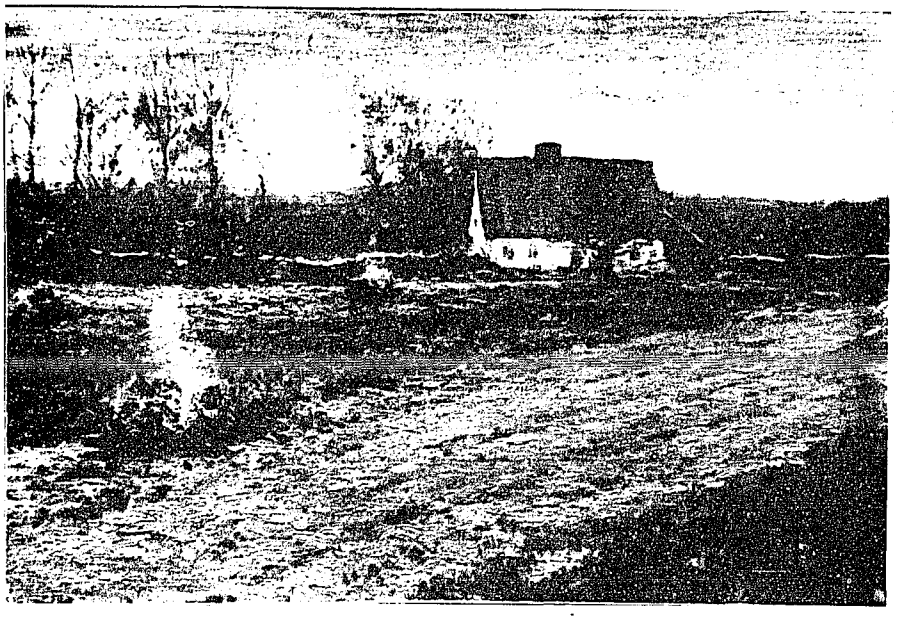
138 Alexander Wyant, MOONLIGHT AND FROST, c.1891. 28 X 36". The Brooklyn Museum.



139 William A. Coffin, SUNRISE. Unlocated.



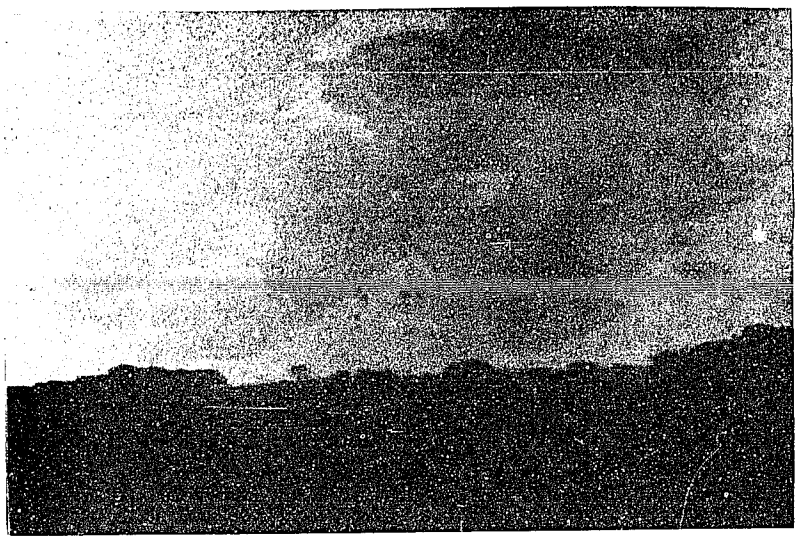
140 John Francis Murphy, UNDER GRAY SKIES, 1893. 14 X 18-1/2". Watercolor and pastel. Indianapolis Museum of Art.



141 Bruce Crane, SIGNS OF SPRING. Unlocated.



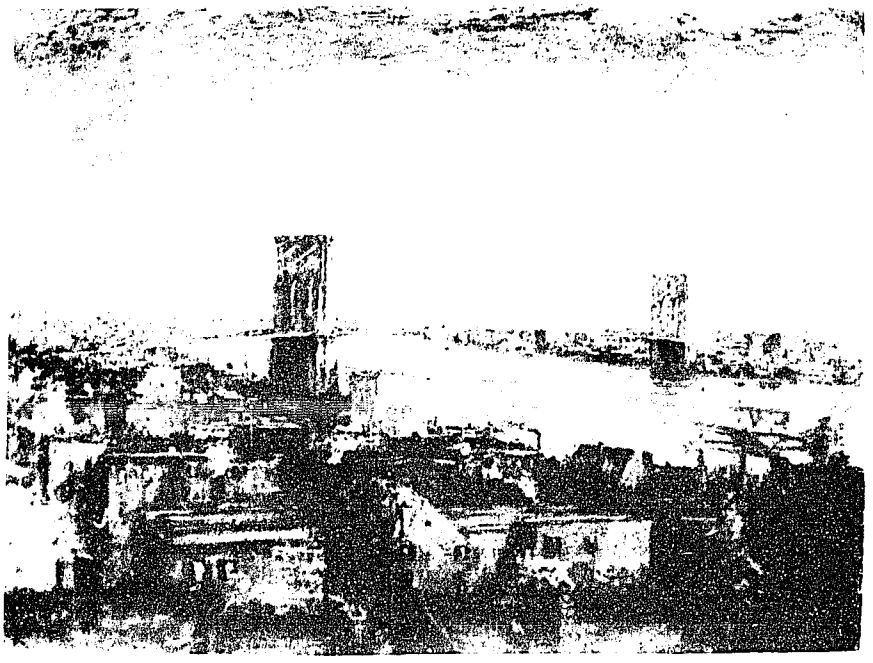
142 Leonard Ochtman, WINTER MORNING, 1898. 28-1/2 X 38". Mark Doren, Grosse Point Park, MI.



143 Charles Harold Davis, SUMMER EVENING. (Carnegie Institute, Annual Exhibition, 1899). Unlocated.



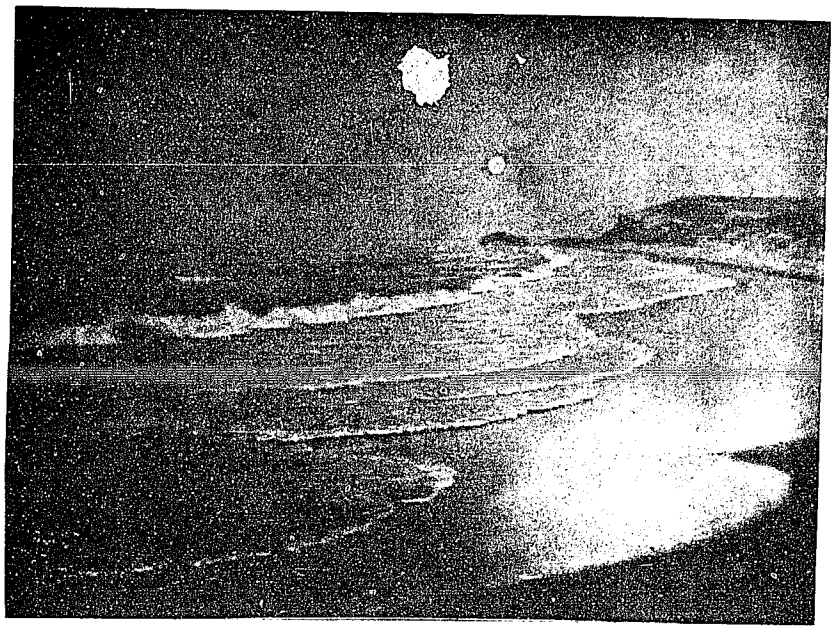
144 Walter Palmer, THE SENATOR'S BIRTHPLACE, 1899. 25 X 35". Unlocated.



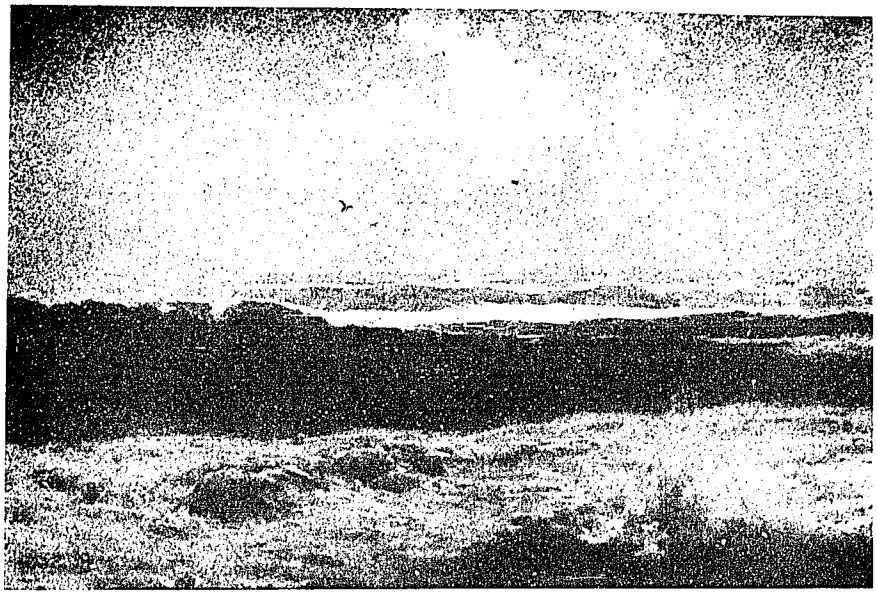
145 Henry Ward Ranger, BROOKLYN BRIDGE. 28-1/2 X 36". Art Institute of Chicago.



146 W. Elmer Schofield, JANUARY EVENING. Unlocated.



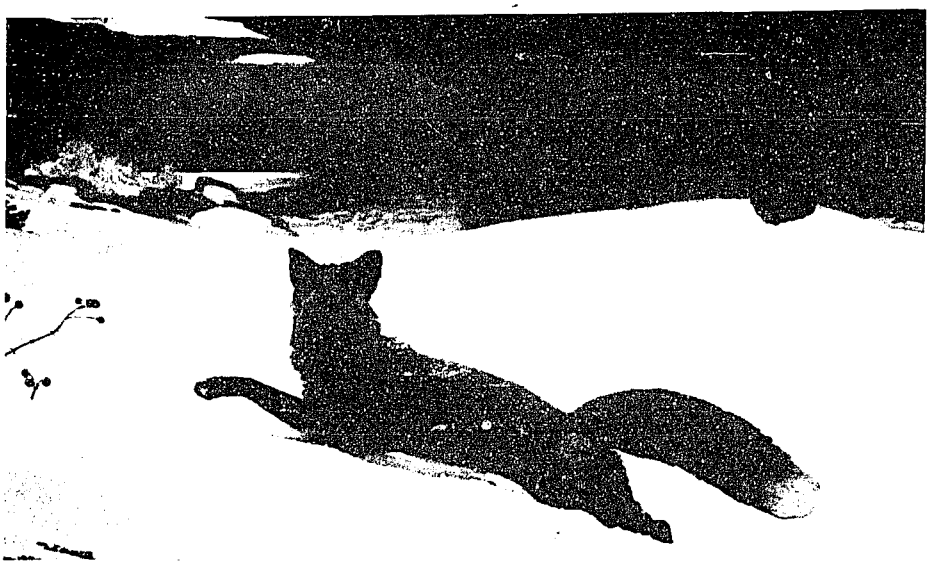
147 Alexander Harrison, TWILIGHT. Unlocated.



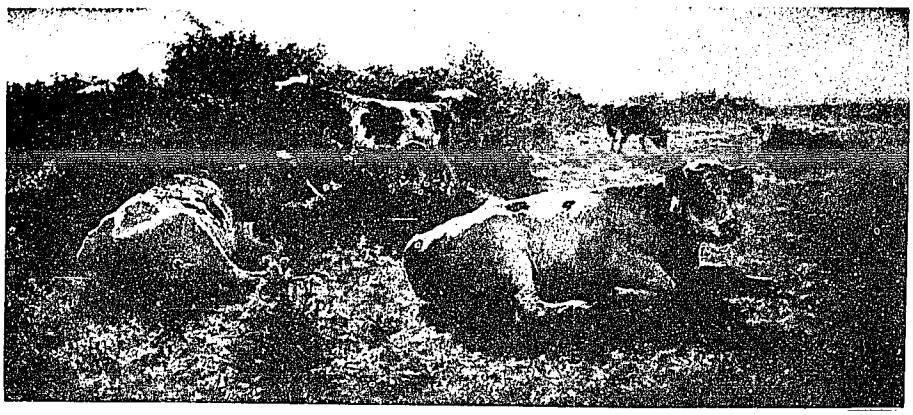
148 Howard Russell Butler, CLEARING [MARINE]. Unlocated.



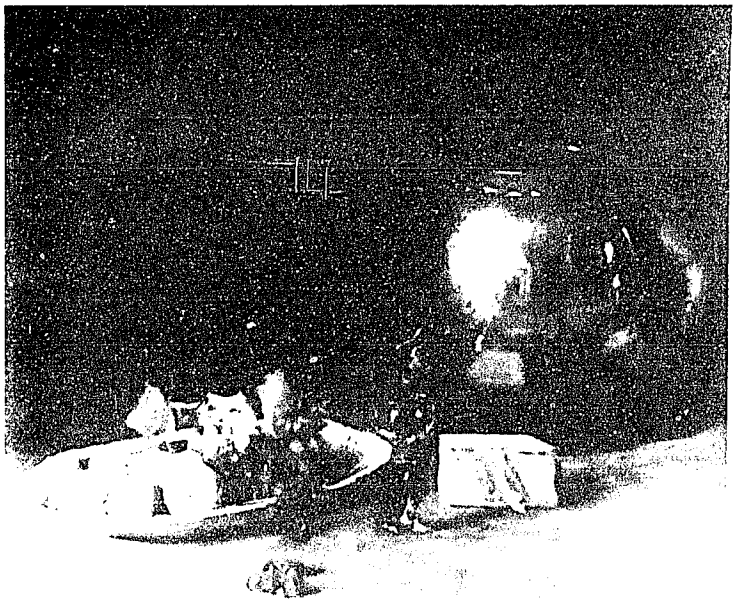
149 Winslow Homer, THE MAINE COAST, 1896. 30 X 40".
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



150 Winslow Homer, THE FOX HUNT, 1893. 38 X 68-1/2".
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.



151 Henry S. Bisbing, CATTLE. Unlocated.



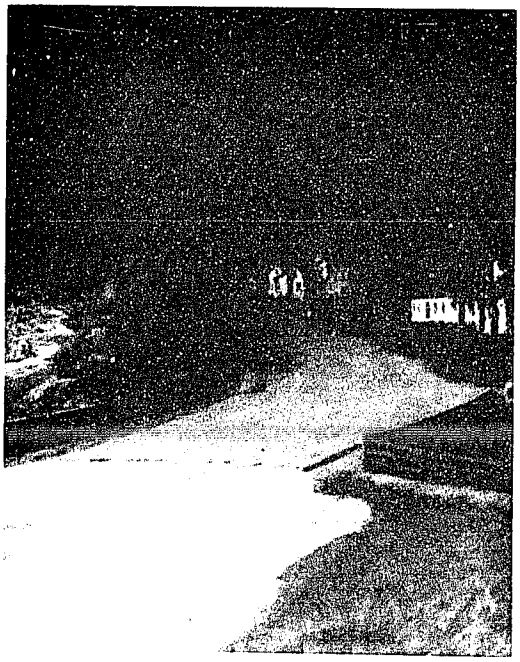
152 William Merritt Chase, THE BIG BRASS BOWL, c.1898. 35 X 40". Trina, Inc., Fall River, MA, 1979.



153 Childe Hassam, FIFTH AVENUE IN WINTER [SNOWY DAY ON FIFTH AVENUE], 1892. 22 X 28". Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.



154 Charles Needham, PARK SNOWS. Unlocated.



155 Ben Foster, LULLED BY A MURMERING STREAM, 1899. 36 X 28" approx. Museé d'Orsay, Paris.



156 John Humphreys-Johnston, PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S MOTHER, 1895. 75-1/2 X 62" approx. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



157 Charles Warren Eaton. THE STRIP OF PINES, 1908. 30 X 36". The Montclair Museum, Montclair, NJ.



158 Francis Tattegrain, LES BOUCHES INUTILES, SIEGE DU CHATEAU-GAILLARD, 1203. 16 X 25' approx. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

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