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"THE PAINTER-IN-CHIEF OF UGLINESS": EDOUARD MANET AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

by

Nancy Mishoe Brennecke

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

2001

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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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Abstract

"The Painter-in-Chief of Ugliness":
Edouard Manet and Nineteenth-Century America

by

Nancy Mishoe Brennecke

Advisor: Professor Patricia Mainardi

By the end of the nineteenth century, Edouard Manet was widely acknowledged by the art cognoscenti in this country as a positive influence on the evolution of modern painting, who redirected artistic expression away from a reliance on the stale formulae of the academy toward originality of vision and methods. In addition to perceptions of Manet as a liberator and a force for change, many Americans, especially artists, recognized him as one of the greatest painters of all time, who had an exceptional talent for handling paint, for capturing accurate values, and maintaining freshness of color in his canvases. In the course of only three decades, the number of Manet's admirers increased significantly in this country from a handful of art writers and artists in the 1860s and 1870s, to an impressive segment of the artistic community by the close of the century. Considering the fact that Manet's importance was still under debate in France at the century's end, and his works continued to elicit outbursts of disdain from his countrymen, enthusiasm for Manet's art in America was extraordinary, especially in light of long standing allegiance to academic painting on these shores. Nonetheless, while they lamented the ugliness of his subjects or the roughness of their treatment, the absence of sentiment, as well as faulty drawing and modeling of form, nineteenth-century American art viewers were open to a consideration of Manet's art and found it worthy of study, cautious praise, and even emulation.

This dissertation investigates the reputation of Manet in nineteenth-century America through the identification of opportunities for contact with his art in this country and

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abroad and through an examination of critical commentary in period newspapers, popular magazines, art journals, and books. By studying the reactions of American art writers, artists, and amateurs to their encounters with Manet's art, we can chart the rise in appreciation for the artist, consider the elements of his art that commanded respect as well as those that were problematical, and come to a better understanding thereby of changing aesthetic attitudes in the United States in the post-Civil War period.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix

Introduction 1

Chapter 1: 1867-1879: Opinions of Manet from Abroad 30

Chapter 2: 1879-80: Manet's American Debut 86

Chapter 3: The Early 1880s: Wider Exposure for Manet in the United States 129

Chapter 4: 1886: Durand-Ruel Introduces Manet and the Impressionists to New York 180

Chapter 5: 1887-1893: From Rebel to Hero 226

Chapter 6: 1895-1900: Path Breaker and Master Painter 279

Conclusion 330

Illustrations 337

Bibliography 403

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Edouard Manet, *Absinthe Drinker*, 1859, oil on canvas, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

Figure 2: Edouard Manet, *Spanish Singer*,1860, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 3: Edouard Manet, *Luncheon on the Grass*, 1863, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 4: Edouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 5: Edouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, 1864-65, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 6: Edouard Manet, *Dead Christ and the Angels*, 1864, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 7: Edouard Manet, *Tragic Actor*, 1865-66, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 8: Edouard Manet, *Fifer*, 1866, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 9: Edouard Manet, *Le Bon Bock*, 1873, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 10: Edouard Manet, *Railroad*, 1872-73, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 11: Edouard Manet, *Argenteuil*, 1874, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.

Figure 12: Edouard Manet, *Boating*, 1874, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 13: Edouard Manet, *In the Conservatory*, 1879, oil on canvas, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Figure 14: Edouard Manet, "Perched upon a bust of Pallas . . . ," transfer lithograph, illustration for Edgar Poe, *Le Corbeau*, trans. Stephane Mallarmé (Paris: Richard Lesclide, 1875), New York Public Library.

Figure 15: Edouard Manet, *Execution of Maximilian*, 1868, oil on canvas, Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim.

Figure 16: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Emilie Ambre in the Role of Carmen*, 1880, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 17: Mora Studio, carte photograph of Edouard Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*, New York, 1879. Tabarant Archives, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Figure 18: Jean-Paul Laurens, *Last Moments of Maximilian*, 1882, oil on canvas, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

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Figure 19: Edouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opéra*, 1873-74, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 20: Frank Duveneck, *Lady with a Fan*, 1873, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 21: Frank Duveneck, *Turkish Page*, 1876, oil on canvas, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

Figure 22: Edouard Manet, *Boy with a Sword*, 1861, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 23: Edouard Manet, *Woman with a Parrot*, 1866, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 24: Edouard Manet, *Chez le père Lathuille*, 1879, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.

Figure 25: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of M. Henri Rochefort*, 1881, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

Figure 26: Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881-82, oil on canvas, Courtauld Institute, London.

Figure 27: Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Joan of Arc*, 1879, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 28: Henry Bacon, *On Shipboard*, 1877, oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 29: Alfred Stevens, *In the Studio*, 1888, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 30: "The Art Loan Exhibition—Plan of the Academy of Design Where the Exhibits are Placed," *New York World*, 3 December 1883, 5.

Figure 31: Title pages from the catalogues for the 1886 Impressionist exhibitions held at the American Art Association and National Academy of Design, New York.

Figure 32: Henri Lerolle, *In the Organ-Loft*, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 33: Marcellin Desboutin, portrait of Edouard Manet, drawn for *La Vie moderne*. Reproduced in Theodore Child, "The King of the 'Impressionists,'" *Art Amateur* 14 (April 1886), 101.

Figure 34: Edouard Manet, *Philosopher*, 1865-67, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 35: Edouard Manet, *Mendicant*, 1865, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 36: Edouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862/ after 1867, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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Figure 37: Edouard Manet, *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne*, 1872, oil on canvas, Mrs. John Hay Whitney Collection, New York.

Figure 38: Edouard Manet, *Bull Fight*, 1866, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 39: Edouard Manet, *On the Balcony*, 1868-69, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 40: Edouard Manet, *Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama*, 1864, oil on canvas, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 41: Edouard Manet, *Salmon,* 1869, oil on canvas, Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont.

Figure 42: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet*, 1877, oil on canvas, Folkwang Museum, Essen.

Figure 43: Edouard Manet, *Café-Concert*, 1878, oil on canvas, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Figure 44: Edouard Manet, *Croquet at Boulogne*, 1871, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 45: Edouard Manet, *View in Holland*, 1872, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 46: Edouard Manet, *Porpoises/ Seascape at Boulogne*, 1864, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 47: Advertisements for the Exhibition and Sale of the Erwin Davis Collection. Published in the *New-York Times*, 15 March 1889, 5, and *New York Evening Post*, 16 March 1889, 11.

Figure 48: Edouard Manet, *Dead Toreador*, 1864-65, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 49: Title page, *Exposition of Paintings by Edouard Manet 1832-1883*, Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York, 1895.

Figure 50: Edouard Manet, *Children in the Tuileries*, 1861-62, oil on canvas, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

Figure 51: Edouard Manet, *Music in the Tuileries*, 1862, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.

Figure 52: Edouard Manet, *House at Rueil*, 1882, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

Figure 53: Edouard Manet, *House At Rueil*, 1882, oil on canvas, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Figure 54: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Zacharie Astruc*, 1866, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Bremen.

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Figure 55: Edouard Manet, *Repose: Portrait of Berthe Morisot*, 1870, oil on canvas, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

Figure 56: Edouard Manet, *Luncheon in the Studio*, 1868, oil on canvas, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

Figure 57: Edouard Manet, *Smoker*, 1866, oil on canvas, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Figure 58: Edouard Manet, *A Matador*, 1866 or 1867, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 59: Edouard Manet, *Races at Longchamp*, 1867, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

Figure 60: Edouard Manet, *Spanish Ballet*, 1862, oil on canvas, Phillips Collection, Washington, DC.

Figure 61: Edouard Manet, *Grand Canal, Venice*, 1875, oil on canvas, Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont.

Figure 62: Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier with Flags*, 1878, oil on canvas, J. Paul Getty Museum. Malibu, California.

Figure 63: Edouard Manet, *My Garden*, 1881, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 64: Edouard Manet, *Le Promenade*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

Figure 65: Edouard Manet, *Jetty at Boulogne*, 1868, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 66: Edouard Manet, *Nana*, 1877, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

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Introduction

From the perspective of the art student, art historian, curator, critic, or collector of today, Edouard Manet (1832-1883) is one of the most talented painters and pivotal artistic influences of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. For much of the twentieth century as well, Manet was identified as a modern master credited with freeing painting from academic strictures and for introducing a highly-individualized approach that opened the door to a plethora of bold, independent styles of painting in the decades following his death. The painter has been the focus of serious scholarly investigations penned by art historians of various nationalities and theoretical approaches, and he has been honored with large museum exhibitions.[1] Manet's works are proudly displayed in the galleries of the world's most respected museums, and on the rare occasions when they appear at auction, his paintings realize prices far beyond those achieved by artists whose works were more popular and sought after than his during his lifetime. While widespread admiration for the artist and his works has been the rule for some eighty or more years, Manet's reputation in the late-nineteenth century was not as secure. From the beginning of his professional career, Manet was attacked vehemently by conservative factions both in and outside the Parisian art world, and while he had a group of loyal supporters in France who continued to promote his achievements after his death, their efforts on his behalf did not effect the major realignment of aesthetic ideals and artistic practices necessary for wider appreciation. It was not until the period around the First World War, when independence of artistic expression finally triumphed over the weakened remnants of the once influential academy, that Manet and his followers were accepted into the mainstream, whereas before they had existed on the periphery.

An unfamiliar and quite remarkable chapter in the history of Manet's rise to acclaim is the regard shown for the painter and his works in nineteenth-century America. Although hardly a popular artist then or even now, in the late-nineteenth century Manet had a circle

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of admirers in the United States, mainly artists and art critics (many of whom were trained as painters), who appreciated his talents with the paint brush as well as the originality of his artistic vision. Artists J. Carroll Beckwith, William Merritt Chase, and J. Alden Weir, as well as respected art critics Clarence Cook, Mariana van Rensselaer, Ripley Hitchcock, William A. Coffin, John C. Van Dyke and Arthur Hoeber among others played an important role in the promotion of Manet and his art in the United States. These men and women worked to educate the art viewing public to the importance of Manet's accomplishments, to elucidate his artistic intentions and methods, to place his works within a larger art historical context, and to applaud the beauties of his admittedly difficult and even "ugly" style. Moreover, in the case of Manet's artist-admirers, they found nourishment for their own productions through the study and emulation of his bold, direct, and painterly methods. Finally, a small number of art collectors, including New York businessman Erwin Davis and Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer of New York validated the importance of Manet's achievements by adding his paintings to their collections and sharing them with American audiences.

Among those individuals in this country who were open to his radical innovations, however, it would be incorrect to assume that admiration for Manet was granted immediately during his lifetime or without reservations. From the late 1860s to the early 1880s, awareness of Manet's accomplishments grew slowly but steadily in the United States through foreign correspondents writing for American newspapers and magazines. Initially, Manet was identified as a Realist or Naturalist, and he was associated either with Gustave Courbet or with the French novelist and critic Emile Zola, couplings that did not contribute positively to the artist's reputation. By the late 1870s, as the notoriety of the so-called Impressionists expanded in France and in the United States, Manet appeared in the spotlight more frequently and earned cachet as their leader and as a painter of some influence in France. Nonetheless, Impressionism itself was a hotly

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debated new style, and as the ringmaster of the group, Manet's works, like theirs, came under fire for sketchiness as well as for the adoption of vulgar subject matter.

With the exception of one painting, the *Execution of Maximilian*, shown in 1879-80, it was not until the early-to-mid 1880s that Manet's works began to appear with some regularity and in significant numbers in this country. Bolstered by more favorable estimates of Manet in France in the years following his death and by the support of cosmopolitan American artists and critics who recognized his importance, Manet's reputation reached its zenith in nineteenth-century America in the mid-to-late 1880s. Most of the works exhibited here during the decade were from the early years of the artist's career, and critics lavished praises on the rich painterly surfaces and the subtle tones, which they likened to the style of Diego Velázquez. It was also during the 1880s that Americans made their initial purchases of Manet's works, a trend that would grow steadily through the end of the century.

In the 1890s, Manet's importance rested primarily in his role as a force for change in the French art world and as a fountain of artistic innovation. While he was applauded for his courageous rebellion against academic practice, attention toward his paintings actually declined. Beginning in the late 1880s, interest in Manet's sober figurative compositions was overshadowed by the soaring popularity of Jules Bastien-Lepage as well as Claude Monet and landscape Impressionism. Monet's brightly colored, softly brushed landscapes, in particular, were embraced by the American art cognoscenti and emulated by myriad American artists, who preferred the lively or dreamy moods of nature to the dark, more sober realities of Manet's urban subjects and style.

The response of American art critic James Jackson Jarves, who coined the epithet "painter-in-chief of Ugliness" for Manet in 1869, was typical for the nineteenth century.[2] Of the *Olympia* and *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, both of which he saw at the Salon of 1865, Jarves admitted the unmistakable power of Manet's methods but was horrified by the sacrilege committed against time-honored mythological and religious subjects.

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Jarves' response to Manet's works echoed that of French critics who placed the painter in a line of artists including Eugène Delacroix and Gustave Courbet whose works, although sparked by genius, were maligned as "ugly" for their coarse treatment and subject matter and, as a result, were associated with an undisciplined and morose or prurient artistic imagination. Jarves' reaction to Manet's works reveals not only his awareness of widely held French attitudes toward Manet but also indicates how firmly rooted traditional notions of beauty and sentiment were in perceptions of art and how deeply entrenched the academic hierarchy continued to be in the minds of most critics and art watchers in the 1860s, even into the 1870s. By the late 1870s, however, the standards by which Jarves and other early art critics judged paintings would begin to change, and new notions of beauty and significant content would be embraced by artists and critics, opening the door to wider and warmer appreciation of Manet's creations.

When American artists and critics encountered Manet's works in the late-nineteenth century, their reactions, like that of Jarves, were surprisingly consistent. Manet was considered a painter of talent, who worked in a forceful and simple manner. Moreover, Manet's use of tonal values was admired widely, in particular the works from early in his career when he used a palette close to that of the seventeenth-century Spanish and Dutch masters. Popular throughout the period with critics and collectors were his portraits and character studies, which were lauded for their startlingly evocative expression of personality and strong sense of physical presence. Although few examples were seen here in the nineteenth century, Manet's still-life paintings failed to elicit a single word of negative criticism and were placed on the same level with those of Jean-Baptiste Chardin and Antoine Vollon. On the other hand, critics pointed repeatedly to the coarseness of Manet's subjects and questioned his refusal to idealize or romanticize his motifs. Moreover, while limited painterliness was acceptable to most art viewers, certain of Manet's works rendered in a sketchy manner were perceived to be unfinished, and writers pointed repeatedly to awkwardness in his compositions and lack of sculptural modeling

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in the forms. As a result, period commentary on Manet's works in this country was riddled with adjectives such as "vulgar," "ugly," "brutal," "experimental," and "incomplete."

Early appreciation on the part of late-nineteenth century American artists, writers, and collectors for Manet's "aberrant" style and recognition of his pivotal role in the development of modern painting, coupled with the willingness to promote and defend the artist's works, occurred at a time when the artist's own countrymen still debated his merits, making enthusiasm for Manet in nineteenth-century America all the more extraordinary. In fact, throughout the period, American reactions to Manet were either compatible with or actually more progressive than French ones. From the 1860s through the end of his career, French critics expressed disapproval for the lack of finish in Manet's paintings, and they ridiculed what they perceived to be an inability to model form or construct convincing space. In their eyes, Manet's work exemplified the pitfalls of inadequate art training or, worse, laziness. In truth, Manet asserted originality and freedom of ideas and methods in his paintings—the antithesis of academic dogma—and was feared by members of the art establishment who believed that he and his followers disseminated degenerative ideas which would effect a decline in French art. Manet did have native supporters, however, who applauded his skill in handling paint, his ability to capture tonal values accurately, the simplicity of his approach to subject matter, and his embrace of modern life, captured without the attendant sentimentalism that was typical of fashionable academic painting. Manet's supporters in France, such as Théodore Duret and Antonin Proust, as well as his dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, worked diligently to promote Manet through exhibitions of his works as well as publications praising his contributions. However, institutional resistance to Manet was more powerful in France than in the United States. Appearances of Manet's works at late-nineteenth century exhibitions in France never failed to raise eyebrows among conservative critics and art officials, and the

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gift of the *Olympia* to the Louvre in 1890, the first painting by Manet to enter a French museum, was hotly contested especially among artists.

While they frequently repeated the negative criticism as well as the laughter and disdain elicited by his productions in Paris, American artists and critics accepted more readily the inclusion of Manet's pictures in major exhibitions of contemporary European art on these shores and acknowledged, and even celebrated, his pivotal role as a artistic liberator. In fact, by the end of the century, American art commentators frequently congratulated themselves on their "advanced" tastes, especially in light of the tremendous popularity of French Impressionism in this country, and they noted repeatedly that art displays here were far more liberal in their inclusion of avant-garde paintings than were exhibitions in France. Particularly in the presence of his paintings, the responses of Manet's American supporters were replete with admiration.

The growth in appreciation for the art of Manet in nineteenth-century America, characterized by a simultaneous and persistent resistance to specific elements of his style, is best understood against the background of prevailing aesthetic criteria in the post-Civil War period. Americans were wildly enthusiastic about French art, but the French art they admired and collected for their homes and fledgling museums was fashionable academic art that enjoyed the stamp of approval from the Salon and from ownership in respected European collections, as opposed to the avant-garde productions of Manet and his circle. For wealthy, socially-conscious Americans, particularly during the post-war financial boom, the accumulation of paintings and statues by prominent, internationally-acclaimed artists provided social cachet. After the war, with enhanced buying power, faster more reliable transportation, and social aspirations to fulfill, Americans flocked to Europe, especially to Paris, where they acquired paintings directly from the artists or paid representatives to buy for them.[3]

It was during the middle decades of the nineteenth century that wealthy Americans first became knowledgeable about and began to buy contemporary European paintings

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and sculpture. Beginning in the 1840s, this interest was fed by the importation into the United States of paintings and prints by European dealers.[4] To purchase French art, one went to Goupil, Vibert and Company, which opened in New York in 1846. For German art, the interested connoisseur would have visited the Düsseldorf Gallery, which opened in New York in 1849.[5] European paintings were distributed as well through the short-lived International Art-Union in New York founded by William Schaus, who would open his own gallery for the sale of European art in 1853. A high point for American lovers of French painting was the tour of Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair* (1853; Metropolitan Museum of Art) in 1857-58. Organized by the Belgian dealer Ernest Gambart, the painting appeared in cities from Boston to New Orleans and was a huge popular success. At the conclusion of the tour, *Horse Fair* was purchased by William P. Wright of Weehawken, New Jersey, purportedly for the price of six thousand dollars. Revealing how prices for French art escalated during the period, especially works that had been honored at the Salon, the painting sold in 1887 to Cornelius Vanderbilt for the stunning price of $53,000 and was donated by Vanderbilt to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[6] The exhibition of the *Horse Fair* was followed by six large exhibitions of paintings, consisting primarily of French but also of English art, shown by Gambart in Boston and New York between 1857 and 1867.[7]

After the Civil War, the promotion and sale of European art in this country accelerated dramatically. In addition to the European dealers, American art dealers including J. Snedecor and Samuel P. Avery began to add foreign art to their inventories. By 1867, art critic Henry T. Tuckerman, writing about New York specifically, could note with some pride that interest in art had blossomed over a ten year period as witnessed by the number of exhibitions, artist receptions, galleries, and articles about art that appeared in the press. The critic also noted that Americans were passionate in their pursuit of European art, a fact that he resented because of the resulting dearth of attention shown to native artists.[8] Moreover, Tuckerman lamented the fact that New York had no art museum, but by 1870,

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this lacuna would be filled by the founding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In the same year, the Museum of Fine Arts was founded in Boston as well, and a significant portion of the gifts and purchases that formed the nuclear collections of these institutions were examples of French art.[9]

The penchant for French art among American collectors is documented in Edward Strahan's [Earl Shinn] *Art Treasures of America* which was published in three volumes between 1879 and 1882. Shinn, a writer and a painter who had studied with Jean-Léon Gérôme in the late 1860s, inventoried American collections across the United States. The majority of these collections, not surprisingly, were in the East in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, but Shinn also surveyed important holdings in western cities, including St. Louis and San Francisco. Shinn's study reveals that American art collections of the post-Civil War period were characterized by a preference for French academic and Barbizon School paintings. Among the Salon painters favored by American collectors were Gérôme, Ernest Meissonier, and William-Adolphe Bouguereau whose works revealed a concern for strength of design, subtle, balanced coloring, correct rendering of the figure, and fine finish or *fini*. In Boston, Shinn's survey revealed that Barbizon School landscapes and genre paintings were especially popular, a taste which had been introduced into that city by William Morris Hunt who, after studying with Thomas Couture in Paris, became a disciple of and proselytizer for Jean-François Millet.

By the mid-1880s, the number of French paintings in American collections was so large that the French government sent a representative to record and assess the national treasures that had fallen into Yankee hands.[10] E. Durand-Gréville traveled for six months and visited, according to his estimation, one hundred galleries in five Eastern cities.[11] In the opening paragraphs of his account, Durand-Gréville expressed his surprise at the number of paintings by the French School in America:

> We should never have believed, without an ocular demonstration of the fact, that a country so young as the United States possesses so many works of art, particularly of

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> the French school. It is not by hundreds but by thousands that they are counted. All are not of equal value, but as a whole they are marvelously beautiful. There are many well-known modern masterpieces, and here and there ancient works of foreign schools.[12]

Although he wrote sarcastically of some questionable attributions he encountered and noted the mixed quality of many collections, Durand-Gréville was impressed with American acquisitions, and he admitted that "it must be conceded that they [Americans] own the finest works of Corot, Rousseau, and Troyon, that they are extremely rich in Meissonier's paintings, and that half or very nearly half of Millet's masterpieces are on their side of the Atlantic."[13]

The largest portion of Durand-Gréville's two articles is devoted to New York collections. The Frenchman used the William H. Vanderbilt collection as a typical example in which two-thirds of the holdings were French paintings, and the remainder were examples of the Belgian, Dutch, English, German, Italian, and Spanish schools. Among the French examples which Durand-Gréville deemed the finest works in the collection were examples by Gérôme, Meissonier, Jules Breton, Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Millet, and Couture, all successful artists of the day.[14] Durand-Gréville's findings confirmed the continuing trend of collecting European, predominantly French, art that had been documented ten years earlier by Earl Shinn.

Why was French art, in particular, so popular with American and European collectors? One reason was its widely-acknowledged technical superiority. The high standards of French art were achieved and maintained through a rigid process of academic study and through generous state support which showered commissions upon artists who were usually products of the academic system. Most aspiring artists studied at the Ecole des beaux-arts, where they learned first to draw from plaster casts and later from the live model and were instructed in perspective, anatomy, history, and antiquities.[15] In 1863, an important reform enhanced the program through a greater variety of lectures, as well as through the establishment of separate studios for instruction in painting, sculpture, and architecture. In a master's atelier, students continued to draw and paint from the live

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model but also received practical training in a chosen medium. To insure high quality, students underwent frequent testing to remain matriculated and were challenged with a series of competitions for prizes, the most prestigious of which was the Prix de Rome which afforded outstanding students four to five years of study at a branch of the French Academy in Rome. Success in the Prix de Rome competition, and within the academic system on the whole, was contingent upon one's ability to produce an intelligently conceived figure painting which was meticulously drawn, cleverly composed, subtly colored, and executed with a high degree of finish. Only such works received official recognition, and as a result, this was the style that was taught and emulated.[16]

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, high regard for French painting and the subsequent desire to paint in the French manner in order to survive in a highly competitive art market was manifested in the enormous increase in foreign art students from all over Europe, the Far East, and the United States who flocked to Paris to study.[17] Reflecting their seriousness about the French approach, Americans students represented the largest group of non-nationals enrolled at the Ecole. In fact, the Ecole could not accommodate the hoards of aspirants, and many students opted instead to enroll at smaller, less competitive art schools such as the Académie Julian which was founded in 1868 to meet the increased demand for art instruction.[18] Other options for art instruction included working in the studio of an independent master, as was the case with Hunt who studied with Couture or John Singer Sargent and J. Carroll Beckwith who enrolled in the atelier of Carolus-Duran.

Not only were there prestigious art schools in Paris that promoted the French academic style, but also there was a world-renown annual art exhibition. The Salon, until 1883, was sponsored by the French government and showcased works by painters, sculptors, printmakers, and architects of all nationalities. To exhibit at the Salon, an artist submitted his or her works to a jury, and admission was an honor, especially for non-nationals. It was not unusual for several thousand paintings to be exhibited, with the same

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number or more rejected. Medals were awarded to the top-ranking artists, and younger artists whose paintings embodied the desired academic criteria were acknowledged and embraced into the ranks. In addition to the Salons, the universal expositions in Paris, held in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900, with their fine art displays from around the world, reinforced the superiority of French productions and made obvious her role as educator and guide to artists of all nations. Reflecting their success within the system, by the mid-1880s the number of American exhibitors at the Salon was second only to the number of French nationals, a fact which led some art watchers to declare that American art had finally come into its own, an idea that was validated by the triumphant American display at the Universal Exposition of 1889.[19] The state of American art was summed up aptly by Henry James, who wrote in 1887, "It sounds like a paradox, but it is a very simple truth, that when to-day we look for 'American art' we find it mainly in Paris. When we find it out of Paris, we at least find a great deal of Paris in it."[20]

The keen interest on the part of Americans in the activities of European, especially French, artists can be gauged by the attention given to these topics in book-length studies, newspapers, and magazines published in this country in the late-nineteenth century. Beginning in the late 1860s, in response to the rising interest in the international art scene, a small but influential group of writers addressed the subject of European art largely with an eye for how interaction with foreign art and artists might benefit the development of native art. Given their motivation to improve American art and taste, it is not surprising that critics were cautious and somewhat ambivalent in their opinions, in marked contrast to the enthusiasm of wealthy and increasingly cosmopolitan American art aficionados. American art commentators Henry T. Tuckerman, Eugene Benson, William J. Hoppin, as well as Jarves held up European art as a source of education, but they warned against the blind assimilation of a foreign manner because they wished American art to maintain a distinctive national character.[21] These early critics, many of whom were formed under the moralizing influence of John Ruskin's writings, actually

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decried some French artists for their emphasis on extreme displays of technique and individualized expression as well as erotic or violent content, which they believed showy and sensational.[22] These writers preferred instead honest expression of feeling and universal themes that were accessible to all levels of society, such as were found in the works of the Barbizon School painters Millet and Rousseau or genres painters like Edouard Frère. Critics hoped that American artists and connoisseurs alike would absorb the best that Europe had to offer in the way of art training and exposure to acknowledged masterpieces and then pour their newly-acquired *savoir-faire* into developing a more enlightened and appreciative artistic environment at home.

In the mid-to-late 1870s, art commentary exploded in the United States, and French art was more unabashedly embraced by critics. Art columns, which had appeared sporadically in the antebellum period, became fixtures in most newspapers and magazines. Foreign correspondents writing for major metropolitan newspapers like the *Boston Evening Transcript, New York Evening Post, New-York Times*, and later the *Chicago Tribune* reported on the annual Salon exhibitions as well as gallery and studio exhibitions in Paris, giving notice to successful American and continental artists. Beginning in the late 1860s, exhibition reviews and profiles of fashionable artists appeared with increasing regularity in popular magazines such as *Appleton's Journal* (New York), *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), *Century Magazine* (New York), *Galaxy* (New York), and *Lippincott's Magazine* (Philadelphia) as well. The *Aldine*, a journal devoted to art, was founded New York in 1868, and it was followed in the mid-to-late 1870s by the *American Art Review, Art Amateur, Art Interchange*, and *Art Journal*, all published in New York as well.[23] These journals included exhibition reviews, articles on modish continental artists, and notices of American artists, both expatriate and native. This trend of increased attention to art at home and abroad continued to grow with the appearance of additional art magazines including *Art Age* (New York), *Art Collector* (New York), *Art Student* (Boston), *Brush and Pencil* (Chicago), *Critic* (New York), *Modern Art*

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(Indianapolis), and *Studio* (New York) before the century's end as well as expanded coverage in a larger number of popular magazines and newspapers.

Most of the art commentary written for American periodicals in the 1870s continued to project conservative aesthetic ideals, and journalists noted most frequently the activities of artists such as Meissonier, Alexandre Cabanel, Gérôme, Bonheur, and Rousseau, who had captured the popular imagination and pocketbook. Genuine admiration for the technical superiority and proficiency of the French school was conveyed in book-length studies of the period as well, including those of Samuel G. W. Benjamin, Clarence Cook, and George Sheldon.[24] For example, Samuel Greene Wheeler Benjamin, a writer and a painter, published *Contemporary Art in Europe* in 1877, a compilation of articles published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and *Atlantic Monthly* in the late 1870s.[25] Benjamin recommended the study of foreign art to help America achieve her "art destiny," and to this end, Benjamin surveyed contemporary art in England, France, and Germany, the schools of art that were foremost in popularity among American collectors and taste makers. In his discussion of French art, Benjamin touched on some of the same concerns expressed by earlier critics, namely the immorality of French art and the superficiality of subject matter, but Benjamin differed from his predecessors in his willingness to appreciate a picture purely for its technical merits. It was not until the mid-to-late 1870s that occasional full-length articles on avant-garde artists like Manet began to appear in American periodicals, and by the 1890s, as Americans grew increasingly accepting of non-academic art, publications on Manet and the Impressionists became more commonplace.

Given the predominantly conservative climate for the appreciation and consumption of art in this country, it is noteworthy that even a small number of Americans were drawn to Manet's unorthodox style. The difficulties that many American viewers had with Manet's paintings, in particular the common subject matter, rough surface qualities, awkward compositions, faulty draftsmanship, and absence of narrative and sentiment, did

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not reflect shortcomings in their ability to judge aesthetic merit. Quite the opposite, the struggle to appreciate Manet's works, or ambivalence toward his productions, indicates the strength of a set of artistic standards which dominated the perceptions of critics and art viewers of the period. Clearly, Manet's works did not fulfill reigning standards for either subject matter or legibility or surface treatment. First of all, Manet rejected traditional subject matter and adopted modern life motifs some of which, prostitution and alcohol consumption in particular, were offensive. Secondly, he abandoned the tools of perspective and carefully graded modeling used by painters since the Renaissance and which provided evidence that the artist had jumped through all of the required hoops of academic training. Finally, he rejected *fini* or the finely-wrought surface qualities by which a painting was deemed complete and which spoke of a high level of care and technical ability on the part of the creator.

There are other reasons why Manet's works represented a challenge for American art enthusiasts. Manet did not garner the critical encomiums from French officials and critics that would have attracted the attention of American art watchers, nor did he receive the highest honors at the Salon or the favor of patrons, including the patronage of the French government, that might have moved American collectors to invest in his work. Manet's widely acknowledged upper class reserve and sardonic personality did not win sympathizers either. Unlike Jules Bastien-Lepage who was known for his childlike gentleness, or Millet and Monet who were viewed as father figures, or Gérôme who was perceived as a tough but supportive teacher, Manet's cool detachment did not inspire intimacy. In fact, few of his American admirers ever met him, and certainly none could be counted as a student-disciple like Hunt or Theodore Robinson who developed warm friendships with their mentors Millet and Monet and then "spread the faith" among their own students and friends.

To what forces, then, do we credit the appreciation for Manet and his art during the nineteenth century in America, and in what quarters was the artist admired if not in the

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central arena? In the late-nineteenth century, openness to the radical nature of Manet's productions revealed a willingness to appreciate artistic expression outside of academic confines, and indeed, behind the finely polished and valiantly defended facade of the academy there were undercurrents of discontent with the superficiality, and even banality, of academic painting as well as a desire for more individual methods or approaches to artistic expression. By the time Manet's work was first exhibited in the United States at the end of the 1870s, the art world was astir with debates over alternative methods and styles of painting absorbed by American art students who had studied in Paris and elsewhere in Europe and who were returning to this country with new and more radical ideas. The young men who studied at the Royal Academy in Munich, the students of Couture and Carolus-Duran in Paris espoused a more sketch-like or bravura paint handling that was quite different from the licked surface qualities of French academic painting. Beckwith, for example, who studied with Carolus-Duran, was encouraged to paint directly rather than work through preparatory drawings, and literal transcriptions of subject matter were discouraged, while the assertion of the painter's vision and temperament were encouraged instead.[26] Moreover, Carolus-Duran led his students to the Dutch and Spanish masters for examples of bold, painterly expression. At the Royal Academy in Munich, students were taught to work in a particularly fresh and painterly manner, based upon the study of the Old Masters but also deeply influenced by the work of Wilhelm Leibl, a contemporary German painter who practiced quite unorthodox and bold approaches to paint handling that were similar to Manet's. Upon their return to this country in the late 1870s, these young artists proved their aversion to academic doctrine by their involvement in the newly-formed Society of American Artists, established in 1877 for the primary purpose of holding exhibitions where artists could show works typified by new more individualized methods. In actuality, Manet's earliest American admirers were themselves "outsiders" who were proud to be independent of the academy and who would help to bring about liberating changes in the American art world in the

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closing decades of the nineteenth century. It deserves emphasis too that Manet's most ardent sympathizers were *painters*, who admired his facility for handling paint and nearly miraculous ability to capture local values and to maintain the clarity and freshness of his colors.

In the late 1870s, a group of more cosmopolitan and sophisticated professional art critics, such as Clarence Cook, Mariana van Rensselaer, and later William A. Coffin, who had cultivated their tastes in Europe, and in some cases even trained as artists there, began to make their mark on American art writing.[27] These cosmopolitan commentators supported the efforts of the innovative European-trained artists and the Society of American Artists and praised the individuality, technical virtuosity, and freedom of expression in their art. As these American critics admired originality in their own countrymen's productions, they were open also to admiration for Manet's stance of independence and his original artistic vision, although not entirely to the artist's re-evaluation of reigning canons of beauty.

The growth of appreciation for individual accomplishment and originality on the part of American art enthusiasts can be charted in the changing perceptions of Manet the man. In the late 1860s and 1870s, Manet was characterized as a rebel and a sensationalist, who had the potential to corrupt young artists and move French painting away from traditional practices rooted in the academy. In the years following his death, however, the apostate artist was transformed into the figure responsible for freeing art from the stale conventions of the academy and redirecting artistic effort to the expression of truth framed by personal vision. By the 1890s, not only was Manet understood to have been an agent for change, but also he was glorified as a martyr for the cause, who suffered the abuses of the old guard in order that others might practice their art without constraints. In other words, by the 1890s, as the practices of the academy were called increasingly into question, Manet was heroicized as one of the first rebels against conventionalism.

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Heightened regard for Manet was effected through an additional and crucial factor. No true understanding or appreciation of the artist in this country was possible until a substantial number of his works were exhibited here. Allowing for a more complete knowledge of the artist's style and range, between 1879 and 1900, at least forty-five identifiable works by Manet were exhibited in the United States, some of these more than once. Among the works exhibited were major artistic statements including the *Execution of Maximilian*, *Boy with a Sword*, *Argenteuil*, and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. The man who was largely responsible for making Manet's works available to American audiences was the Parisian art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, who owned a large inventory of the artist's works and who had access to other large collections of Manet's works in France, namely the holdings of the artist's family and those of opera singer Jean-Baptiste Faure. Durand-Ruel, well-known to art collectors in this country for his promotion of French Barbizon School painting, put Manet's works before the art viewing public and persevered in his efforts even after his initial attempts of the early 1880s were given a lukewarm reception. The faith of Durand-Ruel in the works of Manet and the French Impressionists led to the purchase in the late nineteenth century of many important paintings that are owned today by American museums.

This study is concerned primarily with the reputation of Manet in nineteenth-century America, the key personalities who aided and supported the growth of appreciation for the man, his art, and his influential position in the evolution of modern painting, and the works by the artist that were exhibited here and by which he became identified for American viewers. This study seeks to locate those points of intersection where American artists, critics, and collectors encountered the works of Manet and what their reactions to his works were and why. Much of the groundwork for an investigation of Manet in America exists already in excellent studies of the interconnections between American and European art of the nineteenth century. Scholars including Annette Blaugrund, Lois Marie Fink, David Huntington, Kathleen Pyne, Michael Quick, and H.

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Barbara Weinberg have demonstrated that Americans drank eagerly at the European academic well in their desire to participate in the international art arena and to validate American production in the eyes of the civilized world.[28] Their work is invaluable for the understanding of American attitudes toward European academic art and for tracing the training and exposure of American artists abroad as well as the impact of European art and art practices on the American art world as a whole. These studies, however, focus primarily on European artists who were universally acclaimed during the nineteenth century, whose works were avidly collected, and whose reputations were not open to question, not on avant-garde artists like Manet. For the relationship of American artists and critics with non-academic European art, there are the studies of Peter Bermingham, William H. Gerdts, Laura Meixner, and Maureen O'Brien, to name those most useful to this undertaking.[29] Numerous publications exist as well on the subject of collecting in nineteenth-century America which indicate that Americans were quite daring in their tastes for and purchases of European paintings, often moving ahead of connoisseurs in other countries.[30] Finally, studies have been written on the American reception of specific avant-garde artists including Paul Cézanne, Gustave Courbet, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, and Alfred Sisley.[31] Scholar Frances Weitzenhoffer began work on the response to the works of Edouard Manet in this country, but she did not complete her study before her untimely death.[32]

Organization of the Dissertation

The study proceeds by surveying chronologically the events that influenced and marked the development of appreciation for Manet in the United States. To establish what opinions Americans had of the artist in the nineteenth century, a large number and variety of American newspapers, popular magazines, and art journals, as well as period survey books on European or French art written by Americans, and letters and diaries of American artists from the late 1860s through the early-twentieth century have been

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utilized as the primary resource materials for this dissertation. Where possible, the American response has been compared with perceptions of Manet held by European art critics and observers to show how European estimations impacted American ones and infiltrated art histories and biographies published in this country, but also, in some cases, how American opinions differed from or outpaced those held abroad.

For the most enthusiastic, unfiltered and personal reactions to Manet's works, one must turn to exhibition reviews. The exhibitions in which Manet's works were shown, some little-researched before now, provide a window through which to study the individuals who were responsible for introducing Manet's works to America, how his work was presented, how the public as well as the art cognoscenti responded to his art, and what issues were deemed most vital to an understanding and appreciation of the artist and his productions. The study is focused on art events in New York, Boston and, to a limited extent, Chicago. During the nineteenth century, the majority of Manet's works exhibited in the United States was shown in these three cities and discussed in publications based in these locations. Only those works exhibited in the United States or discussed in English-language publications have been considered. Likewise, only those events in the artist's life which were deemed significant enough to comment upon in the American press have been detailed. By setting these parameters, the perception of Manet and his works that prevailed in nineteenth-century America can be reconstructed.

Chapter One examines the commentary of foreign correspondents and art critics, as well as some artists, who followed the art scene in France for American newspapers and English-language magazines in the late 1860s and 1870s. These writers occasionally noted Manet's activities and described his works at the annual Salon exhibitions. For the most part, Manet was not given their serious consideration, although it is remarkable that his works, within the sea of paintings at the Salons, did actually capture attention. Revealing their awareness of French critical reactions to the artist, these early critics

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portrayed Manet as a sensationalist, who selected outrageous subject matter and rendered his work in a bold and unorthodox manner in order to bring himself into the spotlight. In fact, these early notices reveal more interest in the artist as a rebellious personality and a showman than in his art works. In truth, some critics grudgingly admired Manet's bold handing and his unorthodox but startlingly true use of values; however they believed that Manet's work could be a dangerous influence on other artists and might steer the course of art away from the ideality they preferred toward ugly realism.

The most serious and informed consideration of Manet's works from this early period was penned by James Jackson Jarves in response to Manet's works at the Salon of 1865. In *Art Thoughts, the Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (1869), Jarves expressed his distaste for Manet's treatment of the female nude and religious subject matter and dubbed him the "painter-in-chief of Ugliness." Jarves' concerns reveal how deeply entrenched notions about beauty and morality were in the minds of American art writers in the period, and his opinions of Manet's works would be shared by conservative critics of the 1870s through the end of the century. However, Jarves was not entirely negative on the subject of Manet. He praised the forcefulness of Manet's technique and approach, and he lamented the fact that Manet did not apply his talents to more ennobling ends.

The focus of Chapter Two is the first exhibition of a work by Manet in the United States. In 1879-80, Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* was shown in New York and Boston. Although not a popular success, the exhibition elicited a sizeable number of notices in American newspapers and art journals. These reviews, which make clear that Manet was not yet widely known in this country, constitute the first attempts to identify Manet's position in the Parisian art world and also to give pertinent biographical information on the artist. Two distinct understandings of Manet's artistic affiliations emerge from the exhibition reviews. Manet was portrayed either as a disciple of the French Naturalist author and critic Emile Zola, or as the leader of the French

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Impressionists. As for their opinions of Manet's *Execution*, most critics agreed that it was a powerful work, but it was generally acknowledged that the subject matter was brutal and ugly and that the painting lacked finish. For years to come, a level of ambivalence would be typical of commentaries on Manet's art. Critics recognized the force and impact of Manet's works but expressed discomfort with his realist subject matter and with the raw, incomplete appearance of some of his canvases.

In the early 1880s, in the final years of his life, Manet received a significant increase in attention from American art watchers. As discussed in Chapter Three, most of the commentary on Manet from the early 1880s was penned by foreign correspondents who continued to note his works at the Salon, but also there was an increasing number of articles published by native writers that aligned Manet with French Impressionism. In 1883, the expatriate American artist Henry Bacon published his *Parisian Art and Artists* in which he identified Manet as the leader of the French Impressionists, but he eschewed the lasting value and importance of his (and their) productions. Bacon's acerbic comments reflect the animosity of those who resented the honors bestowed upon Manet in his last years, when he was awarded a second-class medal at the Salon of 1881 and was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Manet died in April of 1883, and his death and the memorial exhibition at the Ecole des beaux-arts in 1884 provoked numerous estimations of his works also.

In Chapter Three, the growing opportunities for viewing Manet's works in this country are discussed as well. In 1883, Americans saw works by Manet at the Foreign Exhibition in Boston in the autumn, and the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition in New York in December of that year. In total, five works by Manet were exhibited, and the critical estimations provide an interesting opportunity to assess the growth of interest in and knowledge of the artist in these two cities over a period of less than four years. The organizers of both exhibitions were enthusiasts for Manet, and their admiration for the artist marked an important step toward securing serious consideration of his work.

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Reviews of the exhibitions reveal a willingness to recognize Manet's technical prowess and his artistic innovations, but there was continued skepticism about the long-term value of his works, the ability of the public to appreciate his contributions, and fear that his approach to painting would corrupt young artists, or give them an "easy way out" from the arduous path of art study.

Chapter Four examines the largest exhibition of Manet's works in the United States up to this time. In April 1886, an exhibition of French Impressionist paintings organized by the Parisian art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel was held at the American Art Galleries in New York and included seventeen paintings by Manet. This exhibition was an important high water mark for Manet's reputation in America because his works were regarded as the strongest and most important in the exhibition, and he was certainly the best-known of the artists represented. For the first time, critics noted a chronological and stylistic development in Manet's works and separated his early Realist paintings rendered in deep Velázquez-esque tones from the later, brighter, more truly Impressionist examples.

Building upon the enthusiasm expressed for his art at the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, reviews and critical analyses of the artist's works from the late 1880s and early 1890s reveal that Manet continued to win admirers in this country, and positive recognition for his pivotal role in modern painting was more certain. Chapter Five examines the exhibitions of Manet's works during the period, most notably the "Celebrated Paintings by Great French Masters" exhibition of 1887, organized by Paul Durand-Ruel at the National Academy of Design in New York, and the exhibition and sale of the Erwin Davis collection in New York in 1889. Two Manet paintings in the Davis sale, *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot* were donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. These were the first and only paintings by Manet to be accessioned into an American museum during the nineteenth century and would become the works by which the artist was identified in this country. Manet's paintings were featured as well in

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the important "Loan Collection of Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States," at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Inspired by the Centennale exhibition at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889, which included a number of works by Manet, numerous discussions of the artist appeared in popular magazines and art journals in the early 1890s written by renown critics including the Englishmen Philip Gilbert Hamerton and Theodore Child, who wrestled with the question of Manet's artistic contribution, the value of his individual productions, and his status as an artist. Growth in recognition of Manet's accomplishments was apparent as well in histories and dictionaries of French art published in the late 1880s and early 1890s, such as John D. Champlin and Charles C. Perkins' *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings* (1886-87), Clara Harrison Stranahan's *History of French Painting from Its Earliest to Its Latest Practice* (1889), and William C. Brownell's *French Art: Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture* (1893).

Chapter Six focuses on the only solo exhibition of Manet's works held in nineteenth-century America. Organized by the Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York, this exhibition of 1895 featured twenty-nine works by Manet representing the full range of his production from throughout his career and in all of the genres which he practiced. After closing in New York, a smaller selection of the paintings were exhibited at the Art Institute in Chicago, the first sizeable showing of his works in that city. In the reviews, Manet was upheld as a martyr for freedom of artistic expression, a hero who had opened the way for experimentation and individuality in painting. Moreover, he was praised as one of the greatest painters in the history of art. Manet's paintings were included as well in two exhibitions in Boston organized by the Art Students' Association, and they had their final hurrah of the nineteenth century at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900.

Beginning in the 1890s, however, attention toward Manet's productions was outpaced by the tremendous acclaim given to the works of Claude Monet and landscape Impressionism. In comparison to Manet's sometimes sober palette and depressing

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subject matter, Monet's works won the hearts of American critics, collectors, and art enthusiasts for their glowing colors and reassuring portrayal of idyllic nature. While Manet was highly esteemed as an innovator and serious painter, Monet's works reached a level of popularity that was never achieved by the productions of the "father" of the Impressionists.

Manet was not a painter for everyone. Nineteenth-century responses reveal that the artist was too "advanced" for many, but a number of Americans were keenly aware of the importance of his artistic innovations and his strengths as a painter. Not only does this study provide a portrait of Manet as seen through the eyes of critics, artists, and art enthusiasts and an overview of the paintings by him exhibited in the United States, but also an account of his most ardent defendants and antagonists and some explanation for the always passionate reactions to this Frenchman's art.

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Endnotes to Introduction

[1] The earliest biographies of Manet and monographic studies of his works were written by his friends and admirers in France. These include Emile Zola, *Ed. Manet. Etude biographique et critique* (Paris, 1867), E. Bazire, *Manet* (Paris, 1884), Théodore Duret, *Histoire d'Edouard Manet et de son oeuvre* (Paris, 1902), and Antonin Proust, *Edouard Manet. Souvenirs* (Paris, 1913). Among the first scholarly studies of Manet were those written by German art historians, namely Hugo von Tschudi, *Edouard Manet* (Berlin, 1902) and Julius Meier-Graefe, *Edouard Manet* (Munich: R. Piper & Company, 1912), who described the artist's life and placed his works within an historical context. In 1926, Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet reconté par lui-même*, 2 vols. (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1926), published the first documented study of Manet's life and art followed by Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet. Histoire catalographique* (Paris, 1931), Paul Jamot and Georges Wildenstein, *Manet*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932), and Robert Rey, *Manet* (Paris and New York, 1938). Manet scholarship moved in new directions in the 1950s with George H. Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954) and Nils Gösta Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception* (1954). While Hamilton focused on the critical reception of Manet's works at the Paris Salons, Sandblad examined the social and political context in which Manet's works were produced and his selection of particular subjects and their meaning. The scholarship of Michael Fried, "Manet's Sources: Aspects of His Art, 1859-1865," *Artforum* (March 1969), 28-82; Theodore Reff, *Manet: Olympia* (New York, 1976), Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude* (New York, 1981), and T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton: Princteon University Press, 1984) has continued the study of iconography as well as social and political themes in Manet's art. Although now out of date, Denis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet. Catalogue raisonné,* 2 vols. (Lausanne and Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1975) is the most complete catalogue of the artist's paintings and works on paper. Major exhibitions of the artist's works include *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* (London: Grafton Galleries, 1910), *Manet* (Paris: Musée Orangerie, 1932), Anne Coffin Hanson, *Edouard Manet, 1832-1883* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1966), Theodore Reff, *Manet and Modern Paris* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982), Françoise Cachin et al., *Manet 1832-1883* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), and J. Wilson-Bareau, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian. Painting, Politics and Censorship* (London: National Gallery of Art, 1992).

[2] James Jackson Jarves, *Art Thoughts, The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869), 269.

[3] A reflection of the enormous sums spent by Americans on foreign art was the imposition of an import duty on works on art brought into the United States, which was raised as high as 33% in the early 1880s. The tax was supported by native artists, who resented the high prices paid by American collectors for works by both American expatriate and European painters. Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 130-32.

[4] For an overview of art exhibitions, dealers, and galleries in New York in the period between 1825 and the outbreak of the Civil War, see Carrie Rebora Barratt, "Mapping the Venues: New York City Art Exhibitions," in Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John K. Howat, eds., *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 47-81. The essay includes appendices which specify venues in

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New York for the exhibition of art, as well as a chronological list of New York exhibitions from 1825 through 1861.

[5] The Düsseldorf Gallery did not have a sales inventory, rather it operated on an art-union plan. The collection was sold in 1857 when the gallery closed. For the history of the Düsseldorf Gallery, see R[aymond]. L. Stehle, "The Düsseldorf Gallery of New York," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 58 (October 1974), 304-14, and William H. Gerdts, ""Good Tidings' to the Lovers of the Beautiful": New York's Düsseldorf Gallery, 1849-1862," *American Art Journal* 30 (1999), 50-81.

[6] Vanderbilt purchased the painting from the collection of department store magnate Alexander T. Stewart of New York. Lois Marie Fink, "French Art in the United States, 1850-1870. Three Dealers and Collectors," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 2 (September 1978), 88.

[7] Ibid., 88-89.

[8] "As ornaments to a drawing-room or subjects of habitual contemplation, a first-rate copy of Raphael, Claude, or Leonardo, one of Landseer's animal groups, a cattle-scene by Rosa Bonheur, a landscape by Auchenbach, a domestic, historical or natural study by one of those pains-taking, fresh, faithful, and feeling limners of Germany, France, or Belgium, specimens of whose skill and genial cleverness attracted so many admirers in New York during successive seasons—being absolutely 'things of beauty,' and, therefore, 'a joy forever,' appeal to the purse and eye of the judicious infinitely more than the average crude efforts of native art." Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists. American Artist Life* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867), 36.

[9] Fink, "French Art in the United States," 98.

[10] E. Durand-Gréville, "La Peinture aux Etats-Unis: Les Galeries privées. (premier article.)," *Gazette des beaux-arts* ser. 2, 36 (July 1887), 65-75, and E. Durand-Gréville, "La Peinture aux Etats-Unis: Les Galeries privées. (deuxième et dernier article)," *Gazette des beaux-arts* ser. 2, 36 (September 1887), 250-55. The articles were published in English in the Philadelphia magazine *Connoisseur*. See E. Durand-Gréville, "Private Picture-Galleries of the United States. First Article," *Connoisseur* 2 (Winter 1887-88), 86-99, and E. Durand-Gréville, "Private Picture-Galleries of the United States. Second Article," *Connoisseur* 2 (Spring 1888), 137-42.

[11] E. Durand-Gréville, as outlined in his articles, visited Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore and New York for his study. He admitted the incompleteness of his survey but insisted that he had seen the best art in the United States, a fact that he surmised through his study of collections described in Strahan's *Art Treasures*. He made exceptions of Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco, which he believed did have notable private collections.

[12] Durand-Gréville, "Private Picture-Galleries. First Article," 86-87.

[13] Ibid., 89.

[14] Durand-Gréville, "Private Picture-Galleries. Second Article," 138-41.

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[15] In 1863, the Ecole, which had been under the administration of the Academy was given its independence and operated thereafter under the leadership of a council consisting of members of the Ecole's faculty and government representatives. Under the 1863 reforms, the curriculum was expanded to include lecture courses in art history, archeology, aesthetics, and later, instruction in the decorative arts, literature, and ornamental design, in addition to training in drawing. More importantly, separate studios were established at the Ecole for instruction in painting, sculpture, and architecture. These allowed for practical instruction which, under the old curriculum, had been limited to drawing. For the history of the Ecole des beaux-arts, see Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon Press, 1971). For discussions of the 1863 reforms and their impact on late 19th century art and artists, see Albert Boime, "The Teaching Reforms of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France," *Art Quarterly* n.s., 1 (1977), 1-39, and H. Barbara Weinberg, "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the Ecole des beaux-arts," *American Art Journal* 13 (Autumn 1981), 67-69.

[16] Boime, *Academy and French Painting*,19-20.

[17] Another more practical reason for the popularity of study at the Ecole was the fact that it was tuition-free to all male students who fulfilled the entrance requirements. Women were not admitted until 1897. For discussion of French training and its appeal to American art students, see H. Barbara Weinberg, *The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1984), and H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991).

[18] Unlike the Ecole, smaller academies like Julian's admitted women students. For a history of the Julian Academy, see Catherine Fehrer, *The Julian Academy, Paris, 1868-1939* (New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1989); Weinberg, *Lure of Paris*, 221-62, and Gabriel P. Weisberg and Jane R. Becker, eds., *Overcoming all Obstacles: The Women of the Académie Julian* (New York: Dahesh Museum, 1999).

[19] Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*, 125-29. For a detailed study of American participation in the Universal Exposition of 1889, see Annette Blaugrund, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1989).

[20] Henry James, "John S. Sargent," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 75 (October 1887), 683.

[21] See Tuckerman, "Introduction," *Book of the Artists*, 7-39; Eugene Benson, " The Pagan Element in France," *Galaxy* 1 (1 June 1866), 203-09; Eugene Benson, "Modern French Painting," *Atlantic Monthly* 22 (July 1868), 88-95; William J. Hoppin, "A Glimpse of Contemporary Art in Europe. I," *Atlantic Monthly* 32 (August 1873), 200-09, and William J. Hoppin, "A Glimpse of Contemporary Art in Europe. Second Paper," *Atlantic Monthly* 32 (September 1873), 257-67.

[22] Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*, 92.

[23] Margaret C. Conrads, "'In the Midst of an Era of Revolution': The New York Art Press and the Annual Exhibitions of the National Academy of Design in the 1870s," in David Dearinger, ed., *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826-1925* (New

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York: National Academy of Design, 2000), 93. For a history of art publications and criticism in America before 1865, see David B. Dearinger, "An Introduction to the History of American Art Criticism to 1925," and"Annual Exhibitions and the Birth of American Art Criticism to 1865," in the same catalogue.

[24] H. Barbara Weinberg, ed., "Introduction," *The Art Experience in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1976), 4.

[25] For Benjamin's opinions on French art specifically, see S[amuel]. G. W. Benjamin, "Contemporary Art in France," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 322 (March 1877), 481-503, and "Practice and Patronage of French Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 36 (September 1875), 257-69.

[26] Weinberg, *Lure of Paris*, 195.

[27] H. Wayne Morgan, *New Muses: Art in American Culture 1865-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 112-44.

[28] Blaugrund, *Paris 1889*; David Huntington and Kathleen Pyne, *Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs 1876-1893* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983); Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*; Michael Quick, *American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century* (Dayton: The Dayton Art Institute, 1976), and Michael Quick, Eberhard Ruhmer, and Richard V. West, *Munich and American Realism in the 19th Century* (Sacramento: Crocker Art Gallery, 1978)

[29] Peter Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood* (Washington, DC: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1975); William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984); William H. Gerdts, *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865-1915* (Giverny: Musée Américain, 1992); Laura L. Meixner, *An International Episode: Millet, Monet and Their North American Counterparts* (Memphis: Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 1982), and Maureen O'Brien, *In Support of Liberty: European Paintings at the 1883 Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition* (Southampton, NY: Parrish Art Museum, 1986);

[30] For a general history of collecting in the United States, see William G. Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America. An Outline of a History* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964). An important early source on the collecting of Impressionist painting in the United States is Hans Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 29 (April 1946), 225-52. More focused studies on art collecting and American collectors include Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors*, trans. Barbara Perroud-Benson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990); Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, et al., *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993); Anne L. Poulet and Alexandra R. Murphy, *Corot to Braque: French Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979); Carol Troyen and Pamela S. Tabbaa, *The Great Boston Collectors: Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984), and Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986).

[31] John Rewald, *Cézanne and America: Dealers, Collectors, Artists and Critics 1891-1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Douglas E. Edelson, "Patronage and Criticism of Gustave Courbet in Nineteenth-Century America" (M. A. thesis, Queens

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College, New York, 1990); Ann Dumas and David A. Brenneman, *Degas and America: The Early Collectors* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2000); Frances Weitzenhoffer, "The Earliest American Collectors of Monet," in John Reward and Frances Weitzenhoffer, eds., *Aspects of Monet: A Symposium on the Artist's Life and Times* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), 72-91; Anne Elizabeth Dawson, "'Idol of the Moderns': Renoir's Critical Reception in America, 1904-1940" (Ph. D. diss., Brown University, 1996), and William R. Johnston, "Alfred Sisley and the Early Interest in Impressionism in America 1865-1913," in Mary Anne Stevens, ed., *Alfred Sisley* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1992), 55-67.

[32] Weitzenhoffer's pioneering article on Manet and America was published in 1981. Frances Weitzenhoffer, "First Manet Painting to Enter an American Museum," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 97 (March 1981), 125-29.

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Chapter One

1867-1879: Opinions of Manet from Abroad

American art enthusiasts, with the exception of those who traveled frequently to Europe, had no access to Edouard Manet's work in this country before 1879. As a result, the artist's early reputation in the United States was built entirely upon responses to his art conveyed from abroad.[1] Beginning in the late 1860s, American readers were provided with notices of Manet's art and activities in English-language newspapers and magazines. Commentary on Manet was penned by American or English art critics who lived in or traveled frequently to France, foreign correspondents, and Americans who were studying art abroad, all of whom observed first hand the events of the Parisian art world and communicated their reactions to Manet's art, most often the works he exhibited at the Paris Salon, to their readers.

Most commentators writing from France in the late 1860s and early 1870s perceived Manet to be a sensationalist who had a penchant for perverse subject matter and a tendency to leave his pictures unfinished. To a few, he was viewed as a curse to the art of painting or as a lunatic. Although predominantly negative in tone, the fact that art writers noted Manet at all provides a clear indication of his growing notoriety in Paris. Over the course of the 1870s, critical perceptions grew in number, expanded, and warmed toward the artist. Manet was identified as the leader of a new school of artists with a small band of notable critics and literary figures who supported his efforts. Moreover, it was recognized that Manet had exerted a profound influence, for better or worse, on a younger generation of painters, by his insistence on painting light and atmosphere and on capturing his subjects directly and honestly on canvas. Although none of these informants wholeheartedly endorsed Manet's intentions or his art, to their credit, they registered both the positive and the negative commentary on Manet for their American

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readers and were aware of and responsive to undercurrents of change in the Parisian art world.

Depending on whose account one reads, different perceptions of Manet and the significance of his artistic contributions emerge. Foreign correspondents, most of whom were not trained artists or art critics, were among the first to notice Manet's activities in Paris and to report them to American readers. Their comments, which appeared in columns on life in Paris with titles such as "Our Paris Letter," were intended to provide culture thirsty Americans with the latest gossip on the movements of the aristocracy, social events, and other fashionable activities in Paris, including art exhibitions and musical performances.[2] Discussions of Manet appeared in reviews of the annual Salon or exhibitions at smaller art venues such as the gallery of his dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, and typically, the correspondents poked fun at his entries or repeated derogatory comments made by French critics. With Salon reviews in particular, mentions of Manet were usually brief, with the artist receiving notice among dozens of other exhibitors.

More severe, however, were the commentaries of American artists who lived or studied in Paris. In the 1860s and 1870s, only a handful of these artists admitted an awareness of Manet's existence or his productions, although they were aware of the exhibitions of the Impressionists, the painters with whom Manet had become identified. In the late 1870s, Henry Bacon, J. Alden Weir, and Kenyon Cox penned their dissatisfaction with the new directions in painting initiated by Manet. These Americans perceived Manet and the Impressionists as detrimental forces aimed against the academic standards they subscribed to and held dear. Their responses to these artists' works reflect genuine distrust of non-traditional subject matter, composition, and paint handling, and also a sense of alarm that these upstart, sensational painters was receiving attention and recognition in Paris. Manet's art, and that of the Impressionists, was understood by these aspiring artists as antithetical to accepted aesthetic conventions and practices, and they hoped and predicted that this new fashion in painting would soon pass.

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Outside of the gossip-oriented notices generated by journalists and the harsh evaluations of American artists striving to succeed in the French academic system, several writers who were more sensitive to the artist's endeavors stand out. These individuals, namely James Jackson Jarves and William Minturn, penned thoughtful responses to the artist's works that reveal an effort to appreciate Manet's artistic motivations and his extraordinary skill in handling paint. Their reactions, however, were not entirely positive either. Like most art viewers of the period, Jarves and Minturn too were conditioned by reigning aesthetic conventions to expect a high level of legibility as well as a clearly constructed narrative and a strong element of beauty in a picture, but both of these critics, despite their preconceived notions about art, made an admirable effort to comprehend Manet's unconventional talents.

Because the early observers of Manet saw his art in Paris, it is not surprising that their comments were inflected with the opinions and biases of French art writers. Without a doubt, the negative reactions of most American critics toward Manet's works were influenced by the abuse the artist received at the hands of French critics, as well as the ridicule he suffered from the public. Therefore, this chapter begins with a survey of Manet's critical and popular standing in France, both prior to and during the period when Americans first began to report on his activities. This will provide a context for the remainder of the chapter which will examine the first American reactions to the painter's works, and in a few cases, actual sources for their comments and opinions. The overview of Manet's Salon career and the popular and critical responses to his works that follow are by no means complete. The intention is to give the reader a taste of the most pervasive and frequently-repeated objections to Manet's work communicated in France, a general idea of the ebb and flow of Manet's reputation in his home country, and an introduction to the major French critics who wrote about Manet and whose writings had, as will become evident later, a decided impact on the initial American response to the artist.

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1859 – 1879: Manet and the French Response

The first mentions of Manet by American writers did not appear until the late 1860s, almost a decade after Manet's career as a professional artist had begun. Although America was not yet attuned to his art and activities, it is useful to know where Manet stood with French critics in the first decade of his career and what events contributed to the formation of critical opinions on the artist, as these ideas and biases resurfaced later in American commentary. From his earliest appearances at the Salon, Manet's works elicited mixed responses from French critics, ranging from vehement opposition to humorous disbelief to ambivalent admiration.[3] The most controversial aspects of Manet's works, to characterize them broadly, were his refusal to impose a level of finish on his paintings, the enamel-like *fini* that was in line with academic standards, as well as his seeming inability to draw and compose.[4] These shortcomings led to the conclusion that Manet was poorly trained or that he had not mastered the craft of painting. Other complaints centered on his use of bold tonal values, the lack of sentiment conveyed by his pictures, and his adoption of commonplace or "vulgar" subjects, meaning subjects drawn from ordinary life. Even those critics who believed that Manet had talent and potential expressed dissatisfaction with his crude, sketchy paint handling and awkward compositions, and they encouraged him to abandon his rough style and to direct his efforts toward acceptably finished and accurately-composed products. As a result of the consensus that Manet's works were sketches, one of the notions about the artist's works that would cling doggedly to him was that he was an *incomplete* artist, one who never finished or fully realized that which he set out to accomplish.

In 1859, Manet made his first attempt to exhibit at the Salon with *Absinthe Drinker* (fig. 1) which was rejected. The painting featured a contemporary figure portrayed as a victim of dissipation and decay conveyed through the gloomy, evocative artistic language of the seventeenth-century Spanish master Diego Velázquez. Although unsuccessful in his initial attempt, two canvases by Manet, the portrait of his parents (*Portrait of M. and*

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Mme Auguste Manet, 1860; Musée d'Orsay, Paris) and the *Spanish Singer* (fig. 2) were accepted for the Salon of 1861. *Spanish Singer* was typical of Manet's Salon submissions from the 1860s to the early 1870s in that it revealed an interest in Spanish subject matter and was painted in a strongly realist style, learned through his study of Velázquez, Bartolomé-Esteban Murillo, and Francisco Goya. The majority of art writers criticized Manet's adoption of motifs drawn from artists of the past and disparaged his dark, tonal palette as well as the lack of poetry or sentiment in his work. These same critics complained too of the heavy use of paint and the bold brushwork. Such objections about the extreme realism of his style and subject treatment would plague Manet throughout his career and even after his death, causing his works to be called "ugly." *Spanish Singer*, however, was awarded an honorable mention, and the painting attracted the attention of a group of young artists including Félix Bracquemond, Emile-August Carolus-Duran, Henri Fantin-Latour, and Alphonse Legros, who visited the artist in his studio to congratulate him on his Salon success and would continue to admire the artist for years afterwards.[5] Moreover, the painting elicited so much attention from the public that it was moved to a position lower on the wall to make it more accessible for viewing.

The reaction to Manet's works at Salon of 1861 suggested both the possibility of an antagonistic relationship with critics as well as potential for future notice and accolades. In fact, Manet's career moved along a rocky path with art critics and with the public for the duration of the decade. In the spring of 1863, Manet's works were rejected for the Salon, but they were shown instead at a nearly simultaneous exhibition of rejected pictures also held in the Palais de l'Industrie. Here Manet displayed *Luncheon on the Grass* (fig. 3), which gained instant infamy for him.[6] The painting presents two nude or almost nude women in the company of two fully-dressed men, gathered together in a woodland setting for a picnic, the accoutrements for which appear in the foreground. The nude woman smiles confidently and gazes directly toward the viewer, completely nonplussed by an intrusion at their sylvan fête. As a result of the highly unusual group,

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in fact a pastiche of the traditional *pastorale*, Manet acquired a reputation for being outrageous purely for the sake of flaunting conventionality and for calling attention to himself. Moreover, when he refused to defend this unorthodox contribution or fend off any of the adverse criticism directed toward him, the painter was regarded as arrogant and contemptuous of public opinion. Finally, based upon the perceived immorality of the subject matter, which troubled the public much more than it did the critics, Manet himself was deemed a seedy, immoral bohemian.[7]

Manet experienced a similar *succès de scandale* in 1865, when he exhibited *Olympia* (fig. 4) at the Salon together with *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (fig. 5). In fact, *Olympia* created an uproar even greater than that which followed the exhibition of *Luncheon on the Grass*. The combination of a recognizable model, Victorine Meurent, posed as a prostitute in a contemporary setting, presented in a straightforward manner and shown staring back at the viewer without an ounce of shame, shocked viewers who were made uncomfortable as well by the flagrant airing of Second Empire vices. As for the pictorial elements, the abrupt changes in values, the unidealized body of the woman, especially the pallid skin tones, and the lack of convincing modeling were cited repeatedly as flaws by the critics. Manet's religious painting did not fare any better. *Jesus Mocked by Soldiers*, like *Dead Christ and the Angels* (fig. 6) which had been exhibited at the Salon of 1864, encountered much critical abuse for lack of idealization, the suppression of intermediary values, and awkward drawing and composition.

Manet scholar George H. Hamilton argued that despite the furor over the works exhibited by Manet in the 1860s, the artist won important champions among the more progressive artists and writers of his own generation including Jules Castagnary, Ernest Chesneau, Théophile Gautier, and Emile Zola. These writers did not accept Manet's art without objections, however. In response to the works exhibited by Manet in 1863, for example, Castagnary, the champion of Naturalism in painting, supported Manet's adoption of modern life subject matter, but he thought the young painter's bold technique

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made it difficult for the viewer to comprehend the works, which he called "sketches."[8] Théophile Thoré, like Castagnary, was receptive to Manet's selection of subjects from modern life and praised Manet as a painter and colorist, but he lamented the juxtaposition of a nude woman and a fully-dressed man in *Luncheon on the Grass*, and he called the composition absurd.[9] Likewise, in his review of the Salon of 1864, Gautier recognized the power of Manet's technique and his talents as a colorist but lamented the unfinished appearance of many of his canvases. Thus, Manet was considered a talented and powerful technician, and also a chronicler of real life, which was perceived positively by these writers, but the products of his brush were not deemed absolutely worthy either on account of legibility or for their specific content. These critics believed that the artist might have a bright future if he would direct his mighty talents to more reasonable ends. It was becoming obvious, however, that Manet's methods and his direct, honest vision were making an impact on other painters. Gautier noted grimly in 1864 that "one must, however, recognize that he [Manet] has a certain power, a certain effect on contemporary painting, of which he represents the most exaggerated tendencies. Manet has his admirers, quite fanatic ones whom he drags down his path. Already some satellites are circling round this new star and describe orbits of which he is the center."[10]

Manet continued to meet resistance from the official art establishment, and in 1866, both of his submissions, *Tragic Actor* (fig. 7) and *Fifer* (fig.8) were rejected by the admissions jury for the Salon. Although these paintings were hardly controversial, at least not in terms of subject matter, angry sentiments against Manet still simmered because of the *Olympia* exhibited at the Salon the previous year.[11] Manet exhibited the rejected paintings in his studio, where Emile Zola visited at the suggestion of the landscape painter Antoine Guillemet. It was at this low point when Zola, the most important champion of the artist's early career, came to Manet's aide.[12] Following the viewing, Zola published a stunning defense of the artist's works in *L'Evénement*. A revised and enlarged version of the article with the title "Une nouvelle manière en

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peinture," was published in *L'Artiste. Revue du dix-neuvième siècle* in 1867, and was republished in pamphlet form in May, the year of Manet's private exhibition held at the time of the Universal Exposition.[13]

In his enthusiastic assessment of the artist, Zola did his best to counter popular notions that Manet was a bohemian and a rascal. Also, to combat the conception that the artist was poorly trained or untrained, the critic emphasized the fact that Manet had studied for six years in the studio of Thomas Couture. However, Zola made it clear that there was an independent streak in Manet that kept him from adopting blindly the studio practices of his master. Zola identified *Absinthe Drinker* as the first work by the painter where his personal manner and interests were apparent. Instead of pointing to Manet's reliance on models from the traditional canon of art, however, the critic emphasized the artist's originality and reliance on nature.

Zola presented Manet as an artist who transcribed nature directly, who portrayed the world as it appeared to him honestly, without pretense or enhancement. As for his methods of painting, Zola noted that the painter described nature not in terms of line but by approximating tonal values. For example, he defended the notorious *Luncheon on the Grass* as a study of figures, some of which happened to be nude, presented out of doors in real light. As he put it, "The artist is neither painting history nor his soul. What is termed 'composition' does not exist for him, and he has not set himself the task of representing some abstract idea or some historical episode. And it is because of this that he should neither be judged as a moralist nor as a literary man. He should be judged simply as a painter."[14] Zola referred to *Olympia* as Manet's masterpiece, and he predicted correctly that both *Olympia* and *Luncheon on the Grass* would one day represent the artist in the Louvre Museum. Realizing that his works were not understood by the public who chose instead to laugh, Zola challenged his readers to abandon ridicule as a response to innovation or difference and to look again at Manet's works, which captured the elegance and vitality of real life.

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The friendship between artist and critic was cemented in the minds of art watchers and critics with the appearance of Manet's *Portrait of Emile Zola* (1868; Musée d'Orsay, Paris) at the Salon of 1868. The portrait presented Zola at this desk, and clearly visible in the composition is Zola's brochure on Manet published for the 1867 exhibition, together with a print or photograph of *Olympia*.[15] Although critics as well as the public would continue to associate the writer and artist as allies for the cause of Realism or Naturalism, after 1868 Zola directed his efforts toward his novels in the Rougon-Maquart series, and he did not publish any extensive commentary on Manet's works again until the late 1870s, by which time it was obvious that his enthusiasm for the artist had waned.

Despite Zola's herculean efforts on the artist's behalf, Manet's independent exhibition of 1867, held during the Universal Exposition in Paris, was largely ignored by critics who were more interested in the officially-sponsored exhibits.[16] There was one exception, however. Manet's works did capture the attention of a critic who would grow to be a strong supporter and friend. Théodore Duret, whom the artist would meet and befriend while in Spain later in 1867, discussed Manet in his first book of art criticism, *Les Peintres français en 1867*. Although the commentary was by no means glowing, Duret posited that Manet was not yet mature as an artist and still trying to find his way technically, a fact which resulted in his works being sketch-like. Although he was of the opinion that the artist needed to develop his compositions and forms more fully, Duret recognized Manet's innate strengths as a painter when he wrote: "As to his natural abilities, the first is a true feeling for color which gives his paintings a most original range of tones. His canvases always have air and depth; there is in them a great boldness of touch and a great truth to appearance in the figures which betray neither posing nor strain."[17] Thus, by the end of the 1860s, between Zola's articles on the painter and Duret's book, Manet's works had received enough critical commentary and approval that exhibitions of his works were actually regarded with a great deal of anticipation and interest. Hamilton has argued, as proof of the new and more serious attention shown

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Manet's works, that by the end of the 1860s, Manet's Salon submissions were discussed even in highly respected and conservative art journals like the *Gazette des beaux-arts.*[18]

The early 1870s, the period during which the painter began to receive more regular notice from American art writers, seemed to hold more promise for Manet through serious patronage, a hint of appreciative interest from the public, and the growing devotion of certain critics. In 1872, Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922), the Parisian dealer who would prove to be the single most important promoter of Manet's works in France and the United States, purchased twenty-four of the painter's works.[19] A year later, the French opera singer Jean-Baptiste Faure (1830-1914) began to collect Manet's works as well. Faure's collection and Durand-Ruels' repository would be the two largest holdings outside of Manet's family until the early twentieth century, and many of the paintings in their collections would travel to the United States for important exhibitions of Manet's works.

In 1873, Manet enjoyed a tremendous popular success at the Salon with *Le Bon Bock* (fig. 9). *Le Bon Bock* would become one of Manet's most well-known and esteemed paintings, listed among his best works in dictionaries and histories of French painting published through the close of the nineteenth century. The painting was much admired for the truthful characterization of the man, Emile Bellot, whose merry expression conveys complete satisfaction as he relishes the taste of a good bock and a smoke. The dark, Dutch-inspired tones and Frans Hals-esque subject were praised as well. However, despite the overwhelmingly positive response to the painting, critics continued to express the familiar complaints that the handling was brutal and that the painting was overly sketchy and therefore unfinished.

Given the success of *Le Bon Bock*, with its tobacco-hued tones and Old Master appeal, it is not surprising that the Impressionistic paintings that Manet began to display at the Salon in the early-to-mid 1870s would shock and disturb viewers and critics. These works, exhibited during the last ten years of the artist's life, revealed a

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preoccupation with bold color and brushwork, as well as modern life subjects, that contributed to Manet's identification as an Impressionist, even though he did not participate in a single one of the so-called Impressionist exhibitions.[20] In 1874, for example, Manet exhibited *Railroad* (fig. 10) at the Salon, and a year later, *Argenteuil* (fig. 11) appeared.[21] Both are outdoor scenes rendered in dazzling color, which reveal an interest in atmospheric effects and sunlight. Typical of the response to the early exhibitions of the Impressionists as well, neither *Railroad* nor *Argenteuil* was well-received by the public or some critics, who lambasted the works for their glaring colors, sketchy handling, and trite subject matter. Caricaturists lampooned *Railroad*, especially its Japanesque composition with the bars of the wrought-iron fence separating the foreground from the rest of the composition. The caricaturists "Cham" and "Stop" poked fun at the victimized subjects whom the artist had trapped like prisoners in the foreground of the painting.[22] Likewise, Cham devoted four cartoons to *Argenteuil* in which he ridiculed the simplified treatment of the subjects, the untrue colors, the lack of depth in the composition, and the conspicuousness of paint as opposed to illusionism.[23]

Fortunately, Manet's growing circle of loyal supporters came to his defense. Jules Castagnary, for example, produced a straightforward assessment of the significance of the artist's works in *Le Siècle*. He explained that *Argenteuil* represented the sincere attempt of the artist to paint out of doors and to capture real life as it appeared to him. As Castagnary pointed out, because Manet was looking at his subjects and painting them outside, the forms were simplified naturally by the brilliant light and air. Castagnary, however, was not completely enamored of Manet's manner. He insisted that the artist's approach was better suited for landscape rather than figure painting and that figure paintings deserved fuller drawing and modeling. Moreover, Castagnary argued that if Manet would firm up his treatment, he could find greater favor with the public without compromising the power and truthfulness of his works.[24]

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Increasingly during the 1870s, Manet would be identified as the mentor and leader of the new school of painting, and a genealogy of sorts would be established which located the roots of Impressionism in the Realist works of Gustave Courbet and Manet. Manet's leadership position within the group was verified by publications such as a pamphlet issued on the behalf of the Impressionists at the time of their second exhibition in April 1876 by Edmond Duranty.[25] Duranty identified Manet as a leader of a new movement (he did not use the label Impressionist) and wrote that the painter had:

> flung wide the windows and advanced into the open air and real sunlight. Time and time again he placed himself at the forefront of the movement. With a candor and courage linking him to men of genius, he offered the public the most innovative works, works fraught with flaws yet full of fine qualities, works full of depth and originality standing apart from all others, works whose strength of expression inevitably clashes with the hesitancy of an almost entirely new feeling that does not yet have the means to express itself fully.[26]

Also Zola, in a review of the second Impressionist exhibition, written for *Le Messager de l'Europe* identified Manet as the mentor of the group.[27] Manet would be linked with the Impressionists as well by Théodore Duret, who published his brochure, *Les Peintres impressionistes* in 1878. Duret identified Manet as a father of the Impressionist movement, together with Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Courbet. He continued:

> It is to these three masters that the art of painting owes the simplest methods of construction and that impulsive brushwork proceeding by means of large strokes and masses, which alone defies time. It is to them that we owe light-colored painting, finally freed from litharge, from bitumen, from chocolate, from tobacco juice, from burnt fat and bread crumbs. It is to them that we owe the out-of-doors study, the sensation not merely of colors, but of the slightest nuances of colors, the tones, and still further, the search for the connection between the condition of the atmosphere which illuminates the painting and the general tonality of the objects which are painted in it.[28]

Duret argued also that Manet had suffered severe abuse from the public which was at long last beginning to understand the true power of his abilities.

In spite of the fact that Manet had won greater recognition from certain critics and that he was widely viewed as responsible for spawning a new movement in painting, approval of his works was far from guaranteed, and the painter continued to suffer rejections from the Salon in the mid-to-late 1870s. For example, both of his submissions were rejected in

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1876, and one of two was rejected in 1877.[29] Moreover, in 1878, Manet was not invited to participate in the Décennale exhibition at the Universal Exposition. In fact, Hamilton has argued that the conservative profile of the admissions jury for this exhibition was a reflection of the official mandate to suppress the new tendencies in painting, Impressionism in particular, which had been so strongly apparent at the Salon in the mid-1870s.[30] Furthermore, Manet chose not to send any work to the regular Salon of 1878 because the jury members for the annual Salon included the same men who were serving on the committee for the retrospective exhibition. In 1879, however, Manet had both of the paintings he submitted to the Salon accepted. *Boating* (fig. 12) and *In the Conservatory* (fig. 13), both undeniably Impressionistic with their bold coloring and light effects, did not raise the usual outcry from the public which had become more accustomed to the bold colors and Japanesque compositions of the Impressionists, but the conservative critics still fired off complaints against the paintings, primarily for their "untrue" colors and the "inaccurate" presentation of anatomy in the figures.

Thus, during the 1860s and 1870s, Manet's relationship with the French art world and the public was a contentious one characterized by outpourings of animosity when his works were exhibited at the Salon amidst which a only few voices of support could be heard over the din. Although his efforts slowly gained respect among French art watchers, even those who praised Manet did so with reservations. Their ambivalence toward Manet's art resulted primarily from the lack of finish in his works, the abandonment of perspective and modeling, and the adoption of sometimes ludicrous or coarse subject matter. By the late 1870s, Manet's reputation as a leader of the radical segments of the art community was well known, and as a result, he was applauded only by those critics who welcomed his anti-academic style and denounced more loudly by those who feared the detrimental influence of his works.

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"The Painter-in-Chief of Ugliness": James Jackson Jarves and Manet

James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888) was the second son of Deming Jarves, a wealthy glass manufacturer from Boston. Jarves spent his youth in Boston, but in 1837, to improve his fragile health, he was sent to the Pacific islands. In 1840, he founded and served as editor of an Hawaiian weekly newspaper, the *Polynesian*, and he published a history of the Hawaiian Islands in 1843. In 1851, in his capacity as Special Commissioner for Hawaiian Affairs, Jarves traveled to Europe for the first time, and it was at the Louvre Museum in Paris where he had his first serious encounter with art. The following year, Jarves moved his family to Florence, which became their permanent residence, and he began to study and collect Italian paintings, with a special emphasis on the Italian Primitives, and to turn his attention to art criticism.[31]

As art critic, collector, and art advisor to American connoisseurs of painting, Jarves' mission was to improve knowledge and taste as well as the quality of art produced in the United States. He believed that this goal could be accomplished if Americans were educated to appreciate artistic achievements of the past, specifically art of the western European tradition. To fulfill the goal of public education and cultural enrichment, Jarves was an important advocate for the founding of museums in the United States, and he was responsible for the formation of several collections of art that were either sold or given to American museums during his lifetime.[32] Moreover, Jarves wrote four books of art criticism, including *Art-Hints, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting* (1855), *Art Studies* (1861), *The Art-Idea* (1864), and *Art Thoughts, the Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (1869) to educate the public to the beauties of art and its edifying potential. *Art-Hints* and *Art Studies* are primarily surveys of Italian painting intended to compliment his collection of early-Renaissance art, and *The Art-Idea* and *Art Thoughts* analyze art of the western European tradition as a measure for American production and taste. In addition to these book-length studies, Jarves published numerous

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articles on art which appeared in American magazines such as the *Galaxy* and *Independent*.[33]

When he published *Art-Hints* in 1855, Jarves was one of only a handful of Americans to have written a major study of art. [34] In this endeavor, Jarves was preceded by William Dunlap, whose *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* appeared in 1834, Charles Edward Lester, whose *Artists of America* was published in 1846, and Henry T. Tuckerman who published *Artist-Life: Sketches of American Painters* in 1847, an expanded edition of which, *Book of the Artists. American Artists Life*, would appear in 1867.[35] Colored by a patently nationalistic agenda to support and spur the growth of art and art appreciation, Dunlap, Lester, and Tuckerman's biographical studies are replete with adulatory prose and anecdotal commentary on the lives and productions of American artists. While he too desired the growth and maturation of a national school of art, what is remarkable about *Art-Hints*, as well as his later studies, is the fact that Jarves did not gush praises for American art, or the art of other nations, but made emphatic distinctions between "false" and "true" art based upon discernbile aesthetic and moral standards.[36] Moreover, in order to improve art culture in this country, he advised that Americans should look to Europe for guidance, a recommendation that would be echoed by numerous critics in the post-Civil War years but which seemed almost blasphemous in the nationalistic atmosphere of antebellum America. In his books, Jarves outlined the history of European art to educate Americans to the western art tradition of which they were inheritors and to give them aesthetic mile posts for the development of art in the United States.

For Jarves, the primary purpose of art was to instruct, elevate, and amuse the mind and to stir the emotions toward pleasure and improvement.[37] He believed that art had the power to expunge from "man's nature the coarse, sensuous, and superficial, substituting the beautiful, good, and permanent" making it an important tool for the betterment of the populace.[38] In his zeal for moral and edifying content, Jarves' aesthetic philosophy

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reveals a Victorian mindset. His ideas, which were shared by a number of American writers at mid-century, reflect the influence of the English critic John Ruskin whose books on art and nature, especially *Modern Painters*, were read avidly by Americans.[39] From Ruskin, Jarves adopted the notion that art was a mirror for nature and that art had the power to raise mankind to a higher, more spiritual (as opposed to grossly materialistic) level through the contemplation of beauty and truth. Ruskin, however, was less than sanguine about the future of his own country and longed for a return to the simpler values of the Middle Ages. Jarves, on the other hand, was optimistic about the future of America, and he dedicated his career to educating his countrymen for the road to cultural greatness that he believed lay ahead.[40]

Art Thoughts, the Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe of 1869, is the last of Jarves' four books of art criticism and the most mature expression of his aesthetic philosophy. As he noted in the introduction, the goal underlying *Art Thoughts*, as well as his earlier studies, was "the general introduction and spread of Art in America," and to this end, Jarves provided an overview of Western art and architecture from antiquity to the 1860s, describing the rise of religious art through the Middle Ages to the Early Renaissance followed by what he perceived to be the subsequent decline of art from the High Renaissance to the present day. This decline in art, recognizable by a loss of transcendent and ennobling ideas, was a reflection of the increasing secularization of societies. Jarves concluded his study with an analysis of the state of American art and its potential for development and growth in the future, which were contingent upon the avoidance of the mistakes of the past.[41]

In Chapter Ten of *Art Thoughts*, titled "The Painters of France," Jarves considered the accomplishments of French artists from the seventeenth century forward, and in this context appears the earliest substantive consideration of Manet's art from the pen of an American critic. In his discussion of nineteenth-century French art, Jarves noted the passing of the "grand style" of Jacques-Louis David and his followers, a style based upon

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the great tradition of Italian painting. He praised Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Thomas Couture, Ary Scheffer, Paul Delaroche, and Hippolyte Flandrin for their continuation of this tradition in their allegorical, historical, and religious works. Among contemporary paintings, Jarves found more accessible subject matter (more democratic!) and an extremely high level of technical accomplishment, but he was gravely concerned about the poverty of high-minded ideas. For Jarves, the most praiseworthy among contemporary French painters were Corot and Jules Breton, whose works were strong in moral and poetical sentiments. In contrast to the elevated tone and democratic sensibilities of their works were the productions of the "sensualist-realists." This group included Jean-Léon Gérôme, Alexandre Cabanel, and Gustave Doré, who emphasized the erotic, weird, or violent in their paintings.[42] While these painters were superb technicians, Jarves believed that their art manifested the French penchant for the unchaste and the brutal, and as a result, their works had demoralizing effects on the viewer.[43] Jarves noted also the preoccupation of French artists with the nude, which he saw as a revival of the same deleterious sensual interests that had informed French art of the eighteenth century. Given this lapse of moral concern, Jarves declared indignantly, "Until there is a radical purification of the French temperament, it cannot be trusted with the nude any more than it can be with sacred or serious themes."[44] As if to prove this point, Jarves discussed Manet's *Olympia* (fig. 4) and also his *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (fig. 5), both of which he had seen at the Salon of 1865.[45] Jarves used Manet's paintings as examples of the eccentric tendencies of French figure painting and the lack of regard shown by French painters toward "serious" subject matter.

With only a few exceptions, Jarves believed that French art of his day was corrupt, a condition that was encouraged by a corrupt government (the Second Empire of Napoleon III) and a lascivious national character in dire need of spiritual reform. Implicit in his stern judgement of French culture was Jarves' idea that true art could be created only in an environment of political freedom, where human individuality was allowed to express

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itself fully and sincerely, informed by the guiding principles of religious faith. Such expression, he believed, was impossible under the imperial government that existed in France. Jarves' concerns about French art were shared by a number of American art writers working in the post-Civil War years. After the war, Eugene Benson and William J. Hoppin also took up their pens to assess European art for an increasingly cosmopolitan, and particularly Francophilic, American audience.[46] Benson and Hoppin shared Jarves' belief that if American art were to assume its proper place in the international artistic arena, then standards and facilities for American art production had to be improved, and exposure to meritorious examples of European art and institutional practice was an obvious way to educate the public as well as artists. They extolled the technical virtues of recent European art, especially French art, but feared that the demand for and the influence of foreign art would compromise or even contaminate native production.[47] As a result, these writers were stern in their judgements and looked with vehemence upon immoral subject matter as well as rote, and thereby unoriginal, adherence to academic formulae.

Eugene Benson (1839-1908) wrote on art topics for the *New York Evening Post* as well as numerous magazines including *Atlantic Monthly*, *Galaxy*, and *Appleton's Journal*.[48] Benson, like Jarves and also Hoppin, admitted the technical and artistic virtues of French art but eschewed French academic painting on moral grounds: "French art has become Parisian, and in becoming Parisian it has fallen to the level of a corrupt and luxurious world,—a world in which taste and voluptuousness are exacted in the work of every figure-painter."[49] For Benson, the bright note in French art was the landscape artists and Gustave Courbet.[50] Aligning himself with the ideas of the French critic and philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Benson discussed French landscape paintings and the pietistic genre paintings of the Barbizon School as manifestations of democratic ideas, and he yearned for an American art that expressed the same.

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William J. Hoppin (1813-1895), was a writer and diplomat who, in 1873, published a two-part article on European art, based largely upon his reactions to the art displayed at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867.[51] Hoppin was especially familiar with the fine arts display at the fair because he had served as one of twenty-six jurors appointed to judge the paintings and drawings and distribute the medals.[52] He did not, however, mention Manet, who had erected a private pavilion outside of the exhibition grounds in which to display his paintings. Hoppin acknowledged instead the tremendous popularity of French artists with Americans, in particular Ernest Meissonier, Jean-François Millet, and Gérôme, and he admitted the technical superiority of French art generally.[53] To Hoppin's mind, however, good art could not stand on technical merit alone, especially when wed to vapid or immoral subject matter, and he focused on Gérôme as an example of skill without genius. Hoppin claimed that Gérôme painted only the exteriors of his subjects without giving expression to the soul.[54] Superficiality was also a problem with the works of Cabanel, whose *Birth of Venus* (1863; Musée d'Orsay, Paris) had been one of the most talked about paintings in the 1867 exhibition. Hoppin understood the success of this painting to reveal a deeper problem in French culture and that was the fascination with the frivolous and indecent. Noting that there was little historical or religious painting and that genre painting was where the leading artists had made their reputations, Hoppin praised Jules Breton, Millet, and also Edouard Frère as the most commendable artists practicing in France.

Thus, the suspicious and moralizing tone of Jarves' criticism toward contemporary French painting was not unusual for the years immediately following the Civil War, but the attention that Jarves showed toward the art of Manet was out of the ordinary. The manner in which the critic set up the reader for the encounter with Manet's art was quite calculated and informative of prevailing tastes and aesthetic issues of the period. Directly preceding the introduction of Manet was a discussion of Albert Lambron's *Virgin and the Infant Jesus* (Musée d'Angers) also in the Salon of 1865, which Jarves called a rare

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example of "sincere work."[55] Jarves praised the carefully balanced composition and the palette of bright, clear colors, perfectly in keeping with the simplicity and tone of the subject, and which bore an affinity to the works of the late-fifteenth-century Italian painter Lorenzo di Credi. Moreover, he commended the characterization of the figures, particularly that of the Virgin, which he credited for the great success of the painting. As Jarves explained,

> To the barren religious art of the nineteenth century, he [Lambron] gives a fresh and pure type of the Madonna: stately and loving, every instinct of woman in subjection to a holy will, without ascetic drawback; an intellectual, free, self-controlled woman, fit to bring forth a redeemer.[56]

Jarves described the Virgin as reclining in a bed of flowers with the infant Jesus sitting in her lap watching the birds and animals which were divinely attracted to him. Lambron's Jesus expressed profound love for the world around him and the proper seriousness that foretold of his mission to humankind.

To Jarves' mind, Lambron's adoption of a sacred theme, imbued with pure religious sentiment and conveyed through carefully selected details, was a commendable demonstration of the highest artistic intentions. Having planted the image of the reclining Virgin and the infant Christ in the reader's mind, Jarves then shifted his attention to the reclining woman in Manet's *Olympia*, the opposite of the sincerity of purpose found in Lambron's painting and a manifestation of the extremes to which French artists all too often fell victim in order to increase their own notoriety. To introduce the artist and to reinforce the contrast between acceptable and unacceptable art, Jarves wrote, "If Lambron's picture may be considered the herald of something new, elevated, and beautiful, we find his opposite in Manet, the painter-in-chief of Ugliness, which in sincere self-delusion he [Manet] exalts into a worship."[57] Noting that the female nude in the hands of Titian or Correggio would have been transformed "into a masterpiece of aesthetic joy," Jarves derided Manet's treatment of the motif as "abnormal" and "eccentric" and claimed that the nude woman's flesh was the "hue of green meat," implying a state of ill health or decay.[58] Jarves' sophistication as an amateur, or "lover of

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art," is revealed through his discussion. He understood that the *Olympia* was an adaptation or pastiche of the motif of the reclining female nude invented by the painters of the Venetian Renaissance, and he was distressed with Manet's transformation of this revered subject, usually a paragon of female beauty, into an unidealized creature characterized by coarse physical attributes and placed in a common modern setting. As Jarves noted several years later in an article for the *Independent*, "if he [the artist] debases his gifts by wrong application, perversity of choice, and lowness of purpose, he and his work are alike to be anathematized as tending to the degradation, instead of elevation, of taste, thereby setting up a vile standard of beauty for the common mind."[59] As he saw it, the larger mission of art to uplift and ennoble the viewer suffered when an artist wasted his talent on works that represented the perversion of truth and beauty.

Manet's religious painting fared no better with Jarves, who designated *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* an outrage to moral sentiments through the "exhibition of ribald ferocity, united to brutal coarseness of brush."[60] Jarves was disturbed by the undiluted expression of physical suffering and the brutally realistic portrayal of the body of Christ which, to his mind, emptied the image of spiritual content. Jarves compared Manet's painting unfavorably to a similar work by Théodule Ribot shown at the same Salon. He described Ribot's *Saint Sebastian* (1865; Musée du Louvre, Paris), as "sincere"—the same word with which he had complimented Lambron's painting, and although Ribot's painting was dark and roughly handled, elements which he did not approve of, Jarves preferred it over *Jesus Mocked* for the depth of religious sentiment it conveyed.[61]

Another criticism which Jarves leveled against *Jesus Mocked* was the absence of modeling in Christ's body. Again, he compared Manet's painting to Ribot's and pointed to the fuller, more convincing treatment in the image of St. Sebastian. As Jarves scholar Benjamin Rowland has argued, the critic's understanding of the development of art was an essentially Hegelian or progressive one, and while he could appreciate the Italian primitives for their naive approaches to the human body, the early Renaissance painters

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represented a nascent stage in artistic development which would be surpassed by later generations. To Jarves' way of thinking, Manet's simplified treatment, produced in an age when the portrayal of the body had been mastered and sculptural modeling of form was the norm, was regressive.[62]

Jarves was not alone in his condemnation of Manet's *Olympia* or his *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*. When *Olympia* and *Jesus Mocked* were exhibited at the Salon of 1865, they were greeted by French critics with an outpouring of contempt for their coarse handling, brutal contrasts of light and dark, and their utter lack of idealization, as well as the lack of modeling in the bodies. The words "weird," "eccentric," "vulgar," and "ugly" pervaded the French reviews and were adopted by Jarves in his own commentary. References to putrefaction, disease, and dirtiness were common among French reviews of *Olympia* as well.[63] In fact, the characterization of Manet as "the painter-in-chief of Ugliness" was not original to Jarves, or at least not entirely. In his handbook of the Salon of 1865, the French critic Félix Jahyer called Manet "the apostle of the ugly and the repulsive."[64] It would appear that Jarves took Jahyer's phrase and secularized it, changing "apostle" to "painter-in-chief," thereby identifying Manet as the source and promoter of ugliness and of contagion, and denying the implication of an inspired or divine mission for the artist.

In using this epithet for Manet, Jarves was participating in a deeply entrenched aesthetic debate born out of the Romantic movement. Accusations of ugliness were first directed at Eugène Delacroix for his submissions to the Salon of 1824. At this important Salon, Delacroix's works were frequently compared to the entries of Ingres, and Delacroix was considered, by conservative critics, as the promoter of aesthetic decay in opposition to the academic ideals of beauty and harmony represented by Ingres. The use of these aesthetic categories, *le beau* and *le laid*, continued well beyond the great Classical versus Romantic debate provoked by Ingres and Delacroix and their works in the 1820s. Other rebellious artists, who broke away from the conventional in painting, were also labeled as apostles of ugliness, including Gustave Courbet and later Manet.[65]

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Although he was dismayed over the immorality and brutality of the Frenchman's paintings, Jarves also found words of praise for Manet. Of Manet's abilities, Jarves stated, "Yet there were indications of talent and a certain spotty force of splashy contrasts of coloring, which might be trained to better work." Jarves' admiration for Manet's forceful manner of handling paint is not altogether surprising when we consider the other painters for whom he expressed appreciation in *Art Thoughts.* Indeed, Jarves was opposed to the "prevailing meretricious pretty," as manifested in the works of such as Cabanel, and he admired painting imbued with imagination, emotion or deep feeling, and also by painterliness and vigorous brushwork which revealed a more individualized touch.[66] Among French painters, Jarves praised Corot who worked in an extremely rich and fluid manner. Likewise, among his own countrymen, he applauded the works of George Inness as well as Eastman Johnson who, like Manet, had studied with Thomas Couture, albeit briefly. Moreover, he commended the expressive landscapes of John Lafarge, a student of Couture's and of Couture's student William Morris Hunt. In their works, Jarves praised the expression of individuality and poetic feeling over and above the utilization of cold, academic formulae. Showing consistency in his taste, Jarves called the large landscapes of Frederic Church and Albert Bierstadt cold "soulless" machines because of the obsessive inclusion of myriad realistic details within highly theatrical compositions.[67]

Jarves was not the only American to notice Manet in the late 1860s and to admire his vigorous manner of painting. Eugene Benson, took some notice of Manet in 1867 at the time of the Universal Exposition in Paris, making him and Jarves the earliest identifiable art writers to comment on the artist. Writing for the *New York Evening Post* under the pseudonym "Sordello," Benson referred to the independent shows of both Manet and Courbet and called the two men "masters of the new art life in France." Furthermore, he characterized their works as honest and realistic and completely "without sentiment and without beauty."[68] Benson, himself a painter, expressed genuine admiration for their

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manly handling and more accessible, everyday subject matter, elements he believed to be sorely lacking in modern French art, particularly in the works of artists such as Cabanel and Gérôme, both of whom had been awarded grand prizes at the Universal Exposition. However, while Benson seemed to appreciate on an intellectual and artistic level what Courbet and Manet were trying to do, he, like Jarves, could not endorse their efforts entirely. In describing the works exhibited by the two men, Benson observed that there were many "shocking, slovenly, and indecent" examples on view, and because of these coarse and obscene qualities, he noted that the works would be "simply impossible in New York."

Jarves' commentary on Manet appeared at almost exactly the same time when the painter's earliest French defender, Emile Zola, came to his rescue. Zola defended the *Olympia* for its presentation of a real life model in a direct and unabashed fashion, the type of modern subject for which he as a novelist was often criticized as well. Revealing his distaste for the superficiality and prettiness of fashionable academic paintings, Zola had called Cabanel's *Venus*, when it appeared at the Salon of 1863, "a goddess of pink and white almond paste in a river of milk," a characterization with which Jarves would have agreed. Although his Victorian prudery would not allow Jarves to appreciate the ring of truth in Manet's selection of a common woman as a motif for art, both he and Zola praised the strength of the masses of dark and light colors as well as Manet's ability to handle paint forcefully.[69]

In the final analysis, Jarves described Manet as "one of the eccentricities of modern art" and categorized him as a wasted talent and a man of "perverted taste." Jarves coupled him with the American expatriate painter James Abbott McNeill Whistler, whom he called an eccentric also. At the Salon of 1865, Whistler had exhibited *The Princess from the Land of Porcelain* (1863-64; Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC), and at the Universal Exposition of 1867, where Jarves saw his works also, the artist had exhibited his notorious *White Girl (Symphony in White, No. 1)*

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(1862; National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), as well as two impressionistic outdoor views, and one genre scene.[70] Jarves commended Whistler's art as "original" and characterized his handling of paint as "Tiepolo-like," but he concluded that the works were incomplete, mere suggestions, rather than finished works. Jarves believed that both Manet and Whistler's works were encouraged by the French love of the sensational and the extravagant.[71] He disapproved of Whistler and Manet because, to his mind, they debased art and brought ridicule to a noble profession through their lack of seriousness.

Art Thoughts, like all of Jarves' books, was extremely popular with American readers and appeared in at least three editions. In his review of *Art Thoughts*, the writer for the *Atlantic Monthly* characterized Jarves as a "learned connoisseur and collector, chiefly of pictures by the Old Masters, and as a writer whose opinions are enlightened, earnest, and independent."[72] The same critic noted that Jarves' discussions of the old masters and his characterizations of most of the modern French and English painters were agreeable.[73] While his opinion of European art was respected, Jarves' comments on American art in *Art Thoughts* caused discomfort among Americans, who thought him unduly harsh toward native productions.[74] Jarves criticized the American entries at the 1867 Universal Exposition, which he found to be mediocre in content and technique. In particular, he believed American art to be lacking in imaginative qualities, a lacuna that he understood to be the result of desire for success in the marketplace over and above the truer aim to express deep, innermost feelings and ideas.

Jarves' first encounter with Manet's work occurred in the wake of the Salon des refusés of 1863, where the French artist had created a sensation. Jarves was troubled by Manet's subject matter and treatment, sensitive to the attention his works had elicited, and mindful of the dangerous implications of having such works appear at the state-sanctioned Salon where they could make an impact on other (most notably American) artists, but rather than ignoring the artist, Jarves actually called attention to Manet's productions and admitted a level of admiration. Although his influence as a critic was

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limited primarily to the 1850s and 1860s, after which his energies were channeled mostly into his work as an art consultant, Jarves' opinion of Manet was one of the few authoritative sources on Manet in English, and the epithet "Painter-in-chief of Ugliness" persisted in art literature published in this country through the end of the nineteenth century, revealing familiarity with the critic's ideas long after his death.[75]

Foreign Correspondents and American Artists: Perceptions from Abroad of Manet and His Followers

In the early to the mid-1870s, Manet was mentioned in only a handful of exhibition reviews that appeared in American newspapers and popular magazines. These notices were brief and derogatory and focused on the sensational aspects of Manet's activities, rather than on careful analysis of individual works. A reading of these commentaries reveals that Manet was not well known to American audiences, nor was he well known to the critics. Characteristic of these discussions was the repetition of commonly held ideas about the artist that circulated through Paris, namely that he was a renegade like Gustave Courbet, a painter of bad pictures, a source of laughter, and a fierce, unpleasant personality. Although they were hard pressed to locate for their readers any praiseworthy aspects of Manet's paintings, some of these same critics noted that Manet was recognized by a small circle of writers and artists as a talented painter and that he had loyal followers.

In Benson and Jarves, we encountered mixed responses to Manet's works. They appreciated the direct, honest approach and forcefulness of Manet's art but were disturbed by the subject matter and the disregard for craft. Benson and Jarves were more generous, however, than other critics who mentioned Manet in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In a review of the Salon of 1868, the critic for the *New-York Times* referred to Manet's entries simply as "failures," and in 1869, the critic for the *New York Evening Post* mentioned Manet's works "[only] for their extreme ugliness."[76] With such brief notices, it is impossible to gauge exactly what made the critics uncomfortable. However,

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it must be emphasized also that they felt compelled to mention Manet and to register his presence at the Salon, which was an indication of his growing notoriety.

The ambivalence present in Jarves' and Benson's commentaries can be detected in a lengthier review of 1872, written in response to an exhibition of paintings at the Durand-Ruel gallery in the rue Laffitte.[77] The *New-York Times* writer informed his readers that the windows of Durand-Ruel's gallery were "encumbered" with paintings by Manet. Then he queried, "Who is Manet?" to which he answered, "All those who have seen will never forget his 'Venus with the Black Cat,' exhibited in 1865, or the group on the balcony in the Salon of 1869." The critic was quick to clarify this statement by suggesting that Manet's paintings were "unforgettable" because they were "astonishingly bad." In fact, by referring to these particular paintings, the critic made reference to works that had elicited an outpouring of public and critical outrage and laughter when they were first exhibited. Moreover, he noted that Manet always had a certain success, but it was built upon sensation rather than true quality. After bashing the artist and his works, the critic singled out one painting at Durand-Ruel's gallery, *Moonlight over Boulogne Harbor* (1869; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), which he found agreeable. Expressing surprise at his own admiration, however, the critic ended his commentary with the following admission: "But accidents will happen, and Durand-Ruel exhibits one painting [by Manet] of a moonlight at Dieppe which is fine in effect, with plenty of black, with white daubs here and there, and with a round, round moon."[78]

With the exception of scattered notices, it was not until the mid-1870s that Manet's works began to receive more frequent critical attention from the pens of American journalists. During these years, mentions of Manet appeared in popular magazines and newspapers, and they began to appear in American art journals as well, which were growing in number at exactly this time. The primary spokesperson on Manet in the mid-1870s was Lucy Hamilton Hooper (1835-1893), a native of Philadelphia who lived in Paris and reported on Manet's work and his activities in the Paris art arena with some

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regularity. Lucy Hamilton, the daughter of a successful Philadelphia merchant, was married to Robert M. Hooper, also a merchant, and when her husband's business failed in 1868, she became an assistant editor for *Lippincott's Magazine* to supplement the family income. In 1874, her husband was appointed United States vice-consul general in Paris, where Hooper would live for the rest of her life. In Paris, she continued her work as a journalist and writer, serving as a correspondent to *Lippincott's Magazine* and the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* as well as *Appleton's Journal* and the *Art Journal* both of New York[79]

Hooper discussed Manet in the first Salon reviews she wrote after her arrival in Paris in 1874. It should be noted that Hooper was not a professional art critic, although she wrote often about art exhibitions and artist activities. Her column was lively in tone and humorous, obviously intended to entertain as well as to inform readers of the latest happenings in Paris. In her Salon reviews, for example, Hooper peppered her discussion with gossipy anecdotes about the models who posed for the pictures and reports on which Salon paintings had been purchased by Americans.

In her communications of Manet's activities, it is clear that Hooper was surprised by Manet's works and bewildered by the attention he received in Paris. Uncertain as to exactly why the artist was attracting so much notoriety, her early assessments of Manet's works reveal a reliance upon the opinions of French viewers and critics. Echoing notions that circulated in Paris about the artist and his work, Hooper reported on the association of Manet with Courbet and Realism, characterized Manet's works as crude, unfinished, flat, and garish in color, and promoted an understanding of the artist as a lunatic and the laughing stock of Paris, but also admitted that the artist was admired by some for his ability to handle paint. When Hooper directed her attention to specific works by Manet, she focused primarily on the formal qualities with complete disregard for subject matter or for his artistic goals.

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In 1874, Hooper reviewed the Salon for *Appleton's Journal* and *Lippincott's Magazine*. In her review for *Appleton's Journal*, Hooper opened the article with some basic statistics about the Salon, noting that the works had been hung alphabetically and that nearly two thousand paintings were shown, many of which were, in her estimation, poor in quality. As if to underscore the uneven quality of the paintings in the exhibition, Hooper jumped directly to the letter M, and the first painting she discussed was Manet's *Railroad* (fig. 10), which she referred to as a "fearful daub." In the nineteenth century, a "daub" was a picture that was coarsely executed or inartistic, and a "dauber" was a painter who was unskilled with his brush; thus Hooper was unable to locate any conventional beauty or artistic skill in Manet's works.[80] Her negative response to Manet's handling of paint reflects her engagement with the reigning aesthetic standards of the day. Manet's works looked rough and unpolished, even incomplete, compared to the more finely resolved and smooth canvases of fashionable Parisian painters. To her eyes, there were other shortcomings in Manet's entry as well. The figures appeared to have been "cut out of sheet-tin," and the composition was as "flat as a board," criticisms identical to those launched by French critics. Not only did she find the rendering of the figures and the space deficient, but also Hooper found fault with the artist's palette calling the colors "as crude and *criarde* as possible," meaning that the palette was garish and screamed for attention.

Hooper's comments on Manet's painting ended there, and she devoted the rest of her discussion to the artist, whom she called, "one Edouard Manet, . . . an artist of some standing here." Hooper identified Manet, who was as unfamiliar to her as to her readers, as "a favorite pupil of Couture," who was "led away by the example of Courbet, the Communist artist, who superintended the overthrow of the Column Vendôme, and whose property was confiscated, and his works denied admission to all future *salons* in consequence." Hooper described Courbet as an "intense realist," who painted coarse subject matter from every-day life with truth and vigor. Hooper posited that Manet tried

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to follow Courbet's example but failed disastrously because he did not paint with the same power or genius. In addition to her characterization of the artist as a rebel, artistic if not political, Hooper also made Manet out to be a hot head stating that he was known to be "pugnacious in defense of his own works." She insisted that she would not have written freely about Manet in French, as if she thought him to be an intimidating fellow with a quick temper.[81]

Although no mention of Manet was made, we can learn more of Hooper's own taste from her Salon review for *Lippincott's Magazine*. The artists whose works Hooper praised in the 1874 exhibition were more conventional men, including William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Gustave Boulanger, Carolus-Duran, Edouard Detaille, Michael Munkacsy, and Auguste Toulmouche. Generally, she was charmed by the playful nymphs or the sober historical subjects rendered by these artists, and she praised their deft handling of paint, use of rich colors, and ability to convey sentiment. The works for which she reserved the highest praise were by Munkacsy. For his *Mont-de-Piété* in particular, Hooper heaped praises upon the excellent portrayal of character and convincing expression of narrative.[82]

Hooper's radar was oriented toward Manet after her initial encounter with his work in 1874. After running through an alphabetical overview of the star paintings in the Salon of 1875 for *Appleton's Journal*, citing works by Léon Bonnat, Bouguereau, and Carolus-Duran, as well as "strange and striking" pictures by such as Jean-Paul Laurens, Hooper recorded that it was "a relief to turn even to the absurdities of M. Manet," as if his works provided a much-needed moment of comic relief to break the high-seriousness of the Salon atmosphere.[83] Hooper indicated that Manet's solitary contribution, *Argenteuil*

(fig. 11) had attracted "a crowd of gazers, and of laughers as well." She referred to Manet as the "Merry Andrew of the Salon," and wondered why such "atrocious daubs should be admitted when better works are rejected."[84] Hooper devoted additional

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discussion to *Argenteuil* in her review for the *Art Journal*. The central question again was how Manet's work had been admitted to the exhibition. She wondered if the painting was selected for exhibition "out of tenderness for a crazy *confrère*." Hooper acknowledged that there were "artists, and critics as well, who claim that M. Manet really knows how to paint" but commented that if he *did* know how to paint, Manet was "remarkably successful in hiding his light under a bushel."[85]

In her *Art Journal* review, Hooper described *Argenteuil* primarily in terms of surface qualities, in particular paint handling and palette, just as she had done with *Railroad* the previous year. The lady's dress was composed of "violent streaks, and her face and that of the man look as though they had been well rubbed over with a sponge while the paint was still wet." Dissatisfied with the rough and sketchy handling, which negated the representation of depth in the composition, Hooper pointed to the appearance of the river which she called "hard as stone and stiff as a wall," and she questioned the verity of the intense blue used to render it, comments that were made repeatedly by French critics as well. As for the view of Argenteuil in the background of the composition, Hooper made a play on the word "view" and called the background a "stew" of the village, again placing emphasis on the lack of clarity and definition in the forms.[86] Actually, this word play was lifted directly from an article published on 2 May 1875, in *Le Figaro* penned by the Belgian writer Jean Rousseau.[87]

Later, Hooper could not resist the temptation to take additional shots at Manet's *Argenteuil* and to reinforce the idea of the artist as a madman, when in the June issue of *Appleton's Journal*, she noted for her readers that Manet's *Argenteuil* had been caricatured by "Cham" in his "Salon pour rire," with the caption, "M. Manet, being subject to these attacks of painting in the spring, ought to take medicine at that season."[88] The implication of course was that Manet's works were not products of a healthy man but reflected a sick and unstable constitution and vision. In July, Hooper was on Manet's trail again when she recounted a story she had heard about Madame Manet, who had told

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the wife of an American artist that she could no longer bear to go near her husband's picture at the Salon because she overheard such unkind remarks about it whenever she ventured close by.[89]

Hooper continued to follow Manet's activities, and in July 1875, she alerted her readers to Manet's forthcoming illustrations for Stéphane Mallarmé's translation of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Raven" (1849) which she hoped would be more acceptable than his recent paintings.[90] In 1876, Manet's submissions were rejected by the admissions jury for the Salon, and Hooper leaked the news of the rejection to her readers with obvious relish and with disdain for the uncouth subject of *Le Linge (Laundry*,1875; Barnes Foundation, Merion, PA) in particular:

> Manet's picture, entitled "Le Linge," has been definitely rejected; indeed, it is said that only the strong feeling of *camaraderie* among the elder artists has procured the admission of his works for two seasons past. His chief contribution this year represented a woman washing underclothes in the open air, and so realistic were the garments displayed on the lines in the background that the effect was extremely ridiculous.[91]

Later in the same season, Hooper wrote that she had seen three of Manet's paintings in the windows of the Durand-Ruel gallery. There she saw "three full-length, life-sized figures from his [Manet's] eccentric brush, a Spanish bull-fighter, a cavalier in black velvet, and a French working-man in a blue blouse, all of them fearfully and wonderfully executed, and quite capable of terrifying the hungriest of crows into fleeing from the most tempting of cornfields."[92] Typically, Hooper cloaked her criticism in humor, but underneath the superficial compliment for Manet's powerful technique, she remained inured to sincere admiration for the painter's works.

Hooper's attention to Manet diminished after 1876, for reasons that are not entirely clear. After July 1876, *Appleton's Journal*, where many of her art reviews had appeared, introduced a new format that did not include a section on contemporary art events. Hooper continued to write for *Appleton's Journal* thereafter, but her articles were on French life, and art notes, when they appeared, were in the editor's column. Moreover, Hooper devoted a larger amount of her time to literary pursuits in the late 1870s and early

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1880s. During these years, she translated Alphonse Daudet's *Nabob* from French into English (1879), and she published two novels *Under the Tricolor: American Colony in Paris* (1880) and *The Tsar's Widow* (1881). As a result of her increased literary activities, only occasional art reviews by Hooper appeared in the *Art Journal*, and when she did review the Salon, Hooper showed little interest in Manet.

The reporting of newsy gossip and the latest cultural trends was also at the heart of the art writing of Richard Whiteing (1840-1928), an English journalist and novelist, who wrote a column on activities in Paris for the London and New York *World*.[93] Whiteing watched Manet with interest beginning in the late 1870s around the time that Hooper's commentaries dwindled, and his remarks, although witty and sometimes mocking in tone, were more sophisticated than Hooper's in that he understood the goals of Manet's art and tried to convey the artist's intentions to his readers, even if he was not completely convinced of the merits of the works. In 1878, revealing frustration with the biased and conservative policies of the admission jury, he complained that the works accepted for the Universal Exposition were impressive in quality but not in variety and that younger and less well-known artists had not been given a chance to show their works. Whiteing listed not only Manet but also the Impressionists among the young innovators whose works had been passed over by the selection committee.[94]

In his review of the Salon of 1879, Whiteing confided in his introduction that he would take only a quick gallop through the galleries, "seeing with my eyes just simply what attracts or rather commands attention on a first view." Among the first works that attracted his attention were Manet's two paintings, *In the Conservatory* (fig. 13) and *Boating* (fig. 12). In response to *In the Conservatory*, Whiteing registered a complaint common among critics responding to Impressionist pictures: "Seen closely the muslin dress of the lady in the conservatory is a mere file of dabs; seen at a distance, I will not deny that it has its effect of verisimilitude. In like manner the man's beard might be

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seaweed when you are near enough to pull it, but from the proper standpoint it comes out all right, as the artists say."

Whiteing's tone was playful, and like Hooper, he poked fun at Manet's work, calling attention to the surface qualities, in particular the sketchy handling and the "raw" palette, but in the final analysis, he admitted that he could "see" what the artist had tried to convey. Placing emphasis on the fact that these stylistic elements were not the norm, however, Whiteing added that "the Academical crowd have a horror of him [Manet]." Finally, in a sarcastic tone, he observed that it was extraordinary to find two works by Manet at the Salon, and he posed a question that revealed his ambivalence toward the unorthodox new style: "Whither are we drifting—towards nature or towards barbarism?" By alluding to the fact that his works were often rejected for the Salon, and that it was rare for the painter to show more than one work at an exhibition, Whiteing demonstrated that Manet's success rate in the official arena was not high. In so doing, Whiteing was touching on a detail that would not have impressed American art enthusiasts or attracted them to Manet's works, but the critic was obviously trying to be funny, revealing at the same time that he did not take the artist very seriously.[95]

In his 1879 Salon review, Whiteing proved himself quite informed about Manet's artistic aims. He identified Manet as a "young master who enjoys equal authority with the best of the old ones as the head of a school," and he referred to the artist as "Manet the Impressionist." In the same article, Whiteing also identified Manet as the analogue in art of Emile Zola in literature. Considering his literary interests, Whiteing was certainly aware of the great success of Zola's novels in the late 1870s and understood more clearly the goals of Manet's art as well. Explaining the relationship further, Whiteing added, "Workmen appear to swear very hard and to use very foul language, therefore write down their oaths and slang; this is Zola. Real colors often look [like] very raw colors, therefore so paint them; this is Manet." From his comments, it would appear that Whiteing categorized Manet as an Impressionist on account of the "raw" colors he used, and he

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defined him as a "naturalistic" or associate of Zola for painting his subject "exactly as it appears."[96]

Whiteing and Hooper both reported on Manet with the primary intention of entertaining their readers and keeping them abreast of contemporary cultural events in the French capitol. Of the two, Whiteing's criticism reflected fuller understanding of the changes that were taking place in French art and which were represented by Manet's works. From both a literary and an artistic standpoint, Whiteing grasped the objectives, as well as the potential ramifications, of Naturalism, and he would continue into the early 1880s to watch these developments closely and to report on Manet's productions as well as those of his followers.

In 1878, English novelist and literary critic William Minturn also wrote a thoughtful analysis of Manet's works in light of their relationship to Zola. The article on Manet was part of a three-part series by Minturn on French writers and artists that appeared in *Appleton's Journal*, and it followed an article on the Realist school of literature devoted to Zola and Edmond de Goncourt.[97] Minturn's article was an important source of information on Manet because it situated the artist in a particular stylistic movement, Realism, it provided the biographical information completely lacking in earlier considerations of the artist, and it discussed examples of his works in different media and also from different stages in his career. In fact, it is clear from the article that Minturn had studied a number of Manet's works and was familiar with specific moments in the artist's career. In fact, it appears that Minturn was personally acquainted with the artist, a rare circumstance among non-French writers who commented on the artists, and that he visited the artist's studio to prepare for his article. A copy of one of Minturn's novels, *The Last of the Kerdrecs* (1879), which is inscribed by the author to Edouard Manet, is in the Tabarant Collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

From the opening of his article, Minturn emphasized the originality of Manet's works, and he posited that this quality was the cause of the artist's unpopularity and the abuse

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which he received from official quarters. Because it differed from the prevailing aesthetics of the day, Manet's art was difficult to label or assess. As Minturn put it: "The commonplaces of art-literature have no tolerably direct application to him; 'The Correggiecity of Correggio' will not do here."[98] As a result of this independence of vision, Minturn argued, Manet had been banned from the Salon repeatedly, and he was relinquished to the Salon des refusés, an "art-refuge for the destitute." Although it was impossible to reconcile his works with the reigning conventions of academic art, Minturn tried to reconcile Manet's style with Realism. Minturn defined Realism, in literature and in art, as a style built upon ordinary, everyday observation. The writer or artist took the "impression" and built it into something lasting, essential, and truthful, which reminded his audience of someone or something that he or she had actually seen. The test of the Realist work was that its subject had to ring true.[99]

Given these guidelines for the Realist style, Minturn examined the two paintings by Manet that had elicited vehement protest from French critics and the public, the *Luncheon on the Grass* (fig. 3) and *Olympia* (fig. 4). He condemned the *Luncheon* and called it "absurd" because it was not a situation of common experience, and therefore was not Realistic. *Olympia*, on the other hand, Minturn found overly realistic. Like Jarves before him, Minturn lambasted Manet for presenting a portrait of a recognizable woman in the nude, rather than treating the nude as a type of ideal perfection. In fact, Minturn found this intense realism so distasteful that he asked sarcastically why the artist did not take his portrayal one step farther and show the "processes of digestion, and of many other interesting things in connection with the internal structure."[100] Echoing Jarves' 1869 commentary on the same painting, Minturn wrote,

> And we tell him that his nudities have nothing in common with the primary and ultimate objects of all art worthy of the name: they do not enlarge our conception of the beautiful; they degrade it—who cares to know whether an actress has corns on her feet or not—whether her limbs fall away too much, or have the articulations too large or too small? His realism, totally misplaced, gives no impulse to the imagination other than that which is communicated by all erotic pictures. . . .[101]

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For Minturn, the aim of true art was not to shock or to aggrandize the offensive and the coarse but to engage the viewer's imagination and to lead him toward the beautiful. Reminiscent of similar labels coined by Jarves, Minturn created a hybrid stylistic category for the painter. Revealing his strong literary leanings, Minturn called Manet the "acknowledged coryphæus" of the "sensational-realistic school" of French painters.[102]

Aside from his distaste for these manifestations of extremism, Minturn found much to recommend in Manet's art, especially his more imaginative works. Minturn lavished praise on Manet's illustrations for Poe's "Raven," which he believed were the products of Manet's genius in its best mood, a mood he described as one of "weird emotionalism."[103] Given his primary interest in literature, it was not surprising that Minturn was most impressed with the manner in which the illustrations matched perfectly the language of the poem (fig. 14). As he explained,

> Contemplating these strange adumbrations, these wildly-broken lights—illustrative, indeed, of the poem, but absolutely typical of the brain that conceived it—we are more apt to think of a magician than of an artist; what are art and criticism to Erebus and madness, and the end of all? Never had a poet such a commentator, and never, perhaps, was there a poem worthy to be so translated. So perfect, indeed, is the translation from the language of the ear to the language of the eye, that Manet may be thought to have discovered a curious metaphysical correlation—to have demonstrated practically that the poetry of words is transmutable into exact equivalents of the poetry of art.[104]

The works that Minturn applauded are wash drawings, reproduced as lithographs, that border on abstraction with their blurry forms and soft outlines. Minturn described them as shadows, as if they were in the process of becoming forms or disappearing from view, like ghosts. With their illusive shapes and subtle gradations of tone, Manet's illustrations were expressive of the mysterious and even diabolical qualities of Poe's poem and exemplified the eccentric imagination of the artist at its best. Minturn implied that Manet could achieve these effects because he himself was a little mad, an assumption that Hooper had made as well.

Another work by Manet for which Minturn had high regard was the *Execution of Maximilian* (fig. 15), in which "the realism of Manet has its true field, and the

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emotionalism of his genius is only restrained by it within due bounds."[105] Manet's *Execution* had not been publicly exhibited because of its incendiary subject matter and had remained in the artist's studio where Minturn must have seen it. The "real" aspects of the composition that Minturn praised were the emperor, "livid and colic-struck with terror," who waited with fortitude for the platoon to fire as well as the "grotesque awkwardness of the rabble soldiery," who accomplished the execution. Joined with Manet's eye for essential details was his "skill in representing that intermingling of the grotesque with the tragic, never absent from the tragedy of real life and seldom from its comedy."[106] Again, the literary critic admired Manet's ability to convey emotion through the expressions of the figures and the dramatic placement and positions of their forms. He admired the painting because Manet did not simply copy the details of the execution but transformed his subject with strong imagination. As for the formal aspects of his picture, Minturn listed Manet's strengths as the "love of fierce contrasts" and his skill in managing effects of color.

Although he suggested his own weariness with the superficiality of Salon painting and expressed overtly his disgust with the corrupt practices of the Salon juries, Minturn was not an advocate for the abandonment of all traditional aesthetic standards in painting. Clearly, he found the *Luncheon on the Grass* ridiculous and the *Olympia* an outrage for their subject matter, and he lamented as well Manet's neglect of perspective in his compositions. Like Jarves, however, Minturn posited that certain of Manet's works carried "the unmistakable impress of power." Although the public laughed at the artist's works, Minturn noted, they attracted crowds, and he stated confidently that "the genius of Manet was not to be extinguished by a puff of ridicule or the cold blast of a critique."[107]

Before closing, Minturn emphasized again the extremes in Manet's style with the intention, it would appear, of showing that Manet could produce works that were worthy of acclaim but also works that were abominable. To make his point, Minturn compared *Le Bon Bock* (fig. 9) and *Argenteuil* (fig. 11). Minturn asserted that *Le Bon Bock* was a

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greatly admired work because of the radiant human vitality and humor conveyed by the figure. *Le Bon Bock* was more closely aligned with the dark-toned Spanish and Dutch inspired paintings of the 1860s like the *Execution*, which Minturn so greatly admired. Minturn, on the other hand, disparaged *Argenteuil*. He remembered that it had been greeted with indifference, the result of the unharmonious placement of the figures against "a sky of the crudest blue," which conveyed absolutely no sense of convincing spatial depth. Minturn's dislike for Manet's more brightly colored outdoor paintings and preference for the artist's darker, more traditional productions was in line with conservative critical trends in Paris and would be shared by most American critics as well when they had the opportunity in the 1880s to evaluate examples from Manet's early and late career. In fact, Manet's bright, outdoor paintings would come into greater popularity in America only when popularity of Impressionism began to soar in the early 1890s.

Minturn concluded his analysis with a few words on Manet's character. In fact, Minturn's account brings to mind perfectly the Parisian flâneur, who experienced the world at arm's length with a certain air of indifference and even disdain, an attitude which the critic defended:

> . . . he belongs to the very good—the perfectly well-dressed philosophers who from the steps of the Café Tortoni moralize on the degradation of the crowd passing below. His countenance is peculiarly open and striking; but that which specially attracts attention is the sardonic smile that is seldom absent. The relation between a successful artist of our day and the Mephistopheles of Goethe is not very obvious to remark; but a well-bred contempt of everything and everybody, whether worse than one's self or better, has always been of right and privilege to the artistic and literary tribe. Heaven forbid that I should say anything to revoke that privilege in doubt![108]

Minturn presented Manet as a man of society and fashion, and suggested that he and Manet were members of the same tribe.

At the same time when Whiteing and Minturn were communicating to American readers a more informed portrait of Manet and his association with Zola and Naturalism, a number of articles on French Impressionism, in which Manet was discussed or the new style was analyzed, began to reach American readers as well. Manet, although not formally associated with the group, had been linked to the Impressionists in the mid-to-

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late 1870s by French critics including Zola, Duranty, and Mallarmé, and the association between Manet and the Impressionists was communicated to American readers shortly thereafter.

The earliest and most authoritative article on Manet and the Impressionists in English was by the poet Stéphane Mallarmé, and it appeared in 1876 in the *Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio* published in London.[109] Mallarmé identified Manet as the "head of the school of Impressionists," and he devoted more than half of his article to a description of Manet's work, its significance, and influence. In the critic's opinion, distinctive to Manet's method was his dedication to observation and to truth of vision. The artist captured the appearance of nature or the figure without superimposing any of his own feelings and ideas (as opposed to Zola who insisted that the artist introduced his own feelings into the work). In addition to the artist's objective vision, Mallarmé emphasized Manet's ability to start each picture as a completely new exercise, in which the subject, rather than the stale conventions of the academy, dictated the composition and the treatment. Moreover, the critic pointed to the artist's talent for recording the light and air in which his subjects were enveloped, as well as his use of fresh, simple colors. Mallarmé praised the artist for devoting his attention to everyday life, and he located democratic impulses in the art of Manet as well as the Impressionists by their willingness to record the lives of ordinary people. Mallarmé discussed Manet's followers Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Berthe Morisot, Camille Pissarro, and Auguste Renoir but insisted that Manet's influence extended far beyond this small coterie. In fact, according to the critic, there was "no painter of consequence who during the last few years has not adopted or pondered over some one of the theories advanced by the Impressionists, and notably that of the open air, which influences all modern artistic thought." The poet-critic observed that even artists who were opposed to Manet's theories had adopted aspects of his style.

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Mallarmé was a supportive friend of the artist and wrote his article, at the invitation of the editor of the *Art Monthly Review*, with the obvious intention of furthering Manet's reputation abroad as well as that of the artist's young colleagues.[110] However, given the appearance of Mallarmé's article in a highly-specialized and short-lived English art journal, the number of Americans who read his thoughtful analysis was undoubtedly small. Notices of Manet and Impressionism did appear in more popular sources, however, including American magazines and newspapers, and suggest that an increasing awareness of the Impressionists, growing out of their group exhibitions and the critical literature that was generated in France in response to these exhibitions, was beginning to permeate this country. A sympathetic article on Impressionism and Manet's position within the movement was published in 1877 in the more popular and widely-circulated American daily newspaper, the *New York Daily Tribune*, penned by an unidentified Paris correspondent. The author described the Impressionists, both painters and writers, as "sincere, enthusiastic, single-minded" and noted that their only rule was "absolute truth" to their subject. Among the Impressionists, the critic named the writers Alphonse Daudet, Stéphane Mallarmé, and Emile Zola, but the only Impressionist artist he identified was Manet, whom he called "the great painter of the Impressionist cabal." While the author's main interest was with the literary manifestations of Impressionism, he made some insightful comments on Manet. He was mightily impressed with Manet's illustrations for Mallarmé's translation of Poe's "Raven," but he applauded his paintings as well, calling them "startlingly original." He emphasized that Manet preferred simple subjects, and he portrayed them with ruthless honesty. As he put it, "Manet seems to open the door into the next room, and shows you therein his picture-people, living, loving, quarreling, meditating, unconscious of observation." While he conceded that the painter had a penchant for using too much white, which was peculiar, the critic praised the light effects in Manet's pictures and observed that his figures appeared to be enveloped in real, palpable atmosphere. Moreover, he called Manet the "Vulcan of the

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studio," acknowledging that he had a powerful method of handling paint which was not palatable to all tastes. Noting how the painter's fame was growing, the critic commented that when the artist's works were rejected for the Salon, all of Paris flocked to the painter's studio to see his works.[111]

Most of the material published in the late 1870s that reached the United States, however, was far from laudatory on the subject of Manet or Impressionism. Although their emphases and concerns varied, critics across the board deemed Impressionism a deficient style, deficient in sentiment, in imagination, in technical know-how, and in beauty. As a result, its practitioners were considered weak artists who avoided the difficult and time-consuming labor that was necessary for the production of great art, or even artists who were mad and who had diseased vision which did not match the average viewer's perception of the world. While some critics on occasion noted that a few of the Impressionists had talent, more often they were focused in their comments on the extreme manifestations of the style, which they disliked.

Typical of the information that reached American readers on Impressionism was an article by L. Lejeune, probably a French writer, who in the late 1870s and early 1880s contributed occasional articles on leisure activities and life in France to *Lippincott's Magazine*. In his 1879 article, Lejeune described the Impressionist mandate to his American readers as an effort to reproduce a subject as if seen at a glance, "the first transient, unstudied impression, before even its material form is discovered." The handicap of such an approach, he lamented, was that it was impossible to capture the soul of the subject. To express the soul of a subject required long study and insight. Lejeune observed also that the Impressionists, in order to convey the idea of a rapid impression, produced sketches rather than finished works. Revealing his bias against these sketches, Lejeune suggested that the Impressionists' paintings looked as if they were executed from the window of an express train.[112]

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While the Impressionist painters claimed their artistic roots were with the Barbizon School and the Realists, Lejeune made it clear that not all were landscapists, as might be expected. In fact, a number of their members shunned the landscape to paint instead:

> studio, dramshop or theatre interiors, seeking freshness in the worn, painted, spectral faces such as haunt Baudelaire's verses, and gathering what Baudelaire has called the *fleurs de bitume*. If they go to the country at all, it is on a Sunday excursion just outside the city—to Asnières, Chatou or Bougival, where Paris has discharged her crowd of grisettes, with their attendant dry-goods clerks got up for the day as *canotiers* to make the river hideous with their loudness.[113]

Among those committed to the urban scene was Manet, whom Lejeune identified as "the high priest of Impressionism," who peopled his paintings with low types. In fact, one might wonder if Lejeune was thinking specifically of Manet's paintings like the *Absinthe Drinker* as an example of Baudelaire's *fleurs de bitume* and Manet's *Boating* (Salon of 1879) or *Argenteuil* (Salon of 1875), when he referred to the grisettes and dry-goods clerks dressed like *canotiers* who made the river "hideous with their loudness." In the final analysis, Lejeune asserted that he was not a fan of the Impressionists but preferred instead the works of Corot, Mariano Fortuny y Carbo, and Millet, who practiced "true Impressionism" by "giving form not to the mere outside detail of a scene, but to its mood or the train of thought and feeling with which it inspired them."[114] Lejeune's informed but conservatively-minded assessment placed primary importance on poetry and feeling in a painting, as well as on conventional ideas of beauty and harmony and pointed toward issues that would plague the critical reception of Manet and Impressionism for the next decade or more.

Lejeune was not alone in insisting that an impression lacked the soul or meaningful content that was possible only through more sustained and labored artistic engagement. Although not an art critic, a respected American voice issued a statement on Impressionism in 1876 in response to the group's exhibition at the Durand-Ruel gallery in Paris. Henry James, writing for *New York Daily Tribune*, categorized the Impressionists as simply passing perversities, but in the process he formulated clear reasons why he found their art so distasteful. He called the painters "partisans of

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unadorned reality and absolute foes to arrangement, embellishment, selection, to the artist's allowing himself, . . . to be preoccupied with the idea of the beautiful." He insisted that none of their number had first-rate talent and that the works revealed a "plentiful absence of imagination."[115] Likewise, in 1879 the editor of *Appleton's Journal* berated Impressionist painters for not providing enough information or completing their works. In warning to young painters in New York who were beginning to practice the style, he noted that:

> an art that relates experience and reports impressions which the rest of the world have never known or seen, would be as meaningless to that world as color is to the blind. Under such a rule art would consist of a series of phantasies representing all the grotesque and wild vagaries of diseased imaginations, all the affectation, posturing, and extravagant antics of self-conscious and conscienceless pretenders, such as sane people could not comprehend and rightfully would not tolerate, instead of a trustworthy but supreme and exalted reflection of the life that we know and the things that we see.[116]

Similarly, the widely-respected American landscape painter George Inness, who resented the application of the label "impressionist" to his own works, responded testily to the productions of the French Impressionists in an interview published in the *Art Journal.* He insisted that the French Impressionists ignored the reality of the unseen, and that objects seen in nature must be "subjected to the regulating power of the artistic sentiment;" otherwise the artist's "pictures will be anatomical platitudes, scientific diagrams, geographical maps, instead of living men and significant landscapes."[117]

In addition to criticisms leveled at the superficiality or emptiness of an art based solely on that which is seen, there were frequently repeated complaints against the use of bold colors and crude paint handling. As craftsmen, Impressionists were categorized as impatient of detail or antithetical to the traditional goals of art, meaning drawing and arrangement.[118] In response to the Impressionist exhibition of 1877, Henry Bacon (1839-1912), an American expatriate painter living in Paris, wondered if the painters were "afflicted with some hitherto unknown disease of the eye, for they neither see form nor color as other painters have given them to us, or as nature appears to all who do not belong to this association. Their models must be a regiment of monstrosities with green

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or violet flesh, the skies of their landscapes green, the trees purple and the ground blue." Bacon assured his readers, however, that these freak productions were not taken seriously by French viewers, who generally wore "a smile upon their faces, and many a broad grin."[119] Bacon's disdain for the new style was shared by another American artist, a student in Gérôme's atelier named J. Alden Weir (1852-1919). After seeing the 1877 Impressionist exhibition, Weir expressed his bewilderment and disgust in a letter to his parents: "I went across the river the other day to see an exhibition of the work of a new school which call themselves 'Impressionalists.' I never in my life saw more horrible things. . . . They do not observe drawing nor form but give you an impression of what they call nature. It was worse than the Chamber of Horrors."[120]

Likewise, in 1879, American art student Kenyon Cox (1856-1919), reviewing the Salon for a Cincinnati newspaper, pointed squarely at Manet's *Boating* (fig. 12) as the target of his venom. In a derisive tone, Cox gave a recipe for an Impressionist picture:

> The appearance of having taken a bit of nature as he found it, without composition . . . , is got by cutting the figures in two and showing only parts of them. Having chosen his subject in this way, he [Manet] seems carefully to have avoided all appearances of drawing, of modelling [sic], or of detail, and laying in two or three broad tones, more or less true, and a number of apparently aimless daubs with the brush—behold an impressionist picture![121]

The critic for the *New-York Times* in a review of the 1879 Impressionist exhibition also decimated the new style. According to this observer, who was writing from Paris,

> The misfortune of "impressionism" is that it leads to nothing, for it is simply the negation of art in its most elementary principles. The "realistic" school was bad enough, but here, at least, painters limited their ideal to the exact reproduction of nature, and possessed the undoubted merits of an execution which they tried to render as perfect as possible. . . . Here [in Impressionist painting] there is nothing of the kind; none of the clique appears to have any definite end in view beyond that of eccentricity, and, until their adepts shake off the trammels of sectarian art folly, none of them will attain celebrity, except of that kind which insures a sale to unhealthy curiosity. . . .[122]

The *Times* critic believed not only that the Impressionists had abandoned the basic tools and skills of painting but also that they could never hope to achieve success, other than that of a sensational kind, unless they redirected their efforts toward a more conventional and legible product.

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By the late 1870s, Manet was better known to Americans through the efforts of American writers and artists reporting on the Parisian art scene. Growing familiarity with the artist and his association with Realism and Impressionism did not guarantee admiration, however, and reactions to Manet's paintings ranged from angry and condemning to appreciative with some reservations. Those critics and artists who refused to consider artistic methods or subjects outside of academic boundaries found Manet's manner rough and unfinished. His colors, particularly those of his more Impressionistic works, were deemed crude and unnatural. The artist himself was considered eccentric, and the subjects he adopted for his paintings were considered coarse and vulgar, which reflected poorly on his character. Many commentators from the conservative camp, including American artists, hoped that this pestilence would lose its force and impact on the course of art. However, Manet did capture the attention of a few critics, most notably Jarves, Benson, and Minturn, who defended him to their American readers. His powerful handling of paint and insistence on everyday subjects appealed to the select few who were growing weary with the prevailing academic conventions and were perhaps even sympathetic to Manet's courageous independence in an art world that demanded conformity. Given commonly held expectations for art, that it be legible, finely painted, and intellectual, even Manet's admirers found it impossible to accept the innovations of his art unreservedly, but their regard for him in an arena characterized by conservative taste is remarkable.

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Endnotes to Chapter One

[1] During his lifetime, only one painting by Manet is known to have been exhibited in the United States. In December 1879 and January 1880, the *Execution of Maximilian* was exhibited in New York and Boston. For a discussion of the 1879-80 exhibition, see Chapter 2.

[2] "Our Paris Letter" was a feature in *Appleton's Journal.* In the mid-1870s, the column was penned by Lucy H. Hooper.

[3] The landmark study of the critical reception of Manet's works at the Paris Salons is George H. Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954). Hamilton's study was preceded by that of Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Librarie Gallimard, 1947). The discussion of Manet and his French critics that follows is informed largely by Hamilton's excellent book as well as the scholarship of John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973); Joseph C. Sloane, *French Painting Between the Past and the Present: Artists, Critics, and Traditions, from 1848-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973); Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Françoise Cachin et al., *Manet 1832-1883* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), and T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton University Press, 1984).

[4] Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon, 1971), 20-21.

[5] Cachin, *Manet*, 67, 506.

[6] Much scholarship has been devoted to the Salon des refusés and to Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* exhibited there. Particularly helpful for this study were Anne McCauley, "Sex and the Salon: Defining Art and Immorality in 1863," in Paul Hayes Tucker, ed., *Manet's Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 38-74; David Carrier, "Manet and His Interpreters," *Art History* 8 (September 1985), 320-35; Alan Krell, "Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* in the *Salon des refusés*: A Re-appraisal," *Art Bulletin* 65 (June 1983), 316-20, and Linda Nochlin, "The Invention of the Avant-Garde in France, 1830-80," *Art News Annual* 34 (1968), 11-18.

[7] Hamilton, 51.

[8] Ibid., 47-48.

[9] Ibid., 50.

[10] Ibid., 58.

[11] Ibid., 82. As Hamilton has pointed out, this rejection was a particularly humiliating one for Manet because he had exhibited at the Salon for the preceding three years, and three-quarters of the jury was composed of members chosen by participating artists.

[12] On the relationship between Manet and Zola, see Ima N. Ebin, "Manet and Zola," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 27 (1945), 357-78, and F. W. J. Hemmings, "Zola, Manet, and the Impressionists," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 73 (September 1958), 407-17.

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[13] The article appeared in *L'Artiste. Revue du dix-neuvième siècle* on 1 January 1867, and is reprinted in English in Therese A. Gronberg, ed., *Manet: A Retrospective* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1988), 62-96.

[14] Gronberg, 70.

[15] Cachin, *Manet*, 280-85.

[16] Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 141-43.

[17] Hamilton, 111.

[18] Ibid., 135.

[19] For the list of the paintings sold by Manet to Durand-Ruel in 1872, see Etienne Moreau-Nelaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, vol. 1 (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1926), 132-33.

[20] For the identification of Manet as an Impressionist in the 1870s, see Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 121-24, and Charles S. Moffett, "Manet and Impressionism," in Cachin, *Manet*, 29-35.

[21] In 1874, *Railroad* was accepted for the Salon, while *Masked Ball at the Opéra* (fig. 19) and *Polichinelle* (1873; private collection, Paris) were rejected.

[22] Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1998), 49-55.

[23] Hamilton, 188-89.

[24] Ibid., 191-94.

[25] Moffett, "Manet and Impressionism," 29-35.

[26] C. S. M. [Charles S. Moffett], "'The New Painting: Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel Galleries,' Louis Emile Edmond Duranty," in Moffett et al., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 42.

[27] Hollis Clayson, "A Failed Attempt," in Moffett, *New Painting*, 149.

[28] Linda Nochlin, *Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, 1874-1904: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 8.

[29] In 1876, both *Laundry* (1875; Barnes Foundation, Merion, PA) and *Artist (Marcellin Desboutin)* (1875; Museu de Arte, São Paulo) were rejected, and Manet held a private exhibition of the works in his studio. The studio exhibition was a success, attracting large crowds as well as numerous reviews. In 1877, *Nana* (fig. 66) was rejected, and *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet* (fig. 42) was accepted.

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[30] Hamilton, 207.

[31] The major biographical sources on Jarves are Theodore Sizer, "James Jackson Jarves: A Forgotten New Englander," *New England Quarterly* 6 (June 1933), 328-52, and Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951).

[32] In 1871, after many years of effort, Jarves' collection of Italian primitive paintings, brought to this country in 1859, was acquired by Yale University and housed in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts. For a history of the collection and its acquisition, see *Italian Primitives: The Case History of a Collection and its Conservation* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1972). A second collection of Italian art, exhibited at the Foreign Exhibition of 1883 in Boston, was sold to Liberty E. Holden of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1884, and Holden's widow later gave the works to the Cleveland Museum of Art. In 1880, a collection of drawings sold by Jarves to Cornelius Vanderbilt was donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "The History of a Collection," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* n.s., 5 (April 1947), 215-20. In 1881, Jarves gave a valuable collection of Venetian glass to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and finally, a collection of embroideries, lace, costumes, and Renaissance fabrics assembled by Jarves is owned by the Farnsworth Museum at Wellesley College.

[33] For a discussion of Jarves' goals as an art critic and his position in the history of American art criticism, see George Boas, "The Critical Practice of James Jackson Jarves," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 23 (May 1943), 295-307; Benjamin Rowland, Jr., ed., "Introduction," *The Art-Idea by James Jackson Jarves* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), xi-xxix, and Cynthia Doering Kinnard, "The Life and Works of Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, American Art Critic" (Ph. D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1977), 89-95.

[34] Before the Civil War, the professional art critic was a rare breed, and most of the art writing that was published in this country appeared anonymously in newspapers and magazines in the form of exhibition reviews or notices of art-related activities. Art criticism penned before 1850 reflects a greater interest in the artist than the work of art, is personal rather than objective, and demonstrates an absence of a discernible aesthetic philosophy. As John Simoni has noted, American art criticsm before 1850 is characterized by "either indiscriminate praise or ignorant ridicule." John P. Simoni, "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth Century America" (Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University, 1952), vii-ix, and David B. Dearinger, "An Introduction to the History of American Art Criticism to 1925," in Dearinger, ed., *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826-1925* (New York: National Academy of Design, 2000), 17, 23.

[35] Dearinger, "Introduction to the History of American Art Criticism," 23-24.

[36] Jarves began writing art criticism in the mid-to-late 1850s at exactly the time when art writing in America began to mature. With the founding of the first journals of art criticism, like the *Crayon* (1855), *New Path* (1863), and *Aldine* (1867), objectivity and the adoption of aesthetic and critical criteria on the part of art writers became standard practice. Simoni, 35-49. For a concise statement of his aesthetic and moral standards for painting, see James Jackson Jarves, "Art. False Art and True Art," *Independent* 24 (20 June 1872), 2.

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[37] James Jackson Jarves, *Art Thoughts, The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869), 279.

[38] Rowland, 118.

[39] For the response to John Ruskin and his influence in nineteenth-century America, see Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), and Linda S. Ferber and William H. Gerdts, *The New Path: Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1985).

[40] Stein, 135.

[41] The title of Jarves' study bears resemblance to the work of another highly esteemed art critic of the period, Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Hamerton, an English art writer, who also followed Manet's activities, published his *Thoughts on Art* in 1862, in which he insisted upon the critic's responsibility not to follow fashion but to defend true artists living or dead and to prevent the fame of false artists living or dead. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *Thoughts About Art*, rev. ed. (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1871), 290-304.

[42] Jarves, *Art Thoughts*, 280.

[43] Ibid., 260.

[44] Ibid., 260-61.

[45] Jarves and his second wife, Belle, had visited Paris on their return trip to Italy from the United States in the spring of 1865. This was not Jarves' first trip to the French capital. Jarves had first visited France in the winter of 1851-52, and it was during this stay in Paris, where he studied the collections in the Louvre Museum, that he developed his passion for art. Steegmuller, 108, 220-22.

[46] The impetus for America to enter the international cultural arena and the particular preference for French culture in the period after the Civil War is discussed in H. Barbara Weinberg, "Late-Nineteenth-Century American Painting: Cosmopolitan Concerns and Critical Controversies," *Archives of American Art Journal* 23 (1983), 19-26.

[47] See Eugene Benson, "Modern French Painting," *Atlantic Monthly* 22 (July 1868), 88-95; William J. Hoppin, "A Glimpse of Contemporary Art in Europe. I," *Atlantic Monthly* 32 (August 1873), 200-09, and William J. Hoppin, "A Glimpse of Contemporary Art in Europe. II," *Atlantic Monthly* 32 (September 1873), 257-67.

[48] Eugene Benson was born in Hyde Park, New York, and he studied painting at the National Academy of Design in the 1850s. Benson went abroad to study art in 1873, going first to France and later to Italy. He settled in Venice in 1888, where he lived until his death. Benson specialized in portraits and narrative paintings which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in London and at the National Academy of Design in New York. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1888 ed., s.v. "Benson, Eugene"; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1929 ed, s.v. "Benson, Eugene," by H. W.; Robert J. Scholnick, "Between Realism and Romanticism: The Curious Career of Eugene Benson," *American Literary Realism* 14 (1981), 242-53, and Laura L. Meixner, *French*

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Realist Painting and the Critique of American Society, 1865-1900 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 45-48, n. 50

[49] Benson, 91-92.

[50] Benson expressed his frustration with academic French art as follows: "At this moment we are misled by the mechanical dexterities of a Meissonier, or the delicate sensualities of a Cabanel, or the cruel, passionless, polished nudities of Gérôme,—or perhaps we fall down to the tiresome level of Frère. But these are not the masters of French art in the nineteenth century, they are simply the able men of the hour. When you say French art, base your thought upon Delacroix, Millet, Rousseau, and Corot,—for they are not local, or Parisian, but French, that is, Continental, universal." About Courbet, in the same article, Benson wrote: "Courbet is also a protest against the corrupt and the classic art patronized by the officials of the Second Empire." Ibid., 94-95.

[51] William J. Hoppin was a lawyer, dramatist, and art writer who was born in Providence, Rhode Island. Hoppin was educated at Yale and at Middlebury College from which he graduated in 1832. He completed a law degree at Harvard University in 1835. He was a frequent traveler to Europe, and he contributed articles on art to American and European periodicals. From 1848 to 1852, he was the editor of the *Bulletin of the American Art Union.* He was one of the founders of the Century Club in New York in 1846, and later he served as a managing director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hoppin was the chairman of the fine arts selection committee for the American display at the Universal Exposition of 1867 in Paris. His career as a diplomat began in 1876 until 1886, when he was secretary of the United States legation at London. His brother Thomas Frederick Hoppin was a painter in New York who had studied in Paris under Paul Delaroche, and another brother Augustus Hoppin was a book illustrator. *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, 1888 ed., s.v. "Hoppin, William Jones." For a discussion of American art at the 1867 exposition, see Carol Troyen, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," *American Art Journal* 16 (Autumn 1984), 2-29. Troyen argues that the failure of the American art exhibit at the exposition was a major factor in the rush abroad, to France in particular, by American artists and patrons for art instruction and art purchases.

[52] For a complete list of the jurors and the recipients of the awards, see G. P., "The Universal Exhibition," *New York Evening Post,* 29 May 1867, 1.

[53] Hoppin, "Glimpse of Contemporary Art in Europe. I," 204-5.

[54] Ibid., 206.

[55] Albert Lambron was born in 1836. He was student of Hippolyte Flandrin and Charles Gleyre, and he specialized in genre painting. He made his début at the Paris Salon of 1859. *La Vierge et l'enfant Jésus* is listed as no. 1209 in the paintings section of the 1865 Salon catalogue.

[56] Jarves, *Art Thoughts*, 268.

[57] Ibid., 269.

[58] Ibid.

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[59] Jarves, "False Art and True Art," 2.

[60] Jarves, *Art Thoughts,* 269.

[61] *Saint Sébastien, martyr* is listed as no. 1818 in the paintings section of the 1865 Salon catalogue.

[62] Rowland, xxii.

[63] Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 96-98.

[64] Hamilton, 71.

[65] Patricia Mainardi, "The Political Origins of Modernism," *Art Journal* 45 (Spring 1985), 11-17. T. J. Clark has noted that the word "ugly" or "ugliness" was used by mid-nineteenth-century critics to refer to any number of artists and their works, including Thomas Couture's *Romans of the Decadence* exhibited at the Salon in 1847 and Chassériau's *Two Sisters* at the Salon of 1843, when the works did not fulfill the critic's notion of good taste. See Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic 1848-1851* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1973), 137-38.

[66] Jarves, *Art Thoughts,* 270.

[67] In his disapproval of the exacting detail typical of American landscape paintings of the pre-Civil War period, Jarves' aesthetic philosophy diverges from that of John Ruskin and Ruskin's American followers.

[68] Sordello, "The Art of Yesterday in France," *New York Evening Post*, 19 August 1867, 1. Quoted in Meixner, 194, n. 4.

[69] Emile Zola, "Edouard Manet," *L'Artiste. Revue du XIXe siècle* (1 January 1867). In Gronberg, 73-76.

[70] These were *Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge* (1859; Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, MA), *Wapping* or *On the Thames* (1860; National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), and *Crepuscule in Flesh Color and Green: Valparaiso* (1866; Tate Gallery, London). Whistler's four entries were exhibited in the British art galleries and not the American at the request of the artist. Troyen, 8-9.

[71] Jarves, *Art Thoughts,* 269.

[72] "Reviews and Literary Notices," *Atlantic Monthly* 25 (February 1870), 253-54.

[73] Ibid., 254.

[74] Ibid., 253-54; and "Editor's Literary Record," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 40 (February 1870): 460-61.

[75] In the obituary she wrote for Jarves in 1888, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer referred to Jarves as an influential critic thirty years before, whose "writings do not seem of much importance to-day, being sentimental and theoretic rather than exact, technical, critical in the true sense; and a great many of his sentiments and theories being curiously astray

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from what the present generation believes, upon better grounds than his, to be the truth. Yet at the time they were printed they undoubtedly had a good influence in this country as awakening, if not always rightly directing, an interest in artistic things . . . ." Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. Obituary Notes," *Independent* 40 (20 September 1888), 1199.

[76] The "failures" referred to were Manet's *Woman with a Parrot* (fig. 23) and *Portrait of Emile Zola.* "Fine Arts--Salon of 1868," *New-York Times*, 17 May 1868, 3. At the Salon of 1869, Manet showed *Luncheon in the Studio* (fig. 56) and *On the Balcony* (fig. 39). "Fine Arts," *New York Evening Post*, 1 July 1869, 2.

[77] In January 1872, Paul Durand-Ruel saw two paintings by Manet in the studio of Alfred Stevens, and filled with admiration for the works, the dealer visited Manet the following day and purchased twenty-four canvases for a total of 35,000 francs. Rewald, 272.

[78] H. B., "European Art Gossip," *New-York Times*, 10 March 1872, 4.

[79] *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1888 ed., s.v. "Hooper, Lucy Hamilton," and *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1929 ed, s.v. "Hooper, Lucy Hamilton," by B. M. S.

[80] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 266.

[81] It was obvious from the review that Hooper herself hardly knew who Manet was. In fact, she confused Manet with Claude Monet, a mistake that many critics after her would make as well. She wrote, "Two of his pictures, 'Breakfast' and 'Boulevard des Capucines,' formed part of that highly comical exhibition, gotten up by the Anonymous Society of Painters and Sculptors, and were two of the most absurd daubs in that laughable collection of absurdities." Lucy H. Hooper, "Fine Arts. The Salon of 1874," *Appleton's Journal* 11 (20 June 1874), 796-97. On Manet's "pugnacious" personality, see Rewald, 197-98.

[82] L. H. H., "The Salon of 1874," *Lippincott's Magazine* 14 (July 1874), 128-33.

[83] Hamilton notes that the cartoonist Bertall in *L"Illustration*, 29 May 1875, thanked Manet for injecting a spirit of gaiety into an otherwise solemn Salon. Hamilton, 189.

[84] Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad. Our Paris Letter," *Appleton's Journal* 13 (29 May 1875), 698-99.

[85] Lucy H. Hooper, "The Salon of 1875. First Paper," *Art Journal* 1 (June 1875), 190.

[86] Ibid., 188-90.

[87] Rousseau wrote: "The heads and costumes have a certain liveliness. That is all. Behind the figures there is an indigo river, hard as iron and straight as a wall. In the background a view, or rather a stew, of Argenteuil; not a line, not a plane, not a shape carried out. The master has reached the stage of a twenty-year-old student." Hamilton, 189. Hooper's use of the English word "stew" in place of "view" was undoubtedly inspired by Rousseau's use of the French words "*ragôut*" and "*vue*."

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[88] Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad. Our Paris Letter," *Appleton's Journal* 13 (19 June 1875), 793. The same cartoon is mentioned in "Art and Artists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 22 June 1875, 6.

[89] Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad. Our Paris Letter," *Appleton's Journal* 14 (3 July 1875), 26.

[90] Ibid. See Edgar Poe, *Le Corbeau*, trans. Stéphane Mallarmé (Paris: Richard Lesclide, 1875). For an analysis of Poe's reputation in America in the mid-to-late 1870s and the response of American literary critics to the translation of the poem and the accompanying illustrations by Manet, see Meixner, 196-202.

[91] Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad," *Appleton's Journal* 15 (6 May 1876), 604-5. The two works rejected for the Salon were *Artist (Marcellin Desboutin)* and *Laundry.*

[92] Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad," *Appleton's Journal* 15 (17 June 1876), 798. The paintings Hooper saw in Durand-Ruel's windows were probably *Mlle V... in the Costume of an Espada* (1862; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), either *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* (1863; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) or *Tragic Actor* (fig. 7), and *Ragpicker* (1869; Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA), all of which were purchased by Durand-Ruel from Manet in 1872.

[93] Richard Whiteing was by training an engraver of seals. In the mid-1860s, Whiteing made his first foray into journalism with a series of satirical articles on political and social topics published in the *Evening Star.* Later he became the Paris correspondent for the London and the New York *World*, a position that he held from the late 1860s to the mid-1880s. Whiteing published several novels, the most successful of which was *No. 5 John Street* (1899), as well as an autobiography, *My Harvest* (1915). *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1922-1930 ed., s.v. "Whiteing, Richard, 1840-1928 ed.," by F. Page.

[94] Richard Whiteing, "The Exposition at Paris," *New York World*, 1 May 1878, 2.

[95] Richard Whiteing, "The Paris Salon of 1879," *New York World*, 25 May 1879, 5. Manet did not exhibit at the Universal Exposition of 1878, and in 1877, one of his two submissions to the Salon, *Nana*, was rejected. Both of Manet's works were rejected by the Salon jury in 1876, and in 1875, Manet showed only one painting, *Argenteuil* at the Salon. Thus, Manet had not shown more than one painting at the Salon since 1874, and Whiteing pointed out this lack of success to his readers.

[96] Ibid. For Whiteing's opinions on Zola and the Naturalists, see Richard Whiteing, "Blouses in a Ball-Room," *New York World*, 15 May 1879, 1.

[97] William Minturn, "French Writers and Artists. III. Edouard Manet," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 5 (September 1878), 277-79. The Manet article was preceded by "French Writers and Artists. I. Ernest D'Hervilly," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 4 (June 1878), 571-73, and "French Writers and Artists. II. Emile Zola and Edmond de Goncourt," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 5 (July 1878), 82-84.

[98] Minturn, "French Writers and Artists. III," 277.

[99] About Zola's brand of Realism, Minturn wrote, "The persons and the things which Zola loves to describe are such as naturally and inevitably fall under the observation of

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every one. But the blurred and confused outlines we retain of them, as of things not specially interesting, contrast amazingly with the photographic presentation of them in the pages of Zola. His fish-wives, his pork-butchers and their wives, his market-garden women, his tavern-politicians, every character he brings upon the scene is instinct with life, and, in every word and gesture, reminds us of some one we have actually seen, we know not when or where." Minturn, "French Writers and Artists. II," 83.

[100] Minturn, "French Writers and Artists. III," 278.

[101] Ibid.

[102] The label "sensational-realistic" echoes Jarves, who referred to artists including Gérôme, Baudry, Cabanel, and Doré as "sensualist-realists," because their works emphasized the erotic, weird, or violent. Jarves, *Art Thoughts,* 280. The word "sensational," which was used frequently in reference to Manet's works, meant "calculated to produce a startling effect" or it could refer to a work of literature or art that was built upon "violently exciting effects." *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 976.

[103] Minturn, "French Writers and Artists. III," 278.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., 279.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid., 277.

[108] Ibid., 279.

[109] Stéphane Mallarmé, "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet," *Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio* 1 (30 September 1876), 117-22. The article is reprinted in Moffett, *New Painting*, 27-35.

[110] Jean C. Harris, "A Little-Known Essay on Manet by Mallarmé," *Art Bulletin* 46 (December 1964), 559-63, and Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 267-68.

[111] "The Impressionists," *New York Daily Tribune*, 28 April 1877, 3. From Meixner, 196, n. 8.

[112] L. Lejeune, "The Impressionist School of Painting," *Lippincott's Magazine* 24 (December 1879), 725.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid., 726.

[115] Henry James, Jr., "Parisian Festivity," *New York Daily Tribune*, 13 May 1876, 2.

[116] "Editor's Table. Impressionism in Art," *Appleton's Journal* n.s. 6 (April 1879), 377.

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[117] E., "Mr. Inness on Art Matters," *Art Journal* 5 (1879), 377.

[118] "Whistler and the Impressionists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 19 July 1879, 2.

[119] Henry Bacon, "Art Matters in Paris," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 5 May 1877, 6. For the expression of similar concerns about crude handling and overly bright colors, see "Fine Arts," *Boston Herald*, 3 June 1877, 7.

[120] J. Alden Weir to his father and mother, Paris, 15 April 1877, in Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life & Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 123.

[121] K[enyon] C[ox], "The Paris Salon," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 9 July 1879, 4. This review is quoted in H. Wayne Morgan, ed., *An American Art Student in Paris: The Letters of Kenyon Cox, 1877-1882* (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1986), 20. Cox's response to the works of Manet was not surprising. He was a student of Gérôme at the Ecole des beaux-arts, and he would develop into a staunch defender of academic painting.

[122] "Art in Paris," *New-York Times*, 27 April 1879, 2.

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Chapter Two

1879-1880: Manet's American Debut

Beginning in the late 1860s, American readers interested in the Paris art scene gleaned bits and pieces of information on the life and work of Edouard Manet from popular magazines and newspapers, as well as a few art journals, but before the 1879-80 exhibition of the *Execution of Maximilian* (fig. 15) in New York and Boston, there was no known opportunity to view an example of the artist's work on these shores.[1] Prior to his American debut, opinions of Manet and his art, whatever the source, were mixed. A few influential critics including James Jackson Jarves, Eugene Benson, and William Minturn admired Manet's powerful painting technique and bold, simplified images, but they could not endorse his sometimes outrageous or immoral subject selections or his seeming inattention to the basic rules of picture making and finish. While they did not embrace his efforts wholeheartedly, these writers admitted nevertheless that Manet was a talented artist and validated his importance by calling attention to his productions. The majority of art commentators, mainly those who wrote for the popular press, portrayed Manet as an eccentric, who repeatedly subjected himself to the abuse of the French public and critics with his unconventional paintings. These more skeptical commentators complained that Manet's works were "sensational," that the colors were too bold and the transition from lights to darks overly abrupt, that the works revealed a lack of artistic skill particularly in the depiction of spatial depth, that the artist had a penchant for vulgar subject matter, and finally, that he had a tendency to work in a rough, sketch-like manner. These same writers did not, however, mask the fact that, particularly in the 1870s, Manet had risen in status in the French art world, had won a loyal following of critics and painters in Paris, and was the mentor of a school of young painters, who became known as the Impressionists.

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In 1879, the year when Americans were given their first opportunity to see a work by this disputed master, the critical response was quite favorable although stateside critics shared many of the same concerns expressed by their colleagues abroad. Art writers in both New York and Boston found the painting "striking" and "original," and they expressed admiration for Manet's forceful handling of paint and ability to convey a strong sense of action and drama. Simultaneously, however, there was a pervasive refrain of discomfort with the extreme lack of finish revealed in areas of the painting and also distaste for the selection of such a brutally realistic subject. Manet's work, even to those who admired it the most, represented a step too far in the direction of sketchiness or "impressionism" and teetered dangerously on the edge of illegibility. Because the painting was unorthodox in its treatment, critics foresaw correctly that mainly artists, and not the public, would find the exhibition worthwhile. As predicted, the exhibition was not a popular success, and the most ardent fans of Manet's picture were New York artists J. Carroll Beckwith, William Merritt Chase, and Walter Shirlaw. The exhibition, therefore, was not a landmark in the building of a broad-based or popular reputation for Manet in America, but it did capture the interest of some American critics and artists, whose reactions to the work suggest their dissatisfaction with academic clichés and admiration for originality and independence of creative vision. Their responses to the painting provide a window through which to examine some of the prevailing aesthetic concerns of the late 1870s as well and lend insight into the critical controversies that would surround Manet's works for the decades to come in the United States.

The critics who responded to the exhibition of the *Execution of Maximilian* were themselves weighing the merits of painterliness, finish, and "impressionism" at home. In the late 1870s, in both Boston and New York, traditional aesthetic values were challenged as young American artists and critics returned from their studies and travels abroad, often from Munich or Paris, and brought with them a taste for rich, expressive handling of paint and new understandings of finish and completeness that were

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antithetical to the standards upheld by older or more conservative, academically oriented American artists. Their radical new aesthetic clashed with that of the old guard, giving rise in the late 1870s to tensions in the art world, particularly in New York, the seat of the National Academy of Design and the artistic heart of the nation. The critical response to Manet's painting was consistent with the commendations as well as the warnings and criticisms that American critics gave to American artists who worked in an "impressionistic" manner. In fact, several critics unleashed such venom in response to Manet's work that it is difficult not to deduce that they were trying to make a point about standards in painting, standards that they wanted American artists to uphold and which Manet was perceived as having violated. Even more progressive critics, who supported the new men, cautioned them against privileging technique over content. Manet's painting, it could be said, was caught directly in the fray.

Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* was brought to this country by opera singer Emilie Ambre and her companion, perhaps husband, Gaston de Beauplan.[2] In October of 1879, Ambre and Beauplan traveled to the United States where the diva was engaged to perform with Her Majesty's Italian Opera Company, and the couple brought the *Execution* with them for exhibition in the cities on the tour.[3] The history of Manet's acquaintance with Ambre and Beauplan is not known. Ambre owned a house near Bellevue, west of Paris, where Manet took a hydrotherapy treatment in the summer and fall of 1879.[4] Manet may have met the diva during his stay at Bellevue or he may have been acquainted with her beforehand through his social circles in Paris. It is possible that they had a mutual friend in the French singer Jean-Baptiste Faure (1830-1914), who was famous in the European opera world and who had begun to collect Manet's paintings in the early 1870s.

According to an undoubtedly romanticized biography of the diva, published in the *Boston Herald* during the tour, Emilie Ambre (1854-1898) was born in Oran, Algeria, to a French father and a half-Arab mother, and her stage name, Ambre, referred to the

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golden color of her complexion.[5] A biographical sketch published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* disclosed that Ambre left Algeria at a young age and moved to France, where she studied at the Marseilles conservatory. In 1876-77, Ambre performed in The Hague, where she captured the attention of the King of Holland, William III, who was reputed to be a "masher" with a weakness for beautiful women. William III bestowed the title of Comtesse d'Amboise upon Ambre and ensconced her in a villa where he was a frequent visitor, until she was discovered there with another male companion. Having lost the affection of the king, Ambre then moved to Paris, and thereafter she enjoyed moderate success in the French opera world.[6] For example, in Paris, in 1878, under the direction of Giuseppe Verdi, Ambre appeared in the lead role of *Aida* for the first French language performance.[7]

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Ambre performed in England and in the United States with Her Majesty's Italian Opera Company, a London-based "pick-up" troupe founded and directed by James Henry Mapleson.[8] In his memoirs, Mapleson described Ambre as "a Moorish prima donna of some ability and possessing great personal charms," providing a discreet hint that the voice of the singer was not particularly distinguished, a fact supported by reviews of her performances in the United States.[9] It was Mapleson, however, who gave Ambre the opportunity to perform the operatic role that she most coveted, the lead in George Bizet's *Carmen*. Ambre performed the role for the first time in New York on 26 November 1879, just before the opening of the exhibition of Manet's painting. The following fall at Bellevue, probably as a "thank you" for her efforts to promote his work abroad, Manet painted a portrait of Ambre as Carmen (fig. 16).[10] The portrait was a means also of promoting the diva as she longed to star in the infamous opera in Paris.[11]

The identity of Gaston de Beauplan, who is described in American newspapers as an art connoisseur and intimate of Manet's, is even more obscure. The Beauplan family was a prestigious one that had served the French monarchy and boasted a line of painters,

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composers, and writers.[12] In an interview with Ambre and Beauplan published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* during Her Majesty's engagement in that city, the unidentified reporter referred to Beauplan as the "count" and explained that he "lolls around the house attired *en neglige*, rigged up in an old coat with the legion of honor showing through the button hole. He is an affable, nervous gentleman and seems to think his lady quite worth all the litigation and trouble she has caused him."[13] All American newspaper accounts indicated that Ambre and Beauplan were married, and the litigation to which reference was made was a case brought supposedly by Beauplan's father who, according to the same reporter, tried to have his son locked up as a lunatic when he expressed his wish to marry the diva.[14] Evidently, his relationship with Ambre and the experience of traveling with Mapleson's troupe, and perhaps his family connections as well, inspired Beauplan to create an opera company of his own. In 1881, he launched De Beauplan's Grand French Opera Company for which Ambre was the prima donna.[15]

Mapleson's troupe performed at the Academy of Music in New York from 20 October through 27 December 1879. In the middle of their season, on 1 December, Manet's *Execution* was placed on view in a basement space at 757 Broadway at the corner of Eighth Street, an area of New York heavily populated with art supply stores and galleries, as well as a concentration of artists' studios.[16] The public opening was preceded by a reception for members of the press and other guests held on the evening of 29 November. In a letter written to Manet the day after the reception, Beauplan claimed without reservation that the soirée was a success. Beauplan noted that the light was good, the room well-arranged, and the buffet appealing, and the painting, which was well varnished, produced a grand effect. He explained that the art critic for the *New York Herald* helped him with the guest list for the reception and that one hundred-twenty people were invited, about fifty of whom attended. Despite the mediocre attendance, Beauplan assured Manet that the painting had evoked praise from those present, who had stood a long time looking at the work responding with surprise and admiration.

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According to Beauplan, the aspects of the painting most remarked upon were the head of Mejia (the figure on the left), the sergeant preparing his rifle for the *coup de grâce*, the hand and handkerchief of the emperor, the corner of sky in the upper left, and the group of spectators gazing over the wall. In the same missive, Beauplan remarked that the press invitation included a photograph of Manet, examples of which he promised to send to France, and explained that he had had photographs made of the painting as well (fig. 17), several of which he had given to journalists who had attended the reception. [17]

This important letter delineated the steps that Beauplan had taken to promote the exhibition of Manet's picture. Five hundred "affiches" were printed which read: "Just open! / Exhibition / of the / Great painting / of the celebrated French artist / E. Manet, / "The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian" / Admission 25 cents. / Open daily, Sunday excepted, from 10 AM to 9 PM / 757 Broadway, cor 8th St. under Daniell & Son's."[18] Although he did not mention this in the letter, repeated information and similar phrasing in the exhibition reviews suggest that a press announcement with a description of Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*, a history of the painting, and a biography of the artist was made available to the press as well. Despite the efforts and enthusiasm of Ambre and Beauplan, however, the New York exhibition of Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* was, financially speaking, disastrous because so few admission tickets were sold.[19]

On 30 December 1879, Her Majesty's Italian Opera Company departed New York for Boston, where the troupe performed at the Boston Theatre from 31 December 1879, through 10 January 1880. In Boston, Manet's picture was placed on view from 3 to 9 January, preceded by an opening reception on the evening of 2 January.[20] The exhibition was held in the gallery of the Studio Building located at the corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets.[21] To advertise the exhibition, an announcement was printed in local newspapers, and posters were placed along the city streets. The newspaper announcement read: "Exhibition of a Great Painting by / E. Manet / Studio Building. /

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Open daily from 10 A.M. to 9 P.M., until Friday 9th of / January. / Admission 25 cents."[22]

Beauplan had high hopes for the success of Manet's painting in Boston. From his letter of 30 November 1879 to Manet, it was clear that Beauplan had already begun making arrangements for the Boston exhibition. In fact, he mentioned having met an "amateur" from Boston who promised to put him in touch with "le cercle artistique" in that city, and he described Boston as the most aristocratic, elegant, and artistic city in America.[23] In a letter of 4 January 1880, written to Manet from Boston, Beauplan's preconceived notions about the New England city remained unchanged. He indicated that twenty-two invitations for the opening reception had been sent to the press, and nineteen people attended, a much better turn-out than that in New York. For the opening day of the exhibition, Beauplan had thirteen visitors. Moreover, he noted that the Boston exhibition reviews were exemplary in their commendations of the painting.[24]

In a second letter, written to Manet from Boston on 9 January, the day the exhibition closed, Beauplan maintained that Manet's painting had been received more warmly in Boston than in New York, which Beauplan called a city consumed with business, where art did not exist. He informed Manet that the Boston exhibition was attended by fifteen to twenty visitors a day, a figure that exceeded admissions in New York. Given the financial losses at both venues, however, Beauplan decided not to take the *Execution* to Chicago, where Mapleson's troupe would perform next. Obviously the opinions he had formed of Chicago were not flattering ones, as Beauplan characterized Chicago as a community lacking in culture and called it a city of "lard, Jews, and pigs."[25]

Emilie Ambre also wrote to Manet about the exhibition of Manet's *Execution.* Her letter, written from Boston on 4 January 1880, first informed Manet of her brilliant début in *Carmen* in New York and her continued success with the role in Boston. She asked Manet to mention her success to Antonin Proust, who would have a brief tenure as Minister of Fine Arts in 1881-82, and to tell him what a triumph she believed *Carmen*

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would be in Paris. Only after attending to her own interests did Ambre address the topic of Manet's exhibition. Ambre claimed that she consumed many a glass of punch and champagne (which she did not like) at both press receptions while she and Beauplan detailed all of the features of the painting to each of the guests. She credited Manet with having given her the essential repertory in English to point out the important aspects of the painting: the head [of Mejia], the sky, the sergeant, and the smoke from the rifles. On a lighter note, Ambre joked to the painter that she had convinced at least one reporter that she had copied the cynicism of the woman visible above the wall in the *Execution* in her characterization of Carmen.[26]

After the Boston exhibition closed, Ambre and Beauplan sent the *Execution* back to New York to await their return at the completion of the opera company's tour. Judging from their letters to Manet and their decision not to continue with the exhibition of Manet's *Execution*, it is clear that the premier showing of Manet's work in the United States was not a triumph. However, the painting was discussed by art critics in both cities, who struggled admirably to identify an unfamiliar artist to their readers and to reckon with his unorthodox manner of painting. The exhibition was noted primarily in art columns in local newspapers but also to a limited extent in magazines and art journals, revealing that Manet was beginning to be recognized by serious art observers in this country. A study of the exhibition reviews reveals that a similar approach was taken by critics in both New York and Boston. The critics attempted first to categorize Manet within an artistic school with which their readers could identify. Of particular interest to the New York critics was the association of Manet with the Naturalist school and in particular with the French novelist and critic Emile Zola. The Boston critics, on the other hand, identified Manet as the leader of the French Impressionist painters. Whether Manet was labeled as Naturalist or Impressionist, the critics centered their commentary on technique over subject matter. Finally, recognizing that Manet was little known in this

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country, critics attended to his biography, accomplishments, and position in the Parisian art world.

The link between Manet and Zola was encouraged by the exhibition organizers, who placed an accompanying statement of appreciation by Zola with Manet's painting in both the New York and Boston exhibition venues. This statement, which was quoted in several of the exhibition reviews, read:

> I assert that this canvas is truly the flesh and blood of the painter. It is he entirely and nothing but he. It will remain the most characteristic example of his talent, as well as the highest type of his power. * * * * Manet has admirably succeeded in producing a work of a painter, of a great painter, I mean in translating a page of history into a personal idiom, with a truth of light and shade, with the truth of objects and personages.[27]

The words were indeed Zola's, but they were not written expressly for Manet's American debut or for the *Execution of Maximilian.* Rather they were lifted from much earlier commentary on Manet's *Olympia* published first in 1867 in *L'Artist. Revue du XIXe siècle* and subsequently enlarged into a pamphlet for Manet's solo exhibition at the Universal Exposition the same year. Interestingly, the article had reappeared in 1879 in a collection of critical essays by Zola titled *Mes Haines.* Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Manet would have asked for Zola's help with his American venture, as the relationship between novelist and the painter had turned sour in the summer of 1879, just a few months before Ambre left for her tour.[28] In light of the difficulties between the two men, as well as the fact that the commentary was not recently penned nor penned specifically for the painting on exhibtion, it is reasonable to assume that the organizers, or perhaps even Manet himself, culled the lines from Zola's early and enthusiastic criticism for use as promotional material in the United States.

The pairing of the novelist/ critic's statement with Manet's *Execution* indicates that the organizers were aware of the popular acclaim enjoyed by Zola in this country in the late 1870s. In the summer of 1879, in particular, a tidal wave of interest followed the publication in English of *L'Assomoir* (1877), the seventh novel in the Rougon-Macquart series and undoubtedly Zola's greatest success to date with American readers. In

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addition to the English language edition of the novel, a theatrical adaptation by Augustin Daly toured the United States in 1879-80.[29] By emphasizing the high regard in which Zola held Manet's work, Ambre and Beauplan hoped American viewers would give serious consideration to their less-well-known friend. However, the couple may not have understood that despite wide readership of Zola's novels, there was little agreement on the merits of his style, especially among literary critics and other cultural figures concerned with issues of morality and good taste.[30]

The link between Manet and Zola had been made already in the American press. In May 1879, Richard Whiteing, in his review of the Salon, noted the similarities between the approaches of the novelist and the painter:

> Remember that Manet is in art the analogue of Zola in literature, and then you may understand him. He [Manet] is naturalistic [sic]; he paints the thing exactly as it appears—just as Zola writes the thing exactly as it appears. Workmen appear to swear very hard and to use very foul language, therefore write down their oaths and slang; this is Zola. Real colors often look very raw colors, therefore so paint them; this is Manet.[31]

Whiteing, the Paris correspondent to the *New York World*, questioned whether such approaches were leading toward "barbarism" in painting and literature, and he was not alone in his opinions. Fueled by the rising popularity of Zola's novels in this country, literary critics spilled a great deal of ink reckoning with the merits of Zola's productions, especially the aesthetic appeal of and benefit derived from his subject matter. William Minturn, writing for *Appletons' Journal,* credited the success of *L'Assomoir*, which he thought might be better titled "The Drunkard's Progress," to "the essential truth of the narrative, the life and vigor that pervade every part of it." However, Minturn noted that there were objections to Zola's work, mainly because the novelist "forces us into intimate relations with the disagreeable."[32] Clara Barnes Martin, writing for the *Atlantic Monthly* reiterated Minturn's sentiments when she stated, "No one takes up his [Zola's] books without acknowledging their irresistible power, either to attract or to repel."[33] The editor of *Appletons' Journal* viewed Zola's novels, while questionable as works of literature, as

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opportunities for education. In his review of *L'Assomoir*, the editor referred to Zola's approach as "social dissection," and he declared that:

> men of conscience everywhere ought to read it [*L'Assomoir*], not as idle fiction, but as a terrible indictment of our civilization. . . .This duty can not be rightfully evaded because the misery and the crimes depicted are Parisian. In all particulars but names and place the story is a counterpart of scenes that offend high Heaven in every great city in the world, where their existence daily arraigns the justice and humanity of man.[34]

The editor of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, on the other hand, found nothing redeeming in reading Zola's novel. In fact, he expressed fear that the novel could actually cause harm, especially if read by American youths. He stated that the atmosphere of *L'Assommoir* was:

> loaded with moral contagion. Its impure pictures may be life-like, but so would be the reproduction of a cancerous sore or of a scrofulous ulcer. We would as soon introduce the small-pox into our homes as permit this unclean volume to come in contact with the pure-minded maidens and ingenuous youth who form their chiefest ornament.[35]

Thus, American literary critics were in agreement that the graphic details in which the novelist delighted were difficult and even dangerous for American digestion. While critics debated the aesthetic and moral content of his work, none denied the effectiveness and power, or the truthfulness, of the novelist's method of presentation. American art critics shared many of the same concerns for Manet's *Execution.* None could deny the dramatic impact and forcefulness of Manet's approach—its overall effect, in other words—while they did not approve of his subject selection or his extreme artistic techniques.

In their exhibition reviews, the New York critics focused on the association of Manet with Zola and the Naturalist school as a means of explaining Manet's approach to his subject matter and composition.[36] In order to better understand what the critics might have expected from Manet's picture, as a counterpart to the works of Zola, we might consider several contemporary evaluations of Zola's Naturalistic style. According to Minturn, Zola employed:

> none of the artifices of the practised [sic] rhetorician; he makes no preparation for great effects; he seems almost unconscious that he produces them; he concludes a

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> story as if it were a *compte rendu* of something in which he had no particular interest, and with the air of a man who would have been willing to say twice as much, or only half as much, if more or less had been necessary.[37]

In addition to an apparent lack of artifice, Zola's detachment from his subject matter was another aspect of Naturalism noted by American critics. Thomas Sergeant Perry described Zola's method as follows:

> Zola's method is a singular one. There is hardly an expression of his own opinion in the whole book [*Nana*]. He has no asides for the reader. He expresses no views about the matter before him; he simply takes down the side of the house,—a disorderly house,—and lets the reader see and hear what is going on under its roof.[38]

The allusion to dissection, to exposing the inner workings and the inner secrets, was frequent in Zola criticism, and in fact, the author himself used similar scientific language to describe his technique. The critic for the *New York World* called Zola "a medical philosopher, not a moral teacher; that he must diagnose the diseases of society coldly and minutely, and only concern himself with depicting, not what the patient would have been or might have been, but what the patient is."[39] In addition to the idea that the novelist did not color his writing with his own opinions or sentiments, other ingredients of his style that were noted by critics included the "naturalness" of conversation, of settings, and of interaction among characters.

If the definition of Naturalism derived from these analyses of Zola's literary style was applied to painting, a viewer or reviewer would expect the raw, unadorned truth, delivered objectively or dispassionately and *in detail*.[40] Such a definition was assumed by the critic for the *New York Herald* who identified Manet as "the apostle of French naturalism in painting as Emile Zola is in literature" in an important early review of the New York exhibition. The critic praised the "extreme naturalness of the poses of the condemned, . . . of the very soldier-like executioners and of the group of gamins on the wall. . . ." Also he called the poses of Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia "highly dramatic" and praised the expressions of the emperor and his generals which he pronounced as calm and disdainful. In fact, although he noted that Maximilian was in

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reality shorter than his generals, not equal to them in height as Manet had shown, the critic characterized the picture as "*la vérité cru [sic].*"[41]

The phrase "*la vérité cru,*" while a nod in the direction of truthfulness on one level, also revealed the critic's concern for Manet's painting methods. The critic deemed Manet's manner of painting "coarse" and compared the painting to a piece of theater scenery, with the color applied broadly and with few shadows. In his bewilderment, he exclaimed: "Of detail there is none on near examination. Confused splashes of paint, which at close quarters look like a mass of frozen beef, at a distance assume the form and action of hands clasped or in other positions. The whole work seems a huge *ébauche.*" In other words, to the critic's mind the work appeared preliminary and unfinished. Moreover, the critic expressed shock over the absence of depth in the composition. He complained that the spacing between the two men was too close, as was the placement of the executioners in relation to the victims. The *Herald* critic appreciated the *effect* of the work, when it was seen from a distance, but he lamented the lack of detail and the undisciplined handling. Overall, the writer considered the *Execution* a work of "many excellent qualities" produced by an "unconventional, powerful and original" artist. However, he realized that it would probably appeal more to the artist and the amateur than to the general public because of the interesting technique. The artist could relish the sheer force of the paint; while the general public would be at a loss as to how to "read" the picture.[42]

The association of Manet with Zola and Naturalism was discussed also by the critic for the *Art Interchange*, who titled his review "Manet and Zola." The critic's response to the works of both Manet and Zola was ambivalent, however, as he suggested that many readers considered Zola to be a masterful novelist; yet, he complained that the novelist selected subject matter that was "repulsive" and "vile." Noting that Zola was well-known in this country but that Manet was not, the critic called the exhibition of the *Execution* "a matter of great interest." The writer noted disparagingly the lack of detail but pointed to

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the pose of the figures and the "vigorous action of the scene" as the sources of the picture's power. Also he expressed some concern over the selection of an execution as a subject for art, a lack of aesthetic judgement on the artist's part that he believed Zola guilty of as well.[43]

The disapproval of brutal and unseemly subject matter was a recurrent one in critical writing of the 1870s and 1880s and reflected the persistence of aesthetic ideals, in particular the ideal of *le beau*, that were held earlier by critics including James Jackson Jarves. These critics cherished the idea that art should uplift the viewer and should lead him or her toward the Beautiful. Subjects that involved violence or debased activity were thought to have a demoralizing effect on the viewer. In 1877, for example, the editor of *Appleton's Journal*, summing up this aesthetic philosophy in a commentary on the pitfalls of Realism in art and literature, wrote that the business of art:

> is to select, to discover and portray the beautiful, the elevated, the ennobling, the pleasurable; to stir the emotions of pity and sympathy, to excite admiration and emulation, to enlarge the boundary of experience and sensation; but it is not privileged to deal with the repulsive and horrible, to act upon morbid and unhealthful passions, to excite contempt for sacred or rightful things, to appeal to gross or sensual appetites, to deal with the foul and diseased things of life.[44]

In the reviews of Manet's painting, critics repeatedly questioned the propriety of adopting an execution as the subject for a painting, although they agreed that the artist had effectively captured the horror of the moment.

Montague Marks, editor of the *Art Amateur*, writing under the pen name of "Montezuma," was the most outwardly hostile commentator on Manet's painting. Marks too aligned Manet with Zola, whom he called "the Dickens of bad literature." Given this unimpressive artistic pedigree, Marks expressed no surprise that Manet's works had often been refused at the Salon. In fact, the only remarkable element Marks found in Manet's picture was its enormous size, which provoked him to declare that the painting had "pretensions, the dimensions of which are unlimited." Marks' angry response stemmed from his acceptance of reigning academic standards for history painting. The huge size of Manet's canvas suggested to Marks as it did to all viewers of the period that the artist

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intended to make a serious statement; yet the adoption of a distasteful subject rendered in a sketchy, unfinished manner represented a challenge on the artist's part to prevailing aesthetic standards and spelled impudence in the mind of the critic who, as a result, found Manet's painting deeply offensive.[45]

While Manet's *Execution* elicited only a modest number of notices from New York critics, it captured more attention from Boston art commentators. Several of the Boston critics noted the picture when it was on exhibition in New York, and all of the major Boston newspapers ran articles on the painting when it was exhibited there in January 1880. Despite the fact that Zola's statement was exhibited again with Manet's picture, only three Boston critics mentioned the Zola connection; rather, the Boston critics concentrated on Manet's role as the leader of the new school of Impressionism.[46] Delta, the critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, wrote to his readers in Boston about a "singular picture" on view in New York. The artist was "Edouard Maret [sic], the first of the so-called "Impressionists" among the French artists and now representing naturalism in painting as Emile Zola represents it in literature." Although he noted that the work had many crudities and inaccuracies, Delta was insistent in his praise for the work calling it, "singularly powerful and striking in its originality and its unconventional effects. There is a sort of fascination in its almost brutal realism, and in what the artist doubtless considers a sincerity of treatment that disdains the prettiness of finish which often emasculates a work of art." Delta stated his belief that the *Execution* was certain to create a sensation in Boston, although he understood that the painting would not find favor with all viewers, but mainly with artists.[47]

Among the Boston reviews, the most informed discussion of Manet and the *Execution* appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* on the day the exhibition opened. In this front-page review, the unidentified critic, perhaps William Howe Downes who wrote for the newspaper briefly in the late 1870s, attributed to Manet great success and importance within the French art world. Not only did the critic credit Manet with the creation of the

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Impressionist or Independent school but also with "a host of other branches [of painting], all of which may be traced more or less clearly to Manet's influence and example." Moreover, the critic was quick to point to a distinction between Manet and his "followers":

> Most of the followers of this school are, to put it concisely and plainly, simply ridiculous. There are a few serious artists among them, but the mass is composed of men who have chosen to consider art as a profession to be assimilated by association and not acquired by practice. The annual exhibitions of the impressionists in Paris is as melancholy a spectacle as can be seen in that city.

The knowledgeable critic explained that Manet did not exhibit with the Impressionists; rather he preferred to send his works to the Salon, "probably because he knows to what extent the name [Impressionist] is used to cover shortcomings in execution." Apparently, the *Daily Advertiser* critic was familiar with other of Manet's works as he indicated that the defining features of Manet's style were "great precision in the representation of the general effect of nature, without however, a corresponding skill in the delineation of the peculiar charms of any motive." Moreover, he noted that most of Manet's paintings were constructed with simple groupings, "chosen without any regard to their picturesqueness" and rendered in strong contrasts of lights and darks.

As for Manet's *Execution*, the *Daily Advertiser* writer called it an excellent example of the artist's style, but he had reservations about the picture. Most notably, he questioned the supposed historical nature of the painting, stating that it "has little claims to recognition on that scope, for the event as described by witnesses is altogether different." The critic identified the most glaring fault of the picture as its "startling effrontery," resting in the cool aggression of the six soldiers on the right side of the composition. Finally, he argued that some areas of the painting gave a true impression of nature, while others were not fully realized. As a result, Manet's impressionistic technique compromised the expression of his ideas. However, the critic praised the characterization of the soldiers and the natural, unaffected movements of the figures.

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In the final analysis, the *Daily Advertiser* critic was cautious about Manet's work. While the critic would not deny the dramatic impact and strength of Manet's picture, ultimately, like the journalist for the *New York Herald*, he called the *Execution* a magnified sketch which was of more interest to artists than to the general public and important only as an example of one of the latest trends in French art.[48] Ideas similar to those expressed in the *Daily Advertiser* reverberated through the Boston reviews. Manet was classified as an "extreme Impressionist" and as the "leader of the Impressionists," and the bold, loose handling of paint and the lack of finish achieved in his canvas were understood to be the defining characteristics of his impressionistic style. While the critics found the painting "powerful," "original," and "truthful" in style, and they encouraged their readers to study the work, there was general agreement that Manet's style was not wholly suited to the expression of his motif. In other words, the lack of precision in the handling and the absence of detail detracted from the value and meaning of the painting.

A more conventional treatment of a subject similar to that by Manet, rendered on nearly the same scale, is Jean-Paul Laurens' *Last Moments of Maximilian* which was exhibited at the Salon of 1882 (fig. 18). Laurens avoided the horror of the execution itself and depicted the emperor seconds after he had been read the warrant for his execution. The messenger who bears the death warrant, his body erect and his face impassive, stands in the doorway. Strong tropical light floods the interior through the open door and illuminates the calm and courageous countenance of the condemned emperor who comforts his priest, standing to his right, while the kneeling valet clutches the emperor's hands with his head bowed in grief. The dramatic intensity is heightened by the expression of imminent violence, sadness, and unshakable dignity, and by the placement of the two groups on opposite sides of the composition separated by an ominous shadow. Laurens' painting leaves little doubt as to its creator's sentiments and seriousness toward the subject and lacks completely the ambiguity of Manet's painting where nonchalant soldiers carry out the gruesome death order. Moreover, Laurens

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rendered his painting with careful attention to detail and finish throughout the canvas. However, even Laurens, a highly regarded artist who made something of a specialty of death scenes, did not escape criticism for the representation of this brutal and embarrassing moment in modern French history. Some French critics deemed the work "sensational" and found the modern drama, what one critic referred to as "tragedy in a frockcoat," shocking to popular taste.[49] On the other hand, the few American critics who noted the painting praised it for its power and the majesty of the figure of the emperor and predicted that it would be among the most successful at the Salon.[50]

In addition to the perspectives they offered on artist's style, the New York and Boston exhibition reviews provided a history of Manet's picture and his struggles to exhibit it. Identical information on Manet's *Execution* appeared in a number of reviews, sometimes quoted verbatim, indicating that the critics relied upon the same source, probably a press announcement or the article of the *New York Herald* critic who was in close communication with the organizers and whose review was among the first published. Judging from the information repeated in the reviews, the exhibition promoters tried to pique the curiosity of their hoped-for American viewers by emphasizing both the unique as well as the sensational and politically sensitive elements of Manet's picture. Time and time again in the reviews, the *Execution* was billed as Manet's most important and his largest work, as well as the first example by the artist to be exhibited in this country.[51] Moreover, the scandalous history of the picture was recounted, albeit incorrectly. It was stated that the *Execution* had been refused for the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris because of its political content. Furthermore, the reviews indicated that Manet, like Courbet, had held an exhibition of his works in a separate building outside of the Exposition, where the French government also forbade the display of the *Execution*. In actuality, the painting was censored but not in 1867. Manet had planned to submit the painting to the Salon of 1869, but he received a letter, probably from the Ministry of the Interior, which warned that the picture would be refused. The artist heeded this official

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advice and did not submit the *Execution* to the admissions jury, and as a result, the picture remained in the artist's Paris studio until it was sent to the United States in 1879.[52]

The emphasis placed on the political content of the picture and the suggestion that it had been censored by the French government was part of a promotional strategy to excite interest in the painting, but only a few critics referred specifically to the subject, and none mentioned the artist's biased presentation of the event or the distinct similarity of the soldiers' uniforms to those of the French military. Attesting to the fact that the event depicted had not faded entirely from memory, the critic for the *Boston Journal* called Manet's painting, "a severe commentary upon the policy which made the unfortunate Maximilian a corpse and Carlotta a maniac."[53] The critic's characterization of the painting as a "severe commentary" was suggestive of the fact that many Americans regarded with disdain Napoleon III's surreptitious move during the Civil War to plant an imperial presence in North America. The overthrow of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria was a relief to the United States government from a political standpoint, and after the Civil War, the United States supported fully the new president of Mexico, Benito Juarez. The execution of Maximilian and the subsequent insanity of his wife Carlotta elicited expressions of horror and sympathy from Americans, however, and the tragic outcome of Maximilian's rule was revisited occasionally in American periodicals of the 1870s, as well as periodic reports on the fragile mental condition of his traumatized widow.

Finally, the exhibition reviews supplied biographical information on Manet as well as highlights of his career, information that had not been included in earlier discussions of the artist with the exception of Minturn's article in *Appleton's Journal* of 1878 and an entry on the artist that appeared in Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton's newly-published *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works* (1879).[54] Again, the most complete *résumé* appeared in the *New York Herald*, and bits and pieces of the same

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text appeared in other reviews.[55] From the biographical sketch, a very particular artistic personality emerged, not unlike that presented earlier by foreign correspondents. Manet was characterized as an adventurer of sorts who, as a young man, sailed to Rio de Janeiro. After his return to France, he was said to have studied with Gustave Courbet, and, from the first, "he [Manet] declared himself a revolutionist against the usual methods and conventionalities of the French school of the day and has therefore had many difficulties to encounter and has been rewarded by no medals."[56] It was noted that Manet's first major painting was *Absinthe Drinker* in 1860, an observation made by Zola in 1867, and that from the time of the exhibition of this work each of his canvases had created somewhat of a sensation.[57] Finally the artist was characterized as very charming with an elegant studio, but he was quoted as saying, "I have always thought that the first places are not given; that they are taken," as if to underscore the fighting spirit of the painter in his quest to reach the top of the Parisian art establishment.[58]

Some of the information given in the biographical sketch was quite obviously incorrect. For example, *Absinthe Drinker* was Manet's first submission to the Salon jury in 1859 (not 1860), but it was refused.[59] While the incorrect information on the exhibition of *Absinthe Drinker* is not of major importance, the false identification of Manet's master is puzzling. It is tempting to assign this error to the uninformed American critics, who perhaps confused Courbet with Couture. However, Couture was quite well-known in the United States, and critics would certainly have latched on to his name had it been given. [60] In fact, had it been known that Couture was Manet's master, attendance at the exhibitions might have been larger, given the teacher's celebrity in this country. More likely, the error was made in the press release. Beauplan and Ambre, who were not art experts, may have confused Courbet and Couture, or they may have promoted a reigning notion in Paris that Manet was a follower of Courbet.[61] Courbet was perceived as a leader of the young, avant-garde artists in Paris, and the link between the Realism of Courbet and Manet's early works was suggested in the writings of both Lucy

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Hooper and Eugene Benson, as we have seen. Like Courbet, Manet was an outsider to the official art circles in Paris, and both men painted low-life subjects in a dark, sober palette that was antithetical to the aesthetic sensibilities upheld by the academy. Moreover, both artists were linked in the minds of many art watchers for their decision to exhibit independently of the Fine Arts exhibitions of the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris. For Americans, however, an association with Courbet would not have helped to recommend Manet. Although over one dozen of his works had been exhibited in the United States by the late 1870s and his works had been purchased by a few American collectors as well, Courbet was not well-known or widely admired in this country. In the 1870s, the most common perception of Courbet was as a communist rebel and the creator of powerful but ugly pictures.[62]

In the same way that the association with Courbet would not have necessarily encouraged interest in the exhibition of Manet's *Execution*, the repeated idea that Manet had not been a success at the Salon undoubtedly had a negative effect on potential visitors. For the majority of art collectors and viewers in the United States, tastes were formed and guided by successful, rather than rejected, artists at the Salon. Such qualities as were attributed to Manet by Ambre and Beauplan, that he was a revolutionist and an outsider to the Parisian art world, spelled failure in the eyes of most Americans. In other words, for mainstream art aficionados, independence and difference were not yet valued traits for an artist in whom one might invest or seek to learn more about.

Also repeated by several critics was a mention of the 1878 sale of Jean-Baptiste Faure's collection of paintings, which had included works by Manet. The reviewers called the sale a spectacular success in which Manet's pictures realized prices far beyond those Faure had paid. The celebrated baritone was indeed a major collector of Manet's paintings, but the sale of his paintings on 29 April 1878, was, according to scholar Anthea Callen, a "castastrophic failure."[63] Three paintings by Manet were included in the sale, and of these, only one, *Polichinelle* (1873; private collection, Paris), actually

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sold to the dealer Louis Martinet. The other two Manet paintings, *Le Bon Bock* (fig. 9) and *Masked Ball at the Opéra* (fig. 19) were bought in by Faure.[64] Given Ambre and Beauplan's operatic and musical interests and probable acquaintance with the singer, the mention of the Faure sale in the press release is understandable, but the blatant misrepresentation of the sale outcome was a distortion obviously intended to present Manet as a market success and to attract attention to the artist by association with a famous performer.

How do we account for the reservations about Manet's style expressed in the exhibition reviews, particularly the dislike for the absence of detail and the rough, bold handling? Why might Boston critics have been more enthusiastic about or at least more open to a consideration of Manet's work than commentators in New York? How do we explain the total lack of public interest in the exhibition? According to Beauplan, the exhibition was a greater success in Boston than in New York, an opinion informed by both the number of exhibition admissions and commentary in the press. Historically Boston was more receptive than New York to the painterly, expressive handling exemplified in modern French painting, a taste which had developed there beginning in the mid 1850s.[65] Among the leading Boston artists was William Morris Hunt (1824-1879), recently deceased, who, like Manet, had studied with Couture.[66] After leaving Couture's studio, Hunt studied with and befriended the French Barbizon painter Jean-François Millet, who inspired Hunt's interest in *plein-air* painting and simple agrarian subjects rendered without unnecessary details in a strong but limited palette. Back in the United States in the late 1850s, Hunt became a respected teacher, who shared his admiration for Couture's methods, especially direct, spontaneous paint application with no preliminary drawing, as well as his love for the Barbizon style, with students among whom numbered John La Farge, Henry James, and Helen Mary Knowlton.[67] In the early 1850s, Hunt had begun to collect Barbizon School paintings, in particular the works of Millet, such as his well-known *Sower* (1850; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston),

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and he introduced the Barbizon School artists to Boston collectors. Following Hunt's lead, Boston collectors like Martin Brimmer amassed the largest holdings of Barbizon School paintings in America.[68] While Millet remained a favorite, landscape paintings by Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Charles François Daubigny and animal paintings by Constant Troyon were popular also among Boston collectors in the 1870s and later.[69]

As noted by Carol Troyen in her study of art collecting in Boston, Hunt's teachings, as well as his own works, prepared art aficionados of his native city for the "unorthodox."[70] An example of the appreciation shown by Bostonians for the unconventional in art was their enthusiastic response to works of Munich-trained painter Frank Duveneck (1848-1919).[71] Duveneck studied at the Munich Academy in the early 1870s with Wilhelm Diez, but also he fell under the spell of the dynamic young technician Wilhelm Leibl. Duveneck's works, with their dark coloring and dramatic lighting effects, also revealed his study of the Old Masters, which was a central aspect of the Munich Academy curriculum. From Leibl, Duveneck learned to work with a loaded brush, applying his paints *alla prima* and making no attempt to smooth out brushstrokes. Duveneck returned to this country in 1873, and a small number of his Munich paintings were exhibited in Boston during the summer and fall of 1875.[72] Among the enthusiasts for his works was Hunt, who wrote to Duveneck and invited him to make Boston his home, as well as Henry James, who penned at least three articles praising the Cincinnati artist's works.[73] All but one of the eight paintings exhibited in Boston in 1875 were sold, and in the following years until about 1890, Bostonians comprised the largest number of Duveneck's patrons.[74] Indeed, Duveneck returned to Boston in both 1881 and 1889 to fulfill a number of portrait commissions.

The exhibition reviews of 1875 attest to the open-mindedness of Boston critics toward the startling technical approaches exemplified in Duveneck's works. In response to the first group of Duveneck's pictures shown at the Boston Art Club in the spring of 1875, James described his style as one of "unadorned reality." Referring to Duveneck's five

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portrait heads of men, James commented warmly: "There are no accessories; the handling is of the broadest and freest kind; the color ranges through only two or three variations of black or gray; but the relief, the vigor, the frankness, the comprehensive simplicity, are most striking."[75] James' high opinion of Duveneck was confirmed when he saw three additional works exhibited in August and September of 1875 at Doll & Richards gallery in Boston. Two of the three works he called "extremely remarkable," including *Lady with a Fan (fig. 20)*, of which he wrote: "The consummate expressiveness of the eyes, the magnificent rendering of flush and bloom, warmth and relief, pulpy, blood-tinted, carnal substance in the cheeks and brow, are something of which a more famous master than Mr. Duveneck might be proud."[76] The esteemed master to whom James, in both of his *Nation* articles, compared Duveneck was Diego Velázquez, for his abilities as a portraitist, especially his intuitive sympathy for his subject, and his skill in handling paint.[77] Likewise, the critic for the *Atlantic Monthly* praised Duveneck for his sensitivity to individual character and his "unusual and indubitable mastery of technical resources," which produced works that were "striking" and "powerful" in effect, words that were frequently used by American critics to describe Manet's paintings as well. However, he posited that Duveneck's works sometimes lacked poetry and could even be called ugly, a result of the artist's "deliberate rejection of the higher artistic function of beautifying."[78] When critics expressed reservations about Duveneck's works, it was for the overly sketchy quality of his portraits and the limited range of colors. They hoped that Duveneck would move beyond the sketch, exemplified by dashing portrait heads he exhibited in 1875, to complete more fully resolved and mature compositions. In fact, when Duveneck's works were exhibited in Boston again in 1877, critics noted with obvious pleasure that the painter had firmed up his technique, attempted more complex compositions, like that of the *Turkish Page* (fig. 21), and improved his use of color.[79]

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Their enthusiastic responses to the works of Frank Duveneck help to explain how Boston critics were able to admire Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*.[80] They were well prepared through Hunt and Duveneck for bravura handling, such as is found in the *Execution*, as well as strong contrasts of light and darkness and limited coloration. However, as with Duveneck's works, the critics did not hold in high regard *extreme* sketchiness or lack of finish such as they found in areas of Manet's painting, as the viewer's appreciation of the subject or motif was thereby endangered. As one Boston critic put it, Manet's method proved to be "totally inadequate to express his idea," indicating that the combination of sketchy technique with an historical subject in Manet's *Execution* was particularly problematical.[81] In the work of the "extreme Impressionist" Manet, the viewer's comprehension of the subject matter was overpowered by the slashing technique.

In contrast to the warm response with which they were greeted in Boston, when Duveneck's works were first exhibited in New York in the late 1870s, the reception was tepid. Although New York critics did not question his strengths as a painter, they wondered if bold and skillful technique alone comprised true accomplishment in art. Upon viewing Duveneck's *Turkish Page* in February 1877, the critic for *Independent* stated simply that he would withhold judgement until he could see a finished work, rather than a sketch, by the artist's hand.[82] Likewise, the critic for *Nation*, in a review of the Society of American Artists exhibition of 1879, wrote the following of Duveneck's *Lady with a Fan*:

> Mr. Duveneck seems to be the strongest of the youths studying at Munich. His "Lady with Fan," showing a cheek from which the blood would spurt at a pin-prick, contains the best morsel of flesh-painting in the exhibition, and one that would be owned by Van der Helst or Reynolds; it is a detail of well-cared-for success, set in a bold, rude sketch also meritorious. This carrying out of a part and leaving the rest in the "powerful" state can only be accepted as evidence of local weakness; the artist would very surely bear on his work to perfection if he was sure he could transmute the vigorous sketch into vigorous completeness.

The same critic referred to Duveneck's work as "happy-go-lucky dashes at effect" and explained that they "show nervous effort instead of effort controlled."[83] Even William C.

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Brownell, a critic aligned with more progressive tendencies in art, criticized Duveneck's works for incompleteness, pointing specifically to the lack of pictorial structure, as well as an absence of the more spiritual qualities of poetry and feeling in his series of articles titled "The Younger Painters of America" published in 1880.[84]

As the response to Duveneck's works indicated, New York was slower than Boston to embrace the painterly techniques and, we might infer, more predisposed against accepting, much less admiring, the work of Manet. The decade of the 1870s, however, began a shift of taste away from the tight realism of the Hudson River School painters toward an admiration for the expressive qualities of pure painting but only after a lengthy struggle.[85] The younger generation of artists and critics, like Duveneck, educated in European academies and exposed to schools of art flourishing on the European continent after the Civil War, returned to the United States with a set of new priorities for their art, especially a strong bias for technical mastery and fluidity, which ultimately would prevail. As one critic noted of the New York art scene in January 1878, "There are new ideas afloat,—dash, breadth, freedom, originality,—to which old fogyism, by constitution and for self-protection, is naturally averse."[86] Sympathetic to the new men, Edward Strahan, in his review of the 1879 annual exhibition at the National Academy of Design, commented on this contrast:

> . . . It is striking how quickly the new tendencies, the fogy pictures and the innovating pictures, the Hudson River school and the impression school, separate themselves out and assert their families. Never were the old men with their deeds more completely sent to the wall by the new men and their creeds. The ideas sprouting in the minds of those who have been seeking a fuller education in Paris or Munich, are seen lending their fuller color to the walls that in old years were so dull and conventional.[87]

The differences between the art of the "new men" and that of the older Hudson River School painters were striking. The new men worked with a loaded brush and vigorously applied their paints; while the older painters executed their canvases in a tight, highly realistic manner.

The divide between the younger European-trained artists and the older Hudson River School set was exaggerated, at least initially, by the formation of the Society of American

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Artists in 1877. Responding to the unfavorable treatment they received by the conservative admissions jury of the National Academy of Design, a group of artists in New York founded the Society of American Artists, with the intention of creating an unjuried and more consciously aesthetic exhibition venue for their works.[88] Among the founders of the society were Walter Shirlaw, Wyatt Eaton, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, all of whom had studied in Europe. A new generation of art critics, including Brownell and Samuel G. W. Benjamin, praised the younger artists' move to infuse American art with new vigor and life, through rigorous art training and exposure to fresh ideas. While on the whole, the works by the young painters and sculptors shown at the society's exhibitions were well received by their champion critics, there were nagging criticisms leveled at the lack of finish and sketchiness of the works, as well as their virtuosic or flashy qualities and their obvious reliance on European models. There was a persistent concern over loss of intellectual content and worry that these young men could not produce a "complete" picture, meaning a work in which an idea or theme was set forth with the necessary detail and finish which would allow it to be appreciated and understood by the viewer.

An interesting commentary devoted to the shortcomings of the new art and its emphasis on technique appeared in *Appleton's Journal*, which summarized many of the concerns already noted:

> Of late there has been not a little of amazing jargon in regard to and in behalf of uncompleted pictures. There is no doubt an ignorant notion prevalent that smoothness and polish are the crowning qualities of a "finished" picture, and it is right enough that instructed criticism should denounce this form of emasculated prettiness. But the critics who rush to the extreme of preferring rudeness and slap-dash to that true finish which completes and helps to render perfect, commit as absurd an error of judgment as those they condemn. There is a kind of finish which we are entitled to expect in every work of art—the sort of finish always found in the great masters. . . . There is no dispute in regard to these painters as to what is "finish" and what is not; their paintings are felt to be complete; they are vital, they are rich in texture and color, definite as to form, satisfying as to drawing; they take possession of us fully; they leave nothing to be wished for; they give no opportunity for men to say they are lacking, whether in force or finish. What dogma is this, then, that so long as color is heaped on in a vigorous manner, a picture must be accepted as complete, however crude and raw it may seem, however absolute is the evidence that the artist stopped before he had done? It is an imperative truth that no work of art should attract attention to its

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> processes, should impose upon a spectator its methods, should do anything but assert *results.*[89]

A reigning perception, embodied in the *Appleton's* article and other critical commentaries of the late 1870s, was that a sketch-like quality was too easy to achieve, and the real challenge for the artist was to bring his initial impressions and force of feeling under control through the development of these sparks of brilliance into fully-formed ideas and "complete" (and even more praiseworthy) compositions.

While these aesthetic battles were being fought over technique, finish, and standards of beauty among New York artists and critics, art collectors and enthusiasts in that city gravitated toward the reigning Salon favorites and fashionable Continental artists and, to a lesser extent than Bostonians, to the French Barbizon School painters. At the same time when Manet's *Execution* was on view in New York and barely noticed by critics, a large showing of paintings and sculpture was held at the Seventh Regiment Armory to raise money to complete the new armory building. The organizers had borrowed paintings from private collections in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and the place of honor was given to the *Birth of Venus* (1870; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) by Alexandre Cabanel, a prominent teacher at the Ecole des beaux-arts and a member of the French Academy who had enjoyed repeated successes at the Salon.[90] The *Birth of Venus*, the original version of which was owned by Napolean III (1863; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), had the soft coloring, titillating subject matter, and "licked" surface qualities that attracted New York's art connoisseurs, even if Cabanel's art was often considered too sensual in subject to purchase. Examples by Karl Von Piloty, Michael Munkacsy, and Hugues Merle, to name some of the European artists represented, as well as Americans such as Frederic E. Church, George Inness, and William Merritt Chase were shown as well. The works of Piloty, Munkacsy, Merle, Chase, and Inness all shared a limited degree of painterliness, while the landscapes of Church represented the meticulous realist style of the Hudson River School.[91]

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While aesthetic tastes in New York remained too conservative generally for the appreciation of Manet's work, the *Execution* won a few ardent admirers during its exhibition in New York. As many of the exhibition reviewers had foreseen, these fans were artists who, not surprisingly, numbered among the "new men." In his letter to Manet of 30 November 1879, Beauplan had stated that three painters—"Walter Shirlaw, J. C. Beckwith, and W. M. Chase"—whom the critic for the *New York Herald* had placed on the guest list for the opening reception in New York, were the warmest admirers of Manet's painting.[92] As they stood before the great canvas, Beauplan wrote, the three repeated, "Comme c'est enlevé" in response to Manet's bravura paint handling, and they promised to speak highly to all of the unique features and marvels of the painting.[93]

Walter Shirlaw (1838-1909), J. Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917), and William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) had all three recently returned to New York from art study abroad. Beckwith had studied in Paris with Carolus-Duran and Léon Bonnat, both acquaintances of Manet's.[94] Beckwith was in Paris from 1873 until 1878, and he would certainly have seen Manet's works at the Salons of 1874, 1875, and 1877, and known of the artist's private studio exhibition of 1876, when his works were rejected from the Salon. Shirlaw and Chase, on the other hand, had studied at the Royal Academy in Munich.[95] In Munich in the 1870s, Chase and Shirlaw too must have read and heard of Manet's Salon appearances and rejections which were noted in most French art journals by the 1870s and some American publications as well. Upon their return to the United States in the late 1870s, all three men were employed as instructors at the Art Students' League, a recently founded art school in New York, established by a group of artists in 1875 as an alternative to the more conservative National Academy of Design.[96] Moreover, they were active members of the Society of American Artists founded in 1877. Shirlaw was a founding member of the Society and served as the first president. Chase would serve as the second president of the Society in 1880 and as president again from 1885-1895.

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Thus, all three men through their associations were labeled progressive and were seen to be proponents of the new movement.

Of the three men, Chase and Beckwith would become active promoters of Manet's works in this country in the 1880s. In Paris in the summer of 1881, Chase encouraged fellow painter J. Alden Weir (1852-1919) to purchase Manet's *Boy with a Sword* (fig. 22) and *Woman with a Parrot* (fig. 23) from the art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel.[97] Weir acted as an agent for New York businessman Erwin Davis, who, in 1889, donated the two canvases to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, making them the first examples by Manet to enter a museum collection in North America.[98] In 1883, Beckwith and Chase would play a major role in organizing the Pedestal Fund Art Loan exhibition in New York. Both men served on the Committee on Painting and Sculpture, which Beckwith chaired, and the pair was responsible for the selection and the hanging.[99] Manet's *Boy with a Sword* was given the place of honor in the exhibition, and *Woman with a Parrot* was hung nearby, also in the main gallery.[100] In 1896, reflecting his well-known admiration for the French artist, Beckwith would be asked by John C. Van Dyke, Professor of the History of Art at Rutger's University, to provide an entry on Manet for his book on modern French masters.[101] Chase would throughout his career as a teacher direct his students toward the works of Manet as examples of pure painting.[102]

Although the *Execution* was received warmly by a handful of influential young artists and elicited the attention of critics in New York and Boston, the 1879-80 exhibition was not the defining moment in the building of Manet's reputation in this country. To the best of their knowledge and ability, Ambre and Beauplan made an impressive effort to promote Manet's painting. From the careful selection of exhibition venues, to the sideshow-style advertising, to the press announcement describing a unique work created by a notorious outsider, to the encomiums penned by acclaimed novelist Emile Zola, the diva and her companion tried to lure the American public into an appreciation for the art of Manet. However, the public was unresponsive to their efforts, as Manet was largely

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unknown and could not boast the more conventional awards and honors they admired and looked for. In the decade to come, the activities of artists, critics, and dealers, among them Beckwith and Chase who were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the exhibition of Manet's *Execution,* would prove more decisive in establishing Manet's name and productions in the minds of American viewers.[103]

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Endnotes to Chapter Two

[1] There is an extensive bibliography for Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* and related works. Among the fundamental studies are Nils Gösta Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception*, trans. Walter Nash (Lund: Hakan Ohlsson, 1954), 109-80; Albert Boime, "New Light on Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*," *Art Quarterly* 36 (Autumn 1973): 172-208; Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 110-18; Bell Gallery, List Art Center, *Edouard Manet and the Execution of Maximilian.* (Providence, RI: Brown University, 1981); Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed., "Appendix II: Documents Relating to the 'Maximilian Affair,'" in Françoise Cachin et al., *Manet 1832-1883* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 531-34, and Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian. Painting, Politics and Censorship* (London: National Gallery, 1992).

[2] For information on the 1879-80 exhibition of the *Execution* in New York and Boston, see Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, vol. 2 (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1926), 71-76; Hans Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 29 (April 1946): 226-28; Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Libarie Gallimard, 1947), 364-66; Hanson, 116-17; William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 48; Wilson-Bareau, *Execution of Maximilian*, 69-70, and Press clippings, Tabarant Archive, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

[3] The cities on the tour included New York and Boston, as well as Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. Harold Rosenthal, ed., *The Mapleson Memoirs: The Career of an Operatic Impresario, 1858-1888* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966), 135.

[4] "La Comtesse d'Amboise," *New York World*, 9 May 1878, 5.

[5] "Musical Matters," *Boston Herald*, 4 January 1880, 3.

[6] "Ambre, the Algerine," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 30 January 1880, 2; and Luigi Arditi, *My Reminiscences* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1896), 205.

[7] Card files, Archives, Metropolitan Opera, New York.

[8] For biographical information on Mapleson and facts pertaining to his role in the opera world, see Rosenthal, 9-11; John Frederick Cone, *First Rival of the Metropolitan Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); "A Talk with Col. Mapleson," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 49 (November 29, 1879), 232, and "Thirty Years as a Manager," *New-York Times*, 28 December 1879, 1-2. For information on the 1879-80 American tour of Mapleson's company, see Rosenthal, 118-28, and George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, vol. 11 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 90-97.

[9] Rosenthal, 133.

[10] According to Moreau-Nélaton, Manet began the portrait at Bellevue in the fall of 1879 and completed it in the fall of 1880, when he was again at Bellevue. Moreau-Nélaton grounds his argument for dating the portrait 1879-80 upon letters written by Manet to Isabelle Lemonnier, which he dates to the fall of 1879. Moreau-Nélaton, 71-72.

Juliet Wilson-Bareau, on the other hand, dates the portrait entirely to 1880, based upon a letter to Eva Guérard-Gonzalès postmarked 27 September 1880. Wilson-Bareau also

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dates the letters to Isabelle Lemonnier to September 1880, based on the similarity of the information in the Lemonnier letters to that in the Gonzalès letter. In the letter to Gonzalès, written from Bellevue, Manet wrote: "At the moment I'm doing a portrait of Mlle Emilie Ambre, a landowning *prima donna* neighbor. I go and work on it every day because she's leaving for America on 8 October." In the letter to Lemonnier, written from Bellevue, Manet wrote, "I'm doing a portrait of my neighbor, Countess Emilie Ambre, and I leave every day after lunch for Les Montalais. It's true that she will be going to America on 8 October, and we'll be staying until the end of the month." Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed., *Correspondence & Conversation. Manet by Himself. Paintings, Pastels, Prints & Drawings* (London: Macdonald and Company, 1991), 256. If Wilson-Bareau's date of September 1880 is correct, the reference to departure for America in these letters is to Ambre's second engagement with Mapleson's opera company for the 1880-81 season, which opened in New York on 18 October 1880.

My thanks to Professor Therese Dolan who shared her research on Ambre with me, in particular a paper she wrote on Manet's portrait of Ambre as Carmen. Professor Dolan delivered the paper as the Roz Perry Memorial Lecture at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in May 1997.

[11] *Carmen* caused an uproar when it premiered in Paris on 3 March 1875, with Marie Galli-Marié in the lead role, and it was not performed again until its revival in 1883. In two letters to Manet, Ambre describes her success in the role in America and entreats Manet to speak to Antonin Proust on her behalf to persuade him to bring the opera back to the Paris stage and to cast her as the lead. Emilie Ambre to Edouard Manet, 4 January 1880 and Emilie Ambre to Edouard Manet, undated, "Manet, Lettres et Documents," Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 24, 25-26.

[12] The only member of the de Beauplan family for which I have found any information is Victor-Arthur de Beauplan (1823-1890) who, in the 1870s, served as the Chief Clerk of Theatres and as the Vice-Director of Fine Arts for the Ministry of Public Instruction. If Gaston was a relation of Victor-Arthur de Beauplan, an association with the world of the theater and public entertainment where he could have met Emilie Ambre would have been quite natural. *Dictionnaire international des écrivains du jour*, 1891 ed., s.v. "Beauplan (Victor-Arthur Rousseau de)," and *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 1949 ed., s.v. "Beauplan (Victor-Arthur Rousseau de)," by P. Leguay.

[13] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 30 January 1880, 2.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Odell, 310-11, 394-95. See also "Musical Matters," *Boston Herald*, 20 June 1880, 9.

[16] Montague Marks wrote that the painting was on exhibition in a basement at the corner of Broadway and Eighth Street. Montezuma, "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 2 (January 1880): 25. In the poster for the exhibition, the location is given as 757 Broadway "under Daniell & Sons." For the poster, which is in the Huguette Berès Collection, Paris, see Wilson-Bareau, *Execution of Maximilian*, 70, fig. 79. The duration of the New York exhibition is not known.

[17] Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 30 November [1879], "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 20-21. The letter was written on Clarendon Hotel stationary, where Beauplan and Ambre stayed while in New York. The Clarendon Hotel was located at the southeast corner of Fourth Avenue and Eighteenth Street, close to the Academy of Music,

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and not far from the exhibition venue. See Charles Lockwood, *Manhattan Moves Uptown: An Illustrated History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 290-91.

[18] Reproduced in Wilson-Bareau, *Execution of Maximilian*, 70.

[19] Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 4 January 1880, "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 22.

[20] "Art and Artists. 'The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian,'" *Boston Evening Traveler Supplement*, 3 January 1880, 1.

[21] The Studio Building, which was designed by architect George Snell (1820-1893), opened in 1862 and, like the Tenth Street Studio Building in New York, included a gallery for the exhibition and sale of paintings and sculpture. Unlike the Tenth Street Studio Building, however, the Studio Building in Boston had retail spaces at the street level, and it housed non-artist tenants, in particular "teachers of music and the languages." See Annette Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, 1987), 15-17; "Artist Life in Boston," *Boston Sunday Herald*, 21 December 1879, 4, and [Edward Stamwood], *Boston Illustrated* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1875), 77.

Manet's *Execution* was not the first work by a controversial French artist to be shown at the Studio Building. In both 1866 and 1867, the centerpiece painting at the Allston Club exhibitions was Gustave Courbet's *Quarry* (1857; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which the club had purchased in 1866, at the urging of Albion Harris Bicknell and club president William Morris Hunt. Hunt was among the first occupants of the Studio Building, and he selected the building as the location for the club's exhibitions. For information on the Allston Club and the purchase and exhibition of Courbet's painting *The Quarry*, see William Howe Downes, "Boston Painters and Paintings. III," *Atlantic Monthly* 62 (September 1888): 389; William Howe Downes," Boston Painters and Paintings. IV," *Atlantic Monthly* 62 (October 1888): 503-6; Anne L. Poulet and Alexandra R. Murphy, *Corot to Braque: French Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), xxxvi; Carol Troyen, *The Boston Tradition: American Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1980), 25-26, and Douglas E. Edelson, "Courbet's Reception in America Before 1900," in Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, *Courbet Reconsidered* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1988), 67-69.

[22] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 5 January 1880, 1.

[23] Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 30 November [1879]. "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 20-21.

[24] Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 4 January 1880, "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 22.

[25] Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 9 January 1880, "Manet. Lettres et Documents," 23.

[26] Emilie Ambre to Edouard Manet, 4 January 1880, "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 24.

[27] "Fine Arts. Manets' 'Execution of Maximilian,'" *New York Herald*, 29 November 1879, 4.

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[28] A professional and personal relationship had grown between Manet and Zola beginning in 1866, when Manet's Salon submissions *Fifer* and *Tragic Actor* were rejected, and Zola defended the artist in one of the five articles he wrote between 27 April and 20 May 1866, for the short-lived Paris newspaper *L'Evénement*. These reviews were compiled into a brochure and published under the title *Mon Salon* in 1866. After his initial defense of Manet, Zola championed the painter again with an article published in *L'Artiste. Revue du XIXe siècle* on 1 January 1867. This three-part essay was republished in brochure form in May 1867 for Manet's private exhibition, held during the Universal Exposition. It was republished later in Zola's *Mes Haines* (1879). After the success of Manet and the Impressionists Monet, Renoir, and Pissarro at the Salon of 1868, which he reviewed in *L'Evénement illustré*, Zola began to turn his attentions away from art criticism, and by the 1870s, he was deeply engrossed in the production of a twenty-novel series on the fictional Rougon and Macquart families.

In the summer of 1879, the friendship of the writer and the artist became strained as the result of an article Zola wrote for the Russian newspaper *Messager de l'Europe*. The June 1879 article, which was reprinted in France, criticized Manet and the Impressionists for the sketchiness of their paintings and the apparent ease with which they produced their art. Manet was understandably unhappy with Zola, who, in a letter to the artist, excused the incident as a matter of poor translation from Russian into French. Manet in turn asked that Zola's letter of explanation be published, a request to which the author agreed, and the two men had a cordial relationship thereafter.

Ironically, excerpts from Zola's 1879 review in the *Messager de l'Europe* were translated into English and published in the *American Art Review* in November 1879, just before the exhibition of the *Execution* in New York. Zola was quoted as stating, "To my mind, the impressionists are simply pioneers. For a moment they built great hopes upon Manet; but Manet seems to be exhausted by hasty production: he is contented with an approximation, without studying nature with the passion of the true creator." *American Art Review* 1 (November 1879), 34-35.

The relationship between Manet and Zola is discussed in Ima N. Ebin, "Manet and Zola," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 27 (1945): 357-78; George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 81-111, and Hanson, 24-27. Zola's work as an art critic is discussed in Anita Brookner, *The Genius of the Future: Studies in French Art Criticism* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1971), 91-117.

[29] *L'Assomoir* was performed in the Olympic theatre in New York in the late spring and early summer 1879. See "Music and the Drama. The Assomoir," *New York Daily Tribune*, 3 May 1879, 7.

[30] William C. Frierson and Herbert Edwards have argued that the period from 1879 through 1883 represented the years of the most vehement critical resistance to Zola's works in this country. William C. Frierson and Herbert Edwards, "Impact of French Naturalism on American Critical Opinion 1877-1892," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 63 (September 1948), 1007-16. For a thorough treatment of American reactions to Zola's novels, see Albert J. Salvan, *Zola aux Etas-Unis* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1943).

[31] Richard Whiteing, "The Paris Salon of 1879," *New York World* (25 May 1879), 5.

[32] William Minturn, "French Writers and Artists. II. Emile Zola and Edmond de Goncourt," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 5 (July 1878), 83.

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[33] Clara Barnes Martin, "Emile Zola as a Critic," *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (May 1879), 650.

[34] "Editor's Table. 'L'Assommoir' and Its Moral," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 6 (June 1879), 567. See also L[ucy]. H. H[ooper]., "Our Monthly Gossip, The Modern French Novelists," *Lippincott's Magazine* 20 (September 1877), 379-80.

[35] "Editor's Literary Record," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 59 (July 1879), 309.

[36] The standard definition of Naturalism in painting was that put forward by the French critic Jules Antoine Castagnary. In his review of the Salon of 1863, Castagnary defined Naturalist art as art that took contemporary life as its subject matter and was rendered by the artist with truthfulness and sincerity, unaffected by aesthetic preconceptions. Zola adopted the term Naturalism from Castagnary. Zola understood Naturalist art and literature to be based directly upon nature or the real world, tempered by the artist's personal response to his subject. Although he believed in the importance of the role of the writer or artist's temperament in the analysis and presentation of his subject, Zola claimed also that Naturalism was defined by "scientific objectivity," revealed through the Naturalist's method of describing the minute details that contributed to a unique individual, place, or event. Moreover, Zola eschewed overt moralizing in his work and was not wed to the promotion of social or political ideas, a fact that represents an important distinction between Naturalism and Realism

For his most extensive discussion of Naturalism, see Emile Zola, "Naturalism at the Salon," *Le Voltaire* (18-22 June 1880), reprinted in Elizabeth Holt, ed., *The Expanding World of Art, 1874-1902. Volume I. Universal Expositions and State-Sponsored Fine Arts Exhibitions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 220-26. Also, Joseph C. Sloane, *French Painting Between the Past and the Present: Artists, Critics, and Traditions from 1848 to 1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 73-80; Gabriel P. Weisberg, "The Realist Tradition: Critical Theory and the Evolution of Social Themes," in Gabriel P. Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing, 1830-1900* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1981), 1-20, and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 12-23.

[37] Minturn, "French Writers and Artists," 83.

[38] Thomas Sergeant Perry, "Zola's Last Novel," *Atlantic Monthly* 45 (May 1880): 695.

[39] "New French Novelists," *New York World*, 19 May 1879, 4.

[40] In fact, one critic observed that Zola's literary style, if transferred into painting, would find resemblance in the efforts of the Dutch school. "M. Zola," *Art Interchange* 3 (26 November 1879), 91.

[41] *New York Herald*, 29 November 1879, 4. This review is the most informative of the exhibition reviews, including those published in Boston. The impressive length of the review and the abundance of information it provides convey the enthusiasm of the *Herald* critic for Manet's picture, an enthusiasm undoubtedly inspired by his contact with the exhibition organizers. In fact, Beauplan was extremely pleased with the *Herald* review, which he hoped to have reprinted in London and in Mexico. Moreover, Beauplan asked Manet to send a shipment of cigars to distribute to those who had assisted him,

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mentioning specifically his desire to give a "souvenir" to the *Herald* critic. Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 30 November [1879], "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 20-21.

[42] The *Herald* critic was the only commentator to recognize Manet's debt to the Spanish painter Francesco Goya. Curiously, he did not specify Goya's *Third of May, 1808* (1814; Museo del Prado, Madrid) as an artistic prototype; rather, he pointed to the group of children looking over the wall as reminiscent of the Spanish painter, and he noted the dark, limited palette as similar to that of the Spanish master.

[43] "Manet and Zola," *Art Interchange* 3 (10 December 1879): 100.

[44] " Editor's Table," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 3 (November 1877), 474.

[45] Montezuma, "My Note Book," 25. In founding the *Art Amateur* in 1879, Montague Marks founded one of the most important American art magazines of the nineteenth century. The journal, the first issue of which appeared on 1 May 1879, included articles on international art events and artists and American artists working abroad, as well as in-depth reviews of art events in the United States. Not only did the magazine feature articles on painting and sculpture but also on the decorative arts. Marks was born in London and came to this country when he was twenty-one. He eventually settled in the East, where he worked as a journalist and later as editor of *New York Illustrated Weekly* and city editor of the *New York Daily Graphic*. He worked for the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Sun* as well, before founding the *Art Amateur*. For a biographical sketch of Marks, see "The Note-Book," *Art Amateur* 41 (June 1899): 2.

[46] "Art and Artists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 December 1879, 6; Delta, "Pictures in New York," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 December 1879, 5, and "Fine Arts. Gallery and Studio," *Boston Sunday Budget*, 4 January 1880, 3.

[47] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 December 1879, 5.

[48] "The Fine Arts. Manet's Execution of Maximilian," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 January 1880, 1.

[49] Emilia F. S. Pattison, ""The Painter of the Dead," *Magazine of Art* 7 (1884), 55.

[50] "The French Salon of 1882," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 May 1882, 10, and "The Paris Salon," *Art Amateur* 7 (June 1882), 4.

[51] An example of what was probably unintentional sloppiness is found in the dimensions of the painting as quoted by the reviewers. The dimensions for the *Execution* were said to be 8 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 11 inches, revealing a misprint or miscalculation as the painting actually measures 9 feet 11 inches in length.

[52] The letter that Manet received from the Ministry of the Interior made it clear that the printing of his lithograph of the *Execution of Maximilian* would be forbidden as well. Consequently the lithograph was not published until after the artist's death. Thus, the painting and its related works, did create discomfort for the imperial government, but the artist did not receive two refusals as the press release indicated. See Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed., "Appendix II: Documents Relating to the 'Maximilian Affair,'" in Cachin, 531-34.

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[53] "Art Gossip at Home and Abroad," *Boston Morning Journal* 3 January 1880, 4. See also Lucy H. Hooper, "From Abroad. Our Paris Letter," *Appleton's Journal* 13 (June 19, 1875), 793.

[54] The entry on Manet was obviously informed by Emile Zola's writings, and indeed, Zola was named as the painter's most important champion. The authors noted that the artist had been forced by his family to pursue a career path other than painting, but after his return from sea, Manet had entered Thomas Couture's studio where he remained for six years. As Zola had suggested, *Absinthe Drinker* was designated as the first painting in which Manet had revealed his true artistic self. It was noted that the artist had experienced rejections at the Salon for several years, that he had exhibited *Luncheon on the Grass* at the Salon des refusés, and also that he had held an independent exhibition of his works in 1867. Although the authors suggested that he was not successful by conventional standards, they stated that Manet was "discussed and rediscussed vigorously after he appeared before the public." All of the paintings listed as "good examples" of his work were from the 1860s and revealed the influence of Spanish masters on the artist, not his later interest in painting effects of outdoor light.

The entry closed with two lengthy passages of criticism, one from 1869 and the other from 1877. The first was the famous passage from *Art Thoughts* (1869) in which James Jackson Jarves dubbed Manet "the painter-in-chief of Ugliness" in response to his works exhibited at the Salon of 1865. However, the critic also admitted his admiration for Manet's forceful handling of paint. Similarly, in the second critique provided by Clement and Hutton, Manet's ability as a painter was praised, but his subject selections were denigrated. The second review, by an unidentified critic, appeared in the *American Register*, a newspaper published for expatriates by Dr. Thomas Evans, a dentist from Philadelphia who resided in Paris. The reviewer referred first to Manet's picture *Nana*, which had been rejected by the jury of the 1877 Salon for its improper subject and had been exhibited instead at Giroux's gallery on the Boulevard des Capucines, after which he noted the noble portrait of *Faure as Hamlet* at the Salon. Thus, the Clement and Hutton entry left the reader with the impression that Manet was perceived by some to be a painter of talent, whose skills were sometimes misdirected, and an artist whose career had not been marked by official success. Clara Erskin Clement and Laurence Hutton, *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1879), 89-90.

[55] *New York Herald*, 29 November 1879, 4. See also, "Manet and Zola," 100; *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 December 1879, 6, and "Fine Arts. Studio and Gallery," *Boston Sunday Budget*, 11 January 1880, 3.

[56] *New York Herald*, 29 November 1879, 4. Early in his career, at the Salon of 1861, Manet received an honorable mention for his *Portrait of M. and Mme Auguste Manet* and *Spanish Singer*. Manet was not awarded a medal until the Salon of 1881, where he received a second-class award for *Portrait of M. Henri Rochefort*.

[57] Ibid.

[58] This autographic statement, like the lines from Zola's early article on Manet, was taken from another source, not penned by the artist for the press release. The comment with the artist's signature appeared in the April 1876 issue of *La Galerie contemporaine* together with a photo of Manet and a reproduction of *Le Bon Bock*. See Wilson-Bareau, *Manet by Himself*, 178, pl. 132.

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[59] Zola noted the *Absinthe Drinker* in his article on Manet as an important early work, which suggests that information for the press release was culled from, among other things, Zola's statements on the artist.

[60] Only the writer for the *Boston Herald* stated correctly that Manet was the pupil of "Conture" [sic]. "Fine Arts," *Boston Sunday Herald*, 4 January 1880, 10.

Since the late 1840s, Couture's atelier had been a popular one with American students, among whom numbered George P. A. Healy, Edward May, Eastman Johnson, John La Farge, and William Morris Hunt, who as a teacher was responsible for carrying Couture's painting methods to this country. In 1879, Couture's book *Méthode et entretiens d'atelier* (Paris, 1867) was published in English to great acclaim, and Couture died the same year, which gave rise to numerous flattering notices in American newspapers and magazines. For information on Couture's popularity and influence in America, see Marchal E. Landgren, *American Pupils of Thomas Couture* (College Park: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1970); and Albert Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), chapter 15, and H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 43-46.

[61] It should be noted that Zola identified Couture as Manet's master in his 1867 article with which Ambre and Beauplan appear to have been familiar. Manet, however, never listed Couture as his master in the entries that appeared in the Salon catalogues.

[62] Edelson, 69-71.

[63] Anthea Callen, " Faure and Manet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 83 (March 1974), 166. Of the total of forty-two works included in the Faure sale only six were sold.

[64] Ibid., 167.

[65] The taste for French painting in Boston and admiration for painterly effects, broad brushwork, bold tonal juxtapositions, and simple but monumental forms as found in Barbizon School painting is discussed by Peter Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood* (Washington, DC: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1975); Laura Lee Meixner, "Jean-François Millet: His American Students and Influences," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1979); Murphy, xvii-xlvi; Troyen, 21-28, and Wayne Craven, "J. Foxcroft Cole (1837-1892): His Art and the Introduction of French Painting to America," *American Art Journal* 13 (Spring 1981): 51-71.

[66] Hunt studied with Couture from 1848-53, when he moved to Barbizon, and Manet studied with Couture from 1850 to 1856. Therefore, the two artists would have overlapped in Couture's studio from 1850-53. According to Helen Knowlton, Hunt's student and biographer, Hunt was an admirer of Manet long before Manet was heard of in the United States. Helen M. Knowlton, *Art Life of William Morris Hunt* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company,1900), 7-9, 212. Other American artists who overlapped with Manet in Couture's studio included Eastman Johnson (1855), John La Farge (1856), Edward Harrison May (1851), and Robert Loftin Newman (1850). For more information on Couture's studio techniques, influence, and popularity in America, see George Levitine, Alain de Leiris, and Jane Van Nimmen, *Thomas Couture: Paintings and Drawings in American Collections* (College Park: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1970), and Boime, *Thomas Couture*, chaps. 12 and 15.

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[67] Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," *American Art Journal* 13 (Winter 1981): 17-46.

[68] Martin Brimmer was in France in the early 1850s following his graduation from Harvard College. Hunt introduced Brimmer to Millet at that time, and Brimmer made his first purchase of a Millet painting in 1853. Brimmer would later become the first president of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and he and his wife would donate six Millet paintings and pastels to the museum. Murphy, xxxiii.

[69] Ibid., xxxvi.

[70] Troyen, 28. See also Martha Hoppin, "William Morris Hunt and His Critics," *American Art Review* 2 (September-October 1975), 79-91, for a discussion of the critical debates that surrounded the exhibition of Hunt's loosely-brushed and impressionistic landscapes in the mid-1870s in Boston.

[71] For the most recent critical and biographical studies of the artist, see Michael Quick, *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987), and Robert Neuhaus, *Unsuspected Genius: The Art and Life of Frank Duveneck* (San Francisco: Bedford Press, 1987). For information on American artists and their art training in Munich, see Michael Quick, "Munich and American Realism," in Michael Quick, Eberhard Ruhmer, and Richard V. West, *Munich and American Realism in the 19th Century* (Sacramento, CA: Crocker Art Gallery, 1978), 21-36.

[72] Duveneck showed five paintings at the spring exhibition of the Boston Art Club in 1875. In August and September of the same year, he showed three more paintings in the showroom of Doll and Richards. According to Quick, all but one of the eight paintings were works painted in Munich during Duveneck's student years. For the specific works shown, see Quick, *American Painter Abroad,* 35.

[73] Henry C. Angell, *Records of William M. Hunt* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), 22-24, and Knowlton, 212-13. See also Henry James, Jr., "On Some Pictures Lately Exhibited," *Galaxy* 20 (July 1875), 94-95; [Henry James], "Notes," *Nation* 20 (3 June 1875), 376-77, and [Henry James], "Notes," *Nation* 21 (9 September 1875), 166.

[74] Quick, *American Painter Abroad,* 34-35.

[75] [Henry James], "Notes," *Nation* 20 (3 June 1875), 376-77.

[76] [Henry James], "Notes," *Nation* 21 (9 September 1875), 166.

[77] In his review of the two Duveneck exhibitions, the Boston portrait painter Frederic P. Vinton also compared Duveneck's works to those of "Velasquez, Holbein, or any of the great portrait painters." F. P. V., "Frank Duveneck," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 10 August 1875, 5.

[78] "Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 35 (June 1875), 751-52.

[79] "Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 39 (May 1877), 641-42.

[80] It should be noted also that at the same time as the exhibition of Manet's *Execution* in Boston, a memorial exhibition of William Morris Hunt's works was on display at the

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Museum of Fine Arts. The exhibition reviews reveal the extraordinary admiration of Bostonians for Hunt as well as their acceptance of his loose, impressionistic style.

[81] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* 3 January 1880, 1.

[82] "Fine Arts," *Independent* 29 (22 February 1877), 6.

[83] "Fine Arts. Exhibition by the Society of American Artists," *Nation* 28 (20 March 1879), 207.

[84] W[illiam]. C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America. Second Paper," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880), 330-32.

[85] For information on this shift in taste, focused specifically on landscape painting, see Doreen Bolger Burke and Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, "The Hudson River School in Eclipse," in John K. Howat, et al., *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 71-90.

[86] Raymond Westbrook, "Open Letters from New York. I," *Atlantic Monthly* 41 (January 1878), 95.

[87] Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], "The Art Gallery: The National Academy of Design. First Notice," *Art Amateur* 1 (June 1879), 4.

[88] Jennifer A. Martin Bienenstock, "The Formation and Early years of the Society of American Artists,1877-1884" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1983), 30. For a revisionist interpretation of the formation of the Society of American Artists based on a study of the social and economic status of the artists, which allowed them to assert themselves boldly against the system of the New York art world rather than work their way slowly through the ranks, see Saul E. Zalesch, "Competition and Conflict in the New York Art World, 1874-1879," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29 (Summer/ Autumn 1994), 103-120.

[89] "Editor's Table," *Appleton's Journal* n.s., 5 (August 1878), 185.

[90] "The Seventh's Great Fair," *Harper's Weekly* 23 (13 December 1879), 971.

[91] Other exhibitions that elicited critical attention in December of 1879 and that offered competition to the exhibition of Manet's *Execution* were a showing of John Ruskin's drawings at the American Art Gallery in New York, a collection of paintings by American artists at Moore and Sutton's gallery, a collection of fifty American paintings in the gallery of the Union League Club, and the exhibition and auction at Chickering Hall of the collections of predominantly European paintings owned by John H. Sherwood and Benjamin Hart.

[92] Other attendees may have included J. Alden Weir, Albert P. Ryder, and Daniel Cottier. See Maureen C. O'Brien, et al., *In Support of Liberty. European Paintings at the 1883 Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition* (Southampton, NY: Parrish Art Museum, 1986), 162.

[93] Gaston de Beauplan to Edouard Manet, 30 November [1879], "Manet, Lettres et Documents," 20-21.

Attendance at the opening reception for Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* was recorded in Beckwith's diary. In the entry for 29 November 1879, Beckwith noted with

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characteristic terseness: "This evening I went way up [town] to see Miss _____ who wished to be excused. Then I came down [town] to see a picture by Manet which an enterprising man has brought here." In the diary entry for the following day, Beckwith recorded a visit to Chase's studio, where he found another visitor, the Boston portraitist Frederick Porter Vinton. It in inconceivable that Vinton would not have visited the exhibition of Manet's *Execution* as well, and in fact, he probably attended the reception the previous evening. Diary entries, 29 and 30 November 1879, J. Carroll Beckwith Diaries, National Academy of Design, New York. Microfilm, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, reel 4798.

Vinton, who studied in Paris from 1875 to 1878 in the ateliers of Léon Bonnat and Jean-Paul Laurens, with a brief stint during these same years at the Royal Academy in Munich, was remembered by William Howe Downes as being among the earlier supporters of Impressionism in this country. William Howe Downes, "Memories of Vinton," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 24 May 1911, 20. Vinton's admiration for French Impressionism is discussed also in L. E. Rowe, "Boudin, Vinton and Sargent," *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design* 25 (January 1937), 2-5. For information on Vinton's student years in Paris and the influences on his works, see Weinberg, *Lure of Paris*, 182-85. See also, "Frederic P. Vinton, Dead," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 20 May 1911, 1.

[94] Weinberg, *Lure of Paris*, 193. See also Pepi Marchetti Franchi, "Carroll Beckwith, Passionate Conservative of American Art," in Pepi Marchetti Franchi and Bruce Weber, *Intimate Revelations: The Art of Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917)* (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1999), 11-48. Carolus-Duran met Courbet and Manet through the critic Zacharie Astruc in the late 1850s. See Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire: Art in France Under Napolean III* (Philadelphia,1978), 265.

[95] Shirlaw studied at the Royal Academy in Munich from 1870-77 with George Raab, Alexander Wagner, Arthur George Von Ramberg, and Wilhelm Lindenschmit. Chase studied at the Royal Academy in Munich from 1872-78 under the tutelage of the director Karl von Piloty, but also, he was impressed with the work of the young German painter Wilhelm Leibl, an admirer of Gustave Courbet. Thus, through his training and his art interests, Chase knew French Realist painting and was predisposed to painterly handling and direct modeling.

[96] For the history of the Art Students' League, see Marchal E. Landgren, *Years of Art: The Story of the Art Students' League of New York* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1940).

[97] *Boy with a Sword* was purchased by Weir on 28 June 1881, for 10,000 francs, and *Woman with a Parrot* was purchased in 1881 also, but the date of sale is not known. See Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 94-95; Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), xxi, 145-46, and Cachin, 78, 258.

Chase scholar Ronald Pisano has suggested that Chase was encouraged in his admiration for the work of Manet by the Belgian artist Alfred Stevens whom he met in Paris during the summer of 1881. Ronald G. Pisano, "William Merritt Chase: Innovator and Reformer," in O'Brien, 63.

[98] Frances Weitzenhoffer, "First Manet Paintings to Enter an American Museum," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 6th ser., 97 (March 1981), 125-29.

[99] Pisano, "William Merritt Chase," 64.

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[100] *Woman with a Parrot* (1866), *Boy with a Sword* (1861), and *Toreador* (unidentified) were included in the exhibition. The first two paintings were owned by New York businessman Erwin Davis and were later given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[101] John C. Van Dyke, ed., *Modern French Masters. A Series of Biographical and Critical Reviews by American Artists* (New York: The Century Company, 1896), 215-23.

[102] Walter Pach, *Queer Thing, Painting* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1938), 9-10.

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Chapter Three

The Early 1880s: Wider Exposure for Manet in the United States

In the early 1880s, Edouard Manet's art and activities in Paris received more extensive coverage than ever before in American newspapers, magazines, and art publications. The majority of these notices were Salon reviews, but reviews or mentions of the artist's activities outside of the official art arena, for example Manet's exhibition of oil paintings and pastels at La Vie moderne in 1880, were published as well.[1] Despite more frequent and lengthy notices, opinions of the artist that were circulated in this country remained mixed. On the one hand, correspondents acknowledged, sometimes with detectable sarcasm or disbelief, that Manet was considered a talented painter and a breath of fresh air in the arena of French academic art. On the other hand, they accused the artist of selecting vulgar subjects, leaving his works unfinished, and showing disregard for the craft of painting. Manet was characterized as a skilled but inconsistent artist who had little respect for the traditional rules that had governed painting since the Renaissance.

The increase in attention to Manet on the part of foreign correspondents writing from Paris was a reflection of the more serious regard which the artist's works were granted in his own country. After years of rejection and ridicule, Manet enjoyed the highest level of success in his career from 1880 until his death in 1883. His works were accepted for the Salon exhibitions and were no longer greeted by French critics or the public with torrents of disdain or laughter as in earlier days. Furthermore, Manet was understood to be, for better or for worse, the man responsible for opening up new directions in modern French painting and was recognized as the leader of the younger generation of painters, in particular, the Impressionists. As a result, shades of respect entered the critical response to his works, and official accolades long overdue for the artist were finally bestowed. In 1881, Manet was honored with a second-class medal at the Salon, the first official recognition he had received there since the honorable mention of 1861 at the outset of his

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career.[2] Moreover, on 30 December 1881, the artist was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor, an award secured for him by Antonin Proust, his old friend and comrade from Thomas Couture's studio, who had been appointed Minister of Fine Arts.[3]

Increased attention to Manet's accomplishments, however, did not necessarily indicate that his methods or productions found universal or unadulterated approval among French art commentators. In fact, many French writers, including the painter's closest advocates, remained skeptical about the larger significance of Manet's work. In a review of April 1880, for example, which was written in response to Manet's one-man show at La Vie moderne, Joris Karl Huysman, a supporter of the avant-garde circle, recognized the innovative nature of Manet's work but expressed his dissatisfaction that Manet had not pushed himself farther:

> Among the Impressionists he [Manet] has been a staunch supporter of the current movement, bringing a new concept, the test of "fresh air," to the realism which Courbet introduced, principally through his choice of subject. On the whole, while Courbet limited himself to treating, within a conventional technique enhanced by the abuse of the palette knife, subjects which were less conventional, less pleasant, and at times even less stupid than those of others, Manet overthrew all theories, all practices, and steered contemporary art into a new path. Here ends the parallel. In spite of his old-fashioned way and ignorance of values, Courbet was a skillful practitioner. Manet had neither the strength nor the will to impose his ideas with a powerful work. Having rid himself after a fashion of imitations of Velásquez, Goya, Greco, and many others, he has hesitated and stumbled. He showed the way to others but he himself stayed in the same spot, in front of the Japanese prints, struggling with his faltering drawing, fighting against the spontaneity of his sketches which he spoiled as he reworked them. When all is said and done, Manet today is outdistanced by most of the painters who could once, and quite rightly, have considered him their leader.[4]

In 1880, Emile Zola published his first review of Manet's Salon submissions in over ten years in *Le Voltaire*. Like Huysman, Zola cast doubt over the larger significance of Manet's art and creative vision, when he referred to him as one of the most interesting, sincere, and original artists of the present period but called him a "transitional" figure in modern painting rather than a major artist in his own right.[5] Antonin Proust, reviewing the Salon of 1882 for the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, praised the painter for capturing the realities of contemporary life, but he admitted that while Manet's works were novel and sincere, they were often incomplete. When an artist was called "incomplete" by a critic,

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it was an indication that the artist had not brought serious thought to bear on his work. If a work did not reflect the imprint of rational engagement and careful production, which was revealed in a sketchy, unresolved appearance, the painting was not considered worthy of exhibition.[6] In fact, Proust characterized many of Manet's productions as "experiments." Nevertheless, Proust called for Manet to be represented in the national art collection as an artist who had had a profound impact on the course of French art.[7]

In the obituaries that were published following his death on 30 April 1883, French critics tried to come to terms with Manet's artistic contribution, summarizing the thoughts that had pervaded their writings on the artist over the years. Manet's influence on French painting was not disputed, but it was hotly debated as to whether or not Manet could be granted the status of master in his own right. The reasons why this honor was denied the artist by so many critics was what they saw as his failure at drawing, modeling, composing, and finishing his works and his insistence on superficial or sometimes offensive subject matter. Not surprisingly, the paintings that were singled out for praise were more often than not the productions of Manet's early to mid-career years, for example *Le Bon Bock*, as opposed to his later Impressionist paintings.[8] Thus, even Manet's staunchest supporters in France still argued the merits of Manet's artistic contribution at the time of his death.

It is clear that similar questions about the merits of Manet's work were on the minds of foreign correspondents reporting from Paris to America. Less inclined than French critics to argue the lasting impact of his works and artistic methods, for Paris correspondents the most problematical aspects of Manet's paintings were the high-keyed colors, the sketchy handling, the unorthodox compositional strategies, and the coarse subject matter, elements they complained of repeatedly when they responded to the works exhibited at the Salon in the late 1870s and early 1880s.[9] When praise was delivered, it was usually for Manet's portraits, undoubtedly because their format was more accessible and conventional, and the sitters were often prominent figures. Manet's

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portrait of Antonin Proust exhibited at the Salon of 1880, for example, was considered a convincing likeness and was mentioned without negative comment.[10]

Of his Salon submissions in the early 1880s, the most unsympathetic commentary was directed toward *Chez le père Lathuille* (Salon of 1880), *Portrait of M. Pertuiset, Lion Hunter* (Salon of 1881) (1880-81; Museu de Arte, São Paulo), and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (Salon of 1882). The critic for the *New York Herald* referred to *Chez le père Lathuille* (fig. 24) as a large atrocity, "something like a magnified caricature from the *Petit Journal pour rire*. A terrible young man . . . is sitting at a table in a restaurant garden, beside a blotchy young woman in a dark dress, who is probably no better than she should be. In the middle distance stands a waiter holding a mug of beer. . . . As a satire on contemporary French society it might be studied with the most beneficial results." Not only did the *Herald* critic find the subject matter morally questionable, but also the formal elements were puzzling. He questioned whether the painting could be called a "work," given the apparent lack of seriousness and care with which it was executed, and he questioned Manet's skill as a colorist, adding sarcastically, "if M. Manet is a colorist, all the pictures that have been painted since the time of Giotto are foolish and most of us are color blind." The critic for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* stated flatly: Marat [*sic*], who I never liked, is thoroughly bad this year; even his friends cannot defend him."[11]

At the Salon of 1881, Manet received a second-class medal for his portraits of Henri Rochefort and Eugène Pertuiset, but despite the official sanction implicit in the medal, American critics found much to criticize. C. M. P. Hilliard, correspondent for the *Boston Evening Transcript* called *Portrait of M. Pertuiset, Lion Hunter* an "absurd" work. He wondered how the painting had been accepted to begin with, much less how it had won a medal unless it was to ridicule the painter. Finally, he criticized the work for its weak drawing and color, the latter of which he called "absolutely laughable."[12] Likewise, the writer for the *New York Herald* devoted an entire paragraph to the portrait of Pertuiset and lambasted it in every line. This critic took offense at the dandified portrayal of the

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hunter especially the "Dundreary whiskers" and the "Lincoln green shooting suit," which put the gallantry of the man into suspicion and made him look like a Tyrolese rifleman, rather than a lion hunter! Moreover, the critic compared the work to a signboard for the extreme simplification of form and resulting flatness. Although he found the colors muddy and the execution slovenly, the same critic thought that Manet's portrait of Henri Rochefort (fig. 25) was a commendable likeness.[13] Revealing the critic's grudging recognition of Manet's more secure and elevated status in the Paris art world, Cosmopolite, critic for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* wrote: "As Manet exhibits I am obliged to mention him; but his work has gradually gone from bad to worse, and I wonder how he ever made a name and founded a school."[14] It is clear that reviewers found the works insufficient for a painter reputed to be important; they were perplexed, based on the evidence, as to why Manet had been honored, or they wanted to detract from his newly achieved prominence.

In 1882, upon encountering Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (fig. 26) reviewers reporting from Paris expressed at least shock if not horror at the low-brow subject matter and the challenging composition.[15] The correspondent to the *Art Amateur* noted Manet's *Bar* in passing but with a sneer, calling him the "Zola of the brush" because of the artist's selection of a disreputable pleasure resort as the subject for his picture.[16] Also revealing outrage for the lurid subject and pointing with irony to the distance between modern life and more roundly-approved classical subjects, the critic for the *New York Herald* observed mockingly:

> A fair-haired Hebe stands behind a counter at the Folies Bergère, with her back to a looking-glass and her face to the spectator. In the glass you see reflected the opposite side of the theatre, with its tawdry red decoration and its crowd of dissipated promenaders. Hebe is serving a customer, whose figure you also see reflected. The counter is laden with champagne bottles and lighted by the garish light of the gas. Relatively speaking, the composition is sober. There is not the least touch of caricature in the picture, and Hebe is so decorous that you wonder how she ever came to be a barmaid. M. Manet has gone out of his way quite needlessly in search of difficulties, and, though he has certainly succeeded in finding them, he has failed to overcome them when found. His color is both coarse and dingy; his drawing is not irreproachable; his subject is meaningless and vulgar, and his gaslight, though garish, is not brilliant.

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The *Herald* critic noted that *Bar* was too conscientiously painted to find favor in the eyes of the followers of Manet [the Impressionists] and too crude and hurried in execution to be approved of by "ordinary" critics. His statement served as an acknowledgement that Manet's works were less startling than they had been a decade earlier because Manet had influenced many young artists who had pushed well beyond him in their use of extreme color and handling of paint. In the final analysis, the *Herald* reviewer considered Manet "clever but perverse and disappointing."[17] The *Herald* critic was not alone in his awareness that Manet was more conservative in style than his younger colleagues. Lucy Hooper also, who had been ruthless in her condemnation of Manet's paintings in the mid-1870s, admitted that Manet was "less mad than the other maniacs of impressionism. His pictures, which are admitted to the *Salon* without difficulty, show the hand of a master even amid their vagaries."[18] Although she still damned him with faint praise, like many critics of the early 1880s, Hooper indicated that Manet had been outpaced by his more unconventional followers.

Richard Whiteing, writing for the *New York World*, opened his review of the 1882 Salon by remarking that it represented the arrival of the Realistic school, that it was both "a funeral and a new birth." The funeral to which Whiteing referred was for the Salon painters Léon Bonnat, William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Alexandre Cabanel, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Charles-Victor-Eugène Lefebvre, and Adolphe Yvon, and the birth was that of a new school which had its beginnings in the work of Gustave Courbet and the literature of Emile Zola. This new school, according to Whiteing, was "a movement for scientific truth as against idealism, and especially a movement for the treatment of the life of to-day, instead of that of the day before yesterday." Whiteing explained that the taste of the new men took them away from refined subjects, which were associated with the "old and hated school."

The first work Whiteing discussed in his review was Manet's *Bar*, as an example of the tendency among the Realists to paint modern subjects. Of Manet's subject, he wrote:

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"And such a bar! A bar at the Folies Bergères [*sic*]. There you have the flashy girls who sell the liquors, the worn-out swell talking to them, the crowd of fast women, the brandy bottles, the oranges and lemons, all done to the life." Whiteing described the low-class scene in a disapproving tone, especially the bar girls, but he noted that they were absolutely true to nature. In other words, he understood the artist's intention to be truthful to the modern subject, as well as the fact that the picture recorded a real place and types of the people who frequented it. Nevertheless, it is clear also that the critic found the subject distasteful, and he was underwhelmed by the absence of significant content and of conventional elements of beauty.[19]

For Whiteing, the Realist school had given rise to a painter who had produced more meaningful and acceptable work than Manet, and that artist was Jules Bastien-Lepage, who had captured Whiteing's attention at the Salon of 1880. Despite the fact that it was hardly a modern life subject or perhaps because it was not, Whiteing had identified Lepage's *Joan of Arc* (fig. 27) as the triumph of Realism, and he devoted an entire article to the much talked about and acclaimed work.[20] In the review, which appeared in the *New York World*, Whiteing wrote: "This, and not the Impressionist work, is the true coincidence in art with the movement led by Zola in literature. It is a nobler sort of naturalism . . . ." The elements that made Lepage's picture "nobler" were its serious, uplifting subject matter, its high degree of finish, and its controlled palette. Whiteing pointed to the characterization of the martyr as one of the highlights of the picture. As he noted with his usual flippancy, "He [Lepage] has painted her as what she probably was—a clodhopper who happened to have the soul of a saint." Moreover, he posited that the heroism of her attempt and the grandeur of her character were enhanced by the carefully labored details throughout the composition. Whiteing concluded that the "picture stands every test," and he believed that it was "likely to determine the movement of art itself for the next quarter of a century."[21] In his reaction to these two important paintings of the early 1880s, Whiteing pinpointed several key issues that detracted from

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serious admiration for Manet's works for him and for other critics, namely the absence of high-minded content and the lack of detail that would enrich the content of the picture. Although he grasped more fully than other reporters the concepts that buttressed the Realist style, Whiteing did not express much sympathy for or wholehearted approval of Manet's works.

While Manet did not exhibit any works at the Salon in 1883, his influence was noted in the works of other exhibitors as well as the fact that the artist was extremely ill.[22] Following his death, a number of obituaries appeared in American art journals and newspapers which were perfunctory and did not contain individualized analyses of the artists' accomplishments. Manet was characterized as an artist who had struggled for acceptance early on, and who, by the end of his career, had enjoyed some celebrity in the Paris art world. It was stated repeatedly that *Le Bon Bock* was one of his most popular works, an opinion held by many French critics as well. Manet was referred to as both the leader of the Impressionists and as a member of the Naturalist circle around Emile Zola. It was acknowledged that the artist was still controversial, meaning that his works were admired by many, but ridiculed by some.

Colored by the praises, reservations, and criticisms of French art watchers, the portrait of Manet that was circulated this country by art writers from abroad remained a largely unsympathetic one in the early 1880s. Although he was presented as a purportedly important figure, the descriptions of Manet's works that reached American readers were riddled with negative commentary on questions of finish and composition as well as subject matter. By the time of his death, however, the jury was still out on the larger significance of the artist, and readers were aware that debates over the merits and importance of the artist's works continued.

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Henry Bacon, *Parisian Art and Artists* (1883)

The same commendations and concerns that pervaded French commentary on Manet as well as that penned by correspondents reporting from Paris also ring through the writing of American artist Henry Bacon, who devoted a section of his book *Parisian Art and Artists* (1883) to Manet and the Impressionists. Bacon, a Bostonian who had resided in Paris since 1864, was a painter and illustrator who had studied under Alexandre Cabanel and Edouard Frere. He was known primarily for his paintings of modern life including scenes of quaint country villages and peasants in France as well as vignettes of genteel bourgeois life, rendered in a tight, highly-polished and detailed style (fig. 28).[23] Also, Bacon was familiar to Americans through his art writing, in particular a series of articles on Parisian art published in 1880-81 in *Scribner's Monthly* and through occasional exhibition reviews he wrote for the *Boston Evening Transcript*.[24] Like the foreign correspondents who reported on Manet and the Parisian art scene, Bacon too was a French-American voice and a decidedly conservative one at that. Allegiance to the rules and rigors of academic practice, learned from his master Cabanel, and a taste for sentiment and anecdote set Bacon at a notable remove from the more individualized and roundly anti-academic productions of Manet. In his published commentary, Bacon ridiculed Manet's efforts, warned of his deleterious influence on younger painters, and tried generally to diminish the artist's importance with his American readers.

As he indicated in the introduction, Bacon's intention in *Parisian Art and Artists* was to provide a lively, anecdotal account of "current or fashionable art of this generation, what exists to-day, what may be supplanted in a few years and forgotten in a few more,—a mere fashion of art, as transient as that of dress."[25] By "Parisian," Bacon meant artists formed in Paris although not necessarily French. Reflective of contemporary interest and visibility, the first artists discussed by Bacon were Manet and the Impressionists. Bacon suggested that the Independents, drawing upon one of the labels under which the Impressionists had exhibited, were the most extreme group of painters

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practicing in Paris, whose works were "so crude and unfinished, that the Salon could not recognize them . . . ."[26] With a clever play on words, Bacon recalled that the Independents first showed their paintings at the "Exposition des Refuse" in Paris until the government stopped sponsoring these exhibitions of second-rate works rejected from the annual Salon. After losing this government-sponsored venue, the Independents organized their own exhibitions which were so poor that they frequently changed the name of the group, shifting from Impressionists, to Intransigeants, to Independents, in an attempt to attract the attention of the public. Describing the artistic credo of the group, Bacon wrote with a tone of deep sarcasm and disdain: "They profess to ignore the teachings of art schools, the traditions of the old masters,—declaring themselves followers of no dogmas, not considering elegance desirable in their art, abhorring the graceful contours of the Greek and Roman Antiques and the elaborate manner of the Renaissance," all qualities which Bacon himself admired and cultivated in his own art.[27]

Bacon referred to Manet as the "chief-inventor and apostle" of Impressionism, an indication that he understood the artist to be the initiator and proselytizer of the new style. As the chief-inventor, Bacon credited Manet for "the fashion of representing nature out of tune," and as a result, Bacon explained that the painter's works were ridiculed, and the artist was the "laughing-stock of all Paris."[28] In characterizing Manet's art, Bacon pointed to its impressionistic qualities, meaning that the artist recorded the impression made by nature upon his eyes, to the lack of finish in his paintings, and to the absence of subtle gradations of value in his palette, all of which he opposed. Again alluding to music, Bacon wrote that Manet "tried to sound all the notes in nature's gamut by a single octave in the diatonic scale, ignoring intervening notes, the beauties of chromatic intervals."[29] What Bacon was referring to had been noted by many French critics. He was disturbed by the sometimes startling juxtaposition of intense hues in Manet's paintings and the pairing of extremes of light and dark which caused forms to appear flat.

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Bacon compared Manet's unorthodox palette and methods to that of the Belgian painter Alfred Stevens, whose clever genre scenes of fashionable ladies and gentlemen were akin to Bacon's own works (fig. 29). Bacon commended the rich variety of colors and the charming sentiments conveyed by Stevens in his modern life scenes as far superior to the indelicacies of Manet's productions. In the final analysis, Bacon argued that Manet had investigated some new and interesting avenues in painting and his works had "germs of vitality," but ultimately, the painter had fallen short of what he had intended. In other words, Bacon passed off Manet's methods and vision as a trend or a fashion, thereby denying him any lasting fame or influence.

Although not stated directly, it can be surmised that Bacon, an artist himself, admired or at the least recognized Manet's talents as a painter. Bacon conceded that Manet, "having a real and legitimate desire for art," was now too conservative for his more radical followers and had left their ranks as a result.[30] At the same time, Bacon criticized Manet's followers the Impressionists more severely, who in his eyes were not up to Manet's level; rather they saw in Manet's approach to painting an alternative to the rudiments of drawing and composition and an easy road to success. Moreover, Bacon opined that Manet's influence was actually dangerous for young, unformed or untalented artists. To Bacon's mind, Manet's methods offered a seemingly easy alternative to the long and arduous curriculum of the academy.

In his final comments on the painter, to make clear that the value of Manet's art continued to be contested, Bacon related the story of the second-class medal awarded to Manet at the Salon of 1881. Bacon recounted that the medal had been proposed by a group of young painters among the Salon jurors, who called for a *médaille de réparation* to honor Manet's efforts over the preceding twenty years. Bacon noted that only fourteen of forty members of the jury voted in favor of Manet's being awarded a medal and that chaos erupted at the distribution ceremony where Manet's name was greeted by hisses and groans as well as attempts at applause by his friends. The moment, as remembered

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by Bacon, was an embarrassing one, but fortunately Manet, fully cognizant of his numerous opponents, had chosen not to attend the ceremony.[31]

Bacon's deliberate debunking of Manet's significance may reveal deep seated resentment on his part toward the rising status of the artist and the shifting aesthetic standards that the Frenchman's methods accelerated and which were embraced by a growing number of young artists. For Bacon, as for other American artists who adhered to the tenets of the academy, Manet's artistic innovations were a threat to the traditional standards they held dear and had worked diligently to master and employ. Although expressed in a cheerful and amused tone, flavored with condescension, Bacon's commentary actually masks a deeper desire on his part to impede the wheels of change that were affecting art production of his day.

Two Important Exhibitions of Manet's Works in the United States, 1883-84

Regardless of negative opinions of Manet from abroad, progressive state-side art critics and artists responded warmly to Manet's works when they were provided with two opportunities in 1883-84 to study and evaluate his productions. In the autumn after the artist's death, two paintings by Manet were included in the fine arts display at the Boston Foreign Exhibition. Moreover, in New York, J. Carroll Beckwith and William M. Chase arranged for an important exhibition of modern painting at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition, in which three paintings by Manet were shown. Despite a public uproar, American critics, including most notably Mariana van Rensselaer and Clarence Cook, defended the inclusion of Manet's canvases in these exhibitions, praised the originality of his vision and his abilities as a painter, and advocated close study of his paintings, even if they did not embrace his subject selections or treatment. The art viewing public and some conservative American critics had difficulty comprehending Manet's art, and in the minds of his American viewers generally, the artist's productions fell short for what was perceived as the complete lack of beauty or ideality. Echoing the complaints of James

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Jackson Jarves and other earlier critics, Manet's works continued to elicit a range of derisive adjectives including "ugly" and "bizarre."

Unlike Manet's debut exhibition in the United States, which was sponsored by unknown foreigners and exposed for only a brief period of time, the 1883 displays were large, widely publicized and eagerly anticipated. Additionally, they were sponsored by respected institutions well known for their promotion of the arts and were open for viewing over extended periods of time. Also different from the 1879-80 event, the exhibitions of 1883 provided the opportunity for American art enthusiasts and critics to study the works of Manet in the context of contemporary European art. At the Foreign Fair, Manet's paintings were grouped with French Impressionist paintings, and at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition, his works were seen with Barbizon School paintings and other nineteenth-century works that revealed a shared interest in spontaneous, painterly technique and personal expression. At both exhibitions, the appearance of works by Manet was made possible through the Parisian art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, who would become the single most important conduit for Manet's works into the United States in the nineteenth century. For the Foreign Fair, Durand-Ruel sent the works directly from his own inventory or borrowed them from private hands, while the examples by Manet exhibited at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition were owned in the United States but had passed through the hands of the Parisian art dealer.

The body of criticism that was generated in response to both exhibitions reveals that by 1883, Manet was more widely recognized in this country than he had been in 1879, a fact supported by, and perhaps in part the result of, the increase in attention given to his works by foreign correspondents reporting on the artist in the years leading up to his death. In contrast to the spotty response of New York critics in 1879, critics writing for all of the major newspapers and some art journals published in that city noted Manet's paintings in 1883, and in Boston, the response was generous as well. The exhibition notices make clear that critics in both venues knew that Manet was an artist of some

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importance in France and the mentor of the younger generation of French artists including the Impressionists. In fact, even though Manet's paintings at both exhibitions were engulfed by dozens of other works by better known artists and could easily have been overlooked, they were consistently singled out for commentary.[32]

Compared to the reactions of New York and Boston critics in 1879-80, when Boston art commentators were more receptive to Manet's unorthodox methods and style, in 1883 critics of both cities were able to find commendable elements in Manet's paintings. The context in which Manet's works were viewed, however, made some difference in the critical response. In Boston, where his paintings were accompanied by examples by Edgar Degas, Auguste Renoir, Camille Pissarro, and Claude Monet, Manet's works was considered the most conservative and palatable of the avant-garde selections. In New York, in the context of painterly but subdued contemporary paintings, Manet, together with Degas, was viewed as an Impressionist extremist.

American Exhibition of Foreign Products, Arts, & Manufactures, Boston

The American Exhibition of Foreign Products, Arts, & Manufactures was held in Boston from 3 September 1883 to 22 February 1884.[33] This international exhibition was organized by the Foreign Exhibition Association, which was formed in Boston in the spring of 1882, after a plan for a world fair in New York had been aborted in the fall of 1881.[34] In December 1882, a meeting was held to elect officers for the Foreign Exhibition Association. Nathaniel J. Bradlee, a Boston architect who was president of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, was elected president of the association, Charles B. Norton, former U.S. Commissioner to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867 and former press secretary for the Philadelphia Centennial exhibition, was elected secretary, and Frederic W. Lincoln, former mayor of Boston, was elected treasurer.[35] In the charter of the Association, among the stated goals was "the general improvement of the manufacturing and mechanical interests of the United States by

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holding exhibitions of foreign manufacturing, artistic and industrial productions."[36] Thus, the Foreign Exhibition differed from the "world fair" concept in that it did not include American products and was intended to provide Americans with an opportunity to see recent advances of foreign art and industry.[37] The exhibition was held in the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association's building (hereafter, the MCMA building) on Huntington Avenue in Back Bay Boston.[38] With seven acres of floor space, the vast building permitted each nation represented to have its own court.[39] The directors of the exhibition arranged by a special act of the United States Congress that the building be made a bonded warehouse, thereby allowing the foreign products to enter this country untaxed. Taxes would be levied only when an item was sold.[40]

The exhibits varied from food stuffs, alcoholic beverages, and smoking supplies, including chocolates from Russia, oatmeal from Ireland, champagne and wine from France, and smoking tobacco from Turkey, to domestic necessities, like castile soap from Spain and sponges from Greece, to decorative and religious items, such as East Indian fabrics supplied by Liberty and Company of London, linen thread from Scotland, rugs and screens from Vienna, rugs and yarns from Belgium, Salviati glass from Venice, stained glass from Germany, and included even a five-ton stone cross from County Kilkenny in Ireland. The exhibits most commented upon and most numerous were those from Japan. As noted by one Boston newspaper, "It is a display that will make a collector almost wild."[41] From the 284 cases of objects sent from Japan, one could see "handsome vases, exquisite cups and saucers, quaint bowls, card cases, glove boxes, jewel cases and cabinets of wonderful workmanship, odd-looking swords and knives."[42] Included as well and much commented upon was a display of paintings and sculpture by European artists.

About two thousand people attended the opening ceremonies which were held in Washington Hall of the MCMA building, where one reporter noted that "some Chinese gentlemen were conspicuous by reason of the oddity of their apparel, while a Turkish fez

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made a sharp point in the view." In addition to the colorful exoticism of the foreigners in attendance, the same reporter noted that the surrounding galleries, which were draped with a variety of rugs, "reminded one of Gérôme's pictures of the Coliseum."[43] Although the exhibition was entirely a showcase of foreign production, patriotic sentiments pervaded the opening ceremonies, as the opening date, 3 September, was the one-hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Paris, the day on which "the United States was acknowledged by her conquered enemies to be a nation."[44] Descendants of John Jay and Charles Francis Adams, signers of the treaty with Great Britain, participated in the opening festivities.

Despite the allure of exotically appareled visitors and luxury goods, the exhibition did not make a positive impression. It was referred to as a "bazaar" (with the emphasis on sales, rather than education), and the products, with a few exceptions, were not considered interesting or of exceptional quality such as might challenge and inspire American manufacturers, but rather as run-of-the-mill, mediocre in design, and expensive.[45] The art gallery of the Foreign Exhibition was also deemed a disappointment. It had been promoted as the finest sampling of modern European art ever to be shown in this country, a promise that many believed was not fulfilled.[46] The reviewer for the *Boston Evening Transcript* warned his readers that their expectations for the art exhibition would not be met: "The visitor to the picture galleries of the Foreign Exhibition who entertains the legitimate expectation of finding there something to give him an idea of what is going on in the great art world of Europe today is doomed to disappointment. Hardly any of the famous living artists are represented." He then specified the problem by listing the artists one might expect to find in a truly representative show of modern European art, with French artists heading the list:

> Now, France is the headquarters at present of art production. Her foremost painters and sculptors are the present-most famous artists in the world. What shall we say of an international art exhibition without a single work by them? Where are Baudry, Bastien-Lepage, Bonnat, Bouguereau, Bréton, Bonheur, Chapu, Cabanel, Duran, K. Daubigny, Détaille, Dubois, Dubufe, Dupré, Falguière, Français, Frère, Gérôme, Henner, Jacque, Laurens, Lefêbvre, Leroux, Luminais, Meissonier, De Neuville, Van

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> Marcke, Vibert, Vollon, Ziem? Where are Achenbach, Tadema, Clays, De Cock, Herkomer, Israels, Jongkind, Knaus, Leighton, Lessing, Madrazo, Makart, Max, Millais, Munkacsy, De Nittis, Piloty, Rico, Schenck, Schreyer, Stevens, and all the rest of the men who make the European art of today what it is? It is not demanding too much to ask that some of the tendencies of foreign art should be shown by other than second-rate and even fourth-rate exponents.[47]

As the *Transcript* critic indicated, the works of lesser and little-known artists, such as the Frenchmen Jules Hereau, Joseph-Louis-François Lépine, Edouard Manet and the Impressionists, as well as Princess Louise of England and Luigi Nono of Italy, were included rather than examples by the reigning stars of the Salon.

The chief of the Bureau of Art was Boston artist Horace R. Burdick (1844-1942), and he, with the help of a number of art commissioners, had made the selections and secured the loans for the exhibition.[48] The exhibition included oil paintings, watercolors, drawings, photographs, and sculpture from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, and Spain.[49] Paintings and sculpture composed the largest component of the exhibition with almost 500 works shown. The exhibition was accompanied by an illustrated catalogue, for which Burdick, together with Boston painter Edmund Tarbell (1862-1938), provided pen and ink drawings of some works.

James Jackson Jarves, who served as the art commissioner to Italy for the exhibition, offered some explanation for the poor quality of the works, claiming that there were eleven competing exhibitions in Europe at that time, that the United States art tariff was prohibitive, and that it would take several years, as opposed to the three months allotted, and a tremendous amount of money to secure thoroughly representative examples of the modern European schools of art.[50] Given the limitations under which the art commissioners were working, Jarves stated, "The object was to get salable works of the standard that would suit the average buyer."[51] Other commentators offered reasons for the failure of the art exhibits as well. The writer for the *Boston Journal* explained that the exhibition managers had not enticed potential exhibitors with the promise of prizes and honors, thereby sending a subtle message that art was secondary to industry.[52]

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Indicating both high regard and inflated expectations for the art of the French nation, the French works were the first topic of discussion in all of the reviews. The critic writing for the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, probably William Howe Downes, remarked dryly, "France, very naturally, heads the list with the largest number of pictures; but if it were not for the deceased artists' works,—such as those of Gustave Courbet and Georges Michel,—even this leading nation would make but a very poor showing.[53] Evidently, the French government had promised a selection of pictures from the Luxembourg galleries which never materialized, resulting in great disappointment among viewers.[54] Confirming the failure of the French exhibit as well was the lack of sales, it was noted in the *Boston Evening Transcript* that ". . . nothing from the French has found a purchaser. If this seems strange in a community proverbially partial to French painting, it is easily explainable on the ground that France fell so notoriously short of her own merits in the art she sent over. A Courbet, a Boudin, a Michel, a Damoye, etc., by no means in these artists' best vein, could not atone for or impose the rest upon the people who know French art and buy it . . . ."[55] The landscapes by Courbet and Michel were the French items in the exhibition most highly praised by critics, who also lavished attention on landscapes by Hereau, Victor-Pierre Huguet, Lépine, Eugène Boudin, Alfred Wahlberg, Ludwig Munthe, and Emile-Louis Vernier, whom one critic referred to as "clever fellows, but not known to fame yet in a large sense."[56] Among the figure paintings, Henri Lévy's *Entombment* (Musée du Reims), which had been exhibited at the Salon of 1873, was noted consistently by critics although it was deemed rather uninspired.

The most unusual aspect of the French paintings display, and that which elicited the most notice and critical debate, were pictures by Manet and the Impressionists. Included in the exhibition were two paintings by Manet, three by Claude Monet, six by Camille Pissarro (three oil and three watercolor paintings), three by Auguste Renoir, and three by Alfred Sisley.[57] The Foreign Exhibition provided one of the first opportunities in this country for Americans to assess this radical new style about which they had read but had

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seen only occasional examples. While Downes characterized the French exhibit as an "odd and incongruous affair, very extensively seasoned with the eccentric products of the *Salon des refusés*," the critic for the *Boston Herald* echoed the sentiments of the majority of the reviewers when he wrote, "though the [French] collection can have no special significance in a comprehensive sense, it derives exceptional interest from the fact that it introduces here a class of works almost entirely unknown. Much has been heard of the schools of Paris impressionists, for instance, but until now nothing has been seen at all indicative of the general character of its work."[58] However, the belief that the works of the Impressionists were an interesting addition to the exhibition and valuable to the educational mission of the enterprise was not synonymous with approval. The majority of the critics were curious about the Impressionists' works and some found them fresh and interesting, but they discovered much to criticize as well. Of the painters represented, it was Manet whose works received the most praise. A recollection of the exhibition written by Downes almost a decade later sums up the attitudes of the critics to the Impressionists. Downes recalled that Manet stood out among the group as a painter of considerable force, while his followers were hardly considered painters at all because they so emphatically reversed "the established order of things."[59]

The works by Manet and the Impressionists were brought to Boston by the Parisian art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, who made his first trip to the United States for the occasion.[60] Although the catalogue of the art exhibition did not identify him as the supplier of the works, Durand-Ruel's involvement in the endeavor is verified by a letter from Pissarro to Monet. During the summer preceding the fair, Pissarro wrote to Monet that "A few of our paintings were sent to the Boston exhibition; I have found out from some Americans that it is considered a mediocre display which has little or no influence. I spoke with Durand about this, and he told me that it would be a test, and that he was using the occasion to exhibit us, especially since there would be no customs duty."[61] His faith in and enthusiasm for their paintings aside, the truth of the matter was that Durand-Ruel had

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had difficulty selling the works of the Impressionists in Paris, and to shore up his precarious finances, the dealer hoped to develop a new market for their art in the United States.[62]

In contrast to the reviews of the 1879-80 exhibition of the *Execution of Maximilian*, in which he was characterized as a little-known figure, Manet emerged in the Foreign Exhibition reviews as a known entity, and his works were at least mentioned if not discussed by all of the reviewers. Manet was identified solidly as an Impressionist and was considered their leader and the chief of the school, or sometimes called the former leader, not because he had died, although the critics knew that, but because of the prevalent idea that the younger Impressionists had moved beyond their mentor by experimenting with extreme effects of light and atmosphere as well as with bold color. Underscoring his relationship to the group, critics discussed Manet's works contiguously with those of the Impressionists. However, his productions were consistently discussed before theirs, confirming Downes' statement that Manet was accorded the highest standing among the Impressionists.[63] Likewise, the *Boston Evening Transcript* critic referred to Manet as the "most respectable painter among these revolutionists [the Impressionists];" whereas the *Magazine of Art* called Manet the once adored leader of the group and stated that his works were "quite solidly painted and resolutely outlined," qualities which distinguished him from his followers.[64] Without a doubt, compared with the high-keyed palette of the Impressionists's works, which one critic remarked would "set one's teeth on edge," Manet's works appeared subdued, quiet, and simple, more the work of a serious artist than of an experimenter looking to create a sensation.[65]

The works by Manet listed in the catalogue were *Dead Christ and the Angels* (fig. 6) and *Tragic Actor* (fig. 7).[66] Of the two, the painting that won the most praise from critics was *Tragic Actor*, a portrait of Philibert Rouvière, which was commended for the breadth and simplicity of the handling and the subtle palette as well as for the remarkable characterization of the actor and the strong suggestion of movement and vitality.[67]

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Downes engaged with those features of Manet's painting that made it different from the Impressionists' works, especially the similarities in composition and color to the work of Diego Velázquez.[68] The comparison to Velázquez was one that Manet would have treasured. Velázquez' paintings were studied and emulated by mid-to-late nineteenth century painters including Manet, Léon Bonnat, and Carolus-Duran as well as Americans John Singer Sargent, William Merritt Chase, and Thomas Eakins, to name only a few. The Spanish master's style was admired for the sureness and ease of paint handling as well as the limited tonal palette, and he was an appropriate mentor for the realist painters, in particular, in his own focus on modern life subjects portrayed with startling directness and without sentimentality.[69] The *Boston Herald* critic pointed as well to "some good, expressive qualities of character and force, in the broad way, characteristic of a sketch or the rough draught from a picture."[70]

Although it appeared as the frontispiece to the catalogue of the art collection, suggesting the esteem in which the exhibition organizers held the work, Manet's *Dead Christ and the Angels* did not win over the critics, who believed it too realistic in treatment, especially the body of the dead savior. [71] Downes called the painting "a dream of horror" and stated, "Good taste protests against this brutality of realism, worthy of Ribera." Nevertheless, the same critic noted also that there was some admirable work in the painting, and he praised the quiet sorrow of the angels' faces."[72] Moreover, the picture was thought to lack completely the appropriate sentiments or poetry related to death and desirable in painted expression. The critic for the *Boston Journal* called Manet's painting "ghastly and putrescent" and wrote that it was "repulsive to every instinct of taste and decency in its brutal treatment of a subject which most men regard as at least in some sense sacred."[73] The most condemnatory response was published in the *Boston Herald.* The critic called Manet's *Dead Christ* "hideously realistic," and commented that, "It is without a venerating touch or the least poetic reserve. Manet's Christ is a greenish corpse, sitting bolt upright between two presumably angel figures. If

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it has artistic quality, it is a dead letter to us."[74] From a formal standpoint, the flesh tones were considered too bright and the composition too flat, although the figures were considered well drawn.

Dead Christ stood in stark contrast to the more conventional presentation of this sacred subject by Henri Lévy also shown at the Foreign Exhibition. [75] Of the two paintings, the critic for the *Boston Herald* remarked: "A very large picture by Henry Lévy shows an entirely different treatment of the entombment to that of Manet's. It is more classical and conventional, and more bearable to look upon . . . ."[76] The critic for the *Boston Pilot* compared the paintings as well, and again, Manet's presentation and treatment was denigrated: "In the one [by Lévy], the dead body is faithfully painted with true but not repulsive realism. There is nothing in the picture to awaken aught but a feeling of profound awe and reverence. In the other [by Manet], we see only the hideousness and horror of death. It is a picture to awaken disgust and aversion."[77] Clearly, as can be derived from their approving commentary on Levy's *Entombment,* critics expected the expression of religious sentiment in the portrayal of a sacred subject and, in the presentation of Christ's body in particular, a certain level of respectful idealization and full sculptural modeling that was absent from Manet's treatment.

Boston critics were not alone in their negative estimations of Manet's religious painting. When *Dead Christ and the Angels* was exhibited at the Salon of 1864, it was lambasted by French critics for the un-idealized treatment of Christ and the complete lack of spiritual content in the work, together with the use of harsh light and subsequent lack of sculptural modeling in the forms. Similar reactions met the exhibition of Manet's other large religious painting *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (fig. 5), when it appeared at the Salon of 1865. However, like the American critics, some French writers found merit in the extraordinary beauty of the paint handling despite their feelings of repulsion toward Manet's treatment of the subject.

The reactions of the critics to the *Dead Christ* were not unlike those penned in

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1879-80 in response to Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*. The presentation of Christ's body was considered brutal and harshly realistic because the subject was not imbued with the appropriate religious feelings, just as the *Execution* lacked the proper discretion with regard to violence and respect for the dead. Both works embodied elements of horror that American critics simply could not accept as appropriate for painting. Suggesting that taste and aesthetic standards were indeed changing, however, only a few critics, compared with much larger numbers in 1879-80, condemned either of Manet's paintings at the Foreign Exhibition for sketchy handling or absence of *fini*, and *Tragic Actor* enjoyed the added cachet that it evoked the work of the revered master Velázquez. Only the critic for the *Boston Herald* described the portrait of Rouvière as sketch-like, admitting nevertheless that it conveyed character and force.

The Impressionists' works also captured the attention of critics reviewing the Foreign Exhibition, and the reviewers agreed that the works provided a valuable educational opportunity, but their reactions to the works of Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, and Sisley ran the gamut from disgust to curiosity to guarded approval, with the scale weighted noticeably toward disgust. The *Boston Evening Transcript* dismissed the group by remarking, "The most interesting, if not the most nourishing, part of the entertainment is supplied by the *soi-disant* impressionists. These unhappy beings evidently have no impressions worth putting on canvas, or else they know not how to do it."[78] Likewise, the critics for the *Boston Herald*, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and *Boston Journal* saw the display as an opportunity to condemn the "slap-dash" school of painting, which evaded the true purpose of art. The critic for the *Boston Journal*, for example, asserted that the Impressionists' method was not worthy of imitation, and, he maintained that,

> their only distinctive claim to consideration as exponents of a school appears to be founded upon the principle of avoiding at all hazards every suggestion of refinement or idea, and painting a subject in such a way that no amount of study on the part of the observer can discover anything deeper than is suggested by the first impression which the picture may make upon the mind. If it be art to paint this superficially, and to leave the imagination out in the cold, and puzzled and baffled in its search for the good, the true and the beautiful, then these "Impressionists" are artists.[79]

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Equally disdainful were the sentiments expressed by the critic for the *Boston Journal*, who remarked that the exhibition was,

> a rather generous display of the works of the French Impressionists, the craziest and most utterly valueless association of painters the feverishness of the present day has produced, who have very properly been outlawed in their own country and will be sure to be set down at their true valuation in this [exhibition] . . . .[80]

The reviewer for the *Magazine of Art* focused more specifically on the Impressionists' manner of painting and remarked that, "Contempt of drawing, impossible color, and childish, puttering handling characterizes them all."[81]

Even while admitting the Impressionists' technical shortcomings, the critics for the *Boston Globe*, *Boston Evening Traveler* and *Springfield Daily Republican* entreated their readers to give consideration to a new and important school of painters. As one critic noted, "The fact that these pictures do attract much attention is proof that they are not entirely bad. They are full of bad drawing and impossible colors, and occasionally of ludicrous effects. But there is an idea in them, and that idea is revolt against berutted [*sic*] conventionality. . . . there is a freshness and a piquancy and a certain charm about the pictures that the surrounding canvases do not have."[82] As would become increasingly apparent during the course of the 1880s, the comment of the *Globe* critic suggests an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with conventional academic painting, which in the eyes of some critics appeared to cling to formulae and to lack individuality. The Impressionists, although certainly outrageous in their formal effects, embraced originality of expression.

The most glowing coverage of the Impressionists' works appeared in the *Boston Evening Traveler*.[83] The critic described the Impressionists' paintings, especially their dazzling color, freshness of subject, and expression of vitality, and took pains to give his readers some account of the history and make-up of the group. Ironically, given its condemning tone, he quoted from Henry Bacon's recently published book *Parisian Art and Artists* to establish Manet as the leader of this group which strove to record direct impressions of nature.[84] In fact, in response to public inquiry, the *Evening Traveler* published a brief definition of Impressionism, which was "to represent on canvas the

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general impression, in masses, much as a near-sighted person sees it," as opposed to the accuracy of detail and machine-like imitation that characterized the art of the Pre-Raphaelite school.[85] The writer for the *Evening Traveler* noted also that Burdick, the director of the Art Gallery, was a self-avowed fan of the Impressionists, who predicted that the Impressionists would be the school of the future.[86]

Among the Impressionists, Renoir was the great upstart of the exhibition, whom Downes called, "the boldest bad man of the lot."[87] *Luncheon of the Boating Party* (1880-81; Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.) was noted again and again by the critics, and indicating its celebrity in the exhibition, the painting was the only work by an Impressionist painter to appear in the *Album of the Most Celebrated Works of Art and Industry from the Boston Foreign Exhibition* (Boston, 1885).[88] Referring to Renoir's figure compositions generally, the *Boston Herald* reviewer commented: "They are painted in a high, harsh scale of color, and show as little artistic feeling in arrangement and sentiment, to say nothing of technique, as most scenic painting. What merit is there in painting common things merely as they appear?"[89] On the other hand, the critic for the *Boston Evening Traveler*, who liked the Impressionists' works as a whole, wrote that the *Luncheon of the Boating Party* was "instinct with life, with motion, with light and color. There is in it an indescribable vivacity in the entire group, a sense of motion pervading it."[90]

Surprisingly, given his renown in Boston later in the same decade, Monet's works elicited virtually no response in the reviews. Downes noted simply that Monet was represented by three landscapes all of which had been "skied very appropriately," which explains to some extent why they were mentioned only in passing.[91] Pissarro's works were roundly condemned, particularly for their outrageous colors, which one critic likened to blueberry jam smeared over the canvas, and Sisley was hardly noted.[92]

While the reviews suggest that the paintings of the Impressionists attracted considerable public attention, judging from the critical response it is certain that the

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public as well as the critics was curious, shocked and perplexed by the works and did not understand what the artists were trying to achieve.[93] The fact that the *Boston Evening Traveler* published a definition of Impressionism for its readers proved that many viewers had no clear understanding of the goals of Impressionism. Of the modern European works, the majority of attendees at the exhibition favored most highly the Italian paintings, and many found buyers during the exhibition. The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* wrote with a hint of irony, "The Italian alone—which is indisputably the best here—has hit the popular and perennial fancy so well that it can defy either admiration or distrust of race. Its story-telling qualities are pronounced enough to challenge anyone."[94] The same critic noted that the "paintings disposed of are wholly from the modern Italian and German departments." The art critics discussed the Italian displays quite frequently as well, but in a disparaging tone, revealing a rupture between their aesthetic standards and that of the general public. Reviewers observed that the Italian works were predominantly genre pieces, with trivial, even repulsive subjects, such as monks zestfully eating macaroni after a fast and looking at books, "with every evidence of coarse delight and the sly indulgence of forbidden pleasures."[95] The criticism was often quite harsh; for example, the critic for the *Boston Journal* commented,

> In general, the pictures in this part of the exhibition teach us very little; we do not care for the rough amorousness of country inns and low wine houses . . . and especially not when these subjects are never relieved by any of that delicate humor which some of the best French painters of the day employ in describing similar scenes, but are presented with a bald literalness which considers filthy skins and garments and decayed teeth worthy objects for the exercise of an artist's skill.[96]

Several critics who defended the Italian works commented that they were quite similar to the productions of American artists. According to the critic for the *Boston Globe*, "Find fault with these pictures of monks if you will, but are they not as refined, and are they not very much like, in their perfection of technique, Hovendon's [*sic*] negro subjects, or some of Champney's farmer-like pictures? Mion's 'Begging for the Mass' might have come from J. G. Brown's easel, except that it is rather tenderer in sentiment than he usually

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paints."[97] A few critics did find Luigi Mion's *Begging for the Mass* and Francesco Vinea's *Windy Day* to be worthy of recognition as well.

The inclusion of the works of Manet and the French Impressionists in the Foreign Exhibition was a milestone in the introduction of avant-garde painting in America. For the first time, viewers in Boston were given the opportunity to see a representative sampling of paintings by the key figures of the Impressionist group. Manet's sober palette and skillful handling of paint, as evidenced in *Tragic Actor* and *Dead Christ and the Angels*, won for him flattering notices, as well as the highest praise that his talents rivaled those of the great Spanish painter Velázquez. Moreover, earlier concerns with the lack of finish in Manet's works were not voiced again in 1883, revealing that critics were adjusting to and slowly embracing more painterly styles. Not yet fully in tune with the goals of Impressionism, or visually conditioned to the bright palette, however, neither art critics nor the public responded favorably to the works of Renoir, Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro although pleased to have the opportunity to see their much written about and disputed productions. Importantly, however, critics entreated their readers to give serious consideration to the productions of the Impressionists and underscored the value of their individual and unconventional style, even if they did not condone the formal attributes or subject selections.

Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition, New York

On the heels of the Foreign Exhibition in Boston was the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition at the National Academy of Design in New York, which was on view from 3 December 1883, through 1 January 1884.[98] The exhibition was one of a number of events organized throughout the country to raise funds for the pedestal of the *Statue of Liberty*. Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi's statue *Liberty Enlightening the World* (1875-84) was a gift to the citizens of the United States by the citizens of France, who had paid for the colossal copper and iron monument through a public subscription. In turn, it was

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decided that the pedestal for the *Statue of Liberty* should be funded by the American people, but by 1883, the funds were yet not in place to carry out the construction of Richard Morris Hunt's designs.[99] Thus, the idea for the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition was born, in an effort to contribute to the subscription. During its four-week duration, about 40,000 people attended the exhibition, and after settling the expenditures incurred by the event itself, about $12,000 were raised for the pedestal.[100]

Included in the exhibition were over 2,000 objects culled from private collections and dealers's inventories, among which numbered paintings, prints, miniatures, old coins and medals, metalwork, jewelry, laces, arms and armor, stained glass, illuminated manuscripts, musical instruments, ceramics, tapestries and costumes, antique furniture, as well as Asian and "American aboriginal" art.[101] As noted by the critic for the *Art Amateur*, "The fact that over a million and a half of dollars' worth of art treasures, most of them never before seen in a public exhibition, could be obtained in the short time which the working committees had at their disposal is . . . a cheering sign. It shows that taste is spreading." [102] Indeed critics penned their admiration for all of the collections on display, but the paintings garnered the warmest praises of all. The critic for the *New-York Times*, for example, lavished compliments on the paintings, his words ringing with pride and patriotism for the tireless efforts of the organizers and the goodwill and good taste of the lenders:

> No single department is so impressive, however, as the pictures. Well may an irascible Parisian, who loves pictures and hates Americans, exclaim that we drain France of her finest works and never give them back. . . . In certain lines it [the exhibition] surpasses anything that Paris can get together.[103]

In fact, a number of critics claimed it was the finest collection of paintings ever seen in New York.

When he wrote of the exhibition that in " *certain lines* [italics mine] it surpasses anything that Paris can get together," the *New-York Times* critic was pointing to the fact that the paintings had a distinctive character, a fact acknowledged by other critics as well, who called the display "unusual" and "exceptional." The *Art Amateur* critic

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characterized the paintings as "ultra-artistic," while the reviewer for the *Art Interchange* found the works exemplary of "the broad school."[104] One hundred ninety-four paintings by seventy European artists, ranging from the Romantics Théodore Géricault, Eugène Delacroix, and Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, to the Realists Jean-François Millet, Gustave Courbet, and Théodule Ribot, to the Impressionists Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas were included in the exhibition. Their works revealed an emphasis on feeling, painterly technique, and subtle but rich color, and there was a predominance of quiet, uneventful genre subjects. Critics agreed that the selections would have tremendous appeal to artists, art connoisseurs, and art critics who, as stated by the writer for the *Art Amateur*, sought in art "something more than or different from a faithful rendering of nature . . . ."[105] Many of the same writers asserted, however, that the exhibition would not appeal to the public. The *Art Interchange* critic offered one explanation for why the Pedestal Fund pictures would not enjoy wide appeal:

> At the Bartholdi Exhibition it is curious to note what visitors examine most carefully. Paintings always are entertaining, but this collection is conspicuous in not being of a popular character and does not arouse special enthusiasm. Connoisseurs delight in works by Henner, Monticelli, Daubigny, Manet, Corot, Courbet, and the like, but the public in general does not. It prefers works that have a story attached to them—genre subjects—bits of domestic life, and fanciful subjects. Mr. Alfred Stevens, Meyer von Bremen, De Nittis, Detaille, Rico, and Tissot are more to its taste, and such examples as these do not predominate so as to characterise [sic] the exhibition. [106]

Although he described the paintings as "exquisite," the *Times* critic believed that an exhibition more representative of the reigning tastes in French art would have better served the Pedestal Fund by fulfilling visitors' expectations and thereby encouraging more ticket and catalogue sales, a practical idea that pervaded many of the exhibition reviews.[107]

The men responsible for choosing this out-of-the-ordinary group of paintings were J. Carroll Beckwith and William M. Chase. Beckwith was chairman of the Paintings and Sculpture committee for the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition (hereafter referred to as the Pedestal Fund Exhibition), and Chase was his chief collaborator. Together with a committee composed primarily of artists, the two men seized the opportunity to showcase

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their own aesthetic tastes and those of their cohort. As a result, the Pedestal Fund Exhibition offered a remarkable opportunity to view modern paintings by European artists who were not the reigning favorites of the Salon or practitioners of tried and true academic formulae, but whose works were highly individualized artistic expressions distinguished by painterly technique and more personal subject selections and interpretations. These works offered an alternative, in Beckwith and Chase's view superior, to the tired academic art that was popular among most New Yorkers.

The efforts of Beckwith and Chase resulted in an exhibition that Maureen O'Brien has called "a strong statement of the revolution in taste underway in New York."[108] Chase and Beckwith had been among the fomenters of this change in taste beginning in the late 1870s, when the two men had returned from their studies abroad, bringing with them advanced ideas about the expressive potential of paint handling and the superiority of individualized treatment. Both men were active members of the Society of American Artists founded in 1877, largely over the issue of greater freedom of artistic expression. The Society was founded also because the "new men," as these European-influenced artists were called, desired a venue for the exhibition of their paintings where the works would look well with each other through shared aesthetic concerns, an aim that Beckwith and Chase also pursued in hanging the Pedestal Fund Exhibition. Both men were active in smaller artist groups such as the Society of Painters in Pastels and the Tile Club that focused on experimentation with alternative or secondary media. The members of these groups shared an interest in exploring various media to loosen up their techniques and to exploit different artistic effects, the results of which were most often sketchy, fluid, and unfinished in appearance but which captured the true inspiration and feelings experienced by the artist. Through frequent trips to Europe to view exhibitions of contemporary paintings and to study the works of their artist heroes, most especially Velázquez and Frans Hals, Beckwith and Chase were well acquainted with recent productions of European art, and through their connections to dealers and collectors in New York who

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shared their taste, were able to put together a collection of paintings that caused quite a stir among critics, artists, and the public.

The majority of the works in the Pedestal Fund Exhibition were by French artists, a fact that was deemed entirely appropriate by the critics given the admiration for French art that was pervasive among American art enthusiasts and also given the occasion for the exhibition, but other nations were represented as well, including Holland, Austria, England, Germany, Italy, and Spain.[109] The artists whose works were most numerous in the exhibition were Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, Louis Mettling, Jean-François Millet, Adolpe Monticelli, and Antoine Vollon, each of whom was represented by eight or more paintings, while Gustave Courbet, Anton Mauve, Théodule Ribot, Ferdinand Roybet, and Alfred Stevens were each represented by six or more works.[110] The majority of the paintings shown at the Pedestal Fund Exhibition were borrowed from only three New York collections, those of art dealer Daniel Cottier, lumber dealer Ichabod T. Williams, and businessman Erwin Davis.[111] Other collectors who generously agreed to lend paintings to the Pedestal Fund Exhibition included the art dealer Samuel P. Avery and collectors William T. Evans, Theodore Havemeyer, William S. Hawk, Albert Spencer, Robert L. Stuart, and Catherine Lorillard Wolfe. Even from lenders such as Wolfe and Avery, who owned works by Salon favorites such as Alexandre Cabanel, William Bouguereau, and Hugues Merle, the organizers opted not to borrow those works or chose smaller, more unconventional examples by these artists, thereby maintaining the poetical and painterly qualities they desired for the keynote of the exhibition.[112]

Although the majority of the critics praised Beckwith and Chase's efforts, several critics who were friendly with the organizers and especially sympathetic to their aesthetic criteria, wrote glowingly of the exhibition. Critics Clarence Cook and Mariana van Rensselaer as well as the writers for the *New York Herald* and the *Independent*, were not in the least bothered by the notion that the exhibition was too rarified and would not

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please the public. They insisted that the works in the Pedestal Fund Exhibition were of the highest quality by artists who were esteemed in Europe, and thus, given their reputations abroad, Americans should be pleased to have the opportunity to study these artists's productions. In fact, they welcomed the works precisely because they were not representative of time-honored and subsequently worn-out academic prescriptions, subjects, or methods and, instead, were by artists who worked in an expressive manner that revealed a taste for juicy paint handling, rich coloration, and poetical qualities and whose productions had not become formulaic and overly commercialized. In her review for *American Architect and Building News*, van Rensselaer confirmed that the works were not selected with popular taste in mind and then provided a justification for this decision on the part of the organizing committee. She wrote:

> It has been said that as the main object of the exhibition was to attract as large a public as possible, something should have been provided to suit every taste, and that the works of "popular painters," such as Bouguereau, Gérôme, and their like, should first of all have been supplied. The committee [on paintings and sculpture] did not, however, proceed from this point of view. Perhaps they were mistaken in so thinking, but it can hardly be counted against them that they *did* think the public wished to see the best things that could be got together. If the public has been disappointed, it is, it seems to me, its own fault, and not the fault of those who worked so hard and used so much discrimination for its benefit.

In the same review, Van Rensselaer emphasized the educational value of the collection, writing that "one could really gain some definite knowledge with regard to the various art works shown, as well as a mere momentary delight for the eye."[113]

Van Rensselaer was not alone in believing that the public needed guidance in their art tastes. The same confident but rather condescending tone was adopted by the critic for the *New York Herald* who wrote: "The educational value to the public of such a collection is great, for many need to learn that there are higher motives than mere reproduction and popularity in art, and that he who feels what he paints is greater than he who makes you feel that you see it."[114] Cook, long-time art critic for the *New York Daily Tribune*, who had recently stepped down from his position at the newspaper and founded his own art magazine titled the *Studio*, thought that the public should rise to the occasion

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and take the opportunity offered by the Pedestal Fund Exhibition to broaden its conceptions of art. [115] Reflecting his admiration for individualized expression and his hatred of the stultifying effects of academic study, Cook commented dryly, "Conventional human nature revolts at an innovation. The paintings [in the Pedestal Fund Exhibition] do not fit in the Procrustean bed of American ideas on art matters. They are strange and new and necessarily wrong: so the popular verdict finds them guilty and they are duly hung up as 'nonsensical and pretentious.'" As justification for his proposition that these works should be seriously studied, Cook assured his readers that the exhibition organizers had put before the public examples of the schools of art that were at that time "leading the civilized world."[116]

Beckwith and Chase were well aware that the exhibition they organized would not be a popular event. In fact, in full recognition that the selections would run against the popular grain, Beckwith recorded in his diary on 3 December 1883, at the close of the first day of the exhibition, "My pictures will create quite a stir and [a] controversy."[117] A few weeks after the exhibition had opened, after the controversy had fully bloomed, Beckwith explained in an interview published in the *Studio* that his committee had aimed to present to the public the best examples of art that they could secure. He continued, "The management knew perfectly well the tastes of the committee they appointed, and had they wished a more popular collection, they should have chosen other men."[118]

The controversy that Beckwith fully expected and noted in his diary was incited by the unusual and highly artistic qualities of the paintings, but also by the hanging of the exhibition. Beckwith and Chase hung the paintings in two locations, the primary location being the large South Gallery on the upper floor of the National Academy of Design, and the secondary space being downstairs in the entrance area and behind the main staircase. Downstairs, according to the reviewer for the *New York Herald*, the works were "somewhat out of keeping in general character with those in the chief picture gallery—a separation generally speaking of the painters of prose from the painters of poetry."[119]

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Indeed, in the lower gallery were the more "popular" works. The critic for the *Art Amateur* noted with more than a hint of sarcasm that Edouard Detaille's well-known *Saluting the Wounded* (1876; location unknown) had been "graciously admitted" with two or three single-figure Meissoniers and Jean-Louis Hamon's *Etruscan Merchant* (location unknown) in the corridor under the main staircase.[120] The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* described the works downstairs as "more realistic [in] spirit and treatment."[121] Frequently mentioned works placed downstairs were by the Gustave Courbet, Mariano Fortuny y Carbo, Jules Breton, Guiseppe De Nittis, and Antoine Barye. Manet's watercolor *Toreador* (unidentified) owned by New York art dealer Daniel Cottier, was placed downstairs and received only occasional, and then strictly passing, notice.[122]

The *Transcript* writer characterized the paintings in the South Gallery as the "cream of the collection," and suggesting that Beckwith and Chase had placed a priority there on the pure excellencies of painting, the critic wrote, "There is no work in this room that has not left behind it every trace of effort. You forget technique and handling in presence of such work. It seems above a care for it, and exults, as it were, before your very eyes in the supreme mastery of expressive ideality."[123] Among these masterpieces of aesthetic virtues were examples by Bastien-Lepage, Cazin, Corot, Thomas Couture, Daubigny, Delacroix, Jules Dupré, Henner, Millet, Ribot, Vollon, Manet, and Degas. [124]

In fact, the position of honor, which visitors would have seen directly in front of them upon entering the South Gallery (fig. 30), was given to Manet's *Boy with a Sword* (fig. 22), and hanging nearby on the same wall was his *Woman with a Parrot* (fig. 23). Degas' *Dancers* (c. 1880; Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, CT) was positioned in a less prominent location to the right of the entrance into the gallery.[125] Although undoubtedly a shock and a mystery to the uninitiated visitor, Beckwith and Chase's decision to place a painting by Manet in the position of honor was not surprising to anyone who knew their convictions in art. Beckwith and Chase had been among the strongest admirers of

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Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* when it was exhibited in New York in 1879. More importantly, Chase was influential in the acquisition of Manet's *Boy with a Sword*, which was accomplished in the summer of 1881 by Chase's friend, the painter J. Alden Weir, acting on the behalf of Erwin Davis.[126] Given their enthusiasm for the artist, combined with the fact of his recent death, the first American purchases of his work must have been seen as a triumph of advanced artistic taste, worthy of a spotlight in the 1883 exhibition.

Cook and van Rensselaer, together with the critics for the *New York Herald* and the *Independent*, defended the inclusion of the works by Manet in the Pedestal Fund Exhibition. The critic for the *Herald*, perhaps the same reviewer who was such an adamant fan of Manet's *Execution* in 1879, noted that the *Boy with the Sword* was "in a well deserved position of honor . . . ." He characterized the figure study as Velázquez-like and assured his readers that it and the *Woman with a Parrot* were a rare treat to behold.[127] The writer for the *Independent* was also enthusiastic about Manet's inclusion and observed that the painter had "the clear vision of genius and wonderful directness in expressing what he saw." The same critic, perhaps Mariana van Rensselaer, praised the simplicity of treatment in *Woman with a Parrot* but observed that it was a "cruel likeness," undoubtedly true but completely without grace.[128] Van Rensselaer, in her review for *American Architect and Building News*, considered the exhibition a valuable opportunity to view the works of Manet and Degas, whom she noted were much talked about but rarely seen. She admired the virtuosity of their paint handling, stating however that "their technical beauty was of so peculiar a kind that it is not strange no one but an artist could appreciate it." [129] Referring specifically to Manet's *Woman with a Parrot*, van Rensselaer lingered over the interesting character of the woman portrayed, as well as the non-traditional color scheme and the handling, which were the products of an "aberrant talent" but a talent whose productions were worthy of study. If additional reasons were given by the critics for why Manet should deserve serious consideration from viewers, these included his importance as the leader of the Impressionist and as a

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figure who had earned a position of respect in the French art world, as well as his technical ability and the striking quality of his pictures.

For the critics who were opposed to Manet's works, the lack of conventional beauty in his productions was central to their arguments. The reviewer for the *New York Daily Tribune*, perhaps Ripley Hitchcock, argued that perversion of beauty was the greatest fault with Manet's works:

> In the two full-length portraits of a woman and a boy in this collection, an artist may find something to admire in the assured touch which sets conventional rules at defiance, in the management of the backgrounds and the free treatment of lights. But no one can be honestly pleased with the general results or with the affected attitudes, the dreadful appearance of the woman's dress or the colorless, corpse-like faces.[130]

The critic for the *Evening Post* called Manet's two paintings, "masterpieces of inelegance," and he commented also that the spectator must be able to "appreciate the boldness of the handling, the dexterity of the drawing and other purely technical excellences" as the only values identifiable in these otherwise "beautiless" productions.[131] William H. Downes, who had guardedly praised the artist's works at the Foreign Exhibition, complained that Manet's *Woman with a Parrot* was a "full-length figure of an ugly female, in an ugly light rose-colored gown, striking an attitude which can only be described as that of an old idiot trying to be coquettish." Furthermore, he disparaged the artist's technique for its "baldness and ugliness" before somewhat ambivalently concluding that, "Manet had talents of a high order, but perverted by theories which were largely based on a false conception of art."[132] Finally, in an article that appeared in the *Studio*, John C. van Dyke, professor of the History of Art at Rutgers University and a frequent art writer, observed that both of Manet's paintings were "concentrated ugliness. A scrawny old maid with a parrot, is the subject of the one, and a disreputable, dirty-looking boy holding a sword is the other. They are repulsive looking, indeed." Van Dyke admitted, however, that he could not stop looking at the paintings, as if they had a powerful attraction for him, and he was drawn against his better judgement to admire the ugliness.[133]

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Despite the negative tone adopted by these critics, it must be emphasized that none denied Manet's talents as a painter. In fact, despite their objections, these writers made a point of stating that Manet's works exhibited technical excellencies. If we consider their complaints, especially those leveled at *Woman with a Parrot*, it is not difficult to surmise the aspects of the painting which distressed the critics. Manet did not present the woman as a personification of elegance, such as one finds in fashionable genre scenes or portraiture of the period. Instead, the woman is attired in an informal peignoir, and although her hair is simply and neatly coiffured, there is a distinctly disheveled quality about her unbuttoned clothing that negates the possibility of gracefulness and even calls her character into question. Her facial features have not been softened or enhanced, and she stares out at the viewer with unabashed directness, even coyness, rather than demure modesty. Finally, the accoutrements must have been puzzling to critics. Within the empty and rather ambiguous space of the picture, the wooden stand, parrot, and peeled lemon do not suggest a woman's domestic or social environment and probably left the viewer curious as to why they were included.

The context in which Manet's works were viewed may have contributed to the anxieties expressed by these wary critics. The Pedestal Fund Exhibition differed from the Foreign Exhibition of a few months earlier, in that Manet's works were seen within a sea of cautiously "impressionistic" works by artists such as Giovanni Boldini, Monticelli, and Alfred Stevens, as well as the Barbizon painters and the Realists Ribot and Vollon. A restrained impressionism such as that exemplified by the majority of the works on view was acceptable because it conveyed the artist's emotion and captured the poetical qualities of the subject, while giving the viewer an adequate number of visual clues necessary for engagement with the motif. In this company, Manet's works were considered "extreme" or, as the critic for the *New York World* put it, his and Degas' works were "ultra-impressionist."[134] The critic for the *New York Evening Post* accused

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both Manet and Degas of abandoning labor and meaningful content in their works and focusing solely on technique:

> Degas and Manet especially give a lesson, but one too incomplete to help the public at large, or do more than show how much can be done with a minimum of labor. This is a matter of no importance to the general art lover. We care first what a man has to tell, and if that is satisfactory, then we rejoice in his brevity in telling it: but when the message is unsatisfactory it is no mitigation to see that it was told with a brevity which renders it incomprehensible. Only little painters think first of the manner of their painting or to display their power of execution.[135]

In the eyes of conservative critics, the "extreme" handling employed by Manet and Degas underscored their perceived lack of discipline and seriousness as artists.

Despite their recognition of his talents as a painter, the critics who were most concerned about the unconventional elements of Manet's style also warned that his works would be a dangerous influence. The critic for the *Daily Tribune*, for example, angrily decried the decision of the Painting and Sculpture committee to prominently display Manet's art:

> We regard it as an error of judgement that these two pictures should be so conspicuously placed, for every one will not behold them with the discriminating eyes of the gentlemen [Beckwith and Chase] who are responsible. They no doubt can sum up the debit and credit account of Manet and produce a correct balance sheet. But others may not be so well equipped. And the hanging committee must expect to have upon their heads the blood of any weaker brethren who may be hopelessly bemired through following the will-o'-the-wisp of one who has been aptly styled "the painter in chief of ugliness."[136]

Lurking behind the response of the *Tribune* critic and that of other reviewers was the notion that Manet's works were sensational, as opposed to serious and meaningful, and potentially dangerous in their impact on unformed artists.

Although it is difficult to gauge with certainty, several reviews suggest that the public was actually quite bewildered and even outraged over the works of the "ultra-impressionists." Van Rensselaer observed that Beckwith and Chase had been "attacked on more than one side for admitting the work of Degas and Manet into such a society as this."[137] Cook noted as well that the majority of the visitors to the exhibition resented "particularly the work of the Impressionists as an impertinent innovation upon what has been wont, in the halcyon Academic days of yore."[138] Montague Marks, the

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editor of *Art Amateur* did not remember the "outrage" described by Beckwith and Chase's most passionate defenders, but his recollection of a woman's encounter with Manet's art at the Pedestal Fund Exhibition underscored the fact that the layperson or non-artist was simply unable to appreciate the more advanced works. Marks, writing in 1886 at the time of the largest exhibition of Impressionist paintings held in nineteenth-century America, remembered the story of a woman who, at the Pedestal Fund Exhibition, had stood before Manet's *Woman with a Parrot* struggling unsuccessfully to find something likeable in it. Her companion, an artist whom Marks did not identify, then urged her to study the handling of paint in the woman's petticoat, but the beauty of these paint passages was lost upon the woman, who retorted sarcastically that she could handle a petticoat better herself.[139] In 1886, also on the occasion of the Impressionist exhibition, van Rensselaer too was reminded of the gulf between the public and the artistic community in their reactions to Manet's works in 1883: "The popular verdict was then decidedly antagonistic. Nothing but repulsiveness and affectation were traced by the unlearned eye in those singular figures wherein an artist, if called upon for *his* verdict, found so much that was truthful, and so much that was beautiful, at least with the beauty of clever manipulation."[140] Although the reviews noted repeatedly that the show would be and was most appreciated by artists and connoisseurs, there is some evidence that even members of the artistic clan could not stomach the Impressionists works. A letter from a "prominent" artist appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune*, one of the newspapers most negative on the Impressionists, with adverse commentary on the style:

> The Impressionists? Headed by Manet, they are feeble copyists of the great landscape painters, Rousseau, Daubigny, Diaz, Corot, Dupré. These men painted the very soul of the landscape, and with a subtle suggestiveness Manet and those with him have adopted the apparently easy handling of this great school as a sort of across-lot means to success. They forgot or ignored the fact that that handling was tolerable only when it expressed ideality in landscape, of which expression they were incapable.[141]

As the above statement suggests, the radical aesthetics of Manet, which were admired by the "new men" Beckwith and Chase, their friends and critic supporters, were not embraced universally because of the abandonment of ideality and emphasis on technique.

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However, reactions to the paintings displayed in the Pedestal Fund Exhibition provide ample proof that appreciation for Manet's productions continued to grow. As opposed to the meager and predominantly negative response in 1879, Manet's works in 1883 were discussed by critics writing for all of the major newspapers and art journals in New York, as well as a number of popular magazines. The painter was roundly regarded as an important figure in the French art world and as a highly skilled and forceful painter. When objections to his works were expressed, it was for the lack of beauty in Manet's direct approach and his un-idealized subjects.

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Endnotes to Chapter Three

[1] "Foreign Art Chronicle," *American Art Review* 1 (1880), 323; *New-York Times*, 2 May 1880, 4; "Foreign Art News," *Art Interchange* 4 (12 May 1880), 83; "Fine Arts," *New York Evening Post*, 25 May 1880, 1, and Sophia A. Walker, "Fine Arts. Letters on the French Salon," *Independent* 32 (27 May 1880), 6.

[2] The award bestowed upon Manet in 1881 was the direct result of changes in the structure of the Salon made in December of 1880, when the French government had given over the management of the annual Salons to artists, in an attempt to counter accusations that the government-appointed juries were too conservative in their choices and showed favoritism to particular artists and schools. The Salon of 1881 was the first under the new system, and Manet's friends on the jury worked to secure him a medal.

[3] It should be noted that Manet's election to the Legion of Honor was by no means a popular decision. In fact, aware that there were many who opposed his election, Manet did not attend the ceremony to receive his medal.

[4] George H. Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 238.

[5] Ibid., 239.

[6] Joseph C. Sloane, *French Painting Between the Past and the Present: Artists, Critics, and Traditions, from 1848-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 190.

[7] Hamilton, 256-57.

[8] Ibid., 258-62.

[9] The critics for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *New York Herald*, both of whom had followed Manet's activities with some persistence in the late 1870s, continued to heap contumely upon the artist's efforts, while critics for other prominent newspapers including the *New-York Times*, *New York Daily Tribune*, and *New York Evening Post* as well as most American art journals, rarely noted Manet although their correspondents were regularly submitting Salon reviews and notes from Paris.

[10] "The Paris Salon," *New York Herald*, 2 May 1880, 7.

[11] Cosmopolite, "The Paris Salon," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 22 June 1880, 2.

[12] "C. M. P. Hilliard, "Art. The Paris Salon.—Fourth Article," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 20 June 1881, 6.

[13] "The French Salon," *New York Herald*, 2 May 1881, 3.

[14] Cosmopolite, "The Fine Arts in Paris," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 13 June 1881, 4.

[15] On the interpretation and reception of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, see T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 205-58, and Bradford R. Collins, ed., *12 Views of Manet's Bar* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

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[16] "The Paris Salon," *Art Amateur* 7 (June 1882), 4.

[17] "The French Salon of 1882," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 May 1882, 10.

[18] Lucy H. Hooper, "Art-Notes from Paris," *Art Journal* 6 (June 1880), 189.

[19] Richard Whiteing, "The Paris Salon," *New York World*, 21 May 1882, 5.

[20] For the tremendous popularity of Bastien-Lepage in the United States, in particular his *Joan of Arc*, see William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 26-27.

[21] Richard Whiteing, "Le Page's 'Joan of Arc,'" *New York World*, 19 May 1880, 5.

[22] "The Paris Salon," *New York Herald*, 1 May 1883, 3, and "The Paris Salon," *New York Daily Tribune*, 6 May 1883, 3.

[23] Richard Whiteing, "Gallery and Studio. Henry Bacon," *Art Amateur* 7 (November 1882), 116-16, and H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 138-44. The authoritative source on Bacon is Sara C. Junkin, "The Europeanization of Henry Bacon (1839-1912): American Expatriate Painter" (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1986).

[24] *Parisian Art and Artists* was an enlarged study built upon a series of articles first published in *Scribner's Monthly*. See Henry Bacon, "Glimpses of Parisian Art. I," *Scribner's Monthly* 21 (December 1880), 169-81; "Glimpses of Parisian Art. II," *Scribner's Monthly* 21 (January 1881), 423-31, and "Glimpses of Parisian Art. III," *Scribner's Monthly* 21 (March 1881), 734-43.

[25] Henry Bacon, *Parisian Art and Artists* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1883), 13.

[26] Ibid., 14-15.

[27] Ibid., 16.

[28] Ibid., 18.

[29] Ibid., 17.

[30] Ibid., 16.

[31] For a discussion of the Salon of 1881, and the circumstances that resulted in the award of a second-class medal to Manet, see Hamilton, 247.

[32] The Boston exhibition did not receive as extensive commentary from critics writing for art journals as did the New York exhibition.

[33] For information on the exhibition, see William Howe Downes, "Impressionism in Painting," *New England Magazine* n.s., 6 (July 1892), 600-3; Hans Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 29 (April 1946), 229-31; Gerdts, 49-51;

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Trevor J. Fairbrother, *The Bostonians: Painters of an Elegant Age, 1870-1930* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1986), 42, and Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 38. Also, see Charles B. Norton Scrapbook, Foreign Exhibition, Boston, 1883. Rare Books Room, Boston Public Library; *Album of the Most Celebrated Works of Art and Industry from the Boston Foreign Exhibition* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885); *Illustrated Catalogue. Art Department. American Exhibition of Foreign Products, Arts & Manufactures. Boston 1883* (Boston: Mills, Knight & Company, 1883), and C. B. Norton, compiler, *Official Catalogue. Foreign Exhibition. Boston, 1883* (Boston: George Coolidge, 1883).

[34] For information on the proposed World's Fair in New York, see Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1999), 382-87.

[35] For a complete list of the board of directors of the Foreign Exhibition Association and a more detailed history of the exhibition, see "The Foreign Exhibition," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 3 September 1883, 8.

[36] *Official Catalogue. Foreign Exhibition*, 15. A New York newspaper stated that the exhibition was intended to expand trade between Boston and foreign ports and to decrease the reliance upon New York for foreign goods. "The Foreign Exhibition," *New York Evening Post*, 1 September 1883, 6.

[37] *Official Catalogue. Foreign Exhibition*, 15.

[38] Designed by John Pearce as an exhibition hall, the MCMA building was equipped with electric lights, steam power, water, gas, and two large meeting areas, Franklin and Washington Halls. For a description of the building, see Greta, "Greta's Boston Letter," *Art Amateur* 5 (July 1881), 31.

[39] *Official Catalogue. Foreign Exhibition*, 15. Despite the commodiousness of the new building, so many applications for space were received by the organizers of the fair that an extension had to be added which increased the available space by one-quarter. *American Architect and Building News* 13 (23 June 1883), 290.

[40] "The Foreign Exhibition. Customs Regulations for the Admission of Exhibits," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 4 May 1883, 2, and "The Foreign Exhibition," *New York Daily Tribune*, 27 August 1883, 2.

[41] "The Foreign Exhibition," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 3 September 1883, 8.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "The Foreign Exhibition. The Centennial of the Treaty of Peace," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 4 September 1883, 1. The exhibition closed on George Washington's birthday.

[45] "Art at the Boston Exhibitions," *Art Amateur* 9 (October 1883), 90; "The Foreign Exhibition Passed in Review," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 December 1883, 11, and "The Boston Exhibition," *New York Sun*, 9 September 1883, 3.

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[46] "The Fine Arts," *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 September 1883, 1.

[47] "Art Notes," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 September 1883, 5.

[48] Burdick was a Connecticut native, who opened a photography studio in Boston in 1865. Once in Boston, he studied art at the Lowell Institute and the school of the Museum of Fine Arts and began painting portraits and still lifes. Moreover, he worked as a restorer of paintings and as an appraiser. See "Horace R. Burdick, 97, an Authority on Art," *New-York Times*, 19 September 1942, 15, and Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton, *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works*, vol. 1 (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 107.

The *Official Catalogue* lists Edward Smith King, a Massachusetts native who was the foreign correspondent in Paris to the *Boston Morning Journal*, as the commissioner to France, James Jackson Jarves as the commissioner to Italy, Frank Norton, brother of Charles B. Norton, as the commissioner to Belgium, and the artist Frederik de Haas as the commissioner to Germany.

[49] Three days after the opening of the Foreign Exhibition, a second exhibition, sponsored by the New England Institute of Arts and Manufactures, opened in Boston, which showcased both American and foreign manufactures and art. Included in this exhibition were a small number of French paintings including works by Corot, Daubigny, Rousseau, Eugène Fromentin, and others, arranged by Frank T. Robinson. "Art at the Boston Exhibitions," *Art Amateur* 9 (October 1883), 90.

[50] On 1 July 1883, the duty on imported works of art was raised from 10% to 30%. Concern for the effect that the tariff would have on the Foreign Exhibition was noted in the *American Architect and Building News* the summer before the exhibition opened: "Meanwhile, the prospects of the great Boston Foreign Exhibition . . . are said to have been seriously affected by this [the duty imposed on works of art by foreign artists], as well as the other provisions of the new customs tariff. It is obvious that no maker of fine goods will trouble himself to send samples of them to a country which openly proclaims its determination to prohibit him from selling any of them, and the exhibit of foreign manufactures in any of the so-called protected classes may well be insignificant." *American Architect and Building News* 13 (9 June 1883), 265. For commentary on the changes in the art tariff, see also, "Fine Arts," *New York Herald*, 16 September 1883, 8.

[51] "Art and Artists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 11 September 1883, 3. The critic for the *New York Evening Post* also mentioned the art tariff, set at 30% in 1883, as the reason for the poor selection of art works sent to Boston. "The Boston Exhibition," *New York Evening Post*, 5 January 1884, 6.

[52] *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 September 1883, 1.

[53] "The Fine Arts. The Picture Galleries of the Foreign Exhibition," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[54] *American Architect and Building News* 13 (23 June 1883), 290; *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 September 1883, 1, and "Foreign Art in Boston," *New York Daily Tribune*, 11 September 1883, 5.

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[55] "The Art at the Foreign Fair," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 December 1883, 4. In the same article, it is noted that only about eighteen or twenty purchases had been made in total from the Art Gallery.

[56] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[57] These are listed in the *Illustrated Catalogue. Art Department. American Exhibition of Foreign Products, Arts & Manufactures* as follows:

1. The Entombment. Manet
6. The Shepherd and the Washerwoman. Pissarro
10. Custom-house Station, Dieppe. Claude Monet
11. My Garden. Claude Monet
12. A Box at the Theatre. Renoir
13. Tide at Varengerville. Claude Monet
24. A Barrier on the Shore. A. Sisley
26. Boatmen's Breakfast—Bougival. Renoir
34. Autumn Morning—St. Mammes. A. Sisley
45. Suburbs of Pontoise. Pissarro
47. The Fisherman's Children. Renoir
50. The Goatherd. Pissarro
51. Grand Promenade. A. Sisley
67. Portrait of Rouvière. Manet
174. Poultry Market. Pissarro [watercolor]
195. The Winnowers. Pissarro [watercolor]
202. Peasant Tending a Cow. Pissarro [watercolor]

[58] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4, and "Fine Arts," *Boston Herald*, 4 September 1883, 4.

[59] Downes, "Impressionism in Painting," 601.

[60] Frances Weitzenhoffer, "The Earliest American Collectors of Monet," in John Rewald and Frances Weitzenhoffer, eds., *Aspects of Monet: A Symposium on the Artist's Life and Times* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), 75.

[61] Camille Pissarro to Claude Monet, 12 June 1883, in Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 38. It is certainly possible that Durand-Ruel sent works in addition to those by Manet and the Impressionists or that other dealers contributed to the showing of the Impressionists. Huth, for example, suggested that the paintings by Courbet, Corot, John Lewis Brown, and Boudin were also sent by Durand-Ruel. See Huth, 230.

[62] In both 1882 and 1883, Durand-Ruel had made similar attempts at developing interest in French Impressionist art in London. In the summer of 1882, he rented a gallery in London where he exhibited works, and in the spring of 1883, he organized a larger exhibition of sixty-five works by Boudin, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, Mary Cassatt, and Berthe Morisot at the Dowdeswell Galleries. Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 38.

[63] William Howe Downes (1854-1941) was born in Derby, CT, and he was educated privately. He began his career as a journalist in 1873, when he became a correspondent for the *New Haven Journal*, but by 1874, he had moved to Boston and was working for the *Boston Globe*. In 1878, he moved to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, where he worked

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as the art critic, and five years later, he joined the staff of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, also as art critic. He held the post at the *Transcript* until his retirement in 1922. Downes was the author of several books, including *Original Etchings by A. H. Bicknell*, and he wrote numerous articles on art for magazines. "William Howe Downes, 86, Author and Critic," *New-York Times*, 20 February 1941, 20.

[64] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 September 1883, 5, and "Monthly Record of American Art," *Magazine of Art* 6 (December 1883), xlv.

[65] "Monthly Record," *Magazine of Art* 6 (December 1883), xlv.

[66] *Dead Christ and the Angels* was owned by Durand-Ruel and was among the large group of paintings the art dealer purchased directly from Manet in 1872. *Tragic Actor* was purchased by Durand-Ruel from Manet in 1872 as well, but it was later bought from Durand-Ruel by Jean-Baptiste Faure, and it remained in Faure's collection until 1884, when it was re-purchased by Durand-Ruel. Denis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet. Catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1 (Lausanne and Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1975), cat. nos. 74 and 106. For information on Faure as a collector, see Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 75-93.

[67] There was some confusion in the reviews over Manet's *Tragic Actor*. Several critics misidentified it as Jean-Baptiste Faure in the role of Hamlet. This may have occurred as a result of the fact that the portrait of Faure, which was exhibited at the Salon of 1877, was a better known painting. Moreover, Faure was a more well-known operatic personality than Rouvière, although neither singer performed in the United States.

[68] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[69] For the importance of Velázquez with nineteenth-century artists, see Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Introduction: *El Jaleo* in the Cult of Spain," in Mary Crawford Volk, *John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 13-19.

[70] *Boston Herald*, 4 September 1883, 4.

[71] Thirteen works were illustrated in the catalogue of the art department. The images were drawn in ink by Boston artist Edmund Tarbell and Horace Burdick.

[72] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[73] *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 September 1883, 1.

[74] *Boston Herald*, 4 September 1883, 4.

[75] Levy's painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1873 as *Jésus dans le tombeau*.

[76] *Boston Herald*, 4 September 1883, 4.

[77] "Boston's Two Exhibitions," *Boston Pilot*, 8 September 1883, 4.

[78] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 September 1883, 5.

[79] *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 September 1883, 1.

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[80] Ibid.

[81] *Magazine of Art* 6 (December 1883), xlv.

[82] "Exhibition Art. The Collection to be Seen at the Foreign Exhibition," *Boston Globe*, 16 September 1883, 10.

[83] Horace Burdick's role in organizing the exhibition was highly praised in the columns of the *Boston Evening Traveler*, whereas in other newspapers, Burdick is mentioned only in passing. This would seem to suggest a friendship or some other association between Burdick and the newspaper. For example, Burdick was lauded for bringing a superb collection of art to Boston and called "our well-known and favorite director of art galleries, . . . whose critical taste, judgment and executive ability of themselves contribute greatly to the success of any art enterprise." "Fine Arts. Paintings and Sculpture of the Foreign Exhibition. The Impressionist School," *Boston Evening Traveler*, 12 September 1883, 3.

[84] Ibid.

[85] *Boston Evening Traveler*, 13 September 1883, 2.

[86] "Fine Arts. A Preliminary Glance at Foreign Work," *Boston Evening Traveler*, 30 August 1883, 4.

[87] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[88] Renoir's painting would return to the United States in the spring of 1886 for the large exhibition of Impressionist paintings sponsored by the American Art Association. For a history of Renoir's painting, now titled *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, see Eliza E. Rathbone and Elizabeth Steele, "A History of Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party*," in Eliza E. Rathbone et al., *Impressionists on the Seine: A Celebration of Renoir's Luncheon of the Boating Party* (Washington, DC: Phillips Collection, 1996), 231-38.

[89] *Boston Herald*, 4 September 1883, 4.

[90] *Boston Evening Traveler*, 30 August 1883, 4.

[91] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[92] "Pictures at the Foreign Fair," *Springfield Daily Republican*, 24 September 1883, 4.

[93] "The Foreign Exhibition," *Foreign Exhibition. Official Programme*, vol. 1 (26, 27, and 28 November 1883), 1-2; "Art at the Foreign Exhibition," *Foreign Exhibition. Official Programme*, vol. 1 (17, 18, and 19 December 1883), 3, and the descriptive entry for Renoir's *Boatmen's Breakfast at Bougival* in *Album of the Most Celebrated Works*, n.p., states "While there is a great difference in public opinion as regards the merit of this class of painting [Impressionist painting], there can be no question but that visitors to the Foreign Exhibition were much attracted by the pictures there on view by Manet, Renoir, and others of the same school. There is a certain indescribable power which seems to draw us again and again with increased interest."

[94] The Italian works, as well as a set of engravings by English artist Edward Burne-Jones were the only sales noted in the press. Obviously, the critic for the *Boston Evening*

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Transcript approved wholeheartedly of the interest in Burne-Jones' works, as he wrote, "It is worth special notice, as a proof of the quick response to the unequivocal *ideal*, that the beautiful engravings from the works of Burne Jones, which came late and were not properly catalogued, were mostly sold a few days after their arrival." *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 December 1883, 4.

[95] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, 4.

[96] *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 September 1883, 1.

[97] *Boston Globe*, 16 September 1883, 10.

[98] For information on the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition, see Huth, 231-34; Maureen C. O'Brien, et al., *In Support of Liberty. European Paintings at the 1883 Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition* (Southampton, N.Y.: Parrish Art Museum, 1986); Gabriel P. Weisberg, "At Liberty's Base: The Reconstruction of the Painting Section of the Pedestal Fund Art Exhibition of 1883," *Arts Magazine* 61 (October 1986), 56-59, and Laura L. Meixner, *French Realist Painting and the Critique of American Society, 1865-1900* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 216-18.

[99] In the fall of 1883, the pedestal was only partially constructed, and funds were needed to complete the structure, a situation that was embarrassing to many but especially to New Yorkers because the statue was to be installed overlooking their city's harbor. While the situation would have been remedied easily by an appeal to the wealthy citizens of New York, the committee for the Pedestal Fund believed that, given the ideology of the statue, it was better to secure as many small donations as possible, so the pedestal and statue would belong in spirit and in truth to all Americans. The prize for the raffle was an album of sketches and literary contributions by leading artists and writers. A facsimile of the album was sold to raise additional money.

[100] "The Recent New York Loan Exhibition," *American Architect and Building News* 15 (19 January 1883), 29. The $12,000 raised by the Pedestal Fund exhibition was not nearly enough to pay for the completion of the pedestal. It was estimated that an additional $175,000 to $200,000 would be necessary. "For the Bartholdi Pedestal," *New-York Times*, 3 January 1884, 8.

[101] For a complete list of the items displayed in the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition, see *Catalogue of the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition at the National Academy of Design* (New York, 1883).

[102] "The Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 10 (January 1884), 41.

[103] "The Pedestal Art Loan," *New-York Times*, 2 December 1883, 2.

[104] *Art Amateur* 10 (January 1884), 43, and "The Bartholdi Loan Exhibition. First Notice," *Art Interchange* 11 (20 December 1883), 160.

[105] *Art Amateur* 10 (January 1884), 42.

[106] *Art Interchange* 11 (20 December 1883), 157.

[107] The critic for the *New York World* stated a similar opinion, suggesting that a collection of paintings more in line with popular taste might have been more fitting than

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the grouping assembled given the purpose of the exhibition: "It is an artist's, art student's and art connoisseur's exhibition—not a popular one; and in this sense is hardly as well fitted to please the multitude as one selected by men of other tastes and views would have been." "The Bartholdi Art Loan," *New York World*, 3 December 1883, 5.

[108] O'Brien, "European Paintings at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition: An American Revolution in Taste," in O'Brien, 29.

[109] Also the work of one expatriate American artist, James A. M. Whistler, was exhibited.

[110] O'Brien, "European Paintings at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition," 28.

[111] As noted by O'Brien, two-thirds of the paintings in the Pedestal Fund exhibition came from the collections of the art dealer Daniel Cottier, Ichabod T. Williams, and Erwin Davis. O'Brien has argued that Davis' contributions to the Pedestal Fund exhibition, given their strongly Realist qualities, gave the event its challenging edge, while the works loaned by Williams and Cottier highlighted the new aesthetic with an emphasis on the sketch, of rich overlays of color, and provocative qualities of mood. O'Brien, "European Paintings at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition," 37-38.

[112] Ibid., 31-35.

[113] M. G. van Rensselaer, "The Recent New York Loan Exhibition," *American Architect and Building News* 15 (19 January 1884), 29. The authoritative source on the life, career, and critical writing of Mariana van Rensselaer is Cynthia D. Kinnard, "The Life and Works of Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer, American Art Critic" (Ph. D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1977). Kinnard discusses van Rensselaer's long-standing support of the Society of American Artists and her preference for the poetical and artistic style of paintings which were showcased at the Pedestal Fund exhibition.

[114] "The Art Loan Exhibition," *New York Herald*, 2 December 1993, 12.

[115] For biographical information on Clarence Cook as well as discussion of his career as an art critic, see John P. Simoni, "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1953), 123-348. A recent study of Cook's life and career is Jo Ann Weiss, "Clarence Cook: His Critical Writings" (Ph. D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University), 1989.

[116] [Clarence Cook], *Studio* 2 (22 December 1883), 280.

[117] Diary entry, 3 December 1883, J. Carroll Beckwith Diaries, National Academy of Design, New York. Microfilm, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, reel 4798.

[118] "The Listener," *Studio* 2 (29 December 1883), 301.

[119] *New York Herald*, 2 December 1883, 11.

[120] *Art Amateur* 10 (January 1884), 42-43. Similarly, the critic for the *New-York Times* noted that Meissonier had not been "entirely overlooked, although the weight of the exhibition tells in the direction of a very different camp." "The Pedestal Art Loan," *New-York Times*, 16 December 1883, 5.

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[121] "More of the Treasures of the Loan Exhibition," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 18 December 1883, 6.

[122] For information on Cottier and his art business, see O'Brien, "European Paintings at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition," 40-47.

[123] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 18 December 1883, 6.

[124] "Pictures at the Academy," *New York Evening Post*, 3 December 1883, 1.

[125] Ibid. Degas' painting, moreover, was one of the nine works illustrated in the catalogue. It was drawn by the artist Robert Blum.

[126] In fact, Davis owned both of the paintings by Manet, as well as the example by Degas, and these were undoubtedly the most advanced works in the exhibition. Davis had been among the first New Yorkers to offer works from his collection for the exhibition, and during the 1880s, he continued to lend his paintings to numerous exhibitions, a fact that has led the author to believe that Davis was primarily interested in raising the profile and value of his works in view of selling them, which he did in 1889. Among the other paintings in the Pedestal Fund exhibition owned by Davis was Courbet's *Music (Violoncellist*, 1847; Portland Museum of Art, Oregon) as well as a range of works by Barbizon artists, the Dutch School, and French Realists including Vollon and Ribot.

In the summer of 1881, Weir purchased the two Manets and the Degas, as well as Courbet's *Violoncellist*. This fact has led Douglas Edelson to argue that J. Alden Weir must have played a larger role in selecting and organizing the paintings for the exhibition than he is usually credited with. Edelson has noted that Weir was probably the liaison between Chase, Beckwith and Davis. Douglas Eric Edelson, "Patronage and Criticism of Gustave Courbet in Nineteenth-Century America" (M.A. thesis, Queens College, New York, 1990), 73.

[127] *New York Herald*, 2 December 1883, 11.

[128] "Fine Arts. The Bartholdi Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition. I," *Independent* 35 (13 December 1883), 1574.

[129] Van Rensselaer, "Recent New York Loan Exhibition," 30.

[130] "The Paintings at the Loan Exhibition," *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 December 1883, 6. James Ripley Wellman Hitchcock (1857-1918) was born in Fitchburg, MA, and educated at Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1877. The son of a physician, Hitchcock pursued the study of medicine and surgery briefly in New York, before replacing Clarence Cook as the art critic for the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1882. He remained on the staff of the *Tribune* until 1890, when he left the newspaper to become literary adviser for D. Appleton and Company, where he worked for twelve years. Hitchcock published a number of books on art, including *Etching in America* (1886), *Etchings by American Artists* (1886), *Madonnas by Old Masters* (1888), and *Some American Painters in Water Colors* (1890). Moreover, he wrote the text for *The Art of the World, Illustrated in the Paintings, Statuary, and Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition* (1894). *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1932 ed., s.v. "Hitchcock, James Ripley Wellman," by A. F. H., and "R. Hitchcock Dies Suddenly in Hotel," *New-York Times*, 5 May 1918, 9.

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[131] *New York Evening Post*, 3 December 1883, 1.

[132] W[illiam]. H[owe]. D[ownes]., "Art in New York. The Pedestal Fund Loan Exhibition," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 December 1883, 5.

[133] J[ohn]. C. Van Dyke, "The Bartholdi Loan Collection," *Studio* 2 (8 December 1883), 263.

[134] *New York World*, 3 December 1883, 5.

[135] "The Art-Loan Exhibition. First Notice," *New York Evening Post*, 22 December 1883, 6.

[136] *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 December 1883, 6.

[137] Van Rensselaer, "Recent New York Loan Exhibition," 30.

[138] [Clarence Cook], *Studio* 2 (22 December 1883), 280.

[139] "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 15 (June 1886), 2.

[140] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. Timely Notes," *Independent* 38 (25 March 1886), 7.

[141] "'Schools' in Art," *New York Daily Tribune*, 23 December 1883, 6.

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Chapter Four

1886: Durand-Ruel Introduces Manet and the Impressionists to New York

In the years directly following his death, the nature and significance of Edouard Manet's artistic contribution continued to be a controversial topic for critics on both sides of the Atlantic ocean. Interest in the question of Manet's importance to the history and development of French painting was spurred by the large posthumous exhibition of Manet's works held in January 1884 at the prestigious Ecole des beaux-arts. The exhibition was arranged by Antonin Proust and Théodore Duret, and it provided an unprecedented opportunity to study the fruits of Manet's entire career. Included were almost 200 works, among which were paintings, drawings, watercolors, pastels, and prints. A catalogue with an introduction by Emile Zola was prepared for the exhibition, and Edmond Bazire published the first comprehensive biographical study and chronology of Manet's works the same year.[1] In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, Zola insisted that Manet would hold an important place in the history of French painting, and he credited him above all other modern artists for introducing a fresh, new way of portraying nature. Even Albert Wolff, the antagonistic critic for *Le Figaro*, agreed to serve on the organizing committee for the retrospective exhibition, and in a review that appeared on the opening day of the display, he described Manet as a "remarkably gifted man." Nevertheless, while there was no denial of the innovative and influential nature of his work or of his astonishing ability as a painter, French critics including Zola and Wolff hesitated to embrace Manet as a great artist. His artistic contributions continued to be belittled for weak drawing, incompleteness, and ugliness.[2]

Although attendance at the retrospective exhibition of Manet's works was impressive with several thousand visitors estimated, the results of the estate sale that followed on 4 and 5 February, 1884, were not, and several paintings were withdrawn because bids were too low.[3] Furthermore, the majority of the works sold for prices below what was

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expected. In the opinion of the art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, the poor results reflected the French public's low esteem for the artist, as the buyers who had stepped forward were primarily those who had invested already in the painter's works, rather than collectors newly converted to admiration.[4] Confirming Durand-Ruel's observations, Paul Eudel, a Parisian art commentator, observed:

> It was a pleasure to see Messrs. Hecht, Faure, Caillebotte, De Bellio, Leenhoff, Chabrier, Henri Guérard, Antonin Proust, Théodore Duret, fanning the auction's fires with all their might . . . . So they stoked the auction, buying a great deal and inciting purchases. . . . The owners of the large galleries, it is true, were very noncommittal; the museums were deaf or blind—whatever you prefer. And the Louvre, which establishes reputations and is a sort of Temple to Glory for artists, the same Louvre which made purchases at the Courbet sale, gave no sign of life.[5]

In the introduction to the auction catalogue, Duret had made an overt plea for the state to purchase Manet's works that they might find their rightful place in the Louvre Museum.[6] As Eudel's comments confirm, not a single work was purchased by the French government, indicating official reluctance to grant recognition to the artist's achievements, a situation that would not be rectified until a group of artists purchased *Olympia* from Manet's widow and secured its placement, with some difficulty, in the Luxembourg Museum in 1890.

Both Durand-Ruel and Eudel noted as well that American buyers, who were voraciously active in the French art market in the post-Civil War period, did not turn up at the Manet sale either, a fact which is not altogether surprising considering how little-known the artist was in the United States by the time of his death and how poorly he fulfilled the criteria by which most American buyers selected works for their collections.[7] Actually, several purchases *were* made by Americans around the time of Manet's death, orchestrated by the expatriate American artist Mary Cassatt, who had made Paris her home since the late 1870s. One purchase was made by Mrs. Thomas A. Scott of Philadelphia, the widow of the former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. She bought *Portrait of Emilie Ambre in the Role of Carmen* (fig. 16) from Paul Durand-Ruel in December of 1883, making it one of the earliest purchases by an American of a

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painting by Manet. Cassatt arranged shortly thereafter for her brother Alexander J. Cassatt to purchase two Manet paintings from the 1884 estate sale.[8]

In the wake of the retrospective exhibition, two articles on Manet appeared in English art journals, both of which had wide circulation in the United States. Quite opposite in their estimations of the artist, these articles represent the extreme reactions the artist's works continued to provoke in Europe in the years following his death. N. Garstein, writing for the *Art Journal* (London) classified Manet as "an original" and explained that the artist had suffered much abuse by seeking a new path for himself and others. While he acknowledged that loud voices of both praise and blame continued to sound on the subject of Manet's artistic significance, Garstein believed that the influence of Manet on modern painting was simply impossible to deny:

> One has only to look at the art of twenty years ago, at the insipid sickliness, the classical prettiness of the Empire, at the wood and wax which, as long as they were contained within well-drawn outlines, did duty for the flesh of men and women, and to consider how much the traditions of the schools and how little of nature had to do with the judgments then passed upon pictures, for one to realise how much we owe to a man whose vigorous personality enfranchised his mind and eye from all these things, so that he was at least able to see honestly, even if he did not always see correctly or delicately.[9]

Garstein lavished praise on Manet's skill for rendering light and air, and upon the fact that he had freed painting from the bitumen and browns that dominated traditional painting; however, he accused Manet of having no delicacy or subtlety in his art and of embracing subjects that were ugly or even revolting. Furthermore, Garstein claimed that it was oftentimes impossible to locate any meaning or significance in Manet's subjects. Thus, the English critic claimed that Manet had exerted tremendous influence on the direction of French painting which he had liberated from the confines of the studio, but like Manet's strongest French supporters, Garstein would not grant the artist the rank of master.

Whereas Garstein penned glowing praises for particular aspects of Manet's art, especially its freshness and vitality and its positive influence on modern painting, Arthur Baignères in an article on Manet for the *National Review* (London) found little to

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recommend the painter. Baignères cast suspicion and doubt over the artist's abilities and located few elements in his art that were truly commendable. Baignères pointed to the scandalous moments in Manet's career, for example, the debut of *Luncheon on the Grass*, and explained Manet's notoriety as of a purely sensational brand. Moreover, he tried to diminish the significance of the bestowal of the Legion of Honor upon Manet in 1881, by pointing to the fact that Proust had been responsible for securing the award. Finally, Baignères described the procurement of the Ecole des beaux-arts as the venue for Manet's retrospective exhibition as "an accident," brought about solely because the artist had powerful friends, namely Proust, who forced their desires on Paul Vubois, the director of the school. In other words, Baignères discouraged his readers from the assumption that the Ecole actually sanctioned Manet's works.

As for the artist's works, Baignères admitted that Manet had a gift for painting and a keen eye for color, but he was quick to point as well to the artist's weakness as a draftsman, abandonment of perspective, and inability to compose. Although he confessed admiration for a few of the artist's paintings, including the popular *Bon Bock* and the portrait of Eva Gonzalès (1870; National Gallery, London), Baignères condemned Manet for his questionable selections of subject matter, such as that of *Olympia* or *Masked Ball at the Opéra*, and for avoiding narrative in his pictures. In the final analysis, sounding much like Wolff, Baignères posited that Manet was born with natural talents for painting but that he had taken up art too late and had not received the education necessary to render him a competent artist, a fact that had been exacerbated by Manet's determination to create art according to his own bizarre criteria.[10]

In both of their articles, Garstein and Baignères provided copious biographical information on Manet derived from the newly-published biography of the artist by Bazire, and hence, a much fuller account of the artist's family background, travels, art education and influences were put forward than had been possible previously. Garstein used the biographical information more constructively than Baignères, to create a positive

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picture of the artist as a man who had supporters among Parisian circles of writers and critics and who had pursued a conventional path of art study first with an renown master and secondly by seeking communion with the works of esteemed older masters. Moreover, Garstein avoided dwelling upon the sensational moments of the artist's career, which resulted in a more balanced and positive portrayal of Manet and his efforts than that provided by Baignères. Baignères, on the other hand, explained that Manet had chosen to study with Thomas Couture because the master had a reputation for not imposing a strict routine on his pupils, and he mentioned Manet's study of the old masters only in passing. While neither critic would grant Manet greatness for posterity, the tone of Garstein's article revealed a high level of respect for the artist, while Baignères wrote with a distinct flavor of disdain and the will to poison the admiration that others might have fostered toward the artist.

Correspondents writing for American art journals and newspapers duly noted the posthumous exhibition and sale of Manet's works as well, and their comments reflect an awareness of the controversies that continued to whirl around the artist after his death. As in earlier years, the observations of these writers echo the reservations and biases of the conservative Parisian critical circles in which they operated. Most were only brief mentions, but a few more substantial commentaries emphasized the irony of Manet's works being shown at the Ecole, an institution he had shunned during his lifetime and which represented artistic aims antithetical to his own.[11] Even Theodore Child, an English critic who would shortly come to the fore as a defender of Manet, explained to his readers in *Art Amateur* that the exhibition had elicited attention solely because of the "tremendous fuss" made about it by Manet's friends, and he decreed that the works displayed led inexorably to the conclusion that "Manet is interesting not so much for his own work, which is almost always unsatisfactory, insufficient in execution, and full of technical shortcomings, but for the influence that he exercised on his young

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contemporaries, for his striking sincerity and truthfulness of observation as regards tone and color."[12]

Despite the persistence of negative attitudes toward the artist flowing into this country from abroad, however, in the years after the artist's death, stateside critics continued to prove themselves enthusiastic on the subject of Manet and increasingly sophisticated in their understanding of his art. For example, the retrospective exhibition at the Ecole des beaux-arts prompted Adeline Gates to write a lengthy consideration of Manet's artistic contributions in the *Independent*, which stands as the most glowing estimation of Manet's art by an American to this date. Gates praised the exhibition at the Ecole and commented passionately on the originality and freshness of Manet's works. She characterized the artist as a true visionary, who "saw and felt first the bright and true afar off, and who could not do anything else but burn and bleed and fight to get at it." Gates heroicized the man for his steadfast dedication to his own creative instincts, and she argued that an army of followers had "sprung up from his [Manet's] blood," hinting at the struggles the artist had endured in order to open the road for others. For Gates, Manet was a superb painter, but he "missed that larger and sweeter feeling for human character."[13] She compared Manet to the deceased American painter William Morris Hunt, both of whom she identified as impressionists, in the broadest sense of the word, but in Hunt's works, Gates located deeper poetical feeling, sentiments that were utterly lacking in Manet's art. In Manet's paintings, Gates found instead "extraordinary vitality" which was revealed splendidly in his seascapes, horse-races, and Spanish dancers in particular, a perception that critics would later equate specifically with modernity. She was enthusiastic also about Manet's still-life paintings before which, she noted, the "soul waters."

"Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris," New York

On 10 April 1886, the largest exhibition of French Impressionist paintings held in nineteenth-century America opened in New York. [14] The exhibition, comprised of approximately 300 works in oil, watercolor, and pastel, was organized by the Paris art

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dealer Paul Durand-Ruel in conjunction with James F. Sutton, a partner of the American Art Association (hereafter referred to as the AAA).[15] It was shown first in the galleries of the AAA where the works were on view through 30 April.[16] On 25 May, an expanded collection opened at the National Academy of Design (hereafter referred to as the NAD) for one month (fig. 31).[17] Seventeen paintings by Edouard Manet were included in the Impressionist exhibition of which only one had been seen in this country previously. Not only were a generous number of works from throughout his career on view for the first time, but also examples of all the genres practiced by the artist were included, making the 1886 exhibition the most comprehensive display of Manet's works to appear in this country to date. Building on the growing enthusiasm shown the artist by American art enthusiasts in the early 1880s, the response to Manet's works in 1886 was overwhelmingly positive. The exhibition marked a high point in the nineteenth-century reputation of Manet in the United States, characterized by a pervasive tone of respect adopted by the critics who discussed his works, widening admiration for his work by American artists, and budding interest in his art on the part of American collectors.

Of the roughly 300 works shown, approximately 250 were by Manet, the Impressionists, and other artists who shared an interest in modern life subject matter and *plein-air* painting. Claude Monet was represented with forty-eight works, Camille Pissarro and Auguste Renoir with forty-two and thirty-eight and respectively, Edgar Degas with twenty-three, and Alfred Sisley with fifteen.[18] Works by Eugène Boudin, Gustave Caillebotte, Mary Cassatt, Berthe Morisot, and Georges Seurat were included as well.[19] The remaining fifty or so works were by fashionable Salon painters, including Jean-Paul Laurens, Alfred-Philippe Roll, and Henri Lerolle, as well as quasi-Impressionists including John Lewis Brown.[20]

This mixing of Impressionist with more conventional paintings was a calculated move on the part of Durand-Ruel. The Parisian dealer had experienced lackluster responses to exhibitions of Impressionist paintings he had sponsored in both Paris and London, and

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the inclusion of works by more widely-esteemed and officially-sanctioned artists reveals that the dealer, building upon his past experiences, "stacked the deck" to mitigate the shock of the Impressionist works for American viewers who had had few opportunities in this country to see examples of the style. Moreover, when Durand-Ruel and his son Charles hung the exhibition at the AAA galleries, they positioned the conservative paintings in the opening gallery, as a gentle prelude to the more radical works hidden within.[21] Mariana van Rensselaer, writing under her married name of Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, observed that Durand-Ruel added the non-Impressionist examples "because he thought something good and attractive, and not unfamiliar, would predispose our minds to seeing excellence in the unfamiliarity which lies around them."[22] Clarence Cook, reflecting on the exhibition a year later, wrote: "Matters were helped a little . . . by the presence of the few pictures we have mentioned, for on them the opposing forces could meet and rest in the intervals of battle, and even indulge in the amenities of compromise. And even if, in the end, each party should still hold firmly to its own way of looking at things, it was a point gained for the owner of the pictures that the general public had been won to enter his gallery by so innocent a lure."[23] The less-than-enthusiastic critic for the *New-York Times*, presumably Charles de Kay, commented bluntly that the non-Impressionist works served "to leaven the mass."[24] All three comments provide a clear indication that the assembled paintings, even with the non-Impressionist buffers, were out of the ordinary. Later, when the exhibition was moved to the NAD, Durand-Ruel added paintings from private collections to show that Americans were already buying examples of French Impressionism, in the hope of giving courage to timid admirers and potential buyers.[25]

Finally, in recognition of the fact that the American public was largely unfamiliar with French Impressionism, a fact that must have become clear to Durand-Ruel after his first attempt to exhibit the Impressionists in Boston in 1883, the exhibition catalogues for both venues included an excerpt in translation of Théodore Duret's essay "The Impressionist

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Painters," which discussed the artistic aims and identities of the most important practitioners of the style. Duret, a friend of Manet's and a defender of the Impressionists, first published the essay in 1878 in pamphlet form. The opening paragraphs were a plea to the skeptical or resistant viewer to look more closely at the paintings and to open his or her eyes to their beauties, accepting from the outset that the works did not look like the art that one was accustomed to and reminding the reader that most works of great and original artists were greeted with derision when they were first seen. To encourage the reader, Duret proclaimed himself a convert and listed other critics, men of letters, and collectors who also admired the works of the Impressionists. Then, describing the evolution of the style, Duret carefully positioned Impressionism as an outgrowth of earlier developments by modern French artists, specifically Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Gustave Courbet, and Manet. Although indebted to the Naturalists for their simplicity of technique and directness of vision, Duret located the great contribution of the Impressionists in their drive to paint in the open air and to record nature as it actually appeared in fresh, transparent color. One final influence noted by Duret was that of Japanese art for the Impressionists' use of bold color. In closing, Duret emphasized that individuality was a hallmark of Impressionism and that each artist painted the world as he or she saw it with honesty and sincerity. In addition to Duret's essay, the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition at the NAD included clippings from a number of European exhibition reviews and newspaper articles, published in the early 1880s, where Impressionism or specific Impressionist artists were discussed and defended.

Although past experiences had made him well aware that Impressionist art was a difficult sell and he was undoubtedly prepared for a mixed or poor reception, Durand-Ruel must have been gratified by the reaction to the 1886 exhibition which was an undisputed success on several fronts.[26] In his memoirs, Durand-Ruel recalled that the exhibition was "an immense success, for reasons of curiosity, but as opposed to what had happened in Paris, it provoked neither uproar, nor abusive comment, arousing no protest

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whatsoever."[27] He noted also that the critical response to the exhibition had been favorable, and in fact, the exhibition was celebrated by some of the most well-respected and widely-read American critics of the day. In fact, the exhibition generated so much intelligent commentary on French Impressionism that the style would never again be obscure and undefined in the minds of those who were interested in contemporary art. Moreover, it inspired lively debate among artists and was greeted with enthusiasm by the younger generation in particular; and it resulted in a modest but encouraging number of sales.

"Magnificent Insanities": The Critical Response to the Impressionist Exhibition[28]

All of the major Boston and New York newspapers covered the exhibition within several days of the opening at the AAA galleries, and lengthy articles were published in most American and even a few British art journals, as well as a small number of popular magazines. Most of the newspapers and art journals that ran reviews of the exhibition at the AAA later noted the exhibition at the NAD and described the works that were added to the second venue as well as sales. Although there were grumbles about sloppiness and untrue colors and little consensus on the lasting value of the new style, the majority of commentators, even those who griped about specific aspects of the works, agreed that the art of the Impressionists represented an interesting, even beautiful, school of painting that would reward study.

One theme that rang through the exhibition reviews was the thrill of the new and the excitement of change. Most critics viewed the works of the Impressionists as a breath of fresh air in an art arena that had become stale and predictable. They believed the exhibition was worth a visit and that the works represented an interesting, if eccentric, new trend in painting certain to bring about discussion and to broaden ideas and enlarge artistic knowledge.[29] The critic writing for the *Boston Evening Transcript* was overjoyed at the opportunity to see the works. He wrote that French art was sadly in need of reform as "French artists have carried the form to such a degree of perfection that they have

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forgotten that the spirit is the greater part of man's art, as of man's self." He defended the unorthodox qualities of the Impressionist works by explaining that "All real reforms are a little mad. . . . it is the fanatic who rushes headlong toward the point and is carried far beyond it, who has the power to carry the multitude with him."[30] Clarence Cook likened a visit to the exhibition to arrival on a coral island in the South Pacific, a reference undoubtedly to the bold colors employed by the Impressionists but also the freshness of their artistic vision. He then elaborated:

> It is more than a simple pleasure, it is exhilarating delight to find ourselves for once in a collection of pictures, and of French pictures too! in which not a single one of the black band appears—not a Meissonier, nor a Gérôme, nor a Cabanel, nor a Bouguereau, nor an Alma-Tadema, nor a Vibert, nor a Jules Bréton—no, not one of the men who, backed by the solid army of the picture-dealers and their money-bag clients have ruled the roost so long and done so much injury to art.[31]

In a similar vein, a number of critics suggested a particular dissatisfaction with the art typically exhibited and sold in New York.[32] Ripley Hitchcock, writing for the *Boston Herald*, was the most explicit in his accusations that New York dealers, with the exception of Daniel Cottier, whom he singled out, lacked the courage to promote anything other than what appealed to popular taste and what was certain to sell. He ended his harangue against dealers with the statement:

> The Impressionists represent a school in modern art, and it is only fair that the American public should have a chance to study their paintings; yet the dealers have left the untravelled public in ignorance of the existence of such a school until this year, because they say the pictures are not 'salable.' Yet these pictures are worth seeing, they illustrate an interesting movement, and many of them deserve emphatic admiration. There are plenty of pictures of far more intrinsic merit than the average Rosseau [sic] or Diaz of the sales galleries.[33]

While they found merit in the works of the Impressionists for their originality and argued for the sincerity of their intentions, critics judged the premise of the new style as superficial and reserved judgement on the question of whether or not the style would "age" and what its aesthetic and monetary value would be in the years to come. For example, the critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* wrote emphatically, "Few of these Impressionists will live, but their work is of a certain importance, as some free-thinking

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preachers have been, more for their indirect influence as a protest against things that are and that should not be, than from any intrinsic merit of their own."[34]

Consistent with criticism from the late 1870s and early 1880s, the most common complaints filed by critics against Manet and the Impressionists as a group were that they lacked solid technical training (and as a result, their works looked sloppy) and that the colors used were not natural. The review submitted by the critic for the *New-York Times* was typical of the negative commentary. He wrote, "The first feeling about such works as these is, what extraordinary impertinence on the part of the artists! It is like turning the wrong side of the stage flies to the audience; it is offering to the public work which has been prepared up to a certain point only." In reference to the colors used in the works, he continued, "Some of the colors here do not cry, they yelp: as if but one idea had possessed the men who gave them being, and that was, to call attention to themselves at whatever cost. . . . Anything more unnatural, un-out-of-doors, and devoid of honesty than the greater part of this collection could not well be imagined."[35] The lack of drawing manifested in the works was a recurrent concern as well. Ripley Hitchcock in a review for the *New York Daily Tribune* wondered if the artists would not profit from "a course under Boulanger or Gérôme if they could keep their individuality."[36]

Even in the most negative of the reviews, however, a degree of admiration for the works was admitted. The *New-York Times* critic conceded that while some of the works were poor in quality, others, "while they startle, interest one at first and gradually win respect." He concluded the same review on a clearly positive note when he wrote, "But a large minority is so quickening of interest and will prove so instructive to painters and amateurs that the good by much outweighs the bad. . . . the present exhibition is most welcome."[37] Likewise, the critic for the *New York World* called the works "strong in conception and execution, ruggedly so, in fact, and crude as they are for the most part in coloring according to the generally accepted standards of art, their drawing and action are exceptionally good."[38]

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While technique, or lack thereof, and use of unnaturally high-keyed colors were concerns for some commentators, especially those writing for newspapers and popular magazines, the critics writing for art journals, who were more informed as to the aims and techniques of the Impressionists, were more interested in their subject selections. A common theme was the dichotomy between the figure paintings, especially those which were unmistakably urban in context, and the landscapes. The writer for the *Critic* stated that the "tenderness and grace of impressionism is reserved for its landscapes: for humanity there is only the hard brutality of the naked truth."[39] Likewise, the critic for the *Art Age* noted that the figure paintings centered on "the complex problems of human life" and that they were "terrible in their pessimism and seem to fill the air with cries of uneasy souls . . . ." Characterizing the sensation of viewing a figure versus a landscape painting, the same critic wrote that to move from one to the next was like "passing from the hot pavements of Paris to the poplar land of the Rhone, from Zola to the Celestial Country of St. Bernard."[40] Focusing on the works of Degas in particular, the critic for the *Art Interchange* noted wryly that "Poe's 'Conquering Worm' was an opera bouffe performance" compared to this artist's works.[41] Manet also suffered as a result of the discernible preference for landscape. His urban figure subjects were considered truthful but in some cases unpalatable. On the other hand, Monet's lyrical landscapes, while perhaps not examples of *tour-de-force* handling and penetrating vision on a par with those of Manet, were eye balm for the viewer. The opinion of art critics on the subject choices of the Impressionists was shared by art collectors as well. As we shall see, more works by Monet were sold than by any other artist represented in the exhibition, with the landscapist Pissarro running a close second.

Although only a few individual artists were singled out consistently, some general observations can be made about the critics's preferences among the painters represented. Based upon opinions expressed in the reviews, a sliding scale emerges that commenced with the superior and largely undisputed talents of Manet and descended to the

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absurdities of Renoir. Running a close second in critical estimation behind Manet was Monet, whose landscapes received attention for their soft colors and handling, and their gentle portrayal of nature. Generally, the works of Degas and Caillebotte were found interesting as well, but responses to the works of the other Impressionists varied widely, with artists such as Renoir and Seurat receiving passionate support from some critics and ridicule from others. Some critics dealt with these differences by designating artists whose works were either extremely sketchy or brightly and unnaturally colored as "extremists." Although Degas' ballet dancers were occasionally singled out as extreme examples of the style, because of the distortions of the bodies and the sometimes lurid qualities of the interiors, it was Renoir who was the extremist *par excellence* of the exhibition, a judgement based upon his use of intensely bright colors and loose handling, but also for his immoral subject choices. In this context, Manet's works were viewed as the originating point of a style that was handled successfully by some artists, some of the time, and that ran amok in the hands of other less talented painters. Manet provided the simplicity of conception, the ease of execution, and the interest in direct observation that his "followers" had pushed to sometimes absurd and exaggerated ends. Finally, much praise was showered upon the works painted by the salon artists, especially Lerolle and Laurens, whose works were usually discussed before those of Manet and the Impressionists in recognition of the difference in style and content that these more conservative and fashionable works represented.

The Most Fervent Promoters of the Impressionist Exhibition

Three critics Clarence Cook, Mariana G. van Rensselaer (a.k.a. Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer), and Theodore Child, art critic for the *New York Sun* and the *Art Amateur,* stand out among the commentators on the exhibition as passionate advocates of the enterprise.[42] All three praised Durand-Ruel and the AAA for bringing such an important exhibition to New York and encouraged the public to see the assembled works. Cook

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tried to rally his readers to see the exhibition by appealing to their national pride. He made it an American duty to stay abreast of developments in the art world, and scorned those who chose to remain ignorant rather than to wrestle with something unfamiliar. He wrote enthusiastically, "Allow for all exaggerations, deduct for all the crudeness, and vainshooting at the sun, what every one must feel is here, is the work of men delighting in the exercise of their art, not working at a task for the sake of boiling the pot, nor weaving rhymes at a penny the line, but singing as they paint, and facing the new world with the leaping wine of discovery in their veins."[43] Child called the exhibition instructive and interesting, especially for art students, and he appealed to the conscience and intellect of his readers when he stated, "We trust that for these reasons the Impressionist Exhibition will prove successful, and there is little doubt that it will, because of the very large number of intelligent and cultivated people for whom such an exhibition and the opportunities it affords are of great interest and importance."[44] Van Rensselaer, realizing that the paintings would not fall in with "preconceived ideas of what is right or of what is beautiful in art," pleaded with her readers as if with Duret's words in the back of her mind: "If we really use our eyes, and not merely our memories of other pictures, we shall soon confess that much truth is told in these singular-seeming canvases; and if we are liberal enough to grant that there may be beauty of a kind not hitherto familiar to us, then we shall perhaps gradually learn to see something of this in them too."[45]

To persuade skeptical viewers of the legitimacy of the new movement, the three critics devoted special efforts to defining the Impressionist style and locating its place in the history of art. Prior to the 1880s, the words "impression" or "impressionist" were used frequently in reference to works that captured a fleeting moment in time and which conveyed the aura and emotion of the scene. Often the paintings or watercolors to which the term was applied were characterized as dreamy and poetical as well. The term "impressionist" was used to describe works by William Morris Hunt, for example, as

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well as George Inness and the French Barbizon School painters. In their works, precise finish was eschewed, paint texture was an expressive element, and mood was a key quality that absorbed and transported the viewer. It took some time to establish the differences between the more general meaning and usage of the word "impressionist," and the specific connotations of the word when applied to the group of French artists who were active in France from the 1860s through the early twentieth century. With the body of critical commentary generated by the 1886 exhibition, these meanings were at last clarified.

Taking their cue from Duret, Child, Cook, and van Rensselaer identified the Impressionist artist's primary aim to record nature honestly and directly by whatever methods would capture exactly that which was seen. Cook added that true Impressionist painters worked only from the life and that the painting had to be completed on the spot. Therefore, the result was usually only a rapid sketch or a bit of nature, but the value was in the truthfulness of the product.[46] Van Rensselaer gave the most complete definition, which also alerts us to the weaknesses she found with the Impressionist approach:

> He [the Impressionist] is distinctly a materialist in art, and not a poet, or a thinker, or a dreamer; he is one with whom the body of things is all and their soul is nothing; one who aims at truth to natural facts and not at the rendering of sentiment or feeling of any sort, much less at the painting of any story or the portrayal of any dramatic incident, with a special meaning of its own. In the second place, the truths he cares for are truths of general effect and not of detail; in fact he gets his name because he thinks the thing to paint is simply the *general impression* which is made upon the eye by the chosen subject. This he tries to reproduce simply and exactly as he saw it, without adding anything which his mind or memory tells him must have existed.[47]

Other critics helped the cause as well by arguing that the most criticized aspects of the style, the lack of finish and the use of glaring, high-keyed colors, with the accompanying abandonment of conventional tonal ranges, were in fact deliberate. The critics writing for the *Art Age*, *Studio*, and *Critic* emphasized that the Impressionists preferred a lack of finish and abandoned the full range of tones knowingly in order to achieve the look of direct and spontaneous vision in real light. For example, the writer for the *Critic* stated:

> It is distinctly felt that the painters have worked with decided intention, that if they have neglected established rules it is because they have outgrown them, and that if

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> they have ignored lesser truths it has been in order to dwell more strongly upon larger. . . . Where love of pure color has moved an artist to eliminate tone or values in its interest, he has done it with vigorous understanding. The value of suggestiveness is fully recognized in modern art. With the impressionists this acknowledged principle simply exists in an accentuated condition.[48]

Several critics also noted the influence of the art of Japan as the source of the bold coloring of the works, a stylistic influence that was discussed in Duret's catalogue essay. In short, the critics who favored the exhibition and the artists represented wanted to convince their readers that the Impressionists were not sloppy, unskilled, and poorly trained artists, as had often been argued; rather they were in full possession of academic skills and made the choice to abandon such tools in order to achieve a more truthful vision.

Cook, Child, and van Rensselaer went beyond simply defining Impressionism to position it as a continuum with the history of art, not as an aberration or a radical break with tradition, although they were quick to acknowledge also the originality and independence shown by the group. Child traced impressionism all the way back to the Italian Renaissance to Giorgione and Correggio who expressed "poetically the harmony that emanates at first sight from an ensemble of form and color."[49] In the modern French school, Child pointed to Corot, Courbet, Eugène Delacroix, and Millet as forerunners of Manet and the Impressionists, all of whom carried forward this long-standing interest in painting the Truth. For Child, the important difference between Manet and the Impressionists and those artists who preceded them was the interest of the former in studying the effects of light, a "home truth" that echoed the words of Duret. Neither Cook nor van Rensselaer looked as far back as the Renaissance for the roots of Impressionism but found them instead in the nineteenth century. Cook, a known fan of English painting, located the genesis of Impressionism in the works of landscape painter John Constable. Also, he emphasized the important influences of both English Pre-Raphaelite art and the French Barbizon School as two groups of artists who were determined to look at nature directly and to paint exactly what they saw.[50] Van

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Rensselaer, on the other hand, positioned the Impressionists strictly within the modern French school and placed them in lineal descent from the French Barbizon School and the Naturalists. She wrote, "From the great landscape school of the past generation they inherit their love for general effect as opposed to detail; with the whole body of the 'Naturalists' they share their love for out of doors and their belief that the artist's task is not to search for the beautiful but to paint the actual. They only push these impulses to their furthest extreme . . . ."[51] By establishing links with familiar, well-respected and eagerly collected artists and with the larger tradition of painting, these critics helped to bestow upon the movement greater legitimacy and to characterize the style as the logical outcome of long-standing artistic concerns.

While Child, Cook, and van Rensselaer were adamant in their support of the exhibition and the opportunity it afforded for Americans to familiarize themselves with an important new current in contemporary art, each expressed misgivings about the aims of the artists or the technical means by which they accomplished their goals. All three agreed that the Impressionists frequently fell prey to exaggeration in handling and palette. More serious, however, was the lack of a moral or literary intention in the works and the almost total emphasis instead on technique. While Cook admitted these shortcomings, he mentioned them lightly and the tone of his remarks remained almost euphoric with the thrill of discovery, newness, and perceived sincerity of purpose. Child and van Rensselaer, however, were more obviously disturbed by what they viewed as the weaknesses of the style. To accommodate the uneven quality or success of the works, Child identified two brands of Impressionism, one true Impressionism and the other "Affectionism." The true Impressionists among whom he positioned Manet were, according to Child, sincere and actuated by motives that commanded respect, while the Affectionists presented a spectacle which was not at all edifying and which grated on the viewer's patience. Although Child found examples of Affectionism among the works of almost all of the Impressionists, it was Renoir on whom he heaped vitriol. He imagined that Manet's

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Absinthe Drinker was actually a portrait of Renoir because only such a degenerate misfortunate could have painted the nudes exhibited under Renoir's name and which Child described as "naked, bloated, and hideous."[52] Consistent with her earlier criticism, van Rensselaer expressed particular discontent with the lack of beauty found in many of the works including Manet's. The colors used were often crude and the handling was rough, and the paintings conveyed no sentiment or spiritual quality, all of which caused her to exclaim: "Viewed close at hand, their handiwork is so ugly, so crude and careless seeming, so puerile and purposeless-looking, that we cannot but smile to think it the work of intelligent, instructed artists."[53] Yet, she did not find these traits to be universal among the works exhibited. In certain of Monet's landscapes, for example, van Rensselaer found the delicate effects and soft moodiness in which she delighted.

Works by Manet in the Impressionist Exhibition and Notes on the Installation

Before examining the response to Manet's works specifically, it is necessary to take a closer look at his works included in the exhibition. The exhibition provided, for the first time, the opportunity to see a large number of his works representing almost every phase of his artistic career and his experiments with style. Examples of portraiture, genre and history painting, sea and landscape, and still life from the 1860s to the early 1880s were included. Although more comprehensive than any gathering of Manet's paintings seen before, the majority of the works dated from the 1860s, and with their forceful handling and dark, muted palettes, they were in marked contrast to the high-keyed and lightly-brushed works of the Impressionists, a difference that was recorded universally by the critics. As noted by the critic for the *Art Age*, "It is a long way back from some of his [Renoir's] riotous canvases, all greens and blues and reds, to the sober, serious Velásquez figures of Manet, wrapped in their tonality as in the cloaks of Spanish grandees."[54] Manet's paintings, especially those from the 1860s, were appreciated by the critics for their Velázquez-esque qualities of tone and painterliness, as well as for their penetrating portrayal of character. Critics ignored almost entirely his later, brighter, more truly

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Impressionist works, revealing their reluctance to endorse the new style. Manet's subject choices differed from those of the Impressionists as well. Most of Manet's works were figure studies or portraits, as opposed to the larger numbers of landscapes and leisure subjects included among the Impressionists's paintings. The contrasts between Manet's works and those of the Impressionists served to reinforce the understanding that Manet was a forerunner of the style, the prophet, whose position and importance in the history of modern French painting was already established.

This tendency to separate Manet from the Impressionists and to emphasize his role as their messiah was to a degree reinforced by the installation of the two Impressionist exhibitions, especially the exhibition at the AAA galleries. At the AAA galleries, Durand-Ruel and his son Charles hung a number of Manet's works in the opening gallery. The critic for the *New York Evening Post*, perhaps William A. Coffin, noted the character of the first gallery: "He [Durand-Ruel] has made of the principal room a sort of choice showing of elected pictures, somewhat like the Square Salon of the Louvre, or the Tribune of the Uffizi; and in this gifted company there are not to be found the specimens which most plainly show the ardors of the [Impressionist] school. . . . In this room of the elect, on the contrary, where the visitor gets his first impression, the pictures are comprehensible by anybody. And a rare lot of masterpieces they are . . . ."[55] This introductory gallery contained Jean-Paul Lauren's *Death of Marceau* (1877; Sumitomo Collection, Kyoto), Henri Lerolles' *In the Organ-Loft* (fig. 32), Alfred-Philippe Roll's *Study*, "a nude sunshiny girl leading a young black bull down toward her bathing-place," as well as works by John Lewis Brown, Edouard Armand-Dumaresq, and Victor-Pierre Huguet. Placed among these non-Impressionist paintings were Degas' *Ballet of Robert Diable* (1871; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), as well as Manet's *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet*, his still life painting of a salmon and a cut lemon, *Portrait of M. Henri Rochefort*, *Fifer*, and *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne*.[56] At the NAD, echoing the Pedestal Fund exhibition of two years earlier, Manet's *Boy with a Sword* and

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Fifer were placed in the center of the South Gallery, a position of prominence, on either side of the *Organ-Loft* by Lerolle.[57]

Manet and the Critics

In the reviews of the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, American critics recognized Manet as among the greatest painters of his time. Critics noted again and again that the 1886 exhibition provided the first opportunity to see a representative sampling of this important artist's works in America, and many believed his works to be the most important ones in the exhibition. Ripley Hitchcock wrote that it was "important for every true lover of art to know the work of a man strong enough to make a new departure and to stamp his influence upon others . . . ."[58] Moreover, there was the awareness that Manet was a cut above the Impressionists and that he had received accolades that his weaker followers did not yet enjoy. William H. Downes stated succinctly that Manet was hardly to be ranked with the Impressionists, "because he is in every way far above them."[59] Similarly, the critic for the *New-York Times*, presumably Charles de Kay noted, "The Impressionist who takes the palm from them all is the late Manet, whose pictures alone would be worth a visit and the keenest study. In his work one finds the reason for the attention paid by artists, connoisseurs, amateurs, to this wing of the art world."[60] Reflecting Manet's superior status in relation to Impressionists, the critics usually addressed his paintings first in their reviews.

Ironically, Manet was identified as the prophet of a new artistic vision, but critics actually showered their attention and praise on the more traditional aspects of his works, especially his masterful use of tone as well as his ability to handle paint forcefully and to capture his subject with an economy of means. These elements of Manet's style, found mostly in his works of the 1860s and early 1870s, tied the French painter to a venerable artistic tradition and separated him emphatically from the *arriviste*, sensationalist Impressionists. While Manet was considered to be a typical Impressionist in his refusal

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to paint pictures with meaning, sentiment, or imagination, the paintings by him that were the most successful with the critics were those with which they could imaginatively engage.

Among the critics who responded to the 1886 exhibition, Child was the most passionate in his celebration of Manet and the most informed in his description of the artist's life and his artistic aims. For the *Art Amateur*, Child devoted an entire article to Manet titled, "The King of the 'Impressionists,'" in which he provided a lengthy biography of the artist and described the "originality" of his art. In his biographical notes, Child revised the characterization of the artist as an unpleasant, caustic figure of the demimonde. He ignored the scandalous moments of Manet's career (such as the Salon des refusés) and emphasized his six years of study with Couture, his many appearances at the Salon, and the fact that the artist was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor shortly before his death. As was demonstrated by Marcellin Desmoulin's portrait of Manet reproduced on the first page of the article (fig. 33), Child described Manet as an elegant and handsome man with distinguished manners and a brilliant wit, who had an ample fortune and lived a quiet life devoted to art.

In describing his artistic philosophy, Child wrote that Manet worked "according to his convictions and without heeding the advice of picture-dealers." Clearly, among traits that Child admired most were Manet's originality and independence of mind, both of which had allowed him to pursue a new artistic path in the face of the overwhelming taste for conventional subjects and techniques. As for defining this new artistic vision, Child characterized Manet as an Impressionist in "the largest sense of the word," suggesting an interest in capturing one's subject directly and in translating into the picture not just a representation of the subject but also the environment in which the subject was situated, the atmospheric pocket around it, and the accompanying mood or sentiment carried by the relationship between the two. Child explained that Manet did not see the world in outline and detail (as traditional artists did), but in masses of bold color. Moreover,

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Manet represented depth by tonal values and diminished the emphasis on drawing and perspective.

Although he could not deny the role Manet's art played in the formulation of the Impressionist style, Child argued that Manet's influence was much larger than this one group. In the opening sentences of the *Art Amateur* article, Child stated that Manet had been acknowledged, even by those who once disparaged his talents, as "an initiator and as a reformer whose name will be inseparable from the history of French art during the last third of the nineteenth century." Looking to the future with admirable prescience, Child wrote:

> His [Manet's] work has provoked alternately admiration and laughter; nevertheless it cannot be denied that it has given an impulse, and established a new current. The Cabanels and Bouguereaus will pass without leaving any trace behind them; Manet has left disciples who may not all avow their master but who cannot conceal his influence in their work. Nay more, if we place Manet, as we may justly, at the head of the "impressionist" movement in its largest sense, we may say he has no need to be avenged of posterity; he is already avenged, for, in the Salons of the past ten years "impressionism" has been gradually triumphing to a greater and greater extent.[61]

Child also wrote a lengthy review of the exhibition for the *New York Sun*, where he insisted again that there was more of the color and of the general inspiration of Manet to be seen on the walls of the Salon than of any other artist who had lived since the Barbizon School painters Théodore Rousseau and Georges Michel.[62] In fact, Child stated emphatically that the Impressionists borrowed the least commendable aspects of Manet's style and carried these weaknesses to extremes, while ignoring the most praiseworthy element of his works, his simplicity.

As for his role in developing Impressionism, Child was careful to point out that Manet was not the only influence vital to the development of the style. Manet, together with the French Naturalist painters, especially Courbet and the members of the Barbizon School, jointly influenced the Impressionists, who owed a debt to Japanese art as well. Manet and the Impressionists had moved beyond these other artists, however, in abandoning the prepared light of the studio to paint in the open air and to struggle to capture outdoor light and the resulting variations of color. Repeating Duret almost verbatim, Child wrote, the

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modern French school owed to Manet and the Impressionists, "a more exact research into the causes and effects of light having their influence both on design and on color; it owes to them a palette free from bitumen, chocolate, tobacco-juice and other darknesses; it owes the privilege of painting in the clear light of the sun, and of seeking to render the most delicate aërial shades and tones."[63]

The paintings by Manet that elicited the most commentary from critics were the *Philosopher* (fig. 34), *Mendicant* (fig. 35), and *Absinthe Drinker* (fig.1). This trio hung together, in the previously stated order, in one of the upper galleries at the AAA, and at least two of the three, *Philosopher* and *Mendicant*, hung together in the North Gallery of the NAD as well; thus, their placement as well as similar formats and formal qualities encouraged consideration of them as a group.[64] Critics compared the trio to the works of Velázquez for their tonal qualities, *tour de force* paint handling, and penetrating expression of character. The critic for the *Art Age* wrote of the three paintings: "They are life-size, full-length figures, giving Parisian types treated as Velásquez would have treated them. They are handled in a manner not unworthy of the great Spaniard, who was himself a royal impressionist. Such painting as is found in these three figures the world does not often see."[65] More effusive in her praises than she had been three years earlier, van Rensselaer wrote that the figures were "lineal descendants of the art of Velásquez and are almost worthy to bear that master's name. The man was indeed a great artist who could paint like this—with this beauty of technical style, this harmony of color and richness of tone, and especially with this vivid realization of character."[66] The tonal effects that had so enraptured critics in the trio of full-length figures and which were thought to be one of the Velázquez-esque qualities of Manet's style, were identified in other works as well. Works appreciated for their rich tonal range were *Lola de Valence* (fig. 36), *Races at Longchamp* (fig. 37), and *Bull Fight* (fig. 38).

While the three figure studies were recognized as technical triumphs, the characterization of the figures and their vivid, lifelike qualities inspired a number of

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critics to move beyond pure formal description to imaginative explorations of the personalities and lives of the three men portrayed. Interestingly, the critics managed to locate both anecdote and narrative in Manet's character studies, as if they were confronting conventional Salon paintings. The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* recognized the three men from his reading of French novels but found Manet's realization of them in paint even more forceful than their literary counterparts. Of the three, he wrote,

> "The Beggar" might be a figure out of Balzac. This tall old man with the canting, hypocritical face, and the outstretched palm, is a pathetic humbug, all the sadder because of the sham sorrow of his face, through which one sees the real misery and degradation of the creature. . . . "The Philosopher" is, or might be, a creature of Alfonse Daudet's. He is a merry, cynical soul, bound to get what good he can out of life in spite of his old cloak and very bad hat. Fortune has been hard with him, his lot in the life lottery has drawn no prize to make his neighbors envy him, but he is blessed with a certain humorous wisdom of the pavements, and he will get what little pleasure there is to be extracted from his surroundings, and shrug his shoulders when the larder is bare and the grate empty. The third figure in the trio of "Les Miserables" might have walked straight from the pages of "L'Assommoir." Zola has taught us that there are such men. Has the knowledge helped us? and which is more vital, has it helped them to have their wretched state held up before the shuddering eyes of the world? Manet repeats the lesson, and in ten minutes one reads from the face of "Le Buveur" what it would take many chapters of Zola to tell us; the depravity of the poor, drink-besotted creature, staggering in a sort of gusty merriment, his cloak thrown jauntily over one shoulder, an empty bottle on the floor at his unsteady feet, and a glass of absinthe beside him. Such a picture might make more impression, one fancies, on an audience than many a temperance lecture or a total abstinence advocate could do.[67]

Undoubtedly, the most well-liked among the three paintings by both critics and the public was the *Mendicant*.[68] The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* noted that the man looked well-fed and happy, and he noted his insinuating look and confidence as traits that undoubtedly contributed to his success as a beggar. As the critic put it, the man made it appear "as if begging were as honorable and as reputable as any kind of business."[69] In descriptions of both the *Mendicant* and *Philosopher*, the types were considered to be pitiful but harmless, even somewhat humorous. *Absinthe Drinker*, however, was not taken lightly by any of the reviewers. The critic for the *Boston Evening Traveler* noted that the man was prosperous, as seen by his handsome clothes, but isolated completely from humanity through his addiction. The critic then plunged into a

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deeper, more psychological projection when he wrote: "A bottle, evidently fallen from a nerveless grasp, lies on the floor, and behind him, from a background of desolation and gloom, stalks his shadow—a dark, undefined figure, that may well be a Nemesis. It is a work of infinite suggestion."[70] While a note of dark fascination pervaded this critic's assessment, other commentators were more disturbed or even angered by the work and its tragic implications. As noted by the critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *Absinthe Drinker*, compared to the *Mendicant*, was "anything but happy" and "a slave to the habit."[71] Even Child responded to the work with disgust and emphasized the ugliness of the figure: "Manet has depicted a creature with absurdly distorted legs, enveloped in a mantle that seems to be worn to conceal rather than to clothe. Crushed beneath a preposterous hat, the face is swollen and lurid with vice, repulsive in its premonitions of decay, an absinthe-saturated cretin conceived by a powerful and highly wrought imagination."[72] Roger Riordan called the *Absinthe Drinker* "repulsive" and was so offended by the subject that he argued Manet did not deserve to be placed on par with the great Velázquez, as so many others had suggested, and was in fact a vastly overrated artist.[73] In Riordan's mind, the artist who could conceive of such degradation must himself be consumed with sin. Obviously, *Absinthe Drinker* struck a chord with the critics that the other two paintings did not. The addicted figure, whose clothing suggested a man of means to at least one critic, represented an urban vice that afflicted all levels of society, while the beggar and philosopher were more distant socially from American viewers and were not figures that represented the possiblity of dissipation and even death.

Manet's talent for making his figures seem "alive" was noted in relation to other of his works including the *Fifer*, *On the Balcony*, *In the Conservatory*, *Lola de Valence*, and the portrait of Rochefort. As indicated by the writer for the *Art Age*, Manet's figures were "absolutely realized," and they seemed as if they could step out of their frames.[74] Cook believed that the *Fifer* (fig. 8) was the best work by Manet in the exhibition, and indeed it

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was praised repeatedly by critics for its fetching, youthful subject. Emphasizing the lifelike qualities of the *Fifer*, Cook described how the visitor was "greeted" by the jolly figure when he or she opened the door into the exhibition. Although he referred to Manet as a "child of Velásquez," Cook's high estimation of the *Fifer* was based on the fact that the artist had selected a modern French subject, with which he had fully engaged his artistic sympathies. As a result, not only the boy but also the artist came to life for Cook when he stood in front of the work.[75] Likewise, *Lola de Valence* (fig. 36) was understood to be a "strong type of Spaniard," and the representation of Henri Rochefort (fig. 25) was called a "speaking portrait" for its excellence of likeness and its vitality.[76]

Critics were divided in their estimation of the *On the Balcony* and *In the Conservatory*, but the issue of realism and lifelikeness was at the heart of their comments. Referring to *In the Conservatory* (fig. 13), the critic for the *Boston Evening Traveler* noted that the figures conversing were so lifelike as to be startling.[77] The critic for the *New-York Times* remarked that the gentle folk featured in Manet's painting were strong and convincing, traits he believed were rare among portrayals of fashionable society people who were more often shown as "simpering and weak."[78] Some critics, like the writer for the *Art Age*, believed the figures to be extremely lifelike, even "monstrous in their truth" for what they told about Parisian life of the Empire period, while others noted with disappointment the lack of expression on the faces and the stiffness of the bodies.[79] The critic for *New-York Times*, for example, referred to the figures in *On the Balcony* (fig. 39) as "cast-iron figures," and Riordan described the same figures as faces "attached to a shirt-collar, and a realistic bit of drapery with nothing in it."[80] Riordan's comment reveals his deep roots in academic illusionism and his unwilling to appreciate Manet's new, simplified, and painterly visual language.

Next to the Velázquez-esque trio of figure paintings and *Fifer*, *Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama* (fig. 40) was the most highly-esteemed work in the exhibition. It as well as the *Races at Longchamp* and the still life were referred to repeatedly as

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exemplary specimens of pure painting. Interestingly, little interest was shown toward the Civil War subject of the painting. Van Rensselaer exuded enthusiasm for the seascape when she wrote, "Look too, at the "Kearsarge and Alabama," and if you are not nautical enough to be shocked by a landsman's mistakes in naval architecture, you will have pure delight in one of the most powerful and beautiful seaviews we have had from a modern brush."[81] The *New-York Times* critic, too, laughed at the rendering of the Alabama, "sinking by the stern, (apparently ashamed to live any longer with her masts so queerly stepped) . . . ," but he lauded the handling and deep colors and described the marine as beautiful.[82] Cook called the rendering of the water "grand in treatment," so much so that the viewer actually forgets the ships.[83]

Both the *Races at Longchamp* (fig. 37) and *Bull Fight* (fig. 38) were described as powerfully executed works with "plenty of 'go,'" a reference to the strong sense of movement achieved through the strong brushwork in each. [84] E. W. M., a correspondent to the *Boston Evening Transcript,* commended both works referring to the *Races* as "full of movement and life, subdued in tone, but vigorous in treatment." Of the *Bull Fight*, the same critic marveled at the economy of means utilized, stating that "a few bold strokes are made to tell the whole story."[85] Similar to the criticism of the ships in the *Kearsarge and Alabama*, commentators poked fun at the upturned and lengthened nose of the lead horse in *Races.* Cook wondered if the horse's nose was put out of joint "by the unconcerned action of some of the bystanders." Nevertheless, the critic believed that this eccentric detail was necessary to convey movement and excitement in the scene.[86] These two paintings were the only works by Manet that were perceived to be examples of extreme Impressionism. This assessment was based upon the sketchiness of the rendering, the complete absence of drawing, and the exaggeration of the forms, but they were not discussed in negative terms.

Another work by Manet that was roundly praised was the still-life painting of the salmon and the cut lemon (fig. 41) that hung in the opening gallery of the AAA

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exhibition. The critic for the *New York Evening Post*, perhaps William A. Coffin, confessed that in still-life painting Manet was "incomparable." He described the elements of the composition including "the capitally [sic] scaly fish, and a cut lemon, surely the most cruelly sour lemon every painted."[87] Downes marveled generally over the artist's use of color which he described as "fat and luscious," and in reference to the still life, he wrote that the quality of color found there made the work worthy to be placed alongside a Chardin.[88]

The one work that was mentioned by critics without admiration was the *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet* (fig. 42). Only one critic complimented the portrait, calling it "striking," while the others found it unsuccessful. The writer for the *Art Interchange* described Faure as "a big-headed and most unheroic little man in a very French translation of the 'melancholy Dane.'"[89] The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* took issue with the characterization of Hamlet as a madman and noted that it was not what the "immortal William" intended. Moreover, he found the work to be unfinished and too painterly.[90] Moreover, it should be noted that several works by Manet that were listed in the exhibition catalogue were not noted by any of the critics. These included *Café-Concert* (fig. 43), *Croquet at Boulogne* (fig. 44), and *View in Holland* (fig. 45). The last was loaned by Alexander J. Cassatt, brother of Mary Cassatt. Cassatt had purchased the painting in Paris in 1885, and he loaned the work to the Impressionist exhibition at its second venue. These works were the most boldly Impressionist examples by Manet included in the exhibition, different from the others on account of their bright coloration and more rapid, staccato brushwork, and the critics completely overlooked or ignored them.

The old accusation of "ugliness" still lingered despite the marked increase in recognition and respect shown toward the artist. Although critics did not hesitate to call Manet's works interesting, important, and masterful, they seldom praised them as beautiful, except for their technical elements. For some critics, like van Rensselaer,

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Manet's talent for handling paint and for introducing tones and values could be beautiful or masterful but his subject choices were not. For example, van Rensselaer praised Manet's painting of the Spanish dancer *Lola de Valence* as a vigorous piece of portraiture but complained that the model was unattractive.[91] Van Rensselaer would have agreed with Hitchcock, who noted that "Manet is evidently not a seeker for the beautiful. He has no moral to teach, no story to tell, although the observer's imagination may supply one. The end of his art is technique . . . ."[92] On the other hand, *Fifer* was praised for its subject matter but criticized for the crudeness of the execution and the harsh juxtaposition of colors without intermediate tones, which were interesting and worth study, but also "crude," and Hitchcock stated emphatically, "There is no question of beauty here."[93]

The Public Response to the Impressionist Exhibition and Sales

Although the exhibition clearly struck a chord with art critics, precious few viewers were enthusiastic about the Impressionists' works. In other words, the Impressionist exhibition was a critical success and a popular failure. As noted by van Rensselaer, the exhibition was "the great sensation of the year. I mean among the inner circle of the initiated or the would-be initiated."[94] Child noted astutely that because the public was not familiar with the productions of the Impressionists, a visit to the exhibition would result undoubtedly in an "astonishing revelation" or a "very considerable shock."[95] Indeed, it was clear that the brave souls who attended the exhibition were surprised and dismayed, despite the educational materials provided in the catalogue and the gentle introductory gallery. Downes gave what was probably the most truthful description of the public response in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*: "A good many people seem puzzled by it. Others are shocked. Many are amused. A few are indignant, and, I think it may be said, the general impression of the public is of decided repugnance."[96] Cook reiterated this view, writing that the entire gamut of disapproval could be overheard in the galleries,

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and the most encouraging comments to be seized upon were that the works were queer but interesting.

Attendance is one indisputable indicator of the lack of public interest in the exhibition. The *New York Daily Tribune* noted that the maximum number of visitors during the second week of the exhibition at the AAA galleries was 150 persons per day.[97] Obviously, the exhibition was not a complete failure as attendance was believed significant enough to reopen the exhibition at a second venue. However, following the first week of the exhibition at the NAD, it was noted again in the *Tribune* that attendance had been meager.[98] By June 6, attendance had not improved; it remained steady but low.[99]

Providing additional evidence that the Impressionist exhibition was not a popular success, several critics compared attendance with other exhibitions held in New York that year, including the exhibition of the Mary J. Morgan collection and the NAD annual exhibition. The Morgan collection included about 240 paintings by European and American artists, among which were examples of the Barbizon School and works by French academic painters such as William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Ernest Meissonier, as well as a few examples by the American artists George Boughton, Frederic Bridgman, and Frederic Church.[100] The paintings were put on exhibition at the AAA galleries in early-to-mid February 1886, prior to their sale at Chickering Hall on March 3, 4, and 5.[101] At the pre-sale viewing, a daily attendance of 1,500 visitors was recorded.[102] As for the annual exhibition at the NAD, the *New York Herald* reported that within the first week of its opening, 3000 visitors had come through the Academy.[103] While it must be understood that the famous but rarely seen Morgan collection undoubtedly attracted more visitors than could be lured into the average exhibition, the contrast in numbers of visitors between the Morgan and NAD exhibitions and that of the Impressionist exhibition was significant. Average *daily* attendance at the Morgan exhibition was ten times the average *weekly* attendance at the Impressionist exhibition,

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and attendance at the first week of the NAD exhibition was twenty times that of an average week at the Impressionist exhibition!

Another segment of the population that was particularly vitriolic toward Durand-Ruel, the AAA, and the works exhibited were local art dealers, and these antagonists may well have dampened interest in the exhibition. James Sutton had arranged for all of the works to enter the United States duty free.[104] To be granted this special tax-free status, Sutton had argued that the AAA, the first venue for the exhibition, was an institution for the promotion of art and not a commercial venture. However, the paintings *were* for sale, and this obvious fact infuriated some art dealers. Hitchcock explained that "the dealers objected to such importation [without taxation] on the grounds that it would give the American Art Association an unfair advantage, inasmuch as the dealers are obliged to buy out and out any pictures which they import, while the association could give the public a choice from a number and send back those which remained unsold."[105] In their anger, these dealers, among whom only Samuel P. Avery can be identified, lambasted the Impressionists' works and tried to cast doubt over Durand-Ruel's motives, obviously in the hope of discouraging attendance and sales.[106] Hitchcock alluded to the negative campaign when he noted that much "violent language" had been aired in response to the exhibition, but also he implied that the dealers were fearful that the new art might hurt their business:

> Those who have the most to do with such conservative investments as the works of Bouguereau, Cabanel, Meissonier and Gerome, have imparted the information that the paintings of the "impressionists" partake of the character of a "crazy quilt," being only distinguished by such eccentricities as blue grass, violently green skies, and water with the coloring of a rainbow. In short it has been said that the paintings of this school are utterly and absolutely worthless.[107]

In his article for the *Boston Herald*, Hitchcock noted again that "the local dealers who opposed the importation of pictures in bond by the American Art Association, have united in denunciation of impressionist work."[108] Evidently, these dealers also floated the idea (which was actually quite true) that the Parisian dealer had over-invested himself in Impressionist works and was trying to "boom" them in a new market, since the works

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were not selling abroad.[109] In other words, the angry dealers tried to cast a cloud over Durand-Ruel's intentions, making them appear purely mercenary and even desperate.

Hitchcock and other critics who supported the Impressionist venture fervently defended Durand-Ruel and characterized the Frenchman as a dealer with "higher motives." Durand-Ruel was praised for his vision and his courage to promote works by artists who were not yet proven in critical circles or in the art market. It was argued pointedly that his motivations were based upon a true dedication to the artists whom he represented and that his financial well-being had suffered as a result of his convictions. Van Rensselaer described the exhibition as "missionary" in intention, and the critic for the *New York Sun*, probably Theodore Child, noted that "we admire unspeakably the enthusiasm which he [Durand-Ruel] manifests for his school, and the unyielding sincerity and energy with which he has championed its cause, and accepted uncomplainingly the sacrifices that it has entailed."[110] Similarly, the critic for the *New York Evening Post* characterized the dealer as a martyr for the new school:

> The pictures are brought to us by M. Durand-Ruel, himself an interesting and apostolic figure, a friend of the new painters, who has impoverished himself to keep their art alive, and who has paid for his sympathies at the expense of a considerable fortune. He is pointed out in Paris as a curious unworldly type, a dealer with a religion, whose estate has constantly been hypothecated to maintain the necessary advances to his protégés, and whose means have been greatly wasted in the interest of his propaganda.[111]

Although the dealer had not yet witnessed the ascendancy of the Impressionists, critics reminded their readers that Durand-Ruel was among the first to promote the works of the Barbizon School painters which, by the 1880s, were among the most highly prized and expensive art works on the market. Accordingly, Hitchcock noted, "These painters [the Impressionists], M. Durand-Ruel regards as the great artists of the future. He predicts for them such a place in the esteem of connoisseurs as is now held by Millet, Rousseau and their brethren. I think he is sincere in his belief. His past record as a connoisseur counts for something."[112]

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Although the exhibition was not popular with the public and it made art dealers nervous and vindictive, it was successful with artists. Cook noted that artists were among the most interested if not appreciative of the viewers, but Cook made a clear distinction between the responses of the older and younger generations. Not surprisingly, it was the younger generation of artists who were more enthusiastic about the Impressionists' works. J. Carroll Beckwith, for example, attended the exhibition at both venues, and in his diary, he recorded in typically terse fashion that the Impressionists' works inspired him greatly and that he found many of the paintings "refreshing."[113] Barbara Gallati has argued that the 1886 Impressionist exhibition made a profound impact on William Merritt Chase as well and inspired him to redirect his own production toward increased experimentation with *plein-air* painting, especially the creation of his famous park scenes of the late 1880s.[114] J. Alden Weir, who had purchased three paintings by Manet for New York collector Erwin Davis, was enthusiastic about the exhibition also. In an undated letter from the spring of 1886, Weir wrote to his brother John F. Weir: "There is an exhibition going on now which you ought to see by all means. It is 'The Impressionists of Paris' some very remarkable work and some dufferish, but you must not miss it. I think it the most interesting exhibition for an artist to see that we have yet had."[115]

Cook recorded that the older men, on the other hand, walked around the exhibition "in limp amazement" and were full of derision for the works.[116] Supporting the view that older American artists were dismayed by the Impressionists' works, were comments written in the diary of the Hudson River School landscape painter Jervis McEntee (1828-1905). On 10 April 1886, opening day of the exhibition at the AAA galleries, McEntee noted that "Manet has some forceful qualities and is entitled to respect for that, but the most of the work shocks all my ideas of art or even common sense . . . ." In the diary entry for 7 May 1886, McEntee wrote that he had discussed the Impressionist exhibition with the genre painter Eastman Johnson, who condemned it "with all the energy he is master of . . . ."[117] Stirred by the exhibition, the members of the Nineteenth

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Century Club devoted their May meeting to a discussion of Impressionism. The meeting was held on the evening of 4 May 1886, at the AAA, and artist F. Hopkinson Smith lectured on "Realism and Impressionism in Art."[118] Revealing himself part of the mainstream in his admiration for the poetry and sentiment of Barbizon School painting, Smith declared Millet to be the ideal Impressionist, implicitly criticizing the examples recently shown at the AAA. John W. Alexander then came to the defense of the French Impressionists, followed by Coffin, and finally Cook himself, but unfortunately, their comments were not recounted.[119] The meeting revealed also that the artists were divided in their opinions, but the clearest indication of admiration would be revealed a few years later in American landscape paintings of the early-to-mid 1890s and later.

While the sales from the exhibition were only modest, they do indicate that some collectors were confident enough in Durand-Ruel's judgement, or themselves enthusiastic enough about the new style, to take a risk on works by these yet unproven artists. The following year van Rensselaer recalled with pride the sales effected at the Impressionist exhibition and interpreted them as an endorsement of faith in the judgement of Durand-Ruel and a sign of the catholicity and good taste of American art collectors.[120] In his *Memoirs*, Durand-Ruel recollected that a small number of collectors attended the exhibition repeatedly and studied the paintings with great seriousness. Among this group, he listed Erwin Davis, Desmond Fitzgerald, William Fuller, Henry O. Havemeyer, Cyrus Lawrence, George I. Seney, and Albert Spencer, several of whom would become avid collectors of French Impressionist paintings in the years to come.[121] While the exhibition was on view at the AAA galleries in April, only seven or eight of the Impressionist paintings found owners.[122] However, sales picked up at the NAD, perhaps encouraged by the additional works already housed in American collections that Durand-Ruel had added to the second venue. By early June, the *New York Daily Tribune* reported that Durand-Ruel had sold over thirty works including nine paintings by Monet, eight by Pissarro, five by Brown, three by Huguet, two by Boudin, and one by Renoir, and more

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sales were pending.[123] The majority of the works sold were landscapes, giving credence to the statement by van Rensselaer that the figure paintings were the least popular items in the exhibition, on which the public heaped "wholesale condemnation."[124] The artist whose works were the most popular with buyers was Monet with over twenty-three items purchased by the close of the exhibition.[125] Of the seventeen paintings by Manet in the exhibition, two were sold. *Salmon* was bought by Henry O. Havemeyer.[126] Hans Huth identified the second Manet painting as *Bull Fight*, but he did not record the name of the purchaser.[127] Although not purchased from the 1886 exhibition, *Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama* would be purchased from Durand-Ruel by Philadelphia lawyer John G. Johnson in October 1888.

In light of the fact that there were so few purchases of Manet's works, it is worth noting that the majority of his paintings in the exhibition were already owned by private collectors and may not have been for sale. The largest number were owned by Jean-Baptiste Faure.[128] Other paintings by Manet were on loan as well, including *On the Balcony* and *Croquet at Boulogne* owned by Gustave Caillebotte, both of which would be bequeathed to the Louvre Museum in 1894. *Café-Concert* was in the Boussaton collection in Paris but later purchased by William T. Walters of Baltimore. *Boy with a Sword* was loaned by New Yorker Erwin Davis and presumably not for sale, and *View in Holland* was owned by Alexander Cassatt.

The total amount realized by Durand-Ruel for these sales was modest, only about $18,000, indicating an average price per painting of $600.[129] The sales, however, served as positive indicators for the future growth of interest in Impressionism, especially the popularity of Monet's landscape paintings. Reinforcing understanding that the prevailing tastes in New York remained fundamentally conservative, the paintings in the exhibition by Laurens, Le Rolle, and Roll were universally praised by critics, even including those who most strongly supported the works of the Impressionists, and there was interest in finding a buyer for Lerolle's *In the Organ-Loft*, in the hope that it might donated to an

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American museum, a desire that was not expressed regarding any of the Impressionist works. As a manifestation of the vicissitudes of taste, Lerolle's painting was sold while the exhibition was at the AAA galleries, and it went shortly thereafter into the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where today it sits in storage.

The Impressionist exhibition of 1886 was an important event in this country marking the growth of regard for French Impressionism. It was the largest, most comprehensive exhibition of French avant-garde paintings held to date, and it introduced American viewers to the works about which they had read for years and which they knew had created much controversy in Paris. The artist who captured the show in the minds of the critics was Manet, and his works were lavished with praises for their masterly handling, strong palette, and the powerful sense of character and vitality with which he imbued his figures. The other Impressionists did not fare as well with the critics, who were delighted for the opportunity to study their works but who found little merit in the pictures. Critics repeatedly expressed their distress over the unnatural colors and the slovenly handling of paint. However, critics and collectors alike showed warm attention to the works of Monet and praised the beauty and poetry of his landscapes. Their attention to Monet, although in its nascent stage in 1886, would grow tremendously in the late 1880s, and Monet's landscapes would soon supercede interest in Manet's paintings in the minds of many American critics and art enthusiasts.

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Endnotes to Chapter Four

[1] Ecole nationale des beaux-arts, *Exposition des oeuvres d'Edouard Manet* (Paris: Imprimerie de A. Quantin, 1884); Edmond Bazire, *Manet* (Paris, 1884).

[2] For example, in the introduction to the catalogue of the retrospective exhibition, Zola inserted a few niggling complaints into his commentary, namely that the artist's methods were weak and that his works were marked by incompleteness. Wolff, like Zola, affirmed the artist's importance to the development of French painting but identified weaknesses in his working methods as well. Wolff noted that Manet's works were often ugly, and they revealed a lack of artistic training. George H. Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 265-69.

[3] For a list of the paintings in the sale, as well as the prices and the names of the buyers, see Julius Meier-Graefe, *Edouard Manet* (Munich, 1912), 317-31.

[4] Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 38, and John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973), 478. See also "Memoirs of Paul Durand-Ruel," *"One Hundred Years of Impressionism": A Tribute to Durand-Ruel* (New York: Wildenstein, 1970), n.p.

[5] Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors*, trans. Barbara Perroud-Benson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 63-64.

[6] Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), 208; Erica E. Hirschler, "Helping 'Fine Things Across the Atlantic': Mary Cassatt and Art Collecting in the United States," in Judith A. Barter, et al., *Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 188. Hirschler suggests that the works purchased may be *L'Italienne* (location unknown) and *Portrait of Marguerite de Conflans with Headdress* (1873; Oskar Reinhart Collection, Switzerland).

[7] Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 38.

[8] Anne Coffin Hanson, *Edouard Manet, 1832-1883* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1966), 176-77.

[9] N. Garstein, "Edouard Manet," *Art Journal* (London) 46 (April 1884), 110.

[10] Arthur Baignères, "Manet, and the French Impressionist School," *National Review* (London) 3 (March 1884), 44.

[11] "Fresh Gossip from Paris," *New-York Times*, 29 November 1883, 3, and "Some Parisian Town Talk," *New-York Times*, 8 February 1883, 3.

[12] T[heodore]. C[hild]., "Paris Notes," *Art Amateur* 10 (March 1884), 89.

[13] Adeline Gates, "Fine Arts. Manet, The French Impressionist," *Independent* 36 (15 May 1884), 615-16.

[14] Hans Huth, William H. Gerdts, Frances Weitzenhoffer, and Laura L. Meixner have written extensively on this exhibition. See Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America,"

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Gazette des beaux-arts 29 (April 1946), 225-52; Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 51-53; Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 38-43; Meixner, *French Realist Painting and the Critique of American Society, 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 219-28. For information on the genesis and planning of the Impressionist exhibition, and the history of the American Art Association, see Gerald D. Bolas, "The Early Years of the American Art Association, 1879-1900" (Ph. D. diss., City University of New York, 1998), 196-206. For a discussion of Claude Monet's works shown in the 1886 exhibition, see Frances Weitzenhoffer, "The Earliest Collectors of Monet," in John Rewald and Frances Weitzenhoffer, eds., *Aspects of Monet: A Symposium on the Artist's Life and Times* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), 75-82, and Michael Leja, "Monet's Modernity in New York in 1886," *American Art* 14 (Spring 2000), 50-79. For a discussion of Auguste Renoir's works shown in the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, see Anne E. Dawson, "'Idol of the Moderns': Renoir's Critical Reception in America, 1904-1940" (Ph. D. diss., Brown University, 1996), 10-20.

[15] Sutton, the son-in-law of dry-goods merchant R. H. Macy, was one of three partners who formed the American Art Association in 1882. The other two partners of the AAA were Thomas Ellis Kirby and Richard Austin Robertson. Founded to encourage and promote American art, the AAA held an annual Prize Fund Exhibition beginning in 1885. The prize-winning works from each exhibition were given to local art institutions. However, sales of American art were not as brisk as the partners had hoped. In order to improve business, Kirby began to handle sales of private art collections, beginning in 1885, with the collection of George I. Seney. Sutton, on the other hand, worked to maintain the association's original purpose, to promote art. According to Weitzenhoffer, Sutton arranged for an introduction to Paul Durand-Ruel in the summer of 1885, and plans for a New York exhibition of the Impressionists' works began to be negotiated. Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 38-40.

[16] The AAA agreed to pay for the shipping, insurance, and promotion of the exhibition as well as the catalogue. Moreover, Sutton arranged with customs officials to allow the works to enter the country duty-free; thus, the import tariff would be levied only when a work was sold. In return for Sutton's investments in the project, the AAA would receive a commission on all sales. Weitzenhoffer noted that New York dealers were angry that Sutton skirted the import duty of 30% on foreign paintings, which he accomplished by arguing that the AAA was not a commercial venture but an institution devoted to the promotion of art. The NAD, where the exhibition was given a second viewing, was unquestionably a not-for-profit institution. Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 40-41, and "Memoirs of Paul Durand-Ruel," n.p.

[17] It was necessary to remove the works from the AAA galleries in order to hang the second Prize Fund exhibition. The second presentation of the Impressionist paintings at the NAD followed the close of the the sixty-first annual exhibition. "The Impressionists and Sunday Openings," *New York Herald*, 30 April 1886, 8.

[18] Weitzenhoffer, "Earliest Collectors of Monet," 75. Revealing the extraordinary quality and variety of the Impressionist works in the exhibition, among the examples were Caillebotte's *Floor-Scrapers* (1875; Musée d'Orsay, Paris) and *Oarsmen* (1877; private collection), Degas' *Ballet from "Robert le Diable"* (1871; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), *Women on the Terrace of a Café in the Evening* (1877; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), and *Dance Class* (1881; Philadelphia Museum of Art), Monet's *Drawbridge, Amsterdam* (1874; Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont) and *Interior View of the Gare Saint-Lazare: The Auteuil Line* (1877; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), as well

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as landscape views of the coast of Normandy and Giverny, Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party* (1880-81; Phillips Collection, Washington, DC) and several bathers, and Georges Seurat's large study for *Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte* (1884; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

[19] Evidently, securing the works for the exhibition required some persuasion by the art dealer, as several of the Impressionists were none too enthusiastic about sending their works abroad. Monet, for example, commented to Durand-Ruel that he preferred his works to remain in Paris and not to be sent "to the land of the Yankees." Renoir was skeptical also, but ultimately both artists agreed to send their works. Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 40.

[20] The exhibitions at the AAA and the NAD differed slightly in content, and two catalogues were printed. In the catalogue for the AAA exhibition, the number of works listed, including oil paintings, watercolors, and pastels, is 289. Evidently, the exhibition was to include about 300 works, but one shipment of paintings, coming from an exhibition in Belgium, did not arrive in time for the opening. "Art News and Comments. The Week in Art Circles," *New York Daily Tribune*, 5 April 1886, 2, and "Art Notes and News," *Art Interchange* 16 (19 June 1886), 193.

When the exhibition opened at the NAD, it was supplemented with the items shipped from Belgium as well as thirteen Impressionist paintings from private collections in the United States, making a total of 310 works. The private collectors who loaned works were Henry O. Havemeyer, Alexander J. Cassatt, Erwin Davis, and an unidentified collector.

For a complete listing of the works shown in each exhibition, see American Art Galleries, New York, *Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris, 1886* and National Academy of Design, *Special Exhibition. Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris, 1886*. It would appear that the AAA galleries catalogue was published at the very last minute, once it was certain which shipments would arrive from Europe in time for the exhibition. The text was not carefully edited, and among the most common errors is confusion between the names Manet and Monet. These misattributions were corrected when the catalogue was republished for the second exhibition of the works at the NAD in late May and June.

[21] "Exhibition of the 'Plein-airistes,'" *New York Evening Post*, 10 April 1886, 7, and "At the National Academy," *New York Herald*, 12 April 1886, 5.

[22] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. The French Impressionists. I," *Independent* 38 (22 April 1886), 7.

[23] Clarence Cook, "The Durand-Ruel Collection of Paintings at the National Academy of Design," *Studio* 3 (July 1887), 2.

[24] "Paintings for Amateurs," *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5.

[25] The critic for the *New York Evening Post* characterized the additions as representative of the "quieter productions of the school," as opposed to the more "highly spiced" wonders of Manet and Renoir's brushes. "The Impressionists Again," *New York Evening Post*, 24 May 1886, 1.

[26] Among his attempts to sell works by the Impressionists was the February 1884 sale of Manet's estate which had not met expectations.

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[27] "Memoirs of Paul Durand-Ruel," n.p.

[28] *New York Evening Post*, 10 April 1886, 7.

[29] "At the National Academy," *New York Herald*, 12 April 1886, 5.

[30] "Art and Artists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 30 April 1886, 6.

[31] Clarence Cook, "The Impressionist Pictures," *Studio* 1 (17 April 1886), 245.

[32] Luther Hamilton, "The Work of the Paris Impressionists in New York," *Cosmopolitan* 1 (June 1886), 240; "The French Impressionists," *New York Daily Tribune*, 10 April 1886, 4, and "The Impressionists," *Art Age* 3 (April 1886), 165.

[33] J. R. W. H. [James Ripley Wellman Hitchcock], "French Impressionists," *Boston Herald*, 12 April 1886, 4.

[34] "Art and Artists. The French Impressionists Again," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 30 April 1886, 6.

[35] *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5.

[36] "Art News and Comments," *New York Daily Tribune*, 12 April 1886, 2.

[37] *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5.

[38] "A Novel Art Exhibition," *New York World*, 10 April 1886, 6.

[39] "The Fine Arts. The French Impressionists," *Critic* n.s., 5 (17 April 1886), 195.

[40] *Art Age* 3 (April 1886), 166.

[41] "The Impressionists' Exhibition at the American Art Galleries," *Art Interchange* 16 (24 April 1886), 130.

[42] Theodore Child, an Englishman who was educated at Oxford University, lived primarily in Paris, where he wrote novels and penned art reviews for American art magazines and newspapers including *Art Amateur* and *New York Sun*. His critical writings were published shortly before his death in *Art and Criticism: Monographs and Studies, by Theodore Child* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892). Child died of cholera in 1892 at the age of thirty-eight while traveling in India with his friend Edwin Lord Weeks. "Things Seen and Heard," *Collector* 4 (15 November 1892), 18; [Montague Marks], "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 28 (December 1892), 2, and [Montague Marks], "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 28 (February 1893), 2.

[43] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 245.

[44] [Theodore Child], "The Impressionists," *New York Sun*, 11 April 1886, 9.

[45] Van Rensselaer, "French Impressionists. I," 7.

[46] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 249.

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[47] Van Rensselaer, "French Impressionists. I," 8.

[48] *Critic* n.s., 5 (17 April 1886), 195.

[49] Theodore Child, "The King of the 'Impressionists,'" *Art Amateur* 14 (April 1886), 101.

[50] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 246.

[51] Van Rensselaer, "French Impressionists. I," 8.

[52] [Child], "Impressionists," 9.

[53] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. The French Impressionists. II," *Independent* 38 (29 April 1886), 523.

[54] *Art Age* 3 (April 1886), 166.

[55] *New York Evening Post*, 10 April 1886, 7. The critic for the *Evening Post* may have been William A. Coffin, who was art critic for the newspaper, and for the *Nation*, from 1886 until the early 1890s. See "William A. Coffin, Painter, Dies at 70," *New-York Times*, 27 October 1925, 23.

[56] *New York Evening Post*, 10 April 1886, 7.

[57] "Art Notes and News," *Art Interchange* 16 (19 June 1886), 193, and "A Late Art Exhibition. The Galleries of the Academy of Design Occupied by the Impressionists," *New York World*, 25 May 1886, 8.

[58] H[itchcock]., "French Impressionists," 4.

[59] W[illiam]. H[owe]. D[ownes]., "The Impressionists," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 April 1886, 5.

[60] *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5.

[61] Child, "King of the 'Impressionists,'" 101.

[62] [Child], "Impressionists," 9. The idea that Manet's influence was felt by a large number of modern French artists, not just the Impressionists, is argued earlier by Stéphane Mallarmé. See for example his article "The Impressionists and Edouard Manet," *Art Monthly Review and Photographic Portfolio* 1 (30 September 1876): 117-22, reprinted in Charles S. Moffett, et al., *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886* (San Francisco and Washington, DC: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the National Gallery of Art, 1986), 27-35.

[63] Child, "King of the 'Impressionists,'" 102.

[64] Van Rensselaer, "French Impressionists. II," 524; *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5, and *New York Evening Post*, 24 May 1886, 1.

[65] *Art Age* 3 (April 1886), 165.

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[66] Van Rensselaer, French Impressionists. II," 8.

[67] "The Impressionists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 April 1886, 6.

[68] Both the critic for the *New-York Times* and Roger Riordan mention specifically the popularity of the *Mendicant*. *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5, and R[oger]. R[iordan]., "The Impressionist Exhibition. Second Notice," *Art Amateur* 15 (June 1886), 4.

[69] E. W. M., "The Impressionists' Show," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 April 1886, 10.

[70] "French Impressionists," *Boston Evening Traveler*, 28 April 1886, 2.

[71] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 April 1886, 10.

[72] [Child], "Impressionists," 9.

[73] R[iordan]., "Impressionist Exhibition. Second Notice," 4.

[74] *Art Age* 3 (April 1886), 165.

[75] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 251.

[76] *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5, and Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 251.

[77] *Boston Evening Traveler*, 28 April 1886, 2.

[78] *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5.

[79] See Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 251; *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5; *Art Age* 3 (April 1886), 165; *Boston Evening Traveler*, 28 April 1886, 2, and R[iordan]., "Impressionist Exhibition. Second Notice," 4.

[80] "French Impressionists," *New-York Times*, 28 May 1886, 5, and R[iordan]., "Impressionist Exhibition. Second Notice," 4.

[81] Van Rensselaer, "French Impressionists. II," 524.

[82] *New-York Times*, 10 April 1886, 5.

[83] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 251.

[84] H[itchcock]., 4.

[85] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10 April 1886, 10.

[86] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 251.

[87] *New York Evening Post*, 10 April 1886, 7.

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[88] D[ownes]., "Impressionists," 5. As Downes explained, the paintings by Manet at the Foreign Exhibition "gave no just idea of his powers."

[89] *Art Interchange* 16 (24 April 1886), 130.

[90] *Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 April 1886, 6.

[91] Van Rensselaer, "French Impressionists. II," 524.

[92] H[itchcock]., "French Impressionists," 4.

[93] Ibid.

[94] M. G. van Rensselaer, "Pictures of the Season in New York.—IV," *American Architect and Building News* 19 (19 June 1886), 293.

[95] [Child], "Impressionists," 9.

[96] D[ownes]., "Impressionists," 5.

[97] "Art News and Comments," *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 April 1886, 3.

[98] "Art News and Comments," *New York Daily Tribune*, 30 May 1886, 11.

[99] "Art News and Comments," *New York Daily Tribune*, 6 June 1886, 11.

[100] "The Fine Arts. The Morgan Collection. (Second Notice)," *Critic* n.s., 5 (27 February 1886), 107-08; Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. The Morgan Collections. I," *Independent* 38 (4 March 1886), 11, and Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. The Morgan Collections. II," *Independent* 38 (11 March 1886), 7-8.

[101] "The Fine Arts. Art Notes," *Critic* n.s., 5 (30 January 1886), 60.

[102] *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 April 1886, 3. The collection was sold at auction on 3, 4, and 5 March, 1886, at Chickering Hall in New York, with Thomas Kirby of the American Art Association as auctioneer.

[103] *New York Herald*, 12 April 1886, 5.

[104] For a brief history of the tax on works of art imported from abroad and the response to the tariff, see 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* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1989), 67-91.

[105] *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 April 1886, 3.

[106] H[itchcock]., "French Impressionists," 4. Hitchcock noted that one of the dealers who condemned the AAA exhibition promptly opened his own little exhibition of Impressionist paintings. This must be Avery, whose exhibition of Impressionists paintings was noted with contempt by Cook and also by van Rensselaer. See Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 249; Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts," *Independent*

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38 (25 March 1886), 7, and M. G. van Rensselaer, "Pictures of the Season in New York.—III," *American Architect and Building News* 19 (10 April 1886), 174.

[107] "The French Impressionists," *New York Daily Tribune*, 10 April 1886, 4.

[108] H[itchcock]., "French Impressionists," 4.

[109] Both Weitzenhoffer and Huth have indicated that Durand-Ruel was experiencing severe financial difficulties at the time and could not have afforded to mount the exhibition himself. Huth, 236-39.

[110] Van Rensselaer, "Pictures of the Season in New York.—III," 174, and [Child], "Impressionists," 9.

[111] *New York Evening Post*, 10 April 1886, 7.

[112] H[itchcock]., "French Impressionists," 4.

[113] Beckwith attended the exhibition at the AAA galleries on 9 April, and he attended the exhibition at the NAD on 24 May. Both occasions were private viewings held the day before each exhibition opened to the public. Diary entries for 9 April and 24 May, 1886, J. Carroll Beckwith Diaries, National Academy of Design, New York. Microfilm, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, reel 4798.

[114] Barbara Dayer Gallati, "William Merritt Chase and the French Connection," *Magazine Antiques* 158 (July 2000), 74-83.

[115] J. Alden Weir to John Ferguson Weir, [spring 1886], John Ferguson Weir Papers, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

[116] Cook, "Impressionist Pictures," 245-46. Also *New York Daily Tribune*, 10 April 1886, 4, and *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 April 1886, 3.

[117] Diary entries for 10 April and 7 May, 1886, Jervis McEntee Diary, 1872-1890, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Microfilm, reel D180.

[118] Smith delivered a lecture titled "Impressionism and Realism in Art" before the Philadelphia Art Club in 1903, from which it is clear that he was not a fan of Impressionism. In fact, he ridiculed the Impressionist method as follows, taking particular offense with the works of Monet: "He [the Impressionist] only needs a palette knife and thumb, three colors, red, blue and yellow, a dab here, a smear there, a grand hurrah, and there you are! He might as well dash a bit of tomato salad against his canvas and call the result 'The Battle.' A few moments later rub his thumb on this and call it 'Poppies in Bloom,' and then with still another pass of the thumb and knife transform it into 'Hayfield at Sunset.'" F. Hopkinson Smith, "Impressionism and Realism in Art. A Talk before the Philadelphia Art Club," *Art Interchange* 50 (March 1903), 58.

[119] "Realism and Impressionism. Address and Discussion before the Nineteenth Century Club," *New York Daily Tribune*, 5 May 1886, 4.

[120] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. French Pictures and American Collectors. II," *Independent* 39 (22 September 1887), 1195-96.

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[121] "Memoirs of Paul Durand-Ruel," n.p.

[122] *New York Daily Tribune*, 26 April 1886, 3.

[123] *New York Daily Tribune*, 6 June 1886, 11. See also "Fine Arts," *New York Herald*, 7 June 1886, 9, which confirms that about thirty works had been sold and that attendance was small but steady.

[124] Van Rensselaer, " French Impressionists. II," 8.

[125] Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 41.

[126] In her memoirs, Mrs. Havemeyer recalled that her husband attended the 1886 exhibition without her, and when he returned home later that day, he surprised her with the news that he had purchased the still life. Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, ed. Susan Alyson Stein (New York: Ursus Press, 1993), 220-21.

[127] Huth, 244-46. Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 41, confirms that two Manet paintings were sold from the Impressionist exhibition of 1886, but she contends that the second painting cannot be identified. *Bull Fight* would be sold at auction at the AAA in 1888 to James S. Inglis, a partner in the New York art firm of Cottier and Company, who several years later would acquire Manet's *Dead Toreador*, which he would lend to the World's Columbia Exposition in 1893.

[128] Among the works shipped by Durand-Ruel from France were at least eight paintings owned by the French art collector Jean-Baptiste Faure. See Anthea Callen, "Faure and Manet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 83 (March 1974), 170-71.

[129] Weitzenhoffer, "Earliest Collectors of Monet," 79.

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Chapter Five

1887-1893: From Rebel to Hero

In the last years of his life, with the award of a Salon medal in 1881 and the Legion of Honor in 1882, then his death in 1883, followed by a retrospective exhibition and an estate sale the next year, Manet's art and activities in Paris were reported upon with regularity by foreign correspondents, making the artist something of a news item in American newspapers and magazines. Moreover, in the early-to-mid 1880s, Manet's works were included in three important exhibitions in the United States, culminating in the large Impressionist exhibition of 1886 in New York, all of which were of great interest to art enthusiasts and received generous coverage from art critics. By contrast, the late 1880s were quiet years in the history of Manet in America. These years were "quiet" because the artist's works were not often in the public eye in France or the United States, and as a result, he was not frequently discussed in popular or art periodicals. In this country, there were only two modest exhibitions of Manet's works in the late 1880s, "Celebrated Paintings by Great French Masters" of 1887 and the exhibition of the collection of Erwin Davis in 1889, both in New York. Despite the lower profile, the majority of American critics writing in the late 1880s, building upon the enthusiasm generated by his works at the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, expressed appreciation for Manet's art, in particular his skillful paint handling and ability to convey character and dramatic action, and acknowledged the positive impact of his artistic innovations. Another important step in building Manet's reputation in America was the acquisition of two of his paintings by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1889. The Davis collection was sold at auction after it was exhibited, and as a result of irregular maneuvers at the sale, the collector donated *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot* to the museum. The acceptance of these paintings by the museum was supported by the artistic

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community, and the works, in particular *Boy with a Sword*, became the most widely recognized examples of Manet's art in this country.

Although knowledge of and appreciation for his art continued to grow at a slow but steady rate in this country, concerns were still expressed by members of the American artistic community over aspects of Manet's art, especially the disregard for craft and absence of intellectual content. These reservations were in line with the reception given the artist's works abroad. Manet's worth as an artist and the value of his contributions to the history of French painting were still debated in French art circles. Revealing that Manet's works had not yet won widespread approbation in his own country, their inclusion in the Centennale exhibition at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889 was greeted with a mix of applause and acrimony. The following year, *Olympia*, which had been placed in a position of honor in the Centennale exhibition, was purchased from Manet's widow by a large group of artists, critics, and amateurs and offered to the Louvre Museum, but despite the influence of the participants in the subscription, the gift ignited a controversy. The painting was not accepted for the Louvre; instead, it was placed conditionally in the Luxembourg Museum.

The hesitation to fully condone Manet's artistic practices and contributions is discernible as well in art literature of the period. In the mid-to-late 1880s, Manet began to be included in art histories and artist dictionaries published in Europe and the United States, a fact that confirms the growth in recognition for the artist's accomplishments. Nonetheless, demonstrating concern for the anti-academic stance which his art represented, the entries on the artist were not entirely laudatory. While he was credited with introducing a new way of recording nature, with directness and simplicity, and with the truthful recording of outdoor light, Manet was characterized as an experimental artist, one who never completed or carried through satisfactorily with the new practices and ideas that he introduced. Moreover, his achievements were frequently compromised through comparisons with artists he influenced, in particular Jules Bastien-Lepage.

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Lepage was credited with taking the radical methods and vision that Manet had introduced in his paintings and making them more palatable through the achievement of acceptable *fini* and allegiance to more traditional subject selections.

In the early 1890s, estimations of Manet assumed a more positive tone in this country, with a widening circle of critics and artists rising to defend the artist. Inspired by the Centennale exhibition of 1889 in Paris—an assessment of French painting from the late-eighteenth to the late-nineteenth century—Theodore Child, William Crary Brownell, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, and George Moore wrote praiseful assessments of Manet's role in the history of French painting that, with the exception of Moore's book, were published for popular American magazines with an extensive circulation. These writers promoted the idea that Manet was a martyr to the cause of freedom and originality in painting. In an interesting reversal of earlier commentary on Manet, the embarrassments of his early career, such as the Salon des refusés which had been mentioned in previous years to ridicule the artist, were recounted as steps in a valiant struggle against indifference and misunderstanding. Moore in fact suggested that the vehemence with which Manet had been attacked during his lifetime was the result of intense jealousy for the artist's extraordinary talents. Manet was praised rather than denigrated for opening new directions in painting, for recording his subjects directly and honestly, and for observing the effects of real light. Finally, in 1893, Manet's works were included in the large and important "Loan Collection of Foreign Masterpieces" at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. The reviews of the exhibition reveal that American art enthusiasts held a special regard for Manet, as an innovator and representative of change who moved art away from the static practices of the academy. However, it was clear also that the interests of many critics were changing and an increasing amount of attention was given to the productions of Claude Monet, a trend that would continue through the end of the century and beyond.

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Durand-Ruel Strikes Again in New York

On 25 May 1887, Paul Durand-Ruel opened an exhibition of "Celebrated Paintings by Great French Masters" at the National Academy of Design, which remained on view through the end of June.[1] Although the venue and the dates echoed those of his Impressionist exhibition of the previous year, the 1887 exhibition was not a repeat performance; rather, responding to the lack of interest shown by the public toward French Impressionist paintings in 1886, Durand-Ruel reversed the formula of the previous exhibition and put a liberal sprinkling of Impressionist works into an otherwise motley selection of fashionable and somewhat *passé* French paintings from the Romantic period forward. Ripley Hitchcock summed up the nature of the exhibition as "an instructive illustration of varied phases of modern French art, and not an exposition of the merits of any particular school."[2] Clarence Cook observed as well that this exhibition, which was "miscellaneous in character," would probably appeal to a broader taste, something that the Durand-Ruel exhibition of 1886 had failed to do.[3]

As he had done for the 1886 exhibition, Durand-Ruel formed the collection from both his own inventory and from private collections in Europe. Two-hundred twenty-three paintings, watercolors, and pastels were shown by artists including Eugène Delacroix, Théodore Rousseau, Gustave Courbet, Henri Lévy, Jean-Jacques Henner, Jules-Joseph Lefebvre, François Feyen-Perrin, Jean-Léon Gérôme, John L. Brown, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Alfred Sisley, and Puvis de Chavannes, over half of which, about 160 works, were owned by French and English collectors.[4] In fact, the "celebrated" works by "great French masters" were the borrowed works, which served as decoys to entice the public into the exhibition.[5] To introduce the star artists of the exhibition, Durand-Ruel published a catalogue with an explanatory introduction by the French critic Ernest Chesneau, whose *Education of the Artist* had been published in English one year earlier.[6] Chesneau's introduction was titled "Eugène Delacroix and Puvis de Chavannes," and it contained biographical information on the two painters as

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well as descriptions of their works in the exhibition. Chesneau's introduction was followed by excerpts of criticism on the paintings by Henner and Lefebvre and biographical notes on Victor-Pierre Huguet, John Lewis Brown, Eugène Boudin, Alexandre Falguière, and Emile Benassit.

Despite the core group of "celebrated" works, critics lamented the overall poor quality of the works exhibited. The *New-York Times* critic noted that only a few of the works were truly "celebrated" ones, and the critic for the *New York Herald* agreed that while there were some works of interest, there were many which were "but mediocrities or eccentricities and are simply valuable as so much filling in material."[7] While there was much chaff mixed with the wheat, critics agreed on a handful of pictures that made a visit to the exhibition worthwhile, namely the paintings by Delacroix and Puvis, the artists who had received top billing in the exhibition catalogue. While the works of Delacroix and Puvis stole the show, other works noticed consistently by the critics were Henner's *Eclogue*, Lefebvre's *Diana Surprised*, Lévy's *Entombment of Christ*, and Manet's *Execution of Maximilian.*

The two works by Delacroix in the exhibition were *Death of Sardanapalus* (1827; Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *Interior of a Dominican Convent in Madrid* (1831; Philadelphia Museum of Art), which was shown under the title, *The Honorable Amend.*[8] The two Delacroix paintings were positioned in the South Gallery of the National Academy, with *Sardanapalus* in the place of honor on the south wall. The excitement engendered by these paintings was understandable considering that there were not numerous examples of Delacroix's art in this country, and *Sardanapalus* was one of the most important monuments of the French Romantic movement.[9] Moreover, a large retrospective exhibition of the paintings, drawings, prints, and manuscripts of Delacroix had been held in Paris in 1885, which undoubtedly raised interest in the controversial artist's works.[10] Critics recognized the art historical significance of *Sardanapalus* and marveled over the immense size of the canvas, the rich colors and the vivid painting of

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flesh, as well as the power and force of the paint handling, but ultimately they preferred *The Honorable Amend* for its more humble aspirations and dignified, less sensational, subject matter.

Puvis' works were the great novelty in the exhibition, as their inclusion marked the first time the artist's works had been exhibited in New York. Ten works by Puvis were displayed in the North Gallery and included reductions of his 1860s murals for Musée de Picardie at Amiens, as well as for the famous *Ludus pro patria* of 1882 in the same building, a large canvas with reductions of the scenes from the "Life of Saint Geneviève" for the Pantheon in Paris (1874-77), and independent works such as *The Magdalen* (1869; Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo) and *The Poor Fisherman*, probably a reduced copy of the 1881 original in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.[11] Critics praised the intellectual content, the idealization of subject, and the simplicity and deliberate archaism of forms which recalled the frescoes of the early Italian masters such as Giotto.

Puvis' works hung in the same gallery with works by Monet, Renoir, and Pissarro, and critics were struck by the shared artistic concerns among the paintings. The writer for the *Critic* observed that the works of Puvis had "a certain affiliation with the works of the impressionists, not so much in method as in spirit. The stamp of extreme modernness is on both, and the principle of dwelling on essential and primary facts."[12] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer noted also that Puvis' works were not "alien to modern moods."[13] The simplified forms and luminous palette used by these artists led naturally to comparisons, but Puvis was regarded as the superior artist because his works were loftier in content. As noted by the critic for the *Art Age*, "There is greater repose and more intellectuality in the art of Puvis de Chavannes than in that of the impressionists, but there is a relationship between them in expression as well as in spirit."[14]

Among the Impressionist works were eleven paintings by Monet, ten by Pissarro, five by Renoir, and six by Sisley. Also, there were eleven works by Eugène Boudin. While both Cook and van Rensselaer, who had valiantly defended the Impressionist painters in

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1886, insisted that their works were the most important in the exhibition after those of Delacroix and Puvis, responses of other critics make clear that Impressionism was still under fire in most quarters. The critics for the *New-York Times* and *New York Herald* were hostile to the style, calling the works "eccentric," and "wild feats in candy colors."[15] Of the Impressionists, only Monet's works were praised, although in general terms. The critic for *Art Amateur*, for example, referred simply to "several bold and very successful landscapes by Monet."[16]

In contrast to the generous numbers of works by Monet, Pissarro, and Renoir, only two works by Manet were included in the exhibition, the *Execution of Maximilian* (fig. 15) and *Railroad* (fig. 10).[17] Of the two, the *Execution* inspired commentary from all of the critics, while *Railroad* was mentioned only in passing. The *Execution* was hung, not with the works by the Impressionists and Puvis, but in the grand South Gallery. There, it was placed near the *Death of Sardanapalus* and in the company of other "celebrated" pictures including the *Eclogue* and *Diana Surprised* of Henner and Lefebvre, as well as Lévy's *Entombment of Christ.* Several critics remembered that Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* had been exhibited in New York years earlier and that it had not been well received. In fact, one writer stated that the painting had been "hooted out of town," but on this occasion, praises of the painting far outweighed criticisms.[18]

As with the paintings by Manet most admired in the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, the *Execution* attracted attention as a result of the feelings it elicited from the viewer, the life and death issues it evoked, ideas that Impressionist works were not, by definition, supposed to convey. The critic for the *Art Age* called the *Execution* one of Manet's most important productions, and he said it was the embodiment of Impressionism at its best because it conveyed the tragic moment in "a heroic, stern, absolutely simple manner." He observed the matter-of-fact treatment of the subject and commented that this "quiet" quality made the work even more expressive of tragedy. He compared the work to Delacroix's *Sardanapalus* hanging nearby, and he imagined the works as the bookends

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for the exhibition, noting that there was "a generation in artistic expression and literary feeling" between the two.[19] The writer for the *Critic* noted similar aspects of the work: "Manet's 'Execution of Maximilian' is a work full of power and tragic feeling, heightened by the simplicity, even commonplaceness, of the treatment. In this picture impressionism reaches its highest point of expression."[20]

The critic most hostile to the *Execution* was the *New-York Times* writer, who called it a "disgusting and extremely stupid picture." Nevertheless, the critic, probably Charles de Kay, tacitly admitted its power by stating that the viewer's attention was drawn to the work, and he praised the figure of the soldier on the right who loads his rifle [for the *coup de grâce*].[21] Alfred Trumble, editor of the *Collector*, remembered the awesome impact of the painting several years after he had visited the exhibition. He called the *Execution* "powerful and awful for its inspiring sentiment and its very desperate defiance of every tradition of painting," a comment that typified the often dual-edged reactions of viewers to the artist's works.[22]

The exhibition of "Celebrated Paintings by Great French Master" provides an opportunity to gauge the growing receptiveness in the United States to advanced painting in general, and to Manet's work, in particular. On the whole, critics were less querulous about the avant-garde paintings on view than they had been one year earlier. Puvis' works, despite their bright, clear palette and simplified forms which were similar to those adopted by the Impressionists, were embraced without reservations because of the classicizing approach to composition and form and the high-minded content. Manet's boldly colored and simply composed *Railroad*, on the other hand, failed to elicit any attention, probably as a consequence of its mundane, and ambiguous, modern subject. While the *Execution of Maximilian* continued to present commentators with a dilemma resulting from the violent subject matter, the treatment of the work which had caused so much dissatisfaction in some camps in 1879-80 barely discomforted critics in 1887. In

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fact, the lack of detail and the broad, simple handling were found in 1887 to be the most commendable aspects of Manet's painting.[23]

Erwin Davis Exhibition and Sale, New York

In March 1889, 145 paintings from the collection of Erwin Davis were sold at auction in New York. The sale was held at Chickering Hall over two days, 19 and 20 March, after an eight-day exhibition at the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries. The auction, managed by John Ortgies and Samuel P. Avery, engendered much excitement because the Davis collection was purported to be the finest group of paintings and sculpture to land on the auction block since the Mary J. Morgan sale in 1886. The collection contained primarily modern French and American works, which dated from the early-nineteenth century forward. Unusual for a New York collection of this period, a number of French avant-garde paintings were included among the romantic landscapes of the Barbizon School, realist productions of Gustave Courbet, and dreamy reveries of Adolphe Monticelli. Davis owned three paintings by Manet as well as examples by Degas and Monet, placing him among the earliest collectors of the French Impressionists. Although he did not sell any of his Monets, Davis included the three Manets as well as two works by Degas in the 1889 sale.[24] Despite the fact that the sale was lavishly promoted and much-discussed, it was a failure, and Davis bought in a number of his own paintings in order to save himself from embarrassment and financial loss. Davis' clandestine maneuvers were discovered by reporters for the *New York Sun*, and in an attempt to mask his unethical actions, the collector moved quickly to bestow three paintings upon the Metropolitan Museum. Among these three paintings were *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot*, which were the first paintings by Manet to enter an American museum.[25]

Erwin Davis was a rather shadowy figure who built up fortunes quickly and lost them quickly as well. Although a lawyer by profession, Davis made his initial fortune in San Francisco where he was a partner in the Morgan gold mine.[26] By 1870, Davis had lost

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his first fortune, and he was forced to leave San Francisco to avoid creditors. Davis built up a second fortune in the bonds business in London, and he remained abroad, dividing his time between England and France, through the 1870s. As suggested by Frances Weitzenhoffer, it is probable that Davis developed an interest in art and collecting during his years abroad, specifically on trips to Paris.[27] By the early 1880s, Davis had moved to New York, where he worked with the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad Company of which he was president and chief stockholder.[28]

In New York, Davis began to acquire art at a rapid rate through the help of two artists, J. Alden Weir and Robert Minor. In the summer of 1880, Weir was in Paris where he purchased Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc* (fig. 27) among other works for Davis. That same year, Davis' collection was recorded by Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn] in his *Art Treasures of America*, including the recent purchase of *Joan of Arc*.[29] The following summer, upon the advice of William Merritt Chase, Weir secured Manet's *Boy with a Sword* (fig. 22) and *Woman with a Parrot* (fig. 23) from Paul Durand-Ruel's Paris gallery. After making these purchases, Weir called on Manet and purchased a third painting for Davis, a marine, *Porpoises/ Seascape at Boulogne* (fig. 46).[30] Minor, a landscape painter who had trained with Narcisse Diaz de la Pena, helped Davis to acquire the Barbizon School paintings in his collection.

As the date of the exhibition and sale approached, numerous articles were published in newspapers and magazines describing the collection and highlighting the masterworks contained within. Critics were impressed by the overall high quality of the works and the fact that Davis had not been swayed in his selections by conventional tastes.[31] The paintings were not the run-of-the-mill salon-style paintings—the Bouguereaus, Gérômes, and Meissoniers—that many New York collectors favored; instead they were works chosen with an eye for artistic qualities, especially rich color and expressive handling of paint. In fact, Davis' paintings had contributed to the distinctly "ultra-artistic" flavor of the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition in 1883, which was highly praised by New York

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critics. For the same reasons that the Pedestal Fund paintings were unpalatable to the popular taste, the critic for the *New York Sun* argued that the Davis collection too would have only limited appeal: "Those who chiefly admire good painting of the kind practiced by Meissonier and Gérôme, for instance, will find as little to gratify them as those who like bad painting as practiced by Meyer von Bremen and Berboeckhoven. But the visitor who cares most for the very best which modern times have produced, and especially he who likes painting as painters themselves understand the term, will find what he seeks in unusual variety."[32] The critic for the *Art Amateur* observed that Davis' collecting instincts were guided by an admiration for "color, atmosphere, landscape sentiment—painter-like things that do not need for their completement any archæological, literary, or historical baggage."[33] Van Rensselaer called it "the best private collection that has ever been shown in New York," and she noted that it outshone even the famous Albert Spencer collection because of the range of styles, which included not just Barbizon School landscapes, but also Romantic, Realist, and Impressionist paintings.[34] Davis' collection was praised also because he purchased both American and European pictures and displayed them together, revealing that the former could compare favorably with examples from abroad.[35]

Providing even greater evidence of their admiration for the collection, several critics suggested that the Davis collection, or specific items from it, should be donated to the city. In 1887, van Rensselaer had named the Davis collection as one of three New York collections that the city would be fortunate to own.[36] In her pre-sale commentary, she specified that Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc*, Courbet's *Violoncellist* (1847; Portland Museum of Art, Oregon), Manet's *Boy with a Sword*, and Rousseau's *Gorges d'Apremont* should be given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[37] The critic for the *New York Daily Tribune*, probably Ripley Hitchcock, called for the trio of *Boy with a Sword*, *Joan of Arc*, and *Violoncellist* to be secured for the museum.[38] Reflecting its

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overwhelming popularity, other critics singled out only the *Joan of Arc*, as the painting that belonged in the public domain.[39]

Ironically, three important pictures *were* given to the museum after the Davis sale, but it is doubtful that the gift was motivated purely by civic-mindedness; rather it resulted from an attempt on Davis' part to save face. The first night of the Davis sale was well attended but, despite great anticipation and popular interest, bidding was slow, and the prices reached were not impressive. Of the seventy-two paintings offered, sixty-nine were sold, and a total of $35,645 was realized.[40] The highest price reached was $6,250 for Théodore Rousseau's *Landscape and Trees*, but most works sold for under $1000. Manet's *Porpoises* was offered the first night, but it was withdrawn for lack of bids.[41]

Despite inclement weather, the second evening was better attended than the first, and the bidding was much livelier. In fact, the newspapers reported that spectacular prices had been realized on many of the pictures auctioned the second evening with a grand total of nearly a quarter of a million dollars, and most of the big-ticket items had sold to one gentleman, a bald-headed, moustached man who was said to be an art dealer from Chicago.[42] The unidentified man bought Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc* for the incredible price of $23,400. Interest in buying the *Joan of Arc* was intense, and bidding for the painting was competitive. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston sent a representative who was authorized to bid up to $12,000 for the picture, and the reviews indicate that there was another interested buyer who made a bona fide offer of $19,000.[43] However, the mysterious gentleman drove the price of the painting well beyond the reach of the other bidders. Among the other impressive sales were Troyon's *Pasturage in Normandy* which fell for $17,500, Delacroix's *Lion Hunt* for $11,800, Courbet's *Violoncellist* for $7,000, and Manet's *Boy with a Sword* for $6,700, all of which were purchased by the unidentified man. The same gentleman also bought Manet's *Woman with a Parrot* for $1,350.

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The excitement generated by the high prices, the mystery surrounding the unknown buyer, and the fact that the pictures had not been paid for and picked up the following morning led reporters to pursue the story further, and it was discovered that the buyer was Eugene Leland, who was the Secretary of the Richmond and Allegheny Railroad. Within twenty-four hours after the sale results were first reported, it was announced in the newspapers that the sale had been "cooked" and that Davis had offered Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc* as well as Manet's *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot* to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As the story unraveled, it became clear that Davis, discouraged by the sales on the first evening, had set reserves on the remaining works, but also he had arranged for Leland to pose as a bidder to drive up the prices and to buy in works if necessary. After the fraudulent sales were exposed, Davis refused to be interviewed by reporters, claiming to be indisposed with an attack of gout, but he released a statement to the press to explain his handling of the sale:

> At the sale on Tuesday evening my pictures went for ridiculously low prices. I concluded that it would be impossible to obtain fair prices for the pictures and determined to stop the sale and withdraw the pictures which were set down for Wednesday night. I told my friend, Mr. Leland, of this resolution on Tuesday night and on Wednesday morning I went to the Fifth Avenue Galleries and told S. P. Avery, Jr., and Mr. Ortgies that I had decided to stop the sale and withdraw the pictures. Mr. Avery advised me not to do so, and suggested that a limit be placed on the pictures. We jointly fixed the limits on the pictures in the second night's sale, and in accordance with this understanding a considerable number of the pictures were protected, a portion of which were bought by Mr. Leland, acting for me.[44]

On the same day, 22 March, the following statement was issued by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Davis' request:

> Mr. Irwin [sic] Davis has presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art Bastien Le Page's painting of "Joan of Arc" and Manet's "Boy with a Sword" and "Feeding the Parrot." Mr. Davis had received various overtures to dispose of these pictures to art institutions of other cities and also from the French government, but desiring to make various presents he authorized Mr. Leland to purchase certain works at his recent auction, and, in accordance with a wish generally expressed by the press, he has presented the above three to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[45]

Davis tried to veil the underhandedness of his actions with the claim that the two Manets and the Bastien-Lepage painting were bought in *with the specific purpose* of donating

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them to the museum, also noting that he was responding to the will of the press.[46] Nevertheless, the public and most critics were not convinced by this rather desperate move to make amends. In fact, there was some public outcry against the acceptance of Davis' gift and even mention of possible legal measures, which were never carried out.

In a letter dated 21 March, the day after the sale was completed, Davis notified Samuel P. Avery, the chairman of the museum's Committee on Paintings who had assisted with the sale of the collection, of his decision to give the paintings to the museum. The one-sentence letter offered the three works to the museum with *Joan of Arc* heading the list, followed by *Boy with a Sword* and lastly *Woman with a Parrot*.[47] In an undated letter to General Cesnola, the director of the Metropolitan Museum, also written on 21 March, Avery indicated that Davis had just been to see him to offer the three pictures. Avery referred to the works as "famous pictures" from Davis' collection, especially the *Joan of Arc* for which, he noted, Davis had had offers from Paris and from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where the painting had been on loan. Avery mentioned that Davis was anxious for the museum to issue a press release about the gift, and given that the Paintings Committee would certainly approve the acquisitions, Avery wrote that he had already sent the announcement of the offer to the Associated Press, presumably the statement quoted above. Avery's excitement over Bastien-Lepage's painting was obvious in his letter to Cesnola. He wrote that the *Joan of Arc* would be "a very popular picture with the masses" and suggested a location, recently vacated by William Turner Dannat's painting *The Quartette* which had been sent to Paris for the Universal Exposition, where it could be hung straight away.[48] Avery indicated that he would like to have all three of the paintings in the galleries in a day or two. On 28 March, Avery recorded that the Committee on Paintings had met and endorsed the acceptance of Davis' offer, but the Executive Committee of the museum did not meet until early April to formalize the acceptance.[49]

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Not only the collector's actions at the time of the sale, but also the means by which the sale was presented to the public suggest that Davis formed his collection with the goal of financial return. Henry R. Elliot was among the first to raise suspicions about Davis' methods and motivations in a searing indictment that appeared five days after the sale in the *Boston Daily Advertiser.* Eliot accused Davis of going into the picture business "much as he might have organized a pork corner," and he described how Davis had used artists [Weir and Minor] to serve as his agents, so they could secure art at "artists' prices."[50] The critic for the *New-York Times*, probably Charles de Kay, reflecting on the outcome of the sale, made the singular suggestion that Davis had never intended to sell the major paintings in his collection, including the three donated to the museum, but the collector had used them to lure buyers for the lesser pictures.[51]

Henry Elliott also pointed out that Davis had paid for numerous exhibition and sale advertisements in newspapers to insure that interest in and attendance at the sale would be at a maximum. Advertisements were common preceding sales, but those circulated by Davis were in fact especially large and detailed (fig. 47). One type included laudatory quotations from reviews of the pre-sale exhibition, while the other listed specific paintings to be auctioned with information that would enhance their salability, such as the dates of their Salon appearances and the names of the famous collections from which they had been acquired.[52] Moreover, a letter from Paul Durand-Ruel was published on the first page of the auction catalogue in which the Parisian art dealer applauded Davis' discriminating taste as a collector and the overall superb quality of the works and lamented the dissolution of the collection.[53]

For years preceding the sale, Davis had kept his collection in the public eye by placing paintings on loan in prestigious venues. He was one of the major lenders to the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition in 1883, and he loaned works to Durand-Ruel's 1886 Impressionist exhibition as well. Undoubtedly *Boy with a Sword* was the best-known painting by Manet in this country largely because Davis loaned it out so frequently. It

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was shown at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition in 1883, the Durand-Ruel Impressionist exhibition in 1886, and the Union League Club in January 1889, just two months before Davis' collection was be auctioned.[54] Moreover, the painting was featured in a series of articles on Davis' collection published 1888 in Clarence Cook's art magazine, *Studio*, where it was reproduced as well.[55] Also widely known was Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc* which had been exhibited at both the Society of American Artists exhibition and the "Loan Collection of Paintings" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1881, shortly after the painting had been acquired. In 1882, it was shown again at the Metropolitan Museum as well as the New England Mechanics Association fair. After the fair, the painting remained in Boston on long-term loan to the Museum of Fine Arts.

The decade of the 1880s saw a series of collections assembled and sold with financial gain as the primary motivation. These sales suggest a widespread interest in the gamble of art collecting but also prove that extraordinary amounts of money were spent unhesitatingly on works from well-known art collections. Van Rensselaer noted this frenzy for buying and selling art in 1887, and her comments could be applied perfectly to the Erwin Davis sale two years later:

> "Collecting" has become not only a passion and a fashion but a profitable business of recent years. Great assemblages of works of art are constantly brought together with the object of re-selling them as soon as they shall have arrived at a bulk sufficient to impress the imaginations of the public. A hundred good works are more valuable, if properly assorted, sold together than sold separately; and a discreet proportion of poor works may be mingled with them to the additional profit of the seller. . . . Men have a natural magpie *penchant* for collecting, and now that they have come to regard it as a profitable pursuit as well as an entrancing amusement, there are no limits to the field they till or to the efforts they will make to increase their harvests. Sometimes their pecuniary success exceeds even their highest anticipations, but sometimes the case is conspicuously, ludicrously, pathetically otherwise.[56]

The sales of the Albert Spencer, Mary Jane Morgan, George I. Seney, and Alexander T. Stewart collections were so lucrative that hope was engendered in other art connoisseurs, like Davis, that their own collections might bring them cachet with critics and the public and also lots of money.[57] As Montague Marks noted after the sale, Davis had "fondly

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hoped that his collection would bring as much as those at the Albert Spencer sale, and he could not bring himself to admit how much he was mistaken in this estimate."[58]

Manet and Bastien-Lepage at the Davis Sale

Without a doubt, the painting to watch at the Erwin Davis sale was Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc*, which received encomium after encomium from the critics and which, most agreed, should belong to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The painting was called "one of the most independent and in many ways most powerful productions of the younger school in France" by Ripley Hitchcock for the *New York Daily Tribune*.[59] The critic for the *New York Sun* referred to it as "a magnificent revelation of artistic genius" and claimed that "no contemporary picture better deserves a place in a public museum, [and] none could be a more lasting attraction to art students and public alike."[60] Why did the painting capture the admiration of so many critics and viewers? It was regarded as a masterpiece for its noble subject and the powerful feelings conveyed by the figure of Joan of Arc. As van Rensselaer put it, "no one in the world who can receive an impression from painted canvas, can fail to be moved, thrilled, almost awed, by the supernatural force with which the figure of the Maid is painted."[61] *Joan of Arc* was not without its weaknesses, however. It was criticized for the incongruous mixing of real and ideal elements and for the rendering of the landscape in bright and artificial greens and blues. Moreover, some critics actually called the painting ugly, but *Joan of Arc* triumphed despite these shortcomings because of the strong intellectual and sentimental content in the work as well as the tight, realistic treatment.

The same critic who called *Joan of Arc* "a magnificent revelation of artistic genius," referred to Manet's *Boy with a Sword* as a work representative of the artist's "extraordinary manual skill" which "will be fully appreciated perhaps only by his fellow-craftsmen; but they would say that it is the skill of a sort which Velásquez himself might have liked to study."[62] While this is no small praise, it is a lesser kind of praise than that

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showered upon Bastien-Lepage's work. Manet was said to be an able painter and an impressive conveyor of character, but his productions did not enjoy the same level of esteem as that by Bastien-Lepage because the ideal element was absent, as was the awe-inspiring subject matter and careful *fini.*

Nonetheless, Manet's works did receive their share of attention and admiration from critics evaluating the Davis collection. *Boy with a Sword* was indisputably the favorite example by Manet. The reason for the popularity of the painting was the "marvellously animated" character of the boy and the myriad possibilities for anecdote that arise from the picturesque costume and accessories.[63] The critic for the *New York Sun* noted the "interesting face of the little man" and suggested that the boy was thinking of his "warlike father" who had bequeathed him this "well-used sword" and that the boy struggled to hold the heavy "yet precious burden," as if to imply that the sword was heavy in weight but also that it represented a responsibility that was ponderous for the boy. The same writer commended *Woman with a Parrot* and *Porpoises* as well but not for their imaginative qualities. He recognized instead their simplicity of conception and lack of affectation, as well as the "master hand" revealed in the paint handling, but he observed that they were the products of "an individual mind, concerned with the things it saw and not with the thought of what might be said about them."[64]

The formal elements of Manet's paintings captured the attention of the critic for the *Art Age* as well, who explained that *Boy with a Sword* was painted in a style worthy of Velázquez with "the modern feeling of a Frenchman of the Third Empire period."[65] *Porpoises*, which was not noted by most critics, also captured the appreciation of the *Art Age* critic for its bold, expressive handling. He called his readers' attention to the "superb sweep of water with a black mass forming the outline of a vessel and the dark bodies of porpoises used as accents in the foreground."[66] Also sensitive to the modernity of Manet's style, van Rensselaer praised both *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot* for their simplicity and lack of affectation, as well as the beautiful brushwork.

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However, just as she had in 1886, van Rensselaer found the woman ugly, a factor that detracted also from other critics's estimations of the painting.[67]

The only critic who was not enthusiastic about Manet's pictures was the writer for the *New York Evening Post* critic, probably William A. Coffin. After lingering enthusiastically over Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc*, Coffin wrote of Manet: "Another revolutionary of an earlier date is represented here whose work one rarely has a chance to study, but in the case of Manet one is not so much assisting at a triumph as watching an experiment." The critic, who was himself a painter and would grow into a warm admirer of the artist in the following decade, credited Manet for inspiring a revolution in seeing and translating light onto canvas but was adamant in his belief that Manet had not carried his radical methods and vision to full fruition.[68]

Manet and Bastien-Lepage at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Joan of Arc, *Boy with a Sword*, and *Woman with a Parrot* were placed on view in the Metropolitan Museum's nineteenth-century galleries, where they were duly noted in articles listing the museum's new acquisitions, in articles on the museum's growing collections, and in the museum's own collection catalogues. These references reveal that of the three paintings donated by Davis, *Joan of Arc* was considered the most outstanding, with *Boy with a Sword* receiving considerable attention as well, and *Woman with a Parrot* noted only in passing. An article on the Metropolitan Museum by Ripley Hitchcock in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, for example, devoted almost an entire paragraph to *Joan of Arc* calling it "the most ambitious effort of an artist earnest in purpose, unconventional in methods, whose death was singularly untimely," and providing a detailed description of the "remarkable" work. By contrast, Manet's paintings were given two sentences: "Manet's 'Boy with Sword' is a brilliant modern attempt to emulate Velásquez's technical skill, a picture clever in the preservation of values and full of animation. Its companion has an interest chiefly technical."[69] More

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positive, but with undercurrents of dissatisfaction with the artist's practices, were the comments of Alfred Trumble, editor of the *Collector*: "It is true that he [Manet] has given us some peculiar and far from satisfactory manifestations of his theories, but against these are to be counted productions whose gravity, sincerity and power permit of no question." Into the latter category, Trumble placed *Le Bon Bock* and also *Boy with a Sword* which, he noted, had recently been donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art along with Manet's *Woman with a Parrot.* Trumble praised *Woman with a Parrot* as well but only for its painting, as he found the subject itself ugly.[70] In Trumble's mind, Manet had moments of genius, but there were many false starts to be found among his productions. By 1899, however, Trumble would refer to the Davis gift as a trio of masterpieces. Moreover, he praised Davis for giving such useful works, compared to the "heaps of rubbish" that were often bestowed upon the museum.[71]

In the years following the Davis gift, the Metropolitan Museum's collection catalogues show that the museum had yet to place a premium on the value of Manet's paintings either. The museum's twentieth annual report listed the gifts bestowed upon the museum in 1889 and described the Davis gift as "three paintings presented by Mr. Erwin Davis, one of which is the well-known 'Joan of Arc' of Bastien-Lepage; the others, 'Boy with a Sword,' and 'Girl with a Parrot,' [are] both by Manet."[72] In the 1901 catalogue of paintings published by the Metropolitan Museum, the entry on Manet called him "an eccentric realist of disputed merit," an uncomplimentary phrase lifted directly from Champlin and Perkins's *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings.*[73] Even as late as 1905, in the museum's revised catalogue of paintings, the works by Manet received only slightly more sympathetic treatment, or at the least, more substantial catalogue entries. Manet was identified as a genre painter and the founder of the school of the Impressionists, and it was noted that his pictures had been rejected several times for the Salon; however, the cataloguer also indicated that by the end of his career, "he was better understood and received." Both the *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot* was described without

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enthusiasm or admiration. The *Boy* was said to be wearing a "dull black suit" with a white linen collar and blue stockings. He held a heavy sword in his hands and looked directly at the spectator with "dull, heavy eyes." The woman was given straightforward description also, with a hint of approval for only one area of the composition. The still life of the cut lemon was deemed "clever."[74]

Manet in the Centennale Exhibition, Universal Exposition, Paris

In 1889, Manet's works were included in the Centennale exhibition at the Paris Universal Exposition. Inclusion in the Centennale exhibition—a survey of French art from 1789-1878—was an honor and suggests that Manet had risen in the estimation of the Parisian artistic community, especially in light of the fact that the artist had not been invited to participate in the universal exhibitions of 1867 or 1878. The exhibition, however, was organized by Manet's friend and supporter Antonin Proust, whose decision to include the works of Manet and the Impressionists came under heavy fire from conservative quarters. It was generally acknowledged by these opponents that Proust had secured this honor for Manet, just as he had finagled the award of the Legion of Honor in 1882, and helped to secure a prestigious venue for the artist's retrospective exhibition in 1884. While reactions to the exhibition demonstrate that there was continued resistance to Manet's art and influence in France, American critics who attended the exhibition supported the inclusion of the artist's paintings. Nonetheless, while they argued for the display of Manet's works and his rightful place in the history of French painting, they did not focus their attention on his productions. Instead the attention of the majority of American critics was directed to Jules Bastien-Lepage, whose works they showered with encomiums.

The Centennale exhibition, which included a total of 652 works, opened with paintings by the Classicists and Romanticists and their followers, then proceeded through examples of the Barbizon School and Courbet, followed by the neo-academic painters of the

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Second Empire, and culminated in works produced during the Third Republic. The Centennale was accompanied by a supplementary Décennale exhibition which showcased French as well as European and American art from 1879-1889. The two exhibitions, therefore, offered a rare opportunity for visitors to contemplate the evolution of French painting over an entire century. In the Centennale exhibition, Manet was represented by fourteen works, among which were landmarks of his career, including *Spanish Singer*, *Olympia*, *Dead Toreador*, *Le Bon Bock*, *Argenteuil*, and *Boating*, which revealed the range of his work from the early Old Master-influenced examples to the bold Impressionist paintings of his later years.[75] Moreover, *Olympia*, one of the artist's most controversial paintings since its debut at the Salon of 1865, hung in a position of honor. Interestingly, only three works by Claude Monet and two by Camille Pissarro were shown in the Centennale exhibition, an indication that Manet's reputation in France exceeded that of his more radical followers.

The presence of Manet's works as well as those by the Impressionists in the Centennale exhibition was contested by French critics and artists. American critic William C. Brownell was well aware of the turmoil and noted in an article in *Scribner's Magazine* that "Much dissatisfaction was expressed at the prominence of Manet and the presence of Monet at the Exposition," another indication that Monet's participation was the more problematical. American critics, on the other hand, supported the inclusion of the avant-garde artists. Brownell praised the catholicity of the selections in the Centennale and argued that the advanced artists' works were indispensable for showing the true picture of modern French art, both its official and unofficial aspects. However, the critic hinted that while the Centennale exhibition suggested a more open-minded environment for art production, in fact the French academy and the largely conservative French public would not ever allow the more progressive trends represented in the exhibition to become "official" styles.[76]

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Brownell was not the only American to argue that Manet was entitled to a place in the history of modern French painting. He was joined in this opinion by Theodore Child, who wrote reviews of the Centennale exhibition for both the *Art Amateur* and *New York Sun*. Child identified both Manet's supreme abilities as a painter as well as his quest for truth of vision, as the elements which contributed to his greatness as an artist.[77] Evaluating the trends exemplified in the Centennale exhibition, Child noted that from David to Manet, there had been an evolution in subject matter arriving at a focus on "real manners and real men," and an evolution in artistic vision and approach that had resulted in the rendering of ambiance and open air. Child approved of the direction in which Manet had led French painters. Looking at the Centennale exhibition as a whole, he concluded: "Arrived at Manet, after starting with David, . . . we feel a trepidation of joy and expectation as if we were now about to see something grand, novel, and truly wonderful."[78]

The only paintings by Manet mentioned or discussed by American critics were *Le Bon Bock* and *Olympia*. Neither of these paintings had been exhibited in the United States, and they were among the most frequently written about works by the artist. *Le Bon Bock* was Manet's greatest Salon success in 1873, and *Olympia* was one of his most notorious paintings, which had incited an uproar when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1865. It was the *Olympia* that inspired James Jackson Jarves' memorable epithet for Manet, the "Painter-in-chief of Ugliness." Not surprisingly, given the painting's avowed popularity, William A. Coffin, art critic for the *Nation*, declared that *Le Bon Bock* (fig. 9) was the best work by Manet in the exhibition. As evidence of its value, he pointed to the "able handling," "depth of color," and direct modeling, which recalled the work of Frans Hals.[79] While he admired *Le Bon Bock*, Coffin found little to recommend Manet's other works. He complained that the majority of the exhibited paintings lacked finish and resolution, an opinion similar to that Coffin expressed at the time of the Davis exhibition and sale in 1889.

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In the same review, Coffin discussed Manet's works in relation to those of Jules Bastien-Lepage and found the latter's accomplishments superior. Coffin's more elevated estimation of Bastien-Lepage's art was shared not only by Brownell but also by Mariana van Rensselaer. Their attention to Bastien-Lepage was undoubtedly piqued by the large number of his works that were included in the exhibition. Lepage was represented with nineteen works, five more than were selected for Manet. Coffin and Brownell argued that Bastien-Lepage had taken the innovations of Manet's art and made his style more acceptable through tighter brushwork, greater attention to detail, and truer colors, adding also an element of beauty, which was sorely lacking in Manet's works. Manet painted directly from nature, without choosing but "taking things as they come," whereas Bastien-Lepage modified this uncompromising approach and made aesthetic choices that resulted in works that were far more pleasing and ultimately more popular.[80] Van Rensselaer did not even mention Manet's presence in the Centennale exhibition. In her exhibition review for *Century Magazine*, van Rensselaer referred to Bastien-Lepage as one of the "immortals" among the artists represented (after Corot and Millet) and argued that his greatness would be perceived long into the future because of the strong feeling conveyed in his art as well as his superb talent for painting.[81]

In reviews of the Centennale exhibition, only two American critics discussed Manet's *Olympia* (fig. 4). Child, who supported the inclusion of Manet's works in the Centennale and upheld the artist's pivotal role in French painting, criticized the decision to place *Olympia* in a position of honor. He explained to his readers that Proust had allowed personal tastes to overshadow his better judgement, and as a result, he had placed the works of not only Manet, but also Monet and Roll, in positions of honor, "which they fill with grotesque insufficiency."[82] Although he did not specify why he found the painting inappropriate for the position of honor, it can be surmised that Child found the subject matter and the treatment of the body, specifically the lack of modeling and the resulting flatness, offensive, just as Jarves had. Supporting this inference, the critic for the *Art*

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Interchange described *Olympia* as "a curious and skillful composition of cool, broad tones, the flesh treated rather flatly, and with but little search for modeling or for local color." Moreover, the writer observed that the woman reclined on a couch like Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, but otherwise there was no connection between the two figures except the very arbitrary one of nakedness. They could not be compared, he insisted, because the woman in the *Olympia* was "evidently very cheap and unpleasant, which the goddess of laughter certainly was not." Despite his own reservations about the insufficient modeling of form and risqué subject of the *Olympia*, the same critic noted that a young American painter had stationed himself in front of the painting just after it was hung and had declared to any one who would listen that it was the best work in the entire exhibition, an opinion, the critic intimated, that was widely held, although he himself obviously wondered why.[83]

Olympia did indeed have ardent fans, and shortly after the Universal Exposition closed, an unidentified American collector attempted to buy the painting from Manet's widow. American painter John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) learned of the sale and alerted Claude Monet, who began a subscription to purchase the work for the Louvre Museum. Eighty-three men and women contributed a total of 19,415 francs for the purchase of the painting and signed their names to a list which accompanied a letter by Monet to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.[84] Among the contributors were two Americans, Sargent and Thomas Alexander Harrison, as well as many prominent French critics, dealers, and artists including Philippe Burty, Gustave Caillebotte, Carolus-Duran, Edgar Degas, Paul Durand-Ruel, Theodore Duret, Gustave Geffroy, Puvis de Chavannes, Antonin Proust, Camille Pissarro, Auguste Renoir, and Jean-François Raffaëlli to name a few.[85] While the list of the subscribers revealed that admiration for Manet and respect for his position in the history of French art were held by a widening circle of the Parisian art community, reactions to the gift announcement were heated in France. Although it was accepted for the Luxembourg Museum in 1890 under

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a storm of protests, the transfer of the *Olympia* to the Louvre Museum would not be approved until 1907, far beyond the standard ten-year waiting period after an artist's death.

Manet in Artist Dictionaries and Art Histories

In the mid-to-late 1880s, Manet began to appear in histories of French art and in biographical dictionaries of artists, including studies published in Europe and translated into English, as well as British and American publications. Although he was deemed influential enough for inclusion, and he was identified as the founder of Impressionism and an influential figure in the movement toward greater truth in painting, the entries on the painter are riddled with complaints over elements of his style, in particular the lack of finish, the poor drawing, the illegible compositions, and the coarse subject matter. As a result of these shortcomings, Manet was thought to have been outpaced by other painters, in particular Jules Bastien-Lepage and later Claude Monet, who gave definition and brought fruition to his methods and vision. The general consensus was that Manet had moments of greatness but that his works were more often incomplete or unresolved. This idea that Manet did not realize what he began, that his works were mere experiments, had haunted discussions of the artist since his death and would continue to linger in estimations of his value making it impossible for most critics to grant Manet the status of a great artist. The opinions stated in these authoritative sources echo those of French writers, even of some of Manet's supporters, and also creep into the most enthusiastic American assessments of Manet that were published in the early 1890s and later.

In 1886-87, a modest entry on Manet appeared in John Denison Champlin, Jr. and Charles C. Perkins' *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*. A preview in the *Boston Evening Transcript* conveyed the ambitious goals of this four-volume study: "The whole range of ancient, modern and contemporary painting is covered, and there is in addition a biography of every painter of any note, together with detailed descriptions, critical

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comments, etc., of all the notable paintings in existence."[86] In the *Cyclopedia*, Manet was described as "founder of the school of 'Impressionists'" and an "eccentric realist of disputed merit," revealing the old biases that the artist's works were not serious and that there was a tendency toward the sensational in his art. It was stated also that Manet's works were rejected several times at the Salon but that he had received a second-class medal in 1881, followed by the award of the Legion of Honor in 1882.[87] Among works by the artist that were listed was *Boy with a Sword* (fig. 22). The painting, which was well-known in New York through its appearances at the Pedestal Fund Art Loan exhibition in 1883 and the Impressionist exhibition in 1886, was given its own entry in the *Cyclopedia*, which read simply and unsympathetically, "A child walking to left, dragging a large sword after him."[88] Not only is the description inaccurate, but also the entry conveyed absolutely no admiration for the formal qualities of the painting or the expressive treatment of the boy, the elements which had captivated viewers of the painting.

In her *History of French Painting from Its Earliest to Its Latest Practice* published in London in 1889, Clara Harrison Stranahan devoted a lengthy section to the "School of the Impressionists, Manet, Monet, Bastien-Lepage, etc." Her three-page description of Manet identified him as the precursor of the Impressionists, who bore "the odium of its initiation" and whose followers were "reaping the advantages of the riper views of both the public in judging and the artists in practising the innovation." Emphasizing his independence, Manet was characterized as an artist who bore the imprint of no master but who took nature as his sole guide. His fundamental aim as an artist was to paint the exact vision of the moment. Stranahan recounted the rise of Manet's reputation during his career, culminating in the award of a "medal of reparation" in 1881 from his fellow artists and the realization on the part of the public that he was not a sensationalist but a painter of sincere convictions. According to Stranahan, Manet's importance as an artist was

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generally understood by the time of his death and reinforced by the large retrospective exhibition of his works held at the Ecole des beaux-arts in 1884.

Imbedded within Stranahan's rather enthusiastic summation of Manet's career, however, were distinctly negative undertones. Stranahan observed that Manet was so fascinated with the process of observing that he usually took his work no further than the sketch, thereby alluding to an element of incompleteness in his work. Moreover, she hinted at the inappropriate subject choices of the artist, pointing specifically to the *Olympia* and *Nana* as "indelicate." In her final estimation of the artist, Stranahan stated: "He had become an important influence in the history of art, but its effect in relation to his own accomplishment is well described by Honoré Daumier, in saying: 'Manet has rendered distasteful to me the complicated painting of the schools, without winning me to love his own;' he had demonstrated principles now more or less accepted, as concerns light, by all the younger painters, but had not perfected results."[89] Among these younger painters, Stranahan observed that Bastien-Lepage had outpaced Manet. Lepage had combined poetic suggestion with vigorous reality and a nicety of finish that secured his lasting fame. Stranahan called Lepage a "glorious master," whereas Manet was simply a precursor of Impressionism.[90]

While Champlin and Perkins acknowledged Manet as a painter of some, albeit disputed, repute, and Stranahan secured a place for Manet in the history of French painting as well, he was not noted at all in other dictionaries and histories of the period revealing that there was continued resistance to the admission of Manet and his innovations into the canon. For example, Englishman Wilfrid Meynell published *Some Modern Artists and Their Work* in 1883, which included discussions of European and American artists including Rosa Bonheur, Ernest Meissonier, and Eastman Johnson. This small study devoted to fashionable, Salon-style painters was expanded in 1889, under the title of *Modern Art and Artists*. In the later study, Meynell considered the productions of

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recent artists such as Paul Baudry, Puvis de Chavannes, and Elihu Vedder and even the anti-academic James A.M. Whistler, but Manet was not discussed.[91]

Clarence Cook was the editor of the English-language edition of the esteemed German survey of art history, *Outlines of the History of Art* by Dr. Wilhelm Lübke, which appeared first in 1878 and again in 1885. While Jean-François Millet, Gustave Courbet, and Alfred Stevens were discussed by Lübke in the chapter devoted to art of the nineteenth century, Manet and the Impressionists were not mentioned in either edition.[92] Perhaps reflecting the influence of Lübke's study, in his own six-volume history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European and American art, *Art and Artists of Our Time* (1888), Cook failed to mention either Manet or the Impressionists. Their omission is particularly revealing given Cook's enthusiasm for their works in his exhibition reviews of the 1880s. Evidently, Cook perceived the Impressionists' efforts as refreshing rebellions against academic art but did not bestow lasting value upon their works. Although he omitted Manet, Cook did include a discussion of Bastien-Lepage as a major artistic force of the late-nineteenth century.[93]

John C. Van Dyke in *Principles of Art* (1887), a survey of art from the Stone Age to the modern period, did not mention Manet either. Instead he focused his attention on more widely approved artists including the members of the Barbizon School, Gustave Courbet, and the academic painters Alexandre Cabanel and Jean-Léon Gérôme. [94] A year later, however, Van Dyke, published another book, *How to Judge of a Picture*, a study that focused on the basic elements of picture making and painting. In this more artistic context, Van Dyke did discuss Manet, in particular *Boy with a Sword* and *Woman with a Parrot*. He described the painting in these examples as "excellent," but he noted that the subjects were "absolutely silly, and the woman and boy characterless idiots." Van Dyke argued that Manet's paintings lacked imagination and that the artist eschewed beauty of content because he focused only on the brilliance of paint handling.[95] Despite these perceived shortcomings in his works, however, Van Dyke's eyes were open to Manet's

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talents, and in the 1890s, the critic would become an enthusiastic spokesman for the artist.

Although it did not appear in English until 1896, Manet was included in German art historian Richard Muther's *History of Modern Painting* which was widely read by Americans. In fact, as a result of its popularity, the study was expanded and republished in 1907. A professor of art history at the University of Breslau and former curator of prints at the Pinakothek in Munich, Muther examined the history of European painting from the eighteenth to the late-nineteenth centuries. The three volumes were fully illustrated with half-tone reproductions of photographs and engravings, and each included an extensive bibliography.[96] In Volume Three, "The Painters of Life," Muther did not treat Manet in detail but referred to him as a "pioneer of art" and credited him with initiating the change from the world of darkness to the world of light in painting. Quoting from Emile Zola's preface to the catalogue of the 1884 retrospective exhibition of Manet's works in Paris, Muther posited that through Manet's influence the mahogany Greek and Roman figures that had dominated Salon painting of the mid-century and later had been displaced by modern representations taken from ordinary life, characterized by the use of full sunlight and vivid color.[97] Muther, however, was interested only in Manet's impact upon the evolution of modern French painting, and he did not discuss any of the artist's works.[98] He implied that Manet's paintings were only experiments produced with the "defiant hostility of youth," and as a result they did not approach truth or beauty. Interestingly, Muther did not discuss Impressionist painting either, with the exception of Camille Pissarro's landscapes, but he lavished attention on Jules Bastien-Lepage for taking Manet's innovations and making them palatable to a wider audience.

Theodore Child, William C. Brownell, Philip G. Hamerton, and George Moore Consider Manet's Artistic Contributions

American critic William Crary Brownell, as well as Englishmen Theodore Child, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, and George Moore, promoted the importance of Manet in their

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writings published in the early 1890s. Although their perspectives on the artist differ, all four men located Manet's greatness in his skill as a painter and his courageous quest to free painting from the bounds of conventional studio practice and to encourage truth and individuality of expression in panting. In their discussions, attention is given to the technical and scientific aspects of Manet's production, especially his use of values, and to beauty of the formal elements in his paintings. The evaluations of Manet and French painting penned by Child, Brownell, and Hamerton were in part inspired by the important Centennale exhibition at the Universal Exposition of 1889 in Paris, which all three men attended and reported on, and in their essays, they grapple with Manet's position and importance within the progression of nineteenth-century French painting. The criticism of Child, Brownell, and Hamerton appeared in popular American monthly magazines, which would have reached a wide general audience, whereas Moore's book was directed toward a more specialized reader, either an artist or art aficionado.

In 1892, Child published selections of his art writing in *Art and Criticism: Monographs and Studies*, which contains reprints of articles on French painting that had appeared earlier in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. "Some Modern French Painters," which appears as chapter three of *Art and Criticism*, was written on the heels of the 1889 exhibition in Paris, and the critic addresses French painting of the 1880s, specifically the works of Jean-Charles Cazin, Aimé Morot, Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, and others, and the roots of their art in that of earlier painters such as Manet. Child acknowledged the tremendous influence Manet had upon contemporary French painting, especially in the arena of visual perception. Child called Manet "a man gifted with delicate faculties of vision and notation," and he asserted that "Manet revealed to us a new vision of nature and a new principle, which is known as the law of values." He praised the artist for his devotion to contemporary reality and his ability to capture "the subjective appearance of things." Revealing the widespread impact of his innovations, Child declared that all the younger French painters had adopted Manet's doctrines about painting light and open air,

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respect for values, and direct observation of subject. However, influenced by reigning perceptions of Manet, Child called him a "mere precursor and experimenter" and stated that he had never produced a work imbued with the beauty, taste, and mysterious charm that marked the creations of the consummate artist.[99]

In 1892, William C. Brownell published a three-part series on French painting in *Scribner's Magazine*.[100] These essays were republished in 1893 in a book-length study titled *French Art: Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture*.[101] The critic characterized Manet as an artist-hero, one who was completely unheralded, who broke completely with convention, struggled valiantly for the cause, and ultimately paved the way for others to express individuality in art. Of the revolutionary nature of Manet's creative vision, Brownell wrote: "No one before him had essayed—no one before him had even thought of—the immense project of breaking, not relatively but absolutely with the conventional. Looking for the first time at one of his pictures, one says that customary notions, ordinary brushes, traditional processes of even the highest authenticity, have been thrown to the winds."[102] Brownell, himself an admirer of Romantic painting, compared Manet to Théodore Géricault, for his passion and his desire for originality, and he posited that the artist represented the continuation of the Romantic spirit in the present day.[103] Brownell found similarities in purpose and conviction between these two artists, but he would not place their art on the same level. For Brownell, Géricault was superior because he respected the past and used it in his work; whereas Manet disregarded tradition and gave free rein to his own emotions and views.[104]

Brownell also discussed Manet in relation to the Realist movement in French painting, the keynotes of which he identified as an interest in modern life and participation in the scientific spirit of the day, in Manet's case the acute study of the actual appearances of people and things. In addition, Manet was preoccupied with recording the values of objects and the spaces in which the objects were situated. Brownell posited that Manet's influence was pervasive among the younger generation of painters, but his followers had

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modified his radical new methods so that they had found wider and more immediate acceptance. Brownell pointed to Jules Bastien-Lepage and Claude Monet as the two artists who had best utilized Manet's methods. In Brownell's opinion, Bastien-Lepage superceded Manet in his ability to enter into the psychology of his sitter, and Monet had revolutionized the painting of light.[105]

The emphasis that Brownell placed on Manet's heroic struggle for originality was reiterated by Philip Gilbert Hamerton, an English landscape painter, novelist, and art critic who resided in France. Hamerton wrote both a book on contemporary French art and a series of articles on French artists for *Scribner's Magazine*, all of which were published in the early 1890s just before the author's death.[106] In *The Present State of the Fine Arts in France* (1892), Hamerton devoted a chapter to Impressionism, and he identified Manet as one of the earliest French practitioners. Although he believed there were serious flaws in an art based purely upon observation, which led naturally to the exclusion of content and composition, Hamerton admired the painter's works for their originality and freshness.[107]

Hamerton devoted the lead article in his *Scribner's Magazine* series to Manet, and he cited the artist's profound influence on contemporary art as the justification for this decision. Characterizing him as a herald of change, the critic credited Manet with the "modern dislike to 'subject,' the objection to intellect in art, the hatred of literary ideas, the desire for visible manual execution and for a comprehensive expression rather than the enumeration of petty details." Rather than composing his pictures, Manet insisted on painting things and people just as he found them. Moreover, Hamerton noted that Manet "had the courage to leave imperfect work for the sake of its freshness rather than sacrifice the freshness to the kind of excellence that may be reached by laborious finish." While he seemed to lament the loss of intellectual ideas and composition in painting, the critic did not regret the challenge that Manet's work posed to prettiness in art or the destruction wrought by Manet and his followers on "the telling of interesting little stories."[108] As a

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successful example of Manet's work, Hamerton singled out the *Fifer* (fig. 8) with its charming youthful subject, harmonious coloring, and simple but vivacious brushwork.

Brownell and Hamerton were interested also in the technical and scientific aspects of Manet's work, especially his ability to convey space and the solidity of forms through color rather than by line and perspective.[109] Brownell admired Manet's ability to convey "a sense of actuality and vividness beside which the traditionary practice seemed absolutely fanciful and mechanical."[110] Manet achieved this vitality of expression through the use of *actual* values rather than relative ones. As a result, Brownell observed: "Things now drop into their true place, look as they really do, and count as they count in nature. . . . Perspective acquires its actual significance, solids have substance and bulk as well as surfaces, distance is perceived as it is in nature, by the actual interposition of atmosphere, chiaroscuro is abolished—the ways in which reality is secured being in fact legion, the moment real instead of relative values are studied."[111] Hamerton, likewise, discussed Manet's study of mass or the "patch of color" rather dependence upon line and the importance the artist gave to values, or "the relative degrees of darkness in the patches of color as affected both by their own hue and by the light that falls upon them."[112]

George Moore (1852-1933), in his book *Modern Painting* (1893), described the persecution that Manet had endured at the hands of the public and critics, and he explained that the antagonism exhibited toward the painter was due solely to his great talent as a painter who was both the envy and the bane of the Paris art world. Moore, who had studied with Alexandre Cabanel in his younger days, had lived in Paris for about ten years during which time he had frequented the Café Nouvelle-Athènes, where he met many of the Impressionists.[113] His account, imbued with wonder and admiration for Manet with whom he was personally acquainted, focused primarily on the technical aspects and formal beauty of Manet's paintings. Moore recalled how he and his fellow students from the Ecole des beaux-arts would stand before Manet's paintings at the Salon

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and marvel over his handling of paint. As Moore put it, "Whatever he [Manet] painted became beautiful—his hand was dowered with the gift of quality, and there his art began and ended."[114] Later, after meeting the painter, Moore visited his studio and saw Manet at work. He described the artist's ability to select tints as nearly miraculous for the brightness and freshness that resulted in his pictures, an observation made also by Hamerton. In fact, Moore went so far as to state that Manet could paint as well, if not better, than Velázquez, Hals, Rubens, or Titian. However, the novelist declared: "As an artist Manet could not compare with the least among these illustrious painters; but as a manipulator of oil-colour he never was and never will be excelled." Moore made a clear distinction between the painter and the artist, and Manet, to his mind, was a painter *par excellence*, but he was an eye and a hand only.

While all four critics admired Manet's bold individuality and celebrated the profound influence he had had on contemporary painting, none perceived him to be what Child termed a "consummate artist," meaning a painter who combined breathtaking technique with large ideas. In fact, all four were in agreement that Manet intended no narrative or meaning for his work and that his productions served only as visual records and sometimes interesting studies of character. Of these commentators, Moore stands out as the one most intoxicated with the formal beauty of Manet's art, while Child, Brownell, and Hamerton were primarily interested in the technical advances that Manet had introduced into painting.

The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago

In 1893, three works by Manet were shown in the Fine Arts section of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. *Dead Toreador* (fig. 49), *Porpoises/ Seascape at Boulogne* (fig. 46), and *View in Holland* (fig. 45) were included in the "Loan Collection of Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States," a gathering of 126 paintings drawn from both private collections and museums.[115] The Loan Collection was organized by

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Sara Tyson Hallowell, who had played an active role in the promotion of European, especially French art, in Chicago.[116] Hallowell, a native of Philadelphia, moved to Chicago in 1873, where she became the secretary of the art department of the Inter-State Industrial Expositions, where examples of European art were regularly exhibited. Having proven herself to be a woman of superb organizational skills with an impressive knowledge of contemporary European painting, Hallowell was made assistant director of the Department of Fine Arts for the World's Columbian Exposition with the responsibility of organizing a large loan exhibition of nineteenth-century art.

Hallowell's mission for the Loan Collection was to draw together a group of European paintings owned in America that would illustrate the advance of nineteenth-century art, a concept similar to that demonstrated by the Centennale exhibition at the Universal Exposition of 1889 in Paris.[117] To accomplish her objective and to provide evidence of the great wealth of art owned by Americans, Hallowell borrowed works from across the nation, drawing largely upon collections in urban centers in the East, in the Midwest and especially Chicago, as well as San Francisco. The Loan Collection was composed of predominantly French paintings, with sixty-two French artists and forty-five non-French artists, mainly English, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish, represented. Barbizon School paintings, which were highly prized by American critics and collectors, formed over one quarter of the collection. In fact, the exhibition was an apotheosis for Corot, who was represented by more examples than by any other artist and whose paintings were singled out repeatedly by reviewers, in particular *Orpheus* owned by Potter Palmer of Chicago and *Evening* owned by the late Jay Gould. Also, Millet's works were widely praised, especially *Man with a Hoe*, owned by William H. Crocker of San Francisco.[118]

Revealing no small dose of national pride, critics agreed that the Loan Collection was the gem of the Fine Arts section of the fair and was far superior to the French art display, which showcased only officially-sanctioned art and not recent trends in painting, such as Impressionism.[119] The Loan Collection, on the other hand, included examples of the

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most up-to-date fashions in French art. As one enthusiastic critic put it, the Loan Collection "contrasts Corot with Cazin, Breton and Lhermitte with Bastien-Lepage, and enables one to estimate the most vital of the later movements in France, to judge the worth of the innovations of Manet, Monticelli, Monet, Degas, Raffaëlli, and Puvis de Chavannes."[120] The critic for the *New York Daily Tribune* praised the selections in the Loan Collection as well. To his mind, it was a celebration of artistic independence from convention, through the concentration on the works of the great French landscapists, whose works were characterized by intense feeling, originality and power, as well as the works of the Impressionists and the new men Cazin, Puvis, and Raffaëlli, all of whose works revealed individuality untouched by the "leveling, scientific influences of current French teaching."[121] These comments reflect a dramatic reorientation of aesthetic ideals since the early 1880s, when many critics and viewers clung doggedly to the tenets of academic study and practice. By the early 1890s, however, innovation and originality in artistic expression were more enthusiastically embraced and admired.

Although many critics were proud of the rather unconventional and decidedly non-academic selections chosen for the Loan Collection, there were complaints that the exhibition would not be popular. John C. Van Dyke observed of the Loan Collection, "As an educational influence it must give the uninitiated a very queer idea of the great nineteenth-century painters of France about whom so much has been written in recent years. A popular ballot for the best painters would probably place Gérôme and Meissonier in the front rank and relegate Ingres, Millet, and Courbet to obscurity."[122] Roger Riordan, writing for the *Art Amateur*, shared Van Dyke's opinion. He noted that "few French academical painters are well represented, [and] the only schools that are at all fully represented are those which since about 1830 have rejected academical teaching."[123]

The Loan Collection filled three galleries that, quite appropriately, linked the French national art display with that of the United States, reinforcing the strong artistic ties

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between the two nations. The first gallery contained Romantic landscape paintings and genre scenes among which were examples by Richard Bonington, John Constable, Corot, Charles-François Daubigny, Jules Dupré, Millet, and Rousseau as well as the two marines by Manet.[124] These were followed in the second gallery with examples by Constant Troyon, Courbet, Delacroix, Théodore Géricault, and Rosa Bonheur as well as Manet and Monet. It was in the second gallery that Manet's *Dead Toreador* was placed. Finally, the third gallery held works by the "most advanced painters of the hour," including Anders Zorn, Pissarro, Jean-François Raffaelli, Renoir, Sisley, Edgar Degas, Jean-Charles Cazin, Albert Besnard, Paul Helleu, and Puvis de Chavannes.[125] By placing Manet and Monet's works in the first and second galleries, Hallowell positioned Impressionism as an outgrowth of earlier artistic developments, namely Romantic painting and the Realism of Courbet. Moreover, Manet and Monet were separated from the "extremists" Degas, Renoir, and Pissarro, and the new men of the Third Republic whose works were displayed in the third gallery. Thus, a subtle distinction was made between the productions of the two acknowledged leaders of the Impressionist school and the more flamboyant works of their followers, of which one critic observed, they affected "the uninitiated with a sense of rawness and incompleteness" while at the same time they elicited "mixed admiration."[126]

Not surprisingly, given the large number of paintings and artists represented, commentary on individual works was terse, but most reviewers did remark upon Manet's work, if only in passing. Critics expressed admiration for Manet's individuality of vision and his willingness to challenge the status quo in French art. As for his art, echoing widely held notions about the artist's work, writers observed that Manet's paintings were experimental.[127] Showing little interest in the subject matter of his paintings, critics focused on Manet's methods, especially his talent for handling paint and for rendering his subject with effective simplicity.

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Critic John Van Dyke remembered years later that *Dead Toreador* by Manet was placed in the position of honor in the second gallery, whereas the exhibition reviews indicate that the two marines were less conspicuously placed, one having been hung over a doorway in the first gallery.[128] Supporting Van Dyke's recollection, *Dead Toreador* was noted consistently by critics.[129] William Coffin, who had not shown much admiration for the painting when he saw it in Paris in 1889, and had not shown excessive admiration for the artist in previous encounters with his works, posited that there were two great masterpieces in the Loan Collection, Millet's *Man with a Hoe* and Manet's *Dead Toreador.* He considered the *Dead Toreador* superior to the *Boy with a Sword, Olympia*, and *Fifer* for its color, depth of tone, and nobility of aspect.[130] Van Dyke, in more enthusiastic tones than in preceding years as well, rhapsodized over the painting as a specimen of superb painting. He called upon his readers to study the painting of this "learned brushman" who "threw his force more in the effect than in the means." He described the work as sure but modest and declared that the dead figure in black had not been excelled since Velázquez died.[131]

In their comments on *Dead Toreador*, Lucy Monroe and Roger Riordan focused on the technical aspects of the painting, especially the superb modeling of the figure and the broad but simple handling. As Monroe put it, "There is no circumlocution in his touch; it goes straight to the mark and tells his story as inflexibly as nature itself." Riordan, who had lambasted Manet's productions in the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, had warmed little toward the artist by 1893 and expressed his approval of the economy of means exemplified by the *Dead Toreador.* Although broadly painted with few details, he wrote disparagingly, the painting left nothing to the spectator's fancy.[132] Critics were in agreement that the *Dead Toreador* revealed the hand of a master painter, even when they did not admire the work in its entirety. M. C. Robbins, for example, called the *Dead Toreador* "masterly and disagreeable," indicating her admiration for the handling but her distaste for the dead subject.[133] The two marines by Manet, which hung in the first

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gallery, were not discussed at length by a single critic. Monroe called them "fine," and M. C. Robbins noted the marines for their "peculiar truthfulness of color." Riordan, on the other hand, compared the marines unfavorably to similar scenes by James A. M. Whistler, for reasons that he did not disclose.

In their reviews, critics continued to link Manet with the Impressionists. He was called the "precursor" or "father" of the Impressionists, but it is obvious that the critics saw significant differences between his works and those of the other leader of the Impressionists, Monet. In fact, there is some suggestion that Manet's works, in the context of the brighter, more luminous and softly painted works by Monet, looked sober or even old-fashioned. Indeed, the contrast between Manet's dark and tonal *Dead Toreador* and his bold, broadly brushed marines and the four softly colored, atmospheric landscapes by Monet must have been striking.[134] Riordan, for example, called attention to the "gulf" between Monet's works and those of the older Impressionists, by whom he meant both Courbet and Manet, specifically to the differences in palette. Manet and Monet both, he noted, were interested in accurately recording values, but Monet's "strong point is his extraordinarily vivid color, which is also, when one puts air enough between him and the picture, extraordinarily true in hue."[135] Likewise, J. M. Bowles, reviewing the exhibition for *Modern Art*, was so struck with the contrast between the two artists' works that he declared, "there can be no excuse for their ever being confounded again," a reference to the fact that the artists had been confused frequently because of their similar surnames.[136]

Aside from these comparisons and a few glowing comments on the luscious colors of Monet's paintings, Manet remained the Impressionist upon whom the critics bestowed the greater amount of attention.[137] However, the reviews of the Loan Collection give a clear indication that Impressionism had grown in popularity and critical estimation since the Durand-Ruel exhibition of 1886. Most of the reviewers expressed disappointment that the Impressionist works included in the Loan Collection were not more numerous or of

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higher quality or interest.[138] Also, it was observed without disparagement that the influence of the Impressionists had pervaded the paintings in the French section and could be detected also among the American and the Scandinavian pictures. The critic for the Indianapolis art journal, *Modern Art*, noted that "among the nations one feels it [Impressionism] on every side. It is in the air, and the great bulk of the pictures show its influence in varying degrees. Whether for good or for bad, for long or short, it is the active influence in the art of to-day. So far, it has resulted in an added brilliance of light and color that is refreshing, and makes a gallery a pleasant contrast to the heavy murkiness of a few years ago . . . ."[139] Of the works by the Impressionists in the Loan Collection, Monroe posited "he must be conservative indeed who does not find beauty in the pictures which they [the Impressionists] exhibit here. She continued with special praises for Monet, writing "the paintings by Monet are full of color without being either startling or aggressive."[140] The reviews indicate that critics had overcome their earlier reservations about Impressionism, and they had begun to embrace the style of Impressionism associated with Monet. As a result, while Manet would continue to garner praise for his skills as a painter and as an innovator in the mid-to-late 1890s, Monet's brand of Impressionist would move ahead in popularity and influence.

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Endnotes to Chapter Five

[1] National Academy of Design, New York, *Catalogue of Celebrated Paintings by Great French Masters, Brought to This Country from Paris for Exhibition Only*, May 25-June 30, 1887.

[2] Ripley Hitchcock, "French Paintings at the Academy," *New York Daily Tribune*, 25 May 1887, 4.

[3] With his familiar dry humor, Cook commented that the generous number of non-Impressionist works relative to the small number of Impressionist ones resulted in an exhibition that was "by no means so belligerent an affair" as Durand-Ruel's exhibition of one year earlier. Clarence Cook, "The Durand-Ruel Collection of Paintings at the National Academy of Design," *Studio* 3 (July 1887), 2.

[4] Evidently, Durand-Ruel paid the tariff for the paintings he owned, while the paintings obtained from private collections in Europe entered the country duty-free. All of the works were "under bond" and were to be exhibited for educational purposes only. No sales were to be made. In order to obtain this tax-free status, the exhibition, like the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, was held under the auspices of the American Association for the Promotion and Encouragement of Art. Nevertheless, the works owned by Durand-Ruel *were* for sale and some of the privately-owned works could be purchased as well. See "The Durand-Ruel Collection," *New York Evening Post*, 24 May 1887, 1; "French Pictures at the Academy," *New-York Times*, 25 May 1887, 4; "French Paintings," *New York Herald*, 25 May 1887, 6, and "A Novel Picture Exhibition," *New York World*, 25 May 1887, 3.

Weitzenhoffer states that Durand-Ruel was allowed to exhibit the works duty-free, but sales were strictly prohibited. She indicates that the dealer had hoped to sell works from the exhibition, but under the import agreement, sales could be effected only after sending a work back to Paris and then re-shipping it to New York, where the tariff would be paid upon entry. See Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 42.

[5] In the catalogue, a system was used to distinguish the works that were for exhibition only and therefore not for sale. These were marked by an asterisk and included all of the works by Delacroix, Henner, Lévy, Lefebvre, Rousseau, Dupré, Courbet, and Manet, whereas the works by Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Huguet, Monticelli, and Boudin were not marked with an asterisk and presumably were available for purchase.

[6] In 1886, Ernest Chesneau's *Education of the Artist* was published in the United States with a lengthy section devoted to Manet. Chesneau praised Manet's determination to abandon the "trickery" of the studio and to paint nature directly in true color. Also, he applauded the artist's devotion to modern life subjects, as opposed to subjects from mythology or history. However, he stated that Manet must have been deficient in artistic training, as he rarely attempted compositions with more than two figures, and he copied his models too truthfully rather than giving consideration to the demands of picture-making. In the final analysis, Chesneau stated that "Manet is a very interesting chronicler of modern life, though I think he might have done more and better in his own line." Ernest Chesneau, *The Education of the Artist*, trans. Clara Bell (New York: Cassell and Company, 1886), 237-40.

[7] *New-York Times*, 25 May 1887, 4, and *New York Herald*, 25 May 1887, 6.

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[8] The paintings by Delacroix were owned by James Duncan of Glasgow, Scotland.

[9] For a history of the critical and artistic appreciation of Delacroix, as well as patronage of the artist, in the United States, see Joseph J. Rishel, "Delacroix and America," in Arlette Sérullaz et al., *Delacroix: The Late Work* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1998), 62-74.

[10] For a description of the retrospective exhibition and the significance it held in the formation of the posthumous reputation of the artist, see Barthélémy Jobert, *Delacroix* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 306-08.

[11] *The Poor Fisherman* was praised highly by most critics responding to the 1887 exhibition. For information regarding the history of the painting and its interpretation, see Aimée Brown Price, "*The Poor Fisherman*: A Painting in Context," in Aimée Brown Price, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 1994), 45-53.

[12] "The Fine Arts. French Paintings at the Academy," *Critic* n.s., 7 (28 May 1887), 272.

[13] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. News and Notes," *Independent* 39 (5 May 1887), 555.

[14] "The Durand-Ruel Exhibition," *Art Age* 6 (August 1887), 22.

[15] *New York Herald*, 25 May 1887, 6, and *New-York Times*, 25 May 1887, 4.

[16] "French Paintings at the Academy," *Art Amateur* 17 (July 1887), 32.

[17] Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* was listed as no. 136, and *On the Bridge of Europe* as no. 135. Both paintings were marked with an asterisk indicating that they were for exhibition only and were not for sale.

I have based my identification of no. 135 as *Railroad* upon a description of a painting titled *On the Bridge of Europe* described by art critic Sophia Antoinette Walker, who saw the work in 1894 at the Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York: "There are two figures; a plain little child with yellow hair—not golden nor auburn, but a fady yellow—stands with an outstretched hand upon one of the vertical iron bars of a railing, looking at the city, which we too see beyond; the mother, equally plain, absolutely without *chic* (how does Manet, a Parisian, succeed in eliminating that quality so completely?) sits upon the stone parapet from which the bars arise, a paper novel in her hand. Surely a painter who can make a deathless picture out of a dowdy woman in a pink wrapper with a parrot (Manet's 'Lady in Pink' at the Metropolitan Museum) and such material as he has put into the 'Bridge of Europe,' is not far from being a creator." Sophia Antoinette Walker, "Fine Arts. Summer Notes at Some Picture Shops," *Independent* 46 (5 July 1894), 855.

[18] *New York World*, 25 May 1887, 3.

[19] *Art Age* 6 (August 1887), 22.

[30] *Critic* n.s., 7 (28 May 1887), 272.

[21] *New-York Times*, 25 May 1887, 4.

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[22] Alfred Trumble, "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," *Collector* 2 (15 December 1890), 44.

[23] *New York Herald*, 25 May 1887, 6, and *Art Amateur* 17 (July 1887), 32.

[24] The three Manet paintings were listed as *Marine* (no. 49), *Feeding the Parrot* (no. 99), and *Boy with a Sword* (no. 141). The two Degas paintings were *Before the Race* (no. 62) and *Ballet Girls* (no. 126). Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, *Catalogue of Modern Paintings Belonging to Erwin Davis, Esq.*, New York, 1889.

[25] For a history of the sale and the acquisition of Manet's paintings by the Metropolitan Museum see Frances Weitzenhoffer, "First Manet Paintings to enter an American Museum," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 97 (March 1981), 125-29, and Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "Metropolitan People and Pictures," *Art News* 52 (January 1954), 32-35; 71-74.

[26] George A. Treadwell to "Blanding," New York, 17 October 1904, Erwin and Andrew Jackson Davis Miscellaneous Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[27] Weitzenhoffer, "First Manet Paintings," 126.

[28] Unidentified newspaper clipping from 1890, Erwin and Andrew Jackson Davis Miscellaneous Papers.

[29] Edward Strahan, *The Art Treasures of America Being the Choicest Works of Art in the Public and Private Collections of North America*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1880), 129.

[30] Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 94-95, and Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 145-46. The two Manet paintings were purchased on 27 June 1881. Weir paid 10,000 francs for *Boy with a Sword*, which Durand-Ruel was selling for M. Feder. Artist Files, Edouard Manet, *Boy with a Sword*, European Paintings Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[31] Davis' collection was cited by E. Durand-Gréville in his study of French paintings in American collections. He called Davis an "eclectic in the true sense of the word" and noted with interest the presence of Manet's *Boy with a Sword* and Degas' *Ballet Dancers* hanging in the company of works by Millet, Courbet, Rousseau, Henner, and Ribot. Durand-Greville, "Private Picture-Galleries of the United States. First Article," *Connoisseur* 2 (Winter 1887-88), 98.

[32] "Mr. Erwin Davis's Pictures," *New York Sun*, 15 March 1889, 4.

[33] "The Erwin Davis Collection," *Art Amateur* 20 (April 1889), 99.

[34] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. The Erwin Davis Collection," *Independent* 41 (28 March 1889), 391. The critic for *New-York Times* compared the Davis collection to that of Mary Jane Morgan which had been sold early in 1886, and he observed that Davis' collection surpassed Morgan's "by reason of the absence from it of the big 'important' painting for which your half-baked amateur expends his thousands." He characterized Davis' pictures, by their small size and rich color and painterly effects,

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as having appeal only to the connoisseur. "Sale of Work by Colorists," *New-York Times*, 12 March 1889, 5.

[35] *Art Amateur* 20 (April 1889), 99.

[36] M. G. van Rensselaer, "Pictures of the Season in New York.—III," *American Architect and Building News* 21 (23 April 1887), 195. The other two coveted New York collections were the William H. Vanderbilt and Catherine Wolfe collections. For a description of the William H. Vanderbilt collection, see E. Durand-Gréville, "Private Picture-Galleries of the United States. Second Article," *Connoisseur* 2 (Spring 1888), 138-41

[37] Van Rensselaer, "Erwin Davis Collection," 391.

[38] "Art News and Comments," *New York Daily Tribune*, 10 March 1889, 16.

[39] *New York Sun*, 15 March 1889, 4, and "The Erwin Davis Collection," *New York Evening Post*, 14 March 1889, 8.

[40] "69 Pictures Sold for $35,645," *New York Sun*, 20 March 1889, 2.

[41] "Very Light Bidding. Beginning of the Sale of the Erwin Davis Collection," *New-York Times*, 20 March 1889, 5.

[42] "Prices at the Erwin Davis Sale," *New York Sun*, 21 March 1889, 3.

[43] "The Fine Arts," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 25 March 1889, 2, and "For the Art Museum," *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 March 1889, 1.

[44] "Mr. Davis Makes an Explanation," *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 March 1889, 1.

[45] "Fictitious Prices," *New-York Times*, 22 March 1889, 2.

[46] "Art Notes," *Art Interchange* 22 (30 March 1889), 98; "Mr. Erwin Davis's Pictures," *New-York Times*, 23 March 1889, 8, and *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 March 1889, 1.

[47] Erwin Davis to Samuel P. Avery, 21 March 1889, Archives, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[48] Samuel P. Avery to General Cesnola, undated, Archives, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[49] Reverse of letter from Erwin Davis to Samuel P. Avery, 21 March 1889, bears a note signed and dated by Samuel P. Avery, 28 March 1889, that reads "The offer of Mr. Davis has been considered by the committee on painting and is hereby endorsed." Samuel P. Avery to General Cesnola, 2 April 1889, asks for Henry G. Marquand to call a meeting of the Executive Committee in order that a formal letter of acceptance and thanks for the gift can be sent to Davis. Samuel P. Avery to Henry G. Marquand, 2 April 1889, asks Marquand to convene the Executive Committee or to give Avery permission to send Davis a formal letter of recognition for his gift. Letters, Archives, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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[50] Henry R. Elliot, "Cornering Pictures. The Remarkable Davis Sale of Paintings," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 25 March 1889, 5.

[51] *New-York Times*, 22 March 1889, 2.

[52] In the advertisements that list the choice works in the collection, Manet's paintings were always cited along with Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc* and Courbet's *Music (Violoncellist)*.

[53] Durand-Ruel did not mention the works of Manet, Degas, or Bastien-Lepage in his letter. Instead he praised the high quality of the Davis collection on the merits of the Barbizon School paintings it contained. See "Letter from Durand-Ruel to Davis, Paris, February 15, 1889," *Catalogue of Modern Paintings Belonging to Erwin Davis.*

[54] "The Fine Arts. The Union League Club Exhibition," *Critic* n.s., 11 (19 January 1889), 34. Other works from Davis' collection, soon to be auctioned, were shown as well, including Courbet's *Violoncellist* and Delacroix's *Lion Hunt.*

[55] Clarence Cook, "The Boy with a Sword," *Studio* n.s., 3 (August 1888), 131. The painting is reproduced on page 139. Other of Davis' works discussed and reproduced in *Studio* are Degas' *Behind the Scenes, The Ballet Dancers* and M. E. Duez's *The Children's Dinner. Studio* n.s., 2 (March 1887), 156, and *Studio* n.s., 2 (July 1886), 9.

Boy with a Sword was reproduced in 1887 also, when it appeared as a notable artistic achievement with its own entry in Champlin and Perkins dictionary of art. See John Denison Champlin, Jr. and Charles C. Perkins, *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887), 187-88.

[56] Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer, "Fine Arts. Art Notes," *Independent* 39 (10 November 1887), 1447.

[57] The Albert Spencer collection was sold in New York on 28 February 1888, and over $284,000 was realized. The highest price paid for a painting at the sale was $26,000 for Constant Troyon's *Drove of Cattle and Sheep*, and the majority of the works sold for over $1000 each. The collection included a large number of Barbizon School paintings, as well as paintings more academic in style by Meissonier and Gérôme, and fashionable impressionistic works by Boldini and Fortuny. "Albert Spencer's Pictures," *New-York Times*, 18 February 1888, 4, and "A Big Sum for Paintings," *New-York Times*, 29 February 1888, 2. The Alexander Stewart collection was sold in 1887, and it included 217 works by mostly European artists. The highpoint of the Stewart sale was the purchase of Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair* by Cornelius Vanderbilt for $53,000. The George I. Seney sale was held in 1885, and a painting by Jules Breton sold for $18,200.

For an historical perspective on the American enthusiasm for collecting and the rising sale prices of European art in this country, see Lois Marie Fink, "French Art in the United States, 1850-1870," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 2 (September 1978), 87-100. Also, Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort and Jeanne K. Welcher, "Some Views of Art Buying in New York in the 1870s and 1880s," *Oxford Art Journal* 5 (1982), 48-55, and Albert Boime, "America's Purchasing Power and the Evolution of European Art in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Francis Haskell, ed., *Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza sullo sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIX e XX* (Bologna: Cooperativa Libraria Universitaria, 1979), 123-39.

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[58] "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 20 (May 1889), 122. The average price per picture at the Spencer sale was $4,766. "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 24 (March 1891), 88.

[59] "Mr. Erwin Davis's Paintings," *New York Daily Tribune*, 12 March 1889, 6.

[60] *New York Sun*, 15 March 1889, 4.

[61] Van Rensselaer, "Erwin Davis Collection," 391.

[62] *New York Sun*, 15 March 1889, 4.

[63] *New York Daily Tribune*, 12 March 1889, 6.

[64] *New York Sun*, 15 March 1889, 4.

[65] *Art Age* 9 (March 1889), 60.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Van Rensselaer, "Erwin Davis Collection," 391; *New York Sun*, 15 March 1889, 4, and *Art Age* 9 (March 1889), 60.

[68] *New York Evening Post*, 14 March 1889, 8.

[69] Ripley Hitchcock, "New York's Art Museum," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 28 (December 1889), 672.

[70] Alfred Trumble, "Impressionists and Imitators," *Collector* 1 (November 1889), 11.

[71] [Alfred Trumble], "Pictures at the Metropolitan Museum. Article III. The Hearn Collection," *Collector* 9 (1 October 1899), 291.

[72] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Association for the Year Ending December 31, 1889* (New York, 1890), 446-47.

[73] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1901), 186. See also Champlin and Perkins, 187-88.

[74] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1905), 111-12.

[75] *Exposition Universelle de 1889. Catalogue illustré des beaux-arts* (Paris: L. Danel, 1889), 52-53. The fourteen works by Manet were numbered consecutively nos. 485 – 498 inclusive. The works listed in order were *Le Fifre*, *Espagnol jouant de la guitare*, *Olympia*, *Toreador tué*, *Le Bon Bock*, *Argenteuil*, *Femme en blanc*, *Portrait de M. Antonin Proust*, *Les Asperges*, *Mon Jardin*, *Le Printemps—Jeanne*, *Le port de Boulogne—effet de nuit*, *Le liseur*, and *En Bateau*. *Boy with a Sword* owned by Erwin Davis of New York was requested for the exhibition, but it had recently been offered by Davis to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and as the gift had not been formally accepted and acknowledged, the museum declined the request to lend the painting.

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[76] W[illiam]. C. Brownell, "The Paris Exposition. Notes and Impressions," *Scribner's Magazine* 7 (January 1890), 31.

[77] Theodore Child, "The Paris Centennial Exposition. The Paintings (First Notice)," *Art Amateur* 21 (July 1889), 28.

[78] Theodore Child, "Art Displays in Paris," *New York Sun*, 16 June 1889, 3.

[79] William A. Coffin, "The Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition. VI. The Retrospective Exhibition of French Art," *Nation* 49 (19 September 1889), 230. William Anderson Coffin (1855-1925) was born in Allegheny, PA, and he graduated from Yale in 1874. After studying at Yale Art School, in 1877 Coffin went to Paris and studied with Léon Bonnat. He opened a studio in New York in 1882, and he worked as an artist and an art critic in the years following. He exhibited his works regularly both at home and abroad, and in 1889, he was awarded a bronze medal at the Universal Exposition in Paris. He was art critic for the *New York Evening Post* and the *Nation* from 1886-91, and from 1896-1900, he was art critic for the *New York Sun*. "William A. Coffin, Painter, Dies at 70," *New-York Times*, 27 October 1925, 23, and *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*,1909 ed., s.v. "Coffin, William Anderson."

[80] William A. Coffin, "The Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition. VII. The Retrospective Exhibition," *Nation* 49 (26 September 1889), 249, and Brownell, "The Paris Exposition," 31-32.

[81] M. G. van Rensselaer, "Open Letters. Impressions of the International Exhibition of 1889," *Century Magazine* 39 (December 1889), 317.

[82] Child, "Paris Centennial Exposition. (First Notice)," 28.

[83] "The Works of Rodin and Monet," *Art Interchange* 23 (17 August 1889), 49. This article was actually a review of the Monet-Rodin exhibition at the Georges Petit Galleries in Paris, and in giving some background information on Monet, the critic discussed Manet by mistake. The critic stated that "Monet [sic] is recognized as the pioneer of this new school, though he is generally spoken of nowadays as one who showed the way rather than as one who walked successfully in it himself."

[84] F. C. [Françoise Cachin], Provenance, *Olympia*, in Cachin et al., *Manet, 1832-1883* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 183. See also, Royal Cortissoz, *Personalities in Art* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), 269-70.

[85] American painter Mary Cassatt was asked to contribute to the subscription, but she refused because she had hoped that *Olympia* would go to the United States. Erica E. Hirshler, "Helping 'Fine Things Across the Atlantic': Mary Cassatt and Art Collecting in the United States," in Judith A. Barter, *Mary Cassatt: Modern Woman* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 180.

[86] "New York Topics," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 15 May 1886, 10.

[87] Champlin and Perkins, 187-88.

[88] Ibid., 20.

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[89] C[lara]. H. Stranahan, *A History of French Painting from Its Earliest to Its Latest Practice* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1889), 463-66.

[90] Ibid., 466-67.

[91] Wilfrid Meynell, *Some Modern Artists and Their Work* (London, Paris, and New York: Cassell and Company, 1883), and Wilfrid Meynell, ed., *Modern Art and Artists* (London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, 1889).

[92] Wilhelm Lübke, *Outlines of the History of Art*, ed. Clarence Cook (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1878 and 1885). When Lübke's study appeared in 1904, in a revised and "largely rewritten" edition edited by Russell Sturgis, Manet and the Impressionists were again excluded. Wilhelm Lübke, *Outlines of the History of Art*, ed. Russell Sturgis (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1904).

[93] Clarence Cook, *Art and Artists of Our Time*, vol. 2 (New York: Selmar Hess, 1888), 152-57. Cook praised Bastien-Lepage's works for their "homely truthfulness" and their "true sentiment of subject."

[94] John C. Van Dyke, *Principles of Art* (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1887).

[95] John C. Van Dyke, *How to Judge of a Picture. Familiar Talks in the Gallery with Uncritical Lovers of Art* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1888), 129-31.

[96] Reviewers of the study praised Muther for his catholic tastes and his ability to write about a broad range of styles and national idiosyncrasies without bias. When bias was detected, it was Muther's strong admiration for English art and his tendency to root all important artistic developments in English art or literature. The study was commended for including the most recent developments in painting, and reviewers noted with great interest that Muther identified the trend of the *fin de siècle* as idealism, such as was exemplified by the works of Puvis de Chavannes, and he proclaimed the end of the long reign of naturalism in painting. See "New Publications. Art," *Art Amateur* 35 (November 1896), 130; "The Fine Arts," *Critic* n.s., 26 (14 November 1896), 306; "Comment on New Books," *Atlantic Monthly* 79 (February 1897), 275, and "Book Review: *A History of Modern Art*, by Richard Muther," *Modern Art* 5 (Winter 1897), 9-12.

[97] Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1896), 11-12.

[98] In the enlarged edition of *The History of Modern Painting* that appeared in 1907, Muther devoted an entire chapter of volume three to the Impressionists with extensive commentary on Manet that provided his biography, influences on the artist's formation, and discussion of individual works. Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, 4 vols. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1907), 105-21.

[99] Theodore Child, "Some Modern French Painters," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 80 (May 1890), 826, 828. This essay was republished in Theodore Child, *Art and Criticism: Monographs and Studies* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892), 43-167.

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[100] Brownell had been a loyal supporter of the artists who had formed the Society of American Artists in 1877. He admired and appreciated their interest in technique, their desire to break away from the stale ideals of academic art, their ability to express feeling in their works, and their genuine impulse to create art, especially to paint. However, he did not approve of the lack of finish in their productions, and he complained of an absence of "poetry," even though he believed that their works were strong and fresh. W[illiam]. C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America. First Paper," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (May 1880), 1-15, and W[illiam]. C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America. Second Paper," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880), 321-35.

William Crary Brownell (1851-1928) was born in New York, and he graduated from Amherst College in 1871. Early in his career, he was on the staff of the *Nation* before serving as literary advisor to Charles Scribner's Sons publishers, a position he held for thirty-six years. Aside from his professional duties, he wrote numerous books of art and literary criticism, including *French Traits: An Essay in Contemporary Criticism* (1889), *French Art: Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture* (1892), and *Victorian Prose Masters* (1909). "Dr. W. C. Brownell, Critic, Dies at 76," *New-York Times*, 23 July 1928, 17.

[101] W[illiam]. C. Brownell, *French Art: Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893). *French Art* is a compilation of essays that were published earlier in *Scribner's Magazine*. See W[illiam]. C. Brownell, "French Art. I. Classic Painting," *Scribner's Magazine* 12 (September 1892), 329-46; "French Art. II. Romantic Painting," *Scribner's Magazine* 12 (October 1892), 431-49, and "French Art. III. Realistic Painting," *Scribner's Magazine* 12 (November 1892), 604-27. See also, W[illiam]. C. Brownell, "French Traits," *Scribner's Magazine* 5 (February 1889), 241-51.

[102] Brownell, "French Art. III," 622.

[103] After the 1889 universal exposition, with its important and widely-discussed retrospective exhibition, there was a greater tendency among French and American critics to comment on artists' works within the context of the entire nineteenth century. While Manet had always been linked to the Realist Gustave Courbet, and even to the Barbizon School painters, after 1889, he was as often seen as a neo-Romantic figure and was compared frequently with Théodore Géricault or Eugène Delacroix. All three men had struggled with new directions in their art, and in the case of both Géricault and Manet, were perceived as not having achieved their potential as artists. Neither Géricault nor Manet was recognized within his lifetime, but both received posthumous appreciation, more for their courage than for their achievements.

[104] Brownell, "French Art. II," 434. Brownell compared Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* with Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère.*

[105] Brownell, "French Art. III," 621-25.

[106] "Philip Gilbert Hamerton," *Critic* n.s., 22 (10 November 1894), 316.

[107] Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The Present State of the Fine Arts in France* (London: Seeley and Company, 1892), 23-24.

[108] Philip Gilbert Hamerton, "The Fifer. Painted by Edouard Manet," *Scribner's Magazine* 15 (January 1894), 51.

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[109] Brownell and Hamerton were not the only critics to discuss the technical and scientific aspects of Manet's works. Theodore Child also observed that Manet and the Impressionists used their eyes scientifically, meaning that they represented the true appearances of their subjects by "establishing rigorously the series of relations" in color values. Child, "Some Modern French Painters," 828.

[110] Brownell, "French Art. III," 623.

[111] Ibid., 622-23.

[112] Hamerton, "Fifer," 50.

[113] Attesting to their friendship, Manet painted three known portraits of George Moore, two of which are in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[114] George Moore, *Modern Painting* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), 30.

[115] "Loan Collection. Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States," in *World's Columbian Exposition. 1893. Official Catalogue. Fine Arts* (Chicago: W. B. Gonkey Company, 1893), 60-63. Manet's works are listed as no. 2936, *Marine*, lent by Mr. Frank Thomson of Philadelphia; no. 2937, *Dead Toreador*, lent by Mr. James Inglis of New York; no. 2938, *Marine*, lent by Mr. Alexander J. Cassatt of Philadelphia.

Montague Marks noted in his column that Hallowell had requested the loan of Manet's *Boy with a Sword*, as well as Bastien-Lepage's *Joan of Arc* and Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair* for the Loan Collection, but the loans were denied by the Metropolitan Museum. Marks commented that the museum's refusal had had the adverse effect of causing other collectors to withhold their pictures as well. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 28 (April 1893), 124.

[116] For biographical data on Hallowell and information on her professional activities, see "Miss Sara Hallowell Unique in the Art World," *New-York Times*, 31 December 1905, sec. 3, 6; John D. Kysela, "Sara Hallowell Brings 'Modern Art' to the Midwest," *Art Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1968), 150-67; Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy, 1981), 181-90; Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 87-91; Carolyn Kinder Carr, "Prejudice and Pride: Presenting American Art at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition," in Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, 1993), 65-71, and Judith A. Barter et al., *American Arts at The Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 21-23.

[117] Inspired by the Centennale Exhibition at the Universal Exposition of 1889 in Paris, a similar retrospective was planned for Chicago. Originally, the Chicago retrospective was to be orchestrated by Antonin Proust and was to include works from France as well as works owned in the United States. However, the French committee in charge of the national exhibit did not follow through with the plan and sent works by living artists only. Thus, Hallowell's Loan Collection was an attempt to provide an educational overview of European art of the nineteenth century leading up to the historical moment of the fair. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 27 (June 1892), 2; Montague Marks, "My Note Book," *Art Amateur* 27 (September 1892), 79, and Ernest Knaufft, "Art at the Columbian Exposition," *Review of Reviews* 7 (June 1893), 552.

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[118] "Art at the World's Fair. I. The Contents of the Art Building at Chicago," *New York Daily Tribune*, 11 June 1893, 14; Roger Riordan, "The World's Fair Loan Collection. II. Naturalism—The Barbizon School—Corot," *Art Amateur* 30 (February 1894), 76; Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* n.s., 20 (8 July 1893), 30, and William A. Coffin, "The Columbian Exposition. V. Fine Arts: The French Pictures and the Loan Collection," *Nation* 57 (31 August 1893), 152.

In his essay on the collectors of Corot's paintings, Michael Pantazzi confirms that the 1893 Loan Collection marked a highpoint in the popularity of Corot in America. Michael Pantazzi, ""Corot and His Collectors," in Gary Tinterow, Michael Pantazzi, and Vincent Pomarède, *Corot* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 405-06.

[119] "For the Barbizon pictures, the impressionistic studies and the work of Dagnan, Bouveret and Cazin one must look in the loan collection; neither Monet nor Manet are to be found here. The French galleries contain a lot of old Salon pictures, a good deal of showy materialistic work, and very little that one really cares about as representative of their fame. . . ." M. C. Robbins, "The Fine Arts. Flash Light Views of Art at the World's Fair. II," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 21 May 1893, 5.

[120] Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* n.s., 20 (8 July 1893), 30.

[121] "Art at the World's Fair. IX. The Loan Exhibition of 'Masterpieces' by Foreign Artists," *New York Daily Tribune*, 15 July 1893, 7.

[122] J. C. V. D. [John C. Van Dyke], "Art at the Fair. Italian, Spanish, and French Painting. III," *New York Evening Post*, 8 August 1893, 5.

[123] [Roger Riordan], "The Loan Collection. I. Classicists and Romanticists and Their Successors," *Art Amateur* 29 (July 1893), 36.

[124] "Are Loaned to the Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 May 1893, 1.

[125] J. M. Bowles, "Impressions of the Fair. II," *Modern Art* 1 (Autumn 1893), n.p.

[126] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 May 1893, 1.

[127] *New York Daily Tribune*, 15 July 1893, 7.

[128] Van Dyke remembered that *Dead Toreador* was hung in a position of honor. Peter Wild, ed., *The Autobiography of John C. Van Dyke: A Personal Narrative of American Life 1861-1931* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 83.

[129] "Loan Exhibition at the Fair," *New York Herald*, 7 May 1893, 21.

[130] Coffin, "Columbian Exposition. V," 152.

[131] J. C. V. D. [John C. Van Dyke], "Art at the Fair. The American Pictures. I," *New York Evening Post*, 31 July 1893, 5. Van Dyke remembered his encounter with the *Dead Toreador* at the Loan Exhibition in his autobiography. He called it "the finest piece of painting since Velásquez" and emphasized the "unique painter's value" of the work. Wild, 83.

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[132] Roger Riordan, "The World's Fair Loan Collection. Contemporary Painting (Concluded)," *Art Amateur* 30 (April 1894), 130, and Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* n.s., 20 (8 July 1893), 30.

[133] Robbins, "Flash Light Views. II," 5.

[134] The works by Monet were no. 2954, *Morning Fog*, lent by Albert Spencer, New York; no. 2955, *Dawn on the Coast of the North Sea*, lent by Albert Spencer, New York; no. 2956, *Harbor of Havre*, lent by Frank Thomson, Philadelphia; no. 2957, *Snow Scene*, lent by Alexander J. Cassatt, Philadelphia.

[135] Riordan, "World's Fair Loan Collection. (Concluded)," 130.

[136] Bowles, "Impressions of the Fair. II," n.p.

[137] The one exception to this was penned by Riordan, who expressed a clear preference for the lighter, brighter works of the younger Impressionists, including Monet, as opposed to the works of the older men. Riordan, "World's Fair Loan Collection. (Concluded)," 130.

[138] "France at the World's Fair," *New-York Times*, 9 July 1893, 15; "The Fine Arts," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 May 1893, 5, and *New York Daily Tribune*, 11 June 1893, 14.

[139] W. Forsyth, "Impressions of the Fair. III," *Modern Art* 1 (Autumn 1893), n.p.

[140] Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* n.s., 20 (29 July 1893), 76.

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Chapter Six

1895-1900: Path Breaker and Master Painter

In the last five years of the nineteenth century, American critics embraced Edouard Manet as a representative of independence and originality who turned his back on traditional artistic values and methods and painted the world from a patently individual perspective. He was upheld as a figure wholly committed to art and to his own creative vision who, like the Romantic artists Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix, set an example of courage and perseverance in the face of opposition from official art circles. Manet's courage, individuality, and sincerity were praised as positive attributes by late-nineteenth century American art writers, and the influence of his path-breaking investigations was seen as instrumental to the development of not only Impressionism but all modern painting. Although admired by a select few as early as the late 1860s, Manet's virile manner of handling paint was emphatically praised by American critics and artists in the closing years of the century, suggesting that the canon of beauty against which the artist had long struggled had evolved and expanded to include more expressive and less refined methods. Manet's works, moreover, were perceived as manifestations of a restless and original mind, rather than the tentative probings of a poorly trained or uncertain artist as had been suggested previously.

In addition to characterizations of him as an heroic figure, American critics proclaimed Manet an outstanding painter, who manipulated paint beautifully and had an enviable talent for capturing accurate values and achieving fresh, unmuddied colors. As had been the case since the late 1860s, among Manet's greatest fans in the mid-to-late 1890s were painters or those who had experience with and were sensitive to the craft of painting. J. Carroll Beckwith, William A. Coffin, and a new admirer, Arthur Hoeber viewed Manet as an unparalleled technician. To their minds, he painted with a sureness of touch and

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with a remarkably accurate sense of values that was nothing short of mastery. Time and time again, these critics sidestepped problems that had plagued previous assessments of the artist—ugliness, absence of intellectual content, and lack of finish—to focus their attention and their commendations on Manet's talents as a painter. Although no longer insurmountable deterrents to approval, these same flaws nonetheless prevented Manet from being recognized by critics as a master artist. He was heralded as a great painter and innovator, but not as a consummate artist.

One of the events of the mid-to-late 1890s that is of major importance for gauging the higher volume of praise for Manet was the solo exhibition of his works held at the New York branch of Durand-Ruel Galleries in 1895. It was the largest exhibition of the artist's paintings presented in nineteenth-century America, and it elicited an unprecedented amount of critical attention, all of which was laudatory in tone. Manet's works appeared in a number of other exhibitions in the late 1890s as well, culminating in the Centennale exhibition at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900, which was attended by a number of American critics. Most of these late-nineteenth century exhibitions, however, featured only a small number of Manet's works, but they are significant as a measure of changing taste and widening interest in the artist beyond the usual venues of New York and Boston. In the late 1890s, Manet's works were exhibited again in Boston and Chicago, as well as in Buffalo, New York, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Although complaints against elements of the artist's style were fewer in number and less urgent or derogatory in tone, American critics continued to express reservations about Manet's art, and their hesitations may well have been influenced by debates that continued to simmer abroad. For example, in 1894, the French Impressionist painter Gustave Caillebotte died, and his collection of mostly Impressionist paintings was bequeathed to the nation. While the resistance was less vehement than with the *Olympia* gift in 1890, there was a wave of protest from artists in particular, and not all of the paintings offered by the estate were accepted by the museum committee. Among the

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works by Manet that were included in the bequest were *On the Balcony* (fig. 39) and *Croquet at Boulogne* (fig. 44), both of which had been exhibited in the United States, as well as *Angelina* (1865; Musée d'Orsay, Paris). Two of the three Manet paintings, *On the Balcony* and *Angelina*, were accepted for the Luxembourg Museum. Forty items altogether were selected from the estate, but the works did not actually hang in the Luxembourg Museum until February 1897, when again there were protests.[1] Although they duly noted the uproar in Paris, American critics penned their support of the acceptance of the Caillebotte collection, including the works by Manet, and expressed their belief that the Impressionists deserved the official recognition that was implicit in their works being housed in the Luxembourg Museum.[2] Other reports on Manet from abroad included reviews of the 1894 solo exhibition of Manet's paintings at the Durand-Ruel gallery in Paris which was said to have generated lively but not altogether positive critical discussion among French art writers.

However, there were encouraging signs that Manet's works were receiving a more positive reception abroad. Most notably, sale records indicated that the prices of Manet's pictures were on the rise, concrete evidence that art collectors and dealers were placing a higher value on the artist's works. Strong prices for paintings by Manet were observed at the sales of the Théodore Duret collection in 1894, as well as the Count Armand Doria collection and the Victor Chocquet collection, both in 1899.[3] Also the acquisition of *In the Conservatory* (fig. 13) by the Berlin Museum in late 1896 was viewed as a triumph for Manet and for Impressionism generally, as this marked the first purchase by a museum of a painting by the artist.[4] Finally, Manet was represented by a generous number of works in the Centennale exhibition at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1900, an indicator of his more secure position in the history of French nineteenth-century painting. These events proved to American art watchers that support and enthusiasm for Manet in Europe was in fact accelerating although not yet universal.

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Manet's art was kept before the American public in the final years of the century largely through the auspices of Durand-Ruel Galleries which had opened a New York branch in 1888. Durand-Ruel Galleries owned a substantial repository of the artist's paintings and also had access to French collections such as that of Jean-Baptiste Faure, from which many works by Manet were borrowed over the years for exhibition in the United States.[5] Paintings by the artist could be seen with some regularity at Durand-Ruel's New York gallery throughout the 1890s, and these were noted occasionally by art critics. Durand-Ruel Galleries was responsible for both of the solo exhibitions of Manet's works in Paris and New York in 1894 and 1895 respectively and was the primary lender of his works in the other American exhibitions of the mid-to-late 1890s.

Manet, however, was not the only "Impressionist" painter that Durand-Ruel Galleries promoted in the United States. Beginning in the early 1890s, exhibitions of Manet's works were outnumbered by those devoted to the other Impressionists, namely Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Auguste Renoir, Alfred Sisley, and to a lesser extent, Edgar Degas. In 1889, a solo exhibition at Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York was devoted to Sisley, and in 1891, Durand-Ruel organized an exhibition of works by Monet, Sisley and Pissarro at the J. Eastman Chase Gallery in Boston. In 1892, an exhibition of works by Sisley, Renoir, Degas, Pissarro, John Lewis Brown, and Johann Jongkind was held at Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York, followed in 1895 by solo exhibitions for Monet, Manet, and Mary Cassatt. The Monet exhibition of 1895 included some forty-eight canvases, and like the smaller Manet exhibition that followed it, traveled to the Art Institute of Chicago after it closed in New York.[6] A solo exhibition of works by Pissarro was organized in 1897, and in 1899 an exhibition of works by Sisley was held in the New York gallery. Finally, in 1900, Durand-Ruel Galleries held an exhibition of works by Monet and Renoir in New York.[7]

Not only Durand-Ruel galleries but also the Parisian firm of Boussod & Valadon, as well as American galleries including Williams and Everett in Boston and the American

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Art Association in New York, presented exhibitions of Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley during the 1890s.[8] For example, in 1893, paintings by Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Pissarro, and Jean-François Raffaëlli were exhibited at the Boussod and Valadon gallery in New York. In 1894, Delmonico Galleries held an exhibition of Impressionist paintings. In 1896, the American Art Galleries held an exhibition of fourteen of Monet's Rouen cathedral views.[9]

The rise to appreciation of Monet and the Impressionists in the United States was largely attributable to Durand-Ruel's efforts. A number of landscapes by Monet and Pissarro were sold from the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, proving that collectors including Erwin Davis, Albert Spencer, William H. Fuller, and Alden Wyman Kingman were open to expanding their collections in a new direction.[10] In May 1887, preceding the "Celebrated Paintings by Great French Masters" exhibition in New York, Durand-Ruel held a sale of European paintings at William P. Moore's Art Galleries on Fifth Avenue. Included in the sale were a small number of paintings by Monet, Degas, Sisley, Renoir, and Pissarro, and Monet's works achieved some of the highest prices among the pictures sold.[11] In 1888, New York collector Albert Spencer sold his collection of Barbizon School paintings, which he had accumulated largely through the assistance of Paul Durand-Ruel, and he then focused his collecting activities on the Impressionists. Collectors in Boston followed suit as well, including Desmond Fitzgerald and Peter Chardon Brooks.[12] This increased activity in the art market led the critic Alfred Trumble to comment in 1889 that, "the works of this special artistic cult recur with constantly increasing frequency in our sales and dealers' galleries, and the fact that they are imported, under our tariff, proves that there must be a commercial reason for importing them which did not exist when M. Durand-Ruel made his exhibition at the American Art Galleries some years ago."[13]

In the 1890s, the fruits of American investments in Impressionism could be seen at a number of exhibitions held at private clubs in New York and Boston. For example, in

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February of 1891, more than thirty paintings by Monet, most of which were owned by Albert Spencer and William H. Fuller, were exhibited at the Union League Club in New York.[14] In March of 1893, a loan exhibition for the American Fine Arts Society in New York included at least half a dozen paintings by Monet.[15] In 1899, a loan collection of works by Monet owned by William H. Fuller was held in New York at the Lotus Club. In Boston, twenty-one paintings by Monet were exhibited at the St. Botolph Club in April 1892, the bulk of which were owned by Desmond Fitzgerald and Denman Ross.[16] The St. Botolph Club held solo exhibitions of Monet's works in 1895 and 1899 as well.[17] By 1898, the popularity of Monet and the landscape Impressionists, at least among the cognoscenti, was undeniable, and critic Trumble, a less-than-enthusiastic observer of this trend, noted that Durand-Ruel had been proven correct in his belief that the painting of the Impressionists would become as sought after as those of the School of 1830. He continued, "When Durand-Ruel first brought the collection of pictures by the Impressionist school, founded by Manet, people laughed at him. Now you find them everywhere—no collection is complete without its Monet, Renoir, Degas, Besnard, Pissarro."[18]

By the close of the nineteenth century, only some thirty paintings by Manet were in the hands of American collectors, a small number in comparison to the large number of works by Monet owned privately in this country. Of these, eight were purchased in the 1880s, another five were purchased in the early 1890s, and seventeen were purchased between 1895 and 1900. Among the first American collectors to purchase a Manet painting, Erwin Davis owned three examples of his work purchased in the early 1880s by artist J. Alden Weir, and other nineteenth-century collectors who acquired more than one painting by Manet included James Inglis and George Vanderbilt of New York, and Mr. Harris Whittemore of Naugatuck, Connecticut.[19] The collectors who were most active in buying Manet's paintings in the nineteenth century were Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, who by 1900 owned thirteen paintings as well as a number of pastels by

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Manet.[20] The Havemeyers' purchases were made with the assistance of American painter Mary Cassatt, who had advised her brother Alexander J. Cassatt to purchase the works of Manet and the Impressionists as well. Manet, however, was the not the only late-nineteenth century French painter in the Havemeyer's collection. Reflecting the growing attraction and rising prices of his paintings, the Havemeyers also acquired sixteen paintings by Monet before 1900.[21]

At the same time when American collectors were beginning to appreciate the Impressionism of Monet and his followers, so too were larger numbers of American artists. The most concrete evidence we have of this is the growth of an artist colony in Giverny that was founded in the summer of 1887, when John Leslie Breck, William Blair Bruce, Willard Metcalf, Louis Ritter, Theodore Robinson, and Henry Fitch Taylor established themselves at the Hôtel Baudy near Monet's home. As has been demonstrated by William H. Gerdts, the colony grew rapidly in the 1890s, with Americans in the majority of residents, and continued to be popular well into the twentieth century.[22] Impressionist paintings by the Giverny artists and others who absorbed the style either in France or from secondary sources appeared with growing frequency at exhibitions in the United States, especially in New York and Boston, as early as the late 1880s and in substantial numbers in the 1890s. Already by 1891, Greta, writing for the *Art Amateur* noted the rage among young Boston painters for Impressionism:

> The old favorites, sticking to their own styles, take back seats, and one almost wonders if all the pictures of the past are going to be taken out into Copley Square and burned. Titian and Veronese and the old masters have faded, we are told; Rembrandt is brown; even Corot is stuffy, and as for Daubigny and the rest of the modern French school of landscape, they are virtually black-and-while. Courbet and Hunt couldn't see color in nature as it really is. Tone, so much prized and labored for in the past, must go; Motley and Monet are your only wear.[23]

An early and sizable showing of American Impressionist paintings was presented in the American section of the fine arts display at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Also in 1893, a joint exhibition of French and American Impressionism

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opened at the American Art Galleries in New York. The exhibition featured the works of four men, Claude Monet, Albert Besnard, J. Alden Weir, and John Henry Twachtman, and it impressed upon the minds of critics and viewers the strong ties between America and Giverny in particular. While one critic called the exhibition an "Impressionistic agony," the majority of the reviews were favorable.[24] The influence of Monet's brand of Impressionism was noted repeatedly in reviews of American exhibitions of the 1890s, in which critics pointed approvingly to the increased adoption of soft, pastel colors, the use of loose, feathery brushwork, and the attention to effects of light. American artists such as Theodore Robinson, John Singer Sargent, and Lilla Cabot Perry, all of whom worked in Giverny and knew the painter personally, were proselytizers for Monet as well, who praised his achievements in print or through recommendations for purchases of his paintings.[25]

With collectors and artists increasingly convinced of the merits of Impressionism, critics were won over to the style as well, albeit more slowly. In the late 1870s when they had their first exposure, American critics were opposed to French Impressionist paintings because they were perceived as sloppy, unnatural in color, and mundane in subject. By 1886, they had warmed to the broadly painted and tonal paintings of Manet, but the majority of critics were inured to the merits of works by Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Pissarro. Providing a hint of the future shift in taste, however, in the commentary that surrounded both the 1886 Impressionist exhibition as well as the 1887 masterpieces show, a small number of critics including Mariana van Rensselaer and Sophia Antoinette Walker admitted their admiration for Monet's softly colored and evocative landscapes which they preferred to the sober urban realities presented by Manet and Degas.

By the early 1890s, only the most conservative critics could deny the attractions of the style, and there was a veritable flood of critical material published during the decade, from exhibition reviews to full-length articles on members of the Impressionist group, most notably Monet. For example, Cecilia Waern in her article on French Impressionism

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written for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1892, called Monet an "acknowledged master" and a "poet" and lavished commendations on his works for their beauty and subtle coloring and the effect of truthfulness they conveyed.[26] Likewise William C. Brownell, in his article on French Realist art for *Scribner's Monthly* also published in 1892, called Monet the herald of the future direction in painting for his ability to capture the subtle and changing moods of nature complete with soft atmosphere and changing effects of color and light.[27] Art writers deemed Monet's works "poetical," his handling of paint "suave," his subjects "charming," and his colors "glowing" or "iridescent." One critic, understanding that Impressionism represented a break with the academic tradition, observed upon studying canvases by Monet and Besnard, that he could find nothing "suggestive of the violence and suddenness of a revolution."[28] The life-affirming and comfortable qualities that attracted viewers to Monet's paintings were exactly the elements that critics and viewers found lacking in Manet's paintings, which maintained the aggressive qualities associated with breaking completely with the past and revolutionizing artistic vision.

It would not be accurate to say that Manet fell out of favor in the 1890s because actually the man and his works found some of their most passionate admirers at the time; however, Monet moved into the spotlight during the closing decade of the century, and clearly his evocative landscapes captured the admiration of critics and collectors in a more whole-hearted way than did Manet's works, which required a heartier taste. Monet's brand of Impressionism became the accepted and desired manifestation of the style, while Manet's works looked coarse and unresolved and in some cases caused critics to question why they were considered "Impressionist" at all.

Manet Exhibition, Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York

The 1895 exhibition at Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York, which ran from 11 to 30 March included twenty-nine paintings drawn from Durand-Ruel's inventory as well as from private collections in France and the United States and was the most comprehensive

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overview of Manet's works shown in this country to date (fig. 49). A large number of works by Manet not seen before on this side of the Atlantic were included, among which were *Children in the Tuileries* (fig. 50), *Music in the Tuileries* (fig. 51), *Spanish Ballet*, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, *A Matador*, *Portrait of Zacharie Astruc*, *Races at Longchamp*, *Jetty at Boulogne*, *Luncheon in the Studio*, *Repose: Portrait of Berthe Morisot*, *Masked Ball at the Opéra*, *Grand Canal, Venice*, *Nana*, *Chez le père Lathuile*, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, and *House at Rueil* (either fig. 52 or 53).[29] Works exhibited that were familiar already to Americans included *Dead Christ and the Angels* and *Tragic Actor*, both of which had been exhibited in the Foreign Exhibition of 1883 in Boston, as well as *Bull Fight* (fig. 38), *Salmon*, *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet*, *Café-Concert*, *In the Conservatory*, and *Portrait of M. Henri Rochefort* which had been featured in the 1886 Durand-Ruel Impressionist exhibition in New York, and *Railroad* shown by Durand-Ruel at the 1887 "Celebrated Paintings by Great French Masters" exhibition in New York.[30]

Compared to the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, which had included the second-largest number of works by Manet shown in nineteenth-century America, the 1895 exhibition provided a thorough overview of Manet's oeuvre from the early 1860s to the year before his death including his late, truly Impressionist productions, which had not been seen before in this country in such large numbers. Because of the generous number of paintings and the variety of genres shown and because Manet's works were not readily accessible for American audiences, most being owned abroad or in private collections in the United States, critics expressed their awareness that the exhibition was a rare opportunity. The critic for the *New York Sun* characterized the significance of the exhibition as "historical" because it offered seminal manifestations of broad, simple execution and interest in outdoor light that had become pervasive in painting by the 1890s.[31] Other reviewers promoted the exhibition as a singular event for the connoisseur, the artist, and the art student both to relish Manet's technique and to understand his primary significance in the development of modern painting. In earlier years, critics had

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observed that Manet's paintings would be of interest to the art student, often as examples of what to avoid, but by the mid-1890s, study and emulation of the works were actually recommended. In fact, the critic for *New York Evening Post* suggested that "Students of the [Art Students'] league, the Metropolitan, and the academy schools should see the collection, and their professors might learn a thing or two worth knowing by a visit."[32] Revealing how a taste for the Impressionism had grown, the critic for the *New York Daily Tribune* commented that the exhibition came at a good time, as the Impressionist style had been much distorted in the hands of incompetent painters and the lesson of "directness" offered by the works of Manet was sorely needed to guide these lesser followers.[33]

While the exhibition was recommended for those intimate with artistic concerns, critics were doubtful that the exhibition would have popular appeal. Again, it was observed that painters were best equipped to appreciate the genius of Manet's art. The critic for the *New York Evening Post* referred to Manet as a "painter's painter" and noted that "perhaps none but a painter can fully appreciate or understand just what difficulties he [Manet] has overcome, how nearly he has compelled an unsympathetic canvas, a stubborn brush, and intractable pigment to do his bidding."[34] Indeed, J. Carroll Beckwith, a faithful advocate for Manet's art, visited the exhibition at least three times. He noted in his diary that the exhibition gave him delight as well as the greatest encouragement for his own work, and he expressed the desire to convey what he learned from Manet in his own works.[35] William Glackens also attended the 1895 exhibition, shortly before leaving on an extended trip to Paris, and although there is no record of his response to Manet's paintings, his productions thereafter reveal the unmistakable impress of the Frenchman's art.[36]

As observed by the writer for the *New York Sun*, there was some concern that viewers, by then accustomed to the idiosyncrasies of the Impressionist style as practiced by Monet, Pissarro, Sisley, and Renoir, might not appreciate how radical in nature Manet's

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productions had appeared when they were first exhibited some thirty or more years earlier. In fact, the *Sun* critic suggested that Manet and his works had been partly forgotten, while Monet's works had become familiar and had provoked a number of American imitators, who were better known to the American public.[37] The same writer expressed concern that Manet's works might actually appear old fashioned to a world of viewers who had grown to associate Impressionism with the works of Monet and his American followers.[38] Lucy Monroe, writing for the *Critic*, certainly had this issue in mind when she wrote that it was impossible to fully comprehend Manet's originality and his influence because the qualities of his works, once so vehemently derided, had become accepted and even commonplace in the art of the day.[39] In all of the reviews, critics found it necessary to remind their readers of Manet's pivotal role in the evolution of French painting, of the radical nature of his artistic vision at the time when he was working, and of the courage and determination it took for the artist to persevere in his explorations in the face of official and popular opposition. In other words, as a result of more widespread acceptance of non-academic practices and more accepting attitudes toward a variety of styles, critics feared that the revolutionary nature of Manet's art might actually be overlooked or undervalued.

First and foremost, the exhibition reviews focused on Manet the man. More forceful and enthusiastic in tone than the critical evaluations of the artist written in the late 1880s and early 1890s, those of 1895 identified Manet as an iconoclast who broke with the old rules of academic art, who was ridiculed when his works were first exhibited but who won believers over the years, and who had triumphed through widespread acceptance of his methods and through his profound influence on modern painting. Alfred Trumble called Manet "the breaker of a path, the champion of a battalion to come," and the critic for the *New-York Times*, probably Charles de Kay, stated with profound seriousness: "He [Manet] wrought a mighty change in French art; in a few years he diverted the thought of the rising generation of painters into other and far different channels."[40] Critics reiterated

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Manet's role as a force for change and emphasized the nobility of the man who had struggled against the currents of tradition making it possible for others to work independently. Manet was called "original," "independent," "courageous," and "self-reliant" in character, and these adjectives were delivered in distinctly positive tones.

Manet's influence, in fact, continued to be judged as more important than his artistic productions. Much more space was devoted in the reviews to descriptions of the artist's personality and his impact on others than to discussions of the art work. The *New-York Times* critic pinpointed some of the reasons for this phenomenon when he wrote: "For a proper enjoyment of these productions too much must not be expected, for M. Manet was by no means perfect, nor was he a master of his art. That he was a genius there is little doubt, however, and that he had courage and originality the work here shown amply testifies."[41] The *Times* critic elaborated in a second review: "The pictures possess few charms of color, and neither in composition nor in choice of subject do they particularly appeal. They mark, however, an important departure, and one that has had a wonderful influence on the work of modern men . . . ."[42] Likewise, the critic for the *New York Daily Tribune*, wrote that Manet was "not, on the whole, extraordinary, in the sense of a great master of the past, but he had power, he had originality, and his courage and method were both extraordinary at the time they first burst upon Paris."[43]

The reasons why Manet's artistic productions were placed third in importance behind his remarkable personality and his influence rested upon the opinion that his works were often uneven in quality or incomplete in execution, unattractive in color and composition, and commonplace or even vulgar in subject. In classifying the artist's influence as greater than his works and in devaluing Manet's productions as "uneven," echoes of earlier critical writings can be detected, for example, the commentary on Manet in Clara Stranahan's *History of French Painting* or evaluations of his art by supporters like Antonin Proust. It was as if the critics kept these authoritative opinions of Manet's art in the recesses of their minds and believed it necessary to repeat these frequently

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enumerated flaws. Even though the critics approached the paintings armed with clichés of "incompleteness," "unevenness," and "crudeness," a curious thing happened when they described the works. Again and again, they smoothed over or justified the purported weaknesses of Manet's works and placed more emphasis on their merits. It would appear that the impact of the works was so powerful on the commentators that fault-finding, while persistent, did not ultimately detract from the overwhelming enthusiasm they experienced. Stated another way, the reviews were indisputably positive, but the commentary is riddled with utterly predictable reservations and nit-picking.

Several examples will serve to demonstrate both the undeniable admiration of the critics for Manet's art and also the persistent and platitudinous reservations they expressed. Some critics noted that Manet's paintings were experimental or incomplete, as if the artist had left off work after the first stage of recording his impression without giving full definition and refinement to his composition or ideas. This same complaint was registered frequently in discussions of Manet's works from the late 1880s and early 1890s, so it was by no means new. However, in responding to the works in the 1895 exhibition, rather than lambasting the artist for this shortcoming, some critics attempted to explain or justify Manet's motivations. The *New-York Times* critic suggested sympathetically that the works reflected the artist's own insecurity with his art. Manet, the critic argued, did not like the pretty and superficial art around him, but he was unsure of where his own investigations away from the conventional would lead because he was entering uncharted territory, implying a kind of heroism in the artist's uncertainty.[44] Alfred Trumble lamented the lack of resolution in Manet's paintings but found singular power in the artist's methods. He wrote: "Yet this weakness was also his [Manet's] strength, for painting what he did and how he did, whatever there was strong in him came out in the full flush of power while his spirit was fresh and its hold hot upon him, and he did not weaken it by attempts at future polish."[45] Likewise, Sophia A. Walker, reviewing the exhibition for the *Independent*, doubted if Manet's "delightful first impression of

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form and color, this wonderful gift of direct rendering" could be improved upon by additional labor. In fact, she suggested that the awkward rendering of the figure in the portrait of *Faure as Hamlet* (fig. 42) was the result of the artist laboring too long over the work.[46] While on the one hand, these critics pointed to a degree of incompleteness in Manet's works, each conveyed confidence in the artist's innate ability to proclaim a work finished.

Another issue that was raised by critics was ugliness of either treatment or subject matter, problems that had long been associated with Manet's works. The critic for the *New York Herald* wrote that Manet "in his search for truth of type and accuracy of impression, lost sight of beauty unless it was absolutely thrust upon him and eliminating nothing that was unlovely [he] set down much that was unnecessary and is obtrusive." To prove his point, the critic turned to *Faure as Hamlet* and *Tragic Actor* (fig. 7) which hung together in the exhibition. Although he too found fault with the rendering of the actor's body which, he believed, lacked the idealization necessary for a good picture, the critic did not condemn the work. Instead, he praised the moonlight effects and the painting of the garments, as well as the expression of life and movement. *Tragic Actor*, on the other hand, lacked the vibrancy and rich color of the portrait of Faure, but it conveyed a sense of dignity which reminded the viewer of the works of Velázquez.[47] In most cases, even when the critics found his subject choices or treatment distasteful, they found other elements in the works that compensated for the weaknesses. This willingness to concentrate on strengths and to accept flaws was an improvement upon earlier, close-minded and often belligerent reactions to Manet's subject matter or technique.

The features of Manet's style that were most admired by critics were breadth and vigor of handling, directness of approach, and simplicity and solidity of forms. Other elements of Manet's style that elicited commendations were his ability to convey lifelike qualities in his figures and his interest in effects of light. While the drawing might be weak, or space not rendered convincingly, or subjects considered coarse and commonplace, again

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and again, the critics noted that these deficiencies could be overlooked in the presence of superb paint handling. Consistent with commentary on Manet's manner dating back to the 1870s, critics called his technique "powerful," even "brutal," but in the 1890s, these adjectives carried distinctly positive connotations. The *New-York Times* critic focused on the masculine qualities of Manet's methods as that which was revolutionary in his art: "There was a brutal strength and virility about it that made surrounding work look insipid, vapid, and lifeless. Here, in short, was a new idea, a new note, and not since Géricault had given his 'Raft of the Medusa' had there been such realistic painting, such force, energy, and solidity."[48] Boldness and strength were estimated as virtues and as the expected characteristics of the one who forged a new path. Interestingly, the only critic who seriously objected to the "brutal" qualities in Manet's works was Sophia A. Walker, one of two women critics reviewing the exhibition, and she lamented the fact that Manet either selected a brutal subject or "brutalized" his subject matter.[49] Likewise, the broadness and simplicity of Manet's approach were commended. This tendency to pare down the composition and to render forms in only the most essential terms had in previous years elicited indignation for the absence of detail and disregard for *fini*. However, in 1895, the critic for the *New York Daily Tribune* noted that "the forms are rendered with almost massive solidity, so simply, so energetically are they brushed into the picture."[50]

The paintings considered by critics to be the finest in the exhibition combined all or nearly all of the aforementioned features: breadth of handling, simplicity of form, directness of approach, convincing expression of character, and an interest in light. In an astonishing reversal of earlier opinions, the most popular works were the two religious paintings (figs. 5 and 6). The attention they attracted was due, at least in part, to their extremely large sizes, both measuring approximately six feet in height, and the fact that they were exhibited as pendants. As noted by Lucy Monroe, "The large 'Christ and the Angels' is strangely impressive. Beautiful in color, there is yet something serious about

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it, something deeply spiritual that one cannot forget."[51] While not all of the critics would have agreed with Monroe that the paintings contained strong religious sentiment, none was deeply troubled over its absence. All were focused on the superb painting and unnerving realism.[52] The *New-York Times* critic called his readers' attention to the surface qualities of the painting: "The story is not too well told, there are awkward lines, and no care or thought is perceptible in the costumes, yet in the excess of admiration at the brushwork, at the difficulties overcome, one does not stop to criticize." Of *Jesus Mocked*, the same critic exclaimed: "For strength in modeling, marvelous painting of flesh, and frank treatment of forms, the central figure . . . is almost unequalled." He continued, "The work in both [religious paintings] is so big that one feels the man was terribly in earnest."[53] The writer for the *New York Herald* was also particularly impressed with *Jesus Mocked*, about which he wrote: "the brutal realism of the brush work in the spare figure of the Saviour is masterly."[54] The reviewer for the *New York Evening Post* was rattled by the realistic treatment of the figures but lauded the quality of the paint handling as well: "the rigidity of the dead Christ is appallingly real, and so too are the wonderfully painted angels . . . ."[55] Compared to earlier encounters with Manet's religious paintings, when repulsion for the realistic and earthy treatment of Christ nearly drowned out the commendations for the formal qualities in the painting, the responses of 1895 were overwhelmingly laudatory.

Like the two religious paintings, the portraits of Faure and Rouvière in the role of Hamlet were hung as pendants (figs. 7 and 42), and their large format and intentional pairing also commanded the attention of critics. Of the two Hamlet portraits, critics were consistent in their admiration for the dynamic sense of motion captured in the portrayal of Faure, but they lamented the poor rendering of the figure, especially the awkward relationship between the actor's head and his body. The reviewer for the *New York Herald* recommended that in the case of *Faure as Hamlet*, "A little less regard for the realism of an impression, less emphasizing of the actual and more search for the ideal

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would have produced a masterpiece of picturing as well as of painting." The portrait of Rouvière, on the other hand, was more successful as a composition but "somewhat dry and lacking unction."[56] The attention shown toward the portrait of Faure was also a remarkable revision of earlier opinions elicited when it was shown at the 1886 exhibition. Reviewers had taken offense at the characterization of Hamlet as a "madman," at the disproportionate relationship of the head to the body, and at the application of excessive paint and the lack of finish.

Other figure paintings that were consistently noted by critics in 1895 were the portraits of Rochefort and Astruc (figs. 25 and 54) which were praised for their impressive lifelike qualities as well, but it was the portrait of Rochefort that garnered the greater attention of the two. Of the Rochefort portrait, Lucy Monroe wrote that it "is a brilliant thing, sparkling, vivid and convincing," an opinion which was shared by the reviewer for the *New York Evening Post*, who praised the pose of the figure and the expression on the face as a convincing representation of the complex nature of the man.[57] The portrait of Rochefort is characterized by especially bold, rough handling, which none of the critics found the least bit troubling, revealing a marked advance in the reception of non-academic and highly expressive methods of painting.

Repose, a portrait of Berthe Morisot seated informally on a divan (fig. 55), was also a favorite with the critics. Although several commentators found Morisot's facial features lacking in beauty, as had been the case with *Woman with a Parrot*, the work appealed to critics for its subdued colors and elegant composition. The critic for the *New York Herald* called the work "charming" and informed his readers that the sitter was the artist's sister-in-law who had died a few days before, facts that were noted by other critics as well. Likewise, Léon Leenhoff was identified by several critics in their discussions of *Luncheon in the Studio* (fig. 56), the most highly regarded genre painting in the exhibition. Although he noted a technical deficiency in the overly diminished size of the woman in the background, the critic for the *New York Herald* called the *Luncheon* the

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"most complete and satisfactory of the examples" by Manet. He referred to the "remarkable face and figure of the boy Leon Leenhoff," and the "capital glimpse" of the gentleman on the right.[58] Other critics specified also that the boy leaning against the table was Manet's son and the same model, although younger, who was portrayed in *Boy with a Sword.* The recognition of the model in the *Luncheon* as the same young man who appeared in *Boy with a Sword* reflected widespread familiarity with the Metropolitan Museum's painting. Moreover, it revealed a more sophisticated awareness of Manet's biography and his relations to the members of the Impressionist group, as well as the greater attraction of works to which, like *Repose*, critics could attach personal or anecdotal meaning.

Among the other genre paintings singled out by critics were *Chez le père Lathuile* and *In the Conservatory* (figs. 24 and 13), both of which were applauded for the vitality of the figures, the intimacy with the viewer that was established, as well as the rich color, energetic handling, and brilliant light effects. The *New-York Times* critic was deeply impressed with *Chez le père Lathuile*:

> In "Chez le père Lathuile" we see the artist's earliest effort at frank, out-of-door impressionism. The work is well known and unusually successful. It represents a man and woman dining in a garden, the figures enveloped in atmosphere, and conveying in no uncertain way the sense of being out of doors. We are accustomed to this feeling of plein air in these days, but it must be remembered that prior to this work no painter had carried to a successful conclusion such a problem, and the innovation was startling.59

In the Conservatory, which had eluded critics by the stiffness of the figures and the absence of facial expression in 1886, was commended in 1895 for the prettiness of the woman and the good-looking man, as well as the beauty of the brushwork, especially the passages of paint that formed the bench on which the woman is seated.

In the category of "character study," *The Smoker* and *A Matador* were considered noteworthy. Both were praised for their breadth and vigor of handling and the solid, nearly naïve rendering of the forms.[60] *The Smoker* (fig. 57) was noted by almost all of the critics as an excellent example of its type because it was truthful in every detail, sober in

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color, and strong in execution, all befitting the quiet contentment of the sitter. *A Matador* (fig. 58) was deemed replete with personality but "unlovely" by the critic for the *New York Herald*. Lucy Monroe called the work "consummate" and praised it together with all of the early figure paintings for their remarkable handling, their aliveness, and the reproduction of the "essential elements of character."[61]

Consistent with the critical reactions to Manet's works over the years, *Salmon* (fig. 41), a still-life painting which had been purchased by Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer from the 1886 Impressionist exhibition, was applauded by all. [62] It was called "a jewel," and worthy of Antoine Vollon, a nineteenth-century painter of still lifes. The critic for the *Art Amateur* commented about the still life: "Nothing can be more commonplace than the subject. The picture represents half a salmon and some lemons on a white

table-cloth. But there is nothing common about the painting."[63] Also revealing a level of consistency in the criticism of Manet's work, *Races at Longchamps* and *Spanish Ballet* (figs. 59 and 60) were categorized by most critics as mere "impressions," and they elicited more varied responses than any of the other canvases. Some critics deemed them crude, naive, and ugly, while others found them pleasantly expressive of life and movement and delightful bits of painting.

Admiration for capturing *plein-air* effects, noted in the commentary on both *In the Conservatory* and *Chez le père Lathuile*, was a new emphasis in the criticism of the 1895 exhibition. Manet's ability to convey effects of light was at the heart of the discussion elicited by *Grand Canal, Venice* (fig. 61), *Rue Mosnier with Flags* (fig. 62), and *Artist's Garden* (possibly fig. 63) as well. While these outdoor scenes were not treated with the same seriousness as the religious pictures and the large figure studies, quite a lot of pleasure was expressed by critics. In fact, the critic for the *New York Evening Post* believed the plein-air paintings to be welcome relief from the "somewhat tragic aspect of the gallery," a reference to both the dark, Velázquez-esque palette and the sober subject

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matter typical of Manet's early canvases. He referred with delight to the "hopeful blues, cheerful sunlight, sparkling water, air, motion, and light," as well as to the appealing decorative qualities of the outdoor views.[64] Similar responses were penned by other critics who called *Grand Canal* and *Artist's Garden* "sparkling little views" and applauded the paintings for their vivid coloring, especially the rich blue of the canal and the striped posts in the former. *Rue Mosnier with Flags* received especially warm recommendations for the "glaring sunshine," which reflected off the flags and decorations along the sides of the street and from the pavement. The *Art Amateur* critic called it a wonderful study of sunlight, and opined that the outdoor paintings were among the best examples in the exhibition because they combined the strengths of Manet's style, simplification of form with a "feeling for light."[65]

This new appreciation for Manet's later paintings reveals the tremendous influence that French Impressionism had exerted on taste and how widely appreciated the style had become since the 1886 exhibition, due largely to the tremendous exposure given to the outdoor paintings of Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley. The reviews of Durand-Ruel's 1895 exhibition are the clearest indication thus far of how much more knowledgeable critics had become about Impressionism, how they were no longer startled by the style, and how accepting they had become of what they had once viewed as its eccentricities and exaggerations. In fact, viewers were more than simply accustomed to the way Impressionist pictures looked, they actually liked them, a fact which contributed to the enthusiasm expressed for Manet's bright, light-filled late paintings. Sophia Walker seemed to judge Manet's works based upon expectations she had learned through her study of Monet's landscapes. Of the outdoor paintings by Manet, Walker most admired *Railroad* (fig. 10), in which she praised the delicate atmospheric effects that were more closely associated with the paintings of Monet than Manet. Walker explained that the smoke left by a departing train permeated the background of the composition and "unifies it and gives the atmospheric quality which one misses in other canvases."[66]

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In the intervening years, between the 1886 Durand-Ruel Impressionist exhibition and the Durand-Ruel Manet exhibition of 1895, based upon the ever-present model of Monet's works, Impressionism had come to be understood as a style built upon soft, bright colors and feathery brushwork, and often espousing the landscape as subject matter. As when Manet and Monet's works were seen together in Loan Collection at the World's Columbia Exposition of 1893, critics expressed surprise at the contrast between the two Impressionists' works. In fact, it can be deduced that critics approached Manet's works with a set of expectations drawn from their experience with Monet's works. For example, Sophia Walker exclaimed upon seeing the works of the man who was the leader of impressionists twenty years ago: "How differently the so-called impressionists paint now! Where is the point of contact in technic [sic] between his [Manet's] direct, broad brushwork, his gamut of color extended from intense dark to very light, and the work of tonalists who confine themselves to stripes and spots of lightest tints!"[67] Likewise, the critic for the *New York Sun* observed: "Manet is not at all a colorist in the present-day sense of the term. His pictures are black and often hard, not to say at times brutally anatomical."[68]

Several of Manet's paintings were not discussed by critics. *Café-Concert* (fig. 43), *Masked Ball at the Opéra* (fig. 19), and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (fig. 26) were largely ignored, as were *Le Promenade* (fig. 64) and *Jetty at Boulogne* (fig. 65). Most probably, the three genre paintings were overlooked for their immoral subject matter, revolving around the consumption of alcohol and prostitution. Supporting this assertion is the fact that the only painting in the exhibition that was lambasted by critics was *Nana* (fig. 66). Although one critic praised the paint handling, the subject of a courtesan in the company of client was considered vulgar and was consistently condemned if the painting was discussed at all.[69] *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* was mentioned by only one critic, and his comments were limited to the qualities of light and color in the painting which he believed reflected the influence of Monet toward the end of Manet's career.[70] *Jetty at*

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Boulogne, a seascape from early in the artist's career, perhaps failed to attract attention on account of its more muted coloration in comparison to Manet's more boldly colored outdoor paintings. *Le Promenade*, however, combines both bright outdoor effects and a beautiful young woman, elements which would have pleased critics, and the complete lack of attention to this painting is curious.

After the Manet exhibition closed in New York, Durand-Ruel sent fifteen of the paintings to the Art Institute of Chicago, where they were put on view beginning 29 May 1895.[71] The works shown were *Children in the Tuileries* (fig. 50), *Music in the Tuileries* (fig. 51), *Spanish Ballet* (fig. 60), *Dead Christ and the Angels* (fig. 6), *Bull Fight* (fig. 38), *The Smoker* (fig. 57), *A Matador* (fig. 58), *Jetty at Boulogne* (fig. 65), *Nana* (fig. 66), *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet* (fig. 42), *Rue Mosnier with Flags* (fig. 62), *Chez le père Lathuile* (fig. 24), *In the Conservatory* (fig. 13), *Artist's Garden* (possibly fig. 63), and *Portrait of M. Henri Rochefort* (fig. 25). Chicago critics expressed support for the exhibition, although the reviewers made clear that Manet's style of painting and the style of Impressionism, which he was credited with inventing, were not familiar in the Midwest. As was the case for the 1886 Impressionist exhibition in New York, the reviewers of the Chicago exhibition found it necessary to explain Manet's artistic goals and to elucidate his manner of painting, and they cautioned readers that appreciation would result only from viewing the paintings with an open mind and armed with knowledge of the artist's aesthetic goals. Indicating a lack of acquaintance with the painter's history, Manet's biography was provided in most commentaries as well. The heavy reliance on authoritative sources, including the writings of Emile Zola, John D. Champlin and Charles C. Perkins, Clara Stranahan, Philip G. Hamerton, as well as George Moore for the details of the artist's life and struggles, suggests that the critics found it necessary to do some homework on Manet also.

Taken as a whole, there was little consistency among the opinions expressed by Chicago critics. The view of Manet that the critics put forward was a decidedly

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conservative one, peppered heavily with the notions that the artist eschewed beauty, that he ignored ideas in his art, and that he had a proclivity for vulgar subject matter. Given the apparent importance of these criteria, it is not surprising that the critics repeatedly noted the one religious painting, *Dead Christ and the Angels*, as well as *In the Conservatory*, which was deemed the most beautiful work in the exhibition. Also, several writers asserted that Manet was a gifted portrayer of character, and they commended the portraits of Faure and Rochefort, as well as *The Smoker* and *A Matador. Nana* was mentioned consistently but strictly as a typical example of indecency in Manet's oeuvre.

The critic for the *Chicago Tribune* was the most enthusiastic respondent to Manet's works, and he focused on the formal elements, especially the broad handling, the strong color, and the sureness of touch that were exemplified by the works.[72] The critics for the *Chicago Evening Post* and *Chicago Times-Herald* lauded the lack of conventionality and the freshness of Manet's distinctive approach to painting. [73] The writer for the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, however, was completely bewildered by the works and incensed that the Art Institute would sponsor an exhibition that was so incomprehensible to the public. He suggested that in the future, if "studies" of this kind were to be put on view, some warning be given, so the works would "not be mistaken for pictures, but . . . rather be regarded as unsightly daubs intended only to be approached by artists, and by them reverently."[74]

Critical Commentaries on Manet, 1896-1900

In the wake of the 1895 Durand-Ruel exhibition, a number of essays on Manet were published in the United States which offered estimations of his contribution to modern painting and evaluations of his merits as an artist. These analyses propagated ideas about the artist similar to those expressed by the critics who commented on the 1895 exhibition. Manet was classified as a major force for change and a beneficial influence on

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late-nineteenth century painting. He was praised unabashedly for his talents as a painter as well, especially for his masterly handling of pigments, his skill for recording actual values, and his gift as a colorist. Nonetheless, as with the exhibition reviews of 1895, predictable and platitudinous reservations were expressed by these same writers concerning Manet's ultimate worth as an artist, based upon deficiencies including the lack of beauty in his work, avoidance of content, and absence of finish. In light of the tremendous admiration that rings through their accounts, however, these clichéd objections cannot be taken too seriously.

Among the American commentators on Manet during the mid-to-late 1890s was J. Carroll Beckwith, a long-standing fan of the artist and a painter himself. Beckwith's opinions on Manet and his works were published in *Modern French Painters: A Series of Biographical and Critical Reviews by American Artists* edited by John C. Van Dyke, Professor of the History of Art at Rutgers University and an art critic who himself had been won over to admiration for Manet's technical ability in the early 1890s.[75] *Modern French Painters* was a compilation of essays on French artists, both strongly independent men such as Manet and Couture as well as more conservative academic figures such as Jean-Léon Gérôme, written by their American students or admirers. For example, the chapters on Claude Monet and Jules Bastien-Lepage were authored by Theodore Robinson and J. Alden Weir respectively, each of whom was a close friend of his subject. As one review of the book pointed out, the plan to have students or admirers write about particular artists was potentially unsound because the authors would undoubtedly err on the side of excessive admiration. Van Dyke's schema had distinct advantages, however. The reviewer for the *Atlantic Monthly* expressed his appreciation for the intimacy of the individual portrayals of the painters as well as the excellent technical analysis which far exceeded the ability of the run-of-the-mill critic.[76]

In the introduction to his essay, Beckwith announced that his goal in writing about Manet was to examine his influence on contemporary art and thought and to provide a

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just estimate of his ability as an artist. Beckwith was uniquely qualified for the task because he had been among the most ardent promoters of Manet's works in America beginning in the late 1870s. Aligning himself with progressive perceptions of the artist, Beckwith was captivated by the idea of Manet as artist rebel. He lauded Manet for his individuality and his revolt against conventional academic practices, both of which had helped others to discover how to express their own ideas in an individual manner. He emphasized repeatedly that the artist was sincere and hardworking in his attempts to forge a new direction in art and had influenced others to do the same. Beckwith identified Manet as the leader of the Impressionist movement, who made significant strides toward the painting of light and air. He argued that Manet's primary goal in painting was to record fact, and while his works did occasionally convey poetry and feeling as well, those expressive elements were not important to the artist.[77]

For Beckwith, Manet's most laudable talent as a painter was his ability to capture true color values on canvas, and he explained in detail the difficulty of capturing values, a skill that Manet had completely mastered:

> Imagine several objects of identically the same local color placed at various distances from the eye. The differences of distance will perceptibly change the tone or color of each object through the interposition of atmosphere. Such differences as these are known as values. The local color may remain the same, or become entirely changed by the layer of atmosphere intervening, but its variation will follow a natural law which requires every resource of both palette and brain to portray truthfully. The notes of departure may be either higher or lower than the local color of the object to be portrayed, following the temperament of the artist, but in either case the gamut should be continued harmoniously. Thus, the various objects must always bear their proper relation to one another. In the rendering of these variations Manet was a past master. His mind and hand instinctively obeyed the law of values, and the result was that his work was endowed with a singular force and realism.[78]

Beckwith also commended Manet's feeling for paint, which he called *la tache*, referring to the broad touch or plane of a single color that was a hallmark of Manet's technique, a feature that Emile Zola and Philip G. Hamerton had noted in their analyses of Manet's methods as well. As Beckwith noted, with obvious disdain for the key features of academic painting, "much of the work that preceded Manet was over-elaborated, killed by detail and excess of modeling. . . . Manet went to the other extreme,

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and made things flat."[79] Lastly, Beckwith admired Manet's talent for conveying the true character of the person or objects portrayed.

The essay was illustrated with reproductions of three paintings by Manet, *Port of Boulogne* (1869; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), *Boy with a Sword* (fig. 22), and *Le Bon Bock* (fig. 9). Although neither had been exhibited in the United States, *Port of Boulogne* had been among the first of Manet's paintings to be purchased by Paul Durand-Ruel in January 1872, and *Le Bon Bock* was the work which brought Manet his greatest success with the French public at the Salon of 1873 and was referred to repeatedly in the years after his death as the artist's most successful work. *Boy with a Sword* was undoubtedly the best-known work by Manet in America, and it was the only one of the three illustrated works that Beckwith discussed in his essay. Beckwith's attention to the *Boy with a Sword* was hardly surprising. The painting was in the position of honor at the 1883 Pedestal Fund Exhibition for which Beckwith had been responsible, and leading to widespread recognition for the painting, it was included in both the 1886 Impressionist exhibition and the exhibition of the Erwin Davis collection in 1889, after which it entered the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In *Boy with a Sword*, Beckwith located the outstanding features of Manet's style, especially *la tache* and *les valeurs* :

> Notice how the face becomes one simple, almost unbroken mass, marked by its strength of local color. Notice how the eyes are devoid of modeling. To Manet the human eye was but a spot of dark upon the light plane of the flesh. See, too, how perfectly the background takes its place behind the figure. One could accurately measure the distance the little figure stands from the curtain behind it. This simplicity of aim, this research for a few fundamental truths, were his constant protest against the tyranny of tradition, against the intricacies of composition and sugary elaboration which pervaded the popular school of French art in his day.[80]

Beckwith did not linger over the subject of the painting or the sentiment conveyed by the charming little boy, as critics had done in 1883 and 1886; rather he focused on the painterly properties of the work, the purely technical elements that could be appreciated regardless of content.

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In his final comments on the artist, Beckwith returned to Manet's profound influence and the larger significance of his artistic efforts. According to Beckwith, Manet's influence was felt everywhere by the end of his life and afterwards: "The Salons of to-day present hundreds of examples showing the influence that has descended from the heroic struggle of Edouard Manet. The vigor of his effort, the singleness of his purpose, have left their trace upon the productions of a later period. His simple, honest tones, his broad, well-sustained brush-work, free from triviality or compromise, stamp him among artists as a painter *de race,*" designating him thereby as a painter of distinction in the tradition of the past masters.[81] In closing his essay, Beckwith provided an interesting insight into Manet's reputation at the *fin de siècle* :

> His [Manet's] circle of admirers is composed chiefly of persons who have made painting a serious study. What they claim for him is a careful consideration of the aims which actuated him, and a recognition of those aims as important in the realm of pictorial production. How near he came to their full realization is, perhaps, a matter of individual appreciation. Sufficient be it to say that his life was a loyal struggle for his beliefs, and that his example has been wholesome and useful in the world of art.[82]

Regardless of the tremendous admiration he communicated for Manet and his art, Beckwith included in his essay the clichés that Manet's works were not complete and that he never solved the technical problems that he set before himself. We cannot be misled by Beckwith's criticisms, however, into believing that he did not prize Manet's accomplishments. The previous year in his diary, Beckwith had recorded his delight in seeing the Manet exhibition at the Durand-Ruel galleries in New York and expressed the desire to convey what he learned from Manet in his own works![83] In his essay for Van Dyke, Beckwith's response was more cautious, and it is obvious that his thinking was informed by expert opinions on the artist, such as those published by Clara H. Stranahan Richard Muther, and Emile Zola. However, the same enthusiasm expressed in his diary is conveyed in the passages where Beckwith describes the formal elements and paint handling in Manet's pictures, those elements which attracted his admiration as a fellow painter.

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Another artist turned critic who wrote about Manet in the late 1890s was Arthur Hoeber (1854-1915).[84] Hoeber wrote in ecstatic tones of Manet's achievements in an article titled "Plain Talks on Art—Impressionism," that appeared in the *Art Interchange* in July of 1896. Actually, Hoeber treated both Manet and Monet in his descriptive analysis, but while he identified Monet as the present leader of the Impressionist group, it was Manet, to Hoeber's mind, who catapulted the art of painting in a completely new direction that had irreversible implications for modern art. Hoeber referred to Manet as:

> altogether a remarkable artist, gifted with originality, daring in the courage of his own convictions, going his way in the face of popular disapproval, with consequent lack of pecuniary success, meeting with the rebuffs of juries and committees, but finally triumphing over all, attracting attention in the Salon, where he had been often ignominiously refused, securing official recognition, medals, and finally, the red ribbon of the Legion of Honor.[85]

Hoeber did not snigger over the lateness of the official recognition that was granted the artist or suggest how little agreement there was over its bestowal, as had earlier critics. Rather, the old biographical profile of Manet was revised by the critic to make the artist's struggle and his ultimate triumph ring with definitive tones.

In categorizing the artist, Hoeber called Manet a "great precursor" to the Impressionists, as Géricault had been to the Romantics. He differentiated Manet's works from those of his Impressionist followers by the artist's primary interest in capturing correct values, compared to the Impressionist preoccupation with capturing the delicate vibrations of light. Because of his keen sense of values and his bold, sure stroke, Manet's paintings, to Hoeber's mind, "left a substantial, tangible, stirring impression of his model that was much out of the commonplace."[86] Hoeber credited Manet for being among the first painters to pose his model out of doors and to paint truthfully, ignoring the academic practice of delineating details that the eye simply could not see. According to Hoeber, Manet "left a strong imprint on the art of the century," by showing other painters how to look at nature, to move away from "littleness of technique," and to paint their subjects with greater simplicity by focusing solely on the important facts. Like Beckwith, Hoeber stressed that Manet was absolutely earnest in his investigations, and Hoeber posited that

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the painter had successfully overcome many problems in painting that other artists had simply avoided.

Although exuding enthusiasm and praise for the artist, Hoeber expressed some of the same concerns that Beckwith had communicated, namely that Manet's works were largely experimental. Hoeber stated that Manet's work was "valuable more for the new possibilities evolved, for its influence on contemporaneous canvases, than for its intrinsic merit. Now and then he [Manet] produced something approximating greatness, though, through incompleteness and an always evident lack of sound academic training, the goal was never quite reached." He noted also that Manet's style was marked by a certain brutality and that he more often than not emphasized the ugly side of his models. As Hoeber saw it, "The beautiful, the dainty, the aesthetic, have little place in his [Manet's] lexicon; nor can his most enthusiastic admirers charge him with a feeling for the sentimental view of things. He sought for the facts, for truth, no matter where he found it . . . ."[87]

Like Beckwith and Hoeber, Martha C. Thurber located Manet's greatness in his break with tradition and his quest for truth in art, as well as in his ability as a painter. Thurber, writing in the wake of the Manet exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago for the Chicago-based art journal *Arts for America*, observed that the direction taken by Manet had been pointed out to him by the preceding generation of painters, namely the Barbizon School painters and Gustave Courbet, but she emphasized and marveled over the courage that it took for Manet to abandon completely the proscribed formulas of academic art. Although Manet and his Impressionist followers had suffered years of ridicule and of being shut out from the Salon, Thurber celebrated the fact that victory had come at last for these painters. Thurber noted that Manet in particular had suffered greatly for the cause as he was pained severely by the rebuffs he experienced. She insisted that Manet had desired understanding and appreciation, but unfortunately the appreciation he had longed for came only after his death. As if to assuage past abuses, Thurber exclaimed:

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"The glory of heading this new movement belongs alone to Manet. Let us not be guilty of an injustice, but condone his faults, and recognize the fact that the artistic world owes a debt of gratitude to Manet that can only be paid by a true appreciation of his efforts toward reform, and in unstinted praise of his work."[88]

For her part, Thurber bestowed upon Manet the unstinted praises she believed he deserved. In her estimation, Manet was a born painter, whose desire for truth in painting was greatly aided by his talent for capturing accurate values. Thurber's analysis of Manet's skill as a colorist was influenced by her reading of George Moore, whom she identified as one of Manet's ardent admirers. Like Moore, she posited that Manet's prodigious talents allowed him to paint color over color and still to achieve the clarity and intensity of value, relying solely on the dictation of his eyes. Thurber noted that only the greatest painters used values correctly with the result that their paintings were rich and profound in color.

Although she did not discuss individual paintings by Manet, Thurber did comment in general terms on his art. In particular, she observed that Manet was especially gifted in the painting of still lifes and that he was a master at expressing character. Thurber argued that Manet and his followers had as their primary goal the search for truth of vision, a goal that they had inherited from Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Jean-François Millet, and Gustave Courbet. Unlike Beckwith or Hoeber, Thurber did not disparage Manet's works for their lack of sentiment or narrative. She was satisfied with his supreme skills as a painter and his agenda of truth: "He looked at nature simply, [and] made no composition; painted some familiar scene, guided only by the idea that light draws as well as colors an object, and that light puts everything into its place, hence the color note, the abbreviated drawing, the simple figures, the treatment of all objects as masses, and not as outlines."[89] Ending her commentary with a few words on Manet's late paintings, which she described as bright and clear in color with violet shadows and loose brushwork, Thurber posited

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that these last works were the germs from which, not just Impressionism, but "all of the isms of French painting" of the late-nineteenth century had sprung.

Manet Returns to Boston

In 1897 and 1898, paintings by Manet were included in two loan exhibitions organized by the Boston Art Students' Association. These exhibitions, held in Copley Hall, provide a final opportunity before the close of the century to examine the reaction to Manet in Boston, a city that in response to the *Execution of Maximilian* and the works by Manet in the Foreign Exhibition, had been open to the painter's bold, unorthodox manner of painting beginning in the early 1880s. By the 1890s, Boston art enthusiasts had been won over to the Impressionism of Claude Monet, as evidenced by his numerous paintings owned by collectors and the popularity of the solo exhibitions of his works in that city, but the exhibitions of 1897 and 1898 reveal that Manet's works continued to be held in high esteem as well.

The paintings in both loan exhibitions were drawn primarily from private collections in Boston but also from collections as distant as Detroit and Chicago and from the inventories of art dealers. Both exhibitions included American as well as European paintings, but the display of 1897 contained works from the sixteenth century forward, whereas the exhibition of 1898 was strictly modern in its concentration. The exhibition of 1897 was titled "Loan Exhibition of One Hundred Masterpieces," and it was on view from 5 to 28 March. It was characterized by a hodge-podge of nationalities, styles, and genres, ranging from the works of François Clouet, Frans Hal, Sir Godfrey Kneller, and Thomas Gainsborough, to Joseph Turner, Jean-François Millet, Gustave Courbet, John La Farge, Claude Monet, James A. M. Whistler, Thomas Dewing, and Jean-Charles Cazin. Manet was represented by one painting, *Music in the Tuileries* (fig. 51) loaned by Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York.[90] The exhibition of 1898, which opened on

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7 March and remained on view for twenty days, was titled "Exhibition of Modern Painters," and although the catalogue has not been located, a fairly complete list of works and artists represented can be derived from the exhibition reviews and the correspondence related to the loans in the Copley Society of Boston Papers.[91] The 1898 exhibition was slightly smaller than that of the previous year, with only ninety-two oil paintings. Among the artists represented were Winslow Homer, John Singer Sargent, and William Merritt Chase as well as Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Constant Troyon, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Auguste Renoir, and Puvis de Chavannes. Manet was represented by three paintings, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* (fig. 5), *A Matador* (fig. 58), and *Railroad* (fig. 10), all of which were loaned by Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York.[92]

In the company of the Old Masters, neither the example by Manet nor the pair of paintings by Monet elicited more than passing attention from the critics who reviewed the 1897 loan show. In 1898, however, in the more sympathetic context of modern pictures, Manet's works were noted by all of the reviewers. *A Matador* was the most frequently-discussed painting by Manet and one of the most highly-esteemed items in the exhibition, a fact that was undoubtedly influenced by its placement in a position of honor in the center of the west wall in Copley Hall. Reflecting its perceived importance, *A Matador* was illustrated in the opening article on the exhibition published in the *Boston Herald*, together with Troyon's *Le Chien d'arret*, which hung opposite Manet's painting in the position of honor on the east wall of the gallery.[93] The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* was lavish in his praise of Manet's *Matador*:

> In the centre of the west wall we have a droll figure of a bewhiskered, oiled, furbelowed, pompous Spanish bull-fighter, as full of conceit as an egg is of meat, bowing to the mayor or governor of the province, and asking his permission to despatch the bull, a feat which he will perform with the short sword concealed under his red flag. This bit of reality, a slice from Spanish life, absolutely veracious, and fascinating for its palpitating and naked truth, like all that proceeds from the pencil of its author, is by Edouard Manet, the whilom chief of the so-called impressionist school, and one of the greatest of modern French painters.

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The critic, perhaps William H. Downes, was obviously entranced by the lifelike qualities of the figure and, as was quite often the case with Manet's large figure compositions, he was moved to invent a narrative. Also, the critic lauded the fine drawing of the figure and marveled over the subtlety of the palette used in *A Matador*, noting the use of silver gray, red, and light rose pink. Downes was less enthusiastic, however, about the two other paintings by Manet. He commented that both *Railroad* and *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* were "remarkable" but "curious," suggesting that he was unable to recommend specific elements of either picture to his readers. Clearly, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, which also hung in a prominent position on the back wall of the stage in Copley Hall, was too sober and realistic for the critic's taste, as he commented dryly that the work was not "calculated to contribute to the gayety of afternoon teas," a reference to the series of afternoon receptions that were planned during the course of the exhibition.[94] Interestingly, from James Jackson Jarves' encounter with *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* at the Salon of 1865, through the two exhibitions of the work in the last five years of the century, American viewers were consistent in their feeling of discomfort with the extreme realism and gloominess of the depiction.

A Matador was one of the most visible works by Manet in the United States during the last five years of the nineteenth century. The painting was shown in both the New York and Chicago venues of Manet's solo exhibition of 1895 sponsored by Durand-Ruel Galleries. In 1896, it was exhibited in Buffalo at the Fifth Annual Exhibition of the Buffalo Society of Artists, and one year later, it was included in the Second Annual Carnegie Institute International Exhibition in Pittsburgh.[95] The exhibition records for the International Exhibition in Pittsburgh indicate that, as in Boston, *A Matador* was placed in a prestigious location.[96] *A Matador* was owned by Théodore Duret from 1870 until the writer's death, when it was purchased jointly by Jean-Baptiste Faure and the Paris branch of Durand-Ruel Galleries. Beginning in August of 1895, the painting was on deposit with the New York branch of Durand-Ruel Galleries, and the gallery sent the painting for

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exhibition in Chicago, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and finally Boston. *A Matador* was purchased by Mr. And Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer in December 1898, and it was the first large painting by Manet to enter their collection.[97]

Manet in the Centennale Exhibition, Universal Exposition, Paris

The last flurry of critical writing on Manet from the nineteenth century was generated in response to a group of his paintings exhibited at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900. The exposition included an enormous collection of fine arts, which was dominated by French production but also presented art from twenty-eight foreign countries, among them the United States.[98] The art exhibitions were housed in two splendid new buildings, the Grand Palais and the Petit Palais, located directly across from one another on the Avenue Nicolas II (now Avenue Winston Churchill). In the Petit Palais was a retrospective exhibition of French art, mainly decorative objects, from the Middle Ages to the first half of the eighteenth century. In the Grand Palais, a Centennale collection of French art provided a sweeping retrospective of artistic accomplishments from 1800 to 1889, and also, a Décennale collection highlighted the achievements of French artists, as well as non-French artists, from the preceding eleven years. The Décennale exhibition filled the gallery space of the Grand Palais on the east side of the building facing the Avenue Nicolas II, whereas the Centennale exhibition was located on the west side of the Grand Palais adjacent to the Avenue d'Antin. The art exhibitions opened to the public in May 1900.

In an effort to make the 1900 Centennale exhibition different from that of 1889, it was stipulated that no works of art exhibited in 1889 could be shown again. This restriction meant that some of the most revered examples of nineteenth-century art were unavailable to the selection committee. Several critics, disappointed by the poor quality of the works in the 1900 Centennale, noted also that the organizers were handicapped by the inaccessibility of some of the major statements of nineteenth-century art which were

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owned by native and foreign museums, or jealously guarded by collectors both inside and outside of France. Perhaps as a response to the imposed limitations, the Centennale was billed as an educational overview of the *progress* of the century in art, rather than a masterworks exhibition.[99] As one critic put it, the 1900 Centennale exhibition accentuated "the transformations rather than the triumphs."[100] Despite these handicaps, the Centennale exhibition included over 670 paintings, which provided an overview of the development of French art from the school of Jacques Louis David to the Symbolists.[101]

As with the reviews of the 1889 Centennale exhibition, American critics showed very little interest in the school of David and were more enthusiastic about Romanticism and the art produced in its wake. The artists whose works captivated critics were the Romantics Théodore Géricault, Eugène Delacroix, as well as Jean-Auguste-Dominque Ingres, particularly Ingres' portrait drawings, a group of which were included in the exhibition. The critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript* alluded to this bias when he wrote: "The Romanticists, reacting against the academician [sic], arbitrariness, artificiality, emotionlessness and colorlessness of the Classicists, were strong in color and invention; passionate and dramatic, full of movement and force."[102] In fact, the critic for the *Nation* was concerned that art of the *fin de siècle* represented a return to the same kind of conventionalism that was typical of the Davidian school, but he found what fell in between extremely exciting: "But here, in one long succession of pleasant, well-hung, and not over-decorated galleries, you pass from the dull and decorous conventions of the First Empire to the gallant crusade of the Restoration, from the fierce fight for independence of the seventies to the calm of to-day that threatens the inauguration of a new era of dull and decorous conventionalism."[103] The most frequently noted weak point of the exhibition was the Barbizon School section, which was considered comprehensive but wholly deficient in quality paintings by the best-known painters of the group. Finally, American critics observed that the Centennale exhibition proved that

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Impressionism had truly "arrived," a result of the fact that the French committee responsible for the retrospective had given prominence to their works, in marked contrast to the scarcity of their works in the Centennale exhibition of 1889.[104] Also, the Gustave Caillebotte collection, which had been recently accessioned into the Luxembourg Museum, was put on view in a separate gallery in the Grand Palais, which reinforced the idea that Impressionism had received official sanction at last.

Reflecting the weakening hold of the French academy on art production and a broadening vision of the possibilities for artistic expression, the commissioners of the French section actually promoted the idea of pluralism in the preface to the Centennale catalogue: "Works which are a trifle disconcerting for eyes habituated to look into the past, come to appear by the test of time and its wise selection, not as things strange and new, but as the natural growth of an art which must be always in movement and evolution under penalty of perishing."[105] American critics rose to the challenge and embraced the eclecticism of the art selections. As argued by Alvan Sanborn, writing for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *fin de siècle* was characterized by eclecticism, which he understood to be the "normal expression of a civilization which recognizes no absolute authority, accords no unconditional allegiance and permits no universal enthusiasm." In fact, he called this pattern of searching and finding a reflection of the eternal restlessness of the human mind.[106] The idea that experimentation and individuality of expression were positive forces necessary for progress revealed a higher degree of tolerance for the new and the non-traditional than in previous years. For example, the works of the newest men, the Symbolists, were accepted by American commentators with little protest, quite a contrast to the bitter responses that greeted Manet and Monet, when their works were first seen by Americans in the late 1870s and early1880s. There were some comments on weak draftsmanship and "their frequent inanities and insanities," but there was no serious challenge to Symbolists's inclusion in the exhibition.[107]

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In the Centennale exhibition, Manet was represented by thirteen paintings, two watercolors, one pastel, and one etching, roughly the same number of works that had been included in the 1889 Centennale.[108] The paintings, which filled almost an entire gallery, ranged in date from 1863 to the end of his career and included examples of portraiture, genre, still-life, and plein-air painting.[109] All of the works shown were owned in France, and seven of the seventeen items were owned by a single collector, Auguste Pellerin. The most famous work by Manet in the Centennale was the *Luncheon on the Grass* (fig. 3) which belonged to Etienne Moreau-Nelaton, a painter and art collector who would later write a valuable study of Manet and his works. *Luncheon* had not seen in the United States nor had it been exhibited in France since 1884, but the painting was well-known through countless accounts of its scandalous debut in 1863 at the Salon des refusés. *Olympia*, which had been exhibited at the 1889 Centennale, was not shown again in 1900, but a watercolor version was included. Other notable paintings exhibited were *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (fig. 26), which was Manet's last major Salon submission before his death, and *Luncheon in the Studio* (fig. 56) shown at the Salon of 1869.

All of the American critics who reviewed the exhibition identified Manet as an influential figure in the history of nineteenth-century painting, in the succession that began with the Romantics Delacroix and Géricault, was furthered by the Barbizon School painters, and was continued through the work of Courbet. Manet was credited as the pivotal link between Realism or Naturalism and Impressionism. In light of the keen interest shown by critics in the Romantic artists in the Centennale, several American reviewers emphasized the Romantic nature of Manet's life and career as well, especially his determination to break away from the teaching of the art schools and his determination to assert his independence. The critic for the *Nation* stated this most directly:

> He [Manet] is the most legitimate outcome of Romanticism . . . though he was not born until the heat of the battle was over, and did not exhibit until, as a movement, it

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> was at an end. His work, as you come to it in chronological order, is as startling as Géricault's among the Classical *machines,* and it is easy to understand the outcry it raised thirty years ago, when the best that Gautier could say for it was that it stimulated curiosity, and that, if Manet would only take the trouble, he might be a good painter.[110]

As a matter of fact, the critic for the *Nation* noted that the exhibition was hung in such a way that the changes Manet effected in French painting were dramatically emphasized. Representing the break with the academic values in painting for which Manet was credited, his works and those of the Impressionists were not placed with those of the Barbizon School painters and Courbet; rather they were installed on the second floor of the Grand Palais in galleries which led directly into the Décennale exhibition.[111] While the American critic interpreted this hanging strategy as a positive reflection on artist's role in the evolution of French painting, the separation of Manet's works from the already fully canonized painters of the nineteenth century may well have been a subtle reminder that the merits of his contributions were still under debate in France.

Among Manet's most avid fans was William A. Coffin, who reviewed the Centennale exhibition for the *New York Sun.* Coffin placed Manet in the company of Delacroix, Géricault, Corot, Courbet, Millet, and Rousseau all of whom, Coffin believed, had something entirely new to say in their art and had given rise, as a result, to independent artistic movements.[112] He praised the full-length portrait of Marcellin Desboutin (*Artist*, 1875; Museu de Arte, São Paulo) and *Luncheon in the Studio*, which he remembered seeing at Durand-Ruel's gallery in New York in 1895. In fact, he called the head of Leenhoff, "one of the best *morceaux* Manet ever painted."[113] Coffin's admiration for these paintings was consistent with the positive reactions of American critics to Manet's large figure studies and genre paintings. *Artist*, which had not been exhibited in this country, is similar in composition and palette to the trio of large character studies—*Absinthe Drinker*, *Mendicant*, and *Philosopher*—which had won great acclaim at the 1886 Impressionist exhibition in New York, and *Luncheon in the Studio* received enthusiastic praise from critics at the 1895 Durand-Ruel Galleries exhibition. Coffin was

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not, however, enthusiastic about the third painting in his assessment, the renowned *Luncheon on the Grass*. In response to the painting, Coffin stated flatly that it did nothing to further Manet's reputation, an opinion which he did not elaborate upon. Coffin's reaction to *Luncheon on the Grass* was similar to that of American critics who saw *Olympia* at the 1889 Universal Exposition. Although they understood the historical significance of the two works, the immoral subject matter, and seeming impossibility of the group gathered in the *Luncheon*, caused critics not to give the works serious consideration.

Coffin's enthusiasm for Manet and his art was shared by the critic for the *Nation*. The critic, who signed with the initials N. N., credited Manet with being the first artist to go directly to nature and to "emancipate himself entirely from the leading-strings of tradition." The critic noted with satisfaction that after having been disregarded at both the 1867 and the 1878 expositions, Manet had finally been accorded a major showing in 1900, which gave an excellent idea of his methods at the various stages of his career. In contrast to Coffin's reaction to the *Luncheon on the Grass*, the critic for the *Nation* posited that it was by this very painting that Manet's reputation was assured. He rhapsodized about the color and handling of the paint in the *Luncheon*: "It is masterly in the treatment of the nude in the figure of the model; the splendor of the blacks in the coats of the men who sit with her under the trees, and their contrast with the flesh tint; the exquisite detail, here—instead of the bunch of flowers [as in the *Olympia*], a basket with fruit and rolls scattered over the grass; the cool green of the wood; the distant stream, and the woman, half-dressed, wading though it." The critic completely ignored the content of the painting and emphasized the formal elements, especially the colors and the handling of specific areas of the composition. In his closing estimation, the critic asserted that the *Luncheon on the Grass* was a complete picture, unlike many of Manet's later canvases which were instead brilliant and interesting experiments. The same critic referred to

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Manet's still-life paintings as "technical miracles worked by the man of all others, perhaps, who could intoxicate himself with paint for its own sake."[114]

Despite general acceptance of Manet as a major force in the history of nineteenth-century art and a painter *par excellence*, there were familiar complaints from reviewers of the Centennale, namely that Manet was indifferent to beauty. Interestingly, even Courbet's work by this late date was termed "beautiful" by several critics, but the word was not applied to Manet's productions. Royal Cortissoz, writing for the *New York Daily Tribune* summed up the dilemma presented by Manet's pictures. If one accepted that art was supposed to be beautiful, he ruminated, why then was Manet's art valued? In his opinion, Manet's works did not lend any beauty to the exhibition, but acknowledging the high regard shown the painter, Cortissoz noted that it was a mark of Philistinism to condemn Manet's works. In the final analysis, Cortissoz concluded that Manet was an important pioneer in art, and his works were of interest primarily for their unusual technique and distinctive point of view.[115]

American reviewers observed repeatedly and without lamentations that the far-reaching impact of Impressionism was easily detected beyond the walls of the Centennale among the French and non-French works in the Décennale exhibition.[116] However, the flavor of Impressionism that they detected was not the Impressionism of Manet, but of Monet. As the critic for the *New-York Times* saw it, the major influence was that of the "Giverny plein-air landscape school . . . of which Monet is the head, and the allied school of figure painting headed by Renoir and Degas . . . ."[117] Manet's Impressionist followers were grouped together in a gallery that followed his and included works by Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, and Renoir. The attention paid to Monet certainly equaled that given to Manet and exceeded that shown the other Impressionists in the Centennale. In fact, revealing a meteoric rise in appreciation for his work, Monet was represented by fourteen paintings, slightly more than the number by Manet and many more than had been admitted for him in the 1889 Centennale exhibition. The paintings of Monet and the

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landscape Impressionists held an appeal for the critics that was completely different from their response to Manet's works. The critic for the *New York Evening Post*, for example, commended the Impressionists' paintings for their sensitivity to nature: "He [the viewer] is conscious in those landscapes of an intimacy with nature more profound and sensitive than he ordinarily discovers, producing on his susceptibility just that indescribable subtlety of impression which at rare moments Nature herself has made upon it."[118]

By the end of the nineteenth century, Manet's reputation was secure among respected American art critics, artists, and collectors as a force for change, a major influence on late-nineteenth century painting, and a master painter. Manet's works, however, appealed to only a limited number of admirers, who could appreciate their power and the originality of their conception. Appreciation for Manet's productions was overshadowed in the 1890s, when the Impressionism of Monet moved into the spotlight. By the century's end, the acceptable and desired style of Impressionism was not the dark, sometimes aggressive and pessimistic one represented by Manet's canvases, but the light-filled, vibrantly-colored, more sanguine brand of Impressionism practiced by Monet. Monet's style of Impressionism had received the consensus of popular approval and was deemed worthy of perpetuation as a model, as witnessed through the works of countless American and European artists who practiced Monet-esque plein-air landscape painting well into the twentieth century and by fervent collectors who rushed to purchase the productions of Monet and his circle.

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Endnotes to Chapter Six

[1] For an inventory of the Caillebotte collection and the works that were accepted for the Luxembourg Museum, see Anne Distel, Appendix III: "Gustave Caillebotte's Collection, An Attempt at Reconstitution," in Anne Distel, et al., *Gustave Caillebotte: Urban Impressionist* (Chicago and Paris: Art Institute of Chicago and Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 1995), 322-40. See also Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors*, trans. Barbara Perroud-Benson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 245-62.

[2] [Alfred Trumble], "Things That Are and Were," *Collector* 5 (1 June 1894), 229, and "Art Notes," *Art Interchange* 37 (August 1896), 40.

[3] "The Fine Arts. Sale of the Theodore Duret Collection in Paris," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 March 1894, 4; "The Collecting World," *Collector* 5 (15 April 1894), 183; "Doria Sale," *Collector* 9 (1 July 1899), 253-55; "The Collector," *Art Amateur* 41 (June 1899), 22; "Foreign Picture Sales," *Collector* 9 (1 August 1899), 271, and "Editorial Comment," *Art Interchange* 44 (May 1900), 114. For information on the Duret, Doria, and Chocquet collections, see Anne Distel, *Impressionism: The First Collectors*, trans. Barbara Perroud-Benson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 57-71, 125-39, 171-74.

[4] [Montague Marks], "My Note-Book," *Art Amateur* 36 (February 1897), 32.

[5] Durand-Ruel opened a branch of his Paris gallery in New York in 1888, a decision influenced largely by the positive reception and sales that resulted from the exhibitions of French paintings that he held in New York in 1886 and 1887. Initially, the gallery was located in a rented apartment on Fifth Avenue, but eventually the business moved into much more gracious quarters in the former Lorillard Mansion. In the 1890s, his sons Joseph, Charles, and George Durand-Ruel ran the business in New York, and Durand-Ruel *père* operated the Paris branch of the gallery. Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 43.

[6] [Alfred Trumble], "Footnotes of a Fortnight," *Collector* 6 (15 January 1895), 90; "The Monet Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 32 (February 1895), 77, and Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* n.s., 23 (6 April 1895), 267.

[7] Weitzenhoffer, *Havemeyers*, 82-95; Denys Sutton, "Degas and America," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 116 (July-August 1990), 29-40, and William R. Johnston, "Alfred Sisley and the Early Interest in Impressionism in America, 1865-1913," in Mary Anne Stevens, ed., *Alfred Sisley* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1992), 55-73.

[8] Frances Weitzenhoffer, "The Earliest American Collectors of Monet," in John Rewald and Frances Weitzenhoffer, eds., *Aspects of Monet: A Symposium on the Artist's Life and Times* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), 82.

[9] "Monet's Rouen Cathedral," *Art Interchange* 36 (April 1896), 95; "Minor Exhibitions," *Art Amateur* 34 (May 1896), 131, and Sophia Antoinette Walker, "Fine Arts. Art Notes," *Independent* 48 (7 May 1896), 15.

[10] Weitzenhoffer, "Earliest American Collectors of Monet," 74-91. Weitzenhoffer focuses on those American collectors who had purchased their first Monet painting by 1890.

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[11] On 5 and 6 May 1887, Durand-Ruel held a sale of 127 paintings, pastels, and watercolors, including works by the Impressionists, at the William P. Moore Art Galleries in New York. Although the Impressionist works were far outnumbered by more conventional paintings, there were at least six landscapes by Monet, as well as works by Degas, Sisley, Renoir, and Pissarro but none by Manet. Although the highest price realized at the sale was $2,000 for Victor-Pierre Huguet's *Hawking*, and the same artist's *Windy Weather* was purchased for $1,400, Monet's works achieved the next highest prices, revealing the growing value of and interest in his works for collectors. The six landscapes by Monet that are listed in the sales results sold for approximately $1,100 to $1,400. A look at the results reveals that Monet's paintings sold for two to three times, and sometimes more, the average price of the works in the sale. Among the other Impressionist works, Renoir's *Lady Playing on the Piano* sold for $675, and Degas' *Races* sold for $400. "Sale of the Durand-Ruel Pictures," *New York Daily Tribune*, 6 May 1887, 6, and "End of the Durand-Ruel Picture Sale," *New York Daily Tribune*, 7 May 1887, 5. Also, "Good Prices Realized. Close of the Durand-Ruel Sale of Paintings," *New-York Times*, 7 May 1886, 5.

[12] Weitzenhoffer, "Earliest American Collectors of Monet," 80.

[13] [Alfred Trumble],"Impressionists and Imitators," *Collector* 1 (November 1889), 11.

[14] [Alfred Trumble], "Claude Monet," *Collector* 2 (15 February 1891), 91, and "Paintings at the Union League Club," *Critic* n.s., 15 (21 February 1891), 101.

[15] Susan Hayes Ward, "Fine Arts. The Loan Exhibition of the American Fine Arts Society. I," *Independent* 45 (9 March 1893), 319-20.

[16] Helen M. Knowlton, "A 'Hunt School' Landscapist on the New School," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 11 April 1892, and C[larence]. C[ook]., "A Letter from Boston," *Studio* 7 (16 April 1892), 181-83.

[17] Eric Zafran, "Monet in Boston," *Monet and His Contemporaries: Masterpieces from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Tokyo: Bunkamura Museum of Art, 1992), n. p.

[18] [Alfred Trumble], "News and Views," *Collector* 8 (1 April 1897), 165.

[19] James Inglis owned *Bull Fight* (fig. 38) and *Dead Toreador* (fig. 48) which were acquired in the late 1880s and early 1890s respectively. George Vanderbilt owned *Tragic Actor* (fig. 7) and *Repose* (fig. 55). Vanderbilt purchased both paintings from Durand-Ruel Galleries in 1898. Mr. Harris Whittemore owned *Port of Calais* (1871; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne* (fig. 37), both purchased in the early 1890s.

[20] For a history of the Havemeyers' collection and collecting activities, see Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, et al., *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993). For information on the Manet paintings owned by the Havemeyers, see pages 352-58.

[21] Gretchen Wold, "Appendix," in Frelinghuysen, 361-67.

[22] William H. Gerdts has published extensively on the subject of American Impressionism and Americans in Giverny specifically. See William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984); William H. Gerdts, *Monet's*

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Giverny: An Impressionist Colony (New York, London, Paris: Abbeville Press, 1993), and William H. Gerdts, *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865-1915* (Giverny: Musée Américain, 1992). Also, Laura L. Meixner, "Claude Monet and the American Coterie at Giverny," in Meixner, *An International Episode: Millet, Monet and Their North American Counterparts* (Memphis: The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 1982), 123-57.

[23] Greta, "Art in Boston," *Art Amateur* 24 (May 1891), 141.

[24] R., writing for the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, did not approve of the 1893 Impressionist exhibition. See R., "Art in New York," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 25 July 1893, 5. Otherwise, the reviews were positive, with some reservations expressed toward Twachtman's works. Besnard was little known in New York, and his works attracted a great deal of attention. See "Some French and American Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, 8 May 1893, 7; "The Chronicle of Arts. Exhibitions and Other Topics," *New York Daily Tribune*, 28 May 1893, 4; "The Fine Arts. An Impressionist Exhibition," *Critic* n.s., 19 (13 May 1893), 318, and "French and American Impressionists," *Art Amateur* 29 (June 1893), 4.

[25] Theodore Robinson, "Claude Monet," *Century Magazine* 44 (September 1892), 696-701; Theodore Robinson, "Claude Monet," in John C. Van Dyke, *Modern French Masters* (New York: Century Company, 1896), 169-74, and Lilla Cabot Perry, "Reminiscences of Claude Monet from 1889 to 1909," *American Magazine of Art* 18 (March 1927), 119-25. For John Singer Sargent's relationship with Monet and his promotion of the artist, see Gerdts, *American Impressionism*, 76-83.

[26] Cecilia Waern, "Some Notes on French Impressionism," *Atlantic Monthly* 68 (April 1892), 539-40.

[27] William C. Brownell, "French Art. III. Realistic Painting," *Scribner's Monthly* 12 (November 1892), 623-25.

[28] "The Chronicle of Arts. Exhibitions and Other Topics," *New York Daily Tribune*, 28 May 1893, 4.

[29] Durand-Ruel Galleries, *Exposition of Paintings by Edouard Manet, 1832-1883* (New York, 1895).

[30] Shown concurrently in an adjacent room of the Durand-Ruel galleries was a selection of landscapes and Paris and London street scenes in watercolors and oil by the painter-critic William A. Coffin, a long-standing champion of Manet's art. See "The Chronicle of Arts. Exhibitions and Other Topics," *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 March 1895, 23, and "Interesting Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9.

[31] "Notes of the Fine Arts," *New York Sun*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[32] *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9.

[33] *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 March 1895, 23.

[34] *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9.

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[35] Diary entries, 14, 16, and 22 March 1895, J. Carroll Beckwith Diary, 1895, New-York Historical Society. Microfilm, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, reel 800.

[36] As William H. Gerdts has observed, the influence of Manet is amply demonstrated in Glackens' New York scenes and portraits painted after his sojourn in Europe. *Under the Trees* (1906; Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York), for example, is strongly evocative of Manet's *Music in the Tuileries*, which Glackens would have seen at the 1895 Durand-Ruel Manet exhibition in New York. Gerdts, *William Glackens* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), 37-81.

[37] *New York Sun*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic* n.s., 23 (8 June 1895), 423.

[40] [Alfred Trumble], "The Ides of March," *Collector* 6 (15 March 1895), 159-60, and "Paintings by Edouard Manet," *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4.

[41] "Paintings by Edouard Manet," *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4.

[42] "In the World of Art. The Exhibitions of the Week and General Art Gossip," *New-York Times*, 17 March 1895, 13.

[43] *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 March 1895, 23.

[44] *New-York Times*, 17 March 1895, 13.

[45] [Trumble], "Ides of March,"159.

[46] Sophia Antoinette Walker, "Fine Arts. Current Exhibitions," *Independent* 47 (28 March 1895), 6.

[47] "Masterwork of Manet," *New York Herald*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[48] *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4.

[49] Sophia Antoinette Walker, a native of Medway, MA, was trained as a portrait painter, and after studying abroad, she lived in New York where she was a charter member of the National Arts Club in New York and taught art for many years at the YWCA. Also Walker was a frequent contributor to the *Independent*. "Miss Sophia A. Walker," *New-York Times*, 30 October 1943, 15.

[50] *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 March 1895, 23.

[51] Monroe, "Chicago Letter," 423.

[52] The critic for *New York Evening Post*, for example, called the *Dead Christ* "wholly unimaginative and unreligious" as well as "superbly painted," and the reviewer for the *New York Herald* characterized the two religious paintings as "remarkable for a lack of religious sentiment." *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9, and *New York Herald*, 12 March 1895, 7.

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[53] *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4.

[54] *New York Herald*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[55] *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9.

[56] *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4.

[57] Monroe, "Chicago Letter," 423, and *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9.

[58] *New York Herald*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[59] *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4.

[60] *New York Herald*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[61] Monroe, "Chicago Letter," 423.

[62] It should be noted that *Salmon* was one of only two paintings in the 1895 exhibition that were owned privately in the United States, the other being *Bull Fight* in the collection of James Inglis, manager of Daniel Cottier's New York art gallery. However, at least sixteen of the works that were exhibited in the 1895 exhibition are in American collections today, seven having been purchased before the close of the century. Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer purchased *Grand Canal, Venice* on 8 April, almost immediately after the close of the 1895 exhibition, as well as *Luncheon in the Studio. Luncheon*, however, was sold back to the Paris branch of Durand-Ruel Galleries later the same year. In 1898, they purchased *A Matador* and *Railroad* from Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York. Potter Palmer of Chicago purchased *Races at Longchamp* in 1896, and George Vanderbilt purchased both *Repose* and *Tragic Actor* in 1898.

[63] "The Edward Manet Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 32 (April 1895), 133.

[64] *New York Evening Post*, 13 March 1895, 9.

[65] *Art Amateur* 32 (April 1895), 133.

[66] Walker, "Current Exhibitions," 6.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *New York Sun*, 12 March 1895, 7.

[69] "From the dignity and seriousness of the two Christs to the indecency of the 'Nana' the descent is very rapid. The half-dressed figure of the unattractive woman before the mirror is objectionable, and the presence of the man lolling on the divan but adds to the coarseness of it all and makes it seem gratuitously vulgar. Yet here is a higher key of color and an excellent rendering of draperies that give it otherwise much attractiveness." *New-York Times*, 12 March 1895, 4. Sophia Walker referred to *Nana* as "unmentionable." "Current Exhibitions," 6.

[70] *New York Herald*, 12 March 1895, 7.

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[71] Art Institute of Chicago, *Annual Report of the Trustees for the Year Ending June 4, 1895* (Chicago, 1895), 22. Neither a catalogue nor an official checklist was published for the exhibition.

[72] C. F. B., "With the Artists," *Chicago Tribune*, 2 June 1895, 34.

[73] "Manet's Pictures on View," *Chicago Evening Post*, 29 May 1895, 8, and "News of Current Art," *Chicago Times-Herald*, 9 June 1895, 13.

[74] L. V. N., "For Artists Only," *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 9 June 1895, 31.

[75] In his *Text-Book of the History of Painting*, Van Dyke posited that Manet was extremely important for his discoveries concerning the relations of light and shadow, the flat appearance of nature, and the exact value of color tones. Moreover, he concluded that Manet was an excellent painter and cited *Boy with a Sword* and *Dead Toreador* as examples of his superb abilities. However, he noted that Manet had a tendency to be "extravagant" in his methods and was disposed toward low life for his subject matter. John C. Van Dyke, *A Text-Book of the History of Painting* (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1894), 168-70. Also, John C. Van Dyke, *The Meaning of Pictures: Six Lectures Given for Columbia University at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 112-13.

[76] "Comment on New Books," *Atlantic Monthly* 79 (February 1897), 275.

[77] "His [Manet's] main effort was a rendering of *fact*; his deepest interest the truthful juxtaposition of values, the broad and simple treatment of planes, combined with a constant search for the character of the person or object portrayed. These points must be always borne in mind, while contemplating his work, to enable one to arrive at a fair estimate of his powers as an artist." J. Carroll Beckwith, "Edouard Manet," in John C. Van Dyke, *Modern French Masters* (New York: Century Company, 1896), 216.

[78] Beckwith, "Manet," 217.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 217-18.

[81] Ibid., 222.

[82] Ibid., 223.

[83] Diary entries, 14 and 16 March 1895, J. Carroll Beckwith Diary.

[84] A native of New York, Hoeber studied at the Art Students' League under J. Carroll Beckwith. From 1881-86, he studied in Paris at the Ecole des beaux-arts under Jean-Léon Gérôme. He exhibited at the Salon for the first time in 1882. Hoeber specialized in landscape painting, and he worked as an art critic for the *New-York Times*, *New York Globe*, and *New York Commercial Advertiser*. He was also a writer and lecturer on art. "Arthur Hoeber Dies," *New-York Times*, 30 April 1915, 13, and *Who was Who in America*, 1943 ed., s.v. "Hoeber, Arthur."

[85] Arthur Hoeber, "Plain Talks on Art—Impressionism," *Art Interchange* 37 (July 1896), 5.

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[86] Ibid., 6.

[87] Ibid., 5.

[88] Martha C. Thurber, "Impressionism in Art: Its Origin and Influence," *Arts for America* 5 (June 1896), 182.

[89] Ibid., 184.

[90] For a complete list of the works exhibited, see Boston Art Students' Association, *Loan Exhibition of One Hundred Masterpieces, in Copley Hall, March Fifth to March Twenty-Eighth, 1897.* Manet's painting is listed as no. 56, *Aux Tuileries*, in the exhibition catalogue.

[91] The Boston Art Students' Association was organized in 1879 by art students at the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In 1901, the name of the organization was changed to the Copley Society of Boston. The papers of the Society include a list of the loan exhibitions, some exhibition catalogues, correspondence, and clippings pertaining to the loan exhibitions. Copley Society of Boston Papers. Microfilm, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, reels 3524-3530.

[92] Letters from Georges Durand-Ruel to the secretary of the Boston Art Students' Association confirm that three paintings by Manet that were exhibited at the Modern Painters exhibition of 1898. They were noted as *Le Chemin de fer, Ecce Homo, and Torrero Saluant.* Georges Durand-Ruel to Mrs. William L. Parker, 14 and 23 February 1898, Copley Society of Boston Papers.

[93] "Copley Hall Hung with Pictures at the Art Students' Association Exhibition," *Boston Herald*, 8 March 1898, 7.

[94] "The Fine Arts," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 8 March 1898, 7.

[95] No catalogue was published for the exhibition in Buffalo, which was held in the library building in that city from 23 March to 11 April, 1896. *Matador Saluting* was no. 139 in the Second Annual Carnegie International Exhibition in Pittsburgh PA, of 1897-98.

[96] Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Record of the Carnegie Institute's International Exhibitions, 1896-1996* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1998), 218. For a history of the Carnegie International Exhibitions, see Kenneth Neal, *A Wise Extravagance: The Founding of the Carnegie International Exhibitions, 1895-1901* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).

[97] Wold, 353, and Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, ed. Susan Alyson Stein (New York: Ursus Press, 1993), 223-24.

[98] For an historical and critical overview of the art in the 1900 exhibition, focusing on the Décennale, see Robert Rosenblum, Mary Anne Stevens, and Ann Dumas, *1900: Art at the Crossroads* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000).

[99] William A. Coffin, "The Sculpture at Paris," *New York Sun*, 22 July 1900, sec. 3, 2.

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[100] Alvan F. Sanborn, "Art in Retrospect," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 9 June 1900, 19. Alvan Francis Sanborn was born in 1866 in Marlboro, MA, and he graduated from Amherst College in 1887. He was a novelist and sometime art critic. Among his literary contributions were a series of studies of New England towns, and stories about the life of the poor, including *Moody's Lodging House, and Other Tenement Sketches. A Dictionary of American Authors*, 1904 ed., s.v. "Sanborn, Alvan Francis."

[101] William A. Coffin, "Vast Show of French Art," *New York Sun*, 1 July 1900, sec. 3, 2.

[102] Sanborn, "Art in Retrospect," 19.

[103] N. N., "The Paris Exposition. II. French Fine-Arts Section. I," *Nation* 71 (5 July 1900), 8.

[104] The inclusion of the Impressionists in the Centennale exhibition was contested, and the commissioner, Claude Roger-Marx, agreed to include their works in the Centennale only after extensive negotiations. Reflecting the bias against the Impressionists as well, their works were completely excluded from the Décennale exhibition. In fact, none of the Impressionists had offered their works to the jury of the Décennale exhibition, and in turn, the jury did not seek any of their works out. Mary Anne Stevens, "The Exposition Universelle: 'This Vast Competition of Effort, Realisation and Victories,'" in Rosenblum, Stevens, and Dumas, 62.

[105] Sanborn, "Art in Retrospect," 19.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] *Exposition internationale universelle de 1900. Catalogue générale officiel. Oeuvres d'art. Exposition centennale de l'art français (1800-1889)* (Paris: Imprimeries Lemercier, 1900), 53, 95, 173. The works exhibited are listed below exactly as they appear in the catalogue:

440. Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 1863 (app. à M. Moreau-Nélaton)
441. Combat de taureaux, 1863 (app. à M. A. F. Aude)
442. Boulogne, sortie du port, 1872 (Mme A. Dureau)
443. Portrait de Mme Gonzalès (Durand-Ruel)
444. Les Baigneuses (M. Pellerin)
445. Argenteuil (Salon 1875) (M. Pellerin)
446. Portrait du graveur Marcellin Desboutin (M. Pellerin)
447. Le Déjeuner dans l'atelier (M. Pellerin)
448. Un Bar aux Folies-Bergères (Salon 1882) (M. Pellerin)
449. Nature morte (M. Manzi)
450. Les asperges (M. C. Ephrussi)
451. Portraits en plein air (M. Pellerin)
452. Pivoines (M. Moreau-Nélaton)

1150. Déjeuner sur l'herbe, aquarelle (M. Blot)
1151. Parisienne, pastel (M. Donop de Monchy)
1152. Olympia, aquarelle (M. Pellerin)

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2383. Lola de Valence, eau-forte originale, 1861 (M. H. Béraldi)

[109] N. N., "The Paris Exposition. III. The French Fine-Arts Section. II," *Nation* 71 (12 July 1900), 30.

[110] Ibid.

[111] N., "Paris Exposition. II," 10.

[112] Coffin, "Vast Show of French Art," sec. 3, 2.

[113] Coffin, "Sculpture at Paris," sec. 3, 2.

[114] N., "Paris Exposition. III," 30.

[115] R[oyal]. C[ortissoz]., "French Art," *New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, 5 August 1900, 7-8.

[116] For example, "Every eminent French master of to-day, the Carolus-Durans, the Jean Paul Laurens, the Henners, the Monets, the Ménards—the impressionist masters especially—has his host of foreign imitators." Rowland Strong, "Art in Paris," *New-York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art*, 16 June 1900, 396. See also, James B. Townsend, "Art at the Paris Fair," *New-York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art*, 14 July 1900, 475.

[117] Townsend, "Art at the Paris Fair," 475.

[118] C. H. C., "Art in Paris," *New York Evening Post*, 22 June 1900, 7.

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Conclusion

In the words of Alvan F. Sanborn, an American critic who reviewed the Centennale exhibition at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900 for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, "One may or may not like Manet, but one is forced to recognize his originality, respect his sincerity and admit his influence."[1] Indeed, by the close of the nineteenth century, Edouard Manet was acknowledged by the artistic community in this country as a pivotal influence on the development of modern painting, who redirected art production away from traditional academic practices to a focus on real life seen through a highly personalized lens. He was upheld as a revolutionary, even a martyr, for the cause of freedom in painting who courageously pursued his own path in the face of opposition from the Parisian art establishment and adhered to his own creative vision even though it meant that he was denied official honors until the end of his life. As a fierce personality and a force for change, Manet was ranked with the Romantic artists Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix, who also rebelled against convention in the pursuit of originality and who, like Manet, were late to receive commendations because their art, in the eyes of many critics and art viewers, was difficult to "like."

While his heroic struggle and the far-reaching influence of his art were widely recognized by the century's end, many American critics and members of the artistic community were also in agreement that Manet was a painter *par excellence*. He was placed on a par with Diego Velásquez, not only for his accomplished paint handling but also for the honesty and directness of his approach to his subject. Manet was praised as well for his talent in capturing accurate tonal values and for achieving enviable freshness and brightness in his colors. Many of the individuals who admired Manet's technical facility were trained as painters and had the knowledge and sensitivity to understand the difficulties that he appeared to have overcome effortlessly in his canvases.

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Despite widespread appreciation for his contributions, as well as the highest commendations for his talents as a painter, Manet's art, even at the century's end, was perceived as an extreme manifestation of the anti-academic and the unorthodox. Those Americans who lauded Manet most enthusiastically also believed that his work often revealed weaknesses in composition, an absence of resolution, and a dearth of intellectual content. An additional flaw in Manet's productions, one that was noted early on by the American critic James Jackson Jarves, was an element of ugliness. As a result, while he was deemed a nearly unparalleled painter, Manet was denied the status of consummate artist, meaning one who joined sound craft with beautiful painting and large ideas.

Although the chorus of admirers was larger and louder at the end of the century, American critics and art enthusiasts, particularly artists, had admired Manet's art since the late 1860s. Among the earliest to notice Manet's works were critics Jarves and Eugene Benson who admired the painter's powerful, even "brutal" manner. The reactions of Jarves and Benson to Manet's art marked the beginning of a continuum of positive but cautious critical attention devoted to the painter's productions. Later admirers, including J. Carroll Beckwith, William M. Chase, Clarence Cook, Mariana van Rensselaer, William A. Coffin, John C. Van Dyke, Ripley Hitchcock, and Arthur Hoeber, also centered their praises on Manet's talents as a painter, as well as his innovations in the portrayal of light and its effect on color, and his ability to portray character and a sense of vitality in his figures.

Appreciation for Manet's works in nineteenth-century America was extraordinary when one considers how conservative the artistic community was in the period after the Civil War and how doggedly many critics, artists, and collectors adhered to the taste for academic painting, the standards of which were established in France. Manet's paintings represented the opposite of what was lauded in official art circles in Paris, the "rice powder" Venuses of William-Adolphe Bouguereau and the minutely detailed historical dramas of Jean-Léon Gérôme. The artist cared little for conventional beauty of motif or

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treatment, and he refused to idealize his subjects or introduce poetry and sentiment into his productions. Moreover, Manet abandoned conventional tools for the construction of compositional space and eschewed *fini*. Therefore, the Americans who were attracted to Manet's art swam against the current in their aesthetic tastes. They appreciated his productions as a refreshing contrast to the overwrought and vapid canvases produced by academic painters, examples that Jarves referred to derisively as the "prevailing meretricious pretty."[2] It was because his works were so completely divorced from conventional academic standards, however, that American viewers were unable to embrace Manet's paintings wholeheartedly. They admired some aspects of his works, while condemning others.

In fact, the growth of appreciation for Manet's art in this country forms a parallel to the struggle for freedom of artistic expression. The earliest admirers of Manet in America valued individuality over conformity, modernity over tradition, technique over content, and as a result, they themselves, like Manet, were not in the mainstream. American supporters of Manet were small in number during his lifetime, but as criteria for painting changed beginning in the late 1870s and an increasing number of Americans grew to appreciate a broader variety of artistic methods and more personalized expression, so too did the number of Manet admirers increase. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, tastes in this country were transformed under the guiding influence of young painters and critics who had studied and traveled abroad and who had been exposed to the non-academic productions of the Barbizon School painters and Thomas Couture in France and to the even more radical practices of Wilhelm Leibl in Munich. These Americans were deeply interested in technique and the expressive potential of paint, and they found much to praise in Manet's art. The new, more liberal ideas about artistic expression that were harbored by the minority of critics and artists in the late 1870s came to dominate in the 1880s, and by the last decade of the century, attitudes had nearly

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reversed. Difference and originality became virtues by the century's end, and Manet's heroic struggle to express himself in an independent fashion was celebrated.

American admiration for Manet's unconventional style is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that his reputation grew in this country at a time when few Frenchmen admired his works. Manet had a band of loyal supporters both during his life and later, including Emile Zola, Théodore Duret, and Antonin Proust, who promoted the artist's importance within the French art arena. These men, however, had their own reservations about Manet's art, similar to those that plagued American admirers. In fact, the complaints registered against the artist in France were echoed in criticism penned by Americans, reflecting how taste makers in this country, even those on the fringes, looked abroad for guidance. However, in nineteenth-century France, controversy followed in the wake of every event that focused attention upon Manet's works. For example, there were outbursts of laughter and condemnation following most of Manet's appearances at the Salon, and after his death, protests were launched against the inclusion of the artist's works in national exhibitions and in the French national art collection. In America, on the other hand, where there was not a dominant art authority similar to the Ecole des beaux-arts or the French Academy, Manet's works were included in major art exhibitions without protest. Manet's paintings did not elicit the hue and cry in this country with which they were greeted in France, and even those Americans who did not understand or appreciate his efforts regarded the experience of studying his art as a valuable education.

Nonetheless, because Americans did have difficulty reckoning with the more radical elements in his art, it is not surprising that the paintings by Manet which were widely praised in this country were more conventional in subject and treatment. For example, *Boy with a Sword* (fig. 22) was undoubtedly the best known and most prized work by Manet in nineteenth-century America, a fact based largely upon the Velázquez-esque palette, which bestowed Old Master appeal upon the work, as well as the charm of the youthful subject and the ease of imaginative engagement. Arthur Jerome Eddy, a

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Chicago lawyer and art collector who owned Manet's *Philosopher* (fig. 34), another example of Manet's art which had won accolades in this country, regarded *Boy with a Sword* as Manet's greatest painting. In addition to the beauty of the paint handling and the tonal palette, Eddy claimed that *Boy with a Sword* contained "the best there was in Manet, because the subject was not one to excite the worst. There is no woman in it; there is no Paris in it; there is no decadence in it . . . ."[3] Consistent with the esteem shown toward *Boy with a Sword* and with the disaffection for immoral content in art identified by Eddy, *Fifer* (fig. 8), *A Matador* (fig. 58), *Mendicant* (fig. 35), and *In the Conservatory* (fig. 13) were favorites with American art enthusiasts as well. The figures appeared as if they could step out of the canvas, as if they were alive, as if they had stories to tell, and more importantly, they elicited humor or feelings of warmth and sympathy from the viewer, as opposed to discomfort or repulsion. Works that had violent content like *Execution of Maximilian* (fig. 15) or suggested degeneracy like *Absinthe Drinker* (fig. 1) were roundly condemned in this country, as were those paintings that had sexual content, especially *Olympia* (fig. 4) and *Nana* (fig. 66).

The preference for beauty and sentiment, as well as non-threatening subject matter, led the American art viewing public, as well as a number of critics and artists, to place a higher value on the works of Manet's contemporaries Jules Bastien-Lepage and Claude Monet. These artists took Manet's radical methods and vision and tamed them into more palatable and ultimately popular productions. From Manet, Bastien-Lepage learned how to paint light and air, in fresh bright color, but he maintained an acceptable level of *fini* and intellectual content. Monet, whose sketchy application of paint was as unorthodox as Manet's methods, worked in a soft, light-filled palette, and he presented a view of nature that Americans found reassuring and life-affirming as well as pretty. In the context of American and French art in the late 1880s and 1890s, which was characterized by celebrations of happy or pious peasants, virtuous womanhood, cozy domestic scenes, or

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sun-filled landscapes, Manet's works signaled the darker realities of life that Americans were not eager to acknowledge.

With the lessening, and eventual rejection, of academic strictures for art among the members of the avant-garde in this country and abroad, greater value as well as unreserved praises would be bestowed upon Manet's highly individual productions in the twentieth century than they had enjoyed previously. Nonetheless, the growth of esteem for Manet's art and respect for his role as an artistic innovator in nineteenth-century America is an important chapter in the history and evolution of aesthetic appreciation in the United States. Despite entrenched academic standards and respect for traditional artistic methods and subjects, American catholicity in taste allowed the acceptance of, and even admiration for, the unorthodox productions of Edouard Manet and forced the first crack in the canon of beauty that would later open more readily to embrace the "painter-in-chief of Ugliness."

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Endnotes to Conclusion

[1] Alvan F. Sanborn, "Art in Retrospect," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 9 June 1900, 19.

[2] James Jackson Jarves, *Art Thoughts, The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869), 270.

[3] Jerome Eddy, "Edouard Manet, Painter," *Brush and Pencil* 1 (February 1898), 140.

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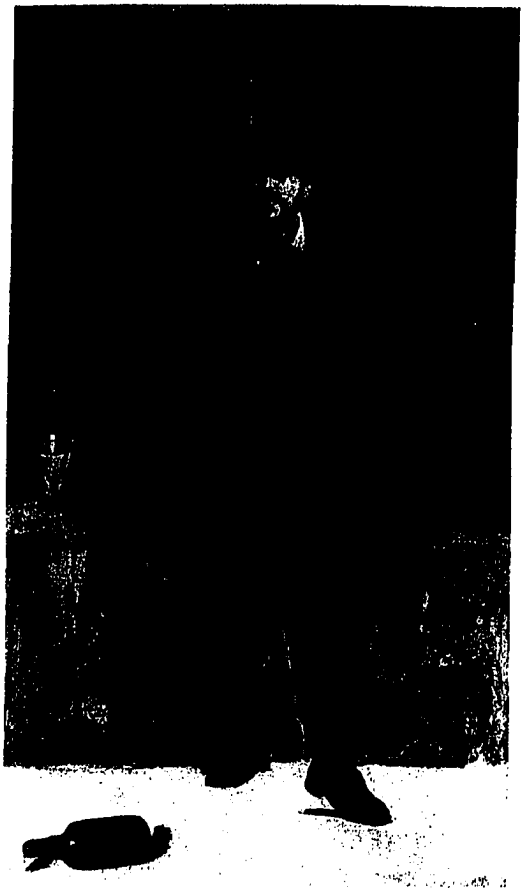


Figure 1: Edouard Manet, *Absinthe Drinker*, 1859, oil on canvas, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

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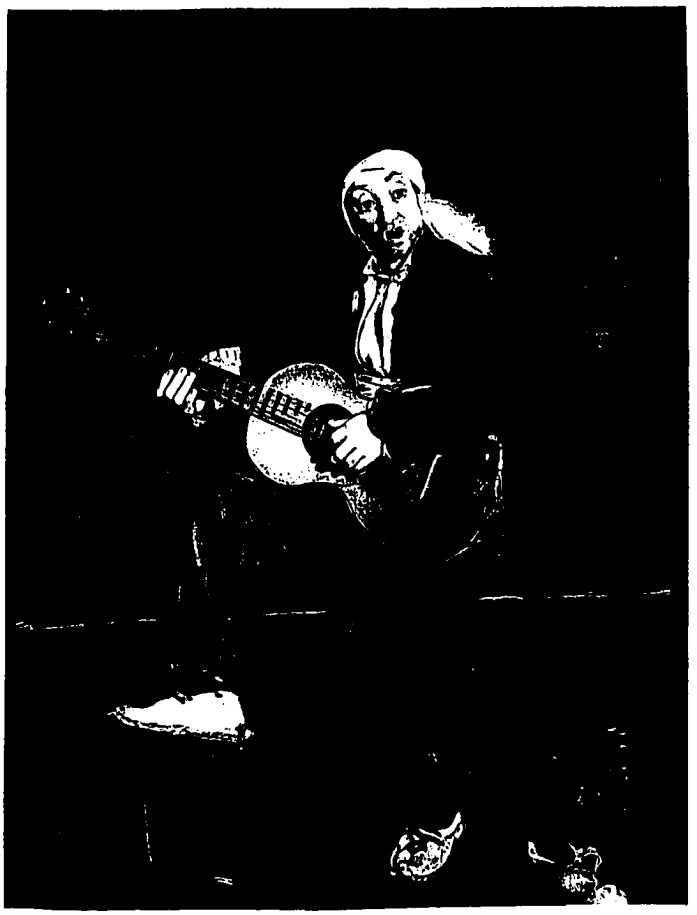


Figure 2: Edouard Manet, *Spanish Singer*,1860, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 3: Edouard Manet, *Luncheon on the Grass*, 1863, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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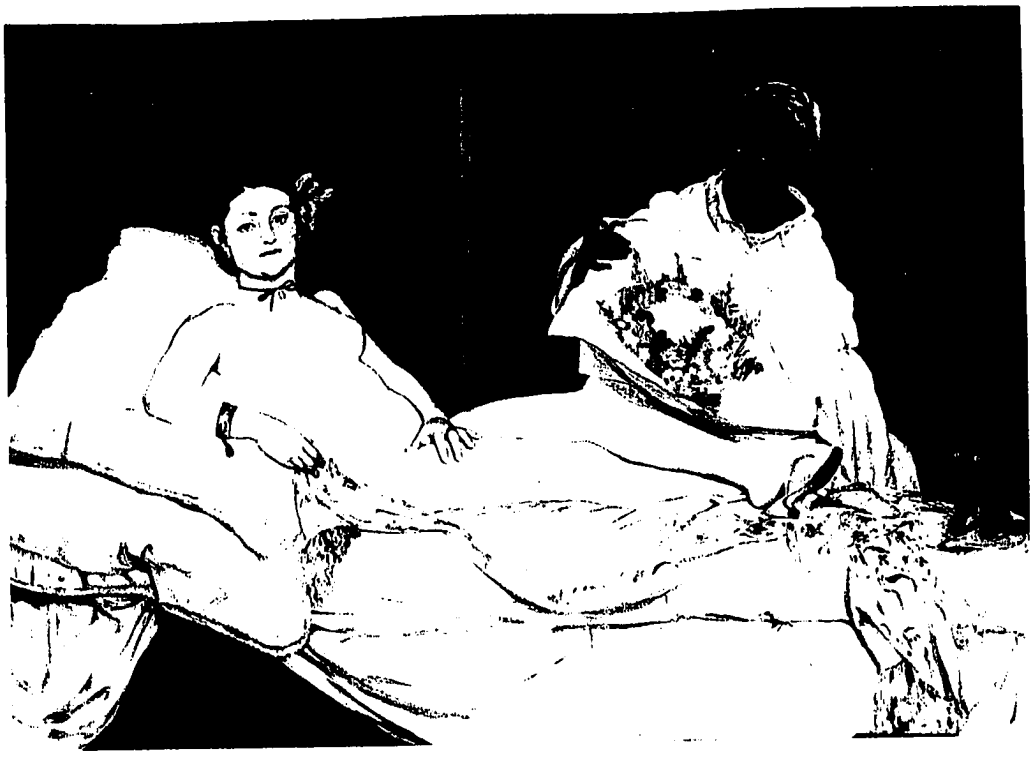


Figure 4: Edouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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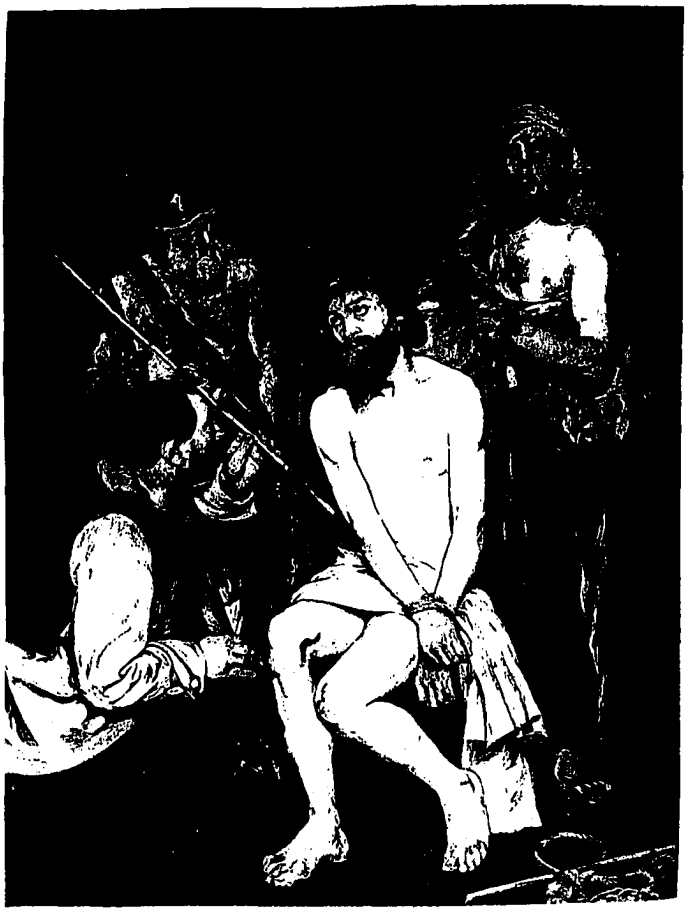


Figure 5: Edouard Manet, *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers*, 1864-65, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

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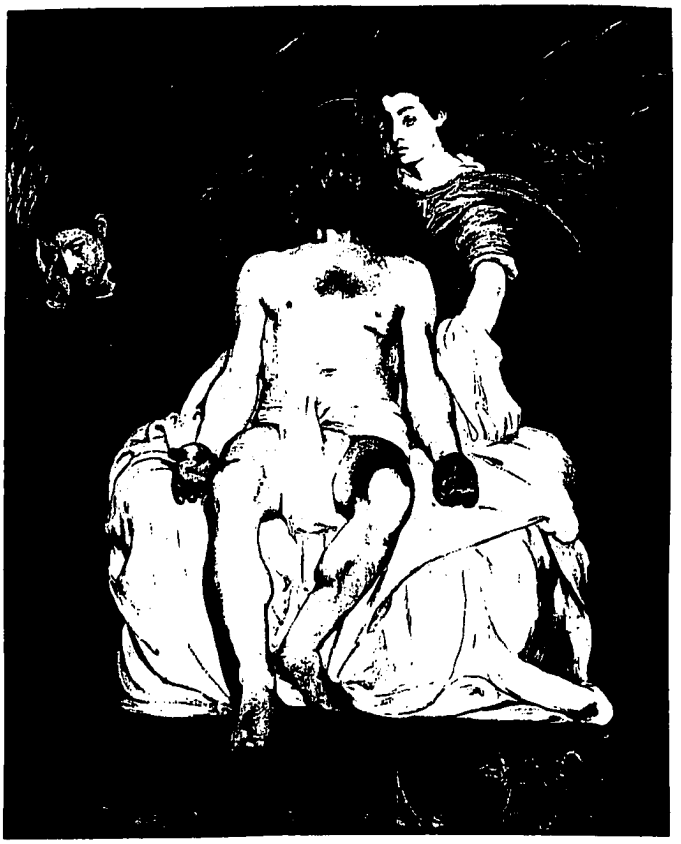


Figure 6: Edouard Manet, *Dead Christ and the Angels*, 1864, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 7: Edouard Manet, *Tragic Actor*, 1865-66, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

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Figure 8: Edouard Manet, *Fifer*, 1866, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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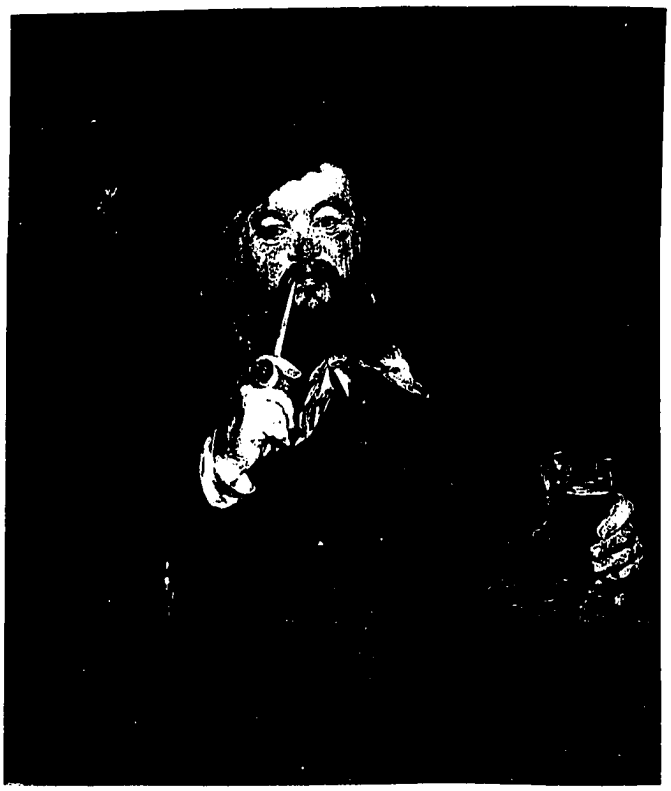


Figure 9: Edouard Manet, *Le Bon Bock*, 1873, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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Figure 10: Edouard Manet, *Railroad*, 1872-73, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

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Figure 11: Edouard Manet, *Argenteuil*, 1874, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.

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Figure 12: Edouard Manet, *Boating*, 1874, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 13: Edouard Manet, *In the Conservatory*, 1879, oil on canvas, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

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Figure 14: Edouard Manet, "Perched upon a bust of Pallas . . . ," transfer lithograph, illustration for Edgar Poe, *Le Corbeau*, trans. Stephane Mallarmé (Paris: Richard Lesclide, 1875), New York Public Library.

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Figure 15: Edouard Manet, *Execution of Maximilian*, 1868, oil on canvas, Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim.

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Figure 16: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Emilie Ambre in the Role of Carmen*, 1880, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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Figure 17: Mora Studio, carte photograph of Edouard Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*, New York, 1879. Tabarant Archives, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

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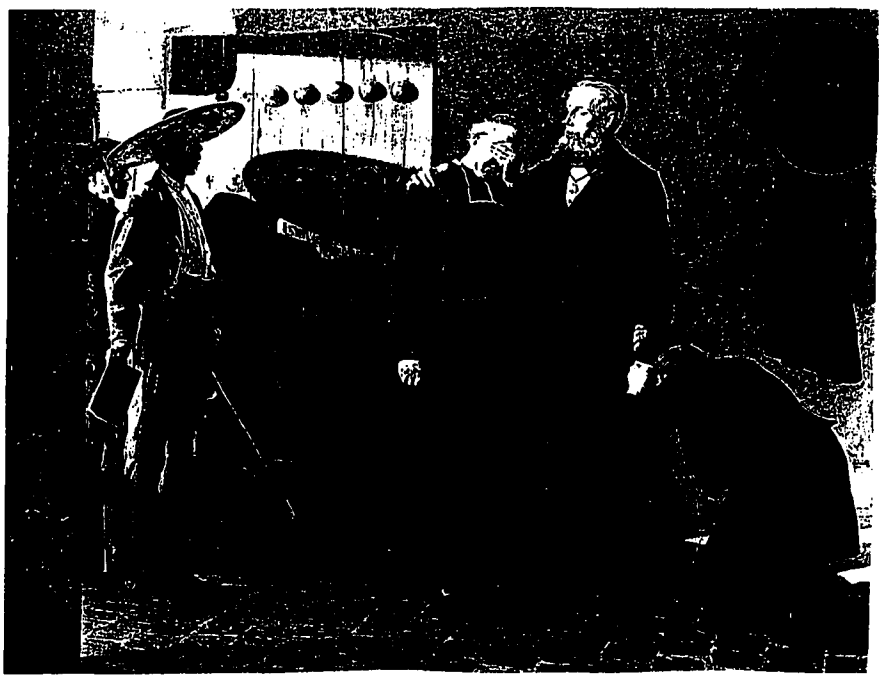


Figure 18: Jean-Paul Laurens, *Last Moments of Maximilian*, 1882, oil on canvas, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

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Figure 19: Edouard Manet, *Masked Ball at the Opéra*, 1873-74, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

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Figure 20: Frank Duveneck, *Lady with a Fan*, 1873, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 21: Frank Duveneck, *Turkish Page*, 1876, oil on canvas, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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Figure 22: Edouard Manet, *Boy with a Sword*, 1861, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 23: Edouard Manet, *Woman with a Parrot,* 1866, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 24: Edouard Manet, *Chez le père Lathuille*, 1879, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai.

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Figure 25: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of M. Henri Rochefort*, 1881, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

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Figure 26: Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881-82, oil on canvas, Courtauld Institute, London.

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Figure 27: Jules Bastien-Lepage, *Joan of Arc*, 1879, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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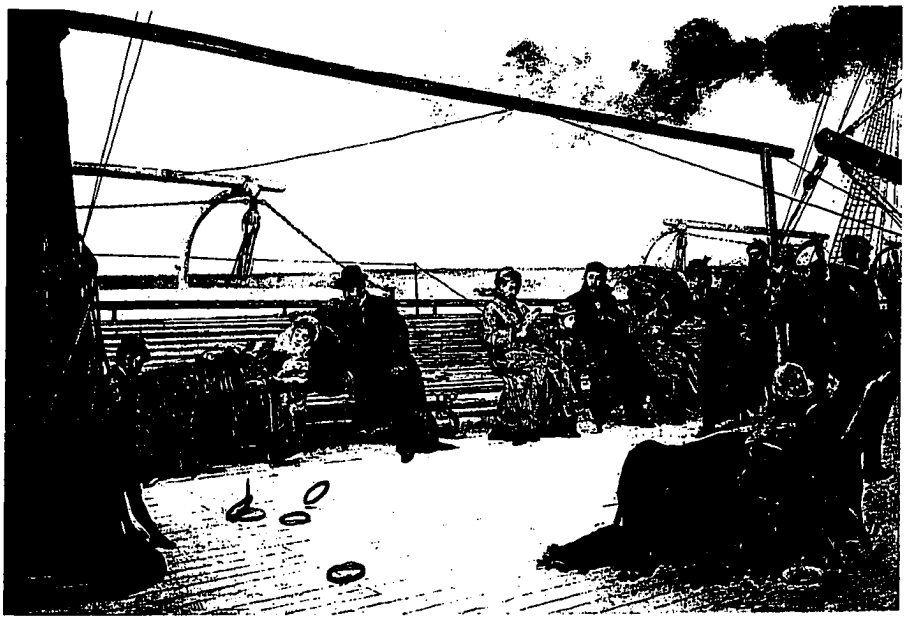


Figure 28: Henry Bacon, *On Shipboard*, 1877, oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Figure 29: Alfred Stevens, *In the Studio*, 1888, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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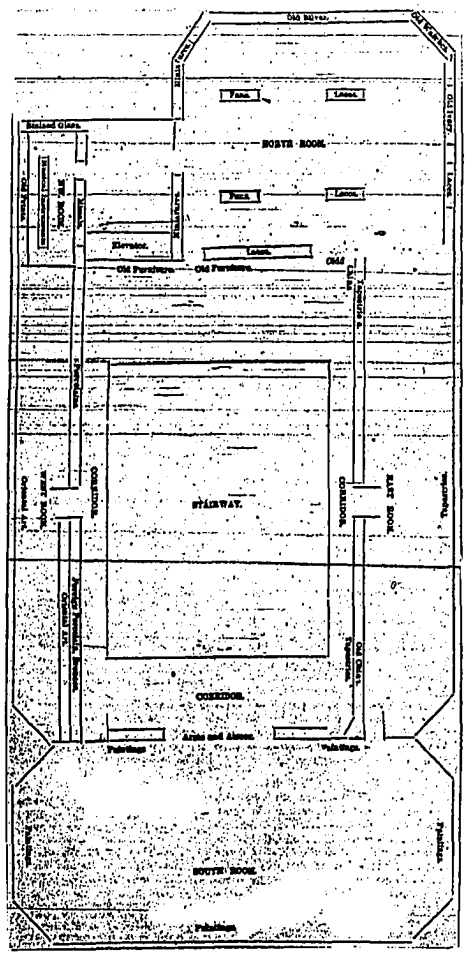
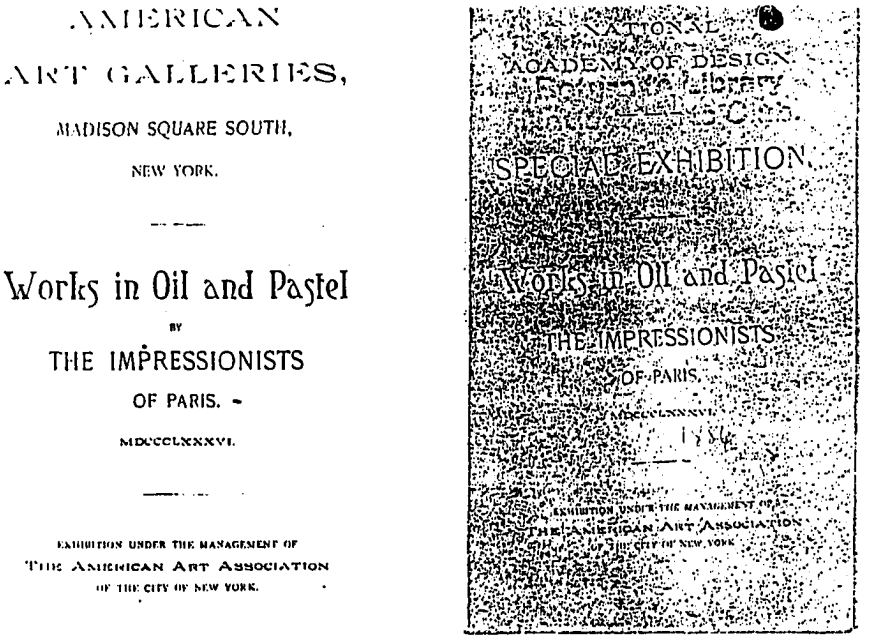


Figure 30: "The Art Loan Exhibition—Plan of the Academy of Design Where the Exhibits are Placed," *New York World*, 3 December 1883, 5.

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AMERICAN

ART GALLERIES,

MADISON SQUARE SOUTH,

NEW YORK.

Works in Oil and Pastel

BY

THE IMPRESSIONISTS

OF PARIS.

MDCCCLXXXVI.

EXHIBITION UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF

THE AMERICAN ART ASSOCIATION

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

NATIONAL

ACADEMY OF DESIGN

SPECIAL EXHIBITION

Works in Oil and Pastel

THE IMPRESSIONISTS

OF PARIS.

MDCCCLXXXVI.

EXHIBITION UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF

THE AMERICAN ART ASSOCIATION

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Figure 31: Title pages from the catalogues for the 1886 Impressionist exhibitions held at the American Art Association and National Academy of Design, New York.

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Figure 32: Henri Lerolle, *In the Organ-Loft*, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 33: Marcellin Desboutin, portrait of Edouard Manet, drawn for *La Vie moderne*. Reproduced in Theodore Child, "The King of the 'Impressionists,'" *Art Amateur* 14 (April 1886), 101.

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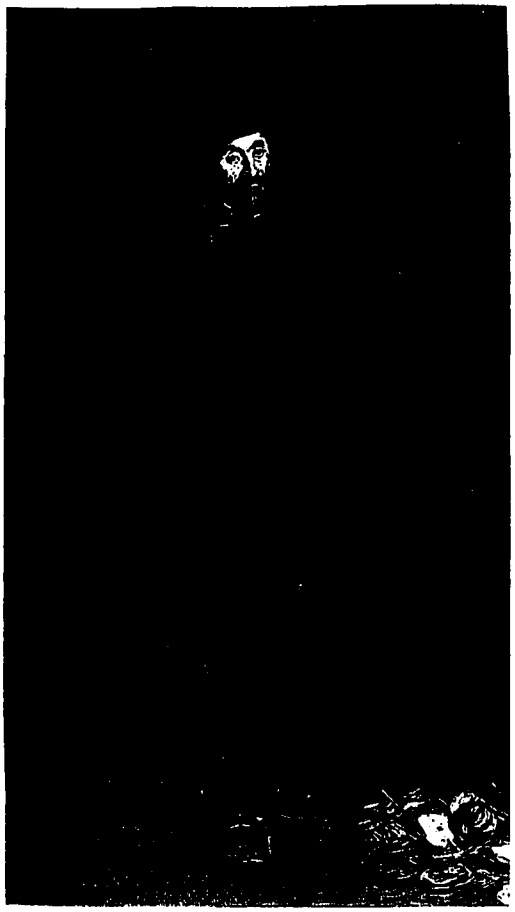


Figure 34: Edouard Manet, *Philosopher*, 1865-67, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

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Figure 35: Edouard Manet, *Mendicant*, 1865, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

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Figure 36: Edouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862/ after 1867, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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Figure 37: Edouard Manet, *Races at Longchamp in the Bois de Boulogne*, 1872, oil on canvas, Mrs. John Hay Whitney Collection, New York.

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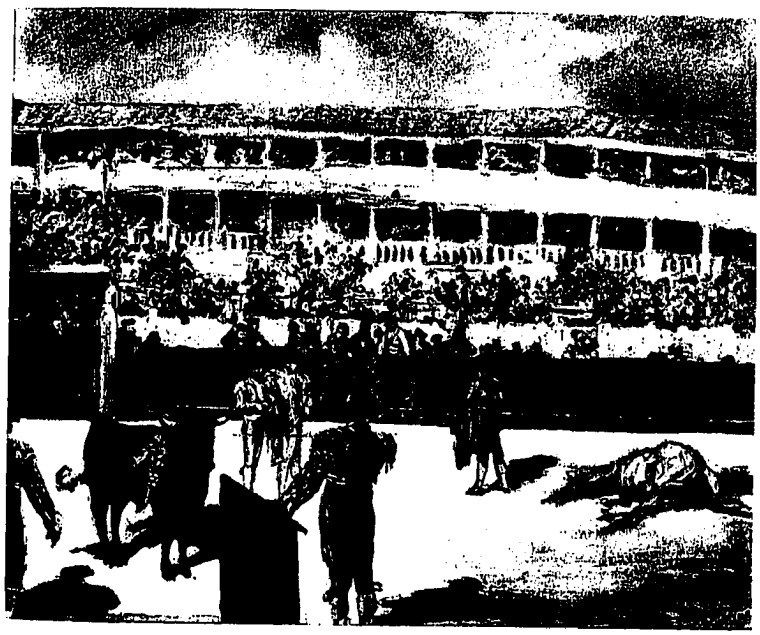


Figure 38: Edouard Manet, *Bull Fight*, 1866, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

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Figure 39: Edouard Manet, *On the Balcony*, 1868-69, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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Figure 40: Edouard Manet, *Battle of the Kearsarge and the Alabama*, 1864, oil on canvas, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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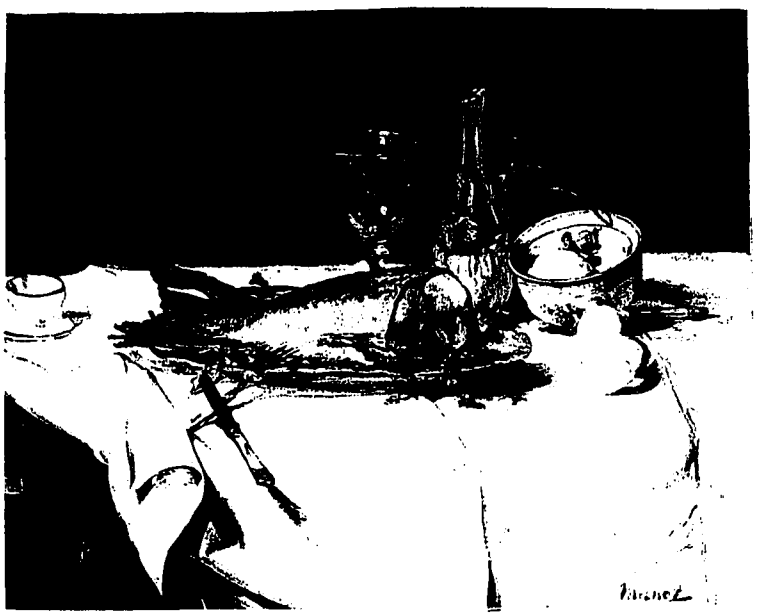


Figure 41: Edouard Manet, *Salmon,* 1869, oil on canvas, Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont.

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Figure 42: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet*, 1877, oil on canvas, Folkwang Museum, Essen.

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Figure 43: Edouard Manet, *Café-Concert*, 1878, oil on canvas, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

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Figure 44: Edouard Manet, *Croquet at Boulogne*, 1871, oil on canvas, private collection.

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Figure 45: Edouard Manet, *View in Holland*, 1872, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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Figure 46: Edouard Manet, *Porpoises/ Seascape at Boulogne*, 1864, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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"FOREST OF FONTAINEBLEAU."
"NEAR BARBEAU."
COROT'S
"IN THE WOODS AT MARCOUSSIS."
Painted for Durand Ruel, 1865.
"THE POND."
"A WOODLAND PATH."
From the Pourtalès Sale, 1873.
Bought in Durand-Ruel Collection, 1873.
MILLET'S
"THE HAYMAKER."
From the late A. E. Borie Collection, Philadelphia.
"AFTER THE BATH."
"LANDSCAPE NEAR BARBIZON."
BAUDION'S
"ON THE MARNE."
LEFAGE'S
"JOAN OF ARC."
From Paris Salon, 1880,
Are included in the celebrated collection, which is to be sold by auction at
CHICKERING HALL,
5TH-AV., CORNER 18TH-ST.,
TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY EVENINGS,
March 19 and 20, at 8 o'clock,
Mr. S. P. AVERY, Jr., will assist in the management of the sale.
ROBERT SOMERVILLE, Auctioneer.
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N. Y. HERALD.—"The collection contains a score of masterpieces of modern art, works of capital importance. A canon of taste has regulated the thoughtful selection."
COM. ADVERTISER.—"There is hardly a painting in the entire collection which is not a work of art of high power."
TOWN TOPICS.—"A finer exhibition of pictures by French artists has never been put up for sale in this country."
HOME JOURNAL.—"The exhibition includes many choice examples of the great painters of the century."
TO-DAY.—"There are frames in which some bronze like fire, and others in which it shimmers like a dream, and others still in which it flashes with the radiance of the sunrise, passing a tropical sea with gold and pearl."
N. Y. TIMES.—"Since the sale of paintings belonging to the late Mrs. Marquand, no collection has been offered which appeals in consequence in the same degree as that of Mr. Erwin Davis."
N. Y. STAR.—"Among all the collections of pictures that have been, very few of Albert Spencer would be able to compare with this one."
CH. TRANSCRIPT, BOSTON.—"Mr. Davis possesses a fine collection, and well-chosen, and this collection, which includes many important examples and rarely fine ones."
N. Y. POST.—"Not since the sale of the Marquand collection has there been so important an event in the art world as the sale of the collection of Mr. Erwin Davis."
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ADMISSION TO THE SALE FREE.
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Figure 47: Advertisements for the exhibition and sale of the Erwin Davis collection. Published in the *New-York Times*, 15 March 1889, 5, and *New York Evening Post*, 16 March 1889, 11.

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Figure 48: Edouard Manet, *Dead Toreador*, 1864-65, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

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EXPOSITION

OF PAINTINGS BY

EDOUARD MANET

1832-1883.

From the 11th to the 30th of March,

1895.

DURAND-RUEL GALLERIES,

389 Fifth Avenue,

New York.

Figure 49: Title page, *Exposition of Paintings by Edouard Manet 1832-1883*, Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York, 1895.

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Figure 50: Edouard Manet, *Children in the Tuileries*, 1861-62, oil on canvas, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

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Figure 51: Edouard Manet, *Music in the Tuileries*, 1862, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.

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Figure 52: Edouard Manet, *House at Rueil*, 1882, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

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Figure 53: Edouard Manet, *House At Rueil*, 1882, oil on canvas, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

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Figure 54: Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Zacharie Astruc*, 1866, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Bremen.

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Figure 55: Edouard Manet, *Repose: Portrait of Berthe Morisot*, 1870, oil on canvas, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

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Figure 56: Edouard Manet, *Luncheon in the Studio*, 1868, oil on canvas, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

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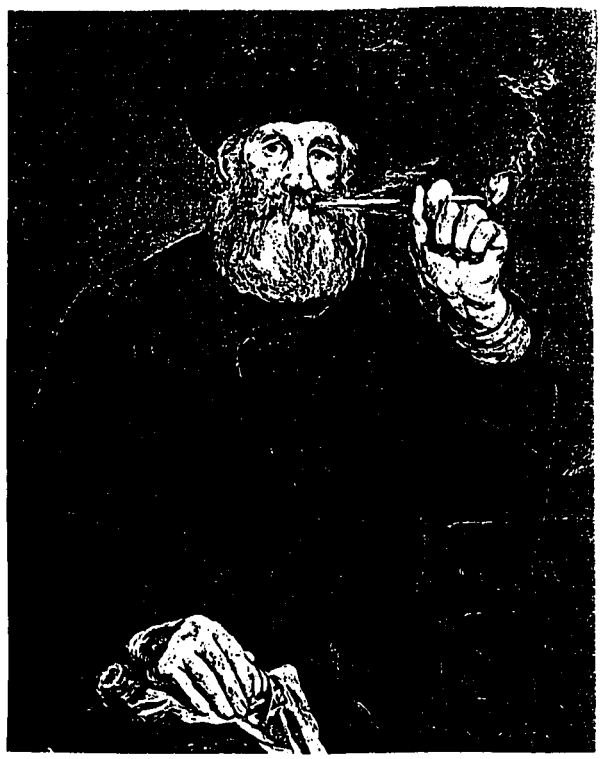


Figure 57: Edouard Manet, *The Smoker*, 1866, oil on canvas, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

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Figure 58: Edouard Manet, *A Matador*, 1866 or 1867, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Figure 59: Edouard Manet, *Races at Longchamp*, 1867, oil on canvas, Art Institute of Chicago.

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Figure 60: Edouard Manet, *Spanish Ballet*, 1862, oil on canvas, Phillips Collection, Washington, DC.

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Figure 61: Edouard Manet, *Grand Canal, Venice*, 1875, oil on canvas, Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont.

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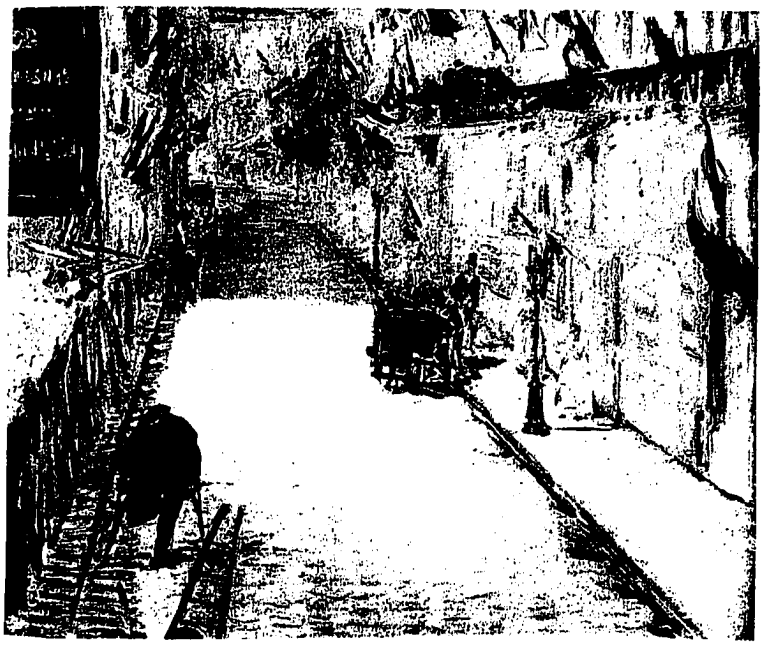


Figure 62: Edouard Manet, *Rue Mosnier with Flags*, 1878, oil on canvas, J. Paul Getty Museum. Malibu, California.

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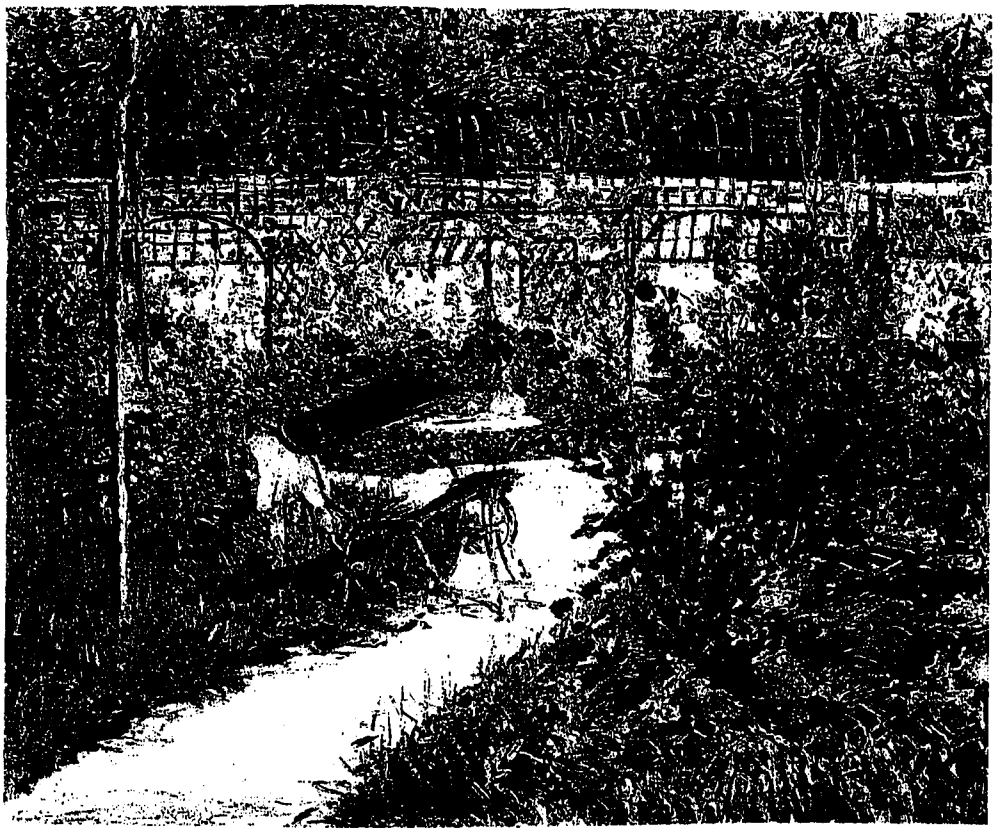


Figure 63: Edouard Manet, *My Garden*, 1881, oil on canvas, private collection.

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Figure 64: Edouard Manet, *Le Promenade*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

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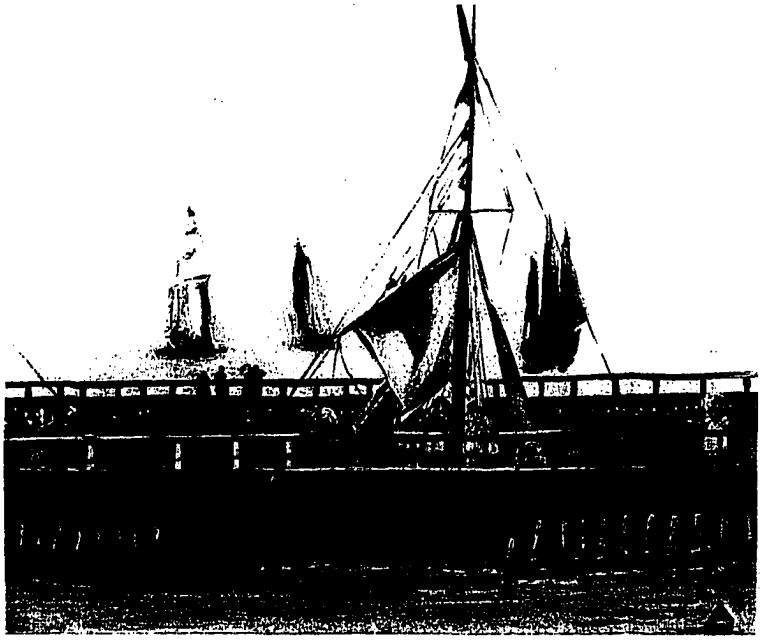


Figure 65: Edouard Manet, *Jetty at Boulogne*, 1868, oil on canvas, private collection.

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Figure 66: Edouard Manet, *Nana*, 1877, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

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