INNOCENTS ABROAD: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris

Carol Troyen

BETWEEN THE FIRST OF APRIL and the last day of October, 1867, over eleven million visitors — more than twice the number that had attended the previous Paris fair, in 1855 — streamed across the Pont d'Iéna to see the marvels displayed at the Exposition Universelle (Figs. 1 and 2). Gathered at the vast grounds of the Champ de Mars were the pavilions of some 50,000 exhibitors from thirty-two countries, providing intriguing views of past and distant cultures, the best of present-day domestic, fine, and commercial arts, and industrial miracles predicted for the future. One could tour replicas of the temples of Philae in Egypt (Fig. 3) and Xochicalco in Mexico, a life-sized re-creation of the Roman catacombs, an English mail train, and a working model of the Suez Canal. In the mammoth glass and iron exhibition hall designed by engineer Frederic Le Play on the model of the Crystal Palace were displayed artesian wells from Algeria, the mechanical elevator of M. Edoux (capable of lifting its passengers twenty-five meters above the gallery floor in less than two minutes) and, an ominous portent, cannons and military equipment manufactured by Krupp, the Prussian munitions expert.

At the edges of the exhibition were entertainments of all kinds: concerts conducted by Strauss, Offenbach, and Rossini (who wrote a "Cantata de l'Exposition" expressly for the fair); dances; regattas; boxing matches; and performances by sword-swallowers, jugglers, and conjurers. By the end of May, the crowds were so enormous that a moderately popular restaurant was serving 1500 lunches and 5000 dinners a day, and a transportation system designed to carry 11,000 passengers per hour to and from the Champ de Mars was already proving inadequate.[1] The Exposition, which would prove to be the last celebration of the material achievements of the Second Empire, surpassed all previous fairs in the scale and diversity of its exhibits. It was the biggest international fair until that time, and the most profitable, netting some 2,800,000 francs; it attracted tourists from all over the world who gawked equally at the displays and at each other.

Intrigued by the fabled attractions of Paris — the Morgue, the Louvre, Notre-Dame, the much-promoted sewers — Americans found the Exposition a special inducement to come to Paris in 1867. Bearing their guidebooks issued especially for the Exposition year, travelers ventured forth from the familiar comforts of the Grand Hotel on the Boulevard des Capucines, past the recently unveiled south front of Charles Garnier's Opera House, through the seemingly endless galleries of the Louvre, lately enlarged by Napoleon III, down the new boulevards of the VIII *arrondissement* (which at the Emperor's direction the Baron Haussmann had hurried to complete in time for the Exposition), and into the fair. There it was not the displays of high culture which attracted them, but the curiosities: "tattooed South Sea Islanders" and other exotic peoples, and mechanized trinkets such as "a silver swan . . . swimming about . . . [which we saw] seize a silver fish from under the water, and hold up his head and go through all the customary and elaborate motions of swallowing it." But the most thrilling sights were in the Palace of Industry, and Americans wrote home boasting that their machinery was far superior to the entries of all other nations: "The Locomotive is by far the finest there. I can't tell you how mean the best English, French and Belgian ones are alongside of it."[2]

These machines, and the other American contributions to the Exposition Universelle, presented much-idealized, if divergent, images of American life. While some displays represented America as a land of Rousseauean innocence and promise, and as a paragon of Democracy, others emphasized Yankee ingenuity, and still others promoted America as a center of great cultural achievements. Thus, the only buildings erected to illustrate daily life in America were a log cabin and a one-room schoolhouse. That such rustic architecture was the source of America's strength was admiringly noted by French critics, who also commended America's egalitarian social structure, pointing out that, in America's railway system, displayed at the Exposi-

For a complete listing of the American works of art included in the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, see this article's Appendix.

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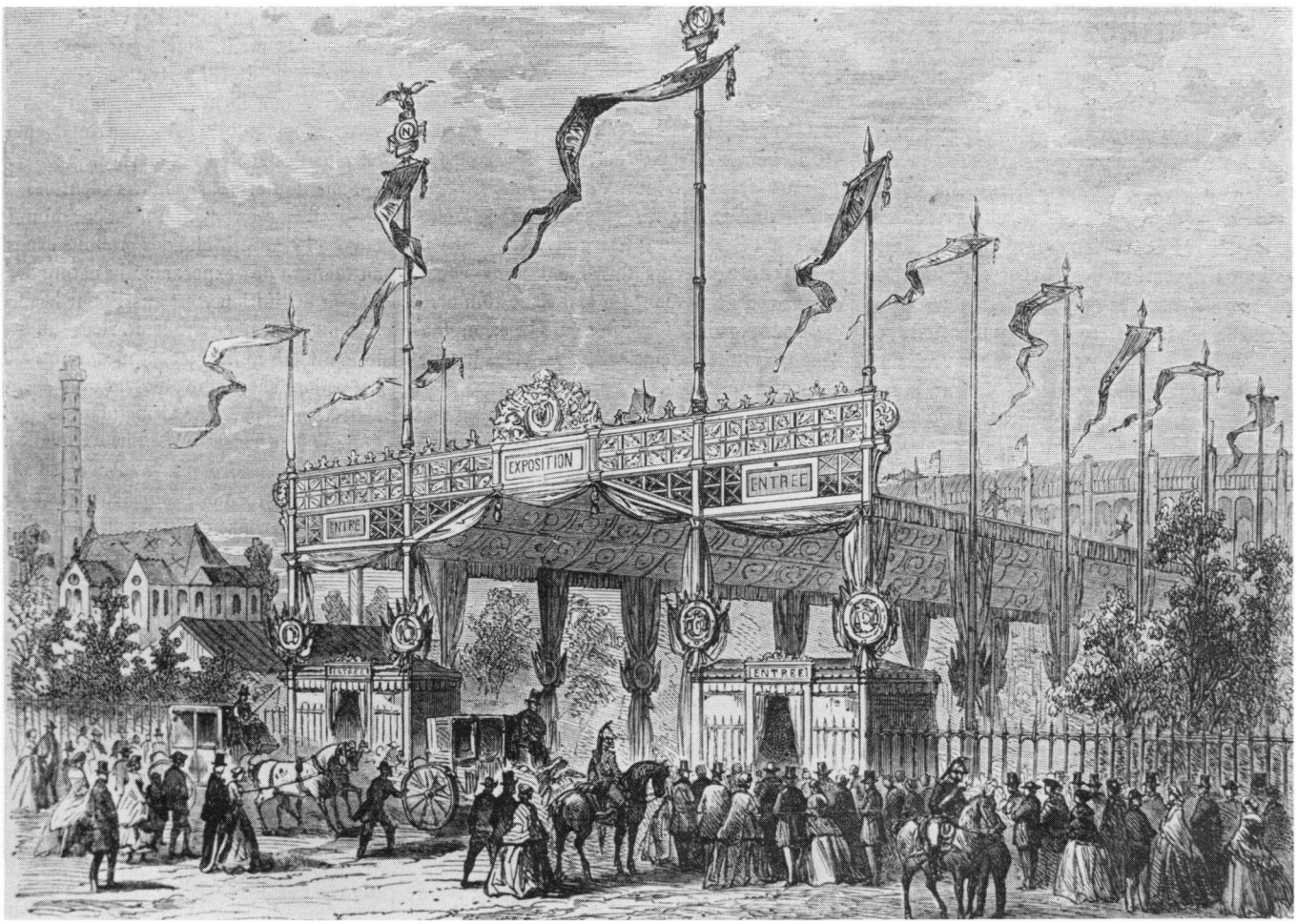

Fig. 1. Jules Gaildrau. ENTRÉE PAR LA PONT D'IÉNA. *1867. Wood engraving, image size, 6⅞ x 9¾". Reproduced in Fr. Ducuing,* L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée *(Paris, 1867), p. 1. Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

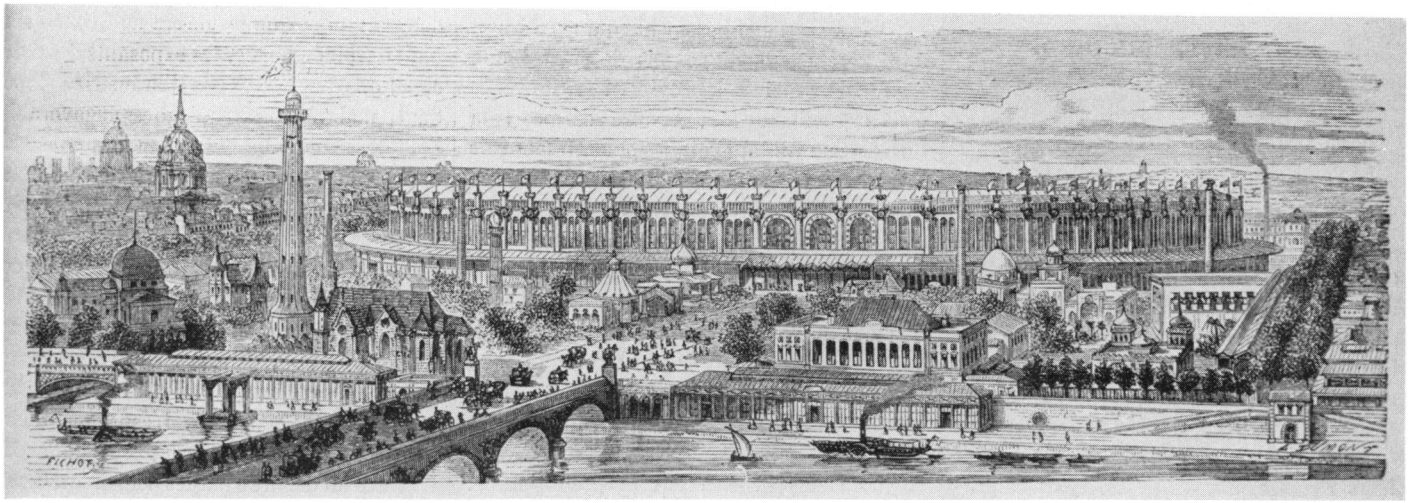

Fig. 2. Louis-Paul-Pierre Dumont, after Michel-Charles Fichot. ENTRANCE TO THE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE. *1867. Wood engraving, image size, 2⅞ x 8⅝". Reproduced in Ducuing,* L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée, *p. 17.*

tion, "il n'y a qu'un classe de voyageurs."[3] Alongside such advertisements of America's homely virtues were demonstrations of technological prowess, from clever labor-saving devices such as the automatic button-holer and the mechanical apple peeler to the mighty Corliss engine and the McCormick reaper.

Finally, there was the American section of the Fine Arts Department designed to present to an international audience the achievements of American culture and to demonstrate that American art was the equal of its machinery and inventions. The display presented four drawings, seven works of sculpture, twenty-eight prints (bank notes, engraved portraits of Washington and Lincoln, and twenty-four etchings by James McNeill Whistler), and eighty-two paintings, most of which depicted native scenery or illustrated domestic manners. A new, patriotic self-assurance had for the moment displaced the nation's deep-seated cultural insecurity and, full of naive enthusiasm, America in 1867 sent its best contemporary art to be measured against Europe's greatest modern masters. Today the art exhibition appears as an astonishingly rich collection of masterpieces and historically important works by America's most admired mid-century painters, among them Frederic E. Church, Albert Bierstadt, Sanford R. Gifford, Eastman Johnson, and Winslow Homer. Yet at the time, the exhibition was perceived as a failure, as compared both to America's brilliant showing in the industrial section (where Americans carried off prizes for everything from Steinway pianos to Cyrus Field's transatlantic cable), and to European art, for the only American honor, a silver medal, presented to Church for *Niagara* (Fig. 4), put America at the very bottom of the awards list, far behind France and England. This disappointing response to America's greatest art was a serious blow to its cultural self-image, shaking its faith in the native painters who had been so honored at home. For the development of the fine arts in America the Exposition was a watershed, after which European (particularly French) styles would become an all-pervading influence, and artists and patrons would turn their attention abroad for cultural guidance. The Exposition Universelle of 1867 was America's last unabashed display of native pride before succumbing to the courtly muses of Europe.

Unlike the American display at the 1855 Exposition Universelle, which was an ad hoc gathering of some thirty-nine paintings lent by ten artists then residing in France,[4] the fine arts section at the 1867 fair was organized by the leading members of the most influential artistic community in the United States. Learning that France had invited America to participate in the Exposition, the members of New York's National Academy of Design appointed a committee, consisting of Church and Jasper F. Cropsey, two of the most highly regarded contemporary landscape painters, and the history and genre painter Edwin White, to recommend measures to Congress to "secure a proper representation of the art of the country at Paris." Congress, fearing war in Europe, delayed until it was too

Fig. 3. Julien Antoine Peulot, after Honoré Daumier. "A L'EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, SECTION ÉGYPTIENNE: 'VRAI! LES ANCIENS ÉGYPTIENS N'ETAIENT PAS BEAUX!'" *Wood engraving, image size, 8¾ x 6⅛". Reproduced in* Le monde illustré, *Paris, October 26, 1867. Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

late for artists to paint pictures expressly for the show. Thus, the delegation was taken from existing works, all completed, as specified by the regulations of the Exposition, since the 1855 fair. After appealing to artists and collectors to be generous with loans, Church, White, and Cropsey recommended the formation of a selection committee, on which they then modestly declined to serve. Instead, they suggested the committee be chosen from among "well-known connoisseurs of art," and finally recommended that, "as the American school has furnished particularly fine landscapes, a preference be given to paintings of this class.[5]"

William J. Hoppin, a noted lawyer, dramatist, and writer on art subjects, was chosen chairman of the committee. He was assisted by the art dealers Samuel P. Avery and Michael Knoedler, and the critic Henry T. Tuckerman. John T. Johnston, the railroad magnate and future president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was also a member of the committee, as were the prominent industrialists and collectors Marshall O. Roberts, Robert L. Stuart, and Robert M. Olyphant. All but two of the fifteen-member committee (Joseph Harrison, Jr., and George Whitney, both of Philadelphia) were New Yorkers, and they favored the work of New York-based Hudson River School painters, nearly all of whom were associated with the National Academy of Design and with the Century Association, to which almost all of the committee also belonged. For the most part, the committee chose recent works, painted within a year or two of the Exposition. Many of these — about one quarter of the pictures sent to Paris — were prized works from the committee members' own collections, often acquired at some cost (R. L. Stuart bought William Trost Richards's *June Woods* [see Fig. 10] for $1000 from Knoedler in 1865; four years earlier, Johnston paid $5000 for Church's *Niagara*) or painted expressly for the collector (as John Frederick Kensett's *Autumn Afternoon on Lake George* [1864; Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.] was for Robert Olyphant). Often — as was the case with Richards's *June Woods* and Gifford's *Hunter Mountain, Twilight* (see Fig. 8) — the work selected was known to be a favorite of the artist, or had enjoyed recent critical and popular success at the National Academy of Design (*e.g.*, Homer's *Prisoners from the Front* [see Fig. 17], John Ferguson Weir's *The Gun Foundry* [see Fig. 16], and Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home — Life in the South* [see Fig. 15]). In all, the committee chose seventy-five paintings for the official United States entry,[6] as well as sculpture by Launt Thompson, Leonard W. Volk, Harriet Hosmer (her much praised *Sleeping Faun* [Fig. 5]), and John Quincy Adams Ward. In contrast, England was provided space for 163 entries, Bavaria, 211, and France, 625. The American paintings were valued at $200,000, and the committee raised $10,000 for crating and transportation. Avery was asked to serve as commissioner, and supervised the shipping and the installation in Paris.[7]

As was their mandate, the selection committee favored landscapes, and the display was dominated by Church's *Niagara* and *Rainy Season in the Tropics* (Fig. 6), and Bierstadt's colossal *Rocky Mountains* (Fig. 7). These works were among the few in the American section to attract admiring crowds, and to win the approbation of European and American critics alike. Paul Mantz, writing for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and generally indifferent to the American contributions to the Exposition, called Church a daring landscapist; Ernest Chesneau, also a spokesman for

Fig. 4. Frederic E. Church. NIAGARA FALLS. *1857. Oil on canvas, 42½ x 90½". Collection, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Fund Purchase.*

the mainstream of French art, credited both artists with "a certain audacity of conception."[8] The jury of awards, made up of Jean-Léon Gérôme, Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, Alexandre Cabanel, and other leading academic painters of the day, bestowed a silver medal on *Niagara,* thus choosing among all the landscapes in the American section the work that was the least like contemporary French landscapes in subject, style, and approach. Unlike those broadly painted, moody, intimate views, in Church's picture a wealth of observed details, meticulously rendered, were combined to produce a grandiose vision of the icon of the American wilderness. The sweeping image of the Falls immortalized the optimistic spirit of antebellum America, and proclaimed the country to be expansive, unspoiled, and indomitable.

The silver medal awarded to *Niagara* was one of a succession of international honors the work received. After the painting's brilliant debut at Williams and Everett Gallery in New York in 1857, it was sent to London. Ruskin praised it for the perfection of its transcription of the effects of light on water, and the enthusiasm with which the British press received it (it was credited with providing the English with "an entirely new and higher view of both American nature and art"[9]) enhanced the status of American art abroad. Above all, the painting was admired for its accuracy and its conspicuous workmanship: "The characteristic merit of the picture is sober truth. It bears throughout unmistakable evidence of the most close and successful study."[10] Ten years later, M. D. Conway, the foreign correspondent for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, applauded the same virtues in *Niagara:* industry rather than invention, realistic description rather than poetry. "There is not imagination in that picture, nor in the 'rainbow,' but patient work, steadiness of treatment, and loyalty to a royal subject, have raised the artist to the level of a truly great theme."[11]

The French critics did not comment upon the thirty other landscapes in the American fine arts section, nor did the London *Art Journal*, although both advised the American painters to develop a more individual style, one less closely allied with that of their British counterparts. However, Conway argued that American landscapes were distinguished from the British by their "vastness and loneliness." Twilight and autumnal scenes predominated, notably Kensett's *Autumn Afternoon on Lake George,* Gifford's *Hunter Mountain, Twilight* (Fig. 8), and George Boughton's *Winter Twilight near Albany* (1858; New-York Historical Society); these works lent a somber, nostalgic tone to the exhibition. The silent sanctuary of nature, intimately viewed and inspected in detail, was shown in paintings such as Asher B. Durand's *In the Woods*

Fig. 5. Harriet Hosmer. THE SLEEPING FAUN. *1865. Marble, 34½ x 41". Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Lucien Carr.*

(Fig. 9) lent by Jonathan Sturges, and Richards's *June Woods* (Fig. 10). By and large, the landscapists represented at the Exposition aimed to describe their subjects faithfully, constructing panoramic compositions from an accumulation of observed detail, and rendering them with the crisp, precise brushwork associated with the Hudson River School. Realism was proclaimed their standard, yet their visions are now seen as retrospective and idyllic, perpetuating a mythic image of America — the pristine wilderness of the Rocky Mountains, the arcadian perfection of the New England woods —that by 1867 was less and less credible.

In few of the works displayed in the American section was European content or influence readily apparent and, with the exception of *Hill of the Alhambra, Granada* by Samuel Colman (1865; Metropolitan Museum of Art) and William Morris Hunt's *Dinan, in Brittany* (1866; private collection), only native scenery was depicted. It was Hunt, with his many years of French residence and training, who by dint of his presence in Paris during the installation of the exhibition, was the most generously represented artist in the American section. He showed two landscapes, a costume piece (*Italian Peasant Boy* [Fig. 11]), and eight

Fig. 6. Frederic E. Church. RAINY SEASON IN THE TROPICS. *1866. Oil on canvas, 56¼ x 84⅜". Collection, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Fund.*

portraits which were praised by Paul Mantz and by the progressive American critic, James Jackson Jarves: "Some of Hunt's portraits displayed a refinement of characterization and delicacy of handling not seen in the more labored, conventional European portraiture."[12] Apart from G. P. A. Healy (with Hunt, the only other veteran of the 1855 Exposition Universelle), John La Farge (whose *Flowers* was the single still life in the American display), and Whistler, Hunt was the only artist to have exhibited or spent significant time abroad.

Whistler's four paintings — *Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge* (1859; Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.), *Wapping* or *On the Thames* (1860; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); *The White Girl (Symphony in White, No. 1)* (Fig. 12), and *Crepuscule in Flesh Color and Green: Valparaiso* (shown as *Twilight at Sea*; 1866; Tate Gallery, London) — were displayed in the American rather than in the British galleries at the request of the artist through the intercession of Parisian art agent George Lucas.[13] *The White Girl*, the best known of the four, had already been rejected from two official exhibitions, the 1862 Royal Academy Exhibition and the 1863 Salon, and then had attained notoriety at the Salon des Refusés before taking its place in the American section. The painting was not wholly out of place there, for the pose Whistler employed was conventional — a full-length figure standing on a rich carpet against a luxurious backdrop —and was a formula comparable to that used in Hunt's *Abraham Lincoln* (destroyed) and in several other traditional portraits also on view at the Exposition. But the woman's flowing, unbound hair, her vague, anxious expression, the sinister bearskin

Fig. 7. Albert Bierstadt. THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS. *1863. Oil on canvas, 73¼ x 120¾". Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907.*

rug with the fallen bouquet, and the sexual undercurrent of the picture was clearly unsettling to the critics. Conway made no comment whatsoever; the London *Art Journal*'s reporter remarked prissily, "The artist will do well to remember that eccentricity is not genius"; and Mantz equivocated, reminding the reader that "we were once compromised in the service of that lady; her face is intolerably ugly, but there are charming harmonies in the white of her dress and the blue of her patterned rug."[14]

Of the half-dozen history paintings in the American galleries, most depicted scenes from British, rather than American, history or literature, *e.g,* Emanuel Leutze's *First Mass of Mary Stuart in Scotland* (unlocated), or Edward May's *Lear and Cordelia* (unlocated) and his *Lady Jane Grey Goes to her Execution* (1864; Woodmere Art Gallery, Chestnut Hill, Pa.). The most popular history painting, however, was Daniel Huntington's vast *Republican Court,* or *Lady Washington's Reception* (Fig. 13), lent by dry goods and real estate magnate A. T. Stewart. Admired by American critics because it was "painted with the scrupulous exactness of a miniature, and containing no less than sixty-four portraits of the leading men and women of the period,"[15] the *Republican Court* rivaled the official imperial portraits by Franz-Xaver Winterhalter in its affection and pomposity. In Paris it served to demonstrate the dignity and cultural refinement of America's aristocracy, and perhaps was meant to balance the rustic imagery of Eastman Johnson's *Sunday Morning* (1866; New-York Historical Society) or William Beard's satiric *Bear Dance* (possibly the version at the New-York Historical Society).

Unlike the fine arts display at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, from which depictions of the Civil War would be banned, at the 1867 Exposition, there were several pictures alluding to the issue of slavery or the recent conflict, although most avoided any serious representation of the pain and disruption of the war. There was no lack of sentimental scenes: *e.g.*,

Fig. 8. Sanford Robinson Gifford. HUNTER MOUNTAIN, TWILIGHT. *1866. Oil on canvas, 30½ x 54". Daniel J. Terra Collection, Terra Museum of American Art, Evanston, Illinois.*

George Lambdin's *The Consecration, 1861* (Fig. 14), showing a Union officer's sweetheart kissing his sword before his departure for the battlefield, Edwin White's *Thoughts of Liberia, Emancipation* (1861; New-York Historical Society), and Eastman Johnson's *Fiddling His Way* (1866; Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Va.). Most admired of the representations of life among the slaves was Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home — Life in the South* (Fig. 15), whose great success at its National Academy debut in 1859 derived at least in part from the fact that both North and South found in it support for their positions on slavery. In 1867, it was the painting's novel and charming subject that was admired ("A black man, if not a subject for Phidias, is eminently picturesque; his color can be turned to good account in picture-making. . . ."[16]); still, no reference was made to the war.

Neither the trauma of the Civil War, nor the increasingly urban and industrial character of American life, was allowed to intrude upon the American critics' resolutely optimistic interpretations of the pictures in the fine arts section. John Ferguson Weir's *The Gun Foundry* (Fig. 16), which depicts a Union munitions manufactory near West Point, was praised for its realism and for its vivid description of American practicality; one critic perceptively identified the mythic qualities of the picture, seeing the workmen as modern "Cyclops at their toil."[17] However, only Henry Tuckerman, whose 1867 *Book of the Artists* immortalized many of the pictures shown at the Exposition, acknowledged that the picture documented the transformation of America from an agrarian to an industrial state: "We know of no picture which so deftly elaborates our industrial economy"; the artist "has spared no pains to render it authentic."[18]

Authenticity was also cited as the source of Homer's success. His modest Civil War pictures were the most studied works in the American section after Church's and Bierstadt's expansive landscapes. "These works are real," maintained the London *Art Journal,* "the artist paints what he has seen and known." Théophile Thoré admired Homer's directness, and compared him favorably to the most popular French military painters of his day. And Mantz compared *The Bright Side* (1865; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) with the work of Gérôme, and, speak-

Fig. 9. Asher Brown Durand. IN THE WOODS. *1855. Oil on canvas, 60¾ x 48⅛". Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges by his children, 1895.*

Fig. 10. William Trost Richards. JUNE WOODS (GERMANTOWN WOODS), PENNSYLVANIA. *1864. Oil on canvas, 36 x 29". Collection, The New-York Historical Society.*

ing of *Prisoners from the Front* (Fig. 17), perceptively called attention to the subtlety of facial expression, and hence to the psychological tension between the soldiers confronting one another.[19]

The American fine arts display at the 1867 Exposition Universelle was put forward as a gathering of the best paintings from the most esteemed American collections. The selection, if somewhat incestuous in its favoring of a small group of closely connected New York artists and patrons, nonetheless represented what was believed to be America's greatest recent achievements in the fine arts, a judgment which history has verified. The vast majority of works in the show illustrated the prevailing taste for literal representation, by which was meant clear and accurate (if deliberately positive) descriptions of American scenery and American life, and a style which demonstrated industry and craftsmanship, but which gave little evidence of the artist's hand or of his personality. Thus the more poetic strain of the painting of the period was barely represented. There was no work by Elihu Vedder (despite his great popularity in both New York and Boston), nor by William Page, and only one painting by La Farge. Other than Hunt, none of the American Barbizonists was included. For the most part, the works sent to the Exposition to demonstrate the accomplishments of modern American art treated native subjects and revealed an aesthetic of technical achievement rather than imagination.

Yet, despite the distinction of the selection committee, the secure reputations enjoyed by most of the artists at home, and the enthusiasm for individual works, the American section was, by most accounts, a disappointment abroad. The paucity of awards, and the relative indifference of both popular and critical audiences soon was acknowledged, and shortly after the Exposition's opening, observers began rationalizing America's poor showing in Paris.

A hastily seized upon excuse was the disadvantageous setting of the American display. Even Mantz acknowledged that the United States "has had to content herself with a few places left over in the English gallery, a corridor without light or gaiety, through which the public passes, but in which no one stops." But Conway, who stated bluntly that "The American section is a failure," placed the blame equally on parsimonious and ill-advised installation:

> The dead pink walls of the American section would seem to have been committed for decoration to an intensely economical Committee of Quakers, and closely contrasted with the magnificence of several Oriental departments adjacent are simply contemptible. It would seem that our display has been ordered not to appear in 'Court Costume.'[20]

Far more attention had been lavished on the display of American machinery, in which spacious, well-lit galleries comfortably accommodated the industrial masterpieces, especially the Corliss engine, "decorated like a jewel in silver and gold."[21] Other reporters faulted Congress, which had generously supported other entries at the fair, but in the case of the fine arts had acted late, had failed to provide assistance in transportation, and rather than appointing "recognized authorities on art matters" to guide the selection, had relied on an ad hoc committee of dealers and collectors. This omission, in turn, was blamed on the absence of significant art training and patronage: there were few academies, it was pointed out, no museums, and no government sponsorship of the arts (like that enjoyed by the French art community) to provide direction.[22]

It was the selection of works that was most frequently blamed for the failure of the American display. Few critics discussed questions of style, or mentioned works of higher quality that had been left at home. Rather, despite the preponderance of American subjects in the gallery, most critics objected that the entries from the United States were neither native nor descriptive enough, and insufficiently documented the characteristic aspects of American life. They pointed to the absence of certain typical American scenes ("There should have been a prairie, a sierra, and some views of New England home life and pioneer life"[23]), and noted that, except for pictures by Church and Bierstadt, few landscapes were distinctly American, "and might be taken as presenting views in almost any other country."[24] The selection was also faulted for inadequate representation of certain genres, in particular animal subjects (suggested, no doubt, by the prominence of Rosa Bonheur [ten entries] and the ever-popular Sir Edwin Landseer) and marine paintings. The only artist whose absence was mentioned with regret was William Bradford, whose Arctic scenes recently had won favor in London for the accuracy of their observation and "the conviction of their perfect truth";[25] these might have been expected to bring more credit to the American section.

For most American critics, the 1867 Exposition merely confirmed their attitudes toward art, especially their taste for realism and their belief that art's proper function was to illustrate treasured scenes of American life and landscape. But for a few, the contrast between American and European styles was revealing of America's deficiencies. Obviously conscious of the copiously rewarded splendors of the French section (thirty-two medals, including Medals of Honor for the grand tableaux of Meissonier, Cabanel, and Gérôme), certain critics noted serious weaknesses in American

Fig. 11. William Morris Hunt. ITALIAN PEASANT BOY. *1866. Oil on canvas, 38½ x 25". Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of George Peabody Gardner.*

history and figure painting, and somewhat tentatively recommended the study of art of the past and academic training on the European model as a corrective. A more searing and wide-ranging criticism was offered by James Jackson Jarves, who found the poor American showing symptomatic of its artistic provincialism, and of the bankruptcy of the dominant aesthetic: "The Great Exposition of 1867 at Paris taught us a salutary lesson by placing the average American sculpture and painting in direct comparison with the European, thereby proving our actual mediocrity." Although he admired a few artists in the show — Whistler and Hunt above all, and Homer and Johnson, whose deft execution he found far superior to the "sloppy melodrama" of artists such as Leutze — he was bitterly critical of the key figures of the American section, the landscape painters:

> We most failed in our lauded landscapists. Bierstadt's "Rocky Mountains" . . . looked cold and untruthful. Its interest was confined to a tableau-like inventory of an extensive view, while its effect on the mind was similar to sounding phrases of little meaning. . . . Church's "Niagara," with no more sentiment, a cold hard atmosphere and metallic flow of water. . . was a literal transcript of the scene.

In their piling up of brittle details, Jarves charged, these artists were mere sensationalists, and were far inferior to masters such as George Inness, or Vedder, or Corot, whose more poetic styles were better suited to art's larger purpose. Finally, alluding to the coterie of New York collectors and dealers who had helped to anoint this art, Jarves spoke disdainfully of the pictures' popular appeal: "They do address significantly the majority of Americans, who associate them with the vulgar idea of 'big things,' as business. In reality, they are bold and effective speculations in art on principles of trade; emotionless and soulless."[26]

The aggressive crassness of American culture in the absence of the civilizing forces of history and tradition, and the subordination of the arts to the rules of industry and commerce, were specters that haunted the French as well. André Léo's "La colonie américaine," printed in the popular *Paris-Guide* the year of the fair, presented a wry view of the new moneyed classes' assault on the French picture galleries;[27] a more serious, if no less prejudiced commentary came from the Goncourt brothers, who saw the American participation in the Exposition as a metaphor for the decline of culture: "The Universal Exposition: the final blow levelled at the past, the Americanization of France, industry lording it over art, the steam thresher displacing the painting — in brief, the Federation of Matter."[28]

Most French critics were more moderate, and more forgiving, patronizingly bestowing advice on future generations of American artists. They advocated the development of a more indigenous style, a distinct artistic personality, counseling American artists to distance themselves from the English, with whose works, it was felt, their pictures were still too readily confused. That America was capable of producing great art was generally agreed, although not on the basis of the works shown at the Exposition, but rather because of American literature, already admired in Europe: ". . . and we believe that the proud country which has already given us Cooper, Prescott, Edgar Poe, Emerson, Longfellow will soon have sculptors, architects, and painters."[29]

It was precisely what the Goncourts most feared in American culture — the rawness, the undirected

Fig. 12. James McNeill Whistler. THE WHITE GIRL (SYMPHONY IN WHITE, NO. 1). *1862. Oil on canvas, 84½ x 42½". Harris Whittemore Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

energy — that elicited the enthusiasm of Théophile Thoré, the great defender of realism. In his review of the fine arts display at the Exposition Universelle, Thoré grouped American painters with those participants in which he held the highest hopes for the future of art,[30] and although like most French critics he suggested that America's "styleless style," the seemingly self-effacing manner that emphasized description over touch, was not yet art, he predicted that the spirit which developed American industry would some day generate brilliant accomplishments:

> . . . The Americans have no art at all! Of course they don't, and even better! They won't be afraid to make something new, and it is possible that the *boys* of this country of liberty will one day address themselves to the task of producing extraordinary paintings. What really are the sources of art? The genius of mankind and the study of nature. And aren't the Yankees a people who are very impressionable, very inventive, very gifted, and very original?. . . Count on the fact that the Americans, once they begin the business of the fine arts, will go quickly and will go looking toward the future. Go ahead! Forward![31]

Neither the Goncourts' fears nor Thoré's dreams would be fully realized, but by the next decade Jarves's point of view would be adopted by most American artists and patrons.

The Exposition had little discernible impact on the participants in the fine arts display. Although a good number of them were in Europe at the time of the Exposition — Homer, Bierstadt, Kensett, Hunt, May (the last two long-time residents of Paris), and possibly Richards — the only recorded response to the show was Whistler's, who with characteristic petulance, railed against Avery for hanging his pictures in a dark corner and ordered that they be removed.[32] Homer, whose fascination with the polyglot Exposition may be reflected in a few works such as the *International Tea Party* (*c.* 1867; Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York), seemed to be otherwise silent about what he saw there. Several artists, among them Gifford, Church, and Weir, came to Paris but seem to have missed the Exposition by as little as a few weeks, despite (in Gifford's case at least) an expressed intention of attending.[33] And none of them seems to have altered his style or his subject matter significantly as a result of his own observations or the published criticism of the fair.

These artists' relative indifference to the Exposi-

Fig. 13. Daniel Huntington. THE REPUBLICAN COURT *or* LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION. *1861. Oil on canvas, 66 x 109". Collection, The Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Crescent-Hamilton Athletic Club.*

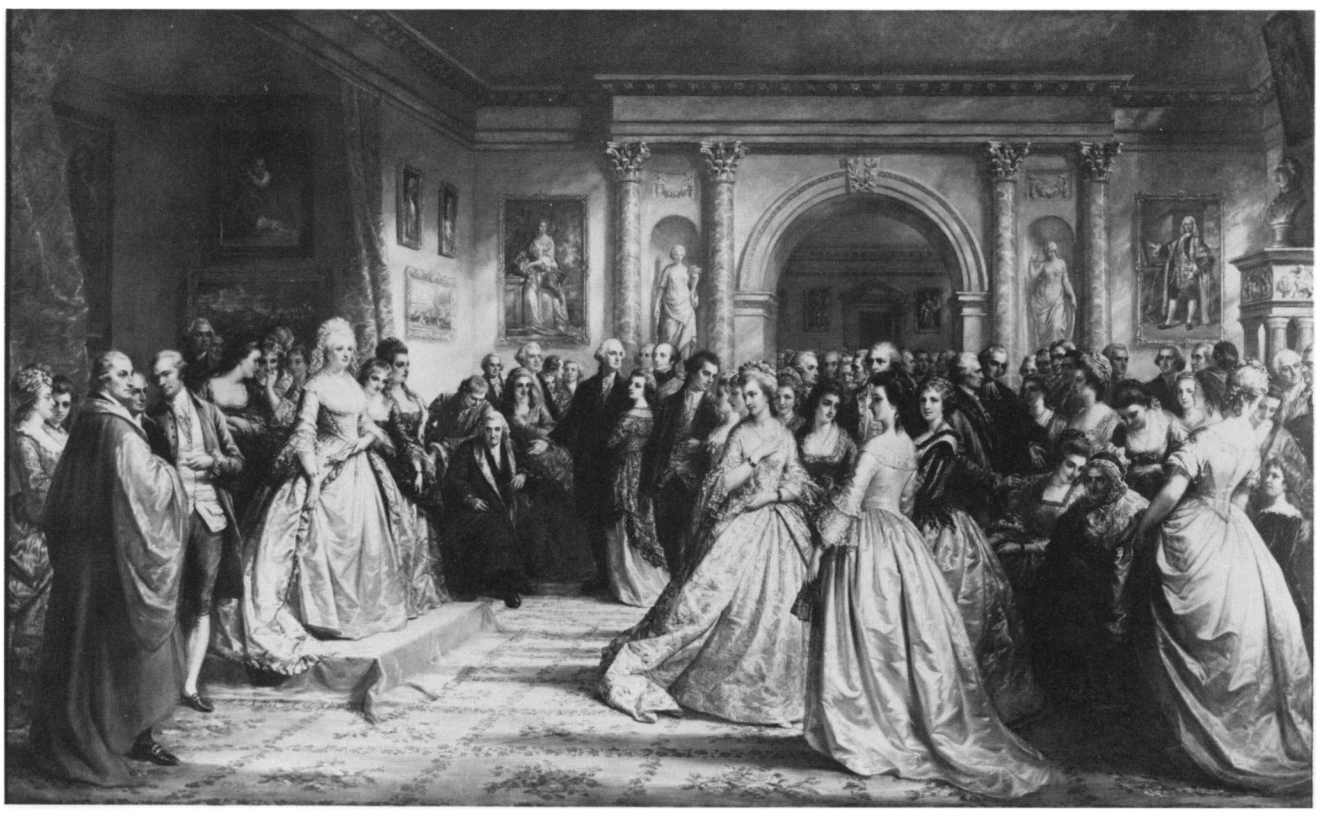

Fig. 14. George Cochran Lambdin. THE CONSECRATION—1861. *1865. Oil on canvas, 24 x 18¼", Collection, Indianapolis Museum of Art, James E. Roberts Fund.*

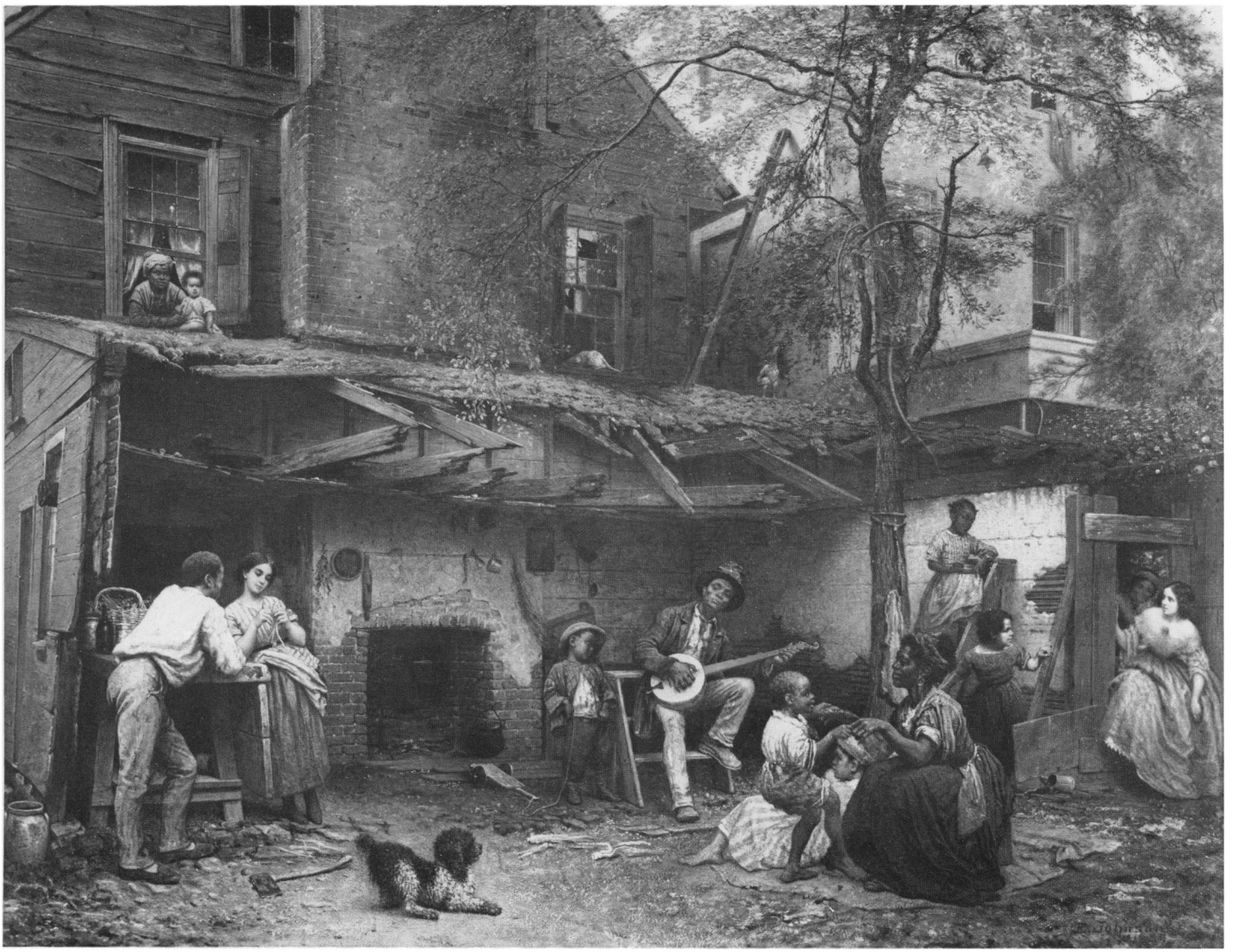

Fig. 15. Eastman Johnson. OLD KENTUCKY HOME—LIFE IN THE SOUTH *(*NEGRO LIFE IN THE SOUTH*). 1859. Oil on canvas, 36 x 45". Collection, The New-York Historical Society.*

tion is not entirely surprising. Although it marked the first time that many of them had exhibited abroad, the disappointing reviews may have caused them to discount its importance. More significantly, most of the participants were established masters with mature styles, secure in their reputations and their patronage. Only the younger artists such as Homer and Weir stood to gain from the Exposition, where the favorable notices their pictures received confirmed their recent successes at the National Academy, and contributed to their growing popularity. All but a few of the paintings shown had already been bought, most by prominent collectors for handsome prices, and would be celebrated at a special showing at the National Academy of Design (the first Winter Exhibition, also marking the debut of the American Society of Painters in Water Colors) in December of that year. In the absence of international competition, the artists could enjoy the acclaim of their own partisans in their own territory.

The Exposition had a more pronounced effect on a small group of young artists not included in the show who were shrugging off the antebellum isolationist attitudes of their seniors, and were making the radical step of seeking training abroad. Several of these painters — Milne Ramsey, Edwin Blashfield, Frederick Bridgman — already had arrived in Paris intending to

study at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts or with independent French masters, as had a better-known group of Philadelphians — Howard Roberts, Earl Shinn, the slightly older Robert Wylie, and of course Thomas Eakins — for whom the biggest impression was made by the French academic painters. For these artists, the Exposition was the first major gathering of such works that they would have the opportunity to witness.

To be sure, Eakins's greatest fascination at the Exposition was with the machines, and certain celebrated works of the Second Empire drew his scorn.[34] But the fair also represented his first opportunity to see all together the fabled compositions of his master. Gathered from private collections (including those of several Americans) and public institutions were Gérôme's successes of the Salons of the previous ten years: *Duel after a Masked Ball* (Musée Condé, Chantilly), from the Salon of 1857, *Ave Caesar!*, lent by the American C. P. Matthews (1859; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.), *The Death of Caesar* (1859; Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore), and two works often cited as sources for Eakins's later compositions, *The Prisoners* (1861; lent by the Museum in Nantes) and *The Chess Players* (1859; lent by Lord Hertford; now Wallace Collection, London).[35] Other artists Eakins admired, such as Meissonier, Léon Bonnat, and Constant Troyon, were well represented at the Exposition, and they, as well as Rosa Bonheur, William Adolphe Bouguereau, Charles Daubigny, and Edouard Frère, would be the masters later immortalized by his friend and fellow Ecole student Earl Shinn in numerous articles of criticism, culminating in his three-volume *Art Treasures of America* (1879–1882). Yet there was no significant comment from Eakins or the other young artists about the American display at the Exposition, or about the special pavilions erected by Courbet and Manet just outside the fair, on the Place de l'Alma. Presumably, the official art of the Second Empire marked a radical enough departure from what they had known at home.

If the Exposition was not significant for the artists participating, its effect on the lenders was dramatic. Several members of the selection committee, most notably Hoppin and Johnston, followed their paintings across the Atlantic, studied attentively the galleries devoted to other national schools, became friendly with French artists and, with the new capital amassed during the Civil War, began buying European art. The sudden plunge into foreign patronage, with which Henry James opened *The American* ("Suddenly he was aware of the prime throb of the mania of the 'collector.' He had taken his first step — why should he not go on? It was only twenty minutes before that he had bought the first picture of his life and now he was thinking of art patronage as a pursuit that might float even so heavy a weight as himself"[36]), affected many wealthy visitors to the Exposition, some of whom, like William T. Walters, had already been buying, but others, like the Philadelphian William Wilstach, were inspired to make several subsequent trips to Europe for the purpose of buying art, and as a result, "the cream of the French Salons of 1868, 1869, and 1870 was drained into [his] gallery."[37]

Although in the late 1850s there had been noticeable interest in modern European art, stimulated by the Belgian dealer Gambart's exhibitions of French paintings in New York and Boston, and the wildly successful tour of Rosa Bonheur's *The Horse Fair* throughout America in 1857–1858, these transatlantic ventures had been curtailed by the Civil War. But after the war, as a result both of new American wealth and of the financial crash during the last days of the Second Empire, which led to the dispersal of several prominent French collections, the importing of works of art into the United States took place on a much enlarged scale, and collectors began investing huge sums in European art.[38] Many of these collectors previously had been staunch supporters of the American style, but after visiting the Exposition, their pride and enthusiasm waned, and other, more seemingly cosmopolitan schools claimed their attention. Thus committee member William Blodgett's collection of American art was virtually complete in 1867, while over the next nine years he would amass a group of European paintings three times as large as his original holdings. Before it was sold in 1876, Blodgett's collection was hailed as "almost a complete synopsis of modern French paintings."[39] Similarly, Robert Stuart, one of the biggest lenders to the Exposition, would acquire some notable American works (*e.g.*, Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home*) after its close, but essentially that aspect of his collection was complete, and he turned his attention to buying Bouguereau, Bonheur, Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, and Hughes Merle.[40]

Of the Salon masters favored by these collectors, Gérôme, Meissonier, and Bouguereau were especially popular. There were at least a dozen Gérômes in American collections by 1870, including five which the Americans lent back to France for the 1867 Exposition. Testifying to the enormous popularity of Meissonier in America were not only the high prices for which his paintings were sold here (the most notorious being the $60,000 paid — sight unseen — for *Friedland, 1807* [now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art] by A. T. Stewart in 1875) but also the eagerness of collectors for self-portraits and other souvenirs of the artist. Such

works, generally in watercolor, were owned by Stewart, James Stebbins, and William Henry Vanderbilt, among others.

Increasingly, French artists, rather than American, were chosen to paint these collectors' portraits,[41] Barbizon landscapes replaced Adirondack scenes, and romanticized peasants by Frère and Dupré began to appear in New York parlors and boudoirs. Francomania was cutting dramatically into the market for American art, and native pictures began to be bypassed in favor of Parisian ones, for collectors found them to be more appropriate to the cosmopolitan atmosphere they were eager to manufacture in the lavish Beaux-Arts chateaux erected one after another on Fifth Avenue. Second Empire Paris had become the model for New York.

Also on the European model, these mansions were crowned with picture galleries to which the public was admitted on certain days. Not only did such galleries enshrine the collectors' taste, but they also advanced an increasingly curious public's awareness of the celebrated masters of the Salons. The most remarkable of these galleries was A. T. Stewart's (Fig. 18): it ran the whole length of his house at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street, it was skylit, and was decorated with marble busts of esteemed American artists, among them Huntington, Church, and Bierstadt, even though less than ten percent of his vast collection was American. Rather, his gallery was dominated by *The Horse Fair* at one end and *Friedland, 1807* at the other, with nearly one hundred French paintings on the walls between.[42]

Most of Stewart's European paintings had been acquired between the Civil War and his death in 1876; the collection — over 200 pictures — was dispersed at a celebrated auction in 1887. The American paintings did moderately well at that sale: Bierstadt's *Seal Rocks, San Francisco* (*c.* 1872; private collection, Beverly Hills, California) brought $2500, a genre scene by Eastman Johnson, $1025, and Huntington's *Republican Court*, $3300, but as had been the case increasingly over the previous two decades, the big money went for French academic pictures: a Bouguereau brought $8000, Gérôme's *Pollice Verso*, $11,000 (1874; Phoenix Art Museum), and the huge Meissonier, $66,000. Cornelius Vanderbilt paid $53,000 for *The Horse Fair*, which he immediately presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The sale of Stewart's collection was the culmination of a series of auctions that increased the enthusiasm for these painters and for the art market. John Wolfe (nephew and adviser to Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, the greatest American collector of French academic art) sold his first collection in 1863; subsequently, the collections of William Blodgett (1876), John T. Johnston (1876), and James Stebbins (1889) were sold, all yielding tremendous prices for French paintings.[43] Some of these collections — Johnston's and Stebbins's — were sold to bolster flagging private or corporate fortunes; others, *e.g.*, Wolfe's, were sold as speculations, but whatever motivated these sales, they became great entertainments, well attended and enthusiastically reported in the press, and they enhanced popular interest in French art at the expense of American.

Also fueling popular interest in modern European art were the many accounts of the Salons, and reproductions of major pictures, which began appearing in the press shortly after the Exposition. There were, as well, numerous reports from noted critics and collectors (such as S. G. W. Benjamin and William Hoppin) about the galleries and exhibitions in Europe, and a host of picture books detailing the masterworks of European museums, urging Americans to go abroad and buy abroad. For those unable to do so, such books reproduced in large photogravures "One Hundred Crowned Masterpieces of Modern Painting" — that volume, being representative, included Bierstadt's *Mount Corcoran* (Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and Church's *Niagara*, but almost no other American paintings.[44] Tuckerman's proud list of great American paintings in private collections, published in the year of the Exposition in his *Book of the Artists*, was superseded by Shinn's *Art Treasures of America* (1879–1882), consisting almost entirely of European paintings. And two of the most influential volumes of the time, George Sheldon's *Hours with Art and Artists* (New York, 1882) and Clarence Cook's *Art and Artists of Our Time* (New York, 1888), focused on European painters, and only secondarily on a new generation of artists such as Bridgman and William Merritt Chase. And even they, for the most part, were trained abroad.

In the wake of the 1867 Exposition, America's provincialism quickly gave way to disdain for native achievements and admiration for the seemingly more sophisticated French styles, despite the high regard in which the landscapes of Thomas Cole, Durand, Church, and Bierstadt had long been held. Thus William Hoppin, chairman of the selection committee for the Exposition, and a close associate of the artists of the Hudson River School, would send back a much altered view after visiting the fair:

> Here in America, we do not venture so far into the regions of the ideal. Our pictures are more like reflections of nature through a lens upon the tablet of a camera. . . . When one of the most distinguished French artists was led up to a clever landscape which we had sent from this side to the Exposition of 1867, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "C'est un bon portrait. . . ."

Fig. 16. John Ferguson Weir. THE GUN FOUNDRY. *1866. Oil on canvas, 46½ x 62". Collection, Putnam County Historical Society, Cold Spring, New York.*

> A great many people seem to prefer a sort of inventory of nature, with every leaf put down and recorded, and its value expressed in line and color; but far better than this is the vague, shimmering beauty of those pictures of Rousseau and Dupré, where the genius of the artists. . . transmut[es] his picture from a mere topographical illustration into a work of art.[45]

Although American art had been chastised for not being native enough, the new enthusiasm for French painting kindled at the Exposition, the market, the press, the patrons, and above all the critics subsequently sent a clear message to young American artists: go abroad.

The message was heeded. By the late 1860s, American artists were going to Europe in unprecedented numbers.[46] The 1863 curriculum reforms at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts gave Americans new opportunities to join in the activities of the French art community. Academic masters such as Gérôme, who were so generously patronized by the new American collectors, were increasingly willing to take on their young countrymen as pupils. These painters, now exposed to the grandest academic art, began to emulate the diverse styles and subject matter of their masters. They abandoned anecdote and topographical description, and aspired to the big picture — heroic subjects from history and literature, flashy Oriental themes, moody landscapes — in an attempt to win the notice of the French jury and hence the American patron.

The failure of the American section at the 1867 Exposition may well have been liberating to the new

Fig. 17. Winslow Homer. PRISONERS FROM THE FRONT. *1866. Oil on canvas, 24 x 38". Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frank B. Porter, 1922.*

generation of artists reaching maturity after the Civil War. The giants of the New York art world — men such as Church and Bierstadt who though still lionized at home and abroad (Bierstadt was decorated with the Legion d'Honneur in 1869) — increasingly were seen as part of the past, and even their most loyal defenders would come to claim that great American art was yet to be made.[47]

The American display of fine arts at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, filled with pictures that now dominate museum galleries and illustrate textbooks, was nonetheless a severe disappointment to the nation's artistic self-confidence. The best works of the most honored masters failed to measure up against the achievements of European painters. The aesthetic of the American section at the Exposition, based on the direct and meticulous observation of nature, would be promoted in only one more major fair, the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. And even there, although the "Saloon of Honor" would be dominated by big landscapes such as Bierstadt's *Sacramento Valley in Spring* (1875; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) and by charming, nostalgic genre subjects such as Johnson's *The Old Stage Coach* (1871; Layton Art Collection, Milwaukee Art Museum) and Jerome Thompson's *The Old Oaken Bucket* (1860; Evansville Museum of Arts and Science, Indiana), it was the "new men" like Chase and Toby Rosenthal who were winning acclaim for a very different kind of picture, Chase for *The Court Jester* (1875; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia), a European costume picture, and Rosenthal for *Elaine* (1874; Art Institute of Chicago), a gloomy literary subject. Bierstadt's pictures were criticized as "sensational and meretricious," and Church's for offering detail "in lieu of the fullness of sentiment."[48]

By 1878, when the next Exposition Universelle was opened in Paris, the influence of the Hudson River School had dissipated, and the new generation was firmly entrenched. The American fine arts display was dominated by painters trained in France. Figure paintings now outnumbered landscapes, and American genre

Fig. 18. THE ART GALLERY IN THE HOME OF A. T. STEWART, *New York City. c. 1880. William Adolphe Bouguereau's* RETURN FROM THE HARVEST, *Albert Bierstadt's* SEAL ROCKS, SAN FRANCISCO *(both left wall, center) and Rosa Bonheur's* THE HORSE FAIR *(back wall) are visible in this photograph. Reproduced in* Artistic Houses, *2 vols. (New York, 1883-1884), vol 1, part 1, opp. p. 15.*

subjects were eschewed in favor of more exotic and dramatic scenes. The most admired works, by critics on both sides of the Atlantic, were Wylie's *Death of a Vendean Chief* (1877; formerly Metropolitan Museum of Art), Thomas Hovenden's picturesque costume piece, *Breton Interior: Vendean Volunteer, 1793* (1878; Dr. and Mrs. Robert M. Carroll), and Bridgman's *Burial of a Mummy on the Nile* (1877; now lost), for which he was awarded the Legion d'Honneur. The painters who had been featured in the 1867 Exposition were represented in much depleted numbers; those still active (Kensett had died in 1872; Durand was eighty-two) seemed preoccupied by other concerns. Bierstadt, whose reputation had already begun to decline, didn't show at all. Gifford, at the end of his career, sent a Venetian scene, a reminiscence of his European trip made almost ten years before. Johnson, whose great cranberry harvest pictures and impressive series of portraits had been begun in the interval between the two expositions, sent instead a cornhusking scene (*Cornhusking Bee*, 1876, Art Institute of Chicago) and another, more modest genre picture. Homer showed four rural figure subjects, all finely crafted, but lacking the intensity and toughness of his earlier entries, and of the works yet to come. And Church, principally involved with building and furnishing Olana, sent two paintings, *The Parthenon* (1871; Metropolitan Museum of Art) and *Morning in the Tropics* (1877; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), both works painted from memory and lacking the freshness and grandeur of his earlier dramatic landscapes. The heroes of the 1867 Exposition, in whom so much hope had been invested, went unpromoted and unremarked at the later fair. The opening of the gates of the 1878 Exposition Universelle coincided with the quiet dissolution of the first great American landscape school.

APPENDIX:
American Works of Art at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris

The American section of the catalogue of works of art at the 1867 Exposition appears below, in translation from the French. It is taken from the first and second editions of the *Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris, Catalogue Général Publié par La Commission Impériale: Oeuvres D'Art*, E. Dentu, Libraire-Editeur, (Paris, 1867).

CLASS 1: OIL PAINTINGS

Baker, G. A., New York
1. Portrait of a Child — Lent by A. M. Cozzens
2. Portrait of a Woman — Lent by F. Prentice

Beard, W. H., New York
3. The Bear Dance — Lent by Josiah Caldwell
[possibly *The Bear Dance*, New-York Historical Society]

Bierstadt, A., New York
4. The Rocky Mountains — Lent by James MacHenry
[Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York]

Boughton, G. H., Albany
5. Winter Twilight — Lent by R. L. Stuart
[*Winter Twilight near Albany*, New-York Historical Society]
6. The Penitent

Casilear, J. W., New York
7. The Plains of the Genesee — Lent by Shepard Gandy
8. A Swiss Lake — Lent by R. M. Olyphant

Church, F. E., New York
9. Niagara — Lent by J. Taylor Johnston
[Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.]
10. Rainy Season in the Tropics — Lent by M. O. Roberts
[Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco]

Colman, S., New York
11. View of the Alhambra
[*Hill of the Alhambra, Granada*, Metropolitan Museum of Art]

Cropsey, J. F., New York
12. Mt. Jefferson, New Hampshire — Lent by R. M. Olyphant

Dix, C. F., New York
13. Marine

Durand, A. B., New York
14. In the Woods — Lent by J. Sturges
[Metropolitan Museum of Art]
15. A Symbol — Lent by R. M. Olyphant

Elliott, C. L., New York
16. Portrait — Lent by Fletcher Harper

Fagnani, Joseph, New York
17. Portrait — Lent by Sir Henry Bulwer

Gifford, S. R., New York
18. Hunter Mountain, Twilight — Lent by J. W. Pinchot
[Terra Museum of American Art, Evanston, Ill.]
19. Interior in a Desert — Lent by M. Knoedler

Gignoux, R., New York
20. Mt. Washington, New Hampshire — Lent by A. T. Stewart

Gray, H. P., New York
21. The Apple of Discord — Lent by R. M. Olyphant
[*The Judgment of Paris*, Corcoran Gallery of Art]
22. The Pride of the Village — Lent by W. H. Osborne

Hart, James M., New York
23. Landscape: the River Tunxes [?], Connecticut — Lent by S. P. Avery

Healy, G. P. A., Chicago
24. Portrait of Lieutenant-General Sherman
[National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.]
25. Portrait of a Woman — Lent by W. B. Duncan

Homer, Winslow, New York
26. Confederate Prisoners from the Front — Lent by J. Taylor Johnston
[*Prisoners from the Front*, Metropolitan Museum of Art]
27. The Bright Side — Lent by W. H. Hamilton
[Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco]

Hubbard, R. W., New York
28. View of the Adirondacks, taken from near Mt. Mansfield — Lent by Mrs. H. B. Cromwell
29. Beginning of Autumn

Hunt, W. M., Boston
30–36. Portraits
[*Mrs. Samuel Gray Ward*, private collection]
37. Portrait of Abraham Lincoln
[destroyed 1872]
38, 39. Little Italian Boy
[*Italian Peasant Boy*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston]
40. Dinan, in Brittany
[private collection]
41. The Quarry

Huntington, D., New York
42. Portrait of Gulian C. Verplanck
[National Portrait Gallery]
43. The Republican Court in the Time of Washington — Lent by A. T. Stewart
[*Republican Court* or *Lady Washington's Reception*, The Brooklyn Museum]

Inness, George, Perth Amboy
44. Sunset in America — Lent by Marcus Spring
45. Landscape and Animals
[possibly *Going Out of the Woods*, R. W. Norton Art Gallery, Shreveport, La.]

Johnson, E., New York
46. Rustic Scene in Kentucky — Lent by H. W. Derby
[*Old Kentucky Home — Life in the South (Negro Life in the South)*, New-York Historical Society]
47. Sweet Talk — Lent by John A. Dix
48. The Violin Player — Lent by R. L. Stuart
[*Fiddling His Way*, Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Va.]
49. Sunday Morning — Lent by R. M. Hoe
[New-York Historical Society]

Johnson, E., Brooklyn, New York
50. The Omelette

Kensett, J. F., New York
51. Lake George in Autumn — Lent by R. M. Olyphant
[*Autumn Afternoon on Lake George*, Corcoran Gallery of Art]
52. View of the Coast of Newport — Lent by R. M. Olyphant
53. A View in the White Mountains — Lent by R. L. Stuart
54. Morning on the Massachusetts Coast — Lent by S. Gandy

Lambdin, G. C., Philadelphia
55. The Consecration, 1861 — Lent by George Whitney
[Indianapolis Museum of Art]
56. The Last Sleep

Langden, Woodbury, New York
57. The Storm
58. Keep Off!

La Farge, John, Newport, Rhode Island
59. Flowers — Lent by S. F. Vanchote

Leutze, E., New York
60. Mary Stuart attending Mass for the first time at Holyrood, after her return from France — Lent by John A. Riston
[*First Mass of Mary Stuart in Scotland*]

Lewis, J. S., Burlington, New Jersey
61. The Little Fisherman

May, E. C., New York
62. Lady Jane Gray [*sic*] gives her Tablets to the Constable of the Tower of London and Goes to Execution
[*Lady Jane Grey Goes to Her Execution*, Woodmere Art Gallery, Chestnut Hill, Pa.]
63. Lear and Cordelia (from *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene 7)
64. Portrait

MacEntee [*sic*], **J.,** New York
65. Virginia in 1863 — Lent by Cyrus Butler
66. The End of October — Lent by S. C. Evans
67. Autumn in the Ashokan Woods — Lent by R. M. Hoe

Mignot, L. R.
68. The Sources of the Susquehanna — Lent by H. W. Derby

Moran, T., Philadelphia
69. Autumn on the Conemaugh, in Pennsylvania — Lent by C. L. Sharpless
70. The Children of the Mountain

Owen, George, New York
71. New England Landscape, study after nature

Richards, W. T., Philadelphia
72. June Woods — Lent by R. L. Stuart
[*June Woods (Germantown Woods), Pennsylvania*, New-York Historical Society]
73. A Foggy Day, Nantucket — Lent by George Whitney

Weir, J. F., New York
74. The Cannon Foundry — Lent by R. P. Parrott
[*The Gun Foundry*, Putnam County Historical Society, Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y.]

Whistler, J. MacNeil [*sic*]
75. The White Girl
[*The White Girl (Symphony in White, No. 1)*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.]
76. Wapping, or On the Thames
[National Gallery of Art]
77. Old Battersea Bridge
[*Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge*, Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.]
78. Twilight at Sea
[*Crepuscule in Flesh Color and Green: Valparaiso*, Tate Gallery, London]

White, E., New York
79. Thoughts of Liberia — Lent by R. L. Stuart
[*Thoughts of Liberia: Emancipation*, New-York Historical Society]

Whittredge, W., New York
80. The Old Hunting Ground — Lent by J. W. Pinchot
[Reynolda House, Winston-Salem, N.C.]
81. The Rhode Island Coast — Lent by A. M. Cozzens

Weber, Paul, Philadelphia
82. View of Bolton Park, England

CLASS 2: MISCELLANEOUS PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

Darley, F. O. C., New York
1. Cavalry Charge at Fredericksburg, Virginia — Lent by W. F. Blodgett

Johnson, E., New York
2. The Wounded Drummer Boy — Lent by the Century Club
[Century Association, New York]

Rowse, S. W., Boston
3. Pastel portrait:
Ralph Waldo Emerson
4. Pastel portrait:
Lawrence Lowell

CLASS 3: SCULPTURE AND ENGRAVED MEDALLIONS

Hosmer, Henrietta [*sic*]
1. The Sleeping Faun
[Department of Foreign Affairs, Iveagh House, Dublin, Ireland]
2. The Waking Faun

Thompson, L., New York
3. Statue of Napoleon — Lent by C. C. D. Pinchot
[National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.]
4. Bust of a Rocky Mountain Trapper

Volk, L. W., Chicago
5. Bust of Abraham Lincoln

Ward, J. Q. A., New York
6. The Indian Hunter and his Dog — Lent by Central Park, New York
[Central Park, New York]
7. The Freedman — Lent by John Baker
[American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York]

CLASS 5: ENGRAVINGS AND LITHOGRAPHS

American Bank-Note Company
1. Specimens of engraving and impressions of bank notes

Marshall, W. E.
2. Lincoln (steel engraving)
3. Washington (steel engraving)

Halpin, F., New York
4. President Lincoln (steel engraving)

Whistler, James MacNeill, Baltimore, Maryland [*sic*]
5. Twenty-four etchings

This article was inspired by the recent exhibition, "A New World: Masterpieces of American Painting, 1760–1910," which earlier this year sent to Paris many of the pictures mentioned above, and by discussions about American art in Paris, past and present, with Trevor Fairbrother, Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., and H. Barbara Weinberg. For their help, and for the research assistance of Erica Hirshler, I am most grateful.

1. "Paris Gossip," *The Nation*, vol. 4 (May 30, 1867), pp. 437–438.

2. Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad* (New York, 1869); 1905 ed., pp. 170–171; Thomas Eakins, letter to Benjamin Eakins, May 31, 1867, as quoted in Lloyd Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), vol. 2, p. 30.

3. Fr. Ducuing, ed., *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1867), vol. 1, p. 86 and vol. 2, p. 397.

4. The fine arts display of the 1855 Exposition Universelle replaced the Salon of that year, at the order of the Emperor.

5. *New York Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, January 23, 1867, p. 2.

6. Seven portraits by William Morris Hunt were added in Paris, bringing the total number of American paintings shown to eighty-two.

7. *New York Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, January 23, 1867, p. 2.

8. Paul Mantz, "Les Beaux-Arts a l'Exposition Universelle, X. Les Etats-Unis," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 1, no. 23 (September, 1867), p. 230; Ernest Chesneau, *Les Nations Rivals dans l'art* (Paris, 1867), p. 161.

9. Quoted in David Huntington, *The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church* (New York, 1966), p. 3.

10. *The Times*, London, quoted in *The Crayon*, vol. 4 (September, 1867), p. 282.

11. M. D. Conway, "The Great Show at Paris," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 35 (July, 1867), p. 248.

12. James Jackson Jarves, *Art Thoughts* (New York, 1869), p. 298.

13. Lilian M. C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George Lucas, An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 26–27. Whistler's ambivalence about his nationality is reflected in his participation in the Expositions Universelles. In 1878, he showed in the British section — although that same year he sent a painting to New York for the inaugural exhibition of the Society of American Artists, and would do so frequently thereafter. In 1889, his work was again included in the British display, but in 1900, he returned to the American exhibition, contributing two portraits.

14. *The* [London] *Art Journal*, New Series, vol. 6 (November, 1867), p. 248; Mantz, p. 230.

15. Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 265.

16. *The* [London] *Art Journal*, New Series, vol. 6 (November, 1867), p. 248.

17. *Harper's Magazine*, quoted in *The Recollections of John Ferguson Weir*, ed. Theodore Sizer (New Haven, Conn., 1957), p. 57.

18. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists, American Artist Life* (New York, 1867), p. 488.

19. *The* [London] *Art Journal*, p. 247; Théophile Thoré, *Salons de W. Bürger*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1870), vol. 2, p. 413; Mantz, p. 229. See also the comments of *Blackwood's* reporter "Peregrinus": ". . . how much more true to life are those incidents of battle which the painter has leisure to observe, and which . . . possess enough of the stern dignity, the pity and terror of war, such as . . . 'The Confederate Prisoners from the Front' by Mr. Homer of New York, who shows in his treatment a noble sympathy with the gallant enemy. It is a family group of one old and two young human lions, who look very dilapidated, and have evidently got the worst of it, but from the proud and defiant air and erect walk, do not appear to think any the worse of themselves on that account." "An Early Peep at the Show," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 101 (May, 1867), p. 629.

20. Mantz, p. 229; Conway, p. 248.

21. Ducuing, vol. 2, p. 366.

22. Frank Leslie, *Report on the Fine Arts. Paris Universal Exposition, 1867. Reports of the United States Commissioners* (Washington, D.C., 1868), pp. 8–9.

23. Conway, p. 248.

24. Leslie, p. 10.

25. "Minor Topics of the Month," *The* [London] *Art Journal*, New Series, vol. 6 (July, 1867), p. 179.

26. Jarves, pp. 297–299.

27. André Léo, "La Colonie américaine," *Paris-Guide par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1867), vol. 2, pp. 1066–1067.

28. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *The Goncourt Journals*, ed. and trans. by Louis Galantine (New York, 1937), p. 234.

29. Mantz, p. 230. See also *The* [London] *Art Journal*, p. 248: "It is impossible that a great people, already known in the literature of the civilized world by the writings of Prescott, Motley, Washington Irving, Cooper, Emerson, Longfellow, shall, in the plastic and pictorial arts, remain in the background. To the new world, in fact, we look wistfully for new art developments."

30. "Oh la la! the American painters! The White Girl of Whistler! The Green Woman of Millais! and the crown jewel — Courbet! In good conscience, I fear I begin to compromise myself! I am afraid to say any more." Thoré. p. 413.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

32. Randall, vol. 1, pp. 26–27.

33. Letter from Sanford R. Gifford to the Wheeler family, February 1, 1866, quoted in Ila Weiss, "Sanford Robinson Gifford 1823–1880", Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977, p. 280.

34. Eakins would subsequently describe paintings such as Cabanel's popular *Birth of Venus* (which fellow Philadelphian Henry C. Gibson so admired after seeing it at the 1867 Exposition that he ordered a replica, now in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), as pictures of "naked women, standing sitting lying down flying dancing doing nothing which they call Phrynes, Venuses, nymphs, hermaphrodites, houris and Greek proper names." Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, May 9, 1868, as quoted in Goodrich, vol. 1, pp. 28–29.

35. Gerald M. Ackerman, "Thomas Eakins and his Parisian Masters Gérôme and Bonnat," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, vol. 73 (April, 1969), pp. 240, 243.

36. Henry James, *The American* (New York, 1876); 1907 ed., p. 16.

37. Earl Shinn [Edward Strahan], *Art Treasures of America* 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879–1882), vol. 3, p. 30.

38. In 1850, the United States imported less than $40,000 worth of art from Europe; by 1870, over $500,000 was being imported annually. See Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society* (New York, 1966; reprint ed., Chicago, 1982), p. 254. Collectors were also spending huge sums in Europe: in 1872, in a single buying spree at the Paris dealer Durand-Ruel's, Philadelphia collector Henry C. Gibson spent some 135,000 francs, or over $25,000. See Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort

and Jeanne K. Welcher, "Some Views of Art Buying in New York in the 1870s and 1880s," *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 5 (1982), p. 54.

39. Shinn, vol. 3, p. 123.

40. The first great collector to abandon an interest in contemporary American art for European painting was William T. Walters. Beginning about 1857, Walters commissioned works from such American artists as Gifford, Kensett, Durand, and A. J. Miller, but during a four-year sojourn abroad (1861–1865) ordered that collection be sold and thereafter devoted himself to acquiring French academic painting. For his first, predominantly American, collection, see *Catalogue of a Most Valuable Collection of Pictures of the American, French, and German Schools*, Henry H. Leeds & Co., New York, February 12–13, 1864, and William R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), pp. 13–16.

41. Catharine Lorillard Wolfe commissioned Cabanel to paint her portrait in 1876; Bonnat painted John Taylor Johnston in 1880 and William T. Walters in 1883; and Carolus-Duran painted Mrs. William Astor in 1890.

42. See Jay Cantor, "A Monument of Trade. A. T. Stewart and the Rise of the Millionaire's Mansion in New York," *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 10 (1975), p. 184.

43. Describing the auction of the Johnston collection, G. W. Sheldon was cheered to note that, despite the conviction in New York of "the transcendent excellence of Parisian art," the biggest sum was brought by an American picture, Church's *Niagara* ($12,500). However, the next highest bid — $11,500 — was for a tiny cabinet picture by Meissonnier, *Soldiers at Cards*. *American Painters* (New York, 1879), p. 10.

44. J. E. Reed, Philadelphia, 1888. See also Fred H. Allen, *Famous Paintings* (Boston, 1887), and the extremely popular *Schools and Masters of Painting* by A. G. Radcliffe (New York, 1876), which includes a tour, with key works identified, of the museums of Europe.

45. William J. Hoppin, "A Glimpse of Contemporary Art in Europe," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 22 (September, 1873), pp. 260–261.

46. Calling Paris the "art capital of Europe," S. G. W. Benjamin in 1877 noted that there were over 8000 artists residing there, including an "army of art students — French and foreign." *Contemporary Art in Europe* (New York, 1877), pp. 61–63. See also H. Barbara Weinberg, "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the École des Beaux-Arts," *The American Art Journal*, vol. 13 (Autumn, 1981), pp. 66–84.

47. Hoppin, pp. 265–266.

48. J. F. Weir, "Plastic and Graphic Art, Painting and Sculpture," *Reports and Awards*, ed. Francis A. Walker(Philadelphia, 1879), p. 26