

THE ART OF RECONCILIATION: THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL AND COTTON
CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, NEW ORLEANS, 1884

by

SANDRA PAULY

(Under the Direction of Janice Simon)

ABSTRACT

An examination of the visual culture of the New Orleans' World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition is revelatory of the formation of American attitudes about race, ethnicity, aesthetics, and regional as well as national identity. Overlooked in the American art historical scholarship on world's fairs, the New Orleans event was one of a number of regional and international expositions held in the United States between Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and Chicago's World Columbian Exposition of 1893 that endeavored to promote regional reconciliation after the Civil War and establish a cohesive national identity. Although the relationship between developments in the fine arts in the United States and world's fairs held there is an established part of American art historical scholarship, there has been no art historical scholarship on the fine arts exhibition at the New Orleans fair. This dissertation seeks to cast light on that fine arts exhibition in the context of the New Orleans world's fair. To do this effectively the visual culture of the fair itself requires exploration. The buildings, fairgrounds, various displays created by the states and the United States government, and magazine illustrations created to cover the event, provide a broader socio-historical context in which to consider the art exhibited. This will, in turn, illuminate the national commercial and cultural

agenda in which artistic production took place, as well as the role played by the New Orleans fair in the promotion of regional reconciliation during the postbellum era, the establishment of a singular national identity, and fair's place in the development of American art.

INDEX WORDS: World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, world's fairs in the United States, postbellum United States, and nineteenth-century fine arts exhibitions in the United States

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*When we think of our large, widely scattered population,
the wonder is that we do not differ more.¹*

Charles Dudley Warner, 1885

World's fairs held in the United States during the late nineteenth century endeavored to promote regional reconciliation after the Civil War with the hope of creating a cohesive national identity.² Moreover, these American expositions were a response to the world's fair phenomenon that swept continental Europe after the success of England's Crystal Palace Exhibition held in London in 1851, which historians have characterized as a combination of an industrial fair and a fine arts exhibition.³ Subsequent international exhibitions held in Paris (1855 and 1857), London (1862), and Vienna (1873) strove to promote the host nation's technological prowess and cultural sophistication. In the aftermath of America's Civil War, the United States was eager to present itself as a reunited country with a singular national identity that could take its place commercially and culturally in the international community.

¹ Charles Dudley Warner, *Studies in the South and West with Comments on Canada*, vol. 8 of *The Complete Writings of Charles Dudley Warner*, ed. Thomas R. Lounsbury, (Hartford, CT: The American Publishing Company, 1904), 45. Warner was the editor of *Harper's Magazine* from 1884-1892 and was a good friend of Mark Twain, with whom he co-authored *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*. Warner attended the New Orleans World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial in 1885, although his thoughts on the event were not published until 1904. The above quotation was included in his comments on the fair.

² Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 7-8.

³ Rydell, Findling and Pelle, *Fair America*, 8-14.

The relationship between the development of the fine arts in the United States and world's fairs held there is an established part of American art historical scholarship. The visual arts were an important component of creating a cohesive national identity as well as establishing the country's cultural credentials. One of the earliest treatments of this subject was the Detroit Institute of Arts' exhibition of 1983, *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893*. In the catalogue accompanying the show, the art historians consistently refer to America's "first" two world's fairs, the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 and Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, as guideposts for their discussions.⁴ Nowhere is there any acknowledgement that there was in fact another federally-funded and officially sanctioned world's fair held between those in Philadelphia and Chicago: the New Orleans World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition of 1884.⁵

The oversight is perhaps understandable as world's fairs held in the United States had only become the subject of scholarship in the 1980s. A year after the innovative Detroit Institute of Arts show, in 1984, historian Robert Rydell published *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*.⁶ The author devoted a chapter to

⁴ Frederick J. Cummings, Director of the Detroit Institute of Arts at the time, noted that "between America's first two World's Fairs, held in Philadelphia in 1876 and in Chicago in 1893, the character of American art underwent a significant transformation." Then research associate Kathleen Pyne stated that "the period under study begins with the 1876 Centennial in Philadelphia, the nation's first World's Fair . . . and ends with the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, America's second World's Fair." Contributing an essay, art historian David C. Huntington refers to "the first two of the nation's world's fairs, the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and the Columbian Exposition of 1893." Detroit Institute of Arts, *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893* (Detroit, MI: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), 4, 5, 11.

⁵ For an event to be officially designated a world's fair in the United States it must be sanctioned by Congress. This allowed exposition promoters to sell bonds to finance the event and the federal government provided funding in the form of loans as well. In addition, Congress would formally invite foreign countries to participate in the exposition. Such was the case with the New Orleans fair, as well as the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, and the World's Columbian Exposition. Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 25-26.

⁶ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 72-104. The other official world's fairs held in the South included the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition (1895); the Tennessee Centennial Exposition (1897); the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition (1901-2), and the Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition (1907). The scholarship related to world's fairs held in the United States has grown exponentially since the Detroit Institute of Arts' exhibition and Rydell's work. The literature is too extensive to list here, but some of the more important works

world's fairs that took place in the South, the first of which was the New Orleans exposition. Rydell is not an art historian and does not discuss the art exhibitions at any of the world's fairs covered in his book. *All the World's a Fair*, however, established Rydell as one of the leading authorities on world's fairs held in the United States. In 1993 he was asked by the art historians at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art to write an essay for the catalogue of their exhibition *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair*.⁷ Despite Rydell's involvement in the project, the art historians who contributed to the catalogue never mention the New Orleans fair or its art exhibition, although they consistently make references to that of the Philadelphia Centennial.

As recently as 2006, art historian Julia B. Rosenbaum in *Visions of Belonging: New England Art and the Making of American Identity* also failed to acknowledge the New Orleans event, although world's fairs are an important component of her initial argument.⁸ Rosenbaum asserts that New England and the East Coast art establishment began their bid to establish cultural hegemony at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition and the roots of that quest found their source in the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. Rosenbaum's thesis is convincing and therein lays the problem. Northeastern cultural leaders promoted themselves not only as the country's cultural guardians, but also as the proprietors of national identity during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, so much so that subsequent scholarship on American art is often

reviewed for this dissertation but not discussed or cited elsewhere include: Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Simon J. Bonner, ed. *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1989); Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990); James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990); T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2010).

⁷ Robert W. Rydell and Carolyn Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

⁸ Julia B. Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging: New England and the Making of American Identity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). Rosenbaum's book opens with a familiar misstatement: "In May 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition opened in Chicago, the first international fair in the country since 1876."

viewed through the lens of the Eastern cultural elite.⁹ Consequently, the fine arts exhibition at the New Orleans world's fair, and the event itself, has been left out of American art historical scholarship.

This dissertation seeks to cast light on the New Orleans world's fair and its role in the creation of national identity, regional reconciliation, and American art. This will be accomplished in part by examining the art exhibition at the New Orleans World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition. To effectively analyze the fine arts display, however, the visual culture of the fair itself requires exploration. The buildings, the fairgrounds, the exhibition displays, and magazine illustrations created to cover the event provide a broader socio-historical context in which to consider the art exhibited.

The socio-historical context in which the New Orleans exposition occurred was a complex and contentious one. World's fairs that took place in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century attempted to provide a unified vision of America's future, while simultaneously celebrating the nation's past. In doing so, these fairs helped Americans move toward a definition of themselves and their nation. The concept of nationhood in a democratic society, such as the United States, is predicated upon the voice of the people, the events that shape their lives, the regions they live in, and their memories of those events and places. During this era, the American people had differing memories of the most momentous event of their time, the Civil War. Their recollections of the war were influenced by regional affiliations and racial identity. Northerners could claim a righteous cause and a war won;

⁹ I am not suggesting that no attention has been given to artists working throughout the United States, nor that scholars of American art working on the East Coast have completely ignored artistic activities throughout the nation. In 1990, however, art historian William H. Gerdts observed that whether in the form of books, articles, or exhibitions, it was "safe to suggest that some 95 percent of the artists" discussed by scholars of American art were based in "New York City, Philadelphia or Boston." To address this gap in the scholarship, Gerdts published the three volume, *Art Across America: Two Centuries of Regional Painting, 1719-1920* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), 1:7. The designation "regional painting," however, is part of the problem as it suggests that this is something other than, or different from, nationally significant American art.

Southerners had to come to terms with the immorality of their cause and battles lost. In addition, a large population of African Americans, freed from slavery, was now part of the national equation.

The Civil War left its imprint on the West as well. People in that region could remember a time before the war when debates raged in their territories and on a national level as to whether they would be admitted to the Union as a free or slave state. In capturing the attention of the country, the West got its first taste of the powerful part it would play in the nation's future. With the conclusion of the Civil War, Anglo-Americans turned their attention to completing the settlement of the West and coming to terms with the region's native peoples. Attempts were being made to assimilate Native Americans into white society, but conflicts arose as these native peoples sought to maintain their own tribal identities and autonomy.

Complicating what Anglo-Americans perceived to be the problems posed by Native Americans and African Americans was a racism that was granted scientific legitimacy through adaptations of the theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, as well as the development of American anthropology.¹⁰ Beyond supporting the racism of the day, the effect of Darwin's and Spencer's ideas on the American psyche surfaces in a variety of issues addressed in this

¹⁰ The texts on the subject of the scientific applications of Darwin's and Spencer's ideas to racial theory and the development of American anthropological thought most frequently consulted for this project include: Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); Thomas F. Glick, ed., *The Comparative Reception of Darwinism* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974); James R. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981); Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of Anthropology 1846-1910* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981); and Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounter Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2000). Although Jacobson's *Barbarian Virtues* takes a socio-economic approach to applications of Darwin's and Spencer's ideas in the United States, he often provides valuable insights into the overlap that occurs between racial and economic theories during the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as providing a fine synopsis of the scientific underpinnings of those ideas. See particularly chapter four, "Theories of Development: Scholarly Disciplines and the Hierarchy of Peoples," 139-172. Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny* is the most important source for information on the development of racial theories before the Civil War.

dissertation, thus a discussion of their work and its reception in the United States is warranted at this point. Both before and during the Civil War, there were members of the scientific community, most notably Asa Gray, who championed Darwin's work, and the anti-Darwinist Louis Agassiz, who paid serious attention to the British naturalist's evolutionary theories. It was not until the conclusion of the war, however, that the general American public began to consider Darwin.¹¹ The idea that all of humankind had descended from apes was the source of jokes and disdain. Educators, civic and religious leaders, decried the brutality of Darwin's ideas on natural selection and more importantly his failure to acknowledge any divine hand at work in the universe. The general public was religious, and accommodations were sought between individual faiths and Darwin's theories.¹² Herbert Spencer provided the answer. Spencer promoted an evolutionary process of adaptation to the environment and posited that there was a single, but unknowable force that governed the universe. Thus, Spencer was open to interpretation, and Americans could easily substitute a divine being for the unknowable. Spencer also viewed human society as evolving ever upward to greater heights of civilization, with the Anglo-Saxon race among the most civilized, a view with which most Anglo-Saxons and Darwin concurred.

Sustaining both Darwin's and Spencer's ideas was a racial hierarchy with Anglo-Saxons at the apex that was already firmly in place before the American Civil War.¹³ This racial paradigm found its source in European Enlightenment philosophies that conferred scientific

¹¹ Edward J. Pfeifer, "United States," in Glick, ed., *Comparative Reception of Darwinism*, 168-206. Moore, *Post-Darwinian Controversies*, 125-126, 142-151. There were some religious leaders, educators, and literary figures that expressed concerns about Darwin's ideas both before and during the Civil War, but the discussion of the British naturalist's theories did not become widespread until after the war. Horsman, however, traces the development of ideologies concerning Anglo-Saxon supremacy and racial hierarchies to before the Civil War.

¹² Moore, *Post-Darwinian Controversies*, 161-172, Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 139-172. For further insights into the general public's perception of Spencer, but more specifically on how the scientific community in the United States responded to Spencer, see Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists*, chapter five "Spencer, Morgan and Powell: The Intellectual Framework of the Bureau of American Ethnology," 125-140.

¹³ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 1-6. The introduction provides a synopsis of the author's argument that scientific racial theories and hierarchies were in place in the United States by 1850. For the scientific basis for these ideas see particularly chapter three, "Science and Inequality," chapter seven, "Superior and Inferior Races," and chapter eight, "The Dissemination of Scientific Racism."

legitimacy to these essentially racist theories. Nonetheless, it was the debate concerning Darwin's theories and the embrace of Spencer's ideas after the Civil War in the United States that gave this racial hierarchy both renewed scientific legitimacy and urgency. Before Darwin, Anglo-Saxon dominance was taken for granted; after Darwin, the seeds of doubt had been sown. For Anglo-Americans, if Darwin was correct, and there was no deistic grand plan, they would have to fight to remain at the top of the racial pyramid.

Lest we forget, the Civil War was a horrifically lethal war in which over six hundred thousand American soldiers and over fifty thousand civilians were killed, death tolls that scarred the national psyche.¹⁴ Some Americans had their faith in a beneficent Deity challenged by the overwhelming carnage; fueling their disillusion was Darwin's theory of natural selection. His observations on the random variations that occurred in nature supported the notion of a universe that operated without a divine plan.¹⁵ Although Spencer's ideas provided the necessary panacea for some, the carnage of the Civil War suggested to others that Darwin was correct: there was no benevolent force at work in the universe.

Asking this diverse group of people, some still haunted by the deadly specter of the Civil War, their religious beliefs challenged by new scientific ideas, and with unresolved racial concerns, to come together as a nation, with a singular identity, must have seemed an impossible task. Yet, this undertaking was imperative if the country was going to take its place in the

¹⁴ The number of people that died during the Civil War is stunning when put in perspective: the over six hundred-fifty thousand fatalities, is approximately equal to the total number of Americans to die in the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II and the Korean War combined. Confederate men died at a rate three times that of their Yankee counterparts; one in five white Southern men of military age did not survive the Civil War. That is only part of the story, however; it is estimated that another fifty thousand civilians died, and the overall mortality rate in the South exceeded that of any country involved in World War I. The combined death toll of close to six hundred-fifty thousand would represent a fatality rate of approximately 6 million Americans today. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2009), xi-xii.

¹⁵ Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, see chapter six "Believing and Doubt: 'What Means this Carnage?,'" 171-210. Faust provides yet another perspective on American responses to Darwin and Spencer: the war confirmed their worst fear that there was no meaning or redemption to be found in the war's bloodshed.

international community both economically and culturally. During the postbellum era, world's fairs beginning with the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial became part of an ongoing process to heal the country and consolidate national ideologies in order to promote the United States as a technologically advanced, cosmopolitan nation, a strategy that culminated with the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. The New Orleans fair would play a part in that process, albeit a complex and problematic one.

A world's fair located in the South and designated a "Cotton Centennial," with all the associations that crop had with slavery, provoked negative responses from the North that went beyond healthy regional competitiveness. Research suggests that the visual imagery and textual responses to the New Orleans event, particularly in the Northern press, sometimes exploited and aggravated stereotypes of the South. Southerners were type cast as poorly educated and lazy, unwilling to work now that they no longer had slaves to labor for them, and too backward to learn new ways. In its reliance on such characterizations, Northern press coverage of the event was at variance with one of the goals of world's fairs in the United States during this era: the reconciliation of North and South. But it was not only cotton's associations with Southern slavery that may have troubled Northerners; it was perhaps also its unwelcome reminder of the North's complicity in the institution of slavery. In the years leading up to the Civil War, James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, enjoined his readers to make peace with slavery in order to save the Union and keep the North in business.¹⁶ Northern merchants bought and sold fabrics made of Southern cotton and the North benefited from the international cotton trade. It was, in fact, a Boston cotton trader, Edward Atkinson, who first suggested the idea of a cotton centennial exposition.¹⁷ Unpleasant memories of the Civil War rose to the surface in both

¹⁶ James Gordon Bennett, editorial page, *New York Herald*, 5 October 1860.

¹⁷ Edward Atkinson, "Cotton Centennial," *New York Herald*, 18 October 1880.

Northern and Southern press coverage of the New Orleans fair and indicate unresolved issues. These regional problems and prejudices needed to be worked out, however, if the nation were to move forward.

Memories of the war were not the only concerns present in coverage of the New Orleans exposition. An industrial fair can reveal the public's sometimes troubling relationship with new technologies. For the South, which had formerly been based on an agrarian economy, industrialization appeared to be happening slowly, too slowly for the North. Despite appearances to the contrary, the South was in fact industrializing at a rate that outpaced national averages.¹⁸ Beginning in the 1880s and for the next two decades, the South would industrialize faster than New England whose industrial revolution began fifty years earlier. Although the region was progressing technologically, poverty remained a problem throughout the South. This was in part due to the damage to Southern infrastructure during the Civil War, but also because some Southern manufacturers had to employ their workers at lower wages than the national average to be competitive. As a result, even some Southerners failed to recognize the progress made in the region, as they were not prospering as individuals.

Moreover, in both the North and South, some felt either left behind or betrayed by the emphasis on technological advancement. Emerging corporate structures took little notice of individual efforts, thus people often felt left out or unappreciated.¹⁹ In addition, although unrealistic, the idea of the self-made man, the individual who achieved success through his own

¹⁸ Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3-34, 104-131. See chapter one, "Junction," for an examination of misconceptions about the South that formed during the post-reconstruction era, and chapter five, "Mill and Mine," for a closer look at how rapidly the South was industrializing.

¹⁹ T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 8-9. As the author points out, the industrial progress that occurred after the Civil War in the United States was part of a second industrial revolution that needs to be distinguished from the first industrial revolution. During the second, the technology became increasingly sophisticated, and a shift occurred from discrete individual entrepreneurial efforts to a more highly organized corporate structure. That structure, however, needed the labor of the individual to prosper.

hard work, remained remarkably persistent. If one failed, then it was seemingly one's own fault. The Darwinian/Spencerian doctrines of evolutionary progress came into play here as well and a "survival of the fittest" mentality drove economic development and individual efforts.

The American West, for a brief moment in time, stood as a symbol of hope for all. The West industrialized with an alacrity and prosperity that matched the North's expectations. In addition, its vast open spaces still held the promise of a frontier wilderness of endless opportunities, where rugged individualists could still make their mark, and the West continued to capture the imagination of Americans well into the 1880s and 90s. Nonetheless, it was the South that was of primary concern to the entire nation; it had to learn to present itself in such a manner that its efforts at industrialization were recognized so that it could become part of the progressive, modern nation that was envisioned as the future of America. New Orleans became the city that would attempt to show the country that the South, the New South, was ready to take part in the national mission.²⁰

Although historians of American art have essentially overlooked the New Orleans event, it has not been ignored by historians, American studies scholars, and most recently, architectural and garden historians. Early scholarly treatments of the exposition in journal articles, master's theses, and books on world's fairs generally focused on the event in the context of the New South. More recently, some of the broader national and international implications of the event have been explored. Overall, however, the scholarship provides only brief explorations of the visual culture of the exposition and the part this played in the formation of national identity. At

²⁰ Although the term, "New South," was used in the postbellum era, it is currently used by historians to describe the period of 1877-1913, in the eleven former Confederate states, plus Kentucky and Oklahoma. It is not, however, a specific reference to a place, such as the designation, New England. Rather it alludes to the mindset of a group of ill-defined Southerners determined to promote economic growth and political unity in the region. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1951), ix-xi. See also Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, viii-ix.

this point a review of the existing scholarship on the New Orleans fair is in order before proceeding to an overview of this study.

The first scholarly treatment of the New Orleans world's fair was historian D. Clive Hardy's 1964 master's thesis, "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition and the New South, 1884-85." Hardy argued that inadequate planning and mismanagement of the exposition led to poor attendance and financial failure, and consequently hindered economic development in New Orleans and the New South.²¹ In 1969, historian Joy J. Jackson in *New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1886*, provided an assessment of one of the more positive aspects of the fair as it alerted city planners to the benefits of tourism for the economic development of the city of New Orleans.²² Moreover, Jackson asserted, the mere act of holding an international world's fair in a Southern city symbolized the region's emergence into active participation in the nation's quest for industrial supremacy. Hardy's later book based upon his dissertation, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, published in 1978, recognized Jackson's assessment but maintains his initial premise that mismanagement of the event led to economic losses for the city of New Orleans and cast a pall on progress being made in the New South.²³

Jackson's idea that the exposition apprised New Orleanians to the city's potential for tourism, however, has been more fully explored by American studies scholars Anthony J. Stanonins in *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918-1945* (2006), and Kevin Fox Gotham in *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in*

²¹ D. Clive Hardy, "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition and the New South, 1884-85" (Master's thesis, Tulane, 1964).

²² Joy J. Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1886* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1969), 204-206.

²³ D. Clive Hardy, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition* (New Orleans, LA: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1978), 1.

the Big Easy (2007).²⁴ As historian Samuel C. Shepherd has also pointed out, in his 1985 article “A Glimmer of Hope,” published in *Louisiana History*, there were other positive aspects of the fair beyond the city’s recognition of its nascent potential to attract tourists.²⁵ For Shepherd, the event presented not only New Orleanians, but all Southerners with a “dream of a better world” by providing them with information about industrial, commercial, and educational developments in the United States as well as other countries.

As mentioned, in 1984, Robert Rydell’s *All the World’s a Fair* provided one of the first assessments of the New Orleans fair in a national context. Rydell maintained that the fair did become part of an ongoing process to consolidate national ideologies, particularly in regards to race.²⁶ Rydell points out that the nation was looking to the South for guidance in dealing with race relations after the Civil War. The experience of African Americans at the New Orleans fair had been addressed as early as 1947 by Ruth M. Winton in “Negro Participation in Southern Expositions, 1881-1915,” published in the *Journal of Negro Education*.²⁷ In 2004, historian Alecia P. Long’s *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865-1920*, provided a glimpse into New Orleans’s African American community’s part in the fair. Long explores the kinds of job opportunities presented to them by the event, and reaction in the Northern press to African American participation at not only the fair, but also in Southern society.²⁸

²⁴ Anthony J. Stanonins, *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918-1945* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 15-21; Kevin Fox Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), 55-68.

²⁵ Samuel C. Shepherd, “A Glimmer of Hope,” *Louisiana History* 26 (1985): 271-290.

²⁶ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 72-104.

²⁷ Ruth M. Winton, “Negro Participation in Southern Expositions, 1881-1915,” *Journal of Negro Education* 16 (Winter 1947): 34-43.

²⁸ Alecia P. Long, *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865-1920* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 34-53.

Although the New Orleans world's fair strove to promote national reconciliation, it had an international objective as well. Fair promoters touted the event as an effort to encourage commercial and cultural exchanges with Mexico, Central and South America. The earliest discussion of the importance of Mexico's participation at the New Orleans event appeared in historian G. Yeager's 1977 article, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda: Mexico in the World's Industrial Expositions," published in *The Americas*.²⁹ Yeager highlights the Mexican government's use of international expositions to promote the commercial interests of the country, an idea expanded on to include Mexican technological innovations and progress by historian Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo in *Mexico at World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*, published in 1996.³⁰ The author does note that Mexican artists associated with the government-supported Academy of San Carlos presented their work at the New Orleans fair, and his discussion of that government's use of art to promote national ideologies provides insights into the role of the art exhibited by artists in the United States in the development of American identity.³¹

In 2011, the first treatment of the New Orleans world's fair by an architectural historian appeared. In *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere*, Robert Alexander González argues that the United States was ostensibly a key proponent of a vision of a unified Western Hemisphere.³² With the intention of affirming the nation's dominance of the hemisphere, however, world's fairs in the United States were planned on schemes that emphasized its domination over the Americas. González examines the New Orleans

²⁹ G. Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda: Mexico in the World Industrial Expositions," *The Americas* 34 (1977): 230-43.

³⁰ Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 114-116.

³² Robert Alexander González, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 1-7, 19-27.

fair in terms of the placement of Mexico's buildings on the fairgrounds, but gives little consideration to what was on display in the buildings or the landscaping of the fairground. Garden historian Cathy Jean Maloney, in her 2012 book *World's Fair Gardens: Shaping American Landscapes*, provides a more comprehensive exploration of the grounds and the horticultural displays at the New Orleans fair.³³ She examines it within the development of landscape architecture in the United States through the nine world's fairs held there, from the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 through New York's 1939 World of Tomorrow Exposition.

The work of the aforesaid historians is an important foundation for my project and their scholarship will be discussed in greater detail as appropriate. This dissertation will provide a more extensive exploration of the visual culture of the New Orleans World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, inclusive of the buildings, the displays in those venues, the fairgrounds, illustrations of the event in national periodicals, and the fine arts exhibition. The socio-historical context of the art exhibition will be discussed in chapters two through four. An important component of chapters two through four will be a careful scrutiny of the illustrations presented in popular periodicals of the day. As the research will disclose, important national issues were often obliquely addressed in these images, and they provide valuable insights into the concerns of the day. Chapter five will examine the art created by Anglo-American artists displayed in the Fine Arts Gallery. Comparisons will also be made in these chapters between the New Orleans world's fair and Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition of 1876 because visitors to the former would be making comparisons to the latter. Chapter six, the conclusion, will assess the legacy of the New Orleans event in relation to Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

³³Cathy Jean Maloney, *World's Fair Garden: Shaping American Landscapes* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 1-11, 39-53.

Chapter two provides the history behind the event: its initial conception by fair organizers, the planning and construction of the buildings and fairgrounds, as well as the significance of the architectural designs and landscaping. As this chapter is an examination of the conception and planning of the fair, initial preparation for the fine arts exhibition will be explored in this chapter. Coverage of opening day ceremonies by the national press as well as popular periodicals of the day will also be reviewed in this section. The far-reaching circulation of these periodicals brought the fair into the homes of the American public, both visually and textually, and thus created a large secondary audience for the fair. For example, coverage of the exposition in *Harper's Weekly*, one of the more popular nineteenth-century periodicals, reached approximately one hundred thousand readers.³⁴

Chapter three explores the international dimension of the fair by examining Mexico's presence at the event.³⁵ The United States' neighbor to the south received the most press coverage of the twenty-four foreign exhibitors at the fair. In addition, both newspapers and periodicals often discussed Mexican displays first, before moving on to those of the United States. Mexico's physical presence on the fairgrounds in terms of its buildings will be discussed,

³⁴ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 464-65. In addition to *Harper's Weekly* the fair was covered in some of the other popular periodicals of the day such as *Lippincott's Magazine*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, *Harper's Magazine* and the *Chautauquan*. Although Mott provides circulation figures, he does not describe what sorts of information these magazines provided. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* relied extensively on illustrations to supplement written content. Although they provided textual coverage of newsworthy events, the images were relied upon to tell the story. *Frank Leslie's* and *Harper's* also included serialized fiction and poetry. The *Century* magazine and *Lippincott's* focused more extensively on literature and poetry, with occasional reports on current if they were deemed of national importance. Both provided coverage of the New Orleans world's fair. Although both *Century* and *Lippincott's* utilized illustrators to supplement the text, they did not rely on illustrations as much as *Leslie's* and *Harper's*.

³⁵ Beside Mexico, other foreign exhibitors were Honduras, Guatemala, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Jamaica, Belize, Japan, China, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Germany and Belgium. Herbert S. Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1884-85* (Iowa City, IA: Republican Publishing Company 1885), 386-87. Fairall's is one of several government catalogues of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial. According to world's fair historian Paul Greenhalgh, to be a "first-class" event, a world's fair generally included displays by twenty and thirty foreign countries. Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions, from London to Shanghai, 1851-2010* (London: Papakadis, 2011), 26.

as well as the country's display of its industrial products and natural resources. This chapter will also look at the contributions of Mexican artists to the Fine Arts Gallery. At first glance, reaction to Mexico's presence at the fair was overwhelming positive. Closer inspection, however, divulges prejudices and hostility towards Mexicans, while simultaneously exposing the United States' own inability to deal with challenging problems such as race.

Chapter four evaluates the commercial agenda of the United States by examining how the various states presented their agricultural and manufactured products in the Government and States Building. Once again, critical response to these exhibits will be explored via scrutiny of coverage in the national press and major periodicals of the day. Also included in this section will be a consideration of exhibitions included in the Government and States Building, one that focused on Native Americans created by the Smithsonian's Ethnology Department and U.S. Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and another assembled by African Americans, called the Colored People's Department. These exhibitions pertaining to Native Americans and African Americans were included in the Government and States Building, and thus will be discussed in chapter four. The work of African American artists was shown here separately from the work of Anglo-American artists whose works were on display in the Fine Arts Gallery. While promoters of the New Orleans fair proclaimed that there was a "lack of a color line" at the event and that African Americans were in fact welcome to attend the exposition, the separation of the work of African American artists from that of Anglo-American artists, deserves further consideration and will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five will look at the contributions of artists working in the United States to the fine arts exhibition at the fair. Although the work of African American artists was excluded, the art exhibition contained a representative sample of work by artists from across the nation. As will

be discussed in the conclusion, the East Coast art world dominated the fine arts exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In New Orleans, artists from the North, South, and the West were all represented bringing to this exposition the diversity of American artistic production. Due to the presence of the work of older artists, both self-taught and academically trained, as well as the art created by younger, more progressive artists who had recently returned from training in Europe, a variety of the threads that were part of the development of American art in the second half of the nineteenth century were on display at the New Orleans exposition as well.³⁶ In this chapter I will also consider the subject matter of the displayed works, which often touched upon some of the most important socio-historical issues of the day, but at the same time concerns such as racial or ethnic problems were tellingly ignored.

Assembling the materials for chapter five has been the most challenging part of the dissertation, but also the most rewarding, and a discussion of that process is warranted. As mentioned, in 1993 the National Museum of American Art celebrated the centennial of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago with its exhibition, *Revisiting the White City*. The Director of the National Museum of American Art at that time, Elizabeth Broun, noted that her colleagues at the Smithsonian Institution attempted to locate as many art objects that were displayed at the Chicago event as possible. They then selected a representative group of paintings for exhibition and discussion in the accompanying catalogue.³⁷ The exhaustive hunt for the art objects displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition undertaken by the

³⁶ Two very important artists, however, did not present their work in New Orleans: Winslow Homer (1836-1910) and James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903). Nonetheless, other artists that presented their work in New Orleans shared some of the same aesthetic concerns and interest in previously unexplored subject matter as did Homer and Whistler.

³⁷ Broun in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 10-11.

Smithsonian's team is chronicled in the catalogue essay, "The Fine Art of Detection," which provided an invaluable guide to my efforts at locating works of art exhibited in New Orleans.³⁸

Following the essay's lead, my first step was to consult the published catalogue of the art exhibition at the New Orleans fair. Supplementing this information, as did the Smithsonian researchers, I consulted newspaper accounts of the fine arts exhibition. Both the *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* and the *Times-Democrat* reviewed many of the works on display, which often provided me with extensive descriptions of the paintings. Although sculpture was exhibited in the Fine Arts Gallery in New Orleans, it was only briefly mentioned in press reports, thus I decided to focus my efforts on locating the paintings.

To locate these works, I continued to follow the lead of the Smithsonian team, as I consulted published sources on better known artists, as well as the Smithsonian's computerized database: The Inventory of American Paintings and Sculpture (SIRIS). Information discovered in this research led to contact with museums and auction houses across the country and I began to assemble images from their websites and catalogues. I also began to collect representative images of some artist's work, particularly paintings that are known to have been extensively exhibited in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although I was often unable to locate the specific painting an artist exhibited in New Orleans, through the use of representative images I was able to get a broader view of what was on display in New Orleans.

From those assembled images I selected a representative group of paintings for discussion. My selection process was informed by two principles, one being the aesthetic concerns of the day. As will be discussed in chapter five, the American art world was in a state

³⁸ Fortune and Mead in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 194-198. Initially their team of curators, research assistants, curatorial interns and volunteers was only able to locate and confirm about fifteen percent of the over one thousand works exhibited in Chicago. Over a period of six years that figure rose to about forty percent, as photographs, prints or drawings of the works exhibited were located that could be used as supplements.

of dynamic change at the end of the nineteenth century. American artists returning from training in Europe challenged older, established, artists with new aesthetic ideas, and the highly finished, detail-laden, mimetic representations of subject matter was beginning to give way to either bravura brushwork or loosely painted works that strove to present the artist's personal vision. I have endeavored to present both ends of the aesthetic spectrum, as well as the new guard and the old.

My other consideration when making the selection of paintings for discussion was based upon how the subject matter of the images addressed the socio-historical concerns of the day. I have touched upon the complex socio-historical context in which the New Orleans exposition occurred in this introduction. The various concerns of the era, such as, the need for regional reconciliation, race, and the effect of ever increasing industrialization on the American people, surface not only in the chapters that discuss this socio-historical context, but also in the subject matter of the paintings on display in the Fine Arts Gallery. The fine art exhibition at the New Orleans world's fair reflected the socio-historic moment and that is, in part, why the project is important. My discussion of the paintings at this event adds to our understanding of the role played by the fine arts in the development of a national identity at a time when the country needed the healing power of art. Moreover, artists from every region of the nation contributed to making this art exhibition a success. Although these artists seemingly engage with the social concerns of their specific regions, artistic interpretation can transform the particular into universal. The works of art on display in New Orleans gives us a rare glimpse into those issues that preoccupied all Americans and united the nation.

Although the paintings I discuss in chapter five are representative of the fine arts exhibition, the process of locating all the art objects on display is an ongoing project. Therefore,

I have attached an appendix to provide information on every work of art known to have been exhibited in New Orleans. Included are those images that I have been able to confirm were exhibited in New Orleans. When I have been unable to locate a work of art, information about the artist and work is included: life dates with place of birth and death when known; when and where they were active if that information is available; their training; the title of the work they exhibited; and reviews of the work that appeared in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and *Times-Democrat*. I hope that this information will lead to further discoveries and generate interest in art exhibitions at other smaller, regional fairs held throughout the United States during the nineteenth century.³⁹ In an era before the establishment of an extensive network of art museums across the nation, these events served as the initial introduction to the fine arts for many

³⁹ There were a number of regional fairs held in the United States between the Philadelphia Centennial and World's Columbian that did not receive federal loans nor approval, and thus were not official world's fairs, but are now sometimes included in the scholarship on world's fairs including the Atlanta Cotton Centennial (1881); the Southern Exposition, Louisville (1883); Cincinnati's Industrial Exposition (1884); the Minneapolis Industrial Exposition (1887); the Piedmont Exposition, Atlanta (1887); and the Centennial Exposition of the Ohio Valley (1888). Art exhibitions were sometimes a feature of these regional fairs and they deserve further study. The most important of these were the 1881 Atlanta Cotton Centennial and the 1883 Southern Exposition in Louisville. The art exhibition at the Atlanta fair was small, not international in scale and held in the same building with displays of the industrial arts. The fine arts exhibition at the Louisville fair, however, was held in its own pavilion with works of art from the collections of New York financiers J. P. Morgan and August Belmont, as well as former Louisville & Nashville Railroad president Victor Newcomb. Charles M. Kurtz, the general manager of the American Art Union, arranged for the loan of Art Union paintings for the Louisville fair and was appointed the Director of the Art Department for the exposition. This art exhibition had a limited international dimension: although there were works by foreign artists, they were on loan from the aforementioned American collectors. Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 25-26. See also John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, eds., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 82-85. For further information on the Louisville exhibition see Charles M. Kurtz, *Works of Art in the Art Building of the Southern Exposition at Louisville, Kentucky* (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton, 1883), non-paginated, and the Charles M. Kurtz papers, 1843-1990, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Series 2, reel 4805, Series 3, reel 4820, and Series 8, reel 4823. The American Art Union of the 1880s, of which Kurtz was the general manager, needs to be distinguished from the American Art-Union of the 1840s. The American Art-Union offered its dues paying members the chance to own works of art via a public "lottery" system that was eventually its undoing. Every December some of the art currently on display in the Art-Union's New York City gallery was distributed to members selected in a random drawing. This was eventually ruled a form of illegal gambling. The American Art Union, on the other hand, was basically an organization of art dealers that arranged for the exhibition and sale of the work of its artist members at various galleries and fairs. The American Art-Union published a journal during the 1840s called the *Art-Union*, and the American Art Union of the 1880s published a journal as well, called the *Art Union*. Sarah Burns and John Davis, eds. *American Art to 1900: A Documentary History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2009), 222-223.

Americans and deserve the consideration of art historians. They are part of the story of art in America and the development of our national identity.

CHAPTER 2

ORIGINS, OBJECTIVES, PLANNING, AND OPENING DAY

When Benjamin Latrobe visited New Orleans in 1820, he exclaimed that the city was nothing but “mud, mud, mud.”⁴⁰ Much the same could be said of the condition of the fairgrounds in that city on opening day of the World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition and the publicity the event received during the first critical weeks of its commencement. The weather was particularly troubling: driving rains for several weeks preceding the fair’s opening on December 17, 1884 wreaked havoc with the exposition grounds.⁴¹ Only recently converted from a cow pasture, the fairgrounds were literally a sea of mud, and visitors reported that they had to walk ankle deep in mud to get to the Main Building.

The state of the exposition grounds was not the only problem. The sound of hammers still reverberated through the exhibition halls up to an hour before the dedication ceremonies began. Throughout the various buildings, crates were still being delivered and unpacked. Several important venues, such as the Fine Arts Gallery, were not yet open to the public. As the first week drew to a close, conditions had not improved. The *New York Times* reported, “with the end of the week the great exposition is barely emerging from the chaos in which it was discovered on

⁴⁰ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1799-1820 from Philadelphia to New Orleans*, eds., Edward C. Carter, John C. Van Horne and Lee W. Formwalt, series 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 3:223.

⁴¹ Hardy, *World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 5-6, and Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age*, 204-205. The fair was located on what was known as Upper City Park, which is called Audubon Park today.

the opening day.”⁴² The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, under a headline that thundered “Much Complaint at the Crude State of Exhibits at the Exposition,” exclaimed, “there is as much confusion in the Main and Government Buildings as there was ten days ago!”⁴³

By late January and early February, however, as weather conditions improved and the various venues opened, coverage of the event took on a more positive tone. “Truthful James” of the Los Angeles *Daily Times* told his readers, “never mind the tales of tardiness, never mind the weather . . . fair and sweet are now the prospects of the Exposition.”⁴⁴ Reports from the South, initially cautious, were now glowing. The Savannah *Daily Times* extolled, “the grounds are beautifully and artistically laid out, the buildings handsome and ornamental.”⁴⁵ Georgia’s *Americus Recorder* reported that the “the rainy season is over, and Northern visitors will have a chance to realize what really fine weather is during February . . . we pronounce the Exposition a grand success and advise every one who can to come and see for themselves.”⁴⁶

Visitors from the North did arrive in increasing numbers and were pleased with their visit. Philadelphians were some of the earliest visitors from the North, undoubtedly eager to compare the New Orleans event to their own city’s Centennial Exposition held in 1876. George D. McCready, a member of the Philadelphia Merchants and Manufacturers Association, reported that upon arriving at the fairgrounds he was enchanted by the “vast expanses of grassy turf, very

⁴² “New Orleans and the Fair,” *New York Times*, 24 December 1884. According to Rydell, the Philadelphia Centennial would have the distinction among all world’s fairs held in the United States of having almost all of its buildings and displays in place on its opening day. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 15. This was not entirely the case, however; the fair opened on May 10, 1876 and a special correspondent for the New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* reported two weeks later that it would “be fully another two weeks yet before the exhibition will be quite completed, and you can hardly visit any building without encountering the carpenter, the painter, or some other workman.” On June 2, the correspondent observed that exhibits “still continue to pour in in long railroad trains, the number of cars yesterday numbering 53.” On June 18, the reporter finally noted that “nearly every department is now complete.” “Our Centennial Letter,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 May 1876; 2 June 1876; 18 June 1876.

⁴³ “Much Complaint at the Crude State of Exhibits at the Exposition,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 December 1884.

⁴⁴ Truthful James, “New Orleans Exposition,” Los Angeles *Daily Times*, 20 January 1885.

⁴⁵ “The Grand Exposition,” Savannah *Daily Times*, 30 March 1885.

⁴⁶ “The Exposition,” *Americus Recorder*, 20 February 1885.

green for February” and the “giant live oaks in full, green leaf . . . we had heard so much about mud, but that was not true,” adding that “this Exposition has far surpassed our anticipations and expectations.”⁴⁷ As increasingly favorable reports from the general public began to filter back to both the East and West Coasts, the tide of journalistic opinion began to turn. By late February the *New York Times* reservedly admitted that the “Exposition is in many respects a grand one.”⁴⁸

As mentioned in the introduction, it was in fact one of New York City’s newspapers that first presented the idea for a cotton centennial. In August 1880, the *New York Herald* published an editorial by Edward Atkinson, a Boston cotton broker and political economist, who suggested an exposition be held to celebrate the one hundred year anniversary of the first shipment of cotton from the United States to Europe.⁴⁹ Concerned with the stagnant state of the cotton trade, Atkinson sought to stimulate business with an industrial fair that would focus the nation’s attention on the importance of cotton to the overall economy. Georgia business leaders took up this embryonic idea, and in 1881 the International Cotton Exhibition was held in Atlanta.⁵⁰ The Atlanta event featured exhibits by thirty-three states, but attracted only seven foreign exhibitors and focused on agricultural products, farming implements and farm machinery. In early 1882, Mississippian F.C. Morehead, president of the National Cotton Planter’s Association, began to promote the idea of a more extensive cotton centennial exposition. Morehead was supported in

⁴⁷ George D. McCready, *The Visit of the Merchants and Manufacturers of Philadelphia to “The World’s Exposition” at New Orleans, February 11th to 25th, 1885* (Philadelphia: McCalla & Stavely, 1885), microfiche #2/4:45, and #3/4:48. This group was composed of ninety Anglo-Americans, seventy male and twenty female. Thirteen of the females were wives of the male members, the remaining seven daughters or sisters.

⁴⁸ “New Orleans and the Fair,” *New York Times*, 24 February 1885.

⁴⁹ Edward Atkinson, “The Cotton Trade,” *New York Herald*, 18 October 1880. The idea for the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 was proposed by several individuals, the most important perhaps John L. Campbell, a professor of mathematics and natural history at Wabash College in Indiana. In a lecture given at the Smithsonian Institution in 1864, Campbell suggested a commemorative fair be held to celebrate the nation’s founding. As the Civil War had not yet ended, the idea was greeted with a lukewarm reception. Campbell continued, however, to promote the idea through his connections with scientists at the Smithsonian, politicians, and the business community. In 1871 the Centennial Commission was formed and Philadelphia chosen as the site for the exposition. Rydell contends that from its inception, the history of the Philadelphia Centennial became entwined with scientists at the Smithsonian, and they would play an important role in subsequent world’s fairs. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 6, 18-20.

⁵⁰ Hardy, *World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 12-18.

his efforts by Edmund Richardson, also of Mississippi, and one of the largest cotton growers in the United States. In addition, Major E. A. Burke, treasurer of the state of Louisiana and editor of the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, became involved. Burke, a prominent Southern Democrat, was eventually appointed Director-General of the event and secured for New Orleans the honor of hosting the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition.

Major Burke was a colorful character and his involvement in the Cotton Centennial Exposition has complicated subsequent historical consideration of the event.⁵¹ Burke arrived in New Orleans in 1870, allegedly achieving the rank of Major as a supply officer in the Confederate army in Texas. Although Burke did work on supply trains for the Confederacy in Texas, there is no documentation that supports his claim of obtaining the rank of Major. Within two years of arriving in New Orleans, Burke became an official of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad, as well as chairman of the Louisiana Democratic Party. In 1878 Burke was elected State Treasurer. While serving in this position Burke acquired two New Orleans newspapers, the *Times* and the *Democrat*, merging them into the *Times-Democrat* in 1881. Burke used the *Times-Democrat* as a platform to endorse the causes of Louisiana's Democratic Party. Burke and his political cronies were conservative Democrats identified with the Southern "Redeemers."

The Redeemers drove Republicans from office in the South, sometime through violence and intimidation aided by the Ku Klux Klan.⁵² They were not interested in the biracial coalitions promoted by Republicans and did not support initiatives for school and prison reforms. They did, however, support low taxes on railroads and farms, as well as placing as few restrictions on

⁵¹ Hardy, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 18-44. James F. Vivian, "Major E. A. Burke: The Honduras Exile," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 15, no. 2 (Spring 1974): 177-181.

⁵² Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 34-35.

business growth as possible. While Burke was Director-General of the Cotton Centennial he continued in his duties as editor of the *Times-Democrat* and State Treasurer, and presumably continued his involvement with the Redeemers.⁵³ After the Exposition closed in June 1885, Burke was indicted for embezzlement and fraud when an audit of state treasury funds revealed a shortage of 1.7 million dollars in state bonds. Burke claimed he had used the funds to sustain the Cotton Centennial when Congressional funds were insufficient. Burke fled New Orleans for Honduras where he remained until his death in 1928, even though he was eventually exonerated of all charges of fraud and embezzlement.⁵⁴

This chapter in Burke's controversial life, however, lay in the future. In the early 1880s, his attention, and that of the Cotton Planter's Association, was on organizing a Cotton Centennial Exposition. Late in 1882, the Cotton Planter's Association officially announced plans to hold the event in New Orleans.⁵⁵ The focus of the exposition was to be the technology involved in growing cotton, its manufacture, and companies that produced cotton products. The plans for the event gradually grew to include machinery and manufacturers of all kinds of products, both agricultural and industrial. The promoters of the exposition also sought to stimulate trade with Mexico, Central and South America by inviting these governments to take part in the exhibition. This ambition attracted the attention of the United States federal government.

On February 10, 1883, the United States Congress granted the National Cotton Planter's Association the legal authority to promote the event as an international world's fair. This action also placed the exposition under the joint management of the federal government and the Cotton

⁵³ Hardy, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 18-44. Vivian, "Major E. A. Burke," 177-181.

⁵⁴ Vivian, "Major E. A. Burke," 177-181. Burke had befriended Honduran President Luis Bográn when the politician visited New Orleans during the Cotton Centennial. Burke acquired two large mining concessions in Honduras from Bográn in exchange for a promise to build an industrial school in Tegucigalpa. Although the school never materialized, Burke received sufficient profits from the gold and silver mines to sustain him financially. He also served as assistant superintendent of the Honduras Interoceanic Railway from 1902-1904.

⁵⁵ Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 10-11.

Planter's Association. It was not, however, until May of 1884 that Congress loaned fair organizers one million dollars and another one hundred thousand dollars each to the state of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans. The Congress stipulated, however, that the fair must commence before the end of 1884, just seven months hence.⁵⁶

Federal financial support for the exposition was probably an effort to placate Southern agricultural interests that felt betrayed by a new trade agreement with Mexico. In late 1880, the Mexican government announced its intention to terminate an 1831 trade treaty with the United States.⁵⁷ Discussions pertaining to the new trade agreement between the United States and Mexico began in earnest in 1882. An accord was reached between the two countries in October of 1883 whereby the United States removed duties on a number of Mexican agricultural export products, including coffee, sugar, and leaf tobacco. In exchange, the United States could export manufactured goods duty free. The agreement favored Northern industrialists and alarmed some Southern sugar and tobacco growers. Although the South was industrializing, its agricultural base was needed to support further growth. Powerful sugar and tobacco lobbyists from the South delayed ratification of the treaty in the House and Senate for almost six months until March of 1884. When Congress decided to provide financial support for the exposition that May, it was perhaps an effort to mollify Southerners who had lobbied against ratification of the Mexican trade agreement. Although Louisiana and New Orleans were the primary beneficiaries of the Congressional largesse, it was hoped that the rest of the South would benefit economically from

⁵⁶The Senate passed the bill for the loan on 16 May 1884 and the House of Representatives quickly endorsed it the next day. The million-dollar loan, however, was contingent upon fair organizers raising another five hundred thousand and the proviso the fair open in 1884. For the Philadelphia Centennial, Congress loaned 1.5 million to fair organizers in 1871, five years before the event, and created the Centennial Board of Finance in 1872, which was authorized to raise 10 million by selling stock subscriptions to the public. Rydell, *All the World's A Fair*, 17.

⁵⁷Joseph Smith, *Illusions of Conflict: Anglo-American Diplomacy toward Latin America, 1865-1896* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979), 122-23. See also "The Mexican Trade Agreement," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 11 March 1884; 12 March 1884; 28 March 1884; and 29 March 1884.

a world's fair held in their region. For the city of New Orleans, the opportunity to host the event was an indicator of the city's recent economic renaissance that had begun in the early 1880s.

For a decade before the exposition, the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction, as well as the economic depression that followed the Panic of 1873, had hindered commercial development in New Orleans.⁵⁸ Behind-the-scenes political negotiations over the hotly contested Presidential election of 1876 and the Compromise of 1877 provided the initial impetus for the economic recovery of the city in the early 1880s.⁵⁹ In 1876 the Democratic presidential candidate Samuel Tilden defeated the Republican candidate Rutherford Hayes in the popular vote. To ensure Hayes's election, Northern Republicans brokered deals, the so-called Compromise of 1877, with prominent Southern Democrats. As the personal representative of Louisiana's governor, Major Burke and three Louisiana Congressmen, as well as several other prominent Southern Democrats, threatened a filibuster when Congress met to vote on the contested election results. The Southern Democrats agreed to change their votes and support the Republican candidate if federal troops were withdrawn from the South and Congressional funding was provided for the development of railroads and industry in the South. The Compromise of 1877 resulted in Hayes's election and a variety of economic perquisites for the South. More importantly, it effectively ended Reconstruction and Federal troops were withdrawn from the region. Burke was instrumental in ensuring that New Orleans reaped many of the benefits of the Great Compromise. In 1879 the government supplied more than 8 million dollars in subsidies to complete New Orleans's jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi that dramatically improved its

⁵⁸Before the Civil War the city of New Orleans was a well-populated bustling port city. According to the 1840 census, New Orleans was the third city in the nation, after New York and Baltimore, to reach a population of 100,000. John R. Kemp, *New Orleans: An Illustrated History* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1981), 9.

⁵⁹ Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age*, 208. For an extended discussion of the Compromise of 1877, and the benefits for New Orleans, see Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 23-50, 120-125.

port facilities. Government subsidies also financed the completion of the junction of the Southern Pacific railroad with Eastern lines in 1883. The railroad junction positioned New Orleans as a link between the agricultural products of the West with their markets in the East and the city's economy boomed.⁶⁰

By the 1880s the bustling railway hub of New Orleans was eager to host an international exposition. The selection of New Orleans as the site for the event also reflected the growing importance of the city as a port to funnel the products of Mexico and Latin America into the United States. Moreover, the history of New Orleans supported connections to Mexico and Latin America. Founded in 1718 when Louisiana was under French control, the city came under Spanish rule from 1763 until 1803.⁶¹ During this period Spain controlled large portions of Mexico and Latin America and the initial trade links with New Orleans were forged. This was an important consideration for a world's fair that endeavored to strengthen commerce between the United States and its neighbors to the south. Arrangements for the exposition began in a spirit of buoyant optimism, although no New Orleanian had any experience planning an event of the magnitude of a world's fair. As a result, strategies for staging the exposition unfolded too slowly for an international event on the scale organizers envisioned.⁶² For example, the actual plans for the initial buildings were not finalized until December 1883, and when federal funding was approved in May 1884, more structures were added although the fair had to open in seven months.

⁶⁰ New Orleans was not the only city in the South to prosper as a result of the expansion of railway lines. By 1890, nine out of every ten Southerners lived in a county with a railroad line. The number of railroad towns in the South doubled in the 1880s, and then doubled again by 1900. The South's larger cities grew as well during the 1880s; the rate of urban growth nearly doubled the national average. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 9-20.

⁶¹ Henry Rightor, ed., *Standard History of New Orleans* (Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing, 1900), 7-38.

⁶² Hardy, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 8-15.

The exposition's chief architect was G. M. Torgerson (1840-1902). Born in Sweden, Torgerson came to the United States in 1868 and settled in Oxford, Mississippi.⁶³ As Mississippi recovered from the Civil War, the state's Reconstructionist legislature made education a priority and college towns such as Oxford, the site of the University of Mississippi, profited. New housing sprang up along the periphery of the campus, and Torgerson became the favorite architect of the town's professors, lawyers, and businessmen. The architect's style has been described by architectural historians as an amalgam of High Victorian Gothic and Second Empire, with intricately shingled mansard roofs, gingerbread trim, rounded and pointed archways, multiple gables, and complex towers.⁶⁴ Both styles were popular in the postbellum United States, for they suggested the grandeur of the European castle or châteaux, and created an association with prosperity, culture, and refinement in the American mind.

The selection of Torgerson as the chief architect for the New Orleans fair was perhaps because of his use of Second Empire style in domestic architecture, particularly as this was the most prevalent choice for larger building in the United States at the time, as well as an acknowledgement of the French heritage of New Orleans. The style might also remind fairgoers of one of Europe's great world's fairs, the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, the culmination of France's Second Empire. The Main Building that Torgerson created for the New Orleans exposition, with its mansard roof evokes the Second Empire style he used in Oxford, without the

⁶³ Mary Carol Miller, *Lost Mansions of Mississippi* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 2:106-110. See also Thomas S. Hines, *William Faulkner and the Tangible Past: The Architecture of Yoknapatawpha* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 89. The Roberts-Neilson House (1870), Skipwith House (1876), and the First Presbyterian Church (1881) of Oxford, Mississippi have all been attributed to Torgerson.

⁶⁴ Thomas A. Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1927), 140-165. See also Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2001), 211-220. Tallmadge calls the era, the "parvenu" period, a time when there was little time for the acquisition of culture, but a great avidity to buy it. Roth adopts the more charitable phrase "creative eclecticism" to describe postbellum architecture in the United States, but also utilizes the parvenu phraseology. The Second Empire style was popularized primarily by Alfred B. Mullet, the supervising architect for the federal government, and used for numerous government buildings, most notably the State, War, and Navy Building (1871-1889), just west of the White House in Washington, D. C. Roth, 212-213.

more ornate embellishments of the High Victorian Gothic (Fig. 2.1). The *American Architect and Building News*, however, described the Main Building as “typical of some of the less inspired eclecticism of the day,” all “mock towers and gingerbread.”⁶⁵ If fair organizers hired Torgerson to create buildings that would call to mind the Paris exposition of 1867, they had miscalculated. There was no mention in any review of the New Orleans exposition that suggested connections were made between it and the Parisian world’s fair.

The Main Building did, however, present the idea of an exposition on a grand scale. The two-story Main Building measured 1,378 feet long and 905 feet wide, and was touted as the largest building ever constructed for a fair.⁶⁶ The edifice covered thirty-three acres, with a combined floor and gallery space of 1,656,300 square feet, a fact that fair promoters were eager to emphasize. Compared to the Main Building at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, which offered only 872, 320 square feet of exhibition space, the size of the Main Building at the New Orleans fair was truly impressive.

An 1885 lithograph of the exposition grounds underscores the size of the Main Building (Fig. 2.2). The bird’s eye view accentuates the immensity of the structure as it dominates the upper half of the composition. To establish scale, the artist included figures dotting the walkways and placed smaller buildings in the upper left quadrant adjacent to the Main Building. The second largest structure in the lithograph is Horticulture Hall; it was the second building constructed and is depicted just below the center of the composition in the foreground. The Main Building dwarfs Horticultural Hall, although the latter was billed as the largest conservatory in

⁶⁵ “Notes and Clippings,” *The American Architect and Building News* 15, 441 (4 June 1884): 274.

⁶⁶ James S. Zacharie, *New Orleans Guide and Exposition Hand Book* (New Orleans, LA: New Orleans Press, 1885), non-paginated. Zacharie’s was considered the “official guidebook” to the fair, attested to by Major Burke.

the world.⁶⁷ Although the size of the Main Building may appear at first glance out of scale, it was in fact ten times the size of Horticulture Hall.⁶⁸

The large steamboats and clipper ships in the foreground of the lithograph reaffirm overall scale, while simultaneously indicating technological progress and a sense of place. Before the 1850s the clipper ship was the embodiment of speed and grace as it raced from Boston and New York to New Orleans and San Francisco to deliver its cargo.⁶⁹ Although steamboats were navigating the nation's rivers as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century, they dominated the maritime industry after the 1850s. The steamboat was often associated with the Mississippi River basin, as it improved transportation and facilitated industrial progress in that region. In addition, visitors could travel to the fairgrounds by steamboat as suggested by the lithograph.

There were two primary entries to the exposition grounds, which are more clearly discernable in an illustration that appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (Fig. 2.3). Crowds of visitors disembark from the steamboats as depicted in the foreground of the image and move toward an arched gateway at the southern entrance to the fair. Another archway is located in the upper right of the illustration, the eastern entrance to the fair off Exposition Boulevard.⁷⁰ Whether one arrived by land or water, passing through the arch signaled entry into

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ The Main Building covered 1,247,090 square feet, Horticulture Hall 116,400 square feet, a ratio of 10:1.

⁶⁹ See chapter twelve, "Wind, Sail, and Steam," in John Wilmerding, *American Marine Painting* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1987), 146-153. See also Paul S. Boyer, ed. *Oxford Companion to United States History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 745.

⁷⁰ Visitors generally stayed in hotels located in the Vieux Carre, otherwise known as the Old Quarter or French Quarter. To reach the fairgrounds, which were four miles away, one could travel by street car for ten cents round trip or one could arrange to catch a steamboat for fifty cents round trip. The streetcar ride took between twenty-five to thirty minutes, the steamboat ride forty to fifty minutes. The streetcars left at five-minute intervals, and departure times were posted in the New Orleans dailies. There was a hotel within walking distance of the fairgrounds that cost two to three dollars a night, with hotel fees in the Vieux Carre ranging from fifty to seventy-five cents a night. Zacharie, *New Orleans Guide*, non-paginated.

a space that encompassed both the Old and New World. The arch itself was an allusion to the Roman Imperial triumphal arch, but the triumph was that of the Americas.⁷¹

Once a visitor passed through the arches they encountered a landscape that relied on plants native to the New World. If one arrived by water, the experience was analogous to a sea voyage from the Old World to the New World. Passing through the arched entrance the visitor encountered the raw materials of the Americas that would be transformed into the manufactured goods that were on display at various venues. Out of the wilderness a new empire was rising that incorporated elements of the Old World and its traditions such as the style of the fair's buildings, but the landscaping provided a continuous reminder that this was a New World.⁷²

Although the fairgrounds were reportedly a sea of mud on opening day, due to the collective efforts of the Mississippi Valley Horticulture Society they were quickly converted to the verdant green expanses upon which visitors later commented. As Maloney points out in *World's Fair Gardens*, for the New Orleans exposition, fair organizers granted the Society control over landscaping the exposition grounds and planning the displays for Horticultural Hall, as well as the ongoing care of the plants in the Hall and on the fairgrounds.⁷³ Although

⁷¹ Although not clearly visible in the *Frank Leslie's* illustration, there were two additional entrances from the west and north. The north entrance was located behind the Government and States Building, and the west entrance was behind the Main Building. These entrances were essentially service entrances used primarily by work crews during construction of the site, and by fair employees once the exposition opened. With the exception of the wharf entrance or southern entrance, all other entries were accessible by the streetcar. Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 427-430. The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial, held on 285 acres in Fairmont Park, was also accessible by four entrances; two secondary entrances, one off Belmont Avenue, the other Fountain Avenue which bisected the grounds. The two main entrances were located off Elm Avenue at the Penn Railroad Depot, and the other off Lansdowne Drive near the Reading Railroad Depot. Linda P. Gross and Theresa R. Snyder, *Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 26-27. See also Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 75-80.

⁷² I would like to thank Dr. Asen Kirin for his observations and help in formulating my discussion of both the buildings and the fairgrounds.

⁷³ Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 43-49. Maloney also points out that Horticultural Hall was the second of only three horticultural halls erected at world's fairs in the United States to become a permanent feature for the host city. The Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 and San Diego's 1915-16 Exposition also had permanent structures constructed for their horticultural displays.

designated the Mississippi Valley Society, this horticultural organization included nurserymen, florists, academics, and gardeners from twenty-four of the thirty-eight states, including members from Massachusetts, New York, Washington, D. C., Missouri, Arizona, California, Louisiana, the Carolinas and Texas, all of whom contributed to making the grounds and horticultural displays a success. The Society renamed itself the American Horticultural Society at its annual meeting held at the exposition in February 1885. The group's efforts were a manifestation of regional cooperation that promoted an image of national unity at the exposition, and the Society used native species to do just that.

In contrast, the landscaping for the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition was supervised solely by Herman Schwarzmänn, who also designed the buildings, and whose background was in architecture and engineering.⁷⁴ Although Schwarzmänn was praised for the structural layout of the grounds, the bedding plants he chose were often criticized as an ineffective afterthought. Displays for Horticulture Hall, and the demonstration gardens on the fairgrounds, were the responsibility of individual exhibitors who were not governed by any design supervisor. The overall effect was criticized as piecemeal, but individual presentations did garner approbation. Native plants received very little attention at the Philadelphia fair, either in its Horticultural Hall, or in the demonstration gardens on the fairgrounds. Oddly, the only example of a native American species was a display garden on the fairgrounds created by the Dutch firm of Krelage & Sons; it consisted of a half circle of lawn planted with masses of butterfly milkweed, its brilliant orange flowers bringing a flash of color to the greenways.

Some of the criticism of the lack of native plants on display at the Philadelphia Centennial was the result of efforts from as early as 1858 by Frederick Law Olmstead to

⁷⁴ Ibid., 13-37. Schwarzmänn's name is sometimes spelled as the variants Schwarztmann or Schwartzman in the world's fair literature.

recognize the importance of native species.⁷⁵ In his designs for New York's Central Park, Olmstead stressed the importance of landscapes that harmonized with the nation's growing urban areas and paid respect to native plants. The grounds for the Centennial, Philadelphia's Fairmont Park, did of course have native species in place, but these plants were not highlighted, nor were they embellished with demonstration gardens of native American plants. Rather they were supplemented with European and Asian plants in display gardens. Judges of the horticultural displays at the Philadelphia Centennial, both in Horticultural Hall and on the grounds, warned that gardeners in the United States would be disappointed if they followed the European gardening trends because many of these plants were useless in this country. The supervisor of the Agricultural Building at the Centennial, Thomas Meehan, was so troubled by what he perceived to be a lack of interest in native plants that two years after the Centennial he published *The Native Flowers and Ferns of the United States* to promote awareness and the use of native plants. This text, along with Olmstead's efforts, encouraged agriculturalists and horticulturalists to champion a greater appreciation of America's indigenous plant life.

The Mississippi Valley Horticultural Society attempted to create a thoughtful and cohesive environment both on the fairgrounds and in Horticultural Hall for the New Orleans fair. Moreover, they endeavored to celebrate America's native species by presenting the public with opportunities to learn about the nation's indigenous plants.⁷⁶ Truly an endeavor of regional cooperation, the Society fashioned a memorable presentation of the fruits of national cooperation for Horticulture Hall (Fig. 2.4). Edward Bruce of *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* enthused over the displays in the building, deeming it a veritable "Garden of Eden . . . the orange trees heavy everywhere with their golden globes . . . the scent of the magnolia and

⁷⁵ Ibid., 13-37

⁷⁶ Ibid., 39-53.

other members of the bay family are everywhere in the air.”⁷⁷ On display were ornamental plants and fruit trees from nearly every state. Five large tables, over three thousand feet each, were set out daily with twenty thousand plates of fresh fruit available for visitors to sample.⁷⁸ Awards were given out that acknowledged variations in growing conditions across the nation, and were inclusive of special awards for produce and ornamentals grown in the Northern, Southern, and Pacific regions. In creating special awards categories, each region could shine and be recognized for their contributions to American pomology and horticulture.

The Society also had a notable building within which to display the flora and fruits of the United States. Horticultural Hall was constructed using a new “puttyless” glazing system perfected by Arthur Rendle of New York.⁷⁹ Traditionally the panes of glass in greenhouses were secured with putty to the wood or metallic structures. The new technique used the glaze on the glass to secure the pane to the frame. This innovation admitted thirty-three percent more light into the structure and soon became the standard for greenhouse design across the nation. During the day the building was flooded with natural light, but it was the use of electric lighting at night that made Horticultural Hall especially memorable. The New Orleans exposition had the distinction of being the first world’s fair to use electric lights, both during the day and at night.⁸⁰ *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* rhapsodized that the Hall illuminated in the evening “beckons like a great glowworm amongst the shadows of the soft Southern night . . . a place of peace and beauty” (Fig. 2.5).⁸¹

⁷⁷ Edward C. Bruce, “The New Orleans Exposition,” *Lippincott’s Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 8 (March 1885): 277.

⁷⁸ Maloney, *World’s Fair Gardens*, 43-49.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁸⁰ Fairall, *World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 18.

⁸¹ “Horticultural Hall at the New Orleans Exposition,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 17 January 1885.

The Horticultural Society was also responsible for landscaping and maintaining the exposition grounds.⁸² Their efforts were aimed at creating an aesthetically pleasing, yet naturalistic and informal garden environment, as well as one that would educate the public about the benefits of native plants. The Society's members from Florida and California fashioned an outdoor garden space replete with orange trees, century plants, and cacti. Members from the State Agricultural College at Columbia, Missouri created an outdoor display of the state's native ornamentals and evergreen trees. Louisiana nurserymen lined the walkways of the fairgrounds with the state's native plants and trees. Most importantly, the Society decided to leave a stand of live oaks laden with Spanish moss in place near Horticultural Hall, which signaled to visitors that they were indeed in the South.

The live oaks gently trailed their gray beards of moss over the walkway leading up to Horticultural Hall, and for *Century* magazine's Eugene V. Smalley, they provided one of the most "pleasing sights" of the fair.⁸³ According to Smalley, one of the best ways to spend one's time at the exposition was to sit "beneath the spreading arms of the great live-oaks on the grounds, and observe the passing throng."⁸⁴ Identifying Northerners, Southerners, and Westerners as they ambled by was one of the writer's favorite past-times, but Smalley also observed that these diverse regional types mixed amicably, as they chatted and enjoyed the beautiful grounds. In landscaping the fairgrounds, the Horticultural Society created a setting that was educational as well as conducive to strolling, lingering, and engaging in conversation, all ingredients that could aide in the process of national reconciliation. The efforts of the Society are even more remarkable when one considers the adaptations they had to make as plans for the world's fair unfolded.

⁸² Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 43.

⁸³ Eugene V. Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," *Century* 30, no. 1 (May 1885): 13.

⁸⁴ Smalley, "In and Out of the Exposition," *Century* 30, no. 2 (June 1885): 194.

Fair organizers initially planned only two structures, the Main Building and Horticulture Hall. As construction on the Main Building commenced in March 1884, rumors of a separate structure to house an art exhibition appeared in both New Orleans dailies, the *Picayune* and *Times-Democrat*.⁸⁵ With the approval of the one million dollar loan from Congress in May 1884, however, fair planners began to seriously consider erecting even more buildings. Although construction of the Main Building was not complete and work on Horticulture Hall had not even begun, fair managers proposed the addition of a Fine Arts Gallery, a Machinery Annex, and a Government and States Building.⁸⁶ All would eventually be constructed, but when plans for the additional buildings were announced, the *American Architect and Building News* reported that “a species of madness appears to have seized the management” of the New Orleans exposition.⁸⁷ For this important national journal, the fair organizers were making grandiose building plans without due consideration of the logistics required to fill the additional venues.

The Fine Arts Gallery is a case in point; it would not open until February 24, 1885, two months after the official opening of the exposition on December 17, 1884. The story behind the Fine Arts exhibition is one that is difficult to untangle. There are few primary sources available beyond the catalogue of the art exhibition, which lists only the name of the artist, title of work, and occasionally the lender. None of the Fine Arts committee members left journals, letters or diaries. Newspaper coverage in both of the major New Orleans newspapers, the *Picayune* and

⁸⁵ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, and New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 24 March 1884.

⁸⁶ “World’s Exposition,” The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* reported on 28 May 1884 that fair planners believed the Main Building would be suitable for the United States government, states, and foreign exhibits, but further space might be necessary for agriculture and machinery, as well as the proposed art gallery. On 5 July 1884, the *Picayune* reported that the Exposition Board approved the building of a separate Government and States Building, as well as a Fine Arts Gallery. The Main Building would house exhibits from foreign countries and a music hall. Mexico planned to have its own headquarters building on the fairgrounds and on 10 June 1884 the *Picayune* reported that Ramón Ibarrola had arrived in New Orleans to supervise construction of this building.

At the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876, the Main Building housed displays from foreign governments as well as the United States. But the United States government had its own separate structure, and twenty-two states also had individual buildings. There was also a Horticultural Hall, a Machinery Annex, an Agricultural Hall, and Memorial Hall for the fine arts exhibition. Gross and Snyder, *Philadelphia Centennial*, 29, 67, 85, 95, 101.

⁸⁷ “Notes and Clippings,” *The American Architect and Building News*, 274.

Times-Democrat, provides the only source of information as to how events unfolded, and as the *Picayune* noted, “it was not generally known” how the art department was managed.⁸⁸

The first indication that there was going to be an exhibition of art at the New Orleans fair came with the announcement in the *Picayune* and the *Times-Democrat* of the selection of a Fine Arts committee on March 12, 1884.⁸⁹ The committee was composed of the chairman, Edward M. Hudson, who would be assisted by John T. Moore, Jr., and J. H. Oglesby. A Virginian by birth, Hudson was educated in Classics at Randolph-Macon College and at the University of Virginia.⁹⁰ He then pursued a graduate degree in civil law at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. After graduation he was appointed Secretary of the American legation to Prussia, but with the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States he resigned this position and became the representative of the Confederate States in Prussia. His duty in this post was to secure foreign aid for the Confederacy, but when none was forthcoming he resigned. In 1862 he returned to the United States and was appointed a captain in the Confederacy, and served in the armies of Virginia and Tennessee. When the war ended in 1865, Hudson settled in New Orleans and opened a law office. Active in city charities, he was a founding member of the Conference of Charities and its first president.

Hudson’s assistant was John T. Moore, Jr., the owner of a wholesale grocers and director of the Sugar Exchange.⁹¹ In addition, Moore owned a sugar plantation and was the director of the New Orleans National Bank. Hudson’s other assistant, J. H. Oglesby, was also a banker and president of the Louisiana National Bank.⁹² Both Hudson and Moore appear to have been very

⁸⁸ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 9 January 1885.

⁸⁹ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 12 March 1884.

⁹⁰ Biographical material was obtained from Hudson’s obituary, “Capt. E. M. Hudson, Soldier, Jurist, Diplomat, Dead,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 September 1916.

⁹¹ Andrew Morrison, *New Orleans and the New South* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Publishing, 1889), 86.

⁹² John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 1:336.

active New Orleanians but neither had any official involvement with the fine arts in the city. Oglesby, on the other hand, was very engaged with the arts in New Orleans, serving as Vice President of the Southern Art Union and noted to be a steadfast friend of the organization.

The Southern Art Union formed in May of 1880 with membership open to professional and amateur artists that resided in the South.⁹³ The organization sought to promote interest in the arts in the South through exhibitions and an art school. The art school opened in New Orleans in June 1881, with Achille Perelli (1822-1891) in charge of drawing, Andres Molinary (1847-1915) taught oil painting and June Tuzo (no life dates available) gave instructions in watercolors. The school maintained an art library and held annual exhibitions of the work of students and members from 1881 through 1886 when the organization disbanded.⁹⁴

The 1883-1884 edition of S. R. Koehler's *The United States Art Directory and Yearbook*, an important publication dedicated to promoting the activities of the various art schools and associations in the United States, noted that the Southern Art Union was the contact point for artists interested in exhibiting their work at the New Orleans fair.⁹⁵ The publication stated that

⁹³ Rightor, *Standard History of New Orleans*, 384, 409. See also John H. Mahé II and Rosanne McCaffrey, *Encyclopaedia of New Orleans Artists, 1718-1918* (New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 1987), 268-269, 296-297, 361-362, 384. The drawing instructor Achille Perelli was born in Milan and studied art at that city's Reale Academia di Belle Arti. Perelli served in the military in Italy during the 1848 revolution and moved to New Orleans shortly thereafter. By 1851 he was known in New Orleans as an accomplished sculptor, portraitist and watercolorist. The painting instructor Andres Molinary was born in Gibraltar and studied art at the San Lucas Academy, Rome and at the Fine Art Academy, Seville. Molinary moved to New Orleans in 1872 and soon established himself as a popular portrait painter. Molinary also created genre scenes and landscapes, which had been his primary interest before moving to the United States. The watercolor instructor June Tuzo was reportedly from New York City and moved to New Orleans to teach at the Southern Art Union in 1881. No life dates or further information on her background is available.

⁹⁴ The Southern Art Union's library contained some 500 volumes. Books ranged from literary works such as Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, and *Northanger Abbey*; James Fenimore Cooper's *The Deer Slayer* and *The Last of the Mohicans*; Charles Dickens's *The Pickwick Papers* and *David Copperfield*, to art and art history books including Thomas Couture's *Conversations on Art Methods*; A. J. Downing's *Architecture of Country Houses*; William Morris Hunt's *Talks About Art*; James Jarves, *Art Hints, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*; Edward L. Paraire's *Perspective Practically Explained*; and John Ruskin's five volume, *Modern Painters. Catalogue of the Southern Art Union Library* (New Orleans, LA: Garcia & Gauche, 1882), Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University, New Orleans.

⁹⁵ S. R. Koehler, *The United States Art Directory and Yearbook* (New York, London and Paris: Cassell & Company, 1884), 109. Republished S. R. Koehler, *The United States Art Directory and Yearbook* (New York and

artists should contact the Executive Committee of the Southern Art Union for further information. Therefore, it would appear that Oglesby, in his roles as both Vice-President of the Southern Art Union and as a member of the exposition's Fine Arts committee, became an important contact for artists who wished to present their work at the New Orleans exhibition.

Soon after the selection of the primary members of the Fine Arts committee, the *Picayune* and *Times-Democrat* reported that there was talk of an art gallery as a separate structure.⁹⁶ It was not, however, until the federal loan for the fair was approved in May, that the rumors of a separate art gallery became a reality. Nevertheless, plans for the art building were not finalized until August 12, and the foundation of the building was not laid until October of 1884.⁹⁷ During the interim, new members of the Fine Arts committee were added. On April 19, 1884 the *Picayune* announced that Bertram Beer was appointed as a committee member.⁹⁸ Beer had been in the cotton trade with his brother since 1872, and was co-owner of the Cotton Buyers and Commission Merchants, as well as a prominent member of the Cotton Exchange.⁹⁹ Beer, the *Picayune* would later report, traveled throughout the United States to obtain art for the exhibition.¹⁰⁰ The *Times-Democrat* reported on April 19, 1884 that A. G. Nicolopolo, whose career remains unknown, had also been appointed as an art committee member and was leaving

London: Garland Publishing, 1976), 109. S.R. Koehler established The *United States Art Directory and Yearbook* in 1882 to facilitate the study and commerce of art. The publication ceased after 1884, and no other such publication was available again until 1898 when the *American Art Annual* was founded. H. Barbara Weinberg, introduction to the republished Koehler, 8.

⁹⁶ Committee selected, "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 12 March 1884. Rumors of a separate art building, "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, and New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 24 March 1884.

⁹⁷ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 27 March 1884, 12 August 1884, and 6 October 1884 *Daily-Picayune*.

⁹⁸ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 19 April 1884.

⁹⁹ Morrison, *New Orleans and New South*, 104.

¹⁰⁰ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 9 January 1885.

for Europe in search of art.¹⁰¹ With the exception of Oglesby, there was an apparent lack of art expertise among the members of the Fine Arts committee.

In contrast, the Fine Arts Committee at the Philadelphia Centennial was composed of well-known arts administrators, artists, and art teachers. The chief superintendent of the committee was the artist John Sartain, who had taught and served on a variety of committees at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁰² Sartain was very active in the Philadelphia art community and more importantly had connections to the principle art schools in the Northeast and Europe. He organized three committees composed of his fellow artists and educators to oversee the selection of art created by artists working in the United States, and three committees to select art produced by American artists working in Europe. Although the bankers and cotton brokers that formed the Fine Arts committee for the New Orleans fair most probably had important business connections in the Northeast and Europe, they did not have the knowledge of and access to the art world that Sartain possessed.

By October 1884, only two months before the New Orleans exposition was scheduled to open, the *Picayune* reported that the Fine Arts committee was still attempting to secure art for display, and their chairman, E.M. Hudson, was visiting Northern cities “to canvass for art.”¹⁰³ The *Picayune* also published an appeal from the exposition’s director, E. A. Burke, soliciting

¹⁰¹ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 19 April 1884. I have not found any other information on Nicolopolo.

¹⁰² Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 252; Ann Lee Morgan, *Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* (New York And Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20008), 433; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, *In This Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1805-1976* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1976), 31, 101, 110, 163, 166. Sartain was born in London and studied engraving and miniature painting there before moving to Philadelphia where he established himself as a printmaker and portraitist. He published *Sartain’s Union Magazine of Literature and Art* and played an important part in the development of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. As the art academy grew, Sartain served on a committee to find a permanent home for the art school and was instrumental in establishing both the structural requirements of the new educational facilities and its curriculum. He periodically taught classes on engraving and was on the Committee for Instruction for two decades.

¹⁰³ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 23 October 1884.

loans of art from private collections.¹⁰⁴ These appeals for art from the chairman of the Fine Arts committee and the exposition's director should have set off alarms that the proposed art exhibition was in serious trouble. Someone with previous experience planning art exhibitions and with connections to the art world was desperately needed.

The first indication that such a person was involved came on December 6, 1884, when the *Picayune* mentioned that Wendell Stanton Howard of New York, "the Superintendent of the Art Department," had announced that installation of the paintings in the Fine Arts Gallery would soon begin.¹⁰⁵ No announcement of Howard's appointment as Superintendent of the Art Department appeared in either the *Picayune* or *Times-Democrat*. Exactly how and when this appointment was made are unclear.¹⁰⁶ Howard, however, did have experience in organizing art exhibitions for small regional fairs, such as the Milwaukee Exposition of 1883, and one in Indianapolis in early 1884.¹⁰⁷ It appears that Howard then traveled to New Orleans sometime in late 1884 to assume the role of Superintendent of the Fine Arts Department.

Howard was another intriguing character involved in the Cotton Centennial. Like Director-General Burke, Howard would face criminal charges after the event; in the latter's case, dealing in forged paintings. According to the *Chicago Tribune* several French artists that presented their work in New Orleans, claimed that their paintings were not returned to them in a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 6 December 1884.

¹⁰⁶ Such a position, however, appears to have been under consideration as early as September 1884. The Charles Kurtz papers in the Archives of American Art indicate that Kurtz sent a letter applying for the position of Superintendent of the Art Department at the New Orleans fair in September of 1884. Kurtz's impressive credentials included acting as the general manager of the American Art Union for two years, and in that position he had arranged for the exhibition of Art Union paintings at small regional industrial expositions held in Buffalo, New York in 1883 as well as Louisville, Kentucky in 1884. When Kurtz did not receive the appointment as art superintendent of the New Orleans exposition he accepted a position as President of the American Art Association. Even so, in his new position Kurtz provided some of the art for the Fine Arts exhibition in New Orleans. Why Howard prevailed over Kurtz is not mentioned in any primary sources. Charles Kurtz papers, Archives of American Art, Series 1, Reel 4804.

¹⁰⁷ "Indianapolis Exposition, 1884," unidentified clipping, vertical files, Indianapolis Museum of Art.

timely manner.¹⁰⁸ Forged copies of these paintings, according to the French artists, began to appear in the United States during the interim. The French artists believed that Howard was hiring artists in the United States to make copies of their paintings and then selling the forgeries before returning the originals to France. The charges were never proven, and Howard sued for libel. Although his libel suit was unsuccessful, Howard went on to become the art critic for *Harper's Magazine*.

Nonetheless, Howard's concern in 1884, as well as that of his fellow committee members, was to find enough art to fill the Fine Arts Gallery designed by Torgerson (Fig. 2.6). Coleman's *Historical Sketch Book and Guide to the New Orleans Exposition* noted that "the art building is elegant and artistic, so arranged for mounting, accessibility and light as to present with best efforts, precious pictures and rare statues."¹⁰⁹ Coleman's opinion of the architecture was not one shared by architectural critics. The critic for the *American Architect and Building News* opined that although the Fine Arts Gallery presented "an impression of substantial strength," it displayed no "architectural grace."¹¹⁰

The Fine Arts pavilion featured a Greek-inspired portico with a triangular pediment, as well as a squat octagonal cupola, and contained 25,000 square feet of floor space, with over

¹⁰⁸ "Libel Suit, Wendell Stanton Howard," *Chicago Tribune*, 5 May 1885; "The Story of Bogus Paintings, the Libel Suit, and Wendell Stanton Howard," *Chicago Tribune*, 15 May 1885. Howard returned to Indiana in 1886 to organize exhibitions for the Art Association of Indianapolis, both that year and in 1887. "Art Association of Indianapolis," unidentified clipping, vertical files, Indianapolis Museum of Art. In August 1902 Howard's name began to appear as the author of articles on art in *Harper's Magazine*. His activities in the interim are unknown.

¹⁰⁹ William H. Coleman, *Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans Exposition* (New Orleans, LA: New Orleans Press, 1885), 321-22. According to Joy Jackson the guide was probably the brainchild of Coleman and Lafcadio Hearn. Hearn was a Greek-born writer and wood engraver whose illustrations appeared in the *New Orleans Daily City Item*. Coleman was in the machinery business in New Orleans in the late 1870s and became friends with Hearn, apparently through their mutual love of gourmet food. After the failure of his business in 1880, Coleman moved to New York City and opened a bookstore. Hearn wrote to Coleman and asked him to publish a book of "Gombo French" proverbs, but Coleman declined because he did not think there was a market for such books. Hearn's reply was to offer to include Creole recipes in the compilation, Coleman consented, and the book was moderately successful. The two then probably decided to collaborate on another text, the *Historic Sketch Book*, to publish in conjunction with the New Orleans exposition. Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age*, 91-93.

¹¹⁰ "The Cotton Centennial Exhibition at New Orleans," *The American Architect and Building News* 17, no. 485 (11 April 1885): 171.

20,000 square feet of wall space.¹¹¹ A glass roof let in a substantial amount of daylight, supplemented when necessary by twelve hundred electric light bulbs. The building was divided into four rooms; the main gallery was for the display of sculpture and art that came directly from individual artists and artists' associations from both the United States and Europe. To the right of the main gallery, there was a room for paintings loaned by private individuals. To the left of the main gallery were two large rooms, one each for the display of art from Mexico and Belgium. Ten days before the fair opened, the *Picayune* reported that "only works of meritorious character" were selected for display.¹¹² Nonetheless, specifics of the selection process were never discussed in the *Picayune*'s coverage.

The estimable art collection promised by the *Picayune*, however, was one the public would not see for some time. When the fair opened on December 17, 1884, the Fine Arts Gallery remained closed without explanation. It was not until January 3, 1885, that the *Picayune* reported that the "work of hanging pictures" in Fine Arts Gallery had begun with no indication as to why the building had yet to open.¹¹³ Ten days later, when the art exhibition had still not opened, the *Picayune* reported that "after weeks of waiting to get the roof perfectly secure" the Fine Arts Gallery "is now declared to be ready for the hanging of pictures."¹¹⁴ Apparently just as installation began, a rainstorm revealed that the roof leaked in several places and repairs had to be made before any more paintings could be hung.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 408. Although artists from foreign countries did display their work at the New Orleans fair, only Mexico and Belgium sent official collections for display. At the Philadelphia Centennial, on the other hand, Great Britain, Germany, and France all sent official collections for exhibition. Gross and Snyder, *Philadelphia's Centennial*, 101-103, Greenhalgh, *Fair World*, 252.

¹¹² "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 December 1884.

¹¹³ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 3 January 1885.

¹¹⁴ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 13 January 1885.

¹¹⁵ John Sartain would encounter his own problems in opening the Fine Arts exhibition at the Philadelphia Centennial. Although Memorial Hall, where the art galleries were located, opened to the public on May 10 when the fair commenced, it would not be until three weeks later that works created by American artists living abroad arrived in Philadelphia. A special correspondent for the New Orleans *Picayune* reported on June 2 that "Mr. Sartain, the

Despite the best efforts of the art committee and Superintendent Howard, the Fine Arts Gallery did not open until February 24, 1885, two months after the exposition commenced. The delayed opening of the art exhibition confirmed the fears of the *American Architect and Building News*, which reported that fair organizers had made lavish plans without attention given to the work required to fill the various venues.¹¹⁶ Further validation of the *American Architect's* concerns were in evidence on opening day; although the buildings were completed, many exhibits were not installed and some were still in warehouses at the port of New Orleans or the main railway station. Four days after the fair opened, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* reported that only "3,000 carloads of exhibits out of 5,000 have been placed in position."¹¹⁷ A week after the opening, the New Orleans *Picayune* tried to provide a more upbeat note, albeit a revealing one, as visitors reportedly "scrambled over piles of lumber, threaded their way through huge heaps of packing boxes . . . members of parties continuously calling to each to come see this or that wonderful or interesting object."¹¹⁸ *Lippincott's Magazine* reported that for an entire month after the exposition opened "two thousand men were at work day and night in rain and mud" unloading and installing exhibits.¹¹⁹

Not only were the plans for the additional buildings and venues overly ambitious, a variety of circumstances conspired to delay the completion of construction of some of the buildings, as well as installation of the displays at the New Orleans fair. Bottlenecks in rail transportation as farmers in the West and South attempted to get their seasonal crops to market resulted in delays in the arrival of state displays; some did not arrive in New Orleans until

chief of the art department, has his whole force employed in unpacking the many hundreds of boxes" of art sent from Europe by American artists. "Our Centennial Letter," New Orleans *Picayune*, 2 June 1876.

¹¹⁶ "Notes and Clippings," *The American Architect and Building News*, 274.

¹¹⁷ "The New Orleans Exposition," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 20 December 1884.

¹¹⁸ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 December 1884.

¹¹⁹ Bruce, "The New Orleans Exposition," *Lippincott's*, 277.

December 10, 1884.¹²⁰ Equally crippling were the frequent strikes that plagued New Orleans throughout 1884. Construction on the Main Building came to a standstill in April when the Carpenters' Union went on strike. That strike was resolved in three days, but in October the Mechanics' Union went on strike for two weeks and threatened to derail progress at the fairgrounds just as the pace of work had stepped up. Further delays resulted from a strike by New Orleans streetcar drivers, just days before the fair's opening, which prevented crews from reaching the fairgrounds and completing last minute installations. Although no one was deceived on opening day as to the state of preparedness of the various venues, ceremonies proceeded in a celebratory mood but one that acknowledged the challenges the nation faced as the result of the growing demands of organized labor. The Reverend T. Dewitt Talmadge opened the ceremonies with a prayer in which he implored: "Eternal God! Come to the rescue of this nation! Under Thy guidance may Capital and Labor be crowned side by side."¹²¹

Despite all the problems faced by fair organizers, *Harper's Weekly* presented opening day ceremonies in the exposition's Main Building as a spectacular vista of apparent celebration and unity (Fig. 2.7). The viewer is treated to a bird's eye view of a hall, every seat filled with men, women, and children, with all attention focused on the main stage where fair officials and dignitaries gathered. Men in the crowd stand cheering, hats in hand, arms raised in salutation. The opening ceremonies took place in the Main Building's spacious eleven-hundred seat Music Hall that became one of the fair's more popular attractions. In addition to the commodious seating available in the Hall, the orchestra platform was large enough to accommodate a six hundred-member orchestra and on opening day, gathered upon it, were "a thousand men and

¹²⁰ Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 276; "Carpenter's Strike," New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 16 April 1884; "Mechanic's Strike Threatens Progress at Fair Grounds," New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 7 October 1884; "Street Car Drivers Strike," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 17 December 1884.

¹²¹ Tallmadge quoted in "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Special Morning Edition, 17 December 1884.

women of prominence, representing the governments of the United States, of Mexico and other foreign countries.”¹²² When Director-General Burke addressed the crowd, which reportedly received him enthusiastically, he apologized for the “incomplete” state of the exposition and promised that all would be placed in “good order within ten to fifteen days.”¹²³

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper offered a rather different view of opening day ceremonies from that of *Harper's*, one that did not heroicize Burke's appearance and apology (Fig. 2.8). The vastness of the Music Hall and the size of the crowd are underscored once again via the bird's eye view, but the viewer is in an even more elevated and distant position. The crowd appears as a series of anonymous ovoid forms; no differentiation to gender or age is apparent. Except for a few individuals standing in the aisles, no one appears to be standing to cheer the speaker. The speaker appears as a small figure with arms outstretched in supplication or entreaty, and behind him the mood of the fair officials and dignitaries is even more unreadable than that of the general public.

On the facing page in *Frank Leslie's*, another full-page illustration represents a warehouse-like space filled with unopened crates, into which workmen are bringing more cargo (Fig. 2.9). Represented here is the Government and States Building, which had a second-floor gallery, from which a workman, hammer in hand, gazes down at the hall accompanied by a massive mammoth, part of the Smithsonian's display. The upraised hammer the workman holds echoes that of the mammoth's tusk to create a visual rhyme suggestive of an evolutionary process from the primitive to the civilized. The vertebrae of other prehistoric creatures litter the

¹²² “World's Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Special Morning Edition, 17 December 1884.

¹²³ Burke quoted in “World's Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Special Morning Edition, 17 December 1884.

floor nearby to reinforce the idea of the progress of civilization that the various states have gathered to celebrate in New Orleans.

This illustration (Fig. 2.9) bears further consideration as the mammoth's descendant, the elephant, had become the symbol of the Republican Party by the 1870s, courtesy of Thomas Nast (1840-1902).¹²⁴ Nast began his career as an illustrator at the age of fifteen, initially working for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in the 1850s and then joining the team at *Harper's Weekly* in 1862. During the Civil War, Nast's sympathetic images of Union soldiers helped to sustain popular support for the war in the North. After the war, Nast became one of the most important political cartoonists of his era, lambasting government bureaucracy and exposing crooked politicians.

Nast inadvertently introduced the elephant as the symbol of Republican Party in 1872 during the controversy that surrounded President Grant's proposed run for a third term.¹²⁵ Nast was supportive of the Republican Grant, believing in the former Union general's personal integrity, as did many, despite the scandals and debacles that plagued his administration and charges by Democrats as well as some disenfranchised Republicans of the President's imperial ambitions. The caricaturist often portrayed Grant as a donkey, a beast that was not a serious threat to anyone. In Nast's 1872 cartoon "Third-Term Panic" (Fig. 2.10), however, the bloated elephant represents Republican voters who supported Grant being duped by Southern Democrats,

¹²⁴ Fiona Deans Halloran's *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) provides an exploration of the importance of Nast's background in shaping his career as a political satirist, while simultaneously providing a broader socio-historical context for his work. See especially chapter two, "Early Work and Training," for a discussion of Nast's years at *Frank Leslie's*, chapter four, "Compromise with the South," for his images of the Civil War for *Harper's*, as well as, chapters five and six, "Falling in Love with Grant," and "Tweed," for his emergence as one of the most important political cartoonists of the era.

¹²⁵ Halloran, *Thomas Nast*, chapters five and eight, "Falling in Love with Grant," and "The Campaign of 1872." See also Ron Tyler's *The Image of America in Caricature & Cartoon* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1976) for a discussion of Nast's work in the broader context of the American tradition of political caricature and cartoon from the Colonial era through the bicentennial, 83-87.

who are represented as the huge empty pit in the foreground, into believing that Grant had an imperialistic agenda. By the late 1870s, the elephant became associated with Republicans and the symbol of the Republican Party. *Frank Leslie's* illustrations (Figs. 2.8, 2.9) depicting opening day ceremonies, could be read as an ironic parody of Nast's "Third Term Panic" (Fig. 2.10). In *Leslie's* illustrations the stuffed and mounted mammoth becomes the Republican elephant that stands mute witness to the vast empty pit before it and the seeming folly of Director-General Burke and his fellow Southern Democrats as they attempt to hold an international event, particularly as the article that accompanied these images stressed the "incomplete" conditions of the fairgrounds and buildings on opening day.¹²⁶

After Burke's remarks, President Chester A. Arthur officially opened the fair, but in a rather unusual manner. Allegedly, a variety of national and international responsibilities prevented the Republican President from attending the event. The President and members of his Republican Cabinet followed the opening ceremonies through telegraphed reports received via "a little wire, fifteen hundred miles long" that connected New Orleans to the Oval Office.¹²⁷ The President then responded by telegraph and his remarks were read to the crowd. President Arthur's comments focused on improved trade relations with Central and South America and the hope that the Exposition would "strengthen the bonds of brotherhood" within the nation.¹²⁸ At the completion of his statement, the President opened the event by touching a button that set in motion the great engines in Machinery Hall (Fig. 2.11).¹²⁹

¹²⁶ "Opening Day at the Fair," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 27 December 1884.

¹²⁷ "World's Exposition," *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, Special Morning Edition, 17 December 1884.

¹²⁸ President Arthur quoted in "World's Exposition," *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, Special Morning Edition, 17 December 1884.

¹²⁹ To accomplish this technological feat Western Union agreed to clear one of its telegraph wires of all other traffic on opening day. A wire was attached at one end to the machinery in the Exposition, and at the other end it was connected with the White House. "World's Exposition," *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 11 December 1884.

The image provided by *Frank Leslie's* of that moment is a chilling one for us today; the image of a President with his finger on a button in a nuclear age in which “smart” wars are conducted from a distance is disquieting. It was, however, a hopeful image and a progressive idea that fascinated contemporary viewers. Participants in the room direct their gaze at the mesmerizing button and the technology it represents rather than their leader President Arthur. Although the technology appears in control of the people in this image, the Republican government as representative of the technologically superior Northeast had in effect set in motion this event in the South.

Also worth noting, in the lower right hand corner of the illustration, the viewer sees the back of an Asian man that could indicate the international scope of the event.¹³⁰ The figure is depicted with the traditional Chinese queue, black skullcap, and *sam*.¹³¹ His presence is probably a reference to a controversial new bill, the Chinese Exclusion Act, signed by President Arthur in 1882, which forbid Chinese immigration for ten years. Arthur vetoed an earlier bill that sought to bar immigration from China for twenty years, but later yielded to pressure from California constituents to sign this shorter exclusionary immigration act.¹³²

¹³⁰ Both China and Japan presented the manufactured products of their respective countries at the exposition, although they garnered little attention from the press. Lafcadio Hearn, a special correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*, was one of the few journalists covering the fair that provided extensive descriptions of the Japanese and Chinese exhibits. Hearn, “The New Orleans Exposition,” *Harper's Weekly*, 3 January 1885; 14 March 1885. Neither of Edward Bruce's two articles in *Lippincott's* mentions the Asian displays. Eugene Smalley in *Century* succinctly noted that Japan sent an “educational exhibit strongly influenced by the West” and “a mercantile exhibit of porcelain and other wares, such as can be found in any Japanese shop on Broadway.” Smalley, “New Orleans Exposition,” 12. The New Orleans dailies also provided only the briefest of coverage.

¹³¹ Valery M. Garrett, *Traditional Chinese Clothing* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3-15. The *sam* is the traditional upper garment worn by the Chinese, and the *fu* the trousers. The term *sam fu* is generally shortened to the more generic *sam*. The upper garment can be plain or embroidered, of silk or cotton. The simplicity or elaborateness of the *sam* depended on the occasion for which it was meant to be worn. Men and women, as well as all ethnic groups and classes originally wore the *sam*. A *cheung sam*, which was worn for ceremonial occasions, had slightly longer sleeves, and a narrow piped band at the collar and cuff. It is probably a *cheung sam* that the man in the illustration is wearing. As Garret explains, the term *cheung sam* has increasingly been used to identify the woman's *sam*, so I use the generic *sam* to avoid any confusion. For formal occasions Chinese men wore the black skullcap, which is a hat rather than the head scarf that would be worn on less formal occasions.

¹³² Boyer, *United States History*, 51-52.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 created a demand for imported labor, and over three hundred Chinese arrived in San Francisco that year.¹³³ Positive reports sent back to their homeland prompted one hundred thousand Chinese to arrive in the United States from 1849 to 1868, mainly settling on the Pacific Coast. At first they were well received and in demand as agricultural laborers, miners, and workers on the transcontinental railroad. But shortly after the completion of the railway in 1869, thousands were left without work. The financial panic of 1873 led to a national depression and white Californians worried about their declining wages and job security focused their resentment on the Chinese. White labor unions such as the Workingmen's Party of California and the Knights of St. Crispin in San Francisco organized violent attacks on the Chinese in that city in the late 1870s. The WPC managed to get their candidates elected in local and state elections, who then demanded federal legislation barring further immigration of the Chinese all together. Finally in 1882, President Arthur signed a bill restricting immigration for ten years. Nevertheless, agitation against the Chinese continued and angry mobs beat them and drove them from their homes in California and throughout the West, with incidents also reported in Chicago, Minneapolis, and Boston.

¹³³ Ta Jen Liu, *U.S.-China Relations, 1784-1992* (New York: University Press of America, 1997), 11-16; Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 28-34, 75-85, 194-195; and Anthony W. Lee, *Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 71-75. The Chinese Exclusion Act was a complete reversal of the 1868 Burlingame Treaty that allowed unrestricted immigration of Chinese laborers, specifically with the intention of using them to construct railroads in the United States. Although the legislative action of 1882 was originally intended to be in effect for only ten years, the Geary Act renewed it in 1892, and the ban was not lifted until 1943 when China and the United States became allies in World War II. The war, however, resulted in bans on immigrants from Japan, and quotas on the number of Chinese and other Asians that could enter the United States. It was not until 1965 that these policies were completely reversed and large-scale immigration from China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Viet Nam began. As to American perceptions of Asians at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, Rydell reports that during opening day ceremonies one Chinese official was stripped of his robes and another was threatened with having his queue cut off. Moreover, reactions to the China's display at the Philadelphia fair were muted, and mounting anti-Chinese sentiment in the West led most Americans to view them as a threat according to the author. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 14, 242fn10, "The Multitude Admitted," *Philadelphia Press*, 11 May 1876; 30-31, 245fn44, "The Chinese Problem," *Philadelphia Inquirer* 9 June 1876; 49-52, 249, fn22.

Although the *Frank Leslie's* illustration does not depict the Chinese man as threatening, his isolation in the corner offers a questioning appraisal of recent legislation and events when other figures in the image are examined (Fig. 2.11).¹³⁴ Directly across from the Chinese man are a group of women most probably indicative of the fair's appeal to both genders.¹³⁵ The illustrator purposefully placed the Chinese man in the bottom half of the pictorial space with the women, and the Caucasian males in the top of the image signifying their superiority over women and people of color. Regardless of how *Frank Leslie's* viewed recent anti-immigration laws and anti-Chinese sentiments, its illustrator clearly considered Asian males inferior to their white male counterparts. As Matthew Jacobson observes in *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad*, by the middle of the nineteenth century, "bastardized notions" of the work of both Darwin and Spencer directly linked economic concerns to issues of racial superiority, which led to a belief in social evolutionism in the United States that placed Anglo-Saxon males at the top of a hierarchy of world's peoples, and relegated

¹³⁴ I am hesitant to state that *Frank Leslie's* were either for or against the Chinese Exclusion Act; in general the paper was not overtly political. *Harper's Weekly*, on the other hand was very political, and it was thought by some to be against the Chinese Exclusion Act, or at least *Harper's* opposed the nomination of James G. Blaine to the Republican Party ticket in 1884. Blaine was a conservative Republican and anathema to reformers in the party. Blaine supported anti-immigration laws against the Chinese, disenfranchisement of African Americans, and for *Harper's* he was not the man to lead the party of Lincoln. In the months leading up to the Republican convention, *Harper's* publically denounced Blaine on several occasions. Grover Cleveland became the Republican nominee and elected president. Before that, however, Thomas Nast created a series of cartoons for *Harper's Weekly* ridiculing Blaine, and linking him to corrupt political bosses in New York City, while also taking swipes at his support of anti-Chinese legislation and the disenfranchisement of blacks. Blaine fought back accusing Nast of "totally and inexcusable misrepresentation" of his beliefs. The campaign for the nomination of the Republican candidate for the presidency became increasingly acrimonious and left scars on the Republican Party, *Harper's Weekly*, and Nast for years to come. Both Nast and *Harper's* were criticized for persecuting Blaine, and even those that supported the nomination of Grover Cleveland as candidate thought Nast had gone too far. Halloran, *Thomas Nast*, 252-264.

¹³⁵ Boyer, *United States History*, 51. They may also be a reference to the President's status as a widower. A year before Arthur assumed the Presidency in 1881 his wife died of pneumonia and the courtly and fashionable President received the nicknamed, "Elegant Arthur," and was deemed a "catch for the ladies." Although there was never any suggestion of impropriety on the President's part, well-meaning friends often presented single women to him and he was often portrayed surrounded by fawning females.

anyone to inferior status if they got in the way of Anglo-American progress and financial gain.¹³⁶ Clearly this had become the case with the Chinese.

Nonetheless, every figure in the image in *Frank Leslie's* seems hypnotized by the ingenious technology that set the engines of industry into action in New Orleans all the way from Washington, D.C. (Fig. 2.11). The machinery the President set in motion provided steam power and electric lighting throughout the fairgrounds. The part played by technology on opening day, as well as throughout the fair, fascinated those who attended. Among those present on opening day, Governor of Louisiana S. D. McEnery imagined that it was as if “the hand of a magician had touched the fairgrounds.”¹³⁷ Reflecting on opening-day festivities in the *Chautauquan*, Bishop W. F. Mallalieu commented that “fifty years ago it would have taken President Jackson a month to travel from Washington to New Orleans, but now, quicker than the revolving planet turns upon its axis, the President, standing in his office, executes his will in a city a thousand miles away.”¹³⁸ *Harper's Weekly* reported that “scarcely any feature of the World's Fair in New Orleans can more strikingly signalize its character than the manner in which it was opened . . . a fitting key-note for an Industrial Exposition.”¹³⁹

Bishop Mallalieu noted that since technology had made the “world a smaller place” “the time has come when the past, with its antagonisms should be left behind.”¹⁴⁰ Although the Civil War had been over for twenty years, it was a memory that was still fresh in the minds of many, as evidenced by Mallalieu's remark. *Harper's* echoed those conciliatory sentiments, and remarked that “those who remember what seems, almost as of yesterday, so vivid is the

¹³⁶ The author's focus is on the United States but he notes this was true in Europe as well. See particularly chapter four “Theories of Development: Scholarly Disciplines and the Hierarchy of Peoples,” Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 139-172.

¹³⁷ S. D. McEnery quoted in “World's Exposition,” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, Special Morning Edition, 17 December 1884.

¹³⁸ W. F. Mallalieu, “The New Orleans World's Exposition,” *Chautauquan* 5 (March 1885): 340.

¹³⁹ “The New South at New Orleans,” *Harper's Weekly*, 20 December 1885.

¹⁴⁰ Mallalieu, “The New Orleans World's Exposition,” 340.

recollection, the news from Farragut and Butler, and who now read the account of the Exposition cannot but feel prouder than ever that they are Americans, and resolve to draw more closely the ties that bind the nation fast.”¹⁴¹ These comments, as well as the President’s remarks on opening day, reflect a theme that would permeate coverage of the exposition in the months to come: the need for reconciliation between North and South.

There was concern among some, however, that the events of the Civil War would fade in the national memory. In the early 1880s, *Century* magazine began a series of accounts of the Civil War entitled “Battles and Leaders” to educate a new generation of Americans and recent immigrants to the United States about the Civil War. The conflagration required memorialization if it was to remain meaningful. The *Century* simultaneously paid tribute to the Civil War as it reported on the events of the New Orleans fair. Its May 1885 issue contained a report on the Cotton Centennial, as well as articles on the Civil War’s Battle of Manassas, and one entitled “From Manassas to Seven Pines.”¹⁴² A second article on the New Orleans fair appeared in the June 1885 issue, along with three articles on the Civil War: John Brown at Harper’s Ferry; Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah; and, the Battle of Gaines’s Mill.¹⁴³ Thus, for the magazine’s readership there was an immediate reminder of the war when they read about the

¹⁴¹ “New South at New Orleans,” *Harper’s*. *Harper’s* remarks on Farragut and Butler were for a Southerner, especially a New Orleanian, cutting. Admiral David Farragut was the Union naval commander that captured New Orleans in May 1862. This victory opened up the entire Gulf Coast to the Union army, and came at a moment when a military stalemate had been reached in the East. Farragut’s victory resulted in the military occupation of New Orleans by Major General Benjamin Butler aided by a force of five thousand Union soldiers. Butler was vilified during the occupation by New Orleanians, accused of corruption and his overly harsh treatment of the citizens; he received the nickname “Beast Butler.” Boyer, *United States History*, 130-131. See also Kemp, *New Orleans*, 100-104.

¹⁴² Smalley, “New Orleans Exposition,” *Century* (May 1885): 3-14; General John D. Imboden, “Incidents of the Battle of Manassas,” *Century* 30, no. 1 (May 1885): 92-98; Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, “Manassas to Seven Pines,” *Century* 30, no. 1 (May 1885): 99-122.

¹⁴³ Smalley, “In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition,” *Century* (June 1885): 185-199; Capt. John E. P. Daingerfield, “John Brown at Harper’s Ferry,” *Century* 30 no. 2 (June 1885): 265-279; Gen. John D. Imboden, “Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah,” *Century* 30 no. 2 (June 1885): 280-293; Gen. D. H. Hill, “The Battle of Gaines’s Mill,” *Century* 30 no. 2 (June 1885): 294-309.

New Orleans fair. These efforts to commemorate the Civil War may have had the unintended consequence of opening old wounds.

By the time the fair closed in June, over a million visitors had attended, and the press coverage of the event, in magazines such as the *Century*, brought the fair into the homes of an extensive secondary audience.¹⁴⁴ As press coverage of the New Orleans fair led readers and potential visitors through the various venues, hopeful admonitions of national reconciliation were sometimes undermined in their reportage, as will be discussed further in chapter four. Once the celebratory mood of opening day died down, however, much on everyone's mind was Mexico's presence at the fair that was manifest at almost every venue. The Mexican displays served as both a distraction from the United States' own problems and as a reminder of the need for national unity if the country was not going to be eclipsed by its neighbor to the south.

¹⁴⁴ 1.2 million people attended the event, but there is no record of the nationality of visitors, and thus figures parsing foreign visitors from U.S. citizens to the fair are not available. The attendance figures fell far short of the 4 million expected and resulted in financial losses of up to \$470,000, which has contributed to the opinion of some that the fair was a failure. In comparison, over 10 million people attended Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition, and 27 million attended the World's Columbian Exposition. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 10. Getting to the New Orleans Exposition could be an adventure, and a costly one, which possibly curtailed attendance. A round trip railway ticket from New York City was \$60.00, at a time when most Americans earned less than \$100 per month the cost of getting to the fair was prohibitive. Even for Southerners the trip could be prohibitively expensive. A round trip ticket from Alexandria, Louisiana to New Orleans was \$9.80, from Shreveport, Louisiana \$13.15. Hotel accommodations could run from a \$1.00 a day to \$12.00. Admission to the fair was 50 cents for adults, and free for children. A Baton Rouge journalist concluded that a family of six could easily incur costs up to \$30 a day once meals and transportation were figured into the overall price of the trip—a cost out of the reach of the average family. In Savannah, Georgia protests about the round trip fee of \$21.55 on the Central Railroad to New Orleans became so heated that the line reduced the cost to \$13.30. Railroads across the country began to reduce fares and assemble special packages to New Orleans such as the Illinois Central Railroads Special Teachers' Palace Car Excursion. The trip was arranged to accommodate teachers on their "holiday vacation" with a train leaving Chicago on the morning of December 23rd and arriving in New Orleans on Christmas morning, December 25. The round trip fare was \$20, if a sleeping car berth was desired; an additional \$6 was required. Teachers associations such the Minnesota Teachers Association published the offer in their periodical and organized hotel accommodations for their members. They arranged for their members to stay at the Palmer House in Chicago on December 22 at \$2.50 for the night before catching the train to New Orleans and staying at the Hotel Royal, securing a group rate at \$1.00/night. Shepherd, "Glimmer of Hope," 275. See also: "The Exposition," *Savannah Daily Times*, 22 March 1885 and The Minnesota Teachers Association, *The Minnesota Journal of School Education*, November 1884.

CHAPTER 3

MEXICO'S COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL AGENDA

Mexico's presence at the New Orleans world's fair garnered some of the most extensive press coverage of foreign exhibitors at the event. The fair itself was intended, in part, to foster commercial cooperation between the United States and Mexico, Central and South America. These goals were the result of an idea that began to emerge in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—Pan-Americanism. This was the notion that the peoples of South, Central and North America shared a hemispheric relationship that set them apart from the rest of the world. As González notes, in *Designing Pan-America*, the people of the Western Hemisphere shared a similar European colonial past, which had been cast aside in favor of independence and new national identities were being forged.¹⁴⁵ As the author asserts, these countries all faced the challenge of reconciling a cultural heritage established by a former occupying power with their current government's cultural and commercial agenda.

The seemingly inclusive spirit of Pan-Americanism, however, was undermined by an earlier political idea, the United States' "Manifest Destiny" to rule over the hemisphere.¹⁴⁶ The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 declared that the United States was the guardian of the Americas. This doctrine established Central and South American countries as not so much foreign powers, but rather as geographic extensions of the United States, thereby granting it certain proprietary rights to those lands, if only in the minds of many in the United States. The doctrine was put into action in 1846 when the United States went to war with Mexico over contested territories along the Rio

¹⁴⁵ González, *Designing Pan-America*, 4-5, 20-21. The author points out that Canada was often marginalized in this Pan-American vision, but not in the same patriarchal or proprietorial manner as Central and South America.

¹⁴⁶ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 39-41.

Grande River. During the Mexican War, a popular song in the United States announced that the “savage was across the border,” a reference to the country’s indigenous and mestizo population with their mix of Indian and European blood.¹⁴⁷ In the United States, as Reginald Horsman explains in *Race and Manifest Destiny*, the war resulted in the subjugation of Mexicans to the Anglo-American hierarchy of superior and inferior races. Mexico’s predominately mestizo population was “polluted” by Indian blood and as a result, Anglo-Americans relegated Mexicans as a group to a position of savagery and inferiority.¹⁴⁸ All of this was seemingly forgotten, however, in the first flush of excitement over Mexico’s displays at the New Orleans exposition.

González remarks that visitors to the New Orleans world’s fair were treated to an image of the Pan-American spirit of unity from the moment they entered the fairgrounds (Fig. 2.3).¹⁴⁹ Returning to the view of the grounds and buildings presented in *Frank Leslie’s*, from right to left in the foreground and mid ground are: the Mexican Headquarters; Mexican Gardens; Horticultural Hall; Mexican Pavilion (small round structure); and the California and Florida Gardens. Reading right to left in the background one detects the United States’ Government and States Building and the Main Building, in which the international displays were housed. Whether one arrived by steamboat, streetcar, horse-drawn buggy or by foot, circuitous paths encircled the Mexican Gardens, the California and Florida Gardens, Horticulture Hall, the Mexican Pavilion and the Mexican Headquarters. González argues that, on the one hand, the circular pathways underscored a spirit of cooperation, equality and cohesiveness, and on the other hand, the serpentine routes revealed the difficulties in arriving at such lofty goals. As González rightly

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 40-41.

¹⁴⁸ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, chapter eleven, “Anglo-Saxons and Mexicans,” 208-228, and chapter twelve, “Race, Expansionism, and the Mexican War,” 229-248. The Mexican War ended in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Mexico ceded some 500,000 square miles to the United States, in exchange for \$15 million and the United States ignoring \$3 million in disputed actions against Mexico. The lands in the Southwest acquired were California, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Boyer, *United States History*, 497.

¹⁴⁹ González, *Designing Pan-America*, 19-21.

observes, these convoluted walkways were symbolic of a world in which economic dominance and multinational political relationships constantly shifted and changed.

Mexico, however, did dominate the Latin American presence at the fair and overshadowed European exhibits as well. Mexico's displays in the exposition's Main Building covered nearly 50,000 square feet, and *Frank Leslie's* opined that "of all the foreign exhibits, that of Mexico is the most attractive."¹⁵⁰ Seconding that sentiment was the *Chautauquan's* Bishop Mallalieu, who commented that although "the European nations are represented in the Main Building," the foreign country best represented was our "next door neighbor Mexico."¹⁵¹ It was not only Mexico's displays in the Main Building that attracted attention. *Century's* Eugene Smalley was so captivated by Mexico's display of cacti in the Mexican Gardens that he exclaimed their "cactus show alone is worth a visit to the Exposition."¹⁵²

Although Mexico's efforts received approbation from some of the press, conflicted views of the country were sounded in other reviews. One of the more popular features at the fair was the Mexican Pavilion, dubbed the "Alhambra" by the press in the United States in reference to Mexico's Spanish heritage. Ironically, however, in nicknaming the pavilion the Alhambra, credit was given to the country's European heritage rather than to Mexico itself. The Mexican Headquarters Building drew praise from the Los Angeles *Daily Times*, offering the backhanded compliment that "the beauty of the Mexican Headquarters . . . is proof that Mexico has other than rude elements among her population."¹⁵³ *Lippincott's* Bruce observed that overall "Mexico's efforts" were "among the chief surprises of the Exposition," but then added that "we were hardly prepared to expect this from a republic whose normal condition has been commonly

¹⁵⁰ "The New Orleans Exposition," *Frank Leslie's*, 20 December 1884.

¹⁵¹ Mallalieu, "The New Orleans World's Exposition," 341.

¹⁵² Smalley, "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," 190.

¹⁵³ Bumble Bee, "The Sister Republic and Her Exhibit at the New Orleans Exhibition," Los Angeles *Daily Times*, 20 January 1885.

alleged to be revolution and violence.”¹⁵⁴ Bruce’s comments focused presumably on Mexico’s struggles for independence from Spain; internal civil wars once independence was achieved; the Mexican War; and France’s occupation of the country that culminated in the execution of Emperor Maximilian in 1867. Not surprisingly, Bruce simultaneously avoided any mention of the United States’ own bloody Revolutionary War with Great Britain; the War of 1812; the Mexican War; the recent carnage of the Civil War; and the assassination of its own President Lincoln. In one short aside Bruce effectively repositioned Mexico as a much more volatile republic than the United States. These were the kind of negative perceptions of Mexico that their government was attempting to refute.

As Tenorio-Trillo points out in *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, the Mexican government was determined to showcase the country as a wealthy, peaceful, progressive nation worthy of international respect by taking part in world’s fairs.¹⁵⁵ For Mexico, the 1880s were a time of economic transformation. Through substantial investments in railroads, the textile, cigarette and silver mining industries, as well as the export of coffee and cacao, the average rate of economic growth approached eight percent. The rise to power of General Porfirio Díaz in the 1870s ushered in an era of relative peace and political stability, the first the country had known since gaining independence in 1821, which created an environment conducive to economic growth. Commencing with Díaz’s election as president in 1877, he and his administration sought to modernize Mexico through industrialization, education, and international trade.

To publicize the enormous strides made in modernizing the nation, and to highlight its economic growth, the Porfirian government began to utilize world’s fairs to demonstrate the

¹⁵⁴ Edward C. Bruce, “The New Orleans Exposition,” *Lippincott’s Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 9 (April 1885), 417-418.

¹⁵⁵ Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 28-42.

nation's progress.¹⁵⁶ Although Díaz was not president when the initial planning for his country's participation at the New Orleans exposition began, he had been appointed Director of the Mexican Central Committee for the event. Díaz remained actively involved in planning Mexico's exhibitions even after his re-election in 1884. For the New Orleans exposition, the Mexican government spent two hundred thousand dollars and provided full government support for private exhibitors.¹⁵⁷ Díaz's strategy was to present not only Mexico's manufactured goods at the fair, but also its natural resources as an enticement to foreign investors, a strategy that would have some unwanted consequences.

As mentioned, one of the more popular features at the fair was the Mexican Pavilion, known as the Alhambra (Fig. 3.1). The architect responsible for the structure, Ramón Ibarrola, chose a Moorish style that he felt would be familiar to Anglo-European eyes. Ibarrola based his building not so much on Mexico's Spanish Moorish heritage, according to Tenorio-Trillo, but rather on a model established at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876.¹⁵⁸ The Philadelphia

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 28-29. There was a "brief" interruption in Díaz's six terms as president of Mexico, which some prefer to describe as a dictatorship. In 1880, Manuel González replaced Díaz in a hotly contested election for four years. Beldon Butterfield in, *Mexico Behind the Mask: A Narrative, Past and Present* (Washington D. C.: Potomac Books, 2013), refers to Díaz as the Mixtec Indian Tsar. Born a poor Oaxacan Mixtec Indian mestizo, Díaz embraced European ideas, then turned his back on his own people, the impoverished rural mestizos, and ruled with an iron fist. His political philosophy was *pan o palo* (bread or the stick), in other words take what you are offered or suffer the consequences. Díaz, who worked his way up through the military to the position of general, used an army to back his appointment as President in 1876, then again in 1884, and in all subsequent elections. His government was divided into basically two groups; the *científicos* or technocrats that can be credited with bringing Mexico into the industrial age, and the *rurales*, squadrons of mounted police that kept order by using violence and intimidation throughout the country. Díaz also passed laws stating no farmer could keep his land without a clear title, which had to be formally notarized and registered. Many poorer Mexicans did not have titles, as farms were passed down in families without any proper paperwork since notarization and registration fees were costly. As a consequence, only the large haciendas owners retained their lands, and frequently added more acreage as their impoverished neighbors lost theirs. Although Butterfield acknowledges the technological advances made under Díaz's presidency, he also views the Porfirian dictatorship as responsible for the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and subsequent Civil War. Butterfield, 61-69. See also Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History*, 8th ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 362-404, which provides a similar assessment of the Porfirian regime.

¹⁵⁷ Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, 40-42.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. For more information on Horticultural Hall at the Philadelphia Centennial see Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 18-31. Horticultural Hall was designed "in the Moorish style of architecture" by H. J. Schwarzmamm, who was responsible for all the buildings at that exposition, as well as the grounds. Philadelphia and the State of

exposition's Horticultural Hall, designed by their chief architect Hermann Schwarzmann in the Moorish style, was popular with fairgoers. In New Orleans, the Mexican Alhambra was equally popular with fairgoers, and the country's natural mineral resources were presented in the pavilion, including a half-ton of silver displayed as a small mountain. The Mexican government cannily displayed its mineral wealth in a building style that was at once familiar and popular with Anglo-Americans; nevertheless the somewhat exotic style became part of the structure's allure beyond the silver it contained. The familiarity of the structure, the touch of the exotic, and the wealth contained therein, Tenorio-Trillo argues, embodied Mexico's efforts to take its place in the Anglo-American world as a wealthy, cosmopolitan nation. Nonetheless, Mexico's wealth was subjected to the proprietorial gaze of its neighbor to the north.

González observes that the location of the Alhambra, Mexican Gardens, and the Mexican Headquarters building created a situation that positioned Mexico as a nation ready for exploitation.¹⁵⁹ Returning to the *Frank Leslie's* illustration of the fairgrounds once again, there is a large, broad boulevard that runs east to west and bisects the fairgrounds (Fig. 2.3). In the upper, northern sector are the Main Building, United States Government and States Building, and the Fine Arts Gallery. On the other side of the avenue, in the southern sector, are the Mexican Alhambra, Horticultural Hall, the Mexican Gardens, and the Mexican Headquarters. As González points out, Mexico did stand out at the fairgrounds as the only nation, other than the United States, with two of its own independent buildings and a separate garden space. The organization of the grounds, however, placed Mexico's buildings on the same side of the fairgrounds as the agricultural products on view in Horticultural Hall. For González, the United States viewed Mexico as a source of raw materials, "positioned as an exotic fruit ripe for the

Pennsylvania paid for the construction of Horticulture Hall as it was created as permanent additions to Fairmont Park.

¹⁵⁹ González, *Designing Pan-America*, 25-26.

picking.”¹⁶⁰ Press coverage of Mexico’s presence at the fair, as well as illustrations that appeared in popular periodicals in the United States, lend credence to González’s argument.

A *Century* magazine illustration provides visual commentary on the small mountain of silver displayed in the Mexican Alhambra (Fig. 3.2). E. W. Kemble’s (1861-1933) “Mexican Silver” features a thin man with a scraggly beard, attired in tattered pants and a broad brimmed hat, with his eyebrows raised in surprise at the spectacle before him. Opposite him, is a rotund, well-dressed man in dark topcoat and hat, with his eyeglasses raised to inspect appreciatively the silver. Whether the two men represent the dichotomies of Northerner and Southerner, urban and rural denizens, or rich and poor, they both look covetously at the natural resources of the United States’ neighbor to the south.¹⁶¹

The Treasury Department’s refusal to increase the issue of silver coinage and silver certificates made headlines across the United States throughout 1884 and 1885.¹⁶² The United States traditionally maintained a bimetallic monetary system in which sixteen ounces of silver equaled one ounce of gold. As the world supply of silver fell in the 1850s, however, the value of silver rose, and it was rarely used for coinage. By the 1860s, with the discovery of new supplies of silver in the American West, silver prices fell, which resulted in the issuing of more silver coins and silver certificates in the United States. Nonetheless, most nations had adopted the gold

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 26. The author also points out that the position of the buildings near the river entrance to the fairgrounds was analogous to the location of warehouses where raw materials for import and export were stored. This, however, would apply to manufactured goods as well which are also sometimes stored in wharf warehouses. In addition, it should be noted that Mexico’s manufactured products were on display in the Main Building; Mexico was not completely relegated to the position of “fruit ripe for the picking.”

¹⁶¹ The well-dressed gentleman depicted in this illustration should be compared to a similar figure attired in a colorless top coat and top hat featured in Fig. 3.3, “Cactus from Mexico,” which I interpret as representative of the New South. The brim of the top hat worn by the figure in “Mexican Silver” is narrower than that of the top-hatted figure in “Cactus from Mexico. Also note the difference between the figure of the clean shaven, top-hatted, white man as representative of the New South depicted in a “Cactus from Mexico,” and the figures of the two white men in the “Sugar-cane and Rice-house,” with their long, full, beards and broad-brimmed hats that I will interpret as representative of the Old South in chapter four (Fig. 4.2). These two figures are also to be differentiated from the skinny, shabbily-dressed figure in “Mexican Silver,” as their beards are fuller, and hats of a different style.

¹⁶² Boyer, *United States History*, 292.

standard. In an effort to stabilize the economy, the United States Congress passed the Coinage Act of 1873 that demonetized silver, but demands for free and unlimited silver coinage increased. The Free Silver movement, as it was called, led to Congress passing the Bland Allison Act in 1878 that authorized the Treasury to coin 2-4 million dollars in silver each month. By 1884 there were demands to increase this amount but the Treasury department stood firm and refused. According to an editorial in the *Picayune*, “the people prefer silver,” and the Treasury Department refusal to increase the amount of silver coinage and silver certificates in circulation were ill advised.¹⁶³ As Kemble’s illustration implies, the people did indeed prefer silver and were casting a covetous eye on Mexico’s abundant supply.

In the article that accompanied Kemble’s illustration in *Century*, Eugene Smalley assessed not only the natural resources of the country, but also noted that “one is surprised at the number of things the Mexicans make, and make well.”¹⁶⁴ For Smalley there was “a great deal of patient labor” that went into the products of Mexico and there seemed be “an aptitude in the people for the higher kinds of manufacturing industry, which could be much developed by training.”¹⁶⁵ This comment suggests that the United States had a proprietary view of not only Mexico’s natural resources, but also of its people as a potential labor force. Mexico, however, was equally interested in attracting a skilled labor force to facilitate further industrialization, and it hoped the United States would supply that workforce.

Antonio García Cubas, in charge of Mexico’s statistical and geographical propaganda for the fair, created pamphlets to encourage people in the United States to immigrate to Mexico.¹⁶⁶ García Cubas’s pamphlets extolled the availability of inexpensive land, and promised that

¹⁶³ “Secretary McCulloch on Silver,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 3 December 1884.

¹⁶⁴ Smalley, “In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition,” 191.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 35.

immigrants would be “exonerated from military service and from the payment of all taxes for ten years.”¹⁶⁷ The immigrants the country wanted, however, were those who had industrial skills, and capital to invest, along with a limited number of agricultural workers to support population growth. Although the Mexican government encouraged immigration, it was to be selective. According to Tenorio-Trillo, African Americans were not welcome to immigrate to Mexico. The author quotes a reply from the philologist and writer Francisco Pimentel to the minister of foreign affairs of Mexico, who had inquired about the feasibility of encouraging African Americans to immigrate: “The presence of Blacks in Mexico would increase all the problems we already face due to the heterogeneity of races . . . because our country needs industrialists rather than farmers, Blacks are not useful because they do not belong to the class of industrialists.”¹⁶⁸

Mexico was dealing with its own racial issues, just as was its neighbor to the north. García Cubas commented in his pamphlet that the country’s mestizos, those of European and Indian ancestry, did provide “a good and reliable labor force, they were also, contrary to popular prejudice, very capable imitators.” According to him, the pureblooded Indians, however, “were a degenerate race,” and “resistant workers.”¹⁶⁹ The Mexican propaganda agent’s remarks reveals his belief that the racial mix of white European and Native American present in the mestizo class created a more tractable worker, as well as someone capable of imitation. Cubas’s remark is ironic considering Mexico’s then president and leader, Porfirio Díaz was a mestizo. As Tenorio-Trillo points out, this sort of endorsement of racial mixing was necessary to support the Porfirian regime, but was risky as it went against prevailing racial theories that held that miscegenation could lead to the degeneration of a race.¹⁷⁰ As the author further observes, ideas about race and

¹⁶⁷ Cubas quoted in Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 35.

¹⁶⁸ Pimentel quoted in Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 36.

¹⁶⁹ Cubas quoted in Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 35.

¹⁷⁰ Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 90-91.

ethnicity in Mexico were constantly adjusted in order to adapt to current political and economic circumstances. Ideas about race and ethnicity, I would suggest, were modified to fit economic circumstances in the United States as well.

E.W. Kemble's "Cactus from Mexico," in *Century*, visibly illustrates this concept of adjusting racial and ethnic ideas to economic circumstances (Fig. 3.3). The illustration accompanied Smalley's comments about Mexico's display of cacti, over which the writer had enthused.¹⁷¹ The image depicts a stout white man dressed in top hat and coat, presumably from the United States, bending forward to light his cigarette from a lit one extended to him by a tall, trim, darker-skinned man, presumably Mexican, as suggested by the serape thrown over his shoulder. Any differences engendered by race, ethnicity or nationality are reconciled in a moment of cooperation. The Mexican supplies the commodity, fire, which the man from the United States needs. The Anglo-American literally bows in acceptance to the darker skinned man who adopts a dignified, erect posture. The distance the white man stands from the Mexican suggests some discomfort with this encounter, but his need for a light overcomes any reluctance he might have about the interaction. Between them, the enormous plant creates a division, an obstacle to overcome. Alternately, however, the plant acts as a unifying element, uniting the two figures in the pictorial space. The article that accompanied the illustration emphasized the enormous thorns characteristic of Mexican cacti, and thus, readers may not have recognized the plant as a cactus. The title of the illustration, "Cactus from Mexico," could appear purposely misleading and hint at underlying "thorny" issues.

The new trade agreement reached between the United States and Mexico and ratified by Congress in March 1884 casts further light on this image. For the keen-eyed and politically astute reader, the white man was probably representative of the New South, and the "Cactus

¹⁷¹ Smalley, "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," 190.

from Mexico,” denoted in the title, is, in reality, the Mexican. In *Origins of the New South*, author C. Vann Woodward claims that when “personified by the cartoonist, it [the New South] was significantly shown with top hat and frock coat.”¹⁷² Although the Anglo-American in “Mexican Silver” is also shown wearing a top hat and coat, the materials are darkly colored versus the colorless coat and hat of the white man in “Cactus from Mexico;” the lighter colored clothing was often associated with the warmer Southern climate. Moreover, the new trade agreement with Mexico seemed to affect the South negatively as it hurt agricultural interests in the region.

In late 1880 the Mexican government announced its intention of terminating an 1831 trade treaty with the United States, and the new one ratified in 1884, ostensibly favored industry and manufacturers in the northern United States, alarming Southern sugar and tobacco growers.¹⁷³ Viewed in this context, the *Century* illustration seems to have presented the white man, representative of the New South, literally bowing to the Mexican who towers over him, and who now ostensibly has the upper hand in the trade of agricultural products such as tobacco. The Mexican’s serape increases his bulk, indicative of his growing economic influence, and his broad stance underscores his burgeoning power. The Mexican stands proudly erect with arms akimbo, in sharp contrast to the representative of the New South who teeters precariously forward to accept the proffered light. The white man’s gaunt, cadaverous face provides a further indication that the New South was suffering irreparable damage from the new trade agreement, and that Mexico had become a thorn in its side, particularly when it came to tobacco.

Yet, this was probably the Northern view of the state of the Southern economy. The illustrator E.W. Kemble was from the North and created this image for a periodical published in

¹⁷² Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 161.

¹⁷³ Smith, *Illusions of Conflict*, 122-23. See also “The Mexican Trade Agreement,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 11 March 1884, 12 March 1884, 28 March 1884, and 29 March 1884.

the Northeast. Despite the trade agreement, the entire South was not suffering. Promoters of the New South had ideas of their own, and were quickly learning that the manufacture of products such as the pre-rolled cigarette and prepackaged pouch tobacco provided the key to new economic growth. Tobacco was the South's oldest staple crop, and the recovery of that agricultural interest, as well as new manufacturing interests, was in full swing by the 1880s.¹⁷⁴

The South revolutionized the manufacture of tobacco products as a result of James A. Bonsack's invention of a cigarette-rolling machine in 1880. Southerners added numerous other technological devices for the packing, bagging, labeling, and the processing of tobacco in the following years. By 1883, Richmond, Virginia's Bull Durham Company was producing five million pounds of smoking tobacco, the majority of which was sold as roll-your own pouch tobacco products. Bull Durham had competition, however, from James Buchanan Duke at W. Duke, Sons, and Co. in Durham, North Carolina. Duke's company was the first to adopt Bonsack's machine to produce the pre-rolled cigarette. Bonsack would not allow Duke a monopoly on the machine, however, but Duke negotiated for a user rate twenty-five percent lower than any of his competitors, and quickly took the lead in the manufacture of cigarettes.¹⁷⁵

With the advent of the new trade agreement with Mexico, the trade of unprocessed leaf tobacco was perhaps not as significant an issue for the New Southerner bowing to his competition in Mexico as might be suggested by Kemble's cartoon (Fig. 3.3). The South was diversifying, and Mexico was cognizant of the fact that the industrialization and diversification of their tobacco interests was important as well. Mexico participated at world's fairs such as that

¹⁷⁴ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 129-130, and Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 106-107. For more information on the growth of the tobacco industry in the South during the postbellum era, see also Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21-31.

¹⁷⁵ Although both North Carolina and Virginia displayed the products of their respective tobacco industries at the New Orleans fair, none of the Northern periodicals mentioned this in their assessment of displays by the Southern states in the Government and States Building.

in New Orleans to learn how other countries were dealing with changing economic markets. Don Eulogio Gillow, Vice President of the Mexican Commission to the New Orleans event and President Diaz's representative at the fair, stated: "The Mexican people still have lessons to learn, and the World's Exposition at New Orleans presents a magnificent opportunity for the study of what had been accomplished by the other nations of the earth in all departments of industry and labor."¹⁷⁶

Mexico, however, was not just interested in learning from other countries, but rather its greater concern was to establish credentials as a modern cultured nation deserving of respect from the international community. For many visitors to the fair the magnificent display of three centuries of Mexican art in the Fine Arts Gallery was a revelation. For Mexico, world's fairs presented an opportunity to display their cultural heritage, which was informed by two centuries of European academic traditions. Moreover, a process of re-envisioning the country's artistic and cultural identity had begun, with Mexican artists striving to create their own national art. The New Orleans *Picayune* proclaimed that "the Mexican art collection, like their general exhibits . . . gives promise of great things in the future."¹⁷⁷

The Mexican National Gallery of Fine Arts, which had close links to the country's school of art, the Academy of San Carlos, contributed fifty-seven paintings from its collection.¹⁷⁸ The art academy was founded in 1785 while Mexico was still under Spanish rule. When Mexico became an independent republic in 1821, the Academy foundered as the newly formed government was unable to provide sufficient funding. President Antonio López de Santa Anna's

¹⁷⁶ Senor Don Eulogio Gillow quoted in "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 2 December 1884.

¹⁷⁷ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

¹⁷⁸ Jean Charlot, *Mexican Art at the Academy of San Carlos, 1785-1915* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1962), 19-20. Charlot's work remains the most comprehensive treatment of the history of the Academy of San Carlos published in the United States.

reorganization of the government in 1843 offered financial support to the art academy, provided that European artists were hired as teachers and directors. The Spanish master Pelegrín Clavé (1810-1880) was hired to teach painting at the Mexican Academy and to serve as its new director. Although originally from Spain, Clavé studied in Rome and admired the work of the Nazarenes he encountered in the city. Under Clavé's leadership the Nazarene's combination of nineteenth-century Roman Classicism and German Romantic naturalism became the primary mode of visual expression at the Academy of San Carlos, a style designated the School of Clavé.

Santa Anna also approached the Academy of San Carlos' then president, José Bernardo Couto, with an expression of interest in creating a national gallery of art.¹⁷⁹ Although intrigued, Couto replied that ironically "the foundation of the Academy of San Carlos had meant the death of Mexican painting" and so was unsure of how he could help.¹⁸⁰ As Raymond Hernández-Durán explains in his 2005 dissertation "Reframing Vice Regal Painting in Nineteenth-century Mexico: Politics, the Academy of San Carlos, and Colonial History," Couto's remarks implied that regional artistic traditions that developed in Mexico following the Spanish conquest were paradoxically terminated with the institution of the Academy of San Carlos, which was modeled on European art academies.¹⁸¹ After Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, the goal of the Academy became the difficult task of retrieving Mexico's past, not as a remnant of Spanish rule, but rather as the newly independent nation's patrimony. Couto accepted the challenge of establishing a National Gallery of Art as part of an overall program to develop a national cultural identity through the arts.

¹⁷⁹ Raymond Hernández-Durán, "Reframing Vice Regal Painting in Nineteenth-century Mexico: Politics, the Academy of San Carlos, and Colonial History," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Department of Art History, June 2005, 3-5, 8. Hernández-Durán's focus is on the Academy of San Carlos's relationship with the development of the National Gallery of Art during the first period of Mexican independence from 1821 to 1862.

¹⁸⁰ Couto quoted in Hernández-Durán, "Reframing Vice-Regal Painting," 8.

¹⁸¹ Hernández-Durán, "Reframing Vice-Regal Painting," 8.

In its fledgling state, Couto organized the art collection for the National Gallery around religious subject matter from the colonial era in an effort to take control of Mexico's past and begin the formation of a cogent national artistic identity.¹⁸² The works were collected primarily from convents and churches willing to donate or sell their best works from the colonial era, and some of the artists were native Mexicans. As Hernández-Durán observes, these religious paintings had the appeal of being clearly recognized as "fine art" by both conservative and liberal Mexicans. Furthermore, although liberals in the newly independent nation were often opposed to the Catholic Church's dominance during the vice regal period, these paintings could be used as representative of the nation's history when removed from their previous religious context. When presented in an art gallery the works were appreciated for aesthetic and/or historical significance rather than for religious reasons.

With the establishment of the National Gallery of Fine Arts, President Santa Anna, with the aide of Couto and Clavé, began the process of defining the art of Mexico by reclaiming the colonial past. Mexico's independence, however, was interrupted. In 1862, France's Napoleon III took over the country and installed the Hapsburg archduke Maximilian as emperor. Ironically, Maximilian was partial to Mexican customs and did not care for the Europeanized art of the School of Clavé.¹⁸³ Maximilian's fascination with Mexico's indigenous Pre-Hispanic peoples inspired artists at the Academy to explore Mexico's pre-conquest history and artistic traditions. Then in May 1867, Emperor Maximilian was disposed and executed. Mexico was once again an independent nation led by President Benito Juárez. According to Staci Widdifield in *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting*, the Academy of San Carlos took on the task of developing a Mexican art that was a synthesis of the nation's pre-

¹⁸² Ibid., see in particular chapter four, "(Re)Collecting the Colonial: Remember the Past/Disremembering the Present," 135-172.

¹⁸³ Charlot, 46.

conquest, colonial, and post-colonial history.¹⁸⁴ The National Gallery of Fine Arts as well as the new government under Juárez supported those efforts.

When Professor Ramon G. Lascurain, then director of the Academy of San Carlos, curated the exhibition of Mexican art for the New Orleans fair, all of the paintings came from the National Gallery and reflected the goal of forming a cohesive national art history. To that end, Lascurain selected paintings for exhibition that covered Mexico's artistic history from the seventeenth century through the nineteenth, beginning with three works representative of the golden age of Baroque painting. As discussed by Justin Fernández, in *A Guide to Mexican Art*, the styles of the three artists that created these paintings were representative of the variety of formal devices that characterize Baroque art: reliance on the diagonal, tenebrism, theatricality, and something which approaches what the author calls the "ultra-baroque" via a multiplicity of forms.¹⁸⁵

Baltasar de Echave Orio (1558-1620) was represented by *The Adoration of the Infant Jesus* (Fig. 3.4). Echave Orio was the first of three generations of well-known Mexican artists and thus helped establish art as a family tradition in Mexico's colonial period according to Fernández.¹⁸⁶ The author notes that Echave Orio's work was noted for his use of rich, pure color, emphasis on diagonals that sweep through the principal figures creating compositional unity and the simple dignity of those figures, as exemplified in *The Adoration of the Infant Jesus*. The New

¹⁸⁴ Stacie G. Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 1-13, 32-35, 44-46. Widdifield is primarily concerned with the period after 1867 when Mexico attained independence from Europe once again. She does, however, provide a valuable assessment of artistic activity at the Academy from 1862 through 1867 while Mexico was under French control.

¹⁸⁵ Justino Fernández, *A Guide to Mexican Art: From its Beginnings to the Present*, trans. Joshua C. Taylor (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 101-102.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

Orleans *Times-Democrat* lauded the work for its “richness of color,” the “dignity of the Kings” and the “infinite tenderness, infinite purity” of Mary’s face.¹⁸⁷

For the *Times-Democrat*, however, the best painting from the seventeenth century was *St. Thomas Examining the Wounds of Christ*, by Sebastian López de Arteaga (active seventeenth century) (Fig. 3.5). The *Times-Democrat* opined that “a rendering of our Lord can only at best reveal to us a Godlike human form so when the artist discovered to us in this countenance a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief he did all that any man may.”¹⁸⁸ The expressive quality of Arteaga’s work, particularly his use of tenebrism to underscore emotional response, singled him out from his contemporaries. Originally from Seville, he trained in an environment in which tenebrism was at the heart of the Spanish school.¹⁸⁹

The Apparition of the Virgin to St. Francis by José Juárez (1619-1662) was the third painting selected as representative of artistic production in Mexico during the seventeenth century (Fig. 3.6). Juárez’s artistic output, according to Fernández, was known to be uneven, yet at its best it possessed the theatricality, accentuated chiaroscuro, and an excess of figures that characterized the ultra-baroque.¹⁹⁰ *The Apparition of the Virgin* meets the description of his best work, but the *Times-Democrat* overlooked this painting. Even in a city that was predominately Catholic, the supernatural quality of the heavenly choir of angels depicted by Juárez seemed to have no appeal to the reviewer. The *Times-Democrat*’s critic appears to have preferred more naturalistic representation of divinity that focused on Christ’s human suffering; this feature of the Baroque tended to elicit an empathetic response from the viewer.

¹⁸⁷ “Art in the Galleries,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 February 1885.

¹⁸⁸ “Art in the Galleries,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 February 1885.

¹⁸⁹ Fernández, *A Guide to Mexican Art*, 105.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.

Oddly the *Times-Democrat* critic quickly moved on to the nineteenth century after reviewing the above-mentioned works, although there were at least six works from the eighteenth century present. Prefacing the remarks on the seventeenth-century paintings, the critic observed that the works provided the viewer with an awareness of “the earliest epoch of Mexican” painting, and the fact that the country had an art academy that was “the earliest on this side of the great waters.”¹⁹¹ The goal of the *Times-Democrat* in reviewing the seventeenth-century paintings was, in effect, to draw attention to Mexico’s long-standing artistic traditions, as well as its art academy. A similar approach was followed by the *Times-Picayune*, although they chose to review the seventeenth-century paintings as a unit, praising their “rich coloring” and the “atmosphere of holy zeal in which they were conceived.”¹⁹² These comments were preceded by the statement that “the country had a school of painting in the seventeenth century before there was even a white settlement in Massachusetts.”¹⁹³ Although not explicitly stated in their introductory comments, both New Orleans dailies underscored the lack of long-standing fine arts traditions in the United States, especially a national art academy since the National Academy of Design (NAD) was not founded until 1825 and did not receive government support. In their reviews of several nineteenth-century Mexican paintings, however, the New Orleans dailies seemed to undermine their initial laudatory remarks.

In *The Holy Family*, 1857 by Rafael Flores (active second half of the nineteenth century), the New Orleanian critics drew connections between artistic production in Mexico from the seventeenth century to that in the nineteenth century (Fig. 3.7). As a student and follower of Clavé, Flores personified what was perceived by scholars as the “conservative” academic in

¹⁹¹ “Art in the Galleries,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 February 1885.

¹⁹² “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

terms of both subject matter and aesthetic concerns.¹⁹⁴ The *Times-Democrat* reported that the painting was held in “very high esteem” by Mexicans and then proceeded to opine that the painting was not appealing, as it was “full of heavy and short-limbed figures.”¹⁹⁵ This opinion appears to take issue with Mexican taste in contemporary art. Where the reviewer learned that the work was well regarded in Mexico is not divulged, but appears to be true. In recent years, historians of Mexican art Fausto Ramírez and Angélica Velázquez Guadarrama have attempted to discern why Flores’s *The Holy Family* was so revered during the late nineteenth century in Mexico.¹⁹⁶ They concluded that it proved popular as the embodiment of family and religious values, and was a politically partisan painting that supported a conservative national agenda. Widdifield expands on this interpretation and argues that the painting is more about gender roles than partisan politics, which gave it appeal to both conservatives and liberals.¹⁹⁷

Widdifield, as well as Ramírez and Guadarrama, examine the formal properties of the painting, and they all concluded that *The Holy Family* affirms patriarchy through the positioning of Joseph as the head of the family at the apex of a pyramidal composition. Moreover, gender roles are reinforced by Mary’s seated subservient position with darning yarn placed in her lap. The young Jesus offers a cross to Joseph indicating he will follow in his mortal father’s occupation as carpenter, which also creates a connection to his immortal heavenly father and the coming sacrifice. Although Mary performs a domestic task such as sewing, in the basket at her feet are bits of cloth that match the Mexican tricolor: red, white, and green. The mother thus emerges as the individual that creates the fabric of the nation. Ramírez and Guadarrama note this could not happen unless proper gender roles were maintained in the domestic sphere and find

¹⁹⁴ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 149.

¹⁹⁵ “Art in the Galleries,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 19 February 1885.

¹⁹⁶ Fausto Ramírez and Angelica Velazquez Guadarrama, “Lo circunstancial, trascendido: dos respuestas pictóricas a la constitución de 1857,” *Memoria del Museo Nacional de Arte*, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1990): 5-29.

¹⁹⁷ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 52-55, 149-152.

this patriarchal system was part of the conservative agenda, which religious art such as *The Holy Family* could help support.¹⁹⁸

Widdifield observes that indeed a woman's access to the political arena in nineteenth-century Mexico was limited to her influence in the household, but this was where "both conservative and liberal women were expected to govern."¹⁹⁹ For Widdifield, women were locked into the patriarchal structure depicted in *The Holy Family*. She notes that so-called "liberal" and "liberating" reforms of the 1850s through the 1870s in Mexico were designed to strengthen the rights of married women with regard to their children and their homes, but these new laws only reaffirmed conservative ideologies that matrimony and motherhood were the only proper roles for "decent" women.²⁰⁰ Despite its religious subject matter, that some liberals in Mexico eschewed, Widdifield contends that *The Holy Family* supported preconceived notions of appropriate gender roles that were embraced by both conservatives and liberals, and thus the painting proved popular in Mexico.

Widdifield agrees with Ramírez and Guadarrama that in depicting the Virgin with the tricolor at her feet, Flores equated her with the nation. Widdifield admits, however, that the symbol of the nation as a light-skinned Virgin was problematic, particularly for liberals.²⁰¹ Flores's *Virgin* would not be confused by any Mexican with the darker skinned Virgin of Guadalupe, who was more commonly associated with an independent Mexico and a liberal agenda. An example of the dark-skinned Virgin can be seen in Miguel Cabrera's *Virgin of Guadalupe*, 1766, which is typical of such depictions, as demonstrated by her darker skin tones, jet-black hair, and traditional blue cloak embellished with stars suggesting the mantle of heaven

¹⁹⁸ Ramírez and Guadarrama, "Lo circunstancial," 28-29.

¹⁹⁹ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 152.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 158-59.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 138, 149-50.

(Fig. 3.8). According to legend, the Virgin of Guadalupe miraculously appeared to the recently converted Indian Juan Diego in 1532, and is generally represented as a dark-skinned mestiza.²⁰² The Virgin of Guadalupe became associated with mestizos and Indians during Mexico's first bid for independence from Spain in 1810. As Widdifield notes, the political "face of the nation," whether liberal or conservative, was becoming increasingly Indian and mestizo in the latter part of the nineteenth century; Benito Juarez was an Indian who led the nation from 1855 to 1872, and Porfirio Diaz, a mestizo who was in power from 1875 to 1911.²⁰³ Thus, in equating the fair skinned Virgin with the nation in *The Holy Family*, Flores denied the country's racial identity. According to Widdifield, attempts were being made by Mexican artists, particularly those associated with the conservative Europeanized School of Clavé such as Flores, to literally change the color of the nation. Those efforts, however, would not go unchallenged, as we will see after examining one more painting created by the followers of Clavé.

Felix Parra's *An Episode from the Conquest*, AKA *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, 1875 (Fig. 3.9) was perhaps the most talked about painting presented by Mexico at the New Orleans fair. Parra (1845-1919) was part of the second generation of the School of Clavé at the Academy of San Carlos, a group that exaggerated the emotive and sentimental aspects of Clavé's style.²⁰⁴ The more strikingly expressive and overtly theatrical features of Parra's work found a receptive audience in New Orleans according to the *Picayune*, which stated that the painting attracted much attention as it was "conceived with a high sense of majesty and is painted with great truth

²⁰² On December 9, 1532, an Indian named Juan Diego climbed the hill of Tepeyac outside Mexico City, and on the exact spot where the Aztecs had built their temple to Tonatzin, the goddess of fertility, Diego claimed the Virgin Mary appeared to him. Diego reported his vision to a priest who asked for proof. On December 12th the Virgin appeared to Juan Diego again and instructed him to gather Castilian roses and place them in his cloak, then present the roses to the priest. When Diego opened the cloak in front of the priest, the image of the Virgin appeared on the garment. A small church was built on the site of his vision, and remained a popular place of pilgrimage. For more information on the Aztec presence in the Valley of Mexico, and the Virgin of Guadalupe see Meyer, Sherman and Deeds, *Mexican History*, 51-58, 160-164.

²⁰³ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 143-145.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

and feeling.”²⁰⁵ For the *Times-Democrat* it was a “picture worthy of long and repeated study.”²⁰⁶ The newspapers reviewed the painting thrice, the hyperbole escalating with each critique.

The violence suggested in Parra’s painting was the focus of the *Times-Democrat*’s review which contained a vivid description of “the dead body of the Indian victim . . . the hideous blood flowing from a wound in the head, as it courses in its crimson track through the grooves and patterns of the stone work on the steps.”²⁰⁷ The reviewer further observed that the “conquerors of Mexico won for themselves a melancholy celebrity as much for their cruelties to the native Indians as by the brilliancy of their exploits.”²⁰⁸ These last comments are remarkable considering the violent history of relations between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans in the United States. Yet, as Widdifield suggests, Parra’s painting served a cathartic function for viewers in Mexico.²⁰⁹ Although she does not address the reception of the painting in the United States, it may have served a similar function here as well.

An Episode from the Conquest depicts the Spanish Dominican missionary Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1576) who defended the Amerindian population in Mexico against abuses wrought by his countrymen. Parra based the painting on Las Casas’s often critical chronicles of the Spanish conquest in the Americas. Las Casas wrote *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* in 1542 and dedicated it to King Philip II of Spain.²¹⁰ The book was intended to inform the Spanish monarch of the atrocities that Las Casas witnessed Spanish officials commit in Cuba and Mexico. The missionary warned that if the brutality against the Indians continued, God would punish Spain. The book was quickly translated into every major European language and

²⁰⁵ “World’s Exposition,” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

²⁰⁶ “Art in the Galleries,” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 17 February 1885.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 105-108.

²¹⁰ From the introduction by Anthony Pagden to Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, translated and edited by Nigel Griffin (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), xiii-xl.

seared into the European consciousness an image of the barbarity of the Spanish conquest in the Americas. Las Casas followed *A Short Account* with the *History of the Indies* and the *Apologetic History of the Indies* in 1559, but stipulated that neither be published until forty years after his death. By the 1590s, however, no one in Spain was willing to publish the two texts and they did not appear in print until 1875.

The Spanish conquest was a topical issue in Mexico during the nineteenth century, according to Widdifield.²¹¹ To support her contention, she points to the re-publication of a number of primary sources from the sixteenth century by European writers, such as Las Casas's *Short Account* and the popularity of his recently published *History of the Indies* and *Apologetic History*. Widdifield asserts that although many in Mexico were uncomfortable with the violence of the conquest, most viewed the conversion of indigenous people to Christianity as a positive outcome. Moreover, the author notes nearly three centuries had elapsed since the violent incursion of the Spanish into the Americas. When *An Episode from the Conquest* was shown at Mexico's Academy of San Carlos in 1875, it did generate some controversy, but critic Felipe López López argued that its depiction of the brutality of the conquest was redeemed by its evocation of "the seed of Christian charity."²¹² Thus, the painting, Widdifield contends, "provided a public opportunity to redeem the conquest."²¹³ The same motivation could be seen in the decision of the Mexican government to present the work at the New Orleans exposition and in its reception there.

The Anglo-American viewer in the United States might have found a parallel to their country's treatment of indigenous people and this was a topical issue. The 1880s was the era of

²¹¹ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 105-108.

²¹² Felipe López López, "Exposición de la academia nacional de San Carlos," *El Federalista*, 10 January 1876, quoted in Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 107.

²¹³ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 105-108.

assimilating Native Americans into white culture in the United States. How these assimilation policies played out will be discussed further in chapters four and five, but the complexity of the “Indian question” deserves discussion here, as violence against Native peoples, such as that depicted in Parra’s painting, were as much a part of the history of the United States as Mexico’s. Massacres of Native Americans in the States, however, were not events from the distant past, and these contemporary atrocities were not conducted by a “foreign” culture.

Just five years before the New Orleans exposition, in 1879, a group of one hundred and fifty Cheyenne Indians, men, women and children, trying to escape from confinement at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, were massacred.²¹⁴ The Cheyenne had been imprisoned there after they had fled from their reservation in Oklahoma and attempted to return to their lands on the Great Plains. The incident was the culmination of the bloody Plains Wars that raged from 1850 to 1880 as the United States cavalry forced Plains tribes onto reservations and exterminated the buffalo upon which they depended. The reactions of white Americans to the Fort Robinson massacre were mixed. Some individuals still believed that the Indian question was best answered by removal from their lands to the reservation, and the story quickly faded from the news. Nevertheless, some Anglo-Americans were outraged by the massacre and disapproved of current government policies that they saw as contributing to the bloodshed at Fort Robinson.

By 1880 efforts were underway to assimilate Indians into white society by dismantling the reservation system and more “enlightened” government policies were taking shape. As historian Frederick E. Hoxie had deemed it, “a final promise,” was made to Native Americans: a promise of education, potential citizenship and what was called an “allotment” system versus the

²¹⁴ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984, 2001) see chapter one “The Appeal for Assimilation,” for the events of the Plains wars, including the defeat of Lt. Col. George A. Custer at the Battle of Little Big Horn, that led up to the Fort Robinson massacre. Hoxie also discusses reaction to the massacre and background on the groups calling for new policies to assimilate the Indians, 1-39.

old reservation system.²¹⁵ In the new land distribution scheme, individual Indians were given forty to sixty acres of land to homestead. The goal was to break up the reservation system and thus tribal affiliations, which would force Native peoples to adapt to white society. The education of Native American children would remove them from their tribes to schools run by whites, to break down their tribal affiliations and teach them to become members of white society. Gradually, as Indians assimilated to white culture, they would be granted citizenship.²¹⁶

In light of these efforts to take a more peaceable approach to relations between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans, reaction to Parra's *An Episode from the Conquest* in the New Orleans press takes on added complexity. The violence implied in Parra's painting underscored the need for more tolerant policies on the part of the United States towards its Native American peoples. The country had undertaken such efforts and attitudes towards Native Americans were changing. There was still, however, the United States' past treatment of Native Americans to be dealt with and Parra's painting could possibly perform the same cathartic function in the States as Widdifield contends the work did in Mexico. But the almost obsessive interest in the violence depicted in Parra's *An Episode from the Conquest* as related in the New Orleans dailies reviews, was perhaps not an entirely positive cathartic response, but rather an effort to recall the stereotype of Mexico as a volatile and barbaric nation.

²¹⁵ Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, see chapter two, "The Campaign Begins," for the initial attempts to dismantle the reservation system, the establishment of schools for Native American children and new government policies, 40-81. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act, which allotted 40 to 60 acres of land to individual Indians, but it was held in trust by the government until the native owners could manage the land themselves. The new policy made land Anglo-Americans wanted in the West available to them, while simultaneously decreasing the amount of land available to Native Americans.

²¹⁶ Not all Native Americans submitted to these new policies. In late May 1885, just as the New Orleans exposition prepared to close, the Apache Geronimo led a band of fighters in New Mexico and engaged in a guerilla war with the United States cavalry. The story of Geronimo's war made front page news throughout the United States. The United States cavalry did not capture Geronimo until 1886. Boyer, *American History*, 380. As will be discussed in chapter four, Native peoples found less violent ways to oppose efforts at assimilation as well.

Although Parra was among the followers of Clavé, his work indicates that even Mexico's more conservative artists were attempting to come to terms with their country's troubled history. As artists at the Academy increasingly presented challenges to the School of Clavé's dominance, the struggle would take new form. One direction that artists could follow was to look back to the pre-conquest era for inspiration, and another to remain firmly in the present. *Portrait of Two Young Mexican Sculptors*, 1847 by Juan Cordero (1822-1884) represents the latter (Fig. 3.10).

Cordero was the son of a Spanish trader and his Indian wife, and as a boy he worked as a peddler to earn money to attend the Academy of San Carlos.²¹⁷ Cordero attended the Academy during a period of great change, after Mexico had won independence from Spain, but before Santa Anna provided funding for the Academy and Clavé took over as director of painting. The Academy foundered monetarily during this period, but artists experienced a freedom they had not previously known. From 1824 through 1843 there were the first stirrings of a national art, one less reliant on religious imagery and one that took a greater interest in Mexico's pre-conquest history and people. It was during the late 1830s that Cordero attended the Academy, as artists at the school explored new themes and subject matter.

Upon completing his training at the Academy, Cordero went back to working as a peddler to earn the money to continue his training in Rome.²¹⁸ In 1845 Cordero traveled to Europe to complete his artistic training at Rome's Academy of St. Luke. He returned to Mexico in 1853, where he was elected sub-director of painting at the Academy of San Carlos, a position he refused because he would not serve under then director of painting, the Spaniard Clavé. For Cordero, a Mexican art academy should have a Mexican director. Having assumed the directorship at the Academy in 1843, Clavé was perceived by some as attempting to return the

²¹⁷ Charlot, *Mexican Art*, 20-36, 68-84.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 102-114.

institution to colonial, and more overtly, European artistic traditions. As previously discussed Clavé in concert with Couto were attempting to reclaim the colonial past as part of Mexico's heritage.

Nonetheless, this was not how some artists, particularly Cordero, interpreted their efforts. Despite his European training, the Mexican-born mestizo Cordero wanted to promote the development of a purer Mexican art, less reliant on colonial subject matter and European traditions.²¹⁹ Cordero pursued his artistic career independently from the Academy and managed to support himself by creating portraits and murals. The rule of Emperor Maximilian, who disliked the School of Clavé, led to an increased interest among artists at the Academy of San Carlos in pre-colonial art and subject matter and this interest lingered even with the return of the nationalists under Juárez so that some of Cordero's work was deemed acceptable to the Academy by the early 1870s.

Although Cordero's *Two Young Mexican Sculptors* does not portray the pre-colonial period, it can be read as a reaction against the Europeanization of Mexican art under Clavé (Fig. 3.10). Cordero portrays two dark-skinned young artists at work on what appears to be a classically inspired bust suggestive of their admiration for European culture, but the title of the painting clearly indicates they are Mexican. The work presents Mexico as a country that takes the fine arts seriously, as well as a nation that trained its young people to admire European culture. Thus, the painting was acceptable to the Porfirian government and shown at the New Orleans fair.²²⁰ But as the one young sculptor caresses the bust, he effectively covers what is presumably its European visage, while the other young man meets the eyes of the viewer with an oddly unsettling gaze. Considering Cordero's own interest in pursuing a purely Mexican art, the

²¹⁹ Ibid., 132-134.

²²⁰ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 85-86.

work is perhaps a form of self-portraiture representative of his own complex relationship with European culture and his mestizo identity.²²¹

The two young mestizo sculptors have been identified as Tomás Pérez and Felipe Valero, who entered the Academy of San Carlos in 1843 just as Clavé had assumed directorship.²²² Funds were made available for them to continue their training in Rome where they met Cordero. The sculptural bust they are working on has been recognized as representing Homer, and according to Esther Acevedo in *Catálogo Comentado del Acervo del Museo Nacional de Arte*, the gesture of the artist covering the face of the bust denotes Homer's status as that of a blind man.²²³ The idea of touch, important for both the blind man and the sculptor, becomes of primary significance; indeed Pérez's hand occupies the central position in the composition. Metaphorical associations can also be made to the poet's blindness suggestive of an interior vision that guides the artist.

Despite Acevedo's reading, there is something disquieting in the manner in which Cordero utilizes the sculptor's hand to cover the entire face of the bust as if attempting to eliminate European influences and assert the controlling hand of the dark-skinned Mexican sculptors. Moreover, the sculptor on the right, who gazes so intently at the viewer, rises up and towers over the sculpture that he and his fellow artist have created to underscore their efforts to affirm their dominance. Both sculptors are depicted donning smocks with embroidered collars and the sculptor on the right wears a scarf with a decorative, geometric motif. Cordero's

²²¹ Or at least that is how I would interpret the image based upon the work of Charlot and Widdifield who have both suggested Cordero sometimes created works as a form of self-portraiture, although neither discuss this painting. In 1946 Charlot proposed that Cordero inserted a self-portrait of himself as one of the Amerindians in his *Columbus Before the Catholic Sovereigns*, 1850 and Widdifield explored this idea further in her work. Jean Charlot, "Juan Cordero: A Nineteenth-Century Mexican Muralist," *Art Bulletin* 28, no. 4 (1946), 251, and Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 85-90.

²²² Esther Acevedo in James Cuadriello and Esther Acevedo, *Catálogo Comentado del Acervo del Museo Nacional de Arte* (Mexico City: Museum Nacional de Arte, 1999), 2:134.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 2:135-36.

attention to these details in apparel is also perhaps a reference to indigenous textile arts.

European artists typically wore plain artist's smocks while at work, or clothing clearly identifiable as European, thus the Mexican sculptors' clothing presents a subtle challenge to European tradition by providing an indication of their Mexican identity.

Mexico's Francisco Zarco, a prominent nineteenth-century mestizo journalist, saw in works by Cordero an artist intent on celebrating the "glory of his country," adding that his work was a testament to the fact that "Mexicans have double the intelligence" of Europeans who "persist in believing our race inferior to the rest of humanity."²²⁴ In Zarco's mind, Europeans still believed they had given Mexico its civilization and culture, and clung to the notion that Mexicans were inferior. If Cordero and other Mexican artists were to succeed as artists, they had to prove themselves equal to Europeans. European artistic traditions had to be learned, practiced, excelled at, and then transformed into images that could celebrate Mexico as something apart from Europe. That would take double the effort, double the intelligence, as Zarco stated. Cordero doubles the figures in *Two Young Mexican Sculptors*, as if it will take the efforts of both to create the desired transformation from European culture to one that was Mexican and thus validate Cordero's own national, racial, and cultural identity.

Although Cordero remained rooted in the present, mestizo landscape painter Juan Maria Velasco (1840-1912) would turn to a study of Mexico's pre-conquest societies to exemplify the new strains of indigenous nationalism arising in Mexican art, but he would not avoid the present. Velasco created fourteen versions of the *Valley of Mexico*, in addition to the original of 1875, the painting that was presented at the New Orleans fair (Fig. 3.11).²²⁵ In the immediate foreground a

²²⁴ Francisco Zarco, "D. Juan Cordero," *La Ilustracion Mexicana* 1 (1851), 137-143, quoted in Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*, 86.

²²⁵ Fausto Ramírez introduction to María Elena Altamirón Piolle, *National Homage José María Velasco* (Mexico City: Amigos del Museo Nacional de Arte, 1993), 26-32.

colorfully dressed dark-skinned Mexican woman and a small boy wearing a sombrero wind their way up a rock strewn path; their diminutive figures help to establish a sense of scale for the vast valley that stretches out behind them. At the end of a great causeway is Mexico City barely visible in the distance, and on the horizon to its left appear Texacoco Lake and the volcanoes Iztaccíhuatl and Popocatepetl.²²⁶ Far to the right of the city, a steam train, a symbol of modernity, belches forth smoke.

Velasco was a student of Eugenio Landesio (1810-1879), an Italian master recommended by Clavé, who was brought to Mexico from Italy in 1855 to teach landscape painting at the Academy of San Carlos.²²⁷ Although European himself, Landesio was not strictly regarded as a follower of the School of Clavé. He delighted in Mexico and its history, as well as the challenges the new environment presented to a landscapist. Landesio created many paintings depicting the Valley of Mexico because the monumental aspect of the region and its history impressed him, an appreciation he passed onto Velasco. In addition to his studies at the Academy of San Carlos with Landesio, Velasco enrolled at Mexico City's Academy of Science to study botany, physics, and zoology. During this time Landesio encouraged Velasco to go on excursions into the countryside. For three weeks in 1865 Velasco traveled from Mexico City to Peña Encantada through Tepotzotlán and Coatlinchán. Velasco took notes, both textual and pictorial, on the topography, the ruins of pre-conquest civilizations he encountered, as well as the dress of the indigenous people he met. His visual and written record of the trip was looked upon so favorably by Landesio and other teachers at the Academy of San Carlos that he was given financial support to make a trip to the recently discovered ruins at Huauchinago and then onto the great pyramids of

²²⁶ Piolle, *Homage to Velasco*, 233.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-62, 124-133.

Teotihuacán. All of these factors contributed to Velasco's conception of landscape painting, and found expression in his numerous depictions of the Valley of Mexico.

Velasco was most likely drawn to the area's ancient historical and religious associations. The vantage point for the 1875 version of the *Valley of Mexico* is the slope of the hill known as Santa Isabel, opposite the mountains called Cerro de Guerrero roll gently down to the Valley of Mexico.²²⁸ Although the causeway leads the viewer's eye to Mexico City and onto the Cerro de Guerrero, a small village represented at the base of Santa Isabel is Villa de Guadalupe, where Velasco moved in 1874. The cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe began in this area, and she became a substitute for the Aztec goddess Tonatzin. Thus, Velasco's painting indirectly alludes to the dark-skinned Madonna revered by Indians and mestizos, the Virgin that for Mexico's more liberal nationalists was the rightful symbol of the nation. Velasco's painting takes the viewer on a journey through Mexico's history from the region's present residents in the foreground, to the small village where he currently resided and its associations to an Aztec goddess and the Virgin of Guadalupe. Moving into the far distance the metropolis of Mexico City sits framed by the volcanic mountains, symbols of the natural forces that created the landscape. Cradled in the valley is the Vera Cruz railway's steam engine to remind the viewer of the human forces that were currently transforming the region. Velasco skillfully creates a synthesis of eons of geological and historical time as well as the region's diverse cultures and peoples into an epic panorama.

Through its display of country's artistic heritage the Mexican government attempted to create a panoramic view of the nation's cultural history, an important step in promoting Mexico as a culturally sophisticated country. The nation had begun a process of reclaiming its colonial

²²⁸ Ibid., 185-187, 213-214, 233.

past through the acquisition of religious paintings from the seventeenth-century for inclusion in its National Gallery of Art. The subsequent display of those works at international world's fairs, such as the one in New Orleans, provided further confirmation of that reclamation as they provided examples of Mexico's rich cultural heritage. Nineteenth-century Mexican artists, such as Felix Parra, were also reclaiming the colonial past by depicting traumatic events from that era, which seemingly provided a catharsis that allowed the country to come to terms with its troubled past. Nonetheless, contemporary Mexican artists struggled with the complexities of their nation's racial identity, something artists in the United States would wrestle with as well, which will be discussed in the next two chapters.

In addition to the cultural agenda of the Mexican government, there was a commercial agenda as well. Eager to attract potential investors to support continued industrial growth in the country, the Mexican government provided funding for all of its exhibitors. The United States' economic management of its world's fairs entries, on the other hand, was dependent on private individuals and organizations for funding. Although Congress approved loans for the New Orleans fair, it was barely enough to pay for the buildings and the grounds. Funding would be a challenge for individual states if they were to display the best of their agricultural products, manufactured goods, and technological advances in the Government and States building; how they dealt with this and responded to one another's entries is also the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMMERCIAL AGENDA OF THE UNITED STATES

Upon entering the United States Government and States building, the visitor looked down broad aisles and saw a continuous display of the nation's natural resources and manufactured goods. The main exhibits of the United States government covered 150,000 square feet in the center of the hall and the various state displays flanked either side.²²⁹ Smalley declared in *Century* magazine that the Government and States Building "far surpasses [that of] the Philadelphia Centennial."²³⁰ "Indeed," the writer crowed, "there has never before been shown under one roof the products of the mines, fields, orchards, and forest of all our American commonwealths." The concept of having every state display its products in one building was praised by Bruce in *Lippincott's* as well, who stated that "the grounds" were "not crowded by the edifices of each and every State [as at the Philadelphia Centennial] — here each State being assigned space in the American pavilion."²³¹ In fact, at the Philadelphia Centennial only seventeen states had their own separate buildings.²³² Many visitors to the New Orleans exposition, who had attended the Centennial, also reported on the convenience of seeing everything under one roof.²³³ Bruce went on to explain that although "one of the great purposes

²²⁹ Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 30.

²³⁰ Smalley "New Orleans Exposition," 6.

²³¹ Bruce, "New Orleans Exposition," 277.

²³² Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 11. Rosenbaum notes that sources are inconsistent concerning the number of state buildings at the Philadelphia Centennial. Although Rydell notes that there were seventeen, James D. McCabe's *The Illustrated History of the Centennial* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1876) lists twenty-two. Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, fn22, 177.

²³³ "The Exposition," *Shreveport Daily Times*, 13 January 1885; "The Exposition," *Americus Recorder*, 20 February 1885; "The Exposition," *Alexandria Daily Town Talk*, 11 April 1885; and McCready, *Visit of the Merchants and Manufacturers of Philadelphia*, # 3/4, 47-48.

of an Exposition is, doubtless, to show the best that each State can display . . . [the value of such] displays lies in comparison and the search of future possibilities.”²³⁴

As Herbert S. Fairall pointed out in his official report on the exposition, each state had to find funding for their displays and “only a few Legislatures provided the means” thus crippling the efforts of their citizens.²³⁵ Fearful of failure due to lack of funding from their own state governments, commissioners from all thirty-eight states banded together and managed to raise more than 3 million dollars from private subscriptions.²³⁶ It was a remarkable show of unity and ensured that every state that wanted to be included at the fair would have some funding. Although it was still up to each state to raise additional monies as needed for the creation of its own displays and decide what would represent them to best advantage.

The disparity among state displays, as reported upon by the press, seems most apparent along the Mason-Dixon Line, and we began to glimpse how the states’ commercial agendas could vary. Much commented on in the popular Eastern-based periodicals, such as *Lippincott’s*, *Century*, and the *Chautauquan*, were the South’s lack of progress in manufacturing and the diversification of its industries in comparison to the East and West. Mallalieu, in the *Chautauquan*, took the subtlest approach to the subject. He noted that Connecticut’s “fine show of her thread manufactures . . . the whole process from preparing the raw cotton to selling the thread in spools” would prompt Southerners to start asking questions.²³⁷ “As they see the thread making and, close beside it, the weaving of cotton cloth,” the author foresaw Southerners asking, “why should we send the cotton we raise to the North? Why have them make it into thread and

²³⁴ Bruce, “New Orleans Exposition,” 279.

²³⁵ Fairall, *World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 30.

²³⁶ Fairall, *World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 11.

²³⁷ Mallalieu, “The New Orleans World’s Exposition,” 340.

cloth then bring it back?” Mallalieu suggested that soon “we may expect to find them making their own cloth and thread where the cotton is grown.”

For *Lippincott's* Bruce, such industrial progress was neither happening quickly enough in the South nor was the region diversifying its economic base. Bruce reported that New Jersey “guards well her manufacturing eminence . . . her section of the Exposition alone comprises an exhibit which, in variety, range, and economic value has never been equaled,” and that “the spinning and weaving of silk remains the most distinctive feature of her manufactures.”²³⁸

Bruce then noted that the South was “developing a silk industry of a sort” and was “fortunate in finding that she has new fields to explore” if she followed New Jersey’s example. Bruce expanded upon this observation in his review of Mississippi’s exhibit, which was conveniently adjacent to New Jersey’s. The focal point of Mississippi’s display was a “canopy of fleecy cotton . . . a white dove upon the summit represents peace . . . but there is too much peace . . . Mississippi should be stirred into forgetting cotton for a while and accept the idea that the nation expects other things from her . . . she can do better than put all her eggs in the cotton basket.”

Mississippi, it should be noted, had a silk display that some found equal to New Jersey’s, with silk in every shape from the cocoons to the manufactured article, as well as tobacco and rice.²³⁹ Mississippi’s exhibits, however, did pale in comparison to New Jersey’s, which included not only the products of silk manufacturing, but also those from their timber industry, iron production, and agriculture products such as corn, flax, tobacco, apples, pears, quinces, fifty varieties of potatoes, ten varieties of cranberries, as well as artificial fertilizers and farming implements manufactured in the state, all ample evidence of the diverse economy of this diminutive state.

²³⁸ Bruce, “The New Orleans Exposition,” 280.

²³⁹ Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 192.

Eugene Smalley of *Century* magazine, however, pointed out that Mississippi's "Cotton Pavilion" declared "her fidelity to the old traditions of Southern agriculture," and that one saw "little evidence" of the development of other manufacturing industries in the Southern state (Fig. 4.1).²⁴⁰ Louisiana's display at the fair prompted Smalley to express similar concerns, such as the long-term effects of slavery on the region. Louisiana presented a "trophy of sugar-cane" at the fair and according to Smalley the sugar industry it represented remained "one of the pillars of the whole industrial and social culture of the South . . . in ante-bellum (sic) times the sugar planters were the flower of slave-holding aristocracy." The link between sugar and slavery is clearly stated and the same associations were made between cotton and slavery as evidenced by Smalley's comments about Mississippi's fidelity to the "old traditions of Southern agriculture." Curiously, the illustration entitled "Sugar-Cane and Rice-House" which accompanied Smalley's article features a pavilion clearly labeled rice (Fig. 4.2). The illustration and its title suggest that Louisiana had a slightly more diverse economy based upon sugar and rice, but Smalley does not address rice production in the state. Slaves, however, also worked the rice plantations of Louisiana during the antebellum era.

The illustration "Sugar-Cane and Rice-House" (Fig. 4.2) features two Caucasian men with long beards and broad-brimmed hats: one strides proudly in front of the pavilion, and the other in the immediate foreground gazes out confrontationally at the viewer. They appear to represent the two scions of the old slave-holding aristocracy in Louisiana, rice and sugar. They are both representative of the Old South that Smalley alludes to in his article, a region that cannot give up its agrarian past in favor of industrialization. The Sugar Cane and Rice House and Mississippi's Cotton Pavilion (Fig. 4.1), suggest that not only were Southerners reluctant to give

²⁴⁰ Smalley, "New Orleans Exposition," 13.

up their previous agrarian lifestyle, but they also wanted to memorialize these agricultural traditions.

The ancient Roman writer on architecture Vitruvius (c. 80-15 BCE) suggested that the rustic hut, such as the one seen in the illustrations, were the first steps in the evolution of architecture to the Greek Doric temple.²⁴¹ The logs raised perpendicularly to create the hut became columns, the horizontal pieces of wood used to support the roof evolved into lintels. The sloping pieces of thatch used in the roof were the origin of the triangular pediment. The reconstruction of rustic huts by both Mississippi and Louisiana for their displays suggests one of the most rudimentary, some would say primitive, styles of architecture, which would support Smalley's contention that the South was backward, but it also evinces an awareness of architectural historicism.²⁴²

Vitruvius's ideas were revived and expanded upon during the Renaissance by Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) in his *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, and then resurrected again during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁴³ In 1755 Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier published his *Essai sur l'architecture* that featured a frontispiece that recreated Vitruvius's hut (Fig. 4.3). Laugier argued that such primitive structures were inspirational as they represented a time when life was simple and humanity lived in harmony with the natural world, a golden age. Laugier was not an architect, however, but a Jesuit priest and he saw a similar purity of form in the Gothic cathedral. A process of connecting Vitruvius's rustic huts to the pagan temples of antiquity and then onto Christian religious structures emerged and dominated European thought well into the nineteenth century. The modest structures used to display Louisiana's sugar cane

²⁴¹ David Irwin, *Neoclassicism* (London: Phaidon, 1997), 73-74.

²⁴² I would like to thank Dr. Asen Kirin for calling my attention to the correspondence between the Vitruvian hut and Mississippi and Louisiana's displays.

²⁴³ Irwin, *Neoclassicism*, 70-74.

and rice and Mississippi's cotton were temples to the South's agrarian past: a time that some in this region seemed to view as their golden age.

The South, however, was attempting to diversify and industrialize its economic base. Alabama presented examples of advances being made in their coal mining and timber industries.²⁴⁴ Georgia's exhibit was composed of plates of mica and pyrite; the mining for which had just recently begun. The mica in particular was noted to be a growing source of revenue for the state.²⁴⁵ The advances being made in the tobacco industry mentioned in chapter three were on display by North Carolina and Virginia.²⁴⁶ The efforts of the South did not go unappreciated by all visitors to the fair. Emil Deckert (1848-1916), a German geographer, exclaimed "at its best and brightest the Fair displayed the developed and undeveloped resources of the South and West . . . the natural wealth and achievements of the North were displayed much less completely; about that region the Fair left much to be desired."²⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the Northern press as represented by Smalley and Bruce chose to heap praise on the North's exhibits, and draw attention to Mississippi and Louisiana's continued reliance on their antebellum agrarian past.

Although commentary by both Smalley and Bruce on the presentations of the South suggests a region too dependent on an agricultural lifestyle, in their assessment of the Western Plains states, such as Nebraska, Kansas, and Iowa, the writers highlighted their corn and wheat production and evidenced no concern for the diversification of their agrarian based economies. Bruce stated, "of the food-products so amply set forth by our Western States little need be said, a

²⁴⁴ Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 41-42

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 237, 297.

²⁴⁷ Deckert quoted in Frederic Trautmann, "New Orleans, the Mississippi, and the Delta through a German's Eyes: The Travels of Emil Deckert, 1885-1886," *Louisiana History* 25 (Winter 1984): 90. Deckert suspected that the South or West covered with a "thick veil," the drawbacks of their regions, such as poverty, drought, and depletion of natural resources. He also speculated that the North was not well represented because they were basically indifferent to the South, and "had no great hopes" for the region.

bounteous harvest smiles throughout.”²⁴⁸ Smalley noted that “the grains of the West are strikingly presented” and “Kansas and Nebraska grow rich” as a result of their wheat and corn products.²⁴⁹ The agricultural products of the Western states did not carry the burden of associations with slavery that cotton and sugar cane did. Thus, if there was a lack of diversity in agricultural production and industrial development in the Western Plains states, it was not seen negatively. Although problematic associations with slavery may not have been the concern for some Southerners, a few appear to have found themselves uncomfortably in agreement with Smalley and Bruce. In a letter to the *Americus Reporter*, one Georgia resident stated that “we were favorably impressed with the displays from the Western States. In wandering around, we found the Georgia display, and were right sorry, for while the display is right good, it is nothing in comparison to some of the Western States.”²⁵⁰

“The great West,” *Chautauquan*’s Mallalieu reported, was in attendance at New Orleans “in full force.”²⁵¹ From “Kansas and Nebraska” came the “best of corn and wheat . . . with fruits and vegetables that are truly surprising.” It was, however, the most western of states, California, which dazzled visitors. Mallalieu reported that in “exhibits and popularity she [California] stood almost without equal in the great building.” Although the agricultural products of the state, particularly its oranges, attracted attention and were awarded many first prizes, it was the diversity of industries developing there that attracted comment.²⁵² One of the state’s “mechanical wonders” was a “model of a combined harvester” that could “cut, thresh and sack grain” at the rate of forty acres a day.²⁵³ The display of a locomotive specifically designed to pull

²⁴⁸ Bruce, “New Orleans Exposition,” 286.

²⁴⁹ Smalley, “New Orleans Exposition,” 14.

²⁵⁰ “The Exposition,” *Americus Recorder*, 20 February 1885.

²⁵¹ Mallalieu, “The New Orleans World’s Exposition,” 340-342.

²⁵² Fairall, *World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 58.

²⁵³ Mallalieu, “The New Orleans World’s Exposition,” 341.

loaded freight cars in mountainous areas, the result of work done at Southern Pacific's headquarters in Sacramento, provided further evidence of success in manufacturing.²⁵⁴

Lippincott's Bruce noted that the "migrations of peoples to this center of gold- and silver-production are familiar to all," but less familiar were California's "wines made from improved seedlings or hybrids from European species."²⁵⁵ Displays of the products of her papermaking industry were shown "in the different stages of pulping," which prompted Bruce to applaud the diversity of the state's economy. Shrewd positioning of the state's raw materials alongside their manufactured counterparts caught the eye of the press as well. Indeed, the display of the thirty-foot section of one of the state's giant redwood trees surrounded by its by-products prompted *Harper's Weekly* to exclaim "the biggest trees in the world come from California" and the lumber obtained from these trees was "regarded invaluable for furniture and other manufactured products."²⁵⁶ (Fig. 4.4)

The immense section of redwood tree presented at the fair by California metaphorically embodied the vast natural resources of the state. By cleverly surrounding it with evidence of the transformation of those resources into manufactured goods, as well as the engineering marvels the state produced, a nod of approval was elicited from the rest of the country. California represented progress; its natural resources were being converted into dollars and cents. What was occurring in this Western state was the fulfillment of a national agenda of economic development that reverberated through press coverage of the New Orleans exposition.

The machines of industry were one of the major attractions in the nearby Machinery Annex. The *Picayune* called the Machinery Annex the "great throbbing heart" of the

²⁵⁴ "The New Orleans Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 February 1885.

²⁵⁵ Bruce, "The New Orleans Exposition," 286.

²⁵⁶ "The New Orleans Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 February 1885.

Exposition.²⁵⁷ Presented in the hall were a variety of machines from throughout the United States. Occupying the center of the hall was a steam engine that was part of a group of engines that provided power for the exposition (Fig. 4.5).²⁵⁸ Visitors could also see demonstrations of machines producing “carpets, handkerchiefs, pins, furniture, and thread.”²⁵⁹ Although this was an industrial exposition, *Lippincott’s* Bruce admitted that “one can only look at so many harvesters, spoolers and other engines, etc.” before moving on.²⁶⁰ *Century’s* Smalley, on the other hand, found the inventiveness of how the machinery was installed enthralling. “At Philadelphia,” Smalley observed, “Rhode Island’s great Corliss engine furnished 1400 horse-power, to which about 600 more was added by other engines.” But in New Orleans “the aggregate motor force is 5500 horse-power, supplied by a group of thirty-two engines of all sizes and from a variety of manufactures from across the nation. This plan enables a number of engine-builders to show their machines in motion.”²⁶¹

Although Smalley’s comparison alludes to the educational value of the New Orleans installation, it also encourages metaphorical musing. Rather than the single driving force of the North as expressed in Rhode Island’s Corliss engine, in this Southern exposition, all the engines of the nation worked together to supply the industrial power that would fuel progress, a powerful emblem of national unity. A photograph of Machinery Hall at the Philadelphia Centennial reveals the giant Corliss engine in the background dominating the space (Fig. 4.6). The steam engine at the New Orleans exposition, as illustrated in *Frank Leslie’s*, appears as the center of attention, but it is machinery on a more human scale as all the figures around it attest (Fig. 4.5).

²⁵⁷ “World’s Exposition,” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 3 December 1884.

²⁵⁸ “The New Orleans Exposition,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 3 January 1885.

²⁵⁹ “World’s Exposition,” *Kentucky New Era*, 16 February 1885.

²⁶⁰ Bruce, “The New Orleans Exposition,” 409.

²⁶¹ Smalley, “The New Orleans Exposition,” 8. Smalley mentioned the chief superintendent of installation at the exposition Samuel Mullen by name and commended his accomplishments, as well as extending accolades to S. H. Gilman the consulting engineer.

One can imagine the little steam engine chugging away along *with* the other machinery in the Hall, rather than dominating or leading the engines of economic production. For an event that strove to promote reconciliation between North and South, the visual metaphor of the engines of production working together struck a positive note.

If the various states could not work together to ensure the progress of the nation, or if the country's security was threatened, the federal government could step in, as its dominating presence in the central aisle of the Government and States Building implied. Displays by various agencies elucidated the part played by the federal government in maintaining national security, as well as promoting educational initiatives that insured the country's continued safety and growth. For example, the State Department exhibited a fifty-foot globe with representations of all the foreign countries with which it strove to maintain diplomatic relations.²⁶² The War Department, as at the Philadelphia Centennial, recreated a field hospital to show the advancements in the treatment of diseases and injuries incurred during combat, rather than focusing on warfare. The Patent Department highlighted the ingenuity of the American people by providing 3,000 models that illustrated some of the most important inventions and developments of the day.

One display alluded to the problems that could ensue if one did not comply with the national agenda of technological and industrial progress. Anthropologist Otis T. Mason created the Smithsonian's Ethnology department's display to "show, as far as it can be done with objects and labels . . . those investigations that are being made concerning the origins of man."²⁶³ For the New Orleans exposition Mason focused on Native American life in the United States to provide

²⁶² Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 337-339.

²⁶³ Mason quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 97-98.

such examples, and to educate the public about contemporary Native peoples.²⁶⁴ Mason's first opportunity to plan an exhibit for an international exposition had come in 1876 when he was involved in assembling the ethnology department's presentation for the Philadelphia Centennial where his focus was also Native Americans.²⁶⁵ The anthropologist explained that it was imperative to feature native peoples at the Centennial in Philadelphia because these "savage tribes of men are rapidly disappearing from our continent, and that, ere another century . . . they will have disappeared forever."²⁶⁶

Mason's Philadelphia Centennial exhibit occupied nearly one-third of the space allotted to the government, with American Indian artifacts, pottery, articles of clothing, and weapons placed in glass vitrines. Interspersed between the rows of cases were photographs of contemporary Native Americans and wax figures in costume as well as models of Indian homes.²⁶⁷ The photographs of contemporary Native Americans served as a reminder that this was a group of people that had not completely disappeared. Yet, by presenting wax figures of Indians and models of their homes, Mason had begun the process of memorializing native peoples and assigning them a place in history. The presentation of other materials under glass and out of reach reinforced Mason's view that this was a group of people that were on the verge of extinction. In the vitrines, the objects used by Native Americans became artifacts for others to observe rather than materials used by an active people. The use of glass cases posed an additional dilemma for fairgoers: this was how Anglo-American and European manufacturers often displayed their products at world's fairs. These types of displays provided an opportunity to make "product" comparisons that could be disconcerting for visitors to the fair, for the latest

²⁶⁴ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 98, and Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists*, 84.

²⁶⁵ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 23.

²⁶⁶ Mason quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 23-24.

²⁶⁷ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 25.

manufactured products of Anglo-America and Europe would make the work of the Amerindians appear primitive to the contemporary white viewer. As Rydell observed, the Smithsonian's Ethnology Department entry at the Philadelphia Centennial presented Native Americans as the very antithesis of progress.²⁶⁸

For the New Orleans fair, Mason endeavored to create a well-integrated display of materials with examples of the work and lifestyles of contemporary Native Americans. As discussed in chapter three, the Fort Robinson massacre had changed the public's attitudes about Native Americans, and government policies were changing as well. By the early 1880s, legislation to assimilate Native peoples into Anglo-American culture was in place.²⁶⁹ A month before the New Orleans fair opened, the *Picayune* reported that there would be a display of "the art and industrial works of the American Indians, illustrating their customs, manners and habits of life, their religion and traditions, as well as the architecture of the prehistoric people and existing tribes, especially the Zunis."²⁷⁰ The *Picayune* later noted that the ethnological department's presentation with its "models in plaster of pueblos and cliff homes" prompted "some interesting reflections . . . for, nothing can be more interesting than the history of the origin, rise and decline of the ancient and dead civilization of which almost everywhere in America, both north and south of the equator, the remains are found."²⁷¹ Although the *Picayune* initially mentioned examples of the lifestyles of contemporary Native Americans, its subsequent remarks said nothing of them. Instead, the newspaper preferred to reflect on the artifacts of a

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 26-28. The perception of Native Americans as a disappearing race was countered during the Philadelphia Centennial by contemporaneous events. The northern Great Plains were the site of warfare between Amerindians and Anglo-Americans, and in June 1876 George Armstrong Custer and his troops were defeated at the Battle of Little Bighorn.

²⁶⁹ Hoxie, *The Final Promise*, chapter one, "The Appeal for Assimilation," 1-39, and chapter two, "The Campaign Begins," 40-81. See also Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists*, 84.

²⁷⁰ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 21 November 1884.

²⁷¹ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 25 December 1884.

vanished people. Although attitudes concerning Native Americans were changing, the mindset of the average American would not be easily amended.

Nevertheless, the planners of the New Orleans exposition did make an effort to present Native Americans as a contemporary people. In March 1884 the *Picayune* noted that Captain R. H. Pratt of the U.S. 10th Calvary had proposed an exhibition for the New Orleans fair which would focus on “Indian progress in the civilized arts.”²⁷² Reflecting new ideas about the assimilation of Native Americans, Pratt was quoted as stating: “My belief is and my experience is that the Indian only needs to be brought up to a status in which he can realize the results of his labor, and he is bound to become a good, if not a valuable citizen.”²⁷³ A month later, the *Picayune* reported that Captain Pratt was “elated” at the acceptance of his proposal and he would create an “exhibit for the Exposition that centered on the U.S. Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.”²⁷⁴ Plans were made to place the display in the United States Department of Education’s section of the Government and State Building in the same second-floor gallery space as the Ethnology department’s exhibit.

In addition to Pennsylvania’s Carlisle Indian School, Nebraska sent student work from the Indian School in Santee. On display were “school books printed in the Sioux Indian language” as well as a “Bible in the Sioux tongue” as reported by the *Picayune*.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, “the girls have sent long linen bands full of buttonholes, aprons and finely hemmed undergarments,” all of these items, the *Picayune* noted, were marked with the girl’s “name, age and the tribe to which she belongs. In fact all the Indian work is thus marked, the young red men and maidens seeming particularly careful to note their tribe.” Although these schools attempted

²⁷² “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 24 March 1884.

²⁷³ Captain R. H. Pratt quoted in “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 24 March 1884.

²⁷⁴ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 25 April 1884.

²⁷⁵ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 25 December 1884.

to integrate Native American children into Anglo-American society, the Amerindian youngsters clung to their cultural identity through the inclusion of their tribal designation in their work and the preservation of their language in school books and Bibles.²⁷⁶ The goal of assimilation was to break tribal affiliations, but as the *Picayune*'s review demonstrates, these efforts essentially failed.

The response to the exhibits that focused on Native Americans reveals that Anglo-Americans created a composite view of indigenous people that simultaneously denoted a vanishing and vanquished race, as well as a people capable of integrating into white society. As a people, however, Native Americans continued to cling to remnants of their cultural identity as an assertion of their autonomy. Thus, the construction of a racial identity for Native Americans by Anglo-Americans during this period was a continually changing and complex enterprise. Efforts by other people of color to proclaim their presence as an important part of American society as well as reclaim their own cultural identity complicated the issue further.

In addition to the displays of the Smithsonian's Ethnology Department and that of the Department of Education on the second floor gallery in the Government and States Building, the fair also offered the Colored People's Department.²⁷⁷ African Americans created their own display of more than sixteen thousand exhibits, including such diverse items as mechanical inventions, scientific achievements, engravings, and needlework, all of which provided ample evidence of African American contributions to the nation. George D. McCready, a member of the Philadelphia Merchants and Manufactures party, noted, "truly, it seems appropriate that these two displays, the Indians and the Colored People's, which may be called the moral displays of

²⁷⁶ Unfortunately I have not found any images or illustrations of the Ethnology Department's exhibits nor those of the Santee School and Carlisle School.

²⁷⁷ Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, 12, 38. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 80-82.

the exposition, are placed upon a higher level.”²⁷⁸ The placement of these exhibits, however, did effectively segregate the products created by people of color from those created by Anglo-Americans presented on the main floor. Also included on the second floor was the Department of Education’s exhibition of the work of Anglo-American schoolchildren. Both Native and African Americans were effectively marginalized and equated with children in need of schooling.

Although what was actually presented by African Americans in their exhibition was seldom reported upon in great detail, the very existence of the Department elicited extensive commentary. As Rydell has pointed out “given the general exclusion of black exhibitors from the Philadelphia Centennial” as well as “the 1883 Supreme Court decision in Civil Rights Cases, sanctioning discrimination against blacks by individuals, many blacks regarded the Colored Department at the New Orleans fair as noteworthy for existing at all.”²⁷⁹ At the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876, African Americans approached fair officials to present a display of their contributions to the history of the United States, and were roundly rebuked. African Americans were encouraged, however, to participate in state exhibits, but to do so they needed the approval of the all-white committees in the various states, and only a few exhibitions assembled by blacks were accepted.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ McCready, *Visit of the Manufacturers and Merchants of Philadelphia*, #3/4: 54.

²⁷⁹ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 27- 29, 80. Although a brilliant orator, African American leader Frederick Douglass was not offered the opportunity to speak on opening day at the Philadelphia Centennial as he wished, but rather he was invited to sit with the gathered dignitaries on the platform. Upon arriving at the exposition, he had to suffer the further indignity of having police refuse him entrance to the stands. New York Senator Roscoe Conkling recognized Douglass and interceded on his behalf, but the rebuke was symptomatic of the overall treatment of blacks by fair organizers in Philadelphia. African Americans were eager to demonstrate their commitment to their country as well as their contributions to United States’ history, but were denied the opportunity by the organizers. The only concession made was to allow blacks to work in the “Southern Restaurant,” as a “band of old-time plantation darkies,” limiting representations of their contributions to American society to that of the stereotypical minstrel performer. The Supreme Court decisions Rydell mentions were a group of five similar cases of racial discrimination brought before the Supreme Court in 1883. The Court held that Congress did not have the authority to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment to outlaw racial discrimination by private individuals and organization, rather that only state and local governments had that right. For the Supreme Court decisions see Boyer, *United States History*, 126.

²⁸⁰ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 52-55.

In New Orleans, the *Picayune* declared that the inclusion of the Colored People's Department underscored the fact that "there is no color line" at the fair.²⁸¹ "That is a great feature of the Exposition," the newspaper proclaimed, and "the colored people are treated like the whites, and there certainly can be no complaint that discrimination is shown." At the opening ceremony for this special exhibition, an African American, the Reverend Henry A. Turner of the A. M. E. Baptist Church of Atlanta, told the audience that when he first heard that the exposition directors would permit displays organized by blacks, it "was so unexpected, so marvelous, so Utopian, that we could scarcely believe it was true."²⁸² As the assembled crowd, largely African American "with here and there white people scattered among them," rose to their feet in applause and then quieted, Turner continued:

The Supreme Court had turned us over to the roughs on the public highways by virtue of the decision in the civil rights cases. But the exposition directors have rebuked the Supreme Court for its decision, they have stretched out their hands to us, and have said: 'Come join us; we will treat you right.' And they have kept their word. I have not been snubbed since coming here. I cannot believe that I am in New Orleans. I am inclined to think it must be all a dream . . . All honor to the managers of this Exposition. All honor to New Orleans.²⁸³

A black attorney from South Carolina, David A. Straker, shared Turner's enthusiasm for the Colored Department at the fair. Turner noted, however, that although it was his hope that the exhibit would bring people "together in love, peace and unity, under equal laws, exact justice and common privileges . . . an education of heart, of brains and of hands" was needed so that "the denial of equal rights may disappear from among us forever."²⁸⁴ Straker's comments provide an acknowledgement by at least one black leader that the Colored People's Department at the fair

²⁸¹ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 19 January 1885.

²⁸² Rev. Henry A. Turner quoted in "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ David A. Straker quoted in "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885.

did not make equality a reality. As reported in one of the African American newspapers that covered the opening of the Colored People's Department, Straker and his wife were forced to leave their first-class train car in Birmingham, Alabama while en route to New Orleans from Charleston, and had to ride in the smoking car on another train for the remainder of their journey.²⁸⁵ Although the existence of the Colored People's Department in New Orleans prompted a positive response from many in the black community, the inequalities of the era constantly manifested themselves.

E.W. Kemble's illustration "On Dixie's Line," in *Century* magazine, used the grounds of the New Orleans fair to focus on the continued existence of the denial of equal rights (Fig. 4.7). A young black boy gazes through a white picket fence into the fairgrounds, ostensibly excluded from the festivities, regardless of the inclusion of the much-lauded Colored People's Department. Although a sympathetic commentary on the reality of life for many African Americans, the illustration accompanied Smalley's scathing remarks about the exhibition created by African Americans. The writer noted, "it would be more correct to call it the Somewhat Colored Department. Nowhere does it appear to represent the achievements of the pure-blooded Negro."²⁸⁶ Why Smalley makes these assumptions or where he has found such ancestral information is not disclosed. Smalley continued that "there is every reason to believe that blacks

²⁸⁵ "Opening of the Colored Exhibit in New Orleans," *The Christian Recorder*, 12 March 1885. *The Christian Recorder* was the newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Trains in the South were divided into two cars, a smoking car for men and a first-class car for families, women and non-smokers. The smoking cars were shunned by many, even male smokers, because of the spitting, cursing and drinking. Blacks often balked at riding in the smoking cars and bought first-class tickets when they could afford to, but were often ejected, sometimes forcibly. The railroads became the setting for the first state laws on segregation in the South. In 1892 Homer Adolph Plessy refused to leave the first-class "white only" car on the East Louisiana Railroad, he was arrested and his case tried in Louisiana before Judge John H. Ferguson in late 1892. Plessy held that Louisiana's law that supported segregated accommodations on trains violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the federal Constitution. Ferguson disagreed, and the case was brought to the Supreme Court which decided that as long as accommodations were equal, even if separate, the state had satisfied the requirements of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. See Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 17-18, 141-146. Boyer, *History of the United States*, 599-600.

²⁸⁶ Smalley, "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," 192-93.

of our Southern States are making steady progress . . . as to the higher attainments of civilization, whatever they exhibit, except in rare and isolated cases, it is plainly traceable either to contact with the white race or to the admixture of white blood.”²⁸⁷ Reflecting the “scientific” racism of the day, Smalley firmly believed Anglo-Americans to be superior, but offsetting any fears he might have harbored about miscegenation is the proposition that the introduction of white blood can improve any race.

The presence of people of mixed racial heritage in New Orleans was the focus of much attention and fascination at the fair, according to historian Alecia P. Long in *The Great Southern Babylon*.²⁸⁸ She argues that the mixed race women of New Orleans in particular were an exotic enticement for male visitors and the subject of curiosity for others. Long supports her contention, in part, with an illustration in *Harper's Weekly* that featured a black woman wearing a tignon, the traditional headscarf associated with free women of color before Emancipation (Fig. 4.8). The black female figure walks arm in arm with a younger girl, lighter skinned with long dark hair, and judging by her figure, an early adolescent. Long posits that the intimacy of the two suggests that they are mother and daughter.

Whether this is a mother and daughter or a “mammy” figure and her white charge is difficult to assess. Although slavery had ended, the mammy endured, and African American women still provided child-care for white families in the South.²⁸⁹ There does, however, appear to be some racialization of the younger figure’s features. As Long perceptively observes, it is the inordinate amount of attention to the pair from the other figures that is telling: the man to the

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Long, *Great Southern Babylon*, 37-38.

²⁸⁹ Jessie W. Parkhurst, “The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household,” 23, No. 3 *The Journal of Negro History* (July 1938): 351. Although Parkhurst’s article focuses on African American slaves as “mammy” figures in the antebellum South, she notes that the idea of the mammy “so took hold of the imagination of the people of the South that the ‘Black Mammy’ eventually entered the homes of the middle class” in the decades after the Civil War and well into the 20th century.

right openly stares at the pair; the woman farther to the right looks over towards them; the two individuals in the foreground appear to be staring at them; as does the male figure to the left.²⁹⁰ The reaction of the other fairgoers could be prompted by the appearance of a young white girl with her mammy, or of any African American among the fairgoers, something that would perhaps be startling to a visitor from the North.²⁹¹

To support her contention that the excessive attention of the other figures to the presence of a young woman of mixed racial heritage, Long points to the article in *Harper's* by Lafcadio Hearn that accompanied the illustration. In his report on the city of New Orleans, Hearn mentions that the mixed race women of the city were particularly noteworthy for their beauty, especially the "octoroons," who possess, a "strangely supple comeliness," and long "flowing hair."²⁹² In addition, Long notes that male fascination with the mixed race women of New Orleans extended even to guidebooks for the fair. Coleman's *Guide to the New Orleans Exposition* advised male fair visitors to "secure from the landlady (who is certain to be a quadroon or octoroon) a furnished room, always kept in the neatest of order," an innocent enough comment, but one that continues "this system will be found extremely agreeable to the bachelors."²⁹³ The sexual connotations of such a remark, Long proposes, were not lost on the male reader.²⁹⁴

For the New Orleans *Picayune* the "most distinguished center piece" of the Colored People's Department was a sculptural work created by a woman of mixed racial heritage, Edmonia Lewis (1840-after 1909). The *Picayune* said of Lewis that "her genius is unmistakable,

²⁹⁰ Long, *Great Southern Babylon*, 39.

²⁹¹ Charles Dudley Warner noted that to his "astonishment in New Orleans the street-cars are free to all colors; at the Exposition white and colored mingled freely, talking and looking at what was of common interest." Warner, *Complete Writings*, 3:21.

²⁹² Lafcadio Hearn, "The New Orleans Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 January 1885, and quoted in Long, *Great Southern Babylon*, 38.

²⁹³ Coleman, *Guide to New Orleans Exposition*, 38.

²⁹⁴ Long, *Great Southern Babylon*, 38.

and in her life she has produced several statues that have enough merit to live in the history of arts.”²⁹⁵ The *Picayune*, however, failed to ask why Lewis’s *Wooing of Hiawatha* was not included in the Fine Arts Gallery with the work of other artists from the United States (Fig. 4.9). Rather, Lewis’s work was placed in a building with agricultural and industrial products. The exclusion of Lewis’s art from the Fine Arts Gallery challenged and confounded the notion that African Americans received equal treatment at the fair. For the white Southern fair organizers, African Americans did contribute to the commercial mission of the United States and thus those achievements were housed in Government and States Building. The segregation of African American artists, such as Lewis, from the Fine Arts Gallery demonstrates they were not viewed by fair organizers as contributors to the cultural agenda of the nation. By excluding the work of African American artists from the Fine Arts Gallery, and including their work in the Government and States Building, the white Southern fair organizers effectively put blacks “in their place” as part of the work force of the nation.

Lewis was not alone in having her work located in the Government and States Building; the works of several other African American artists were also on display in the Colored People’s Department. Henry Ossawa Tanner’s (1859-1937) *The Battle of Life*, one of his earliest paintings, which has subsequently been lost, was present in New Orleans.²⁹⁶ According to the African American newspaper *The Washington Bee*, Edward Mitchell Bannister (1828-1901) also showed work, but no information is available as to which of his paintings was on display.²⁹⁷ The *Bee* noted that Bannister received honors in the landscape category at the Philadelphia

²⁹⁵ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, Morning Edition, 24 February 1885.

²⁹⁶ Dewey F. Mosby, Darrel Sewell, Rae Alexander-Minter, *Henry Ossawa Tanner* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1991), 37. Current location unknown, but documented as a picture of an elk attacked by wolves.

²⁹⁷ “New Orleans Exposition,” *The Washington Bee*, 21 February 1885. I would also note that there is no indication in the available documentation on any of the African American artists whose work was presented in New Orleans concerning how they felt about having their art exhibited in the Colored People’s Department rather than in the Fine Arts Gallery.

Centennial in 1876 for *Under the Oaks*, current location unknown. When the artist turned up at the Centennial fairgrounds to collect his prize, according to the *Bee*, he was refused admittance until a member of the Fine Arts committee recognized Bannister and interceded. No such barriers were presented to the *Bee*'s African American reporter upon arrival at the New Orleans fair. The *Bee* did not raise the issue of why the work of an African American artist whose works was displayed in Philadelphia in their Fine Arts Gallery was segregated from that of Anglo-American artists to be found in the Fine Arts Gallery in New Orleans.

Interestingly, the white press in New Orleans did not mention Tanner's or Bannister's work, but rather focused on praising the virtues of Edmonia Lewis's *Wooing of Hiawatha* (Fig. 4.9). The sculpture's Native American subject matter, and its creation by a woman who was the daughter of an African American man and a mother who was part African American and Ojibwa create an opportunity for further exploration of the construction of race at this time. Art historians such as Hugh Honour and William Gerds interpret Lewis's art as autobiographical because she chose blacks and Native Americans as subject matter.²⁹⁸ Furthermore, scholars have proposed that Lewis, through her sculpture, sought to deny her racial heritage. Because her female subjects frequently do not have racialized features, some scholars have concluded that the artist aspired to re-craft herself as white. *The Wooing of Hiawatha* is no exception in that the male figure's facial features are racialized; the high cheekbones were a signifier of the male's "Indianness," whereas the female figure's facial features suggest a white identity.

²⁹⁸ On Lewis's work as autobiographical see Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art: Slaves and Liberators* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989) 4:250-251, William H. Gerds, *American Neo-Classical Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 132 and David C. Driskell, *Two Centuries of Black American Art: The Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 48. On Lewis's denial of race see Timothy Anglin Burgard, *Edmonia Lewis and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Images and Identities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museum Gallery Series, No. 14, 1995), 2-12.

Recently, however, Kirsten Pai Buick, in *Child of the Fire: Mary Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject*, has challenged the prevailing scholarship on the artist.²⁹⁹ Buick advocates that rather than re-crafting herself as white, Lewis refused to create with her own hand a stereotype of herself as either African American or Native American. For Buick, Lewis is the producer of race in her work, rather than the product of race. As an African American/Native American woman, Lewis rarely represents such women as subservient. Cognizant of her audience, however, she seems aware that if her multi-figural sculptures were going to appeal to the white audience who were her primary patrons, the female subject had to occupy a subservient position to be acceptable to that culture, thus the female has Caucasian features. The choice of Hiawatha as subject matter was another decision by Lewis designed to appeal to her literate white viewer/patron. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* was one of the most popular poems of its day, selling two thousand copies a year, and was for Lewis a canny choice from an economic standpoint.

Buick does not address the exhibition of Lewis's *The Wooing of Hiawatha* at the New Orleans exposition, but it was a shrewd choice for a Southern event. *The Song of Hiawatha* was part of a trilogy, which included *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie*, and *The Courtship of Miles Standish*. *The Wooing of Hiawatha* would most likely trigger associations to *Evangeline*, which is set in Louisiana. As William Gerdts has observed, part of the appeal of *The Song of Hiawatha* during the late nineteenth century was its representation of the marriage of two warring nations, Chippewa/Ojibwa (Hiawatha) and Dacotah (Minnehaha), a metaphor for reconciliation between

²⁹⁹ Kirsten Pai Buick, *Child of the Fire: Mary Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 72-85. See chapter 2, "The Problem of Art History's Black Subject," 31-76, and Chapter 3, "Longfellow, Lewis and the Culture of Hiawatha," 77-132, for a comprehensive review of the literature on Lewis and Buick's "dialogue" with these various studies as she sets up her own argument. See also Kirsten Pai Buick, "The Ideal Works of Edmonia Lewis: Invoking and Inverting Autobiography," in Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy, eds. *Reading American Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 190-207.

North and South in the postbellum era.³⁰⁰ The message of Lewis's *The Wooing of Hiawatha* perhaps resonated with the promoters of the New Orleans fair and with fair-goers alike in their quest for the resolution of tensions between former enemies, albeit if only in the hopes of promoting business and industry. This was a pursuit Lewis would be sympathetic with as well.

Lewis knew how to promote her work and had no problem using her own racial heritage when opportune as she negotiated her way through the sexism and racism of her time. At a San Francisco art exhibition Lewis jokingly told reporters she was "occupying a wigwam" in order to attract visitors to purchase her "souvenirs."³⁰¹ Buick notes that a telling detail of the *Wooing of Hiawatha* appears in what the female figure Minnehaha is doing: weaving a mat. The primary use of these mats was to cover a wigwam thus suggesting the female's domestic role in creating the home, but these types of mats were also popular items sold by Native Americans to white tourists (Figs. 4.10, 4.11).³⁰² In the context of the New Orleans fair, the *Wooing of Hiawatha* was a fitting and perhaps mischievous choice for display. A world's fair is in essence a trade fair where people presented their products in an attempt to attract potential customers. The title of the work and the implications of "wooing" potential patrons, coupled with Lewis's remarks in San Francisco about attracting visitors to purchase her souvenirs, suggest the artist had an astute business-sense, as well as a playful sense of humor.

As African Americans struggled to assimilate to the white capitalistic power structure, Edmonia Lewis played a captivating game of economic one-upmanship with *The Wooing of Hiawatha*. *The Song of Hiawatha* concludes with the death of Minnehaha and the departure of

³⁰⁰ William Gerds, "Marble Savage," *Art in America* 62, no. 4 (July/August 1974): 70. The idea of the marriage of Hiawatha and Minnehaha as metaphor for the reconciliation of North and South in the postbellum era is also explored in Cynthia D. Nickerson, "Artistic Interpretations of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, 1855-1900," *American Art Journal* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1984): 49-77, and Norman L. Kleeblatt, "Master Narratives/Minority Artists," *Art Journal* 57, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 29-35.

³⁰¹ Lewis, *San Francisco Chronicle*, n.d. quoted in Buick, *Child of the Fire*, 123.

³⁰² Buick, *Child of the Fire*, 81-84.

Hiawatha, which reinforced the trope of the “vanishing Indian,” the noble savage that had the “good grace to disappear with the coming of the white man” Buick observes.³⁰³ Yet, just as Native Americans were neither truly disappearing nor accommodating to white society, Lewis and her African American contemporaries would also neither disappear, nor would they completely assimilate into white culture. David Straker in his comments on opening day of the Colored People’s Department indicates that such notions were on his mind when he asked “do these exhibits indicate that the American Negro is here to stay, or will he die out, or be annihilated by the white race? I rather think they show that we are here to stay.”³⁰⁴ Straker expanded upon those comments by stating, “it is said we are only an imitative race of people. I affirm that the negro in his condition of a free man in America revives the lost arts of his ancestors. He is no imitator-he is a revivalist.”

Despite efforts to assimilate into Anglo-American society, this statement reveals a declaration of allegiance by African Americans to their African cultural identity just as the Native American children had by noting their tribal affiliation in their work. The combined exhibits of the African Americans, Native Americans, and Anglo-Americans on display in the Government and States Building presented visitors with a multifaceted vision of what it meant to be an American in the United States. How Anglo-American artists in the United States attempted to portray the complexities of our national identity is the subject of the next chapter.

³⁰³ Ibid., 124.

³⁰⁴ David A. Straker quoted in “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885.

CHAPTER 5

THE CULTURAL AGENDA OF THE UNITED STATES

Unlike Mexico, the United States had neither a National Gallery of Art nor a government-subsidized art school. Thus creating an exhibition of art representative of the United States for the New Orleans fair was a challenge for its Fine Arts Committee. In addition, there was no government support for such an endeavor, and no singular art academy to turn to for art objects. Although the planning of the show is difficult to unravel, we see the broad scope of American art as artists from every region of the nation addressed, or in some cases tellingly evaded, the complex issues the country faced in the aftermath of the Civil War. Although the fine arts committee may have had no particular agenda beyond finding enough art to display in New Orleans, as artists from throughout the country engaged with the various social, racial, spiritual, and economic concerns of the day, a cultural agenda emerges in response to many of these problems.

The fine arts in the United States were experiencing great changes during the late nineteenth century and a variety of the aesthetic concerns that preoccupied the art world are evident in the works presented at the New Orleans fair as well. The late nineteenth century in the United States was a period of great diversity in the arts as artists sought out both new subject matter and approaches to that subject matter.³⁰⁵ Attitudes about artistic production shifted

³⁰⁵ H. Barbara Weinberg, introduction to the series *The Art Experience in Late Nineteenth-Century America*, (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1976), 1-13. Weinberg's introduction is present in all thirty-three volumes of the Garland series, which she edited. This series was a 1976 republication of the most important books on art published in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States. The series has been a valuable resource for locating works of art shown in New Orleans, retrieving biographical material on the artists whose works were exhibited at the fair, and investigating the overall critical reception of these artists in the United States. This series is also a wonderful resource that provides insights into the late nineteenth-century art world of the United

towards the conceptual rather than the perceptual, although the public and some critics were reluctant to accept the increasingly aestheticized art object. In landscapes for instance, grand, sweeping, detail-laden vistas remained popular but were beginning to give way to humbler and more intimate modes of representation.³⁰⁶ Figure painting experienced a revival that encompassed everything from the nude to religious subject matter, as well as genre scenes of urban and rural life.³⁰⁷ Still-life painting gained in popularity as well. A number of stylistic influences appeared as American artists incorporated into their work the training they received in a variety of European settings from Munich to Paris.

The most important trend to emerge at the Paris Salons of the 1860s was the predominance of the figure in the paintings by American artists.³⁰⁸ Figure painting consistently

States and Americans' perception of both American and European art. Titles included in the series and consulted for this project but not cited elsewhere include: *A Landscape Book, by American Artists and American Authors* (New York, 1868); James Jackson Jarves, *Art Thoughts: The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (New York, 1869); the three volume *Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition*, (Philadelphia, 1876-78); Earl Shinn, *Art Treasures of America* (Philadelphia, 1879-1882); George William Sheldon, *Hours with Art and Artists* (New York, 1882); Clarence Cook's 3 vol. *Art and Artists of Our Time* (New York, 1888); John C. Van Dyke, ed., *Modern French Masters* (New York, 1896); John La Farge, ed. *Noteworthy Paintings in American Private Collections* (New York, 1907); William J. Clark, Jr., *Great American Sculptures* (Philadelphia, 1878); S. G. W. Benjamin, *Contemporary Art in Europe* (New York, 1877); Benjamin's 2 vol. *Our American Artists* (Boston, 1879) and Benjamin's *Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch* (New York, 1880); S.R. Koehler's *American Etchings* (Boston, 1886); and Koehler's *American Art* (New York, London, Paris, and Melbourne, 1886); Walter Montgomery, ed., 2 vol. *American Art and American Art Collections* (Boston, 1889); Maria Griswold Van Rensselaer, 3 vol. *American Figure Painters* (Philadelphia, 1886); Alfred Trumble, *Representative Works of Contemporary American Artists* (New York 1887); George William Sheldon, *Recent Ideals of American Art* (New York and London, 1890); Frank T. Robinson, *Living New England Artists* (Boston, 1888); Thomas Ball, *My Threescore Years and Ten* (Boston, 1892); Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed., 2 vol. *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (New York, 1913); Benjamin Champney, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artist* (Woburn, Mass., 1900); Edward Simmons, *From Seven to Seventy: Memoirs of a Painter and Yankee* (New York and London, 1922).

³⁰⁶ For what is still one of the best evaluations of the aesthetic changes effecting landscape painting in the late nineteenth century see Doreen Bolger Burke and Catherine Hoover Voorsanger's essay "The Hudson River School in Eclipse," in John K. Howat, et al, *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 71-98. For the authors, the shift could be seen in terms of subject matter, from wilderness vistas to quiet corners of domesticated nature; from the Ruskian "truth to nature" aesthetic that recorded every single detail, which for some obscured the more mysterious aspects of the natural world and called for more poetic atmospheric renderings; from tight, finished paint handling that hid the hand of the artist, to bravura brushwork that indicated a more spontaneous and personal response to nature; to working methods that increasingly took the artist out of the studio to paint directly from nature.

³⁰⁷ Weinberg, *Art Experience*, 1-13.

³⁰⁸ Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 59-85.

received the highest prizes and accolades; therefore American artists pursued such honors with vigor by depicting the human figure in historical and religious paintings, as well as in portraiture and genre scenes. Moreover, highly finished surface qualities in paintings were giving way to bold brushwork that revealed the hand of the artist. The human body and evidence of the artist's touch was important in sculpture as well. Although most prominent American sculptors trained in Italy, they were aware of the shift of the international art community from Rome to Paris and from the smooth, polished finish of marble to clay and bronze where evidence of the artist's hand was sometimes more clearly evident. Consequently, when American artists returned to the United States from France in the 1870s and 1880s they brought with them a desire to impress the public with their newfound assurance in delineating the human form and in handling their medium. Americans who received their training in Munich also played a significant role in promoting figure painting and highlighting bravura brushwork.

Although presenting one's work at the Salon remained important to American artists in the 1870s and 1880s, European international industrial expositions offered additional prospects to American artists to get their work seen by the public, critics, and potential buyers, as well as the opportunity to see the work of a wide array of European artists.³⁰⁹ As the point of view and the work of American artists training in Europe became increasingly cosmopolitan some of the "nativist" artists that remained in the United States for training, or those that were essentially self-taught, became uneasy.³¹⁰ By the 1870s, the predominance of art created by European-

³⁰⁹Ibid., 85-90. In addition to Fink there are a number of other excellent sources concerning the importance of the Paris Salon and international expositions as venues for American artists. Among those consulted were: Lois Marie Fink and Joshua C. Taylor, *Academy: The Academic Tradition in American Art* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975); Annette Blaugrund, et al, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1989); and Kathleen Adler, Erica E. Hirshler, H. Barbara Weinberg, et al, *Americans in Paris, 1860-1900* (London: National Gallery of Art, 2006).

³¹⁰I use the term nativist with reservation. Nativist is generally a term applied to antebellum American artists that were essentially self-taught, or that trained exclusively here in the United States. Many, however, did travel in Europe and some even received training in London, Paris or Düsseldorf. It was, however, only after the Civil War

trained artists submitted to the National Academy of Design (NAD) for its annual exhibition concerned many of its members. The NAD received no federal support, yet its annuals were the largest and most prestigious art events of their kind in the United States, and its members were some of the most successful artists of the era.

Threatened by the work submitted by European-trained American artists, some members of the Academy rejected the work of these artists, which led to the formation of the rival Society of American Artists (SAA) in 1878. The SAA made a point of showing the work of European-trained American artists and, perhaps more importantly, American artists living and working in Europe, a practice the NAD had instituted strictures against.³¹¹ Thus, by the 1880s, the state of the art world in the United States was a contentious one, but more often than not an exciting one.

The fine arts show in New Orleans displayed side by side the work of the NAD academicians, SAA members, nativist artists, American artists with recent European training, and artists from throughout the United States with a variety of backgrounds, training and aesthetic concerns. Both New Orleans dailies, the *Times-Democrat* and *Picayune*, featured weekly articles on the art exhibition once it opened. In my review of both newspapers for the five years preceding the fair, the extent of coverage for an art show was unprecedented.³¹² Both newspapers strove to enlighten their readership by providing critiques of the art and background information on the artists. Most art criticism in the United States at this time called for an

that American artists sought out extensive training in European art academies, particularly in Paris and Munich. Those artists that had begun their careers before the war were often thought of as nativists, particularly if they did not seek out further training in Europe after the war.

³¹¹ Fink, *American Art at Paris Salons*, 272-275. See also Margaret C. Conrads's "In the Midst of an Era of Revolution" and Trudie A. Grace's "The National Academy of Design and the Society of American Artists," in David B. Dearing, ed. *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1825-1925* (New York: National Academy of Design, 2000), 93-106, 107-122.

³¹² The New Orleans *Picayune* did send a journalist to the Philadelphia Centennial, who noted that the fine arts exhibition in Memorial Hall was "the Mecca towards which all lovers of the beautiful will feel a constant desire to make pilgrimage. Their journey will be satisfied." But the correspondent did not provide any extended descriptions or critiques of individual works of art. "Our Centennial Letter," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 May 1876.

“American art,” though articulating that proved difficult. Through their focus on select works of art displayed at the fair, the New Orleans daily attempted to formulate a definition for their readers and we begin to get a glimpse of the cultural agenda that was attendant to the development of a national identity.

History painting seemed to be the obvious place to begin the search for an American art, and this genre was among the first the New Orleans critics reviewed.³¹³ As we will see in the critical reception of these historical works and the artists’ approach to their subject, American history was being rewritten in support of the peaceable conquest and founding of the United States from coast to coast as evidenced in works such as Thomas Moran’s (1837-1926) *Ponce de Leon in Florida*, Peter Rothermel’s *De Soto Discovering the Mississippi*, Archibald M. Willard’s (1836-1918) *Minutemen of the Revolution*, Enoch Wood Perry’s *The Young Franklin at his Printing Press*, as well as Thomas Hill’s (1829-1908) contemporary history painting, the *Driving of the Last Spike* (Figs. 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.6). Perry’s and Hill’s paintings also address the country’s ongoing relationship with new technologies and the importance of industrial growth to the nation.

The concept of a national identity for the New Orleans *Picayune* was best expressed in Thomas Moran’s *Ponce de Leon in Florida*, 1878, because there was “something bold and heroic about the artist’s expression of the American idea”³¹⁴ (Fig. 5.1). The reviewer also admired Peter F. Rothermel’s *De Soto Discovering the Mississippi*, 1843, although it was “suggestive rather than a fine expression of that idea”³¹⁵ (Fig. 5.2). The reviewer did not explain what the

³¹³ Of the oil paintings created by artists from the United States, history and religious paintings represented 2% of the works.

³¹⁴ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

³¹⁵ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885. Moran and Rothermel were both immigrants, thus they were among those “new people in a new world” that the *Picayune* mentions. Moran’s family immigrated to the United States when he was very young, and settled in Philadelphia. The aspiring young artist taught himself to draw from books such as J. M. W. Turner’s *Liber Studiorum*, and he may have received some

“American idea” was, but these remarks were prefaced by a statement that American art should find inspiration in its people, “a new people in a new world, with a destiny mighty and far reaching.”³¹⁶ This commentary is ironic considering that the Rothermel, which the critic found merely suggestive, placed greater emphasis on the people depicted, whereas in Moran’s work the landscape dominates the scene. The settings of the scenes depicted in both paintings help to unravel the rather puzzling critical response, as do the characters depicted.

Rothermel’s *De Soto*, and Moran’s *Ponce de Leon*, both fall into a category of history painting that Wendy Greenhouse has called “the regional landing of the fathers,” one depicting the Mississippi River as representative of the West, the other depicting Florida as representative of the South.³¹⁷ After the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, the landings of the fathers, particularly Christopher Columbus and the Pilgrims, were portrayed with increasing regularity as the nation celebrated its historic past, and in the case of the Pilgrims, its historic New England roots. But in the decades leading up to the Civil War, Greenhouse contends, regional landings of the fathers, such as celebrated by Rothermel and Moran, were more common as the West and the South struggled to assert themselves during the antebellum era. Produced before the war, Rothermel’s painting fits Greenhouse’s assessment. Moran’s painting, created after the war, was

instruction in painting from artist James Hamilton, who was known as the “American Turner.” In 1861, Moran traveled to England to study Turner’s work first hand, and he would remain an admirer of the British artist throughout his career. Morgan, *American Art and Artists*, 317. Peter Rothermel was a German immigrant, whose family also settled in Philadelphia. Rothermel studied art there with John R. Smith and Bass Otis, and quickly established a career for himself as a portraitist and history painter. By 1847, Rothermel was appointed director of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, a position he maintained for eight years. Rothermel is often associated with American artists who studied at Germany’s Düsseldorf Academy. The German art school was noted for training its students to create grand historical and religious paintings. Rothermel painted *De Soto Discovering the Mississippi*, however, before he visited Europe from 1856 through 1859, visiting Rome first, and then spending time in Düsseldorf honing his artistic skills. Anneliese Harding and Brucia Witthoft, *American Artists in Düsseldorf: 1840-1865* (Framingham, Mass.: The Danforth Museum, 1982), 38.

³¹⁶ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

³¹⁷ Wendy Greenhouse, “The Landing of the Fathers: Representing the National Past in American History Painting” in William Ayers, ed., *Picturing History, American Painting 1770-1930* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 45-63.

something of an anomaly, but does not necessarily refute Greenhouse's general argument.³¹⁸ It was Moran's *Ponce de Leon* that the *Picayune* embraced most enthusiastically, as perhaps an expression of Southern pride and desire for the region to be part of the American idea. Indeed, the reviewer noted that Moran's depiction of the "Southern vegetation is very fine."³¹⁹ Thus, the *Picayune* called attention to an episode from the history of the United States that took place in the South. Although the reviewer did not explain exactly what the American idea was that Moran's painting so boldly expressed, clearly the South was part of that notion.

The settings of both Moran's and Rothermel's work evoke the spirit of "a mighty destiny that was far reaching" that the *Picayune* deemed a quintessentially American quality, albeit in different ways.³²⁰ In *De Soto Discovering the Mississippi*, man dominates nature as Rothermel depicts his protagonist surveying the lands of the west that stretch out before him, a region that he will explore and that will eventually become part of the United States. In *Ponce de Leon in Florida*, nature dominates man as Moran portrays his characters enveloped in a lush, green Edenic land. Moran's characters are on the threshold of discovering an area that will become part of the United States, an idea that may have reminded some fairgoers of their entry into the exposition grounds. As visitors disembarked from steamboats or trains and then entered the fairgrounds, they were enveloped in a landscape resplendent with native species that the original explorers such as De Soto and Ponce de Leon would have encountered. Upon entering the States and Government Building, the contemporary visitor discovered the transformation of regional

³¹⁸ Moran may in fact have created the image as a response to Albert Bierstadt's *Discovery of the Hudson River* that had been purchased by Congress on 3 March 1875. There was a remaining commission open for another painting for the House of Representatives. Moran offered *Ponce de Leon*, stating: "It seemed to me that a picture commemorative of the first attempt at settlement, and characteristic of the semi-tropical part of our country, would be a proper pendant to a picture already purchased representing a later and more northern discovery." In the end the House purchased Bierstadt's *Settlement of California, Bay of Monterrey, 1770*, with the West winning out over the South in the chambers of Congress. Linda S. Ferber, "Albert Bierstadt: The History of a Reputation," in Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 52-53.

³¹⁹ "World's Exposition," *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

³²⁰ "World's Exposition," *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

raw materials into manufactured goods, and in the Fine Arts Gallery, the country's natural resources were transfigured into cultural accomplishments as well.

Both New Orleans dailies ignored the Native Americans in these paintings, an odd omission since the treatment of indigenous people in the Mexican artist Felix Parra's *An Episode from the Conquest* elicited considerable commentary (Fig. 3.9). Both Moran's and Rothermel's history paintings also fall into the "theme of conquest" category. As art historian William Truettner has argued, such paintings skillfully evade the issue of the dispossession of native peoples and its attendant violence, thus denying both past as well as contemporary events.³²¹ In Rothermel's work, De Soto stands in a classically inspired contrapposto pose; at his feet sits a bare-breasted Indian woman. The Native American woman's male counterpart, although standing, is also positioned below De Soto and gestures outward to the expansive terrain behind him. The male Native American's gesture is fascinating; although indicating direction and guiding the viewer's gaze, he is seemingly presenting the country, in the sense of giving the land to the European, no questions asked. De Soto's men are positioned at his side to witness the transaction. No Native American is harmed or violated, and Rothermel presents a peaceful transfer of property.

No violence is depicted in Moran's *Ponce de Leon* either; the Europeans appear as a disciplined military force arriving in an orderly fashion in the sylvan glade. Only one soldier breaks rank and moves carefully into the dense foliage in the foreground to discern if any danger lurks nearby. The Europeans all stand attentively, the sunlight streaming through the trees highlighting their presence. In contrast, two Native Americans languidly lounge in the middle ground; the remainder of their tribe is seated in the hazy forest, all seem unconcerned about the

³²¹ William H. Truettner, ed. *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820 -1920* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991), 72-92.

arrival of the Europeans. Moran creates an idyllic scene of a peaceful encounter between Europeans and Native Americans.

Was this non-violent occupation and possession of the lands that would become the United States that “American idea” that the critic mentioned? When considered together, Moran’s and Rothermel’s paintings present a completely civil and civilized occupation of the Americas without bloodshed or anguish. The two paintings stand in sharp contrast to Parra’s *An Episode from the Conquest* and its depiction of the results of the far less civilized actions of the very same Europeans, but a depiction that, as I have suggested, may have been perceived in the United States as casting Mexico in a less than flattering light. As Truettner has contended, history painting in the United States during the nineteenth century rewrote history in support of a broader national agenda of expansionist policies and economic concerns.³²² In the case of the paintings by Moran and Rothermel this is true; they carefully recast the conquest in a manner that allowed the viewer to ignore the attendant violence and displacement of native peoples in areas that became part of the United States. The West and the South are showcased as regions that are a valued part of the nation’s commercial and cultural agenda, with the added bonus of being regions seemingly obtained in a completely civilized fashion.

Turning to the Northeast, the progress of the Americas towards the founding of the Republic of the United States and its New England roots, are the subject of two other history paintings in the galleries: *The Minute Men of the Revolution*, 1884 by Archibald M. Willard and Enoch Wood Perry’s *The Young Franklin at his Printing Press*, 1884 (Figs. 5.3, 5.4).³²³ Both

³²² Truettner, *West as America*, 55-56.

³²³ This version of *The Young Franklin at his Printing Press* (Fig. 4.4) is owned by the Speed Museum of Art. The Albright-Knox Museum of Art owns an earlier version of the painting, c. 1876, oil on canvas, 36 ¾ x 29 in., accession #1877:3, which was purchased by the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy after it was shown at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. This painting was not lent to the Cotton Centennial as far as the Albright-Knox is aware and they think that it is doubtful. Although the Speed has no record of their version being shown in New Orleans, it seems likely that Perry created this second version to present at the Cotton Centennial since the first version

paintings represent a trend toward historical genre scenes that became popular in the United States after the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876.³²⁴ From Ohio, Willard was an essentially self-taught artist, and is exclusively known for *The Spirit of '76*, which proved popular when it was exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial (Fig. 5.5). His *Minute Men of the Revolution* embodies some of the more sentimental aspects of historical genre scenes: the focus is on the family unit rather than warfare or male comrades in arms.³²⁵ The father grabs his coat while his young son holds his rifle, his wife grabs a powder horn while handing him his hat, and a daughter begs her elderly grandfather not to go. More importantly, the military action or violence takes place beyond the pictorial space, and once again the American idea seemingly prevails without bloodshed.

The *Picayune* singled out *Minute Men* “as a picture of American feeling . . . which tells its story with so decisive a perspicuity that no interpretation is necessary.”³²⁶ For the *Picayune* this anecdotal scene of an American family acting as a unit during a time of historic upheaval was an expression of heartfelt American feelings of kinship and appealing perhaps because of a perceived allusion to a more recent war. The Civil War tested ties of familial relations and the depiction of a family that remained together in a time of strife elicited powerful emotions as evidenced by the *Picayune*’s review. Some viewers may have also perceived the image as a

presented at Philadelphia resulted in a sale. There are no other known versions of the painting. “Enoch Wood Perry,” Speed Museum of Art, curatorial files.

³²⁴ Mark Thistlethwaite, “The Most Important Themes: History Painting and Its Place in American Art,” in William H. Gerdts and Mark Thistlethwaite, *Grand Illusions: History Painting in America* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter, 1988), 50-54. See also Thistlethwaite’s “A Fall From Grace: The Critical Reception of History Painting, 1875-1925, in Ayers, ed., *Picturing History*, 177- 197, as well as Barbara J. Mitnick’s “Paintings for the People: American Popular History Painting, 1875-1930,” also in Ayers, ed., *Picturing History*, 157-174.

³²⁵ Willard’s *Spirit of '76* was exhibited as *Yankee Doodle* at the Philadelphia Centennial, 1876. The painting was enormously popular and numerous prints were made of the work, some without the artist’s permission. When asked if it was the most popular painting at the Centennial, the artist replied “Probably with those who did not think about technique—with the plain American people, like those shown in the picture.” Willard was an essentially self-taught artist, born in Bedford, Ohio he apprenticed with E. S. Tripp, a decorative artist, wheelwright and wagon maker. Willard F. Gordon, *America’s Best Known Painting, Least Known Artist: “The Spirit of '76” . . . an American Portrait* (Fallbrook, California: Quail Hill, 1976), 13-19, 39- 41.

³²⁶ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

metaphor for a nation united as a family once more. If the United States was going to survive and thrive in the modern international community, the American family could not be torn asunder again.

Perry's *The Young Franklin at his Printing Press* represented another type of historic genre scene, and one that was overlooked by the New Orleans dailies (Fig. 5.4). An odd omission since it represented the very business of which they were a part. Images of the founding fathers as young men such as Perry's were quite popular in the United States, serving to remind viewers of the importance of the formative experiences that prepared them for the sacrifices they would make and the heroic ideals they would come to embody. The painting signals one of the primary tenets upon which the nation would be founded—a free press.

In Perry's painting, the strong diagonal of young Franklin's body energizes the pictorial space, as his well-developed forearms turn the gears of the printing press. On the wall behind Franklin is a copy of the *New England Courant*, founded in Boston in 1721 by Franklin's brother James.³²⁷ Ben Franklin began as a typesetter for the paper and later wrote articles under the pen name Silence Dogood that lampooned the morals and manners of his fellow Bostonians. Franklin believed that if any group of people were going to better themselves, they had to remain open and responsive to criticism. The lambasting the South sometimes took in the national press coverage of the New Orleans fair was the result of a free press, and for Northerners such criticism was necessary if the country was going to move forward, but the decision of the New Orleans dailies to overlook this painting seems an exercise of that same freedom of the press, for as one could say, the only truly bad review is no review at all. Nonetheless, there may have been some animosity towards the artist revealed by this omission.

³²⁷ "Enoch Wood Perry," Speed Museum of Art, curatorial files.

Knowledge of Perry's own personal history may have led both New Orleans newspapers to overlook his work.³²⁸ Born in Boston, Perry moved to New Orleans with his family when he was seventeen. Four years later in 1852, Perry traveled to Europe for artistic training and the press in New Orleans followed his budding artistic career during his years abroad. When Perry returned from Europe in 1857 he resided in Philadelphia, and once again the New Orleans dailies followed his progress as he attempted to establish himself as an artist. In 1860 Perry returned to New Orleans where he worked as a portrait artist. While a resident of New Orleans, Perry created images of Louisiana Senator John Slidell, as well as, one of Jefferson Davis, both outspoken advocates of Secession. He began a large canvas depicting the signing of the Louisiana ordinance of Secession, but never completed the work. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Perry left New Orleans for San Francisco where he established a portrait studio, and thus avoided active participation in the war as well as its deprivations. Although Perry was certainly not alone in circumventing the war, the hypocrisy of someone who avoided taking part in the most important historic event to occur in his lifetime going on to create historic genre scenes may not have been lost on New Orleanians.

Beyond being an emblem of the importance of a free press in a democratic nation, *The Young Franklin* is worthy of further attention when juxtaposed to *Frank Leslie's* illustration of President Arthur pressing the button that set in motion the exposition's engines (Figs. 5.4 & 2.11). As the image in *Frank Leslie's* indicates, by the 1880s communication was almost instantaneous via telegraph from one part of the country to another. By the same decade, newspapers rolled off mechanized printing presses, and the physical strength of a person to operate the machine was no longer needed. Nonetheless, Perry's painting is not merely a

³²⁸ Mahé and McCaffrey, *New Orleans Artists*, 299. See also Jennifer A. Greenhill, *Playing it Straight: Art and Humor in the Gilded Age* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2012), 59-60.

depiction of the physical strength required to run the presses. Perry portrayed Franklin's forehead and face illuminated by a strong raking light suggestive of the light of knowledge and reason. This light travels down the young Franklin's arms onto the inanimate object in the shadow. Franklin and his intelligence dominate the scene, not the technology. Conversely in the *Frank Leslie's* image, the pictorial space is crowded with people and all eyes are on the button, rather than on their leader, the President. The key central space of the image is bare, but for the button which at once attracts attention and pushes everyone to the side. The two images present a telling change in perceptions of technology: man and reason controlled the machinery of the past, while the machinery of the present was so wondrous and unfathomable it seemed to be gaining control of humanity.

The relationship between humanity and technology is notable in one of the few other history paintings in the galleries, *Driving of the Last Spike*, 1875, by Thomas Hill (Fig. 5.6). Unusual for Hill, the contemporary history painting was, in the words of the *Picayune*, "full of portraits and technically full of merit, but is interesting as a portrait is, only to friends. The visitor will turn away to linger longer on some of Mr. Hill's fine landscapes."³²⁹ The *Times-Democrat* chose to discuss only Hill's landscapes. Although most art historians would concede that the *Driving of the Last Spike* is not one of Hill's best efforts, the inclination of the *Picayune's* reviewer to gaze upon nature rather than human industry is revealing, as is the *Times-Democrat's* inclination to ignore the painting all together.

The *Driving of the Last Spike* was an appropriate painting to present at an industrial exposition. Hill's work commemorates the meeting of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Lines, a ceremony that occurred six years earlier on May 10, 1869. The Central Pacific began in Sacramento, California and the Union Pacific in Omaha, Nebraska where it would link this new

³²⁹ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

overland line to the extensive railroad networks of the Northeast, and eventually, to lines in the South. The “last spike” was made of pure California gold, and the hammer used to drive it was of Nevada silver. Leland Stanford, the vice-president of the Central Pacific, commissioned the painting. As a result, Hill portrays a crowded scene, but one where attention is directed at Stanford, the man with the white beard in the center of the painting.³³⁰

The work also acknowledges the indomitable will of Anglo-Americans, their drive and determination to conquer and control nature, to unify the country, and to even govern time. The transcontinental line brought goods and services to people across the nation and sped up that process. Before its completion it took six months or longer to travel from the East Coast to West, but now it could be done in one week. The painting also stood as a potent symbol of the strengthening of the bonds between the Eastern and Western United States that occurred in the years following the Civil War. Granted there is no depiction of the meeting of the various rail lines that connected New Orleans and the South with the rest of the country, nonetheless, the railroad was how most people got to New Orleans for the world’s fair. The fact that a world’s fair could be held in the South was representative of how the railroad was uniting the region with the rest of America. Thus, Hill’s *Driving of the Last Spike* conveys the notion of an increasingly unified United States.

The painting was also an appropriate image to display at this world’s fair in other more troubling ways, as it celebrates Anglo-American dominance in the United States. As noted in chapter two, Chinese immigrants were allowed entry into the United States to do the actual

³³⁰ Hill spent four years on the painting, and had been promised \$50,000 from Stanford. He included over 400 people in the scene, seventy of them railroad officials and other dignitaries present that day. Charles Crocker, the president and founder of the Central Pacific took exception to the prominent place afforded Stanford in the scene. A bitter argument arose, and Stanford, wishing to maintain his position with the railroad, refused to honor his agreement with Hill and disavowed the painting. Hill put the picture up for sale, and exhibited it in Boston in 1881, then at the New Orleans fair with the intention of finding a buyer. The painting was eventually purchased by the California State Railroad Museum. California Art Research Project, WPA Project 2874 (San Francisco, California, 1937), microfilm reel 1, vol. II, 85-86.

physical labor required to construct the transcontinental railway, but the group that Hill represented is primarily white, with only two Chinese workers dressed in light blue work shirts, discernable in the lower left of a detail of the painting (Fig. 5.7). When Hill created the painting in 1875, anti-Chinese sentiments were growing in California, as discussed in chapter two, and legislative efforts were under way to bar any further immigration of the Chinese. Given the unrest in California at the time Hill was working on the painting, it is surprising he included two of the Chinese workers at all. They are, however, lost in the sea of white faces. Their miniscule presence poses no threat to white labor, and the *Driving of the Last Spike* becomes a testament to the growth of Anglo-American dominance in the West.

To highlight that point, one Native American with long black hair and headband is depicted in the lower right foreground gazing out at the viewer. The construction of the transcontinental railroad resulted in the displacement of many of the Plains tribes, and the presence of the Indian serves as a reminder of their former preeminence in the region. More importantly, however, the Native American serves as the marker by which progress in civilizing the West to Anglo-American specifications is gauged. His clothing, headband, and long black hair set him apart from the suits, ties, hats, and short hair of the Anglo-American males. Indeed, there are even white women in fashionable dress present, implying that the area is being settled by Anglo-American families. The two white children visible in the lower left quadrant of the detail confirm the notion that white families had come to settle the area (Fig. 5.7).

On the right hand side of the painting, Hill depicted the installation of a telegraph line, which is composed to look like a cross. Anglo-Americans brought technology to the West and crucified any culture that refused to adapt to white America's determination to control the region. Even the title, *Driving of the Last Spike*, evokes the end of an era, the end of the Wild

West of the Plains Indians and the beginning of another era in which Anglo-Americans will dominate the region, just as they do in the painting. The *Driving of the Last Spike* was the embodiment of the Anglo-American ideal of progress that the fair represented.

Religious paintings may not seem an obvious place to address issues of national identity, or Anglo-American ideals, but how the country was coping with the psychological and spiritual scars left on the nation in the aftermath of the Civil War may be discerned in responses to Peter Rothermel's *The Christian Martyrs*, and the lack of reaction to Thomas Eakins' (1844-1916) the *Crucifixion* and Edward Lamson Henry's (1841-1919) *The Passion Play, Oberammergau*, 1872 (Figs. 5.8, 5.10, 5.11). Rothermel's work attracted considerable attention and the New Orleans dailies reviewed the work thrice; in fact, the painting electrified viewers whenever and wherever it was shown.³³¹ The painting is now lost, but photographs and studies remain (Figs. 5.8, 5.9). *The Christian Martyrs*, according to the *Picayune*, was "a powerful picture" in which "men, women and children, are awaiting their turn to be thrown to the wild beasts . . . expressions of anxiety, horror, apprehension and despair on the various faces . . . indeed all are heroes and heroines of faith."³³² For the *Times-Democrat* the picture told "its own tale of horrors . . . when many suffered for conscience sake . . . these despairing and dying ones in the foreground may see in the arena beyond the devouring lion, loosed and burying his bloody claws in the quivering flesh of his victims."³³³ *The Christian Martyrs* provided something much more than an example of moral fortitude as it clearly delivered an excuse to revel vicariously in bloodletting and terror. The popularity of *Christian Martyrs* suggests depiction of such horrors served a cathartic

³³¹ The painting was shown in Philadelphia at the Great Central Fair, 1864, the Philadelphia Centennial, 1876, the Boston Athenaeum in 1864, 1868-1870, at the Pittsburgh Art Association in 1870-1871, and in London in 1887. A photographic carte was printed and distributed by Frederick Debourg Richards in 1863, and sold well. Mark Thistlethwaite, *Painting in the Grand Manner the Art of Peter Frederick Rothermel*, (Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania: Brandywine River Museum, 1995), 86.

³³² "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

³³³ "Art in the Galleries," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 February 1885.

function similar to that Widdifield contends Parra's *An Episode from the Conquest* provided for the Mexican people (Fig. 3.9). The precise nature of the therapeutic function provided by *Christian Martyrs*, however, is unclear, although the events of the Civil War come to mind.

The *Times-Democrat's* review of *Christian Martyrs* stated that the painting was about a time when many "suffered for conscious sake," and the *Picayune* noted that those depicted in the painting were all "heroes and heroines" for their beliefs.³³⁴ The phrasing used by both New Orleans dailies implies thoughts or remembrances of the Civil War. *The Christian Martyrs* was well received when exhibited both before and after the war, and the painting's renown was spread across the nation through photographic reproductions. During the antebellum era it was perhaps emblematic of people united in their beliefs and willing to die for them. After the war it stood as an acknowledgement of all those who had died for their principles on both sides of the conflict. Removed from any concrete association with the war, *Christian Martyrs* allowed postbellum viewers an opportunity for catharsis and a chance to memorialize their dead without the burden of any political agenda. In addition, the Christians depicted were not associated with Protestantism or Catholicism as the event depicted occurred before the Reformation, they were simply human beings deeply committed and connected to their faith, something that many on both sides of the conflict sought after the war as well.

Religious paintings, and the spiritual beliefs they represented, did not always seem to provide viewers with comfort. Given the attention to a violent painting such as *Christian Martyrs*, it should come as no surprise that less dramatic depictions of religious themes such as the *Crucifixion*, 1880 by Thomas Eakins and *The Passion Play, Oberammergau*, 1872 by Edward Lamson Henry did not garner the same extensive accolades (Figs. 5.10, 5.11). Neither

³³⁴ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885, and "Art in the Galleries," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 February 1885.

newspaper noted Henry's work. The *Times-Democrat* provided no commentary on Eakins's work and the *Picayune* simply reported that the *Crucifixion* by Eakins "wants expression of a most sublime idea."³³⁵

Completed in 1880, Eakins exhibited the *Crucifixion* in 1882 in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, and in 1883 in Detroit. The painting received lack-luster reviews before Eakins presented the work in New Orleans and the artist exhibited the work regularly until his death in 1916, but few responded to the painting favorably. As art historians Kristin Schwain has pointed out, many Protestant viewers were uncomfortable with Eakins's depiction of the Crucifixion because its realism served no higher purpose.³³⁶ Schwain asserts that Eakins's realistic depiction of the Crucifixion forced the viewer to confront the physical reality of human death. As depicted by Eakins, there are no supernatural elements to indicate the redemptive value of Christ's sacrifice and connect him to a higher power. Schwain argues that it is only through the "cultural resurrection" of Christ in the form of vivid "theological writings, art, and ritual enactments" that the viewer traditionally found comfort. She contends that for Eakins the act of creating the painting was a form of cultural resurrection and provided him with spiritual comfort. But his depiction of Jesus nailed to the cross, isolated and alone, without any attendant figures to indicate his sanctity or the divine redemption of humanity through sacrifice, was not enough to provide any catharsis or comfort for the contemporary viewer. Given the attendant crisis of faith some Americans suffered after the Civil War as a result of its carnage, as well as Darwin's

³³⁵ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

³³⁶ Kristin Schwain, *Signs of Grace: Religion and American Art in the Gilded Age* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 23-26. Schwain bases her argument on the important work of Elizabeth Milroy, "'Consummatum Est . . .': A Reassessment of Thomas Eakins's *Crucifixion* of 1880," 71, no. 2 *Art Bulletin* (June 1989): 269-284. See also Adler, Hirshler, Weinberg, *Americans in Paris*, 239 for the rejection of Eakins's *Crucifixion* by the Salon in 1890. Eakins also exhibited *The Crucifixion* at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. The asking price was \$1200, and the painting did not find a buyer. It remained in the artist's possession, and was given to the Philadelphia Museum of Art by his wife and her friend, Addie Williams, in 1929. Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 240.

theories that suggested there was no divine hand at work in the universe, *The Crucifixion*, as depicted by Eakins, was just one more reminder of a purposeless and meaningless death.

The other depiction of a crucifixion scene by an American artist in the galleries, Edward Lamson Henry's *The Passion Play, Oberammergau*, records the reenactment of the events of Holy Week that were staged in the foothills of the Bavarian Alps once every decade (Fig. 5.11). A rare survival from the medieval period, the people of Oberammergau vowed to perform the events of the Passion every ten years in gratitude for deliverance from the Black Death in 1633.³³⁷ The play took the entire day and the dramatically rendered tableaux attracted spectators to the village from throughout the Christian world. Henry depicts the climax of the performance, the graphically reenacted Crucifixion. He uses the theater's temporary roof and walls as a pictorial framing device to suggest that the viewer is part of the audience. The slightly elevated vantage point, however, locates the viewer slightly above and behind the audience, which divorces the viewer from the communal experience of witnessing the dramatic event. The use of the architectural features to create a pictorial frame combined with the point of view creates an unsettling distancing for the observer, a device Henry sometimes utilized in his work after the Civil War.

Popular during the late nineteenth century for his nostalgic genre scenes, Henry was born in Charleston, South Carolina in 1841, and orphaned at age eight; cousins in New York City raised him.³³⁸ Following some artistic training in New York in the mid-1850s, Henry attended the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art in 1857, and then in 1860 traveled to Europe and studied

³³⁷ Michael Quick in Katherine Harper Mead, ed. *The Preston Morton Collection of American Art* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1981), 146, 148.

³³⁸ Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012), 160-162. Additional biographical material obtained from Estill Curtis Pennington, *Romantic Spirits: Nineteenth Century Painting of the South, The Johnson Collection* (Spartanburg, SC: The Johnson Collection, 2012), 106.

at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. He returned to the United States in 1862, and subsequently served as a captain's clerk on a Union supply ship. After the war he created several paintings based upon sketches he had made while patrolling the James River and some of those paintings, such as *Old Westover House*, 1869, depicted the devastation of the war (Fig. 5.12). The ancestral home of the Byrd family of Virginia, and an emblem of Southern architecture, Westover House was occupied early in the war by Union General McLennan and subsequently served as the field headquarters for Union Generals Grant and Fitz John Porter. Henry depicts the house overrun by soldiers, their laundry hangs out of the windows, the front fence and lawn is torn asunder by artillery wagons and cannons, tents litter the lawn, the roof of one of the side buildings is partially burned out, and two soldiers use an outpost on the central roof to relay messages to nearby regiments. The painting can be understood as emblematic of the damage done to Southern infrastructure by the North.³³⁹

Henry also traveled in Europe with his wife for several years after the war, then moved to Ulster County, New York and established the Cragmoor Art Colony. He began to collect antiques, ephemera, period costumes, and fabrics, which he used to furnish the settings of his genre scenes. Noted for his careful attention to historical detail, Henry's work became popular with those that preferred a nostalgic rural existence rather than the realities of modern urban life. In one of Henry's genre paintings from after the Civil War, the *Old Clock on the Stairs*, 1868, he utilized the unusual framing device of an architectural feature to create a border between the viewer and the scene beyond (Fig. 5.13). The archway positions the viewer in the dark outside of the domestic interior with the comforts of home remaining just over the threshold. We can only gaze upon this world from the outside in: it appears tantalizingly out of reach, a memory of another life, another time, with the clock reinforcing the idea of the passage of time. Henry's *The*

³³⁹ Harvey, *Civil War*, 162.

Passion Play, also created after the war, utilizes a similar architectural framing device that results in the creation of a world just beyond our grasp. The drama of the Crucifixion scene being reenacted, and even the excitement of being part of the crowd, is all denied to the viewer.

Henry's participation in the Civil War and his creation of paintings depicting the war's devastation allows for interpretations of his genre scenes as a reflection of the effects of the war on both him and the war's survivors. In Henry's post-war work there is a withdrawal into a nostalgic world of an uncomplicated solitary rural existence that has been noted by scholars such as Estill Curtis Pennington.³⁴⁰ Moreover, as Pennington notes, the popularity of Henry's work after the war reflects similar inclinations on the part of his audience.³⁴¹ This retreat from the world suggests a troubling effect of the war: the inability to be an active participant in contemporary life. The past became a more comfortable place to exist, but ironically, as Henry depicts it in the *Old Clock on the Stairs*, it was also a place never completely within one's grasp. Beyond being an indication of an inability to engage in contemporary life, Henry's *The Passion Play* implies an even more disturbing consequence of the war on the psyche: the inability to connect with sources of spiritual comfort.

When Henry's *Passion Play* and Eakins's lifeless figure of the all too human Jesus in his *Crucifixion* are compared to *The Christian Martyrs*, the appeal of Rothermel's work becomes more apparent (Fig. 5.8). Rothermel's figures are truly alive, flush with emotion, interacting with one another, fearful of their future, but united in their beliefs. Although the violence is not clearly revealed, we are made aware of what is taking place through the archways of the Coliseum by the reactions of the figures in the foreground. The archway creates something of the same framing device used by Henry, but the figures in the foreground of *Christian Martyrs*

³⁴⁰ Pennington, *Romantic Spirits*, 46.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

convey all the drama and terror of the moment. Moreover, a shadow falls upon the scene from the left in Rothermel's painting that implies the viewer's presence among the Christians and allows the viewer to experience the catharsis such an image could provide.

As Americans struggled to find a means to heal the spiritual scars created by the death and destruction of the Civil War, they found themselves faced with other challenges as well. Henry's genre scenes, such as *Old Clock on the Stairs*, reveal another reason a retreat into an uncomplicated rural past appealed to late nineteenth-century viewers. Not only was such an existence viewed as a place of peace and home comforts, it was also seen as a place to escape the onslaught of industrial progress and urban environments where Darwinian struggles for survival seemed an uncomfortable reality. Genre scenes such as John George Brown's (1831-1913) *Street Gallantry* and Abraham Archibald Anderson's (1847-1940) *From Riches to Poverty*, which depicted the nation's urban spaces, were often portrayed as places where some of the country's most vulnerable citizens, its women and children, were being left behind or forced to fend for themselves (Figs. 5.14, 5.15).

John George Brown made a career for himself creating images of impoverished urban children in works such as *Street Gallantry* (Fig. 5.14). The theme of chivalrous romance was perhaps intended to appeal to a Southern audience. The *Times-Democrat* was "agreeably impressed" with the painting but noted that "Brown's boys look like boys, tis true, but they are all of a pattern—he seldom attunes their faces to their condition in life."³⁴² Both the girl and boys in Brown's painting are depicted as clean, healthy, and well-fed despite their tattered clothes. The artist often recruited street children and paid them to pose as models for his paintings. Although

³⁴² "Art at the Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

they were often undernourished, grimy, and frightened children, Brown transformed them into happy, charming urchins for sentimental scenes that pleased his collectors.³⁴³

Brown himself identified with these children, or at least in the “Horatio Alger” narrative he created of his own personal history.³⁴⁴ Brown’s narrative was essentially true, but it was a carefully constructed story that highlighted his rise “from humble beginnings via talent and hard work.”³⁴⁵ Born in Newcastle, England, Brown apprenticed as a glass cutter when he was fourteen. When his father died when he was seventeen, Brown moved to Edinburgh, Scotland, and worked at a glass factory to help support his mother and five siblings back in England. Simultaneously, however, he enrolled in art classes at the Trustees Academy. In 1853 Brown immigrated to the United States, initially working in a glass factory in Brooklyn. Two years later, Brown married the daughter of the factory’s manager and with his father-in-law’s help was able to leave the glass works behind and concentrate on painting full-time. The glass factory as well as the family’s fortunes, however, failed during the financial Panic of 1857, but Brown endured and continued to pursue a career as an artist; his genre scenes of poor urban youth had found an audience by that time.³⁴⁶ Although not always popular with art critics who found Brown’s work overly idealized, collectors eagerly sought out his paintings.

The popularity of Brown’s work with collectors can be related to several factors, one, being the rise of the immigrant population in the major cities of the Northeast.³⁴⁷ The children of

³⁴³ Martha J. Hoppin, *The World of J. G. Brown* (Chesterfield, MA: Chamelion Books, 2010), 154-160. See also Greenhill, 48- 53.

³⁴⁴ Horatio Alger’s *Ragged Dick: Or Street Life in New York with the Boot Blacks*, published in 1868, related the story of a fourteen-year-old bootblack that rose from poverty to wealth via honesty and hard work. Alger’s novel became the part of an American “rags to riches” ideology that promoted the myth of the autonomous self-made man. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 17-19.

³⁴⁵ Hoppin, *J. G. Brown*, 9-21.

³⁴⁶ Brown, it should be noted, also created images of rural life that appealed to collectors: nostalgic reminders of the country’s agrarian past. Hoppin, *J.G. Brown*, 45-61, and 81-109.

³⁴⁷ Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), chapter six, “The Washed, the Unwashed and the Unterrified, 176-196. Although Johns’s

the impoverished immigrants often had to take to the streets to raise additional funds for their families. Rather than face the realities of life for poverty-stricken immigrant children in urban areas, collectors preferred images that suggested these children were happy and industrious, new citizens who would pull themselves up by their bootstraps and thrive in America. By imbuing his works with a touch of humor and romance, as in the case of *Street Gallantry*, Brown effectively concealed the often harsh conditions of these children's lives.

Brown created a necessary fiction for some Americans as social reformers worked to expose the plight of the urban poor. The efforts of charitable organizations and social reformers found support by means of Brown's work as his depiction of industrious children encouraged a view of them as the "deserving" poor—those who worked rather than those who begged.³⁴⁸ The cheerful-faced cleanliness of Brown's children, however, did not appeal to all. Nevertheless, in a nation where the impersonal corporate model was beginning to overshadow individual entrepreneurial efforts, Brown's images promoted a Horatio Alger ethic that his collectors and some members of the general public held dear.³⁴⁹

Although romantic and light-hearted, *Street Gallantry's* presence in the galleries may have been intended to send a "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" message to Southerners. When the image is explored from that point of view, Brown's young industrious male street urchins could be viewed as representative of Northern industriousness, and the girl then becomes symbolic of the South. During the 1870s and 1880s, "reunion" or "reconciliation" novels and plays were popular in the North, and the South was more often than not portrayed as feminine

focus is on these types of genre scenes created before the Civil War, her ideas are sometimes applicable to such scenes created in the second half of the nineteenth century, as Hoppin herself does in her study of Brown, 72-76, and 167-170.

³⁴⁸ Hoppin, *J. G. Brown*, 138-140, 167-170.

³⁴⁹ Lears contends that by the 1880s the growth of corporate capitalism had made complete economic independence obsolete and thus the idea of the self-made man was nothing more than a myth, but a persistent one, *No Place of Grace*, 18.

and the North as masculine.³⁵⁰ The standard formula for these stories was one in which there is a courtship between a fractious, impoverished Southern belle and a Northern beau who ultimately subdues and marries her, thereby conquering the South for the second time. The male North, in these stories, brought drive and a diligent work ethic to the feminine South, thus restoring the vitality of the poverty stricken region.

Granted Brown's *Street Gallantry* does not neatly fit the formulaic "reunion" novel pattern, both the boys and girl are depicted as impoverished as evidenced by the disrepair of their clothing. Nevertheless, two of the boys hold the flowers they will sell, one boy sits on his shoe shine kit, and another has his kit flung over his shoulder, denoting the boys' industrious nature. The girl, on the other hand, stands demurely passive with eyes downcast, sniffing the flower proffered but not taking it, hands clasped in front of her. The North/South reconciliation analogy does work if one considers that the North had faced financial downturns and recessions since the Civil War, most notably the Panic of 1873, and the two regions needed one another if the country as a whole was to prosper.

Although Brown avoided starkly realistic depictions of poverty in his work, not all American artists during the latter half of the nineteenth century evaded its more troubling

³⁵⁰ Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1910* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993). Silber notes that gender was often evoked as a metaphor for the relationship between the North and South in the postbellum era. Immediately after the war, phrases such as the "rape of the South" became commonplace in both regions as a description of how the Union Army ravaged the former Confederacy. In chapter one of her book, Silber discusses the Reconstruction era when the Northern press featured stories of "spiteful Southern women" that needed to be tamed and subdued by their Northern male counterparts. Over time the Northern press became more sympathetic to the plight of the bereaved and impoverished women of the South. In chapters two and three, Silber explores how this more sentimental attitude to Southern women led to the emergence in the Northern press of the "tempestuous and romantic Southern belle," a type of woman that the Northern man would both tame and save. In chapter four, Silber looks at the fruition of the literature of reunion that occurred in the 1880s and 90s, as a metaphorical marriage took place between the North and the South in novels and plays. Plays such as *Alabama* (1884), and books such as *The Bloody Chasm* by John DeForest (1881), featured impoverished Southern women that found financial security via marriage to Northern men. A similar formula was followed by Thomas Nelson Page, one of the most widely read composers of reconciliation fiction with his work appearing regularly in *Century* and *Harper's*. See also James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 2005), 91-92.

aspects. A more realistic vision of destitution is seen in Abraham Archibald Anderson's *From Riches to Poverty* (Fig. 5.15).³⁵¹ The reviewer for the *Picayune* observed the painting "tells its own story, and tells it well."³⁵² Anderson's painting appears to have spoken clearly and succinctly to a Southerner who could remember the deprivations of the Civil War, and a region still endeavoring to recover economically.

In *From Riches to Poverty*, the artist portrayed a woman and a small child she clutches to her side as fairly well-dressed to imply that their former station in life was one of wealth; nevertheless, they stare out at the viewer through sunken, darkened eyes, and their facial features are gaunt. The woe-be-gone expressions on the face of the woman and small child create sentimental appeal, although the emaciated features of both evince impending starvation. The smaller child held to the woman's breast is shoeless despite the snow on the ground. Behind the woman stands an impenetrable wall of stone; no light of hope enters her world. The stone masonry creates the shape of a cross on its side: it symbolizes the burden of poverty and sacrifices this mother will have to bear for her children. Anderson's painting indirectly acknowledges the importance of family as a refuge from what is depicted as a literally cold, cruel world. The painting does not indicate how this family has arrived at their current state of impoverishment, but the reviewer for the *Picayune* seemed to understand the story, as did one Northern visitor to the exposition.

William H. Webb was visiting the fair with a group of members of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of New York City. Founded in 1785 to provide training for craftsmen

³⁵¹The painting was a bit of a departure for Anderson who was establishing a successful career as a portrait painter. Anderson began his artistic training in 1873 in Paris under Léon Bonnat and Alexandre Cabanel and was active in founding the American Artists Association in the city. He remained in Paris during the 1870s and well into the early 1880s, establishing a career for himself as a portraitist, but occasionally creating genre scenes. Anderson showed his work regularly at the Paris Salon as well as the National Academy of Design. Mary Lubin in David B. Dearing, *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design* (New York and Manchester: Hudson Hills Press, 2004), 1:16.

³⁵²"World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

of the city, by 1820 the Society had established one of New York's first free schools for the children of its members, and free technical training in the evening for male adults. In addition to offering educational opportunities to the people of New York City, the Society also provided financial support for the widows and orphans of its members. With increased industrialization in the latter half of the nineteenth century came a concurrent rise in industrial accidents that left many women widows. The Society instituted programs in the 1870s to insure that the families of members who were either killed or disabled in industrial accidents would not suffer due to loss of income. The Society's programs were in line with the work of social reformers of the day in their efforts to prevent situations such as that depicted in *From Riches to Poverty* from becoming reality. Upon seeing the painting at the New Orleans fair, William Webb purchased the work with the intent of giving it to the Society for display, as a perpetual reminder of the group's principles.³⁵³

The purchase of this painting provides a reminder of the contradictory functions served by art exhibitions at world's fairs. On the one hand, the art functioned as another commodity, and artists hoped to attract patrons and sell their work. On the other hand, the art acted as an antidote to the rampant materialism of the age. As early as 1875, critic James Jackson Jarves suggested that art could elevate public taste and aid in the triumph of the spirit over the materialistic. Indeed, Jarves believed as public taste was awakened it would serve as a "barometer whereby to measure the actual ethical condition of a human being . . . to mark the degree of his spiritual growth."³⁵⁴ The exhibition and purchase of Anderson's *From Riches to*

³⁵³ I would like to thank Angelo A. Vigorito, Archivist/Librarian at the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesman for providing me with this information. By 1887 the Society's tuition free evening classes were opened to women and provided training in stenography and typewriting. The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen continues to provide tuition-free evening instruction in trades-related education. Currently, it is the oldest privately endowed tuition-free technical school in the city of New York, with more than 180,000 alumni.

³⁵⁴ James Jackson Jarves quoted in Barbara Dayer Gallati, ed., *Making American Taste: Narrative Art for a New Democracy* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 2011), 221.

Poverty fulfilled these two seemingly contradictory functions of art at a fair. Its display resulted in a sale for the artist, but it also appealed to a patron who saw it as his moral responsibility to care for the less fortunate and wanted a painting that would remind his peers of their ethical obligations.

Anderson's depiction of the impoverished woman in *From Riches to Poverty* could be considered a rather unusual representation of a woman in late nineteenth-century American art. Art historian Bailey van Hook, in *Angels of Art: Women and Art in American Society*, observes that images of women, and women themselves, occupied a position analogous to that of art in American society in the late nineteenth century.³⁵⁵ According to Van Hook, women were equated with art and culture, and they became the passive carriers of a cultural ideal or, more specifically,

³⁵⁵ Bailey Van Hook, *Angels of Art: Women and Art in American Society, 1876-1914* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), see chapter three, "Ideal Women in Late Nineteenth-Century American Art: Modes of Representation," 69-110, and chapter six, "The Beautiful and the Decorative," 159-185. The very notion of "culture" was transformed in the late nineteenth century. Lawrence Levine in, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) argues that the final decades of the nineteenth century saw significant changes in how "culture" and "cultural" were defined and perceived. Levine's study focuses on the popularity of Shakespeare, Italian opera, and symphonic performances of classical music during the nineteenth century in the United States. All enjoyed enormous popularity in the first three-quarters of the century among all socio-economic groups, and then experienced dramatic drops in performance except in increasingly restrictive venues for the newly fashioned cultural elite. The author attributes this shift in part to changing taste in oratorical styles and the decline in the popularity of melodrama. More importantly, however, for Levine, were the economic issues at stake. Theaters in the early nineteenth century were open to all, with little differentiation in seating prices, but by midcentury this had changed and conflicts became more frequent between those in the "aristocratizing pit" and those in the cheap seats. To avoid what sometimes descended into actual physical violence, by the last decades of the nineteenth century some theaters used higher admission prices, as well as selective membership strategies to attract a more discriminating clientele. As a result, Shakespeare, Italian opera, and symphonic performances of classical music became the staple of those venues and their "elite" patrons. Levine admits that there were those among the middle and even lower classes that still wanted access to these activities, but they now *perceived* of cultural activities as something exclusive, something only accessible in pricey, carefully regulated, and controlled venues. The terms "highbrow" or "high culture" as the province of the upper class and "lowbrow" or "low culture" as that of the masses became more common and a cultural hierarchy emerged. As a result the middle class attempted to negotiate a position aligned with the upper class as explored by Alan Trachtenberg, in *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982, 2007), see particularly chapter five, "The Politics of Culture," 140-181. Trachtenberg asserts that during the latter decades of the nineteenth century the idea of a cultural life was a middle class aspiration, which to some degree was being realized. How the idea of "culture" or a "cultural life" took shape, however, through the establishment of art museums and concert halls, was basically an upper and upper middle class endeavor and this elite group became the guardians of culture. The construction of culture and cultural pursuits became associated with the leisure time activities of the well-to-do and filtered down to the masses from an elite that was perceived as having the time, wealth, and power to dispense such gifts to the nation.

the notion of high culture. High culture was often perceived as elitist, the privileged domain of those with money and education. And for some, the term implied the leisurely pursuits of the well-to-do. A preponderance of idealized images of upper-class and upper middle-class women portrayed in dreamy reverie reinforced these perceptions. Although Van Hook does not specifically address Anderson's *From Riches to Poverty*, one might infer from her argument that culture was being neglected and cast aside as material concerns became the primary preoccupation of the nation. Other images in the gallery lend a degree of credence to Van Hook's ideas, but also underscore the complexity of the construction of ideas about art, culture, and gender during this era. An examination of another genre painting by Frederick W. Freer (1849-1908), and portraits by Emily Sartain (1841-1927), James Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917), and William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), presented in New Orleans highlight this complicated issue (Figs. 5.16, 5.17, 5.18, 5.19).

Although Freer's painting is lost, a pen and ink drawing entitled *Lady at an Organ* is available, which resembles the description of the painting *Adagio* shown in New Orleans and reviewed in the *Times-Democrat* (5.16).³⁵⁶ The reviewer noted that "*Adagio* is a charming little picture . . . It represents a young girl—a very pretty one, with a head like a cameo cut, seated at a musical instrument, looking with grave interest at the music before her."³⁵⁷ The title *Adagio* is obviously a reference to music and the work of James Abbott McNeil Whistler (1834-1903).³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Freer was born in Chicago and studied for five years at the Royal Academy in Munich with Wilhelm von Dietz, Alexander von Wagner, and Alexander Straehuber. In 1872, his father who had been supporting him suffered financial setbacks, and the young artist returned to the United States. In 1877 Freer returned to Europe and divided his time between Munich and Paris. Upon returning to the United States in 1880, Freer settled in New York and exhibited regularly with at the National Academy of Design. In 1892 Freer returned to Chicago and taught at the Art Institute. In 1906 Freer was appointed director of the Chicago Academy of Design, a position he held until his death. Deborah Fenton Shepherd in Detroit Institute of Arts, *Quest for Unity*, 111.

³⁵⁷ "Art at the Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 3 March 1885.

³⁵⁸ Although Whistler painted his Symphonies in the 1860s, they would not be seen in the United States until much later. *Symphony in White No. 1: The White Girl* was shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Union League Club in 1881. Most American artists, however, particularly those like Freer who had trained in

In the 1860s Whistler created a series of works he called “Symphonies,” which relied on harmonious color arrangements and featured languidly posed young women, who seemingly had no activities to occupy their time, the passive carriers of cultural ideals as Van Hook contends.³⁵⁹

In the pen and ink drawing, however, Freer portrays his female subject involved in reading and playing music. This is, however, just a drawing, perhaps a study, and not the final painting. But the review of the painting *Adagio* does note that the female figure appears to be reading the music. Thus, Freer’s female is not merely a passive carrier of a culture, but rather a woman actively engaged in creating culture.

Evidence of women taking an active role in the creation of culture was reinforced in the Fine Arts Gallery as the work of over twenty female artists were on display.³⁶⁰ This was in variance to the Philadelphia Centennial exposition where the work of women artists was relegated to the Woman’s Pavilion where it was displayed beside examples of embroidery and household gadgets.³⁶¹ In New Orleans, the work of women artists was presented alongside that of

Europe, were familiar with Whistler’s work before it arrived in the United States. Linda Merrill, et al, *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 10-28.

³⁵⁹ Van Hook, *Angels of Art*, 164-180.

³⁶⁰ The following women presented work in New Orleans: Annie Burt (no life dates available), *Chrysanthemums* and *Fruit*; Sarah Barstow (no life dates available), *View of the White Mountains* and *White Mountain Path*; Lizzie Boyce (no life dates available), *Louisville Flowers*, *Flowers*, and *Marigolds*; Helen “Nellie” Sheldon Jacobs Smillie (1854 New York City, NY-1926 New York City, NY), *Wisteria*, and *Still Life*; Emily Maria Spaford Scott (1832-1915), *Summer* and *Roses*; Georgine Campbell (1848 New Orleans, LA-1931 Washington, D.C.), *Mandolin Player* and *Blowing Bubbles*; Emily Sartain (1841 Philadelphia, PA-1927), 2 works entitled *Portrait*, a *Study Head* and *Marie*; Agnes Dean Abbatt (1847-1917), *A Florist’s Window* and *Early Summer*; Amy Kirkpatrick (1862-1935), *On the Flats*, *Sheep*; Elizabeth Boott (1846 Cambridge, Mass.-1888 Paris, France), *Mum’ Hannah*; Rosina Emmet [Sherwood] (1854 New York City, NY-1948 New York City, NY), *Autumn* and *One Morning*; Euphemia B. Wilmarth (1856-1906), *Chrysanthemums*; Marie Fisk Kennicott (1825-1885), *Fruit and Flowers*; Maria A’Becket (d. 1904), *Woods Near Glen House*, *White Mountains*; Rhonda Holmes Nicholls (1843 Coventry, Great Britain - 1930 Stamford, Conn.), *Mendicant Monks*; Phoebe Jenks (1847 Portsmouth, NH - 1907 New York City, NY), *The Triumph*; Marie Christine Westfield Reid (no life dates available), *Melons*; Mary Kollock (1840 Norfolk, VA - 1911) *Summer on Roundout Creek* and *A Quiet Summer Morning*; Cornelia Conant (unknown, active 1863-1890), *Feeding the Doves*; Emily Noyes (Vanderpoel) (1842-1939), *Rose*; Caroline Cranch (1853 -1931), *A Portrait*; Helen Mary Knowlton (1832 Littleton, Mass. - 1918 Needham, Mass.), *Glen Woods, NH*; Sarah Levis (unknown), *Early Autumn*.

³⁶¹ Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women’s Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1991), 101.

men. As Kristen Swinth in *Painting Professionals: Women Artists & The Development of Modern American Art, 1870-1930* observes, women entered the art world in unprecedented numbers after the Civil War, which triggered responses that reshaped not only the art community in the United States, but also the concept of culture in more highly gendered terms.³⁶² In the antebellum era, women were charged with the protection and cultivation of art and culture; it was left to men, however, to create art and culture. With so many women left widowed or without the hope of matrimony after the Civil War, however, concerns about their ability to be self-sufficient led to the endorsement of art as a career. To create art themselves was a seemingly natural extension of the role of women in American society, but it also challenged the male dominance of the art world and threatened the delicate balance of separate spheres. Swinth maintains that by the 1880s women artists were taking an active part in the art world, enrolling in art schools, joining art associations, and exhibiting their work that further “feminized” ideas about art and culture. There would be a backlash against this, Swinth contends, by 1890 as male artists attempted to redefine the art world as a place of “heroic” masculine endeavors. But in 1884 in New Orleans, women artists did have an opportunity to display their efforts to create art and culture actively.

Emily Sartain was one of these women artists, and she displayed four paintings in New Orleans, two simply entitled *Portrait*, one *Study Head* and another *Marie* (Fig. 5.17). In *Marie*, the artist presents the viewer with a contemporary young woman who looks out confidently at the world, much as Sartain might have. Unlike some aspiring female artists, Sartain grew up in a family of artists, which armed her with an insider’s knowledge of the art world. Born in Philadelphia, Sartain was the daughter of John Sartain, a noted engraver and painter, who had

³⁶² Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists & The Development of Modern American Art, 1870-1930* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1-11, 15-27.

been the supervisor of the fine arts committee at the Philadelphia Centennial exposition, and she had four brothers who were artists as well.³⁶³ Although she studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Sartain's father taught her engraving, a skill with which she could earn a regular income. The money she saved from selling her engravings funded her artistic training in Paris, which enhanced her professional reputation in the United States. As Swinth observes, although Sartain was fortunate to be part of an artistic family, she needed these years in Paris to broaden her outlook both artistically and professionally.

In Paris, Sartain developed a social circle and professional network that included two fellow female Philadelphia artists, Mary Cassatt and Cecelia Beaux.³⁶⁴ Sartain displayed her work at the Paris Salon on several occasions and then sent those paintings back to America for further exhibition and possible sale. Returning to the United States in 1881, Sartain continued to pursue her artistic career, and as Swinth points out, for women to become part of the art world in the United States they had to take part in the same professional activities as their male counterparts, sometimes facing rejection.³⁶⁵ On the one hand, Sartain was thwarted when she attempted to join the Philadelphia Society of Etchers, which established a policy in 1880 that officially barred women from membership. On the other hand, Sartain and Beaux joined forces and found success in their bid to serve on the Jury Selection Committee for the annual exhibition of student work at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1887. In addition, Sartain tirelessly exhibited her work at various venues in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, as well as in New Orleans.

Sartain and her fellow female artists who presented their work in New Orleans personified the New Woman: they endeavored to establish their independence through professional careers, were eager to compete in the public arena, and when rebuffed sought out

³⁶³ Ibid., 41, 48.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 55-57.

³⁶⁵ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 73.

alternative opportunities. Sadly, Sartain's efforts, as well as those of her female contemporaries, were ignored by both New Orleans dailies. Were their paintings not considered good or interesting? Or was there a bias against acknowledging female artists as professionals? Either is possible; but it is unfortunate that the press ignored their efforts.

As success in business became the focus of American society for men during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the perception of fine art as feminine and high culture as the leisure time activity of the well-to-do became an awkward issue for male artists in the United States. Sarah Burns addressed this issue in *Inventing the Modern Artist* and found that for male artists professionalization was the key to battling impressions of them as effeminate or as merely dabbling in art as a past time.³⁶⁶ Professionalization included the establishment of art schools with rigorous standards, the formation of art organizations and exhibition venues that created an opportunity for men to compete with one another and prove themselves in the public arena, all of which was threatened by the increasing number of female artists entering the profession.³⁶⁷ The tension between being a man who produced a commodity such as a painting and the perception of that painting as a product of leisure, as well as the gendering of art and culture as essentially feminine, created a situation in which the identity of the male artist became unstable. For Burns, artist William Merritt Chase was the very embodiment of the "instability of artistic identity" during the era.³⁶⁸

A portrait of Chase created by his good friend James Carroll Beckwith was on view in New Orleans (Fig. 5.18). Rather than discuss the painting or Beckwith, the *Times-Democrat*

³⁶⁶ Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art & Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996). 1-16.

³⁶⁷ Swinth builds upon Burns's seminal scholarship, but it is Burns who first addressed the issue of the gendering of art and culture as feminine and male artists as effeminate. See particularly Part Three "Gender on the Market," in Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*.

³⁶⁸ Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 20-23.

focused on its sitter and his life-style, particularly Chase's studio. According to the *Times-Democrat*, "of the artist W. M. Chase we all know much, his studio is among the wonders of New York City . . . with its objets d'art, quaint jars, Egyptian pots, wood carvings, Venetian studies, Renaissance chests, Japanese robes and dainty slippers, musical instruments and rare old books."³⁶⁹ In mentioning Chase's studio, the critic effectively added a bit more panache and interest to Beckwith's portrait of the dapper, and apparently prosperous, Chase, who is depicted in topcoat and spats, walking cane in hand, with carefully coiffed hair and sweeping moustache.

Beckwith's portrait of Chase and the reaction of the *Times-Democrat's* critic to the painting signaled the arrival of the new guard, the modern American artist. Chase personified the artist as a successful gentleman: a well-groomed, well-dressed professional, and one who constructed an identity for himself with a studio that supported a worldly, widely traveled, and even exotic persona. Beckwith chose to depict Chase without studio props, however, to focus attention on the man, neither a perpetual studio denizen, nor someone actually doing something. Nonetheless, all of those studio props were duly noted by the *Times-Democrat*, which returns Chase to his workplace and his material conquests and discloses just how successful some artists were in fashioning a vibrant identity for themselves.

The creation of such a flamboyant persona, however, did have its drawbacks if it detracted from the artist's work. The problem for the artist lay in establishing for himself an identity that was at once cosmopolitan and bohemian, as well as an accomplished working professional.³⁷⁰ Although the tone of the *Times-Democrat's* critic expresses admiration for Chase's bric-a-brac filled studio, in reviewing the artist's own work in the galleries, the critic found it lacking in sustained skillfulness, with "all sorts of carelessness in execution and

³⁶⁹ "Art at the Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 25 February 1885.

³⁷⁰ Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 20-23.

remoteness in selection of subject . . . a mere sketch.”³⁷¹ The critic was describing Chase’s depiction of a fellow artist, *Portrait of Frank Duveneck*, 1875, also known as *The Smoker* (Fig. 5.19). According to the *Times-Democrat*, it was “nothing more than a sketch,” and the chair was “curiously responsible for the greater portion of it.”³⁷² The opinion of the *Times-Democrat* reporter echoed that of an earlier review of the painting when it was shown in New York at the Society of American Artists in 1879.³⁷³ This new, informal conception of the portrait was one that neither the *Times-Democrat* nor other American critics were completely comfortable with, even though the painting received honorable mention when it was shown in Europe at the Munich Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1876 and at the Paris Salon in 1881.³⁷⁴

In neither Beckwith’s portrait of Chase nor Chase’s portrait of Duveneck is the artist portrayed actively engaged in creating art which reinforces the notion that artistic production was a leisurely activity. This is a rather different conception of the artist from that created by the Mexican painter Juan Cordero in his *Two Young Mexican Sculptors* (Fig. 3.10). In Cordero’s work, the young sculptors are actively engaged in creating a work of art, the tools of their trade clearly visible, as well as the product of their endeavors. Male artists in the United States may have undermined their own efforts to be recognized as professionals with images such as Chase’s and Beckwith’s. The paintings themselves do stand as evidence of work, but reviewers found the “sketchy” quality of the paintings troubling, which suggested that although these young artists were working, perhaps they were not working hard enough.

³⁷¹ “Art at the Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 25 February 1885.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ *The Aldine* noted that “it may be a question of taste whether a man shall have his portrait painted sitting sidewise in a highbacked chair, his face just appearing above the top of it, smoking a long-stemmed clay pipe,” quoted in Ronald K. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase, The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase (1849-1916)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 2:12.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

Another member of the new guard whose work was shown in New Orleans and received a positive reception was Julian Alden Weir (1852-1919) with his *The Milkmaid of Popindrecht*, 1881 (Fig. 5.20) The *Picayune* admired Weir's work as a "realistic painting, and doubtless a close imitation of nature without idealization."³⁷⁵ The *Times-Democrat* perceived in Weir's *Milkmaid* a "healthy, sturdy maiden" and deemed that "there is much to admire in this charming piece of realism."³⁷⁶ Although the critics for the two New Orleans dailies had proclaimed they wanted American art, there was something about Weir's depiction of a Dutch peasant woman that struck a responsive chord. Weir was a friend of both Chase and Beckwith, and he had trained in Europe at the same time. His artistic pedigree, however, went back further as his father Robert Weir (1803-1889) was also an artist and art teacher.³⁷⁷ Robert Weir taught drawing at West Point, and was Julian's first teacher. The importance of solid draftsmanship was instilled early in the young Weir, and his father also encouraged him to make copies of prints after the works of the Old Masters of Europe.³⁷⁸

Julian quickly moved on from his father's tutelage to the National Academy of Design and then to Paris.³⁷⁹ Weir received four years of training at the École des Beaux-Arts, primarily in the studio of Jean-Léon-Gérôme, where he concentrated on figural work. During his years in Europe, Weir also visited Belgium and Holland where he encountered the work of Hals and Rembrandt, two artists he greatly admired. Continuing a practice his father encouraged, Weir made copies after paintings he was now seeing in the original. *The Milkmaid of Popindrecht*, with its solid modeling of form, and the lighting with the strong tonal contrasts suggest the

³⁷⁵ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

³⁷⁶ "Art at the Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 April 1885.

³⁷⁷ Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 23-39.

³⁷⁸ I do not mean to imply that copying prints was an unusual practice; most artists in the United States did this as part of their training or to learn to draw on their own. Weir, however, probably begun this practice earlier and was most likely subjected to vigorous critiques at an early age by an established drawing master, his father.

³⁷⁹ Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir*, 40-86.

influence of Dutch masters such as Rembrandt and Hals. This would have appealed to American viewers, as there had been a revival of interest in the Dutch masters, particularly Rembrandt in recent years. Another influence appeared, as well, that of the French Barbizon artists. Although the work of these French artists would not be at the height of its popularity until the 1890s, it was beginning to receive a warm reception in the United States by the 1880s.³⁸⁰ While attending the École in Paris, Weir viewed and became enamored of the work of the Barbizon school. These French artists' pastoral scenes of the countryside, populated by peasants, appealed to American audiences and collectors as they provided an escapist retreat into a simpler life; they offered an important antidote to the industrialism of the age.³⁸¹ The combination of the influence of the Old Masters as evidenced in the rich, tonal contrasts, and the solid modeling of form to create a sturdy peasant girl in Weir's *Milkmaid* produced a scene the New Orleans critics could embrace.

As American artists such as Beckwith, Chase, and Weir returned from Europe and strove to establish professional careers, figure painting became increasingly popular in the United States. Whether in portraits, historical scenes or religious paintings, figure painting allowed the artist to display their newfound confidence in delineating the human form. Nonetheless, critics did not always see the mastery involved in a more loosely painted figure, such as that seen in Chase's work; rather, they saw a sketch. New conceptions of the landscape, the mainstay of American art, provoked similar concerns in how forms were delineated, but atmospheric renderings of nature were more easily, and at times, eagerly embraced as they allowed for dreamy, escapist retreats from everyday life.

³⁸⁰ Peter Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975). See chapter six, "Post-Centennial Critics and Patrons," for critical reception in the late 1870s and 1880s, and chapter eight, "The Early Nineties: Triumph and Displacement."

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, see chapter seven, "Artful Animals and Pleasant Peasants."

Close to half of the paintings exhibited by artists from the United States at the New Orleans fair were landscapes or landscape/genre scenes, and a wide array of topography from the continental United States was presented. Images of the West created by artists that lived and worked in California such as William Hahn (1829-1887), Thomas Hill, Julian Rix (1850-1903), and Raymond Dabb Yelland (1848-1900) greeted visitors, alongside depictions of the Northeast created by Alfred Bricher (1837-1908), Louis Remy Mignot (1831-1870), George Loring Brown (1814-1889), and George Inness (1825-1894), as well as interpretations of the Southern landscape by Joseph Jefferson (1829-1905), Meyer Straus (1831-1905), and William H. Buck (1840-1905) (Figs. 5.21, 5.23, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26, 5.27, 5.28, 5.30, 5.31, 5.33, 5.34, 5.35, 5.36). Not only are the variety of aesthetic concerns that preoccupied artists across the United States evident in these paintings, but philosophical approaches to nature and reaction to the increasing materialism of American life emerges as a concern of artists from coast to coast. The West remained the region that seemed an answer to America's prayers, and it was scenes of California, the state that had stolen the show in the Government and States Building, that garnered the highest praise from the New Orleans dailies.

During the Gold Rush of 1848 artists arrived in California from throughout Europe and the East Coast of United States and began to establish artistic traditions in the region.³⁸² Although landscapes were popular in California, genre scenes that highlighted the human presence in the state and its rich Hispanic heritage garnered early favor. William Hahn's *Mexican Cattle Drivers in California* of 1883, exhibited in New Orleans, serves as an example of the latter (Fig. 5.21).³⁸³ Hahn highlighted the rough and tumble of everyday life in what was still,

³⁸² Harvey L. Jones in the introduction to Harvey L. Jones, et al. *The Art of California: Selected Works from the Collection of the Oakland Museum*. (Oakland, CA: Oakland Museum Art Department, 1984), 13-14.

³⁸³ There were two versions of this painting, one painted in 1881 and now lost, and this later version, which was exhibited widely in the 1880s. Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, *William Hahn: Genre Painter 1829-1887*, (Oakland, CA:

as Hahn depicted it, the frontier. Although this was the outskirts of civilization, in Hahn's painting, human beings dominate the landscape, and, more importantly, control nature. The vaqueros sit astride their horses confidently and engage in conversation, in complete control of the procession of long-horned cattle, and the mountain ranges are a distant backdrop to human endeavors.

The mountains that provided the background in Hahn's work were the focus of some of the itinerant artists who traveled to the state. Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) visited California on an intermittent basis during the 1860s and 1870s, and his rendering of the state's *Hetch-Hetchy Valley*, 1874-1880, was on view in New Orleans (Fig. 5.22).³⁸⁴ During his visits to California, Bierstadt sketched extensively in Yosemite Valley, where the Hetch-Hetchy valley is located, and then returned to his East Coast studio to work up paintings based on his sketches. Bierstadt created his large scale, light infused, vistas of the region that helped to create a public taste for such scenes by the mid-1860s and early 1870s. For Americans living in urban areas in the Northeast, his canvases pictured an America that was wild and unspoiled, unfettered and untroubled by industrialization and war. The public taste for scenes of virgin wilderness would

Oakland Museum of Art Department, 1976), 43-44. The current owner of this version, the Oakland Museum of Art, is unable to confirm this was the painting exhibited. Hahn immigrated to the United States in 1871, settled in New York for a year and then moved to California in 1872, long after the first wave of European artists came seeking gold. Jones, *Art of California*, 16-17.

³⁸⁴ Trained at Germany's Düsseldorf Academy from 1853 through 1856, Bierstadt learned the art of panoramic landscape and to create well-composed scenes, reliant upon detail, and fine draftsmanship. During the summer he made sketching trips to the Rhineland, and beginning in 1856 Bierstadt traveled further afield to Switzerland and Italy. He returned to the United States in 1857, and opened a studio in New Bedford. Bierstadt created paintings based upon his Alpine sketches and scenes of Italy once he returned to the United States, and began to receive positive reviews for his work that he exhibited at the National Academy of Design in New York City. In April of 1859 Bierstadt accompanied Frederick Lander's survey party to the Rocky Mountains. Although the expedition traveled as far west as California, Bierstadt only accompanied the party to the Continental Divide and he returned to New Bedford in September 1859. There, Bierstadt produced paintings of the Rockies that established his reputation as one of the premier painters of the West. In 1862 Bierstadt chanced upon an exhibition of photographs in New York of Yosemite Valley taken by Carleton Watkins, and he decided this was just the kind of subject matter with which he could reinforce his reputation. He then made a trip to Yosemite with writer Fritz Hugh Ludlow. Ludlow's accounts of the trip to were published regularly in the New York *Post* and fueled interest in California. Harding and Witthoft, *American Artists in Düsseldorf*, 18. See also Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt*, 140-141, 172-175.

extend well into the late 1870s when Bierstadt's fame started to wane in the Northeast.³⁸⁵ In the West, however, collectors still had an appetite for such scenes, which allowed artists such as Thomas Hill to make careers for themselves in California.³⁸⁶

Hill's stunning views of the Sierras and Yosemite captured the imagination of reviewers in New Orleans (Figs. 5.23, 5.24, 5.25). Hill was a Massachusetts landscape painter who came to San Francisco in 1861 for his health and visited Yosemite as well as the Sierra Nevadas as early as 1862.³⁸⁷ His health restored, Hill traveled to France in 1866, and viewed the work of French Barbizon artists on display in Paris. Upon returning to the United States, Hill lived in Boston for a few more years, but not finding success there, he moved to San Francisco and settled permanently in the city in 1872. In the 1870s, Hill finally enjoyed success as an artist painting huge canvases of the Sierra Nevada range and Yosemite for California collectors. Although Hill did not create the more intimate scenes of domesticated nature that he had seen portrayed by the Barbizon artists, his paint handling became a bit looser and the scenes he portrayed were less detail-laden than those of Bierstadt, although he would never completely abandon detail in the foreground.

In the foregrounds of his paintings of the 1870s and 1880s, such as *Heart of the Sierras*, *Early Morning in Yosemite*, and *Yosemite Valley*, which were all shown in New Orleans, Hill attended to telling details of the topography (Figs. 5.23, 5.24, 5.25). These details did not

³⁸⁵ As interest in Bierstadt's work began to wane in the East, he actively began showing his work in the West, the South, and Europe in the latter 1870s and early 1880s. His strategy was moderately successful. In January, 1884 he sold *Storm on Laramie Peak* for \$3,500 to a group of citizens in Louisville, Kentucky that were attempting to create a permanent art gallery for the city. Bierstadt had exhibited the work at the Southern Exposition in Louisville in August 1883. The price he obtained for the work, however, was far below that of \$25,000 he was asking for *Mount Whitney* also shown at the Southern Exposition. Bierstadt had achieved such sale prices in the 1860s, *Rocky Mountains*, *Landers Peak* sold for \$25,000 in 1865 to railroad entrepreneur James McHenry, and the artist subsequently received a commission of \$25,000 from New York financier Le Grand Lockwood for what would be *The Domes of Yosemite*. Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt*, 26-28, 246, 250-251.

³⁸⁶ Jones, *Art in California*, 15-16.

³⁸⁷ Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, *California Art: 450 Years of Painting & Other Media* (Los Angeles: Dustin Publications, 1998), 42-43. Hill was born in Birmingham, England and emigrated to Taunton, Massachusetts in 1844.

generally suggest human occupation of the region, but in *Yosemite Valley* Hill included Native Americans (Fig. 5.25). The *Times-Democrat* noted, “a party of Indians winding down the trail” and the *Picayune* “a party of Indians grouped amidst the dusky, somber green of the cedar brakes.”³⁸⁸ Both reviewers, however, quickly moved onto extended discussion of the artist’s engagement with nature. The *Times-Democrat* enthused over Hill’s “strong love of nature” and “an intelligent appreciation of rock forms and atmospheric effects.” For the *Picayune*, the painting brilliantly demonstrated Hill’s ability to capture a faithful representation of the place, for if one “had never been there” you could not appreciate the artist’s achievement.

The Native Americans in the left foreground of *Yosemite Valley* were merely an afterthought in both reviews, mentioned but not worthy of extended discussion. Hill portrayed the Indians as an integral part of the scenery, as wild and unfettered as the landscape. For the white viewer, the Indians, while not fully assimilated into white society, at least appeared to be peaceful. In truth, the establishment of national parks and wilderness preserves in the last quarter of the nineteenth century displaced large numbers of Native peoples, and white visitors would never have seen them in the park.³⁸⁹

Yosemite, however, was an exception. The Miwok and Mono Lake Paiutes had resided in the area for centuries, and remnants of these tribes would remain there well into the twentieth century. Hill’s painting was not a complete fiction, but it was not reality either. In 1864, Yosemite Valley was placed under the protection of the state of California to be used as a park. The already park-like setting of the region owed much to the regular fires the Native peoples set in the area to aide in hunting game and to keep unwanted brush under control allowing plants used as

³⁸⁸ “Art in the Galleries,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 February 1885; “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 13 April 1885.

³⁸⁹ Benjamin Johnson, “Wilderness Parks and Their Discontents,” in Michael Lewis, ed., *American Wilderness: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 113-130. Also of interest is Angela Miller’s essay “The Fate of Wilderness in American Landscape Art: The Dilemmas of ‘Nature’s Nation,’” 91-112.

foodstuffs and medicines to thrive. When the state of California assumed control of Yosemite Valley, such practices were forbidden. The Miwok and Paiute had to adopt new methods of hunting that were also subject to restrictions. State game and wildlife officials established regular hunting seasons, and certain “unsporting” practices such as fishing with nets or spears were illegal. In addition, the Miwok and Paiute had to locate their domiciles away from areas frequented by hikers and campers as well as from the hotels that were beginning to spring up in the region. Hill’s painting is partly truth, partly fiction; Indians remained in Yosemite Valley but they did not roam the land unencumbered by white civilization.

The popularity of Hill’s scenes of Yosemite and the Sierra Nevadas made him a leader in California’s arts community, and his work received some of the most extensive coverage from the New Orleans dailies.³⁹⁰ Nonetheless, Hill’s majestic vistas were not the only kind of landscapes being created in the state. Julian Rix, among others, painted more introspective views of nature, which were also well-received in New Orleans. Rix presented a simply entitled *Landscape* at the New Orleans fair, which is unlocated. Representative of the kind of paintings he showed at exhibitions at this time, however, is *Landscape (Twilight with Stream and Redwood Trees)* (Fig. 5.26).³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ Fueling some of the interest in Hill’s work was the artist’s presence in New Orleans on two occasions. Hill visited the city in January with his wife and son to celebrate California day at the fair, and returned by himself again in March. The purpose of Hill’s first visit, according to J.A. Brewster reporting for the Los Angeles *Daily Times*, was not merely to attend California day, but to ensure that the works of California artists were given “a prominent place in the art galleries” when that venue finally opened. The second visit, Brewster reported, was to check “how the paintings were hung,” and much to the satisfaction of the correspondent “on entering ‘Art Hall’ California artists, Rix, Yelland, Tavernier, and Hill, confront you.” J. A. Brewster, “El Dorado Day at the World’s Exposition,” Los Angeles *Daily Times*, 29 January 1885, and “Exposition Etchings,” Los Angeles *Daily Times*, 19 March 1885. See also “Art at the Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

³⁹¹ California Art Research Project, microfilm reel 1, vol. II, 101-105. The scene depicted is probably one Rix completed around 1878 to 1880 when he made several trips to Sonoma, California camping and working near the Russian River to paint the redwoods, and he exhibited this painting frequently.

The *Picayune* enthused that “the work of Julian Rix sets one thinking long, long thoughts. This is true art.”³⁹² The *Times-Democrat* was equally complimentary stating, “happy the man who may have behind him even one such good work.”³⁹³ Rix was born in Vermont but grew up in California, and became an artist against the wishes of his father, a San Francisco lawyer.³⁹⁴ He was essentially self-taught, but his early work attracted the attention of Thomas Hill who provided informal critiques. *Landscape (Twilight with Stream and Redwood Trees)* combines something of the aesthetic sensibilities of Hill with a more meditative response to nature as the reviews of Rix’s work evince. The bold originality of the backlit redwoods provides a sense of epic scale. Their towering presence forms a shelter for the small hut and figure within, both of which are illuminated by the warm glow of the campfire. The jagged line of the redwoods is mirrored in the stream that draws the viewer’s eye to the hut, and the low horizon of trees also brings the viewer down to earth. Rix simplifies forms and softens them with a muted color scheme that creates a sense of hushed quietude rather than the awe-inspiring grandeur of Hill’s work. As the *Picayune* response to *Yosemite Valley* intimates, Hill’s was a mimetic or naturalistic view of the region, easily identifiable if one had visited the area, whereas Rix’s landscape was an interpretive response to nature that set in motion a stream of enjoyable thoughts and sensations. Rix’s poetic rendering of the natural world asserted the importance of personal artistic vision that in turn, empowered the viewer to create meaning for him or herself in meditative tranquility.

As Anglo-Americans strove to establish the country as a technological powerhouse, and wrestled with Darwinian/Spencerian notions of survival, the opportunity to find respite in Rix’s painting was welcomed and appreciated by both New Orleans dailies. Americans in general were

³⁹² “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 19 April 1885.

³⁹³ “Art at the Exposition,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 30 March 1885.

³⁹⁴ Scott A. Shields, *Artists at Continent’s End: The Monterey Peninsula Art Colony, 1875-1907* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: The University of California Press, 2006), 258-259. The vertical format of Rix’s canvas is reminiscent of the Japanese prints. Rix was noted to decorate his studio and home with Japanese pictures and fans.

looking for relief from nervous prostration or “neurasthenia,” and tranquil landscapes such as Rix’s were considered therapeutic.³⁹⁵ George Miller Beard first described neurasthenia in his 1880 book *American Nervousness*. Beard claimed that Americans had become high strung, paralyzed by indecision, fearful of life, fearful of being alone, fearful of society; basically, they feared everything. For Beard this was a result of the pace of modern life; he proclaimed this condition did not exist before the Civil War.

Neurasthenia is important not because it was necessarily true that people had become more nervous, but because people in the postbellum era self-consciously began to think of themselves as over-stressed.³⁹⁶ A variety of therapies and rest cures were prescribed, from diet to exercise. Gazing upon a painting such as Rix’s landscape with its soft muted colors could provide a rest cure for the eyes. Above all else, Americans were advised to seek out opportunities to relax, and they did just that. Attending a world’s fair such as that in New Orleans could provide both an opportunity to stay abreast of the latest developments in industry and take a break from one’s day-to-day concerns. The response to the fairgrounds by Eugene Smalley in *Century* magazine, in which he enthused that nothing could be finer than to sit under the live oaks and watch his fellow Americans as they relaxed and enjoyed one another’s company, is indicative of this trend.³⁹⁷ The movement towards taking more opportunities to relax is also evidenced in the New Orleans dailies response to Rix’s landscape, which elicited a response in the reviewers that prompted them to take a momentary break into a world of private reverie.

³⁹⁵ For background on neurasthenia see Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 49-57; for the therapeutic use of paintings as rest cure see Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 135-156. See also Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996) particularly chapter four, “Aesthetic Strategies in the Age of Pain,” for the use of the fine arts as a panacea for neurasthenia.

³⁹⁶ Lears, 49-50.

³⁹⁷ Smalley, “In and Out of the Exposition,” 194.

In his *Glimpse of Monterey Bay*, 1879 (Fig. 5.27), Raymond Dabb Yelland contributed a work with something of the mimetic and epic quality of Hill's work and the intimate, meditative mode of Rix. The painting presents the suggestion of an expansive view of the bay with sailboats on the horizon and mountains in the distance. The waterway is glimpsed, however, from a small, snug coastal pool enclosed within well-delineated, seaweed covered rocks. Yelland was born in London, but immigrated with his family to New York City at the age of three. Yelland trained at the National Academy of Design from 1869 – 1871, then taught there for two years.³⁹⁸ In 1874 he was hired as professor of drawing and painting at Mills Seminary and College in Oakland. Upon arriving in California, Yelland quickly became an active part of the art community in Oakland. By 1878 he was appointed assistant director of the California School of Design in San Francisco. It is important to note that the visual arts were becoming part of the curriculum at a number of colleges in California at this time, so much so that San Francisco opened a School of Design in the 1871.³⁹⁹ Although Yelland's teaching and administrative work at the School of Design occupied a large portion of his time, he still found time to create genre scenes and landscapes. The artist, however, was not drawn to dramatic scenery such as Yosemite or the Sierras; rather he favored simple meadows and marshlands, or snug coastal pools as seen in *A Glimpse of Monterey Bay*.

Critics in California sometimes found Yelland's work painfully conscientious in terms of paint handling and delineation of form. When he showed *A Glimpse of Monterey Bay* in 1879 at the spring Art Association show in San Francisco, the *San Francisco Chronicle's* reviewer was "troubled by the primness and precision" of his forms.⁴⁰⁰ The critic also noted that the "overly academic" nature of Yelland's work was perhaps "to be expected." A reference perhaps to his

³⁹⁸ Shields, *Artists at Continent's End*, 281-284.

³⁹⁹ The San Francisco School of Design is now known as the San Francisco Art Institute.

⁴⁰⁰ *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 August 1879 quoted in Shields, *Continent's End*, 282, footnote 11, 329.

work as an art teacher, but possibly also to a style that was closer to earlier, so-called Hudson River School aesthetic sensibilities that favored detail-laden scenes and well-developed forms. Once again, it is important to consider that in San Francisco art exhibitions attracted attention in the press and an artist's work was subject to vigorous critiques by the 1870s. By the late 1870s, some critics in California were beginning to prefer Rix's softer treatment of form and atmospheric effects. Nonetheless, Yelland's crisp, sharp style was not purely the result of his being an art instructor as some of the critics suspected; it did in fact owe much to the work of second generation Hudson River School artists on the East Coast such as Alfred Thompson Bricher who presented *Pulpit Rock, Nahant*, n.d. at the New Orleans fair (Fig. 5.28).

Bricher's *Pulpit Rock, Nahant* serves as an example of artistic trends established in the East Coast that Yelland drew upon and brought to the West. Bricher was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but raised in the coastal town of Newburyport, Massachusetts.⁴⁰¹ Largely self-taught, he focused on painting marine scenes near Gloucester, Massachusetts. A friendship developed between Bricher and the artist William Stanley Haseltine (1835-1900), who had been working in the Gloucester area during the late 1850s and early 1860s. In addition to Gloucester, Haseltine also painted the rock-strewn beaches of Nahant Bay, as seen in his *The Rocks at Nahant*, 1864 (Fig. 5.29). The demand for Haseltine's images of the rocks at Nahant was so great at one point, according to his daughter, that the artist "lacked time to paint anything else."⁴⁰² It would appear that Bricher, with works such as *Pulpit Rock*, was attempting to tap into such patronage as well.

Nahant was a popular summer resort throughout the nineteenth century; the cream of New England society, along with an assortment of New Yorkers summered in resort cottages

⁴⁰¹ Wilmerding, *American Marine Painters*, 142-143.

⁴⁰² Quoted in Rebecca Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology & American Landscape Painting, 1825-1875* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 109.

there.⁴⁰³ By the mid-nineteenth century the area attracted the Boston Brahmin intellectual set, and most importantly, the Harvard scientist Louis Agassiz so that summering in the area established one as a member of this rarefied, well-to-do, intellectual community. The paintings of Nahant became mementos of summer vacations there, but as Rebecca Bedell argues in the *Anatomy of Nature*, the almost obsessive attention to the rocks suggests interest and belief in Agassiz's geological theories on the role played by a global ice age and volcanoes in the formation of the world's topography. Agassiz was a religious man who drew spiritual and intellectual inspiration from nature. His scientific studies were, for him, revelatory of deific design. Agassiz's ideas were well attuned to the Unitarian-Transcendentalism of Boston's elite that perceived in nature a revelation of God's divine plan.⁴⁰⁴ As a visitor to Nahant, Agassiz became interested in its unique rock formations, and the resort became the setting for some of the scientist's postulating on the divine hand that shaped the area via ice ages, glacial activity, and volcanic action. The scientist lectured during the summer months on the geology of the area for fellow visitors, and published a series of articles on Nahant in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1863 and 1864.

Haseltine probably became familiar with Agassiz's geological theories while he was a student at Harvard, and the scientist's texts on geology were required reading in natural history classes.⁴⁰⁵ In addition, Haseltine was working in the Gloucester/Nahant area when Agassiz was formulating his ideas about the area and lecturing there. Although not as well educated as Haseltine, Bricher most likely benefited from his friend's knowledge of the importance of the rocks at Nahant as an example of Agassiz's geological theories. Bricher's *Pulpit Rock, Nahant*

⁴⁰³ Bedell, *Anatomy of Nature*, 109-118.

⁴⁰⁴ As noted in the introduction Agassiz was one of the most outspoken anti-Darwinists in the United States before the Civil War, and after as well. It should also be mentioned that Unitarian-Transcendentalists varied in their views of Darwin.

⁴⁰⁵ Bedell, *Anatomy of Nature*, 118-120.

reveals an attention to detail in depicting the glistening surface of the curiously angular rock formation that implies the shearing and polishing action of glaciers, and the upward thrust of the rocky promontory denotes volcanic upheaval. In specifically choosing Pulpit Rock to depict, Bricher also underscored Agassiz's belief in a divine hand at work.

Returning for a moment to Yelland's *Glimpse of Monterey Bay* (Fig. 5.27), it may not be surprising to learn that this artist was a faithful churchgoer and Unitarian. As a Unitarian well-versed in Transcendentalist literature, Yelland claimed Emerson as his favorite author.⁴⁰⁶ Yelland also probably knew Agassiz's theories since his ideas were popular with the Unitarian-Transcendentalists. The precision with which Yelland depicts the rocky outcroppings and their polished surfaces bespeaks his familiarity with the paintings of artists such as Haseltine and Bricher, as well as Agassiz's theories through their connections to American Transcendentalism. Yelland's *Glimpse of Monterey Bay* is not merely a view of that waterway, but an indication of the aesthetic and philosophical bridges that were linking the United States from coast to coast, and for some, evidence of the divine hand that shaped the nation.

The quasi-geological and spiritual musing that is prompted by the work of Bricher and Yelland find expression in the depictions of the grandest of all national natural wonders exhibited at the exposition: Louis Rémy Mignot's and George Loring Brown's portrayal of Niagara Falls (Figs. 5.30, 5.31). Niagara Falls was the most widely-known icon of nature, and, by extension, the nation in nineteenth-century America.⁴⁰⁷ For nineteenth-century Americans, Niagara Falls stood as an icon of religious significance. The cataract's endless torrent of water represented

⁴⁰⁶ Shields, *Continent's End*, 281-282.

⁴⁰⁷ Elizabeth McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-3. McKinsey's book provides a comprehensive view of pictorial efforts to record Niagara Falls from the seventeenth through nineteenth century. Also of interest is Jeremy Elwell Adamson's exhibition catalogue *Niagara: Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes, 1697-1901* (Washington, D. C.: The Corcoran Gallery, 1985).

God's eternal power and was understood as a gift bestowed by God on the nation.⁴⁰⁸ The geological implications of the great cataract as indicative of volcanic and glacial activity were proposed by Agassiz in the late 1830s. Agassiz's geological ideas about Niagara Falls excited the scientific community, and his adherence to notions of a divinity at work in nature reinforced its spiritual appeal. For Americans, the great waterfall also represented Romantic aesthetic ideas of the sublime: nature was an awe-inspiring force, at once terrifying and inspirational, that allowed humanity to ponder the wonders of God's creation. In its grandeur Niagara Falls supported ideas of a national destiny that was filled with dreams of abundance and power. By the mid-nineteenth century, aesthetics, nature, religion and national destiny had all become fundamentally joined in Niagara Falls as an icon and it became something of a rite of passage for artists to paint this great national symbol.

Nonetheless, both New Orleans dailies recognized the problems inherent in depicting Niagara Falls. The *Picayune* opined that it was "utter futility" for any artist to attempt to portray the "vast nature" and "power" of Niagara Falls.⁴⁰⁹ The reviewer for *Times-Democrat* observed that for any artist to endeavor to paint Niagara Falls "was like attempting to paint a soul" and neither Mignot nor Brown was quite up to the effort.⁴¹⁰ Both Mignot and Brown were well-established East Coast artists, and their efforts to depict Niagara Falls drew upon the most famous portrayal of the cataract, Frederic Edwin Church's (1826-1900) *Niagara* of 1857 (Fig. 5.32). Highlighting the importance of Church's *Niagara* is the fact that Brown's *Niagara at Sunset* (Fig. 5.31) is essentially a copy complete with rainbow and the tree limb in the immediate left foreground. Mignot, in his *Niagara* of 1866 (Fig. 5.30), offers a different angle of the waterfall and brings the viewer up a bit closer, but essentially positions the viewer on the brink

⁴⁰⁸ McKinsey, *Niagara Falls*, 90-102, 229-231.

⁴⁰⁹ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

⁴¹⁰ "Art at the Exposition," New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 25 March 1885.

of the torrent just as had Church. The lack-luster reviews for both Mignot's and Brown's depictions of Niagara Falls were perhaps due to familiarity with Church's *Niagara* as it was shown in New Orleans to sold-out crowds in May 1859.⁴¹¹ The painting was displayed in a bookstore next door to the office of the *Picayune*, and the store offered prints of the work ready to deliver. Church also visited the city at that time, and again in 1880.

Particularly fascinating is the phrasing chosen by the *Times-Democrat* in its review of Mignot's and Brown's work. As art historian David Huntington observed, Church found his inspiration for his depiction of Niagara Falls through his reading of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* and the British critic's admonition that water was "to all human minds the best emblem of unwearied, unconquerable power" and to paint water "was like trying to paint a soul."⁴¹² Although the New Orleans critic for the *Times-Democrat* could not find enthusiasm for the works of Mignot or Brown, he or she was obviously familiar with Ruskin's writings and intriguingly used the British critic's words in the review of the depictions of Niagara Falls. Upon seeing the work of Mignot and Brown, the New Orleanian critic perhaps remembered a time when Church's *Niagara* visited the city and that artist's ability to "paint a soul."

When Church's *Niagara* was shown in New Orleans, however, the city was a very different place. In the antebellum period, as Huntington notes, Church's *Niagara* resounded with the hopes and aspirations of all Americans poised on the "threshold of a New World."⁴¹³ As the

⁴¹¹ Mahé and McCaffrey, *New Orleans Artists*, 77 and Estill Curtis Pennington, *Look Away: Reality and Sentiment in Southern Art* (Spartanburg, South Carolina: Saraland Press, 1989), 118.

⁴¹² Ruskin, *Modern Painters* II, quoted in David C. Huntington, *The Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church* (New York: Braziller, 1966), 66.

⁴¹³ Huntington, *Landscapes of Church*, 60-61. It should also be noted that 1859, when Church's *Niagara* was shown in New Orleans, was also the year of John Brown's attempt to start a slave uprising at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The event played a critical part in the start of the Civil War as it agitated both Northern abolitionists when Brown was arrested and hung, as well as Southerners who viewed him as a symbol of Northern aggression. The Harper's Ferry incident occurred on 16-17 October, and he was executed on 2 December 1859. Church's *Niagara* was exhibited in New Orleans earlier that year in May and was well received in the city. Pennington, *Look Away*, 118. In addition, as historian John Kemp notes, the city had prospered in the 1850s as a result of establishing strong

nation became engulfed in the war the iconic meaning of *Niagara* shifted. Church's *Niagara* was exhibited in the Northeast in 1864 to raise funds for the Union and Niagara Falls became a symbol of the might and power of the North. This may also explain the muted response of the New Orleans dailies to both Mignot's and Brown's depictions of Niagara.

Another well-established East Coast artist who portrayed an iconic image of the North and who also received lack-luster reviews from the New Orleans dailies was George Inness. According to the *Picayune*, the artist's *Mount Washington* was "a very large canvas and shows how a great painter, for such is the reputation of Mr. Inness, can make an ugly picture out of a fine subject."⁴¹⁴ The *Picayune* noted that there was "something dull and monotonous in the coloring, and a lack of distance in the mountains." Curiously, three days after the negative review, the *Picayune* seemingly reversed itself. Apparently on subsequent viewing, the critic for the *Picayune* found that although *Mount Washington* on "the whole is not a pleasing picture, it is excellent in one respect for the mental effect it produces." The *Picayune* continued to explain this statement by noting that "the impression is irresistibly made that it represents a spring scene . . . Inness has shown his ability in making the observer feel that the season of the year can be painted so as to speak to the mind rather than to the eye."⁴¹⁵

By the early 1880s Inness was attempting to speak to the mind rather than the eye by pursuing a more subjective vision of nature. In an 1884 interview with Ripley Hitchcock, Inness stated:

commercial ties with the North, and was conflicted as the nation headed toward Civil War. In January 1861, Louisiana reluctantly seceded from the Union well aware of the financial ruin this would bring to the state and especially to the port of New Orleans. In fact, much of the population of New Orleans was against secession according to Kemp. This was particularly true of the city's many merchants and bankers, its large population of free-people-of-color, as well as a recent influx of new immigrants that opposed slavery. Although Louisiana seceded from the Union in January, it did not officially join the Confederacy until March 1861. Once they joined the Confederacy, however, both Louisianans and New Orleanians shifted their allegiance enthusiastically to the Southern cause. Kemp, *Illustrated History of New Orleans*, 89-97.

⁴¹⁴ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 16 April 1885.

⁴¹⁵ "World's Exposition," New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 19 April 1885.

Long before I ever heard of impressionism, I had settled [upon] the underling law of an impression of nature, and I feel satisfied that whatever is painted truly according to any idea of unity, will . . . possess both the subjective sentiment—the poetry of nature—and the objective fact sufficiently to give the commonest mind a feeling of satisfaction . . .⁴¹⁶

The *Picayune*'s writer, upon further reflection, had seemingly come to the same conclusion, that there was something to be said for a subjective response to nature, and that it was an artist's ability to capture the memory of a place, the sensory perception of a spring day had value, rather than a mimetic, detail-laden expression of nature.⁴¹⁷ The *Picayune* critic's reversal is still difficult to explain, but it is part of why this art exhibition at the New Orleans fair was important as it allowed for an education of the eye *and* the mind.

Even in the initial negative review the critic noted that Mount Washington was a fine subject and it was one that Inness painted on eleven different occasions. The *Mount Washington* shown in New Orleans is now lost, or was painted over.⁴¹⁸ To explore the importance of the subject matter more thoroughly, however, I have selected Inness's 1875 version of *Mount*

⁴¹⁶ George Inness to Ripley Hitchcock (23 March 1884), Montclair Art Museum Archives, as quoted in Montclair Art Museum, *George Inness: The Presence of the Unseen, A Centennial Commemoration* (Montclair, N.J.: Montclair Art Museum, 1994), 10.

⁴¹⁷ Inness visited New Orleans during the fair although the exact date of that visit is unknown. Inness returned in 1890 for another visit to exhibit his work at the F. W. E. Seebold gallery and gave a lecture on his art at Seebold's family home. Marie Madeleine Seebold was the wife of artist Andres Molinary (1847-1915). Molinary was a leading figure in the New Orleans art community and his studio on Canal Street was an important gathering place for artists during the 1880s through the 1890s. Molinary organized and helped found several art associations in the city including the informal Cup and Saucer Club (1878-1880), which became the more formal Southern Art Union (1880-1886), the Artists Association of New Orleans (1886-1903) and finally the Art Association of New Orleans (1903-1959). Molinary was actively involved in all of these organizations up until the time of his death in 1915. It is possible that Inness became acquainted with Seebold and Molinary upon his first visit to the New Orleans fair, and probably discussed his ideas about landscape painting with the art community there. Perhaps the reviewer for the *Picayune* heard of these discussions and subsequently changed his view on Inness's *Mount Washington*. Mahé and McCaffrey, *New Orleans Artists*, 197, 268. See also "Art in New Orleans" in Herman Doehm de Bachelée Seebold, *Old Louisiana Plantation Homes and Family Trees* (New Orleans, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1971), 1:26-29; 2:315-316.

⁴¹⁸ Michael Quick, *George Inness: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 2:67. In his catalogue raisonné of Inness's work, Quick states that he believes that the work exhibited in New Orleans was *Mount Washington, from Prospect Hill*, 1881-1884. Quick bases his assessment on the size of the painting as described in the *Picayune* as a "very large canvas" and the criticism of the work which echoed reviews of *Mount Washington, from Prospect Hill* when it was shown in New York in April 1884. In addition, several accounts of *Mount Washington, Prospect Hill* have Inness repainting it and transforming it in 1893 into *The Coming Storm* (Oklahoma City Museum of Art).

Washington because it presents a similar collapsing of distance noted by the reviewer for the *Picayune* (Fig. 5.33). In the 1875 *Mount Washington*, cows graze in a pasture, which contains some rocks and trees, but the foreground drops quickly away into a deep ravine. A church steeple is visible to the right through a copse of trees suggesting the abruptness of the drop into the gorge. Rounded hills appear just as suddenly on what the viewer imagines is the other side of the valley. Above these hills a thick haze obscures our view of the mountains of the Presidential Range, which contains the snow-capped peak of Mount Washington just left of center. The mists that hide the mountains and the elimination of some of the markers of a middle distance result in a confusing progression into the distance: an ambiguous space where near and far meet. The snow-capped Mount Washington hovers above the scene; its white mantle abruptly propels it forward as its coloration plays off the white church steeple and the white cow in the immediate foreground. If the *Mount Washington* exhibited in New Orleans was similar to this version it is no wonder the reviewer for the *Picayune* was confused and critical of the work for its lack of “distance in the mountains.”⁴¹⁹

Mount Washington and the Presidential Range represented icons of the Republic.⁴²⁰ In 1820, early settlers honored New England’s tallest peaks by bestowing the name of one of the founding fathers on each mountain: Franklin, Monroe, Adams, Madison, Jefferson, and the highest peak—Washington. The Presidential Range became an emblem of the enduring nature of the Republic; it seemed as stable and permanent as the mountains. Mount Washington, being representative of the first President, stood as the most important of the range as a perpetual reminder of one of the founding principles of the Republic: a peaceful transition of power as the result of officials elected by the public. In Inness’s *Mount Washington* of 1875 the Presidential

⁴¹⁹ “World’s Exposition,” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 16 April 1885.

⁴²⁰ Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 268-274.

Range is veiled in a hazy mist suggesting that although the democratic values of the Republic may be obscured at times, such as during the Civil War, they are ever present. As the snow-capped summit of Mount Washington asserts itself to hover majestically over the landscape, it becomes symbolic of a Republic that has survived a civil war. Although this is not the painting Inness exhibited in New Orleans, the review proposes the version of *Mount Washington* on display presented a similar collapsing of distance and thus would have expressed a similar sentiment—a nation that endured. This was the subject matter the reviewer perhaps found to be a “fine one” and suggests that efforts to reconcile and heal the nation’s divisions could be found in art.⁴²¹ Inness’s *Mount Washington* also embodies a sense of place that is quintessentially New England and the North, just as the work of the California artists are representative of the West: all regions of the United States were worthy of artistic representation.

The Southern landscape was present at the New Orleans exposition as well, but it would be the work of a periodic resident of the region, and sometime artist, Joseph Jefferson, that caught the eye of the reviewer for the *Picayune*. Jefferson was the member of a family of actors and made his stage debut at the age of four in Washington, D. C.⁴²² At the age of twenty-six he traveled to Europe to study the theater in London and Paris. He went onto to take the lead part in the London version of the play *Rip Van Winkle*, a role with which he would be most identified. He toured extensively throughout the United States and Europe performing this play and others annually during the autumn and spring until his death in 1905. When not acting, Jefferson devoted his summers and winters to painting, and frequently depicted the landscapes in and around the three homes he owned in Buzzard’s Bay, Massachusetts, Palm Beach, Florida, and Orange Island, Louisiana, a 600-acre salt dome located in the marshlands of Iberia Parish near

⁴²¹ “World’s Exposition,” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 16 April 1885.

⁴²² Mahé and McCaffrey, *New Orleans Artists*, 203-204. See also Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood*, 152.

New Orleans. Jefferson became interested in art and began painting while studying theater in Europe. Once he had established himself as an actor, Jefferson became an avid collector of the French Barbizon artists, particularly Corot and Daubigny. Jefferson always considered himself an amateur painter, but began to show his work at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts as early as 1868 and exhibited his work regularly throughout the United States until his death.

At the New Orleans fair Jefferson showed a simply entitled *Landscape* that the *Picayune* identified as his “plantation on the Bayou Teche.”⁴²³ Seen here as representative of his work that depicted his Southern home is *Jefferson Island, Louisiana*, 1880 (Fig. 5.34). The work is loosely painted and presents a simple depiction of a quiet inlet of water, with a canopy of trees spread below an expansive blue sky. The fence on the riverbank implies human habitation, and the only indication that this is a Southern landscape is the Spanish moss that forms a hazy, gray fringe on the trees. Jefferson’s paintings frequently drew upon his admiration for the French Barbizon artists and generally are not clearly identifiable as to locale.⁴²⁴ But this peaceful and loosely painted landscape shown in New Orleans garnered a positive response from the *Picayune*.

German-born artist Meyer Straus displayed a landscape at the New Orleans fair that was more clearly identifiable as representative of the South, with his *Morning Light on a Swamp Bayou*, 1875 (Fig. 5.35). There is something of the theatrical in Straus’s work and in fact the artist was primarily employed as a painter of scenic backdrops for a variety of opera houses in New Orleans from 1869 through 1884.⁴²⁵ The *Picayune* praised the backdrops Straus created for the New Orleans Academy of Music in 1872 as being “of an order of merit seldom presented,”

⁴²³ “World’s Exposition,” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 13 April 1885.

⁴²⁴ Joseph Jefferson, *The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson* (New York: Century Co., 1890), 118. Jefferson himself admitted there was sometimes “too much sterile imitation of foreign schools” in his work, noting that “I have found much trouble avoiding this, for now and then suggestions of Corot and Daubigny kept unconsciously intruding” due to his “pure admiration for their work.”

⁴²⁵ Mahé and McCaffrey, *New Orleans Artists*, 366. Straus moved to San Francisco and became part of the art community there in 1884.

and noted that Straus was a landscape painter of “decided genius as well.”⁴²⁶ In *Morning Light on a Bayou Swamp* the scene is dominated by live oaks and cypress trees dripping with Spanish moss; lush tropical foliage forms the ground cover and lily pads dot the waterway with all backlit by the glow of dawn breaking through the thick atmosphere of the bayou. The vertical format of the painting emphasizes the height of the towering trees that dwarfs the flowering marshland and waterway. As the waterway opens out to a copse of trees in the distance and then forks out around it, the scene imaginatively expands beyond the viewer’s vision, evocative of a vast network of water and vegetation. No evidence of human habitation is indicated: it is a vision of a virgin South undisturbed by man. The thick atmospheric glow that envelops the scene suggests a dream remembered rather than reality.

William H. Buck was one of a group of artists in the New Orleans area who were striving to present a more realistic vision of the Southern landscape during the postbellum era, but one that still evoked the powerful imaginative and emotive appeal of nature for the people of the region.⁴²⁷ *Live Oak* was Buck’s offering for the exposition, and it could be any one of a number of landscapes he created during the 1870s and 80s with that title. I have selected *Live Oak*,

⁴²⁶ New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 7 April 1872, quoted in Estill Curtis Pennington, *A Southern Collection* (Augusta, GA: Morris Museum of Art, 1992), 74.

⁴²⁷ Buck emigrated from Norway to Boston, Massachusetts at an early age and studied art there before moving to New Orleans in 1860. Buck continued his artistic training in New Orleans with Richard Clague, Jr. (1821-1873), who is generally considered the first significant Louisiana landscape painter. Born in Paris, Clague trained at the École des Beaux Arts with Horace Vernet and Ernest Hébert, before immigrating to New Orleans in 1850. Clague quickly established a successful career as a portrait painter in the city, but his artistic career was interrupted by the Civil War and he served in the Louisiana Infantry. After the war he returned to portrait paintings, but he also began to create landscapes that received a positive reception. Clague’s landscapes are generally viewed as influenced by the French Barbizon. Clague’s domestic landscapes reveal decline and decay in the postbellum South, as well as providing evidence that the Southern people were stubbornly struggling to survive. Clague’s work apparently appealed to viewers in Reconstruction era Louisiana as he won gold and silver medals for his landscapes when they appeared at the Grand State Fairs of 1867, 68 and 71. Upon Clague’s death in 1873, two of his students, Buck and Marshall Joseph Smith, Jr. (1854-1923), were viewed as carrying on pictorial traditions established by their teacher. Some of Clague’s contemporaries were also creating more naturalistic depictions of the Southern landscape during this time, such as George David Coulon (1822-1904) and Charles Giroux (1828-1885). Clague, Coulon, Giroux, Smith and Buck are sometimes referred to as “the Bayou School.” Mahé and McCaffrey, *New Orleans Artists*, 57-58, 78-79. See also Pennington, *Look Away*, 63-65, 132-137 and Gerdt, *Art Across America*, 2: 97-102.

Louisiana Landscape as representative of his work from that period (Fig. 5.36). At first glance the scene appears a tranquil one: the buildings appear to be in good repair, and the eye is drawn to the comforting presence of the figure framed in the doorway of the most visible building. Another figure appears in the foreground under the live oak gazing over a fenced enclosure. It is not clear what is within this enclosure; however, there is the troubling presence of a large black bird gliding through the clear blue sky above. One wonders if it is a graveyard enclosed within the fence, but no tombstones are clearly visible. What dominates the scene is the live oak that may provide additional clues.

As Estill Curtis Pennington points out in *Look Away: Reality and Sentiment in Southern Art*, one of the more interesting features of Buck's oeuvre is that rather than a natural grouping of live oaks, the artist frequently focused on one moss-draped tree in the foreground.⁴²⁸ As Pennington notes, moss-draped live oaks appeared often in the background of mourning portraits created in the South during the antebellum era and thus initiated an association between the tree and death, and the hope of everlasting life. An early example is Adolph Rinck's (1810-1872), *Charlotte Mathilde Grevenburg DuMartrait*, 1843 (Fig. 5.37). Rinck, a Frenchman, arrived in New Orleans in 1840 and set up as portrait painter.⁴²⁹ His subject, Charlotte DuMartrait, was a young bride when she died, and her husband Jean Adolphe DuMartrait commissioned this posthumous portrait. Rinck worked from a daguerreotype of Charlotte the grieving husband provided, and inserted into the background of the painting the moss-draped live oak silhouetted against the setting sun as a symbol of mourning. Pennington also discusses how Walt Whitman visited New Orleans in 1848 and penned the following verse about the Louisiana live oak:

All alone stood it and the moss hung down from the branches,
Without any companion it grew there uttering joyous leaves of dark green,

⁴²⁸ Pennington, *Look Away*, 132-137.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 134.

But I wonder'd how it could utter joyous leaves standing alone
 There without its friend near, for I knew I could not . . . ⁴³⁰

Whitman, as Pennington points out, cleverly evokes the life cycle of the live oak. Rather than its leaves turning in the autumn, they remain green and only drop when new greenery appears. The live oak is thus always green, seemingly not subject to the cyclic turnings of nature that suggest the cycles of birth and death, but rather the tree evokes the idea of everlasting life. Pennington contends that in Buck's work the singular live oak becomes an icon, on the one hand, of strength and endurance, and on the other, of isolation and loneliness. Indeed, in Buck's paintings of the live oak, Pennington postulates that the artist may have attempted to create a symbol of the South in the modern world.

The Southerner, however, was not alone in feeling isolated and left behind, yet surviving in the modern world. A still life artist, working in the North, created a painting with a similar message. Although still life was becoming increasingly popular in the United States, the New Orleans dailies took no notice of them with one exception, John Frederick Peto's (1854-1900) depiction of a second-hand book stall, *Take Your Choice* (Fig. 5.38).⁴³¹ *The Times-Democrat*

⁴³⁰ Whitman quoted in Pennington, *Look Away*, 136.

⁴³¹ Although the date for the painting I have used as Fig. 4.37 is 1885, Alfred Frankenstein has described the work as "looser and more slapdash in manner; it is, in fact, one of Peto's most careless productions." The painting, according to Frankenstein, was passed off as a work by William Harnett for years. John Barnes owned the painting at the time that Frankenstein was researching a book on Harnett. Upon seeing Barnes's painting, Frankenstein suspected it was actually the work of Peto. On the back of the painting was inscribed: TAKE YOUR CHOICE/ARTIST/PHILADELPHIA, PA. and there was an area obscured by white paint. The paint was removed, and the name John F. Peto was revealed. The canvas was then cleaned, and on the front Peto, '85 appeared. John Wilmerding subsequently bought the painting. The painting was possibly exhibited as *Your Choice* at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1885. There is however, another painting by Peto called *Your Choice* that was owned by Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and *Your Choice* dates to 1884. This would seem the more likely candidate to have been on view in New Orleans, but I have not been able to obtain an image. I would suggest, however, that the painting presented in New Orleans could be the 1885 *Take Your Choice*, especially because Frankenstein noted that it is one of Peto's most careless productions. Since the art exhibition was so late in opening, artists were perhaps creating works early in 1885 for submission in New Orleans or submitted recently completed works since the opening was delayed. Alfred Frankenstein, *After the Hunt: William Harnett and Other American Still Life Painters, 1870-1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 22-23, 101-102. See also Franklin Kelly, *American Masters from Bingham to Eakins: The John Wilmerding Collection* (Washington, D. C.: The National Gallery of Art, 2004), 100-101, 155.

observed that the painting “was about as dull as a still life picture generally is” and thus revealed why other still lifes were not reviewed.⁴³² Although an unfortunate dismissal of Peto’s painting and still lifes in general, the irony of the display of Peto’s *Take Your Choice* at a world’s fair deserves to be noted. World’s fairs focused on the new and innovative, whereas Peto’s painting draws attention to the old and discarded.⁴³³ In *Take Your Choice* there is a poignant sense of abandonment and displacement. The titles of the various tomes are not depicted; they appear casually cast aside, their identity unknown. At first glance, there appears to be little attempt to create order or a pleasing presentation of goods as these secondhand books do not seem to warrant anyone’s time or effort. A telling detail of the image, however, is the black and white reproduction of a village in the central foreground, which pays tribute to the visual arts as this appears to be either a photograph or an etching that has fallen out of one of the books. The books, as Peto has arranged them above this image, mimic the lines of the buildings, with some open and placed on their side to resemble rooftops. Peto’s message appears to be that the books are the pathways to other places.

As John Wilmerding has argued, Peto’s images of used books are revelatory of the artist’s personality, beliefs, and circumstances.⁴³⁴ Unable to sell his own work or having to sell it cheap, Peto nonetheless remained convinced of the value of the arts, including the literary. Although the bookstall depicted in *Take Your Choice* appears a hopeless jumble, as Wilmerding observes, Peto created “an internal order” via color and patterning.⁴³⁵ There are “quiet symmetries of balanced

⁴³²“Art in the Galleries,” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 March 1885.

⁴³³ Born in Philadelphia, Peto studied for a short time in the late 1870s at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in the late 1870s. He remained in Philadelphia until 1889, when he moved permanently to Island Heights, New Jersey. Peto apparently had difficulty making a career for himself as an artist and is thought to have worked on occasion as a commercial photographer and a musician. After 1899 he no longer exhibited his paintings and drifted out of the art world entirely. Morgan, *American Art and Artists*, 374.

⁴³⁴ John Wilmerding, *Important Information Inside: The Art of John F. Peto and the Idea of Still Life Painting in Nineteenth-Century America* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1983), 130-133.

⁴³⁵ Wilmerding, *Important Information Inside*, 131-132.

details,” such as the two nails in the wall above the books, the upended books on either side of the pile, and the one at the top of the pile, as well as the one hanging over the edge of the shelf. Wilmerding describes how bright oranges, blues, greens, and white anchor the center of the composition, while darker tonalities are depicted to the far side. The result is a series of pyramidal compositions, solid, permanent, and as enduring, I would add, as Buck’s live oaks. As Wilmerding also notes, books offered an avenue of escape from the cares of everyday life, a place to isolate the self and revel in art. When Peto’s painting is considered from this point of view, it can be seen as representative of the same sort of symbolism Pennington asserts is embodied in Buck’s live oaks. The everyman, whether Northerner or Southerner, can and will endure; although isolated and cast aside by a world that valued the new, one could always find sustenance either in the arts or nature. The selection of Peto’s *Take Your Choice* for presentation by the Fine Arts committee at the New Orleans exposition suggests that they believed in the power of art, even if the reviewer for the *Times-Democrat* could not find anything artful in the work.

Overall the selection of art by the Fine Arts committee for exhibition at the New Orleans fair reveals a broadly conceived conception of American art. It is worth stating once again that artists from throughout the country with styles considered both traditional and progressive were represented. Although not always explicitly stated, the reviews by the New Orleans critics, the subject matter depicted by the artists, or their approach to their subject, suggest an underlying preoccupation with concerns brought on by the aftermath of the Civil War, as well as increased industrialization: poverty; isolation; marginalization; and, the need for spiritual sustenance. On the other hand, the critiques, as well as the paintings presented in New Orleans sometimes evoked the hope of a better life. The glowing critical responses to the landscapes of California

indicate that the West still inspired the imagination. Moreover, if the paintings of the region were to be believed, the issues attendant to the aftermath of the Civil War could be avoided altogether and one could dream of a prosperous land untroubled by poverty and conflict. Astonishingly, barely a decade later, at the Fine Arts exhibition at Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition, the artists of California would be conspicuously absent and few images of the West appeared. The work of Southern artists and images of the South would also be lacking. The North and the Eastern cultural elite would take center stage in Chicago as we will see in the conclusion.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The New Orleans World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition let the country know that the South wanted to be part of the national mission of progress, both commercially and culturally. The rationale for the New Orleans event and its very title, however, implied a continued reliance on the South's agrarian past, rather than a region ready to embrace the future by diversifying its economic base. The centenary of the cotton trade also did not have the same national resonance as the centennial of the country's founding commemorated in Philadelphia in 1876, or the discovery of the Americas celebrated at Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Nonetheless, the overriding concern of all three expositions was to establish Anglo-American superiority in the country. The New Orleans fair, however, had a few idiosyncratic features that supported a pluralistic vision of the United States. In addition, when compared to the World's Columbian Exposition, the smaller size of the Cotton Centennial was less overwhelming for fairgoers.⁴³⁶ This allowed visitors to the New Orleans event an opportunity to consider the diverse nature of American life, when it was presented to them, in a more accessible manner.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ Although the promoters of the Cotton Centennial boasted about the size of the buildings, there were only four primary structures, the Main Building, the Government and States building, the Fine Arts Gallery and Horticulture Hall, located on 300 acres. At the World's Columbian Exposition there were fourteen major buildings, including the Administration Building, Agricultural Building, Anthropology Building, Electricity Building, Fisheries Building, Forestry Building, Horticultural Building, Machinery Hall, Manufacturers Building, Mines and Mining Building, Transportation Building, U.S. Government Building, Woman's Building, the Palace of Fine Arts and some 200 additional structures, located on 686 acres. Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University Illinois Press, 2002), 20

⁴³⁷ The World's Columbian Exposition was a more international event as well. Although twenty-four countries had displays at the Cotton Centennial, only Mexico had its own building. Of those twenty-four countries, nine were located in the Americas. See footnote 33 for a list of the foreign exhibitors at the New Orleans fair. At the Chicago

The World's Columbian Exposition, on the other hand, was a grandiose vision of America and visitors could be confounded by the experience. "Make no little plans, they have no magic to stir men's blood," was the motto of Daniel H. Burnham, the supervisor of planning and construction for the World's Columbian Exposition, and the Chicago event was a manifestation of that ideology.⁴³⁸ To make his maxim a reality Burnham enlisted a squadron of talented architects, craftsmen and engineers.⁴³⁹ More importantly, he worked closely with landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead who oversaw the general layout of the exposition and the development of the fairgrounds. As a reflection of Chicago's position adjacent to Lake Michigan, Olmstead chose waterscapes as the most prominent feature of the fairgrounds. Out of the watery canals that meandered through the grounds and the lagoon that defined the Court of Honor, arose the pristine white neoclassical architecture, its majesty and grandeur increased by its reflections in the waterways, and the reflected light enhanced its blazing whiteness (Fig. 6.1).

Reactions to Burnham and Olmstead's vision for the fair by both the public and press were for the most part enthusiastic and positive. Olmstead, in a private correspondence to Burnham, however, noted that he thought fairgoers were "too business like, common, dull, anxious and careworn."⁴⁴⁰ *Century* magazine sent architectural critic Maria Van Rensselaer to report on the World's Columbian Exposition, and her comments reinforce Olmstead's observations. Van Rensselaer cautioned potential fairgoers that they should be prepared to "work" if they chose to go to the event, as it could take "one or two days just to see the grounds" before the visitor could even begin to enter any of the venues to observe the displays, and that it

world's fair, fifty nations were represented, and Austria, Belgium, Brazil, India, Italy, Mexico, Sweden, France, Ceylon, Japan, Norway, Germany, Spain, Canada, and Great Britain all had their own buildings. Bolotin and Laing, *World's Columbian Exposition*, 20, 37.

⁴³⁸ Burnham quoted in Bolotin and Laing, *World's Columbian Exposition*, 5.

⁴³⁹ Bolotin and Laing, *World's Columbian Exposition*, 5-19; Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 55-64.

⁴⁴⁰ Olmstead to Daniel Burnham, June 20, 1893, quoted in Maloney, *World's Fair Gardens*, 77.

was advisable to take “a day off” between excursions to the fair.⁴⁴¹ The author also asserted that although one could have some fun at the event, “you must take at least part of your pleasure in the Fair very sternly.” If one wanted to take a break from their labors, Van Rensselaer advised that respite could be found by sitting “on a plausibly marble bench under a deceptively marble colonnade, and watch the sun shine on fluttering flags.”⁴⁴²

Olmstead’s observations on fairgoers at the World’s Columbian Exposition and Van Rensselaer’s comments are very different from Eugene Smalley’s reports in *Century* magazine on the New Orleans Cotton Centennial.⁴⁴³ Smalley’s obvious enjoyment of the fairgrounds is palpable as he described sitting under the “spreading arms of the live oaks” and observing the leisurely strolls visitors took place on the grounds, as well as the friendly, open informality of the interactions that took place between people from across the nation. Neither Olmstead nor Van Rensselaer describes any human interactions taking place on the fairgrounds in Chicago; one envisions people dutifully marching off to work, and not particularly enthusiastic about the prospect. The World’s Columbian Exposition is credited with being the catalyst for the City Beautiful movement in the United States, which begs the question if failures in urban planning can be traced back to a design that placed a premier on grandeur and less on human need. In supporting a grandiose view of the triumph of the United States at the World’s Columbian Exposition, something of the friendly and optimistic aspect of the American character seemed to be lost. To be equitable, however, the timing of the Chicago exposition could not have been worse; Americans were harried and stressed by a recent financial panic. The Chicago event

⁴⁴¹ Maria Van Rensselaer, “The Fair,” vol. XLVI, no. 1, *Century* (May 1893), 6.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁴⁴³ Smalley, “In and Out of the Exposition,” 194.

opened amidst an economic depression brought on by a financial panic in the United States and Europe, and by 1893 the United States economy was virtually on the point of collapse.⁴⁴⁴

One would hardly have known of the country's economic problems, however, when presented with all the new technologies on display in Chicago. Just as in New Orleans, all of these technological innovations were wondrous to behold, but they asserted a presence that could pose troubling questions. Machinery Hall at the World's Columbian Exposition was filled with motors, boilers, and forty-three steam engines that operated 127 dynamos, which produced power for almost all of the buildings at the exposition.⁴⁴⁵ In addition to Machinery Hall, there was a separate Electricity Building, where there were more dynamos, powered by either direct or alternating currents.⁴⁴⁶ The Electricity Building powered the 100,000 incandescent lamps placed about the fairgrounds and in the buildings, and 10,000 arc lamps illuminated the architecture, landscaping, and waterways. Fairgoers at the Chicago exposition found the illumination of the fair at night every bit as magical as those that attended the New Orleans fair and witnessed the illumination of the fairgrounds there. Everything was on a much larger scale in Chicago, however, and examples of technological advances could no longer be contained in just one building; a Machinery Hall, an Electrical Building, a Transportation Building and the Manufacturers Building were all needed. Fairgoers must have wondered how a country as advanced as the United States could possibly be suffering such a severe financial downturn as that which occurred in the early 1890s, with all the attendant problems such as unemployment and poverty. Moreover, when financial problems and unemployment run rampant in the United

⁴⁴⁴ American investors in response to the international community's use of the gold standard had for some time been converting their paper and silver assets to gold. By the early 1890, banks drained of their gold reserves curtailed loans and the economy slowed, businesses failed, unemployment figures grew and European financiers were wary of investing any capital in American enterprises. By 1893 the United States economy was virtually on the point of collapse, yet the fairgrounds and architecture at the Chicago world's fair endeavored to uphold Anglo-American ascendancy in the United States on the world stage. Boyer, *History of the United States*, 183-84.

⁴⁴⁵ Bolotin and Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition*, 87-88.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 78-80.

States, as they did at this time, racism tends to flourish. Thus, the evolutionary racial theories of Anglo-American superiority that informed reaction to displays at the New Orleans fair were given center stage in Chicago.

As Rydell observes, the World's Columbian Exposition was not called "the White City" for nothing.⁴⁴⁷ The brilliant white neoclassical buildings proclaimed Anglo-American supremacy, and this was clearly and unabashedly the leitmotif of the Chicago world's fair. One African American newspaper called the exposition the "great American white elephant."⁴⁴⁸ African American leaders discussed having a display in Chicago similar to the Colored People's Department at the New Orleans exposition, although some objected to such an exhibition because it promoted segregation, a response prompted by a recent event in the South, the Plessy versus Ferguson case that went before the Louisiana Supreme Court in 1892.⁴⁴⁹ In the end, objections to having a separate exhibition for African Americans at the World's Columbian Exposition became irrelevant because no invitation to create such a display was issued by the white fair promoters. Rather, just as at the Philadelphia Centennial, African Americans were encouraged to participate in their state's exhibits. Few proposals by blacks, however, made it through the screening process by white state officials. They had to settle for a special "Colored People's Day," or "Jubilee Day," set aside for August 25 to celebrate the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.⁴⁵⁰ Some African Americans refused to visit the fair that day, as the event celebrated the achievements of white society, rather than the accomplishments of blacks. Although African Americans were allowed to attend the exposition at any time, some black

⁴⁴⁷ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, see chapter two "The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," 39-71.

⁴⁴⁸ *The Cleveland Gazette*, quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 52, fn. 29, 250.

⁴⁴⁹ The Court upheld a lower court decision that held that blacks could be segregated from whites in railway cars, as long as the separate accommodations were equal. The case would eventually go to the United States Supreme Court in 1895, which upheld the decision of the local and state courts in 1896. Boyer, *United States History*, 599-600. See footnote 278 of this manuscript for further background on the case.

⁴⁵⁰ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 52-55.

leaders endorsed a boycott of the fair. Others encouraged African Americans to attend the fair so that they would remain a presence in American life and with the hope that this would prevent any further marginalization of the black community. Those African Americans who did attend the Chicago event apparently experienced little overt discrimination. But they could not view any representations of what African Americans added to the life of the nation, with the exception of their own presence in visiting the exposition. At the New Orleans fair African Americans from across the nation actively organized displays for the Colored People's Department, and blacks from throughout the country took part in making this exhibition a success. Although blacks were not involved in the overall planning of the New Orleans world's fair, and the work of African American artists was segregated from that of Anglo-American artists, the Colored People's Department was at least an effort to extend an invitation to African Americans to take part in the national mission, an offer not proffered in Chicago.

Native Americans were represented in Chicago at several venues due, once again, to the efforts of the Smithsonian's Ethnology Department.⁴⁵¹ Their primary exhibition was of artifacts and dioramas of Indian life presented in the Anthropology Building. The display was arranged to demonstrate the advancement of Native tribes since Columbus landed, as well as the varieties of tribal life. In addition, in the United States Government Building, a display portrayed Native American life at the time Columbus landed in the Americas. The Smithsonian also had exhibitions of Native American life on the Midway Plaisance, complete with living representatives of the Dakota Sioux, Navajos, and Apaches, with one young Apache, Antonio, presented as a savage who had been captured and civilized.⁴⁵² The mix of entertainment venues

⁴⁵¹ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 57-65.

⁴⁵² Emma Sickles, an ethnology department staffer raised objections to the proposal to have such an exhibition of Native peoples on the Midway and was fired. She wrote in protest to *the New York Times* stating that the display

on the Midway with the “educational” living anthropological displays of the Smithsonian blurred the lines between light hearted fun and serious scholarly inquiry. As Rydell asserts, few Anglo-Americans were left in any doubt as to their supremacy over Native Americans when viewing these various Ethnology displays against the backdrop of the majestic neoclassical buildings of the White City and the circus-like atmosphere of the Midway.⁴⁵³

Similar problems were presented by the exhibitions that represented Native American life at the New Orleans exposition as discussed in chapter two. The exhibits of the Smithsonian Ethnology Department and from the Carlisle Indian School, however, were both present in the Government and States Building. This gave fairgoers a glimpse into Native American life past and present in one venue. The exhibition of the work of Indian children confronted fairgoers with the problematic nature of assimilation policies; breaking down tribal affiliation was not working as these youngsters clung to remnants of their cultural identity. As efforts at integration continued to fail, Anglo-Americans would attribute this to the inferiority of Native people, which resulted in the Indians being regulated to the periphery of American society. As Hoxie observes, ironically this allowed Native peoples to continue their efforts to preserve their cultural traditions and “carry on their war with homogeneity” in peace.⁴⁵⁴ Anglo-Americans had to face up to the pluralist nature of life in the United States: in New Orleans they were confronted with this in the Government and States Building. All under one roof, fairgoers encountered the products of Anglo-American society, the efforts of African Americans to take part in the national agenda, and the determination of Native Americans to hang on to their cultural identity through their tribal affiliation. More of the democratic heterogeneity of the United States was presented at the

“has been used to work up sentiment against the Indian by showing he is either savage or can be educated only by Government agencies.” *New York Times* 8 October 1893, quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 63, fn. 51, 252.

⁴⁵³ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 58.

⁴⁵⁴ Hoxie, *The Final Promise*, see chapter eight, “The Irony of Assimilation,” 239-244.

New Orleans exposition within the walls of the Government and States Building, contentious and not always equal, but there to be seen.

As González points out, although the Chicago exposition celebrated the landing of Columbus in the Americas, the United States took center stage.⁴⁵⁵ As a result, displays created by Mexico, and countries in Central and South America, were placed on the periphery of the fairgrounds. As González also explains, the only place that these countries took center stage was on the Midway Plaisance, but these were displays of their indigenous people created by the Smithsonian.⁴⁵⁶ The circus-like atmosphere of the Midway did little to promote the inclusive spirit of Pan-Americanism; rather, it created a situation in which Mexico, Central and South America were presented as primitive and inferior places. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that the “savage tribes” of the Amazon jungles of South America would be featured on the Midway, as well as papier-mâché replicas of Mayan ruins complete with examples of Indian skulls, all planned by the Smithsonian’s Ethnology Department.⁴⁵⁷ In response, Latin American officials and heads of state objected, demanding less sensationalized portrayals of native cultures and the right to represent their national heritage in their own exhibitions. Fair officials supported the efforts of the Smithsonian, while simultaneously attempting to assure countries, such as Mexico, that no disrespect was intended.

Tenorio-Trillo reports that an economic crisis in Mexico in the 1890s led the Porfirian government to decrease their level of participation at the World’s Columbian Exposition.⁴⁵⁸ Mexico was recognized for their mining displays of gold, silver, and copper, but their general appearance at the Chicago fair was overshadowed by the dominating presence of the United

⁴⁵⁵ González, *Pan-America*, 32-38.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 43-48. See also Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 184-185.

⁴⁵⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, 28 July 1891, quoted in González, *Pan-America*, 47, fn110, 211.

⁴⁵⁸ Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World’s Fairs*, 184-185.

States. Moreover, the Mexican government was concerned that the emphasis on the country's Native American past, such as the displays created by Smithsonian anthropologists for the Midway, distracted from the image of a modern, progressive nation the Porfirian regime sought to promote. The smaller venue of New Orleans afforded Mexico a much better opportunity to do this, and the timing in terms of economic conditions was also more fortuitous.⁴⁵⁹ The ever worsening economic circumstances of the United States, however, did not seem to affect the various states as they prepared to present themselves in Chicago.

Unlike the New Orleans exposition, there was no States and Government Building at the World's Columbian Exposition. The United States Government had its own building, and the individual states went back to the model established at the Philadelphia Centennial. Each state had its own official building on the fairgrounds in which to display their accomplishments and contributions to the history of the United States.⁴⁶⁰ As Rosenbaum points out in *Visions of Belonging*, state officials selected architectural styles that reflected their history. For example, a building modeled on George Washington's Mount Vernon represented Virginia; Massachusetts created a structure based upon former Governor John Hancock's home; California constructed a Spanish mission.⁴⁶¹ These various state buildings emphasized the state's historic past, and the contents within often supported this endeavor while also providing links to the present. In dividing the states into separate buildings, and with all the other venues at the fair to vie for the fairgoers' attention, the national press paid little heed to these individual state efforts; this

⁴⁵⁹ As for other countries and their displays in Chicago, although reportage on China's presence at the New Orleans fair was subdued, the renewal of the Exclusion Law in 1892, led the country to boycott the World's Columbian Exposition. No delegates were sent from China, and more importantly there were no official displays. Since this was an embarrassment to fair officials, a teahouse and theater was leased to a group of Chinese Americans so the international character of the exposition could be maintained. The theater and teashop were located in the Midway Plaisance, a strip of land a mile long and the location of entertainment venues and ethnic displays, and the latter were commonly confused with the former. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 49-51.

⁴⁶⁰ Bolotin and Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition*, 31-35, 111-121.

⁴⁶¹ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 19-21, 26-29.

commentary was left to the newspapers and journals published in each state and to the numerous handbooks published to guide visitors through the exposition.

The best of each state's most recent accomplishments in industry and agriculture, however, as well as their natural resources, were presented side by side in other buildings specifically designated for each category.⁴⁶² Thus, the forty-four states presented the best of their most recent crops in the Agricultural Building; the finest examples of their natural resources currently being developed or available for development were displayed in the Mines and Mining Building; their manufactured goods in the Manufacturing Building; and their machines of industry in Machinery Hall. The visitor then abstracted from the aggregate of state displays in these buildings an image of the condition of American agriculture, mining, manufacturing, etc., and the national press's response tended to highlight American dominance in these fields, rather than focus on individual state efforts, although a healthy regional competitiveness was still a feature of coverage. This was a positive development as the unified efforts of the country were beginning to be foregrounded in buildings such as those dedicated to Agriculture and Manufacturing, while distinct local traditions could be highlighted in the state buildings.

But such was not the case in the building that housed the fine arts galleries at the World's Columbian Exposition. As Rosenbaum points out," the states played no role in the presentation of art objects" in this structure.⁴⁶³ This would have a profound consequence on how that art was perceived. Selection committees that were primarily connected to the Northeastern art markets selected the art for display. Thus, works of art created on the East Coast became the American art on display, a topic that will be returned after a review of the selection process and critical response to the fine arts exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 21-26, 29-30

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 31.

As related by Kinder Carr in *Revisiting the White City*, two able arts administrators, Halsey C. Ives and Charles Kurtz, put together the United States entry for the fine arts exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition.⁴⁶⁴ Ives was originally from the Northeast and maintained ties there although he was director of the St. Louis Museum and School of Fine Arts. He chose Charles Kurtz as his primary assistant to supervise the selection of the work for exhibition. Kurtz, a graduate of New York's National Academy of Design, made his living as a journalist, art dealer, and art exhibition organizer. Kurtz wrote articles for the *New York Tribune* and entries for the *National Academy Notes*, published every year to accompany the Academy's spring exhibitions. In addition, he managed exhibitions and loans for the American Art Union, also located in New York, and edited its monthly magazine.

Ives was appointed to his position in February 1891, selecting Kurtz as his assistant by mid-May. By August 1891, Ives issued appeals for art created since 1876, and indicated this would be a juried process.⁴⁶⁵ Who would be chosen for the jury and the exact nature of the selection process was not yet indicated. Upon his appointment as Ives's assistant, Kurtz immediately left for Europe to begin contacting American artists living and working in Paris, London, and Belgium. Ives joined him in London in mid-August, after meeting with art organizations in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. Kurtz returned to the United States in September to oversee the planning and construction of the Fine Arts Gallery in Chicago, with Ives remaining in Europe for six more months. By the New Year, Kurtz was back on the East Coast to arrange for art advisory committees in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and to select jury members. The advisory committees and the juries were composed of established artists, and Kurtz strove to include the old guard from the National Academy of Design, as well

⁴⁶⁴ Kinder Carr in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 68-71.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 72-78.

as the new guard associated with the Society of American Artists. Despite such efforts, numerous artists complained that the advisory committees and juries were dominated by members of the Society of American Artists, which weighted the decision making process in favor of younger artists with substantial European training.

As this evidence demonstrates, the fine arts administrators for the World's Columbian were more organized and experienced than the committee composed of bankers and merchants who initially managed the fine arts exhibition at the New Orleans event. Nonetheless, the focus of Ives and Kurtz was clearly on the East Coast art world and American artists working in Europe. In June 1892, Kurtz issued a list of the individuals that would serve on the arts advisory committees and juries in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, as well as what he called a "national jury" in Chicago that would select works from the remainder of the nation.⁴⁶⁶ By implication, the most important art centers in the nation were located on the East Coast, the remainder of the country became a bit of an afterthought, and artists working in the Midwest, West, and South felt they were being overlooked. In addition, the national jury in Chicago was composed of a representative from Philadelphia, Boston, New York, St. Louis, Chicago, and San Francisco. Thus, half of the "national" jury was from the East Coast, although that region was already well represented on the juries in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, and there was no representative from the South.

Protests were voiced about the selections made by the "national" jury in Chicago particularly since only seventy-three of the five hundred works submitted by those artists working outside the East Coast were chosen.⁴⁶⁷ In the end, New York would send more than six hundred works, Boston one hundred twenty-five paintings, and Philadelphia one hundred sixty.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 78-98.

⁴⁶⁷ Kinder Carr in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 87-89.

Thus, more than eight hundred works came from the East Coast, and a mere seventy-three from the remainder of the country; some Chicago newspapers hinted at bribery. The remaining two hundred art objects that constituted the one thousand twenty-four works on display in Chicago came from American artists working in Europe.

Nonetheless, as Kinder Carr asserts, the art created by American artists presented in Chicago did include a wide range of styles and subject matter: scenes of rural and urban life were present; landscapes both epic and intimate appeared; bravura brushwork was presented side by side with crisp, controlled renderings of nature and the figure; narrative works coexisted with more allusive, poetic imagery.⁴⁶⁸ This was not all that different from what was shown in New Orleans at the Cotton Centennial, as there was a diverse range of styles on view and a variety of subject matter as discussed in chapter five. The primary differences between the two exhibitions is found in the selection process, and where the artists represented lived, trained, and worked; the subtle distinction of the latter was sometimes picked up on by critics and viewers of the art exhibition in Chicago.

As Rosenbaum notes, how the art was displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition was not governed by any organizational framework; different styles and subject matter were often hung side by side.⁴⁶⁹ Yet, some viewers and critics, as Rosenbaum asserts, attempted to create a thematic structure by focusing on genre or style, and in some cases, region, only to discover that certain areas of the country were inadequately represented. Ohioan Hubert Bancroft looked for "Pacific Coast art," and finding none in the Fine Art Building visited individual states buildings, such as California's, whose art gallery was a source of pride (Fig. 6.2).⁴⁷⁰ Virtually

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 99-100.

⁴⁶⁹ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 31. Kinder Carr also notes that there was no organizational framework in place in Chicago. Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 98-99.

⁴⁷⁰ Bancroft quoted in Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 31.

shut out of the main Fine Arts Building and its exhibition of “American art,” California artists created an opportunity for showing their work in Chicago in their state building. The art gallery in the California state building presented ninety works of art selected by a “jury of prominent local artists” and included paintings by Thomas Hill, Julian Rix and William Keith (1839-1911), who also had one painting, *Autumn Sunset*, on display in the Fine Arts Building.⁴⁷¹ The final report of California’s fair commission noted that the inclusion of the art gallery demonstrated “that California possesses all the elements of refinement and culture enjoyed by the older States of the Union.”⁴⁷²

California’s state building, however, was the only place in which they had an opportunity to present themselves as sophisticated and urbane. To restate once again, the most extensive displays of each state’s agriculture or manufactured products, were on display in the Agricultural Building or Manufacturing Building where they could be compared to the products of other states and presented to the international community. There was no such opportunity to represent each state’s cultural refinement in the Fine Arts Building in Chicago. The selection process established by Ives and Kurtz favored East Coast artists, yet important centers of artistic production and artists’ organizations had been in place in other parts of the country for some time, particularly in the San Francisco Bay area. The artistic production of the Northeast, however, dominated in the Fine Arts Building in Chicago, and as such the art created in that region became representative of artistic production in the United States and American identity.

What is especially startling about this situation is Rosenbaum’s assertion that even in works of art on view in the Fine Arts galleries in Chicago whose titles or subject matter gave no indication of locale, viewers and critics alike tended to see in these images the Northeast and,

⁴⁷¹ *Final Report of the California World’s Fair Commission* (Sacramento, CA: State Printing Office, 1894), 53. Keith’s *Autumn Sunset* is unlocated.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

more specifically, New England.⁴⁷³ Hubert Bancroft, although disappointed in not being able to locate the Pacific coast art in the Fine Arts Building, was agreeably impressed by what he called the New England collection on display.⁴⁷⁴ The subject matter of the paintings he enjoyed ranged from Thomas Allen's (1849-1924) images of cows and horses, with vague titles such as *Coming through the Woods*, to Frank Benson's (1862-1951) *Portrait of a Lady in White*, 1889, and Edmund Tarbell's (1862-1938) *In the Orchard*, none of which provided any indication of locale (Figs. 6.3, 6.4, 6.5). Bancroft also identified the scene depicted by Thomas Hovenden (1840-1895) in *Breaking the Home Ties*, 1890 as "a simple and touching story of New England life in days not long gone by" (Fig. 6.6).⁴⁷⁵

Hovenden's *Breaking Home Ties* was one of the most popular paintings on exhibition, and Rosenbaum observes that there is no specific aspect of the painting that points to New England, yet it was repeatedly identified as a New England scene.⁴⁷⁶ In this painting New England was equated with the home that Americans were breaking their ties with in an effort to search for opportunity in other parts of the country or large metropolitan areas. And according to Rosenbaum, therein lay the problem: New England felt threatened and feared it was being left behind; it was now just one of several regions of the country vying for national attention.⁴⁷⁷ Thus, New Englanders had begun a concentrated effort to assert their presence as an important feature of the face of the nation, and for Rosenbaum, they would succeed in becoming the singular face of the country with the help of the East Coast art world.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷³ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 30-32.

⁴⁷⁴ Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, vol. 2 (Chicago, IL: Blakely Printing Co., 1893), 670-675.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 681; Bancroft also quoted in Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 33.

⁴⁷⁶ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 32-34; fn57, 178. The *Chicago Tribune*, 11 May 1893, the *Chicago Record*, 17 June 1893, Benjamin Truman's 1894, *History of the World's Fair*, and *The Art Amateur*, February 1893, also identified Hovenden's work as a New England scene.

⁴⁷⁷ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 29, 36.

⁴⁷⁸ Rosenbaum discusses these efforts in the remainder of her book, by looking at the numerous magazines published in New England to promote the region, and the artists in the Northeast that focused on the area and its

The East Coast art world was well prepared for the challenge. As the country's oldest art institutions and organizations were located in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, predictably, Ives and Kurtz focused on the Northeast for their juries and the art. Moreover, Kurtz through his connections to the East Coast art world was able to secure loans from important Northeastern collectors such as Thomas Clarke. As Kinder Carr also points out the "unifying element among the American artists who exhibited in Chicago" was professionalism.⁴⁷⁹ The artists selected for the juries and chosen to have their work presented in Chicago had trained in the Northeast and most solidified their training in the ateliers of Paris or Munich. They then promoted their careers by showing their art in both Europe and in the United States' East Coast art galleries. Indeed, the majority of the works presented in Chicago had extensive exhibition histories accompanied by positive critical response. Although Kurtz claimed that he did not consider the artist's reputation or that of the work when hanging the show, the artist and the art objects track record probably influenced some of his decisions and the choices made by the various exhibition juries. As Kinder Carr observes, American artists and the organizers of the exhibition, did not want to "go into aesthetic battle with France with a large number of unproven foot soldiers."⁴⁸⁰ One can hardly blame them, America was attempting to take its place on the world stage both commercially and culturally, but in marginalizing the efforts of their fellow artists working throughout the United States, the predominately Northeastern juries created an incomplete view of artistic production in the country. Moreover, the art created in the Northeast became representative of the "American art" in the Fine Arts Building and any works of art that were

history. See in particular, chapter two, "New England in the Public Eye," and chapter three, "The Aestheticization of Rural New England and the Spirit of Place," and chapter four, "Childe Hassam, Willard Metcalf, and the Production of a "Native" Landscape." In the last chapter of *Visions of Belonging*, "United States, E. Pluribus Unum," Rosenbaum examines the return of artistic interest in regions outside of New England as artists in the early twentieth century looked for new ground to explore.

⁴⁷⁹ Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 99.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

located in a state building, such as California's display, were relegated to the position of regional art, not quite good enough to represent the nation.

The professionalism of American artists that Kinder Carr referenced, however, was most probably the reason the art exhibition in New Orleans happened at all. The primary concern of the Fine Arts committee members for the New Orleans art exhibition seems to have been simply securing enough art to display. Their efforts were eventually rewarded because artists in the United States were professionalizing and eager to get their work seen widely. In doing so, artists from throughout the country provided visitors to the New Orleans event with a view of artistic production taking place from New England to the Pacific Coast, as well as scenes of the regions in which they lived, worked, and engaged with the issues that confronted the entire nation. The fine arts exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition is sometimes referred to as the triumph of American art; in reality it was a victory for the East Coast art world. The fine arts exhibition at the New Orleans World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial, on the other hand, was more heterogeneous and a democratic triumph for the professionalism of American artists from every corner of the nation.

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FIGURES



Fig. 2.1 George François Mugnier, G. M. Torgerson's Main Building, World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition. Illustrated in John R. Kemp and Linda Orr King, eds. *Louisiana Images, 1880-1920: A Photographic Essay by George François Mugnier*, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Museum, 1975, pg. 66.

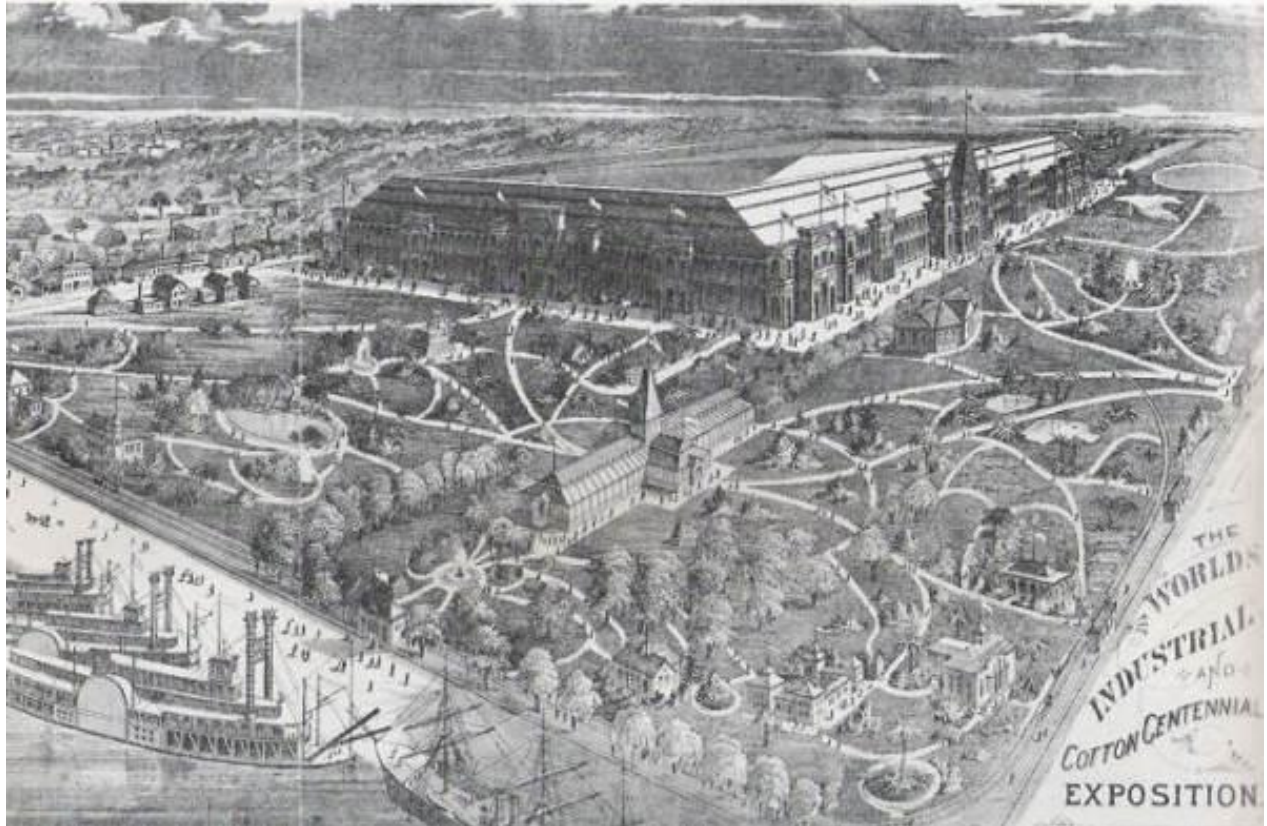


Fig. 2.2 World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, 1885.
Lithograph. Map Division, New York Public Library.

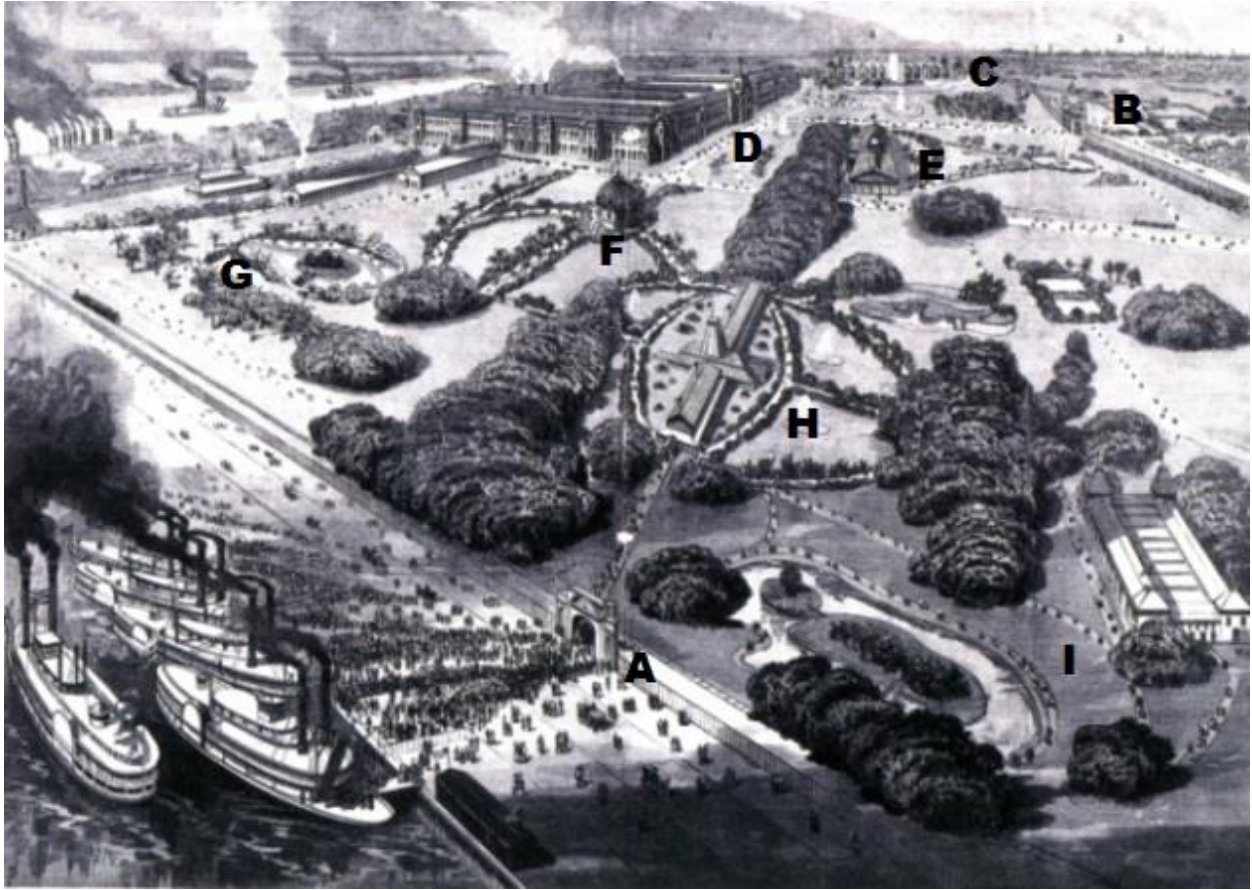


Fig. 2.3 “World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 13 December 1884. Illustrated in González, *Designing Pan-America*, pg. 19.

- A) South Entrance
- B) East Entrance
- C) Government and States Building
- D) Main Building
- E) Fine Art Gallery
- F) Mexican Pavilion (Alhambra)
- G) Arizona and California Gardens
- H) Horticulture Hall
- I) Mexican Headquarters and Gardens

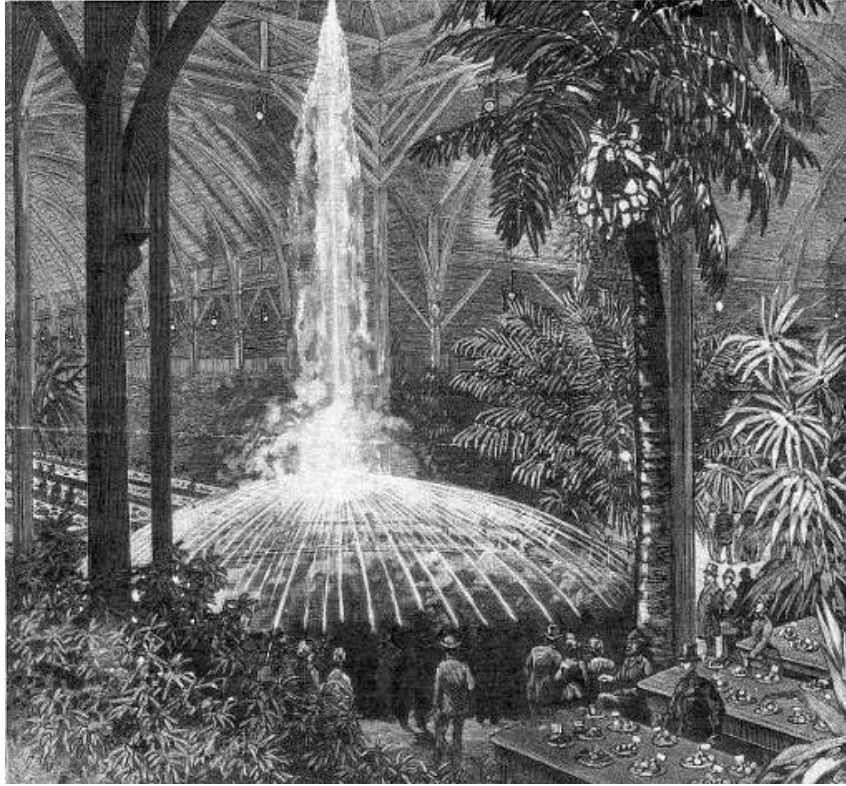


Fig. 2.4 “Horticulture Hall at the New Orleans Exposition,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 17 January 1885.

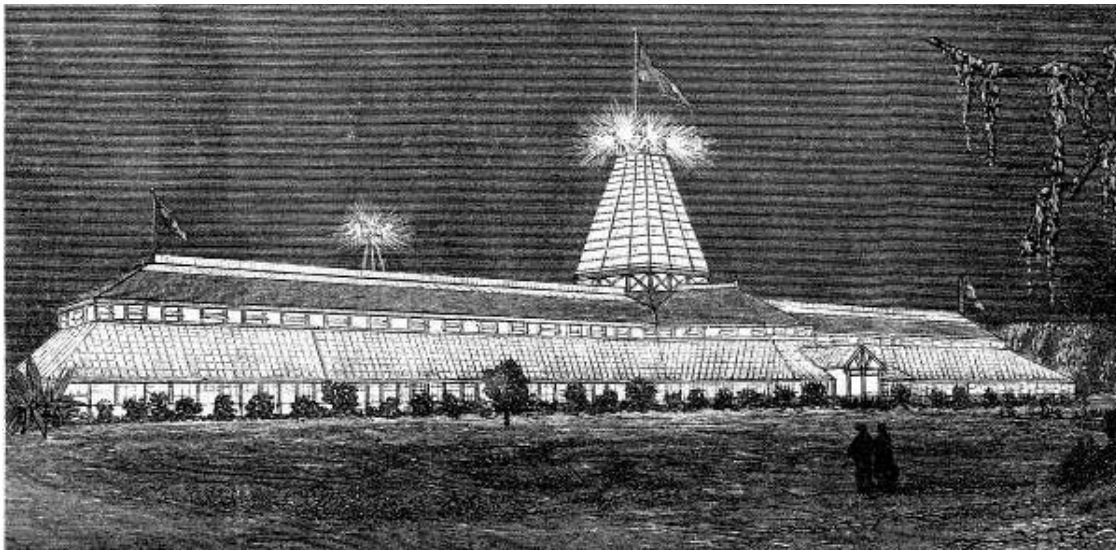


Fig. 2.5 “Horticulture Hall at the New Orleans Exposition,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 17 January 1885.

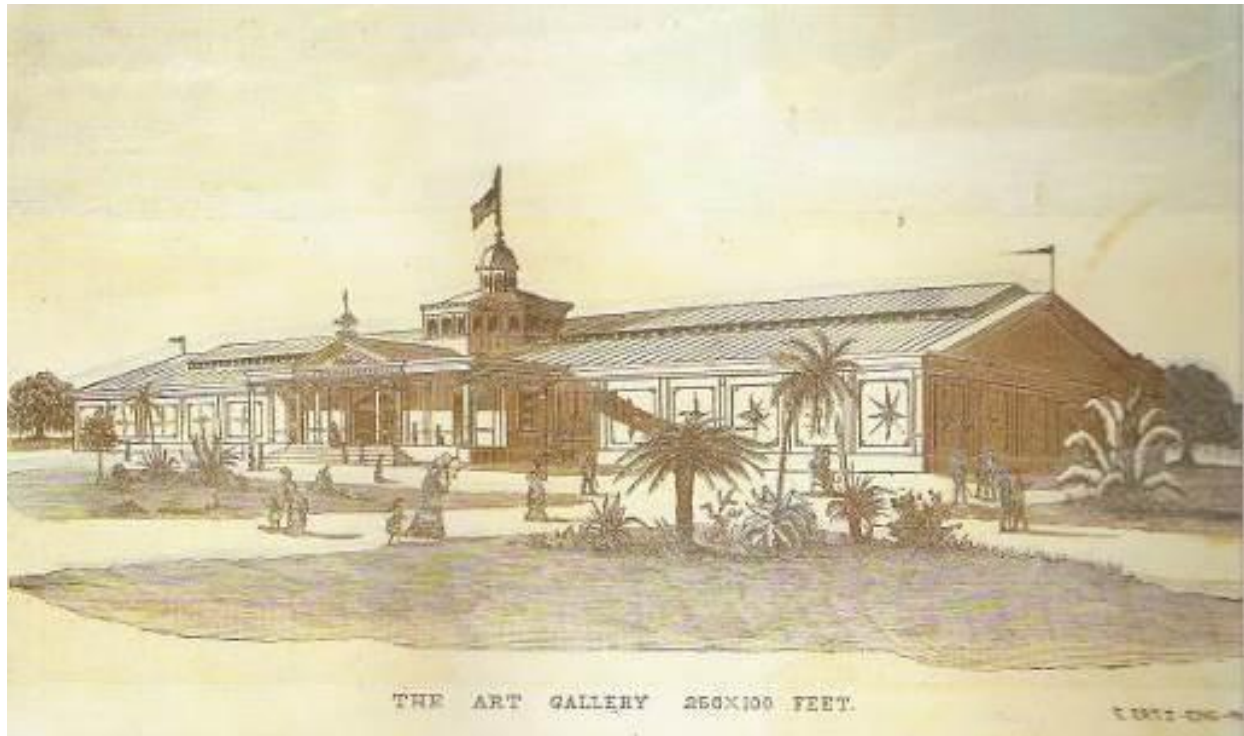


Fig. 2.6 The Fine Arts Gallery. Illustrated in Hardy, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, pg. 14.



Fig. 2.7 “The New South at New Orleans,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 20 December 1884.

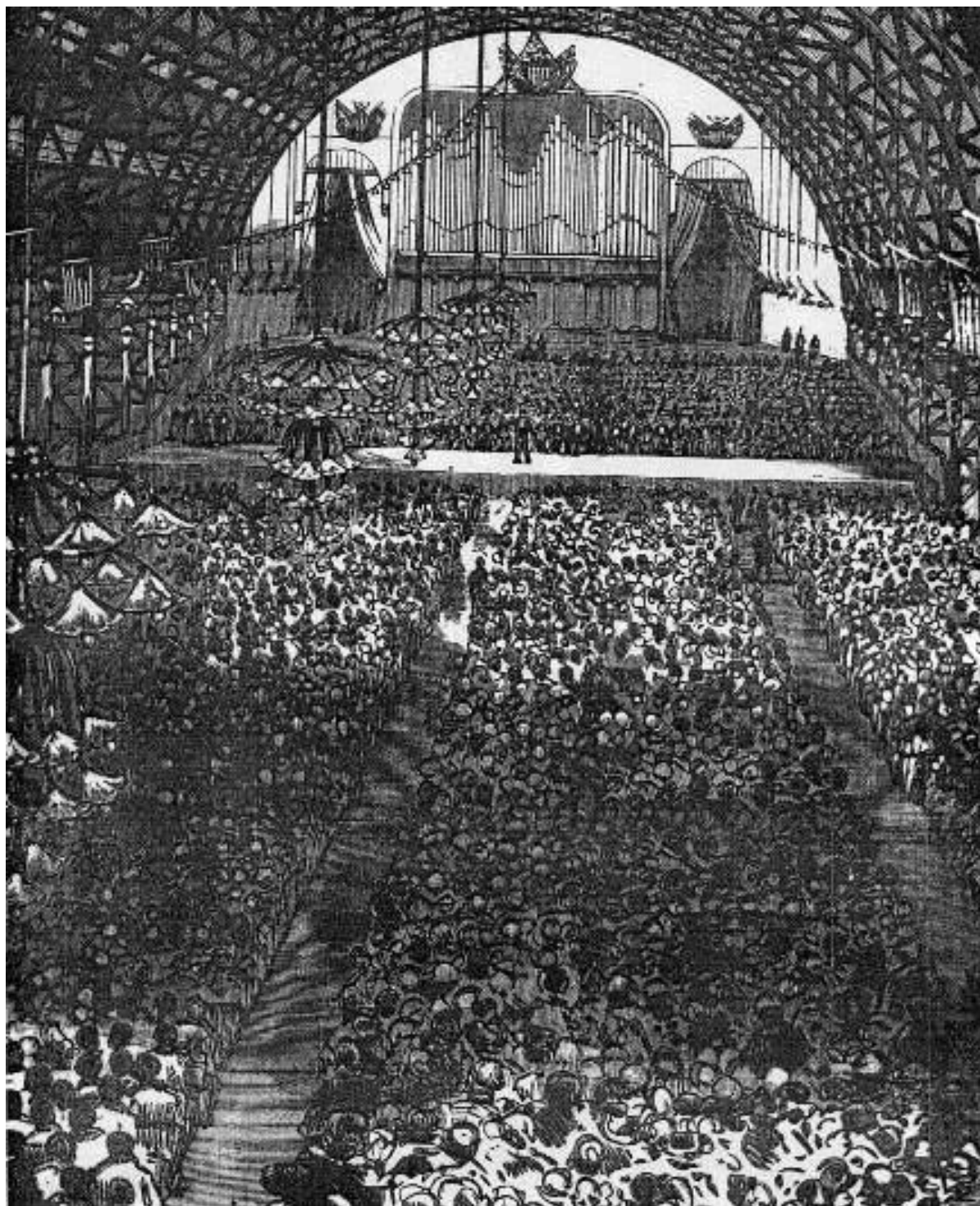


Fig. 2.8 “Opening Day at the Fair,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 27 December 1884.

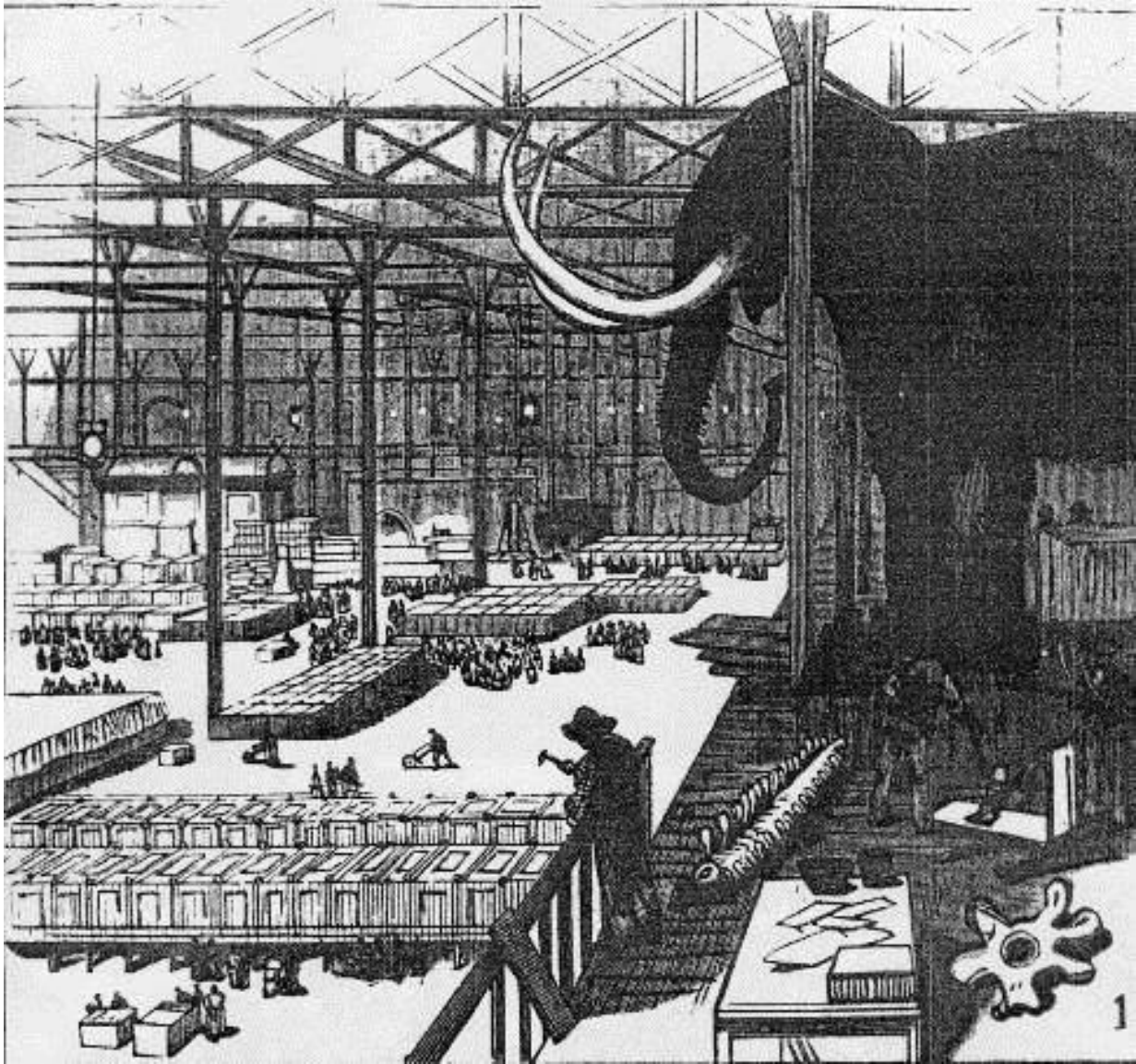


Fig. 2.9 "Opening Day at the Fair," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 27 December 1884.



Fig. 2.10 Thomas Nast, "The Third-Term Panic," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 November 1872.
 Illustrated in Tyler, *The Image of America in Caricature & Cartoon*, pg. 87, fig. 73.



Fig. 2.11 "Opening Day at the Fair," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 27 December 1884.

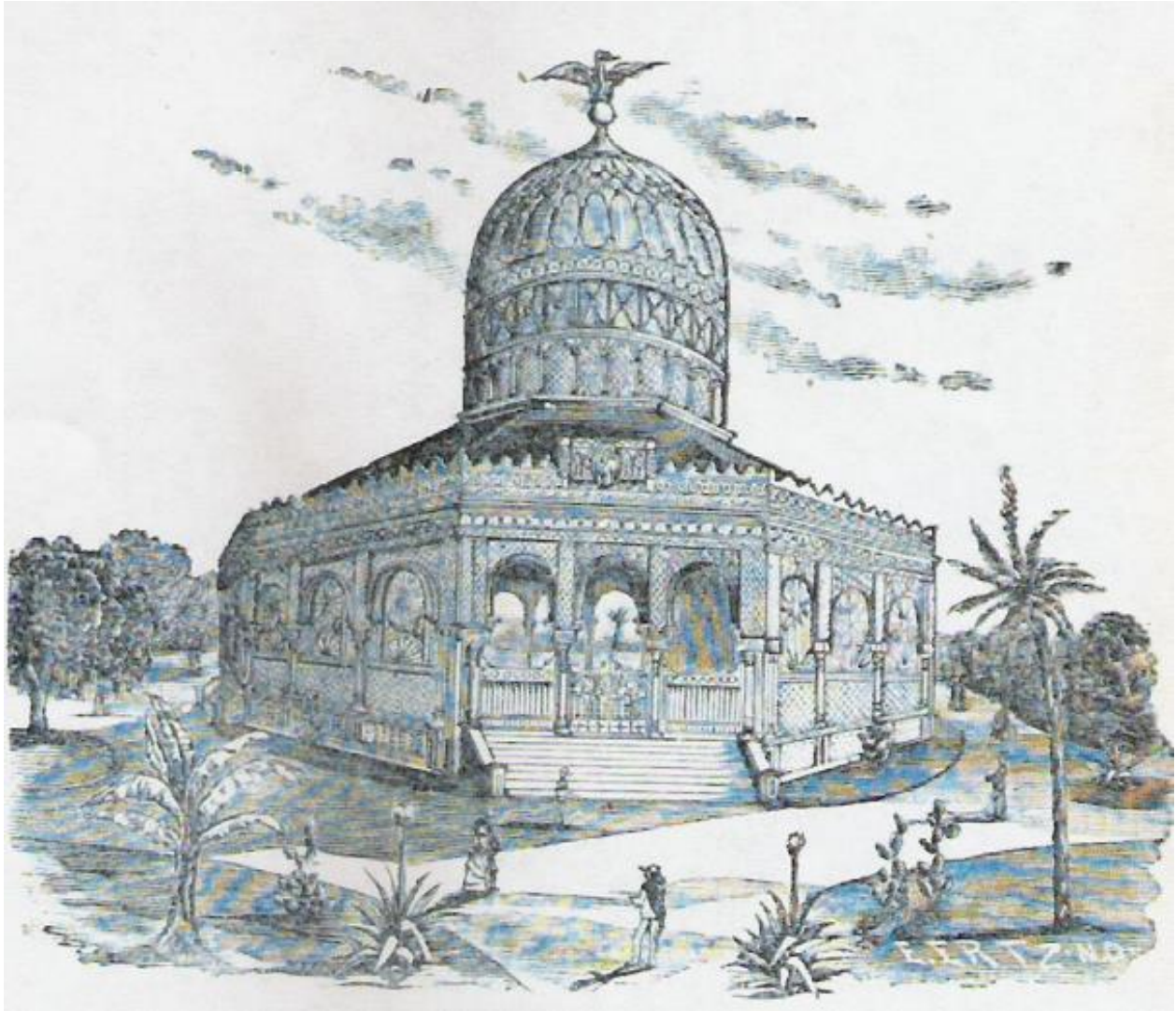


Fig. 3.1 The Mexican Pavilion. Illustrated in Fairall, *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial*, illustrations non-paginated.



Fig. 3.2 E. W. Kemble, "Mexican Silver," "The New Orleans Exposition," *Century* v. 30, no. 1 (May 1885): 6.



Fig. 3.3 E.W. Kemble, "Cactus from Mexico," "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," *Century*, v. 30, no. 2, (June 1885): 190.



Fig. 3.4 Baltasar de Echave Orio (1558-1620), *The Adoration of the Infant Jesus*, 17th Century.
Owner: Museo de Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, inv. # 3149. Image from their website:
<http://munal.mx/munal/> NOLA Cat. No. 435.



Fig. 3.5 Sebastian López de Arteaga (17th century), *St. Thomas Examining the Wounds of Christ*, 17th Century. Oil on canvas, 88 x 61 in. Owner: Museo de Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, inv. # 3129. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/> NOLA Cat. No. 433.



Fig. 3.6 José Juárez (1619-1662), *The Apparition of the Virgin to St. Francis*. Oil on canvas, 104 x 113 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Inv. 3115. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal> NOLA Cat. No. 434.



Fig. 3.7 Rafael Flores (19th century), *Holy Family*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 95 ¼ in. x 65 ¾ in.
Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Image from their website:
<http://munal.mx/munal/> NOLA Cat. No. 406.



Fig. 3.8 Miguel Cabrera (18th century), *Virgin of Guadalupe*, 1766. Oil on canvas, 75.6 x 42.3 in. Archivo del Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe. Illustrated in Jeanette Favrot Peterson, *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014, pg. 195, fig. 7.8

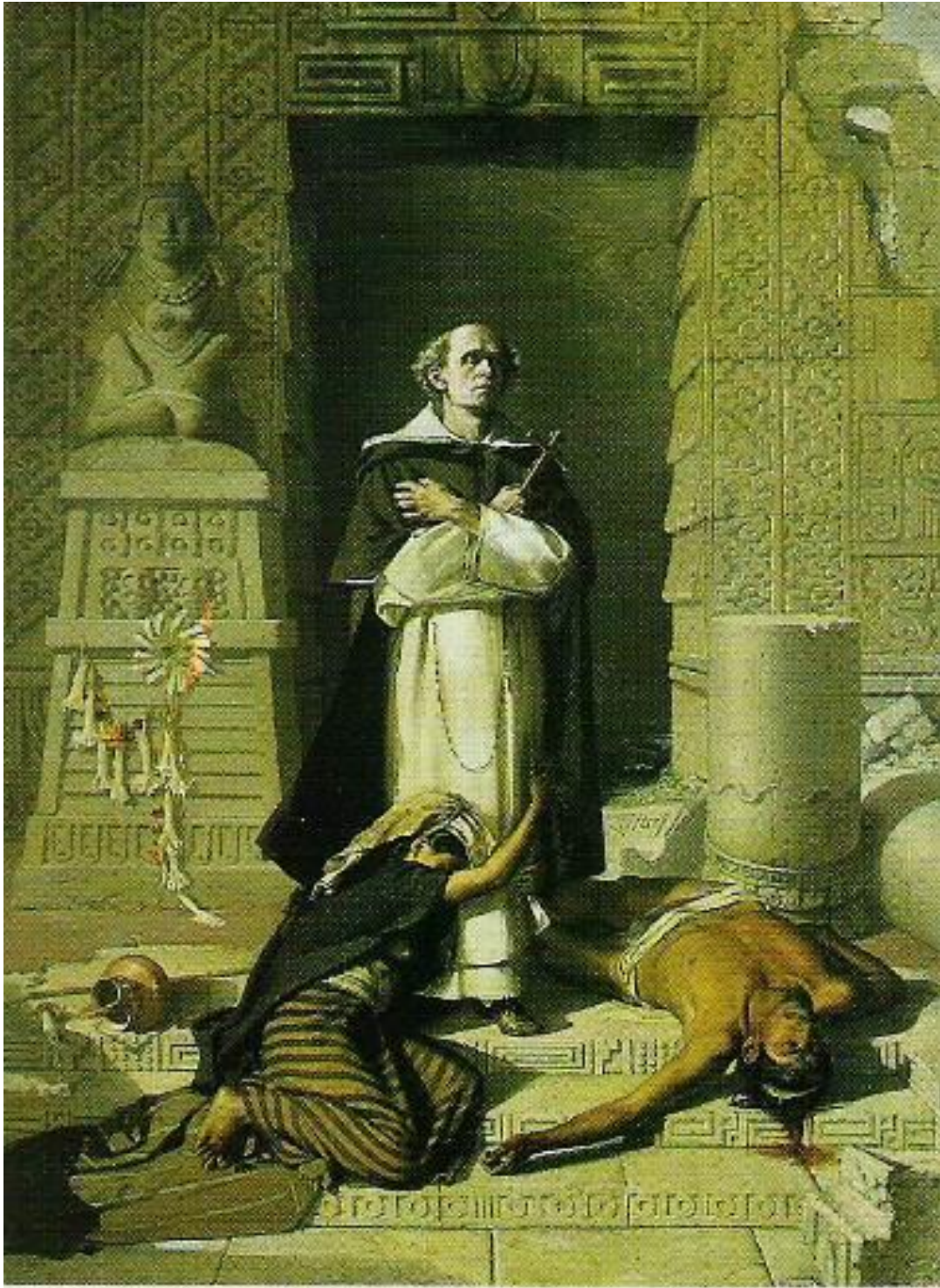


Fig. 3.9 Felix Parra (1845-1919), *An Episode from the Conquest* AKA *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 141 in. x 106 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal> NOLA Cat. 409.



Fig. 3.10 Juan Cordero (1824-1884), *Portrait of Two Young Mexican Sculptors*, 1847. Oil on canvas, 42 x 33 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Inv. 1906. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/> NOLA Cat. No. 419.



Fig. 3.11 Jose Maria Velasco (1840-1912), *Valley of Mexico*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 12 x 19 in. Owner: Narodni Muzeum, Prague. Illustrated in María Elena Piolle, *National Homage José María Velasco*, Mexico City: Amigos del Museo Nacional de Arte, 1993, 102. NOLA Cat. No. 381.



Fig. 4.1 E. W. Kemble, "The Cotton Pavilion," "The New Orleans Exposition," *Century*, v. 30, no. 1 (May 1885): 11.



Fig. 4.2 E.W. Kemble, "Sugar-Cane and Rice-House," "The New Orleans Exhibition," *Century*, v. 30, no. 1 (May 1885): 10.



Fig. 4.3 Frontispiece, Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*, 1755. Illustrated in Irwin, *Neoclassicism*, #43, pg. 72.



Fig. 4.4 "New Orleans Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 February 1885.

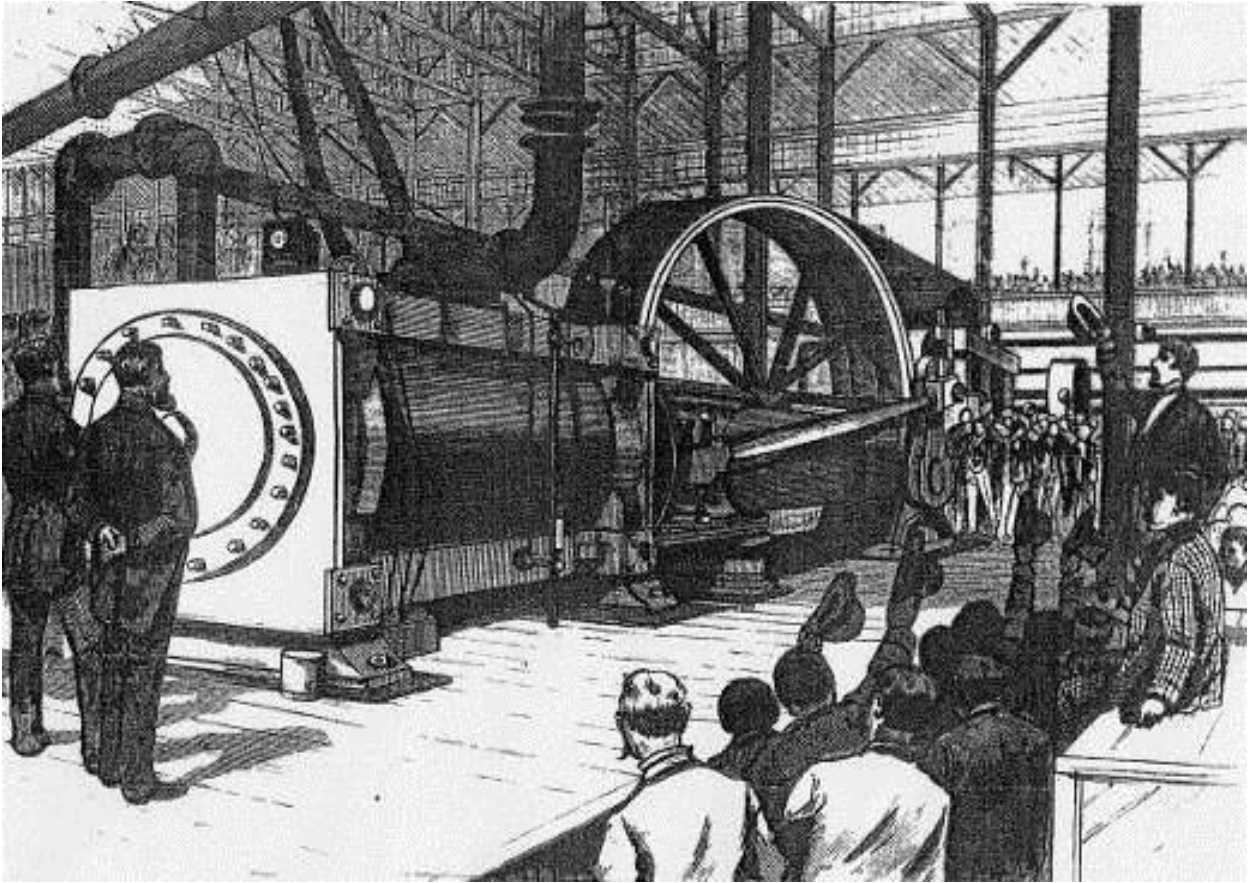


Fig. 4.5 "The New Orleans Exposition," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 3 January 1885.



Fig. 4.6 Machinery Hall, from the North, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. The Corliss engine is located behind the steam locomotives, steam engines, lathes and other machinery. Illustrated in Gross and Snyder, *Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition*, 72.



Fig. 4.7 E. W. Kemble, "On Dixie's Line," "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," *Century*, v. 30, no. 2 (June 1885): 182.



Fig. 4.8 "New Orleans Exposition," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 January 1885.



Fig. 4.9 Edmonia Lewis, *The Wooing of Hiawatha*, 1866. Marble, 24 x 15 x 15 in. Walter O. Evans Collection. Illustrated in Buick, *The Child of the Fire*, color plate 10, n.p.

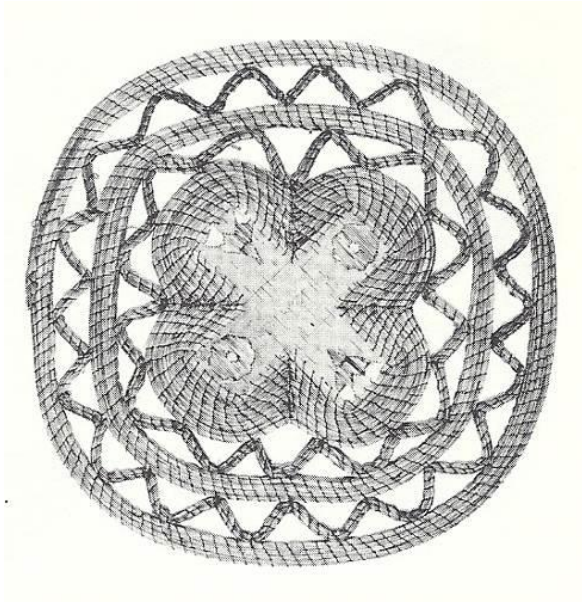


Fig. 4.10 Ojibwa mat, 1869. Birch bark, sweet grass, and quills, diameter 12 ½ inches. Royal Pavilion Gallery and Museums, Brighton, England. 1920/04. Illustrated in Buick, *Child of the Fire*, 121, fig. 17.



Fig. 4.11 George Barker, Tuscarora Women at Luna Island, Niagara, 1865. Stereographic card, 3 ½ x 7 inches. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. Courtesy of the George Eastman House. Illustrated in Buick, *Child of the Fire*, 122, fig. 19.



Fig. 5.1 Thomas Moran (1837-1926), *Ponce de Leon in Florida*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 64 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 116 in. Owner: Cummer Museum of Art and Gardens, Jacksonville, Florida. Accession #AP1996.2.1. Illustrated in Charles C. Eldredge, *Tales from the Easel: American Narrative Paintings from Southeastern Museums, 1800-1950*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004, 24. NOLA Cat. No. 301



Fig. 5.2 Peter F. Rothermel (1817-1895), *De Soto Discovering the Mississippi*, ca. 1843. Oil on canvas, 50 1/8 x 63 1/8 in. Owner: St. Bonaventure University Art Collection, New York; gift of Dr. T. Edward Hanley. Illustrated in Truettner ed. *The West as America*, 76, fig. 65. NOLA Cat. No. 127



Fig. 5.3 Archibald Willard (1836-1918), *Minute Men of the Revolution*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 8 ft. x 6 ft. The Union Club, Cleveland. Illustrated in Gordon, *America's Best Known Painting, Least Known Artist*, 60. NOLA Cat. No. 10



Fig. 5.4 Enoch Wood Perry, *The Young Ben Franklin at his Printing Press*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 37 x 29 in. Owner: The Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, Accession #1964.31.23. Photograph courtesy of the Speed Art Museum, for study purposes only. NOLA Cat. No. 257



Fig. 5.5 Archibald Willard, *Spirit of '76*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 52 x 82 inches. Owner: Western Reserve Historical Society. Illustration of Abbott Hall's version, *American Heritage*, vol. xii, no. 5, p. 57.



Fig. 5.6 Thomas Hill (1829-1908). *Driving of the Last Spike*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 96 x 144 in. Owner: State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento. Illustrated in Moure, *California Art*, 35, fig. 2.11. NOLA Cat. No. 23



Fig. 5.7 Detail, Thomas Hill, *Driving of the Last Spike*, 1875.



Fig. 5.8 Frederick Debourg Richards photograph carte of *Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum*, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. Owner: Private collection. Illustrated in Thistlethwaite, *Painting in the Grand Manner the Art of Peter Frederick Rothermel*, fig. 19, pg. 86. NOLA Cat. No. 208



Fig. 5.9 Peter Rothermel (1817-1895). Study for *Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum*, ca. 1862. Ink and wash on paper, 9 5/8 x 7 1/4 in. Owner: Gil E. Pablo. Illustrated in Thistlethwaite, *Painting in the Grand Manner the Art of Peter Frederick Rothermel*, cat. 18a, pg. 87.



Fig. 5.10 Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), *The Crucifixion*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 96 x 54 inches. Owner: Philadelphia Museum of Art. Illustrated in Schwain, *Signs of Grace*, color plate 1. NOLA Cat. No. 25



Fig. 5.11 Edward Lamson Henry (1841-1919), *Passion Play, Oberammergau*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 20 9/16 x 34 3/4 in. Owner: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, The Preston Morton Collection, anonymous gift. Accession #61.11. Illustrated in Katharina and Gerhard Bott, et al, *Vice Versa: Deutsche Maler in Amerika/Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland, 1813-1913*, Berlin, Germany: Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, 1996, Fig. 98, pg. 417. NOLA Cat. No. 347



Fig. 5.12 Edward Lamson Henry, *The Old Westover House*, 1869. Oil on paperboard, 11 5/16 x 14 3/8 in. Owner: Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., Gift of the American Art Association. Illustrated in Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*, Fig. 56, pg. 163.



Fig. 5.13 Edward Lamson Henry, *Old Clock on the Stairs*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 20 3/4 x 16 1/4 in. Owner: Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont. Illustrated in Nancy C. Muller, *Paintings and Drawings at the Shelburne Museum*, Shelburne, VT: Shelburne Museum, 1976, no. 115.



Fig. 5.14 John George Brown (1831-1913), *Street Gallantry*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 27 ¼ x 43 ½ in. Owner: The San Antonio Museum of Art, Gift of the Fredric Estate, Accession # 71.273.29. Illustrated in Lisa Reitzes, Stephanie Street, and Gerry D. Scott, III, *The National Image: The American Painting and Sculpture Collection in the San Antonio Museum of Art*, San Antonio, TX: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2003, Fig. 34, pg. 108. NOLA Cat. No. 307



Fig. 5.15 Abraham Archibald Anderson (1874-1940), *From Riches to Poverty*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 76 x 60 in. Owner: The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, New York, New York. Image provided by The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, New York, New York. NOLA Cat. No. 195



Fig. 5.16 Frederick W. Freer (1849-1908), *Lady at Organ*, 1887, ink and wash on paper, 11 7/8 x 8 7/8 in. Owner: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, Montgomery, AL, Gift of Mrs. Margaret Freer, 1936.0058.



Fig. 5.17 Emily Sartain (1841-1927), *Marie*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 in. Owner: Moore College of Art and Design Permanent Collection. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 313. NOLA Cat. No. 364.



Fig. 5.18 James Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917), *Portrait of William Merritt Chase*, 1881-1882. Oil on canvas, 78 x 38 in. Owner: Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift of Artist, Accession #10.8. Image provided by the Indianapolis Museum of Art. NOLA Cat. No. 319



Fig. 5.19 William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), *Portrait of Frank Duveneck/The Smoker*, 1875. Properties unknown, the image is known only through an etching made of the painting by William Unger in 1880. The painting was destroyed in a fire in 1892. Illustrated in Ronald K. Pisano, *William Merritt Chase, The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase (1849-1916)*, Vol. 2 "Portraits in Oil." New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006, cat. #OP.30, pg. 12. NOLA Cat. No. 360



Fig. 5.20 Julian Alden Weir (1852-1919), *Milkmaid of Popindrecht*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 76 ½ x 51 3/16 inches. Owner: Brigham Young University Museum of Art. Illustrated in Bolger Burke, J. Alden Weir, pg. 110. NOLA Cat. No. 53



Fig. 5.21 William Hahn (1829-1887), *Mexican Cattle Drivers in Southern California*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 34 x 60 in. Owner: Oakland Museum of Art. Illustrated in Arkelian, *William Hahn*, fig. 42, pg. 43. NOLA Cat. No. 181



Fig. 5.22 Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), *Hetch-Hetchy Valley*. c. 1874-1880. Oil on canvas, 37 ¼ x 58 ¼ in. Owner: Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. Bequest of Laura M. Lyman, in memory of her husband Theodore Lyman, Accession #1925.618. Illustrated in Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *American Paintings before 1945 in the Wadsworth Atheneum*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996, v. 1, cat. no. 40, color plate 8. NOLA Cat. No. 258



Fig. 5.23 Thomas Hill (1829-1908), *Heart of the Sierras* AKA *Grand Canyon of the Sierras*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 72 x 120 in. Owner: Crocker Museum of Art, E. B. Crocker Collection, Accession #1872.423. Image from their website: <https://crockerartmuseum.org/> NOLA Cat. No. 99



Fig. 5.24 Thomas Hill (1829-1908), *Early Morning in Yosemite*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 53 ½ x 36 in. Owner: Chrysler Museum of Art, Gift of Edward J. Brickhouse, Signed T. Hill, 1884, Accession #64.51.4. Illustrated in Dennis R. Anderson, *Three Hundred Years of American Art in the Chrysler Museum*, Norfolk, VA: Chrysler Museum of Norfolk, 1976, pg. 120. Cat. No. 149



Fig. 5.25 Thomas Hill (1829-1908) *Yosemite Valley*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 72 x 120 in. Owner: Oakland Museum of Art, The Kahn Collection. Illustrated in Christina Orr-Cahall, *The Art of California: Selected Works from the Collection of the Oakland Museum*, Oakland, CA: The Oakland Museum Art Department, 1984, pg. 58. NOLA Cat. No. 169



Fig. 5.26 Julian Rix (1850-1903), *Landscape (Twilight Scene with Stream and Redwood Trees)*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 83 ½ x 46 ½ in. Owner: Oakland Museum of Art, Bequest of Dr. Cecil E. Nixon. Image from their website: <http://museumca.org/> NOLA Cat. No. 126

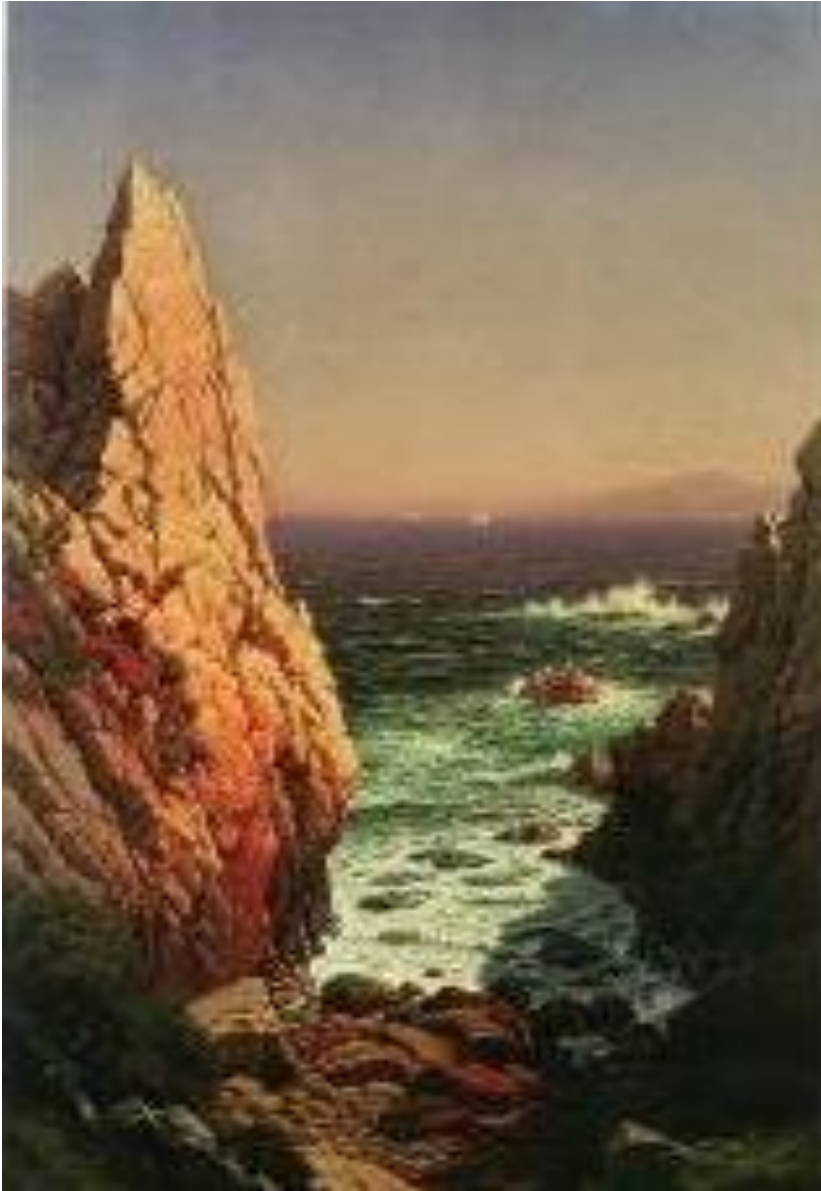


Fig. 5.27 Raymond Dabb Yelland (1848-1900), *A Glimpse of Monterey Bay*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 53 x 36 in. Owner: Brigham Young University Museum of Art. Illustrated in Scott Shields, *Artists at Continent's End*, pg. 284. NOLA Cat. No. 103



Fig. 5.28 Alfred Thompson Bricher (1837-1908), *Pulpit Rock, Nahant*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 35 ¼ x 25 in. Private Collection. Illustrated in Sotheby Parke Bernet, Sale Cat. 4338, 1/30-2/2/80, Vol. 1, lot 185. NOLA Cat. No. 15



Fig. 5.29 William Stanley Haseltine, *The Rocks at Nahant*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 22 1/8 x 40 1/8 in. Owner: Brooklyn Museum of Art. Illustrated in Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature*, fig. 58. pg. 110.



Fig. 5.30 Louis Rémy Mignot (1831-1870), *Niagara*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 48 3/4 x 91 1/2 in. Owner: Brooklyn Museum of Art, Accession #1933.118. Illustrated in Teresa A. Carbone, et al, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum, Artists born by 1876*, Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 2006, v. 1, color plate 66, pg. 129. NOLA Cat. No. 148



Fig. 5.31 George Loring Brown (1814-1889), *Niagara at Sunset*, 1861. Oil on canvas, 33 x 71 in. Auction at Sotheby's May 24, 2006. Image from sale catalogue, Private collection, owner restricted. NOLA Cat. No. 265.



Fig. 5.32 Frederic Edwin Church (1826-1900), *Niagara*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 42 ½ x 90 ½ in. Owner: Corcoran Gallery of Art. Illustrated in McKinsey, *Niagara Falls*, Fig. 96.



Fig. 5.33 George Inness (1825-1894) *Mount Washington*, ca. 1875. Oil on canvas, 21 x 30 ¼ in. Owner Cornelia and Meredith Long. Illustrated in Quick, *George Inness*, v. 1, cat. # 528, pg. 470, color plate 107.



Fig. 5.34 Joseph Jefferson (1829-1905), *Landscape* Seen here is *Jefferson Island, Louisiana*, 1880, oil on canvas, no dimensions given. Owner: Ogden Museum of Southern Art, New Orleans, Gift of Roger H. Ogden Collection. Image from their website: <http://www.ogdenmuseum.org/> NOLA Cat. No. 237

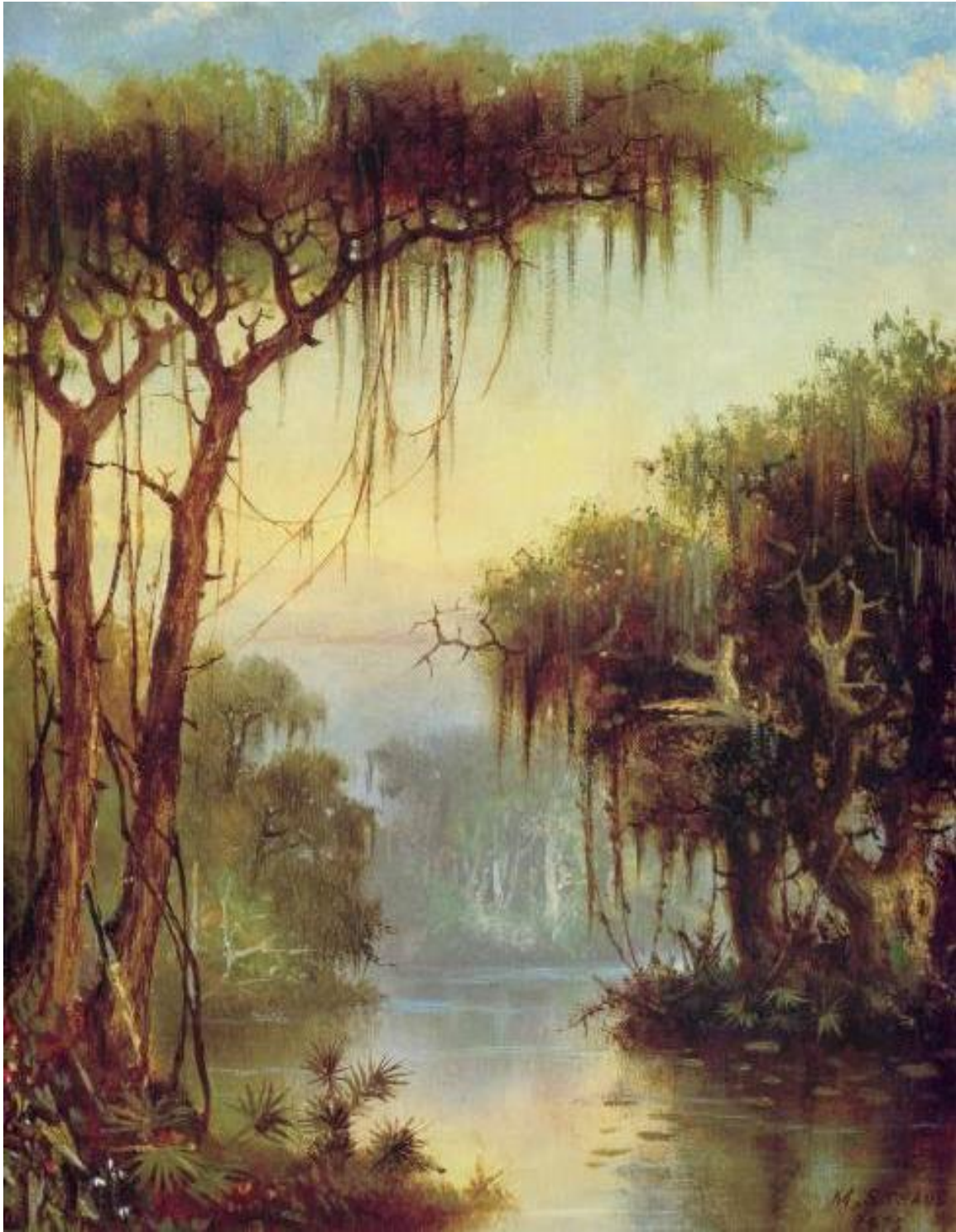


Fig. 5.35 Meyer Straus (1831-1905), *Morning Light on a Swamp Bayou*, 1875. Oil on board, 10 x 8 inches. Owner: Ogden Museum of Southern Art, New Orleans, LA, Gift of Roger H. Ogden Collection, 1993. Illustrated in Randolph Delehanty, *Art in the American South: Works from the Ogden Collection*, Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996, pg. 25, fig. 9. NOLA Cat. No. 168



Fig. 5.36 William Henry Buck (1840-1888), *Live Oak*. Seen here is Buck's *Live Oak, Louisiana Landscape*, n. d. Oil on canvas, 18 x 30 in. Owner New Orleans Museum of Art. Illustrated in *Louisiana Landscape and Genre Paintings of the 19th century*. A loan exhibition, The R. W. Norton Art Gallery, Shreveport, Louisiana: The R. W. Norton Art Foundation, 1981, pgs. 9, 11. NOLA Cat. No. 197

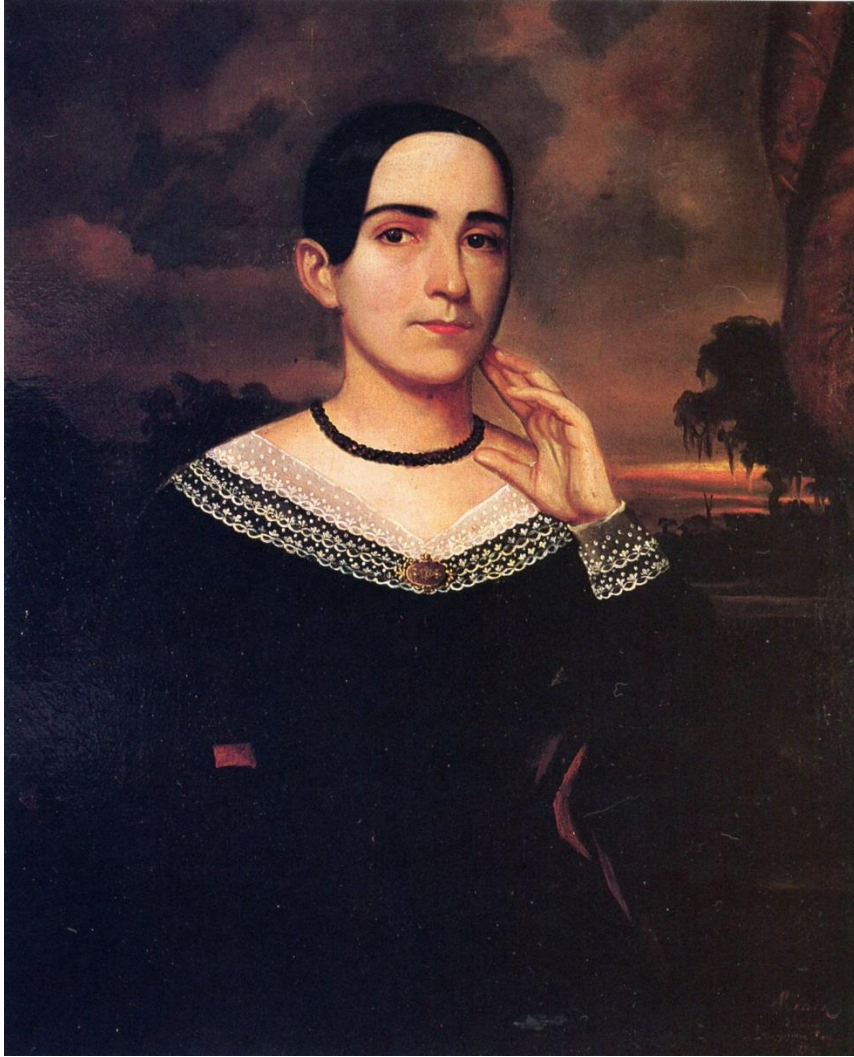


Fig. 5.37 Adolph Rinck (1810-1872), *Charlotte Mathilde Grevenburg DuMartrait*, 1843. Oil on canvas, 35 x 28 in. Owner: Peter W. Patout, New Orleans, Louisiana. Illustrated in Pennington, *Look Away*, pg. 134.



Fig. 5.38 John Frederick Peto (1854-1907), *Take Your Choice*. Seen here is *Take Your Choice*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 51.4 x 76.8. Owner: John Wilmerding Collection, National Gallery of Art. Illustrated in Kelly, *American Masters from Bingham to Eakins*, pg. 100, Cat. No. 24. NOLA Cat. No. 41



Fig. 6.1 The Court of Honor, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Illustrated in Bolotin and Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition*, pg. 62.



Fig. 6.2 Art Gallery, California State Building, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. Illustrated in *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission*, non-paginated insert between pages 54-55.



Fig. 6.3 Thomas Allen (1849-1924), *Coming through the Woods*. Unlocated. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, pg. 202, from an illustration in Daniel H. Burnham, *The Art of the World*, Vol. 3 (New York: Appleton, 1893-94)



Fig. 6.4 Frank Benson (1862-1951), *Portrait of a Lady in White*, 1889. Oil on canvas, 48 ½ x 38 ¼ in. Owner: National Gallery of Art. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, pg. 206.

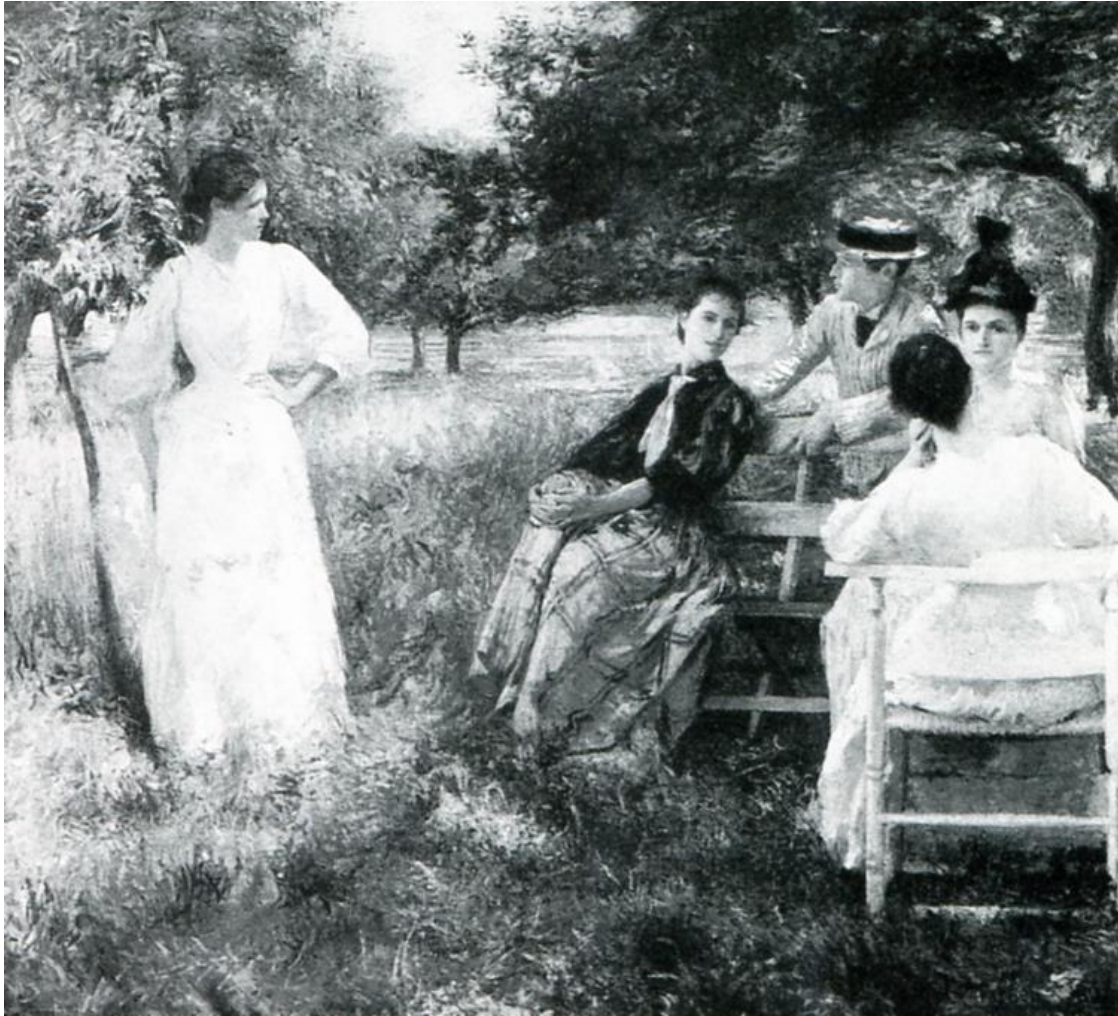


Fig. 6.5 Edmund Tarbell (1862-1938), *In the Orchard*, 1891. Dimensions not given. Owner: Private Collection. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, pg. 323.



Fig. 6. 6 Thomas Hovenden (1840-1895), *Breaking the Home Ties*, 1890. Oil on canvas, 52 ¼ x 72 ¼ in. Owner: Philadelphia Museum of Art. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, pg. 178.

APPENDIX

LIST OF WORKS INCLUDED IN THE FINE ARTS GALLERY

Key:

Number: As listed in catalogue of the Fine Arts exhibition followed by name of artist; life dates when known; place of birth and death when known or where the artist was active

Training: Art academy and/or location (teacher). Abbreviations: ASL: Art Students League; EcBA: Ecole des Beaux Arts; NAD: National Academy of Design; PAFA: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

Title of painting: As it appeared in the catalogue, with the price of the painting if for sale and the lender/agent as listed in the catalogue if given.

Reviews: As they appeared in the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* and *Picayune* when present.

No. 1 Benjamin Constant (1845 Paris, France-1902 Paris, France)

Training: EcBA, Paris (Alexandre Cabanel)

The Siesta AKA Beauties of the Harem \$3000

Reviews: "The Beauties of the Harem, lounging on a balcony, by Benjamin Constant, is gorgeous in color." 23 February 1885 New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*. "No. 1 in the Gallery is a very brilliant and pleasing Oriental picture, showing a number of ladies of the harem lounging on a balcony. It is entitled 'The Siesta,' the painter being Benjamin Constant, of Paris. The coloring is rich, the execution is good and the subject a pretty one. It is a picture one will take pleasure in seeing more than once." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885. "Constant's The Siesta depicts a Moorish house top, a sumptuous array of Arabian rugs, and pearl inlaid Moorish stools, dark-eyed women of the South drawn in all their grace and mobility of form in rich robes, whilst the soft breezes invite good rest. An evening sky lights up the summits of the tallest hills beyond, leaving the others in purple gloom." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 2 Burr H. Nicholls (1843 Lockport, NY-1915 Stamford, CT)

Training: Buffalo, NY (Lars Sellstedt); Paris (Carolus-Duran)

Sunny Hours \$1000

Reviews: "Burr Nicholls's Sunny Hours, is a work of considerable interest. The stuccoed (sic) house, with its balconies, the yard wall, and the stone steps are all in the full sunlight. There is some fine color effects." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 3 Herman Hartwich (1853 New York City-1926 Munich)

Southern Tyrol \$100

No Reviews

No. 4 Henry Augustus Loop (1831 Hillsdale, NY-1895 Lake George, NY)

Training: EcBA, Paris (Thomas Couture)

The Summer Moon \$1800

Reviews: "No. 4, 'The Summer Moon,' by H. A. Loop, of New York, is an evidence of how a picture in many respects meritorious may be made absurd for the want of necessary technical treatment. The chief defect of the picture is its utter neglect of perspective. A summer girl, well enough drawn, pleasingly posed and not without a certain prettiness in a decidedly summer costume, is reclining on a bank where the wild thyme grows, while a bucolic boy is seated near on a probable tombstone, playing on a shepherd's pipe. A pink moon is rising in the middle of the picture and casting a pink light on this Phyllis and Corydon. Of course there is no such thing as a pink moon; but under the circumstances, a fellow with a summer girl can afford to be indifferent about the color of the moon, but as the girl is about ten times as long as the shepherd boy is tall, the girl is obviously 50 feet long as she lies stretched on the ground, while the boy is apparently about 5 feet high. This is all the result of deficient perspective and assists materially to make the picture ridiculous." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 5 Jacobus Leisten (1844 Germany-1918 Germany)

Starting for the Hunt \$2500

No Reviews

No. 6 Frithjof Smith-Hald (1846 Norway-1903 Chicago, IL)

Waiting for the Fishermen's Return \$1800

Reviews: "No. 6, 'Waiting for the Fishermen's Return,' by F. Smith-Hald, a Norwegian painter, of Paris, is a strong picture, showing a group of stout Norwegian women waiting on the sand by a white-gray sea, overhung by foggy white sky. It is a characteristic and vigorous picture, rather than pretty." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885. "Smith-Hald's *Waiting for the Fishermen's Return* is one of the choicest works in the gallery." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 21 April 1885.

No. 7 Jervis McEntee (1828 Rondout, NY-1891 Rondout, NY)

Training: New York (Frederic Church)

Clouds \$2000 (Owned by Vassar, image not available)

No Reviews

No. 8 Vitturio Corcos (1859 Livorno, Tuscany-1933 Florence, Italy)

In the Conservatory \$550

No Reviews

No. 9 Clifford Prevost Grayson (1857 Philadelphia, PA -1951 Old Lyme, CT)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia; EcBA, Paris (Léon Bonnat and Jean-Léon Gérôme)

De Viatique \$150

Reviews: "No. 9, *De Viatique*, Pont Aven by Grayson, is as pretty a little scene as can be easily imagined. A blue sky, Lombardy poplars and a Loge a pied et a Cheval at the right of the road throwing the richest shadows across it. Moving down the road is a solemn procession of priest and nuns on their way to some dying soul. The canvas is throughout a fine example of positive

color feeling, and would quite put to shame the meretricious effects of a glaze.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 31 March 1885.

No. 10 Archibald M. Willard (1838 Bedford, OH-1918 Cleveland, OH)

Training: Self-taught



Minute Men of the Revolution, 1884. \$5000 Oil on canvas, 8 ft. x 6 ft. Owner: The Union Club, Cleveland. Illustrated in Willard F. Gordon, *America's Best Known Painting, Least Known Artist: "The Spirit of '76" . . . an American Portrait*, Fallbrook, California: Quail Hill, 1976, pg. 60. Reviews: "As a picture of American feeling it will not do to leave out of the list No. 10, 'The Minute Revolution,' by A. M. Willard, of Cleveland, Ohio, author of several pictures in a similar vein. The picture is not beautiful as to mere form and color, but it is strikingly suggestive, and tells its own story with so decisive a perspicuity that no interpretation is necessary." 22 March New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885. "The Minute Men of the Revolution by A. M. Willard has sufficed to fire the patriotism of two extremes of Columbia's sons and men who had drawn in the little story of George and the hatchet with the coddling at their mother's knee, young boys to whose elastic minds the gun and the dog either forcibly suggest snipe or the valorous deeds of Marion and his men. The composition is eminently meager and the figures very constrained in movement." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 April 1885.

No. 11 William Edward Norton (1843 Boston, MA-1916)

Training: New York City, NY (George Inness); Paris (A. Vollon)

Norwegian Lumberman \$500

No Reviews

No. 12 William Mason Brown (1828 Troy, NY -1898 NY)

Fruit \$600

No Reviews

No. 13 Louis Rémy Mignot (1831 Charleston, SC -1870 Brighton, England)

Training: The Hague, Netherlands (Andreas Schelfhout)

Lake Lucerne, with the Righi Loaned by H. J. Fairchild, Manchester, England

Reviews: "No. 13, Lake Lucerne, with the Righi, is another excellent Alpine view by Mignot."

New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885. "Two of the works of Mignot on exhibition here are Lake of Lucerne with the Righi, and Jung Frau. In the first of these canvases the painter shows his steadfastness to his theory that nature allows no tampering with, that she is to be as reverently reproduced as lies within the bounds of human possibilities. Thus the peculiar green of the waters of Lucerne, and the repeating strata of the Righi, which other painters take with indifference, Mignot renders with loyal exactness. The reef studded waters of the lake lie modestly at the feet of the Righi, the Neder and the Oder. A serene sky gradually lightens until it loses its own miniature cloud mountains late the snow-capped peak of Mt. Clariden. On the surface of the water tiny crafts with striped swings probed ever their decks ply a merry way into

the near promontories. The strong pine has fixed his craning spires into the distance.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 14 John George Brown (1831 Durham, England -1913 New York, NY)

Training: NAD; Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Royal Academy, Edinburgh (William B. Scott)

A Joint Investment

Reviews: “J. G. Brown’s *Joint Investment*, is in conception very similar to De Crano’s *Joint Stock Company* [#26], only Brown disposes his bootblacks in attitudes trying if natural.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 15 Alfred Thompson Bricher (1837 Portsmouth, NH -1908 New Drop, NY),

Training: Self taught



Pulpit Rock, Nahant, 1883. \$450 Oil on canvas, 35 ¼ x 25 in. Private Collection. Illustrated in Sotheby Parke Bernet, Sale Cat. 4338, 1/30-2/2/80, Vol. 1, lot 185.

No Reviews

No. 16 Jean-Léon-Gérôme Ferris (1863 Philadelphia, PA -1930)

Training: Philadelphia (S. J. Ferris, Christian Schuessele); EcBA, Paris (Bouguereau and Gerome)

The Marabout Lion \$1000

Reviews: “No. 16, by Gerome Ferris, entitled the ‘Marabout Lion’ represents the interior of an Algerian Marabout Chief’s residence where the master of the house is surrounded by his servants and companions, including a donkey and a tame lion which basks on the floor. The grouping is artistic, the coloring brilliant.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 17 April 1885.

No. 17 Frank Hill Smith (1841 Boston, MA-1904)

Training: Boston; Paris (Leon Bonnat)

The Brook \$800

No Reviews

No. 18 James Fairman (1826 Glasgow, Scotland-1904)

Havre from the Sea \$1000

No Reviews

No. 19 Michael Angelo Woolf (1837-1899)

How it Happened \$1500

Reviews: “In Wolfe’s *How it Happened* there is some very clever seizing of phases of Hibernian character. The only thing that in any way mars the picture is a bad distribution of light, and hence a lack of marked relief in the scene; beyond this it is carefully painted, and thoroughly humorous in its conception, suggesting the neighborly boils associated with Holborn (sic) christened High.

With a sprit commensurate with the subject a little fellow with a bandaged arm stands by a choir where a pan of bloody water attests his injuries and is pro tempore as much a subject of interest as ever was Billy of Seven Dials. The explantoress (sic) stands near, with a thumb in the air, and her brawny arms bare, her dissembling face adding little to the force of the statement. The group of eager listeners have depicted on their faces most naively how slow conviction follows on the words of the speaker.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 20 Ernest Etienne Narjot (1826 Brittany, France-1898 San Francisco, CA)

Training: Académie Julian, Paris

Marguerite Loaned by Irving M. Scott, San Francisco

Reviews: “Ernest Narjot of California exhibits Marguerite, a fine Spanish beauty.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 21 Maurice Bompard [Bompart] (1857 Rodez, Aveyron, France-1936)

Training: Paris (Gustave Boulanger, Jules Joseph Lefebvre)

Still Life

No Reviews

No. 22 Oscar Regan Coast (1851 Salem, OH-1931 California)

Keene Valley

No Reviews

No. 23 Oscar Regan Coast (1851 Salem, OH-1931 California)

Peonies

No Reviews

No. 24 William Trost Richards (1833 Philadelphia, PA -1905 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: Philadelphia (Paul Weber); Düsseldorf, Germany

The Wild New England Shore \$1600

Reviews: “W. T. Richards has three good marine views, one a scene on the marine coast where the ocean is battling with the cliffs, and another showing the surf on a sand beach being foils to each other.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 December 1885. “W. T. Richards, of Philadelphia, has some good pictures in the gallery. No. 24 shows the sea breaking on a rocky cliff. No. 118 is a companion piece, showing the sea beating on a low shelving sand beach. They present the sea in two authentic phases, but they are well presented. Mr. Richards runs too much to greens in color, but his wave motion is very successful.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 13 April 1885. “W. T. Richards is represented here by three works all of them fine [illegible] and the little broken surfaces of the waves are admirable.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 25 Thomas Eakins (1844 Philadelphia, PA-1916 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: PAFA (Christian Schussele); ÉcBA, Paris (Jean Léon Gérôme, and Léon Bonnat)



The Crucifixion, 1880. \$1200 Oil on canvas, 96 x 54 inches. Owner: Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins, and Miss Mary Adeline Williams, 1929.184.24. Illustrated in Schwain, *Signs of Grace*, color plate no. 25.

Reviews: "The Crucifixion by Thomas Eakins of Philadelphia, pretty but wants expression of a most sublime idea." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 26 Felix F. De Crano (1845-1908)

Joint Stock Co. \$250

Reviews: "F. F. De Crano entitled his picture *A Joint Stock Company*. Three little bootblacks have invested in a cigar, at which they are to take turns about. The lucky lad contentedly smokes the cigar, feeling secure in that wise provision of man that possession is nine-tenths of the law. The second lad grows impatient for his turn, whilst the third quietly bides his time. De Crano quite redeems the trivial motive of the picture by the excellence of its representation." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 27 Albert Bierstadt (1830 Solingen, Prussia -1902 New York, NY)

Training: Düsseldorf, Germany (Emanuel Leutze)



Mt. Washington, 1862 \$1000 Oil on canvas, 36 x 58 in. Owner: William Nathaniel Banks, Private collection. Illustrated in Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*, pg. 31, fig. 8.

No Reviews

No. 28 J. Alden Weir (1852 West Point, NY -1919 New York, NY)

Training: NAD, New York; Paris (Gerome)

Flowers \$500

No Reviews

No. 29 John J. Hammer (1842 Westhofen, Germany -1906 New York City, NY)

Country Garden \$500

Reviews: "A Country Garden is another of John Hammer's fresh inspirations of joyous morning light and green fields a garden where the vulgar cabbage flourishes alongside the gaudy poppy and where the intrusive weed rears its willful head. One is carried in thought to Warner's One

Summer Gardening not that Warner grew cabbages and poppies all in a bed, though the snake grass and the weeds he did attend with a hoe, but there is the same freshness in the picture, the same buoyant, unstilled atmosphere, and even the children who loved to steal a while away that enjoyed in Warner's garden. In Hammer's two pictures is this gallery there is an exquisite purity of color the very exultation of the new day, even were they doomed to the dullest environments, these pictures would enliven a place for themselves." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 April 1885.

No. 30 Constant Mayer (1804 Besancon, France -1850 Paris, France)

Training: EcBA, Paris (Leon Coignet) active in New York City 1857 through the 1860s.

The Song of Twilight \$500

Reviews: "The Song of the Twilight, by Mayer is not so generally pleasing as either of his other paintings. A young woman in the twilight, strumming a light guitar, without any apprehension of night's canopy or the fireflies. Further than this she is not in any way interesting." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 7 April 1885.

No. 31 Cooper, _____ (unknown)

Portrait

No Reviews

No. 32 Isaac Henry Caliga (1857 Auburn, Indiana -1934 Provincetown, MASS)

Training: Munich (William Lindenschmidt)

Lilly \$650 American Art Association

No Reviews

No. 33 John H. Drury (1816 Washington, D. C. -1905 Chicago, IL)

Training: Paris (Thomas Couture)

Venus

No Reviews

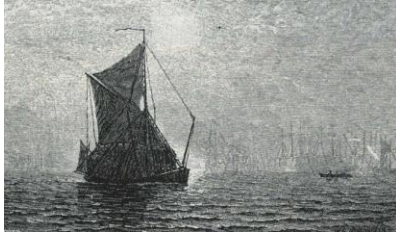
No. 34 James Brade Sword (1839 Philadelphia, PA -1915 Philadelphia, PA)

Newport Harbor \$800

Reviews: "J. B. Sword's Newport Harbor and his Evening [no. 290] both are full of color. In the first, the coast, covered with fissured slabs and broken boulders, with here and there a clump of blooming May weed, slopes pleasantly to the water. Away, vanishing with the water, soft banks in liberal beauty lie." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 35 William Edward Norton (1843 Boston, MA -1916)

Training: New Jersey (George Inness); Paris (Jacquesson, de la Chevreuse and A. Vollon)



A Foggy Morning \$1200 Illustrated in S. G. W. Benjamin's *Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch*, New York, 1880, pg. 112.

No Reviews

No. 36 C. T. Webber (1825-1911)

June on the Miami \$600

No Reviews

No. 37 Gaines Ruger Donoho (1857 Church Hill, MS -1916 New York City, NY)

Training: ASL, New York City; Paris

Mauvais Herbe \$2000

Reviews: "There are three pictures in the gallery by G. Ruger Donoho, which call for remark. Mr. Donoho is a native of Mississippi, but is a resident of Paris, France, where he has studied for some time past. Mr. Donoho undoubtedly possesses ability. His drawing is vigorous, and his style is forcible to the verge of ruggedness, and it may be said, of crudeness. He chooses for his subjects the least pleasing forms of humanity, and the least inviting aspects of nature. The commonplaces this artist takes pleasure in painting are strongly expressed. He evidently knows what he wished to present on his canvas, and he has no difficulty in making himself understood. Nobody will question Mr. Donoho's ability to express his own conceptions of art according to the dictates of his own taste. In this respect his work speaks for him; but issue will be taken with the painter's taste and with the range of his fancy, which apparently never rises above the commonplace, while the coloring is raw and monotonous. Take, for instance, the largest and most ambitious of his pieces. It is entitled 'Mauvaise Herbe,' ill weeds. It shows a rugged looking peasant girl leading by halters two rough looking calves through a tract overgrown with tall rank weeds. The weeds are ragged and severely green. The girl and the calves are as commonplace as their surroundings. There is nothing in the conception or the coloring that is pleasing or inspiring. Nevertheless the work is so well done that the observer can have no doubt about the general meaning of the picture. It is simply and severely realistic without the slightest evidence of idealization. It will certainly please those who are looking for just such a picture. No 270, 'Primavera,' the primrose, by the same painter, is much in the style of the picture last named. A peasant woman is standing looking at a primrose that appears in the midst of a monotonous expanse of raw green. What is said of the other picture will do for this. No. 93, 'The Border of the Forest,' by the same, is perhaps a picture of more merit in an artistic sense than either of the others. It shows the same broad surfaces of green made somber by the shadows cast by trees in the middle distance, while through the openings in the forest are seen glimpses of a red and yellow sunset sky. This is the one stroke of beauty to be found in these pictures of Mr. Donoho, and it shows that he is capable of presenting the beautiful on his canvas. It is a pity for the sake of those who view his pictures, if not for his own fame and reputation which, it is said, are sufficiently established, that he has not condescended to make his paintings more beautiful."

New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885. "G. Ruger Donoho exhibits Mauvaise Herbe, Ferme

Sous Bois, and Bords de Forets. Mr. Donoho belongs to those young American painters of whom we are justly proud, but like Bridgman he has become thoroughly imbued with the teachings of the modern French school. This we deplore for talents of so high an order should remain unshackled by foreign technics. Mr. Donoho delights in wide expanses of blue-green foliage, with the horizon way out of the canvas. There are vigorous touches, firm drawing of tree trunks, and an occasional triumph in paint handling. In what esteem Mr. Donoho is held abroad may be inferred from his receipt of a prize at the '84 Salon." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885. "If Donoho's, conception of nature is green enough now to make him a king among Fenians he is still very young and time may temper his optics." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 April 1885.

No. 38 Lawrence Weddell (unknown)

Fishing Boats at Low Tide, Venice \$850 [M. Knoedler & Co., New York]

Reviews: "The large canvas by Lawrence Weddell, entitled Fishing Boats at Low Tide, Venice is one among the important marines in the collection. In the absolutely unrippled water a number of fishing yawls are moored to buoys. The surface of the water reflecting the dark proportions of the boats, their various colored sails, and the blue of the sky, almost with the vividness of metal. Patches of green sea weed make a pleasant relief to the eye, and the fishermen washing their nets give additional life to the scene." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 23 April 1885.

No. 39 James Gale Tyler (1855 Oswego, NY -1931 Pelham, NY)



Moonlight Yachting, Isle of Shoals \$650 Illustrated in Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., *American 19th & 20th Century Paintings, Drawings & Sculpture*. Sale 4650M, June 13, 1981 – June 18, 1981. Fig. #110.

Reviews: "Yachting off the Isle of Shoals is a clever trick of color by J. G. Tyler." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885. "Very different has Tyler turned to his use the same hour on the same Island. (in comparison to de Haas Moonlight Isles of Shoals). In his Moonlight Yachting, Tyler has quite embarrassed the light of the heavenly luminary by a theatrical effect of red and blue lights. A trompe l'oeil, which is surprisingly popular. The very material red light and blued light is so suggestive of burning wicks, and of coal tar, as to quite dispel any predisposition of the mind for moonlight. We perceive in it lamp-wicks ad nauseum, but not art." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 40 Alfonso Savini (1836 Bologna, Italy-1908 Bologna, Italy)

Leah the Forsaken \$1000

No Reviews

No. 41 John Frederick Peto (1854 Philadelphia, PA -1907 New York City, NY)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia

Take Your Choice, 1885. \$125 Oil on canvas, 51.4 x 76.8. Owner: John Wilmerding. Illustrated in Franklin Kelly, *American Masters from Bingham to Eakins: The John Wilmerding Collection*, Washington, D. C.: The National Gallery of Art, 2004, pg. 100, Cat. No. 24.

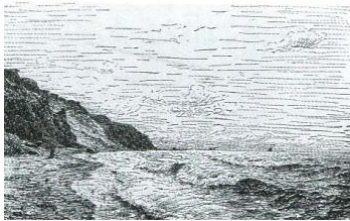
Reviews: "J. P. Peto's still life *Take Your Choice* is about as dull as a still life picture generally is. It represents a second hand book stall, where are piled enough eccentric volumes to satisfy the most self-indulgent bibliomaniac. There is besides a deal less dust and a slimmer suspicion of roaches among them than is usually the case in such places." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 March 1885.

No. 42 M. R. Dixon (unknown)

Sewing Carpet Rags \$200

No Reviews

No. 43 James Craig Nicoll (1846-1918)



Sunlight on the Sea, 1884. \$2000 Engraving after the painting, from *National Academy Notes* (1887), pg. 4. Illustrated in Annette Blaugrund, et al, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition*, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1989, fig. 229, pg. 287. Painting unlocated per Blaugrund.

No Reviews

No. 44 Edward Gay (1837 Dublin, Ireland -1928 Mount Vernon, NY)

Training: Albany, NY (James and William Hart; Karlsruhe, Germany (Johan Schirmer and Carl Friedrich Lessing)

Wheatfields of the Mohawk Valley \$500

No Reviews

No. 45 Archibald Willard (1836 Bedford, OH -1901 Cleveland, OH)

"Hello" \$350

No Reviews

No. 46 Leon Perrault (1832 -1908 France)

Love Asleep Loaned by F. L. Ridgely, St. Louis, MO

Reviews: "Love Asleep, by Leon Perrault a white-winged rosy cherub lies in the honey heavy dew of slumber, in a cloud crib. No buzzing night flies molest this baby's sleep. Perrault has taken a subject hampered by frequent use by the absurd handling of painters of yore who filled whole skies with sprawling babies, and he presents to us the perfectly realized babyhood of Love Asleep; the dimpled form from the tiny rosy toes to the loose light curls about the tender face, appeal to all as beyond criticism. It is perfect. Leon Perrault, a pupil of Bouguereau, is somewhat influenced by his master's methods; whilst he is inclined to portray the nude, it is on a much

higher moral plane than Bouguereau discovers to us.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 47 Ferdinand Wagner (1847 Passau, Germany -1927 Munich, Germany)

Gathering Flowers

Reviews: “Ferdinand Wagner, a pupil of Cornelius and Schrover, devotes himself mostly to historical subjects, but he is also celebrated for his frescoes in the Church of Konignbruun and others at Augsburg, Breslau and Meinningen. Of this great master in art we have in the gallery *Gathering Flowers*, no. 47. A little maiden with Gretchen braided locks in a white chemise and striped skirt is bending over a unrippled pool to clutch some water lilies in bloom. About the figure of the girl spring up every variety of grass, wee, or flower that are known to love the moist neighborhood of streams so overburdened in the canvas with these various specimens of rank growth, it becomes a question whether we are expected to remark the botanical merits of the picture or the excellent drawing of the difficulty placed figures.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 48 Carl Guthertz (1844 Switzerland – 1907 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: EcBA, Paris; Académie Julian, Paris



Afternoon Tea AKA *Woman Serving Tea*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 27 x 32 ½ in. Owner: Private collection, Conley Brook, Jr. Illustrated in Marilyn Masler, Kristin Schwain, Sally Webster and Stanton Thomas, *Carl Guthertz: Poetic Vision and Academic Ideals*, Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2009, fig. 18, pg. 156.

No Reviews

No. 49 Carl Gustave Richter (1823 Berlin, Germany – 1884 Berlin, Germany)

Marguerite Loaned by Gerard B. Allen, St. Louis, MO

Reviews: “Richter’s *Marguerite* presents the pretty spinner in a low-necked, blue dress, cut in modern style, just as she stands by her flax wheel.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885. “Gustave Carl Richter, of Berlin, represents *Marguerite* as a red-headed girl in a modern dress of blue, which might as well be anybody else as the fair-haired and simple-hearted heroine of Goethe’s tragic and terrible *Faust*.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 50 Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl (1820-1889)

Street Scene Dresden \$300

No Reviews

No. 51 James Crawford Thom (1835 New York City, NY -1898 Atlantic Highlands, NJ)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; Paris (Camille Corot, Thomas Couture, Henri Picou, Pierre Edouard Frere)



In the Woods AKA *Children in a Wood*, n.d. \$100 Grady & McKeever, New York
Oil on wood, 25 ½ x 19 in. Owner: Newark Museum of Art. Accession #64.262. Image courtesy of the Newark Museum of Art.

No Reviews

No. 52 Fritz Zuber-Bühler (1822 Le Locle, Switzerland – 1896 Paris, France)

Training: Switzerland (Louis-Aimé Grosclaude); France (François-Edouard Picot)

The First Step

No Reviews

No. 53 J. Alden Weir (1852 West Point, NY -1919 New York City, NY)

Training: NAD, New York; Paris (Gerome)



Milkmaid of Popindrecht, 1881. Oil on canvas, 76 ½ x 51 3/16 inches. Brigham Young University Museum of Art. Illustrated in Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983, pg. 110.

Reviews: “No. 53, Milkmaid is by J. Alden Weir, of New York. A very good piece of realistic painting, and doubtless a close imitation of nature without idealization.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885. “J. Alden Weir’s *Milkmaid* is a healthy, sturdy maiden, there is much to admire in this charming piece of realism.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat* 14 April 1885.

No. 54 Ferdinand Wagner (1847 Passau, Germany - 1927 Munich, Germany)

The First Lesson Loaned by H. Overstolz, St. Louis, MO

Reviews: “The First Lesson by Ferdinand Wagner is a dainty little picture representing the interior of a well ordered house when the family group is gathered. The mother, a sweet cherisher of infancy, is seated by a mullioned window in easy reach of her flax wheel. A tidy little maiden also sits on a low stool conning her lectures from a great book with gay illustrations. By the side of this child is an older one quite puffed up in his superior wisdom and disposed to lead the little one as she gropes among the difficulties from A to Z. A very wholesome air of refinement pervades the room and one can see very plainly that the mother is

enthroned in conscious pride of her surroundings. This is the most successful of Wagner's three paintings in the gallery." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 7 April 1885

No. 55 A. C. Burt (unknown)

Chrysanthemums \$175

No Reviews

No. 56 Fred Waugh (1861 Bordertown, NJ-1940 Provincetown, Mass.)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Académie Julian, Paris



Gathering Cabbages, 1883. \$300 Oil on canvas, 17 x 38 in. Illustrated in Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., *American 19th & 20th Century Paintings, Drawings & Sculpture*. Sale 4650M, June 13, 1981 – June 18, 1981. Fig. 200.

No Reviews but referred to in the following: "Autumn by J. Thos. Cosemans is a very harmonious prospect, a gently rolling country, groves of trees bordering a narrow dell where the late summer grass, no longer in tender green, the brown fruse and tall weeds intermingle against a war evening sky. The trees are full of life as in their considered masses they withstand the west wind. It is the hour of the evening when the birds fly low. What contrast is this earnest regard to the picture as a whole, and this lateness understanding of all fair things of earth to be found in Coseman's canvas from the green versions of Donoho and morbid hill tilting verdures of Fred Waugh." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 April 1885.

No. 57 E. L. Pierce (unknown)

Landscape

No Reviews

No. 58 Milne Ramsey (1846 Philadelphia, PA -1915 Philadelphia, PA)

Still Life. \$600

No Reviews

No. 59 Lockwood de Forest (1850 New York City, NY -1932 Santa Barbara, CA)

Training: New York (Frederic Edwin Church); Rome

Noonday, Palmyra, Syria \$500

Reviews: "The last is a small picture [*Palmyra at Noonday*], with a few broken columns of white marble standing in the midst of the desert under a white sky. There is a sense of heat and aridity, but the sky is too white. There is no vapor in the desert, and should a cloud arise in the sky, unless it were the white curl masses sailing in the blue ether, it should be the lurid and ominous harbinger of the dreaded simoom. This artist has apparently sought to present but his picture fails of effect and is singularly weak in aerial effects. The observer does not realize any impression of heat, and the dirty blue-brown sky does not fill the mind with the fear of sand storm it bears in its bosom. The caravan of camels, however well drawn, is not sufficient to make declaration of the presence of the desert; these must be some impression upon the mind also, and in this picture fails." New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, 19 April 1885.

No. 60 Harriet J. Holbrook (unknown)
Hide and Seek \$75
 No Reviews

No. 61 D. Gérôme Elwell (1857 -1912)
Moonrise, Domburg, Zeeland, Holland \$1000
 No Reviews

No. 62 Daniel Folger Bigelow (1823 Peru, IN-1910 Chicago, IL)
On the Juniata \$100
 No Reviews

No. 63 John Martin Tracy (1844 Rochester, OH -1893 Ocean Springs, MS)
 Training: EcBA, Paris
An Evening in the Field \$500
 No Reviews

No. 64 Walter Satterlee (1844 Brooklyn, NY -1908 New York, NY)
 Training: NAD, New York; Paris (Leon Bonnat)
The Two Roses \$500
 No Reviews

No. 65 Alfred Ordway (1819 Lowell, MA -1897 Boston, MA)
 Training: New York, NY (George Peter Alexander Healy)
Pepeta \$500
 No Reviews

No. 66 John La Farge (1835 New York City, NY -1910 Newport, RI)
 Training: New York, NY (Regis Francois Gignoux); Paris (Thomas Couture); Newport, RI (William Hunt)
St. Paul

Reviews: "La Farge's St. Paul at Athens has been twice exhibited in foreign galleries and lately copied on a glass window in a town in Massachusetts. St. Paul is represented on the hill of the Areopagus, or the hill of Mars. On the platform where the most august courts of judiciary gathered to deliberate upon grave questions. Paul stands within the boundary of the court, where the altar of Areios and the block of marble on which were inscribed the laws defining the powers of the Areopagus were placed. There is a loftiness of conception in the character of Paul, and much poetical treatment of the work." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 7 April 1885.

No. 67 Granville Perkins (1830 Baltimore, MD -1895 New York, NY)
 Training: Philadelphia, PA (James Hamilton)
The Caribbean Sea \$1000

Reviews: "Granville Perkins' Caribbean Sea is badly and tediously considered. It is a brown sea. There has long been some disagreement among poets whether the sea should roll on dark, and deep and blue, or make its progress in green, but it does not seem before now to have entered into the mind of man to call it brown." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 68 Józef Chelmoński (1850 Lowicz, Poland-1914 Kuklówk, Poland)

Training: Poland (Wojciech Gerson)

The Return from Market, A Scene in the Ukraine

Reviews: "The eye is caught by a vast canvas of a sleighing scene in Russia, by Josef Chelmonski, a Russian painter. The horses and men are of life size, the coloring is dark and gloomy and nothing in the picture encourages observation save the powerful delineation of the horses. The action represented is very vigorous." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "Return from the Market, a Russian scene by Josef Chelmonski. A long expanse of dull winter sky with its light line of horizon makes a relief for the snow-covered ground. Wagons and sleds, drawn by restless horses that make a cloud of snow pellets as they dash along, are full to overflowing with their burden of humanity, while in a couple of sleds, that have reined in, an ample bottle is being passed around. Here there is more than a suggestion of ribald jests and copious potations. In the distance a line of blue cottages give signs of life by their circling smoke, and farther still we catch a gleam of the gilded mosques of St. Petersburg. There is a sameness in the general effect of figure drawing and facial expression due in the small amount of light to be had from the point chosen by the artist, but a close study of the picture shows a natural grouping of the figures and much excellence in drawing. The nearer ground is broadly handled, and here and there a drift of snow escapes the despoiling track and gleams in its pure whiteness. For so big a canvas, one is apt to wonder the subject is not a little too negative." New Orleans *Time-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

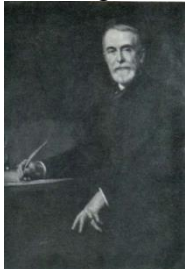
No. 69 Franklin Whiting Rogers (1854 Cambridge, MA -1917)

Cats at Home Loaned by Thomas Wigglesworth, Boston

No Reviews

No. 70 George Peter Alexander Healy (1813 Boston, MA -1894 Chicago, IL)

Training: Paris (Antoine-Jean Gros)



Portrait of George Walker. Owner: George Vincent Smith Art Museum. Illustrated in Dean Flowers and Francis Murphy, *A Catalogue of American Paintings, Water Colors and Drawings in the George Vincent Smith Art Museum*, Springfield, Massachusetts: George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, 1976, 97.

No Reviews

No. 71 Sarah M. Barstow (unknown)

View of White Mountains \$150

No Reviews

No. 72 Hondecoeter (unknown)

Game

No Reviews

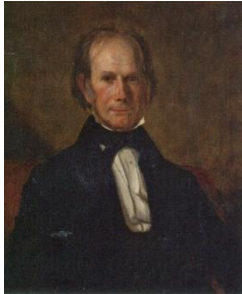
No. 73 Hugh Bolton Jones (1848 Baltimore, MD -1927 New York City, NY)

Winter Landscape

No Reviews

No. 74 George Peter Alexander Healy (1813 Boston, MA -1894 Chicago, IL)

Training: Paris (Antoine-Jean Gros)



Portrait of Henry Clay, 1845. Oil on canvas, 30 1/8 x 25 1/8 in. Owner: Smithsonian Institution, National Portrait Gallery, Accession #65.44. Illustrated in Estill Curtis Pennington, *Lessons in Likeness: Portrait Painters in Kentucky and the Ohio River Valley, 1802-1920*, Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2011, Fig. 49, pg. 50.

No Reviews

No. 75 E. B. Stewart (unknown)

Along the Road \$50

No Reviews

No. 76 Sebastian Gómez (1646-1682 Seville, Spain)

Vision of St. Francis, after Murillo Loaned by L. R. Menger, New York

No Reviews

No. 77 Jose Tapiro Baro (1836-1913 Spain)

Page in Waiting \$100

No Reviews

No. 78 S. R. MacKnight (unknown)

An Improvisatrice \$200

Reviews: "S. R. MacKnight's Improvisatrice is a graceful figure piece. A girl in the dress of Recamier is seated before a harpsichord. She is not pretty but gifted. In her eyes is the happy light of conscious superiority over such discouragements as keynotes." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 79 L. L. Williams (unknown)

The Three Thieves \$800

No Reviews

No. 80 William Keith (1838 Oldmeldrum, Scotland-1911 Berkeley, CA)

Headwaters of an American River \$250

According the California Research Project, the painting Keith exhibited at the New Orleans exhibition was probably a panoramic view of the Merced River and the work was destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906 along with 2,000 of Keith's paintings. California Art Research, Volume II, WPA Project 2874, San Francisco, California, 1937, pg. 44.

No Reviews

No. 81 John Phillips (1822 - 1890)

Portrait of Frank C. Bromley

No Reviews

No. 82 Anthony Van Dyck (1599 Antwerp, Belgium -1641 London, Great Britain)

Portrait of Rubens \$5000 Loaned by Col. John Farrell, NY.

No Reviews

No. 83 Ulysse Louis Auguste Butin (1838 Saint Quentin, Aisne, Picardy, France -1883 Paris, France)

Training: Paris (Emile Quentin Brin)

The Fisher Girl Loaned by H. C. Ives, St. Louis, MO

No Reviews

No. 84 Jasper Cropsey (1823 Staten Island, NY -1900 Warwick, NY)

Training: New York, NY (Joseph Trench, architect)



In the Mellow Autumn Time, 1884-1897. \$3000 Oil on canvas. 42 ½ x 72 ½ in. Signed and dated lower right, J. F. Cropsey/1884-97 Owner: The White House, Accession #972.879.1 Illustrated in William Kloss, *Art in the White House: A Nation's Pride*, Washington, D. C.: White House Historical Association, 2008, pg. 332.

Reviews: "Jasper Cropsey has indulged in as glaring a misnomer in calling his work in the Mellow Autumn-Time. It would be an amiable delusion of the fancy that could discover a single condition of mellowness in the entire canvas. It would take several centuries of the embrowning process to make such tones even tolerable." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 11 April 1885.

No. 85 L. Ferry (unknown)

Hollyhocks \$75

No Reviews

No. 86 Christopher High Shearer (1840-1926)

Early Morning in the Blue Ridge \$500

No Reviews

No. 87 Jules Goupil (1839-1883 Paris, France)

La Cigale Loaned by W. S. Stuyvesant, St. Louis, MO

Reviews: “No. 27, La Cigale, by Jules Goupil, of Paris. This is a profligate girl of the French metropolis who has come to want, illustrating the fable of the grasshoppers, who danced and feasted all summer to starve and freeze in winter. It strongly suggests in a pathetic sort of way the underside of life.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 88 Charles Yardley Turner (1850 Baltimore, MD – 1918 New York City, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; Paris (Laurens, Munkacsy, Leon Bonnat)



The Days that are No More, 1882. \$1800 Engraving after the painting, from National Academy Notes (1882), p. 35. Illustrated in Annette Blaugrund, et al, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition*, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1989, fig. 297, pg. 294. Painting unlocated per Blaugrund.

No Reviews

No. 89 Samuel Bell Waugh (1814 Mercer, PA -1885 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: Philadelphia (J.R. Smith)

Little Mischief \$800

No Reviews

No. 90 Virgil Williams (1830 Dixfield, ME -1886 San Francisco, CA)

Peasant Pilgrims to St. Peters Loaned by Irving M. Scott, San Francisco, CA

Reviews: “Virgil Williams’ Peasant Pilgrims at St. Peter’s after many views does nothing to dissipate the impression on the first casual inspection that it is a very pleasing picture. There are good color contrasts and the relaxing Italian atmosphere and graceful ease of the figures are carefully rendered.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 6 May 1885

No. 91 Walter Satterlee (1844 Brooklyn, NY -1908 New York, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; Paris (Leon Bonnat)

The Convent Composer \$1000

Reviews: “No. 91 The Convent Composer by Walter Satterlee of New York. The monk not one of those fat, vulgar fellows of the Rabelais school, but a slender man, with an earnest, soulful face, in intimate communion with his violin. It is full of expression and one the observer will care to look at a second time.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885. “Tartini, the Monk Composer, by Walter Satterlee. A short account of the life of the genius who was the Paganini of the eighteenth century, el maestro delle nazione, the founder of a great school of music and the composer of 150 sonatas, will be found possessed of romantic interest. Of him it is said, while sleeping one night, he dreamed that the devil came to him with vows of allegiance, whereupon Tartini handed him his violin and ordered him to play the most beautiful sonata he had ever heard. The Devil, responsive to the command, played in such engaging strains that Tartini awoke,

and seizing his violin, he endeavored to recall that which he had heard in his dream. This sonata still lives as *Sonate du Diabolo* the most wonderful composition it is said of that or any other age. It is this story Satterlee gives us in his picture. Tartini wears the Franciscan dress and that he might not distract his audience from their devotions as he played in the Cathedral of St. Antoine at Padone, concealed by a curtain. We cannot pass over this picture without noting how finely the painter has interpreted this man of genius, whose life was a veritable romance. The face is full of feeling; the eyes abstracted, but filled with emotion. Satterlee has very cleverly concentrated the power of the work in the expression of the face, and skillfully holds the attention there.” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 24 February 1885.

No. 92 J. G. Barghoffer (unknown)

Scene in the Bavarian Alps \$200

Reviews: “A pretty little picture is No. 92, *Scene in the Bavarian Alps*, by J. G. Barghoffer, of Chicago.” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 13 April 1885.

No. 93 Gaines Ruger Donoho (1857 Church Hill, MS -1916 New York, NY)

Training: ASL, New York; Paris

Bords de Forets \$1500

Reviews: See No. 37

No. 94 Fritz Zuber-Bühler (1822 Le Locle, Switzerland – 1896 Paris, France)

Training: Switzerland (Louis-Aimé Grosclaude); France (François-Edouard Picot)

Bacchanale

No Reviews

No. 95 Frederick Dickinson Williams (1829 Boston, MA -1915 Brookline, MA)

Training: Boston; Paris

Borders of the Fontainebleau \$500

No Reviews

No. 96 Constant Mayer (1832 Besancon, France -1911 Paris, France)

Training: EcBA, Paris (Leon Coignet); active in New York City 1857 through the 1860s.

The Song of the Shirt \$4000

Reviews: “No. 96, ‘The Song of the Shirt,’ by Constant Mayer, of New York, is a characteristic rendering of Tom Hood’s pathetic poem of ‘Stitch, stitch.’ The pretty, pallid, careworn face is in harmony with a series of pitiful and pathetic themes which this painter has so often and so ably painted, and if not his best effort, is sufficiently meritorious.” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885. “Constant Mayer is a very generous contributor to the gallery. In the *Song of the Shirt*, Mayer shows himself a very spirited raconteur of the wretchedness of the cup of life, as it is mixed for the sewing woman. It is a dreary picture, the sad eyed woman with only misery as her companion, the simple shirt on her knee, the candle burned to the socket, the crust of bread, the otherwise bare table, all these are accessories that well disturb the night with dreadful dreams and all our minds with vivid pictures of man’s inhumanity to woman, to that he inclines to the stitched shirt. It is just possible we must confess, that to the average critic of the nineteenth century, with his strong analytical bent, the young woman may seem a little the well kempt to be physically sustained by that little crust of bread.” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 7 April 1885.

No. 97 George Peter Alexander Healy (1813 Boston, MA -1894 Chicago, IL)

Training: Paris (Antoine-Jean Gros)

Portrait of Andrew Jackson

No Reviews

No. 98 Cooper _____. (unknown)

Child's Portrait

No Reviews

No. 99 Thomas Hill (1829 Birmingham, Great Britain -1908 Raymond, CA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



Heart of the Sierras AKA *Grand Canyon of the Sierras*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 72 in. x 120 in.

Owner: Crocker Museum of Art, E. B. Crocker Collection, Accession #1872.423.

Reviews: "Thomas Hill's great scenes in the Rocky Mountains and Sierras attract much attention." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885. "Thomas Hill's fine pictures of scenery in the Rocky Mountains and the California Sierras are peculiarly American, showing brilliant, raw and glaring colors of naked cliff and peak where a rainless climate and an unclouded sky and ever blowing winds prevent vegetable life, even the hardest moss from taking root in the crevices of the rocks. These pictures are in strong contrast to the well-known scenes in the snow crowned, verdure clad and cloud-shrouded Alps." New Orleans *Daily Picayune* 22 March 1885. "Everybody notices the great canvases presenting scenery in the American Cordilleras by Thomas Hill of San Francisco. People who have never actually visited the country he illustrates can scarcely realize how excellent are these pictures. They present the cloudless sky and transparent atmosphere of that almost rainless region. The lights are brilliant, the rocks look white and naked, the mountain peaks are boldly defined in the clear ether; the shadows are heavy and dark in the deep ravines and profound chasms beneath the towering cliffs. A slender cascade leaps into the canyon, the eagles perch upon the rocky pinnacles, and a hunting party of gaudily dressed Indians grouped amidst the dusky, somber green of the cedar brakes suffuse the picture with their gay colors. There are no clouds on the mountain tops and no mists in the valley below, and moss, whether gray or green, is to be seen clinging to the rocks, and no clambering vines are rooted in the crevices of the rocks or clinging to crags, as are to be seen in the pictures of Alpine scenery near. In fact, the Rocky Mountain views of Hill are exactly their counterpart in the Alpine scenery, where the cloudy skies and the dampness of the climate produce effects directly the reverse of those seen in the great mountain heart of the American continent. An example of this is seen in No. 128, Hill's Canyon of the Yellowstone, which for purposes of comparison, is placed very near No. 132, which is Louis Mignot's large and fine picture of the Jungfren in the Austrian Alps." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* 13 April 1885. "Mr. Thomas Hill of San Francisco, is represented by his Driving of the Last Spike, by The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, and by The Yosemite Valley. The last named picture was at the

Philadelphia Exhibition. Mr. Hill has his studio in this valley. He brings to his work a strong love of nature, an intelligent appreciation of rock forms and atmospheric effects. The Yosemite Valley is especially to be studied for its fine distribution of light, which touches up into a thousand hues the sides of the great peaks, gilding many a summit, until it loses itself in the hazy distance. The foreground is rich in coloring, and we are attracted by a party of Indians winding down the old trail of Mariposa.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885. “This picture of Hill’s Early Morning in Yosemite is the single example in the Art Gallery of this painter of the far West, reining his artistic steed within the limits of a few feet of canvas. It treats nature in her freshest morning dress, an aspect few of us know as much about as we might.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 100 William Preston Phelps (1848 Dublin, NH -1923)
Maple Sugar Camp \$500
 No Reviews

No. 101 Elihu Vedder (1836 New York City, NY -1923 Rome, Italy)
 Training: Sherburne, NY (T. H. Mattison)
Central Italy \$2,500 Williams and Everett, Boston
 No Reviews

No. 102 William Henry Howe (1846 Ravenna, OH -1929 Bronxville, NY)
 Training: Royal Academy, Düsseldorf, Germany; Paris (Otto de Thoren, F. de Vuilefroy)
A Wayside Shrine in Normandy \$450
 Reviews: “A prettier picture would be hard to find than William Howe’s Wayside Shrine in Normandy. An old woman in her coarse peasant’s dress and rude sabots stands holding the tether of three patient cows, while she also makes her simple devotions before the wayside shrine. The cold sky of an autumnal evening glints through the lines of intervening trees. The winding road, rutted and trickling with moisture of a recent rain and encumbered with broken twigs from the trees and dead leaves is finely rendered, the drawing of the cows is easy but one of the most charming features of the picture is the reverent attitude of the old woman as she leans on her staff in sweet human piety.” New Orleans Times-Democrat, 28 March 1885.

No. 103 Raymond Dabb Yelland (1848 London, Great Britain -1900 Oakland, CA)
 Training: NAD, New York, NY



A Glimpse of Monterey Bay, 1879. Loaned by Irving M. Scott, San Francisco. Oil on canvas, 53 in. x 36 in. Owner: Brigham Young University Museum of Art. Illustrated in Scott Shields, *Artists at Continent’s End: The Monterey Peninsula Art Colony, 1875-1907*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2006, pg. 284.
 No Reviews

No. 104 Albert Borris (unknown)
Lake near Koenigsberg \$500
 No Reviews

No. 105 Benjamin Constant (1845 Paris, France -1902 Paris, France)
 Training: EcBA, Paris (Alexandre Cabanel)



The Thirst--The Moroccan Prisoners. \$5000. Mr. Burnham Rigby, New York. Seen here, preparatory drawing. Owner: Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, image from their website: <http://clarkart.edu/>

Reviews: "No. 105, 'The Morocco Prisoners,' by Benjamin Constant, is a strong and well-drawn and almost tragic picture representing a gang of prisoners, possibly of an Arab slave merchant, chained together, and lying down to drink like beasts from a rill which crosses the hot and dusty road, while the master, seated on his spirited horse, regards them with a grim, stern look, and a black, with savage and stolid expression and raised gun, squats on the bank and keeps watch in the rear. The picture tells well its story. It is full of expression and wants only beauty to make it a fine work of art." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885. "This gallery contains two of the finest of Benjamin Constant's canvases ever exhibited in this country. The Morocco Prisoners, on a sandy African plain, where no vestige of green dares live under the pitiless sun, a narrow and sickly rivulet trickles a tedious way over its bed. Here an Arabian horseman has stopped to let his manacled prisoners quench their devouring thirst. There they lie, half naked, prone upon the sand, drawing into their parched lips the refreshing water. Hard by sits a Moorish guard, with his swarthy skin in strong contrast to his white robes and turban." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 106 Thomas Hewes Hinckley (1813 Milton, MA -1896 Milton, MA)



Bull's Head, 1869. Oil on canvas, 37 x 30 in. Owner: Brandywine River Museum, Gift of Amanda K. Beris, New York City, Accession #80.3.16. Illustrated in Richard J. Boyle, et al, *Brandywine River Museum: Catalogue of the Collection, 1969-1989*, Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine Conservancy, 1991, pg. 32.
 No Reviews

No. 107 M. D. Jones (unknown)
Cow's Head
 No Reviews

No. 108 Robert Hopkin (1832 Glasgow, Scotland -1909 Detroit, MI)

Picked Up

Reviews: “Robert Hopkin, in his canvas, *Picked Up* through the combined efforts of his nomenclature and his brush, deliberately and successfully conceals his motive. Starting with chaotic confusion, his creative faculty becomes appalled at its own temerity and leaves everything in a like confusion. With such abundance of canvas, green sea, storm clouds and Dutchman’s breeches, there is material enough for a picture. There is undoubtedly what a recent critic called go in the work but what is picked up remains a profoundly buried mystery, unless a something on the waters perhaps an infernal machine can throw some light on it.” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 109 George Sharples (1787-1849)

Bank Lick Loaned by R. J. Menefee, Louisville, KY

No Reviews

No. 110 Charles Adams Platt (1861 New York, NY -1933 New York, NY)

Training: NAD, ASL, New York, NY; Paris, France (Boulanger, Lefebvre)

Canal at Christmas \$300

No Reviews

No. 111 Jean Aubert (1824 Paris, France – 1906 Paris, France)

Young Girl of Albano Loaned by F. L. Ridgely, St. Louis, MO

Reviews: “A young Albanian Girl, by Jean Aubert, is an exquisite piece.” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885. “No. 111, A Young Girl of Albano, an exquisitely idealized head by Jean Ernest Aubert of Paris, was loaned by Mr. F. L. Ridgely of St. Louis. It is a gem in its way.” *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* 29 March 1885. “Jean Aubert’s Jeune File d’Abano a simple head in profile, delicate and true; soft complexion, eyes white and azure laced, the little tender ear, pink as the heart of a shell with a dewdrop on it. A prettier maiden never sought her lover in the Ilex groves of Albano at the purpling of the east. There is a scarlet ribbon to deck her light hair and a string of pearls around her slender throat. There could not be a happier opportunity to balance the relative artistic means of two contemporary artists than these two canvases of Fuller and Aubert.” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 2 April 1885.

No. 112 George Henry Yewell (1830 Havre de Grace, MD -1932 Lake George, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; Paris, France (Thomas Couture)



Pulpit of St. Mark's Venice, 1870, oil on canvas, 21 ½ x 12 7/8 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession 90.23 Gift of the Artist. Image from their website:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/>

No Reviews

No. 113 William H. Lippincott (1849 Philadelphia, PA -1920 New York City, NY)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Paris (Leon Bonnat)

Un Jour de Conge \$600

Reviews: "Wm. Lippincott's *Un Jour de Conge* is quite Dantesque in its conception; near a sandy level by craggy rocks environed round an Aldician stream finds its way. Here a youthful tribe, all naked are preparing for a plunge. It is a picture admirable in color qualities. The host of little lads are full of movement. The limpid and transparent water, the clever rock drawing, the shivered rock that gives passage to the bit of sky are so well considered they cannot be too highly spoken of. Pater says Titian introduces nude figures into his canvases often to cool and solemnize the splendor of the picture. Was it for this Lippincott disports these various little figures among his towering purple rocks?" New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 114 Constant Mayer (1804 Besancon, France -1850 Paris, France)

Training: EcBA, Paris (Leon Coignet) active in New York City 1857 through the 1860s.

An Idyl \$650

"An Idyl, by Mayer, represents a barefooted rustic maiden seated on a ledge of rocks that confines a narrow rivulet to its bed. She picks a daisy to pieces, and with a sweet incantation blows the petals where they will. She is a very pretty little maiden, and has faith in her fortune, and this is inseparable from youth." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 7 April 1885.

No. 115 Thomas Bigelow Craig (1849 Philadelphia, PA -1924 Woodland, NY)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA

The Close of a Winter Day \$300

No Reviews

No. 116 Joseph T. Graham (unknown)

Evening in September \$200

No Reviews

No. 117 M. L. Stone (unknown)

Children of the Village \$350

No Reviews

No. 118 William Trost Richards (1833 Philadelphia, PA -1905 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: Philadelphia (Paul Weber); Düsseldorf, Germany

The Break in the Storm \$600

Reviews: See No. 24 for reviews

No. 119 A. Mancini (unknown)

The Return from the Fete Loaned by Mrs. Alex Mitchell, Milwaukee

No Reviews

No. 120 Lizzie Boyce (unknown)

Louisville Flowers \$60

No Reviews

No. 121 Augustus Smith Daggy (1858-1942, New York)

Low Tide

No Reviews

No. 122 Lizzie Boyce (unknown)

Flowers \$45

No Reviews

No. 123 Stephen James Ferris (1835 Plattsburg, NY -1915 Philadelphia, PA)

Refugee \$150

No Reviews

No. 124 Georges-Jean-Marie Haquette (1854 Paris, France -1906 Dieppe, France)

In the Studio \$850 M. Knoedler & Comp, New York

No Reviews

No. 125 Waldo G. Beaman (1852-1937, Boston)

Estes Park \$600

No Reviews

No. 126 Julian Rix (1850 Peacham, VT -1903 New York City, NY)

Landscape Loaned by Irving M. Scott, San Francisco

Reviews: "A landscape by Julian Rix, is a masterly rendering. The work is characterized by much technical ability, and indeed is said to be superior in this respect to anything from Rix's brush. Happy the man who may have behind him even one such good work." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 31 March 1885.

No. 127 Peter F. Rothermel (1812 Pennsylvania -1895 Linfield, PA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



De Soto Discovering the Mississippi, ca. 1843. Oil on canvas, 50 1/8 x 63 1/8 in. Owner: St. Bonaventure University, New York, gift of Dr. T. Edward Hanley. Illustrated in William H. Truettner ed. *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, pg. 76, fig. 65.

Reviews: "No. 127, by P. F. Rothermel—'De Soto Discovering the Mississippi'—is a suggestive rather than a fine expression of the subject, but it is a step in the right direction." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

No. 128 Thomas Hill (1829 Birmingham, Great Britain -1908 Raymond, CA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1884. Oil on Canvas, 60 x 92 in. Owner: Detroit Institute of Arts. Accession #17.19. Illustrated in *American Paintings in the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, MI: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997, vol. 2, Fig. 39, pg. 115.
Reviews: See No. 99.

No. 129 Nathan Ullman (unknown)

Fruit \$125

No Reviews

No. 130 Helen “Nellie” Sheldon Jacobs Smillie (1854 New York, NY -1926 New York, NY)

Training: New York (Joseph O. Eaton, James D. Smillie)

Wisteria \$200

No Reviews

No. 131 Helen “Nellie” Sheldon Jacobs Smillie (1854 New York, NY -1926 New York, NY)

Training: New York (Joseph O. Eaton, James D. Smillie)

Still Life

No Reviews

No. 132 Louis Rémy Mignot (1831 Charleston, SC -1870 Brighton, Great Britain)

Training: The Hague, Netherlands (Andreas Schelfhout)

Jungfrau \$1000

Reviews: See No. 13

No. 133 Emily Maria Spaford Scott (1832-1915)

Summer Roses \$50

No Reviews

No. 134 Georgine Campbell (1848 New Orleans, LA - 1931 Washington, D.C.)

Mandolin Player

No Reviews

No. 135 Georgine Campbell (1848 New Orleans, LA -1931 Washington, D. C.)

Blowing Bubbles \$400

No Reviews

No. 136 George Herbert McCord (1848 New York, NY -1909 New York, NY)

Afternoon at Biddeford Maine \$350

“Afternoon Biddeford Main by McCord is fine in color, mass, and freedom, and there is discernible in this canvas an element of power rare enough in landscape painting. A sandy shore

covered with debris, an old fish boat heaved up on it, distant scraggy bushes and a cottage with scanty trees around it. The shallow water full of the shore's reflections, and out at sea a white sail coming landward, a rare sky full of infinite variety, these are the features combined in a harmonious whole. The scheme of color is admirable, the low cottage with its gable end is not a bit too formal or too marked in its brown paint. McCord certainly is a consummate colorist." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 April 1885.

No. 137 Maurice Poirson (unknown) active Paris, France
Training: Paris, France (Cabanel)



On the Pier at Trouville, 1882. Loaned by John A. Scudder, St. Louis. Illustrated from the painting, in Clarence Cook, *Art and Artists of Our Time*, New York: Selmar Hess, 1888, vol. 1, pg. 109.

Reviews: "Maurice Poirson, in conceiving his Jetty Trouville, showed more interest in the subjectiveness of the picture for the use of the photogravure than was altogether good for the picture itself. The photogravures were no good in detached parts—the choppy waves of the Channel, the yacht in full sail ploughing through them, the rarified atmosphere—that the formalities of the subject were quite lost site of. The original painting hangs on the walls of the Art Gallery, a picture widely known, and one that went far to establish the reputation of the young painter. The Jetty of Fashionable Trouville has its pier thronged with the folks, and here indeed Poirson like his late contemporary Carlyle, essays a philosophy of clothes, the various people on the pier are as typical of nationality and ever clothes could make them, the canny Scotchman in knee-trousers a compromise with the kilt, the John Bull in checks and the American in great coats and soft hats, the little capering dog alone establishing the nationality versus clothes. In the waters of the channel are one of those low decked abominations that ply the coast of England, crowded with people and parasols. The pier is itself in such admirable condition one can't help wondering if in Trouville they have a City Council. The water is of no particular color and the sky lowering. The picture is full of hard lines and new clothes." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 31 March 1885.

No. 138 Edwin Roberts (1840-1917 British)

Irish School Master Loaned by F. D. Carley, Louisville, KY

Reviews: "For those who have a heart for the humorous passages of life the Irish Schoolmaster by Edwin Roberts, will forcibly address itself. In a bare room sits the village master a man severe he was and stern to view. He is habited in all the ornaments of Hibernian taste, sober green trousers, reddish coat and crimson necktie. In his strong right hand he holds the birch rod, significant of schoolmasters' creed that the paths of wisdom lay through birches rather than books. Before this pedagogue austere of countenance, stands a barefoot colleen, who has not yet learned to trace the day's disasters in the morning face. She is sweet in perplexed embarrassment over something she knows but does not know how to say. Such a pretty colleen she is in a trimmed pink frock, with a green Tam O'Shanter setting off her rosy face. It is so real a scene, with the old cupboard against the wall, the rude desk as plainly not shop made, the ragged books,

the slates, the map of Ireland, that one need not visit Cork that they may bestow the highest praise on the picture.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 31 March 1885.

No. 139 Andrew Fisher Bunner (1841 New York, NY -1897 New York, NY)

Il Fondamente Nuove, Venice \$650 Reichard & Co., New York

No Reviews

No. 140 Edward Gay (1837 Mullingar, Ireland -1928 Mount Vernon, NY)

Training: Albany, NY (James and William Hart); Karlsruhe, Germany (Johan Schirmer)

Haymaking \$250 American Art Association

Reviews: “Edward Gay, to whose name we find attached the cabalistic letters A.N. A. is fortunate enough to have his Haymaking lined. It is a simple little scene, where a few workmen are raising and stacking the new mown grass in the field. It is a fair harvest and the air nimbly and sweetly recommends itself unto our gentle senses.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 141 Henry Bacon (1839 Haverhill, MA – 1912 Cairo, Egypt)

Training: Paris, France (Edouard Frere, Alexandre Cabanel)



A Sailor's Story. \$1000 Illustrated in the Catalogue of the 53rd Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy, Oct. 23 to December 9 1882. Painting currently owned by the Malden Public Library, image unavailable.

No Reviews

No. 142 Henry Bacon (1839 Haverhill, MA -1912 Cairo, Egypt)

Training: Paris, France (Edouard Frere, Alexandre Cabanel)

Girl Reading

No Reviews

No. 143 Hugo Breul (1854-1910)

Portrait

No Reviews

No. 144 Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665)

Spring

No Reviews

No. 145 James M. Hart (1828 Kilmarnock, Scotland – 1901 Brooklyn, NY)

Training: Düsseldorf, Germany

Landscape with Cattle, 1872. \$800 American Art Association.

No Reviews

No. 146 Samuel Colman (1832 Portland, ME -1920 New York, NY)

On the Guadalquiver \$450 Grady & McKeever, New York

Reviews: "Samuel Colman's evening scene on Guadalquiver is an exceedingly pleasing canvas, the line of dark crafts, the quays, the mellow sky are all admirable in thorough affects; the same formality of composition that characterizes this painter's work is apparent in his picture which appeared in the Paris exposition of 1878. Colman has been a very prolific painter and sketcher, some of his sketches being delightful little gems. He is a member of the NAD and was one of the founders of the American Society of Water Colors." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 147 Felix F. de Crano (1845-1908)

Juliet \$1000

Reviews: "No. 147, Juliet, by F. F. De Crano of Philadelphia, presenting Shakespeare's queen of sweethearts as she drinks the soporific draft. There is nothing excellent in this picture except the painting of the fabric of the dress. The face is ugly and sour looking." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885. "In F. F. De Crano's Juliet one looks in vain to find anything new, or, better still, anything true." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 148 Louis Rémy Mignot (1831 Charleston, SC -1870 Brighton, England)

Training: The Hague, Netherlands (Andreas Schelfhout)



Niagara, 1866. \$5000 Oil on canvas, 48 ¾ x 91 ½ in. Owner: Brooklyn Museum of Art, Accession #1933.118. Illustrated in Teresa A. Carbone, et al, *American Paintings in the Brooklyn Museum, Artists born by 1876*, Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 2006, v. 1, color plate 66, pg. 129.

Reviews: "L. R. Mignot has tried his brush in painting the boiling swirl of the waters at Niagara." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* 24 February 1885. "Speaking of the movement of water suggests the mention of attempts to paint Niagara Falls. The one single expression of the great cataract is power. This power is seen in the resistless rush of its avalanche of waters, is heard in the roar of its tremendous surge. These are not characteristics suited to pictorial expression, nor indeed can any notion of them be conveyed in a picture and any attempt to do so must be a failure. The cataract is too vast to be represented in all its parts in one view, and it is of such a nature that no section or part of it possesses features making up the requisites for a picture. It is a pity then that artists, and some able ones have done so, will waste their time in trying to make pictures of an object so manifestly unfit for such a purpose." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* 29 March 1885. "When before Mignot's Niagara we note the masses of troubled emerald waters, a great waste of prolonged agitation. We see the yeasty waves tumultuously over leap the ledge and fall the awful distance only to rise again in foamy mists, which in its turn, yields to the immutable law of change, and is dissipated into curling wreaths of writhing forms by the swift wind. The gurgling waters vanish at last into the purple horizon. In the fine sky a few inspecting clouds define themselves. Truly may it be said when one undertakes to paint these great shivering rapids it is like painting a soul or an echo." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 149 Thomas Hill (1829 Birmingham, Great Britain -1908 Raymond, CA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



Early Morning in Yosemite, 1884. Oil on canvas, 53 ½ x 36 in. Owner: Chrysler Museum of Art, Gift of Edward J. Brickhouse, Signed T. Hill, 1884, Accession #64.51.4. Illustrated in Dennis R. Anderson, *Three Hundred Years of American Art in the Chrysler Museum*, Norfolk, VA: Chrysler Museum of Norfolk, 1976, pg. 120.

Reviews: See No. 99.

No. 150 Jules Tavernier (1844 Paris, France -1889 Honolulu, Hawaii)

Waiting for Montezuma Loaned by Irving M. Scott, San Francisco (According to California Research Project painting is lost, probably lost in a fire. Volume IV, WPA Project 2874, San Francisco, California, 1937, 17).

Reviews: "Waiting for Montezuma is a curious and interesting scene among the Navajo Indians, where at sunrise at a village in one of the deep gorges in the mountains, the priests work their incantations, awaiting the return for the deified, martyred Emperor of the Aztecs." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* 24 February 1885. "A very interesting and finely conceived picture, Waiting for Montezuma, showing the Aztec Indians in a village in a mountain gorge of Arizona assembled at dawn on their housetops and burning their sacrificial fires awaiting the second coming of Montezuma, their traditional Messiah. The picture is executed in perfect accord with the spirit of the myth, and it is weird, mysterious and wonderful to a high degree of idealization. It shows how rich is the material in our own land for art and poetry if but those who essay to paint and write would work the mine of their doors. Jules Tavernier is the artist." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* 22 March 1885.

No. 151 Frank Waller (1842 New York City, NY -1923 Morristown, NJ)

A Caravan on the Desert \$400

Reviews: "No. 151, 'A Caravan on the Desert,' by Frank Waller, of New York, lacks the vigor of treatment of the preceding [B. Constant, *The Morocco Prisoners*]. It does not convey the notion of heat and thirst as are suggested in the other. These are tricks of color, but they are art, and to lack them is to fail of the mark. The execution of the picture is generally good." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 152 Virgilio Tojetti (1851-1901 Italian)

Adam and Eve \$3000

Reviews: "No. 152, *Adam and Eve*, by Verglio Tojetti, of New York, two pretty young people who might have an excuse for being naked, and the girl pouting a little, while the young fellow seems down in the mouth, but neither of them expressing the remorse and distress that the divine anger resulting in banishment should call forth. The picture is simply pretty in a weak and

meaningless way; but it tells no story of the grand transgression or of the terrors of divine wrath.” New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, 29 March 1885. “In the American Hall the only life size nude pieces are No. 152, Adam and Eve, by V. Tojetti of New York, pretty but without expression, and No. 25, The Crucifixion by Thomas Eakins of Philadelphia, also pretty but wants expression of a most sublime idea. These pictures have been before alluded to before and are the only examples of the nude in the gallery.” New Orleans *Daily Picayune* 6 April 1885. “Tojetti’s Adam and Eve are represented after their first disobedience and the fruit. The figure of Eve is gracefully balanced and finely modeled; her light silkened hair falls as a mantle about her. The painter, forgetting her circumscribed field almost interprets a coquette in the fair Eve, fairer than all her daughters yet perhaps it was but the unconscious tracing to its source a very common inheritance. The scowling expression on Adams’ countenance is not so happy. In interpretation he looks very like the Harvard men’s bad, bold man who intends to kill a man at a quarter to three. But it is so easy to find fault and so hard to do anything with the being. Tojetti after all has done as much for these, his foreparents, as ever was done before, and has served them every whit as well as they deserved to be. He manages the nude exceptionally well. The flesh tones of Eve are firm and natural. We can’t quite understand why Adam is so brunette. Tojetti it is very apparent was a pupil of Bouguereau.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 March 1885.

No. 153 George Inness (1825 Newburgh, NY-1894 Bridge of Allan, Scotland)

Training: Régis Gignoux

The Harvest Sun \$1000 Loaned by American Art Association

LeRoy Ireland lists *Sunset* or the *Setting of the Harvest Sun*, 1884 #1123, pg. 279, as currently unlocated. *The Works of George Inness: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné*, Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1965. Michael Quick, *George Inness: A Catalogue Raisonné*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 2007, lists 29 paintings up to 1885 with the title *Sunset*, none with the title *Harvest Sun* or anything similar. There are a number of variations on *Sunset* or *Evening* or *Autumn* or *Late Summer* that were also checked, none with an exhibition history that included New Orleans. No cross listing of Ireland’s #1123 found either. SIRIS states the painting that Ireland mentions is unlocated.

No Reviews

No. 154 Robert Ward Van Boskerck (1855 Hoboken, NJ -1932 New York City, NY)

Training: New York City, NY (Alexander Wyant, R. Swain Gifford)

A Jersey Roadway \$350

No Reviews

No. 155 Aymar Pezant (1846 Bayeux, France -1916)

Normandy Cattle \$1,750 Kohn’s Art Rooms, New York

Reviews: “Aymer Pezant’s *Normandy Cattle* from the Paris Salon of 1884 are the very best specimens of good, homely kind, ever seen on pasture or even reproduced on canvas. These June eyed creatures are standing, admirable in their velvet dew and in the lights and shades of their rich coats and the ups and downs of their varied anatomy. Near the braided stream let on the banks of the stream are long grasses and green liverwort and primroses. The meadow spreads out into a long rolling vista of tender green.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 28 March 1885.

No. 156 Emily Sartain (1841 Philadelphia, PA -1927)

Portrait

Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Scheussele)
No Reviews

No. 157 Hugo William Arthur Nahl (1820-1887)

Family Pet \$400

No Reviews

No. 158 Emily Sartain (1841 Philadelphia, PA -1927 Philadelphia, PA)

Portrait

Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Scheussele)

No Reviews

No. 159 James Henry Beard (1811 Buffalo, NY -1893 Flushing, NY)

Surprise \$500

No Reviews

No. 160 Frederick Arthur Bridgman (1847 Tuskegee, AL -1928 Rouen, France)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; EcBA, Paris (J. L. Gerome)



Scene on the Nile, 1878. \$1500 American Art Association. Oil on panel, 9 ¾ x 17 7/8 inches.

Owner: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Mrs. George L. Selfridge, Accession #34.185.

Illustrated in Carol Troyen, et al. *American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997, pg. 30.

Reviews: "Mr. Bridgman's picture, No. 160 fails in its aerial effects, and it is therefore a mere river view, with Egyptian forms of soil and scenery." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* 19 April 1885

No. 161 Frank Hill Smith (1841 Boston -1904)

Training: Boston; Paris (Leon Bonnat)

Sunset at Nahant \$800

No Reviews

No. 162 Agnes Dean Abbatt (1847-1917)

A Florist's Window \$350

No Reviews

No. 163 Robert Walter Weir (1803 New York City, NY -1889 New York City, NY)

Training: Florence (Pietro Benvenuti)

Meditation \$1500

Reviews: "Robert Weir's *Meditation* strikes us as a very graceful and withal thoughtful impersonation. In looking over the catalogue before having seen the picture there flitted before

our imagination meditation as it is oftenest represented a young girl with a lover letter or a pretty woman at prayer. Some say a girl does not meditate, she ruminates so such careless and superficial propounding of that process of the mind may well be objected to. Weir represents Meditation with the vulnerability of extreme age—age silvered with years and graceful with godliness and exalted in thought.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 9 May 1885.

No. 164 Hendrik-Dirk Krusemen Van Elten (1829 Holland -1904) Active New York City
Summer on the Winnockie Creek \$1500
 No Reviews

No. 165 No Entry, blank

No. 166 Alfred Wordsworth Thompson (1840 Baltimore, MD -1896 Summit, NJ)
 Training: Paris
The Passing Train \$200 Grady & McKeever, New York
 No Reviews

No. 167 Amy Kirkpatrick (1862-1935)
On the Flats, Sheep \$150 Vincennes Gallery of Fine Arts, Chicago
 No Reviews

No. 168 Meyer Straus (1831 Bavaria, Germany -1905 San Francisco, CA)
Morning in the Swamp
 No Reviews

No. 169 Thomas Hill (1829 Birmingham, Great Britain -1908 Raymond, CA)
 Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



Yosemite Valley, 1876. Oil on canvas, 72 x 120 in. Owner: Oakland Museum of Art, The Kahn Collection. Illustrated in Christina Orr-Cahall, *The Art of California: Selected Works from the Collection of the Oakland Museum*, Oakland, CA: The Oakland Museum Art Department, 1984, pg. 58.

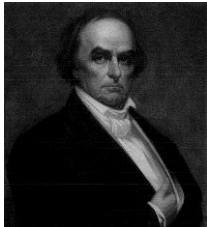
Reviews: See No. 99

No. 170 William Sartain (1843 Philadelphia, PA -1924 New York, NY)
 Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Schussele); EcBA, Paris (Leon Bonnat)



A Nubian Sheik, n.d. (ca. 1886?). \$500 Oil on canvas, 24 x 19 3/4 in. Owner: Mairie de Villefranche, France. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, pg. 313. Reviews: "The Nubian Sheik and Rosalie by the gifted painter William Sartain are two canvases distinguished by the gravest brush handling and most truthful coloring. In the Nubian Sheik the modeling of the dark face is absolutely beyond criticism, the features standing out in striking contrast to the white turban and white burnous, seemingly without the slightest effort on the painter's part." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 23 April 1885.

No. 171 John Pope (1820-1880)



Portrait of Daniel Webster, 1860s. Loaned by James A. Robinson, New York. Current owner: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH; Gift of Edward Tuck, Class of 1862. Image provided by Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College.
No Reviews

No. 172 Charles Noel Flagg (1848 Brooklyn, NY -1916)

Training: Paris

An Arab \$150

No Reviews

No. 173 Mauritz Frederik Hendrick de Haas (1832 Rotterdam, Holland -1895 New York, NY)

Training: The Hauge; Paris (Louis Mayer)



Clearing Up AKA After the Storm, 1873 \$2500 Oil on canvas, 12 x 18 inches. Owner: St. Johnsbury Anthaeneum, Gift of Horace Fairbanks. Illustrated in Mark D. Mitchell, *The St. Johnsbury Athenaeum: Handbook of the Collection*, Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2005, Fig. N-13, pg. 66. Reviews: "In marine views the collection is not behind hand as it possesses a couple of pieces by the master, M. F. De Haas, one of which showing the sea beating on a rocky shore, is very fine in the presentation of wave motion, the most difficult in

marine painting. The artist may get his sky colors and sea blue right, but the form and motion of the waves are the great points after all.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* 24 February 1885. “M. F. H. Haas, of New York, stands first in this respect [ability w/marines] among the pictures of the gallery. His ‘Clearing Up,’ No. 173, showing the sea at the end of a gale, beating on the breakers is excellent.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* 13 April 1885.

No. 174 Robert Lorraine Pyne (1835-1905)

Evening \$75

No Reviews

No. 175 Robert Burns Wilson (1851 Parker, PA -1916 Frankfort, KY)

Dawn on the Morning of the Crucifixion \$500

No Reviews

No. 176 George Bacon Wood (1832 Philadelphia, PA -1910 Massachusetts)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA

Camden Dry Docks \$100

No Reviews

No. 177 Gérôme Elwell (1847-1912)

The Antwerp Docks \$500

No Reviews

No. 178 Frederick W. Freer (1849 Chicago, IL -1908 Chicago, IL)

Training: Munich

Adagio \$500

Reviews: “Frederick Freer’s *Adagio* is a charming little picture. It represents a young girl—a very pretty one, with a head like cameo cut, seated at a musical instrument, looking with grave interest at the music before her. The drawing of the figure, the rendering of the pink gown, the strong effect of light of day, admitted through a window opposite, all show the impress on the canvas of a sure hand. The accessories of luminous atmosphere contains screens, rugs and objects of art the painter has interpreted with thoughtfulness and even fastidiousness.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 3 March 1885.

No. 179 George Fuller (1822 Deerfield, MA-1884 Brookline, MA)

Training: Boston, New York, and London

Cherubs \$750 American Art Association

Reviews: “George Fuller’s *Cherubs* is a work entirely characteristic of this great artist’s manner of expression; a picture that must be taken away from all surroundings of absolute methods and conspicuous forms, if only in the mind’s eye, to give it above all others deserves, a concentrated and uninterrupted examination. It is his mastery of atmospheric effects, the haziness of the hour, the tremulous undulations of sunlight that so peculiarly lifted Fuller beyond all living painters.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 2 April 1885.

No. 180 Robert Burns Wilson (1851 Parker, PA -1916 Frankfurt, KY)

Fame \$500

No Reviews

No. 181 William Hahn (1829 Germany -1887 California)

Training: Royal Academy, Dresden, Germany



Mexican Cattle Drivers in Southern California, 1883. \$600 Owner: Oakland Museum of Art. Illustrated in Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, *William Hahn: Genre Painter 1829-1887*, Oakland, CA: Oakland Museum of Art Department, 1976, fig. 42, pg. 43. There were two versions of this painting, one painted in 1881 and now lost, and this later version which was exhibited widely in the 1880s. Arkelian, *William Hahn*, pg. 43-44.

No Reviews

No. 182 Charles Sprague Pearce (1852 Boston, MA -1914 Paris, France)

Training: Paris (Leon Bonnat)

Gathering Dandelions \$600 Loaned by John A. Lowell, Boston

No Reviews

No. 183 Raphael Armenizzi (unknown)

After the Baptism Loaned by Mrs. A. Mitchell of Milwaukee

Reviews: "No. 183. A family scene after the christening of the baby, is an excellent piece of genre painting by R. Armeniazzi, of Rome. It commends itself to many admirers." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 184 Benoni Irwin (1840 Newmarket, Canada -1896 New York City, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY (Asher B. Durand, Thomas Cummings); Paris, France (Carolus-Duran)

Study of a Head

No Reviews

No. 185 Percival De Luce (1847 New York, NY -1914)

Training: Antwerp Academy (Joseph Portaels); Paris (Sonnat)

Powder for the Besieged Wheeling Va, 1777 \$1000

No Reviews

No. 186 Elizabeth Boott (1846 Cambridge, MA-1888 Paris, France)

Training: Boston (William Morris Hunt); Paris, France (Thomas Couture)

Mum' Hannah \$60

No Reviews

No. 187 Johann Georg Meyer von Bremen (1813-1886, German)

Crossing the Brook Loaned by John A. Scudder, St. Louis

Reviews: "Jean Georges Meyer, or Kinder Meyer as his own people love to call him. In the Art Gallery is his Crossing the Brook. It represents a little child returning from school with her books

and slates strapped together, and one arm full of the wild flowers of the woods. With cautious step she crosses a rustic bridge. The little maiden wears a purple muslin gown; a faded red kerchief partly discovers the sweet timorous face. The path from the bridge turns to follow the rook, and grasses and wild flowers spring up alongside of it. Glints of evening sky manage to penetrate the deep thickness of the trees. Meyer von Bremen is too well known to need a word from us. His little people are the very little creatures that patter up and down the great staircases of nature. They are never posed to astonish or regulated to suit combustious (sic) nerves." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 188 August Hagborg (1852 Göteborg, Sweden-1921 Paris, France)

The Fisherwoman's Return Loaned by Benjamin W. Clark, St. Louis

No Reviews

No. 189 Annie Burt (unknown)

Fruit \$200

No Reviews

No. 190 Rosina Emmet [Sherwood] (1854 New York, NY -1948 New York, NY)

Training: ASL, New York, NY (William Merritt Chase); Académie Julian, Paris, France

Autumn \$1000

No Reviews

No. 191 Julius Bodenstein (unknown)

Fishing Boats at Low Tide \$400

Reviews: "J. Bodenstein, of Munich, is represented by two of his admirable works: Fishing Boats at Low Tide, And Evening on the Sands. In the first the receding water has laid a wide stretch of sandy beach quite bare, and here a number of fishing craft are moored, a lot of fisher folk are gathered here and there to add that bit of life most painters feel essential to the picture; a lowering sky and distant line of water furnish what is a most pleasing scene. The positive craft, drawing the contrast of colors in the rigging, the transparencies of the water as it percolates through the wet sand into little pools, and the reflection on the body of the water are so finely express no one can be unconscious of them. The second picture by Bodenstein Evening on the Sands is not less pleasing. Bodenstein needs no panegyric from us, the deep feeling and earnest motive that underlies his every touch in these pictures will do enough to make a place for him among those who deserve to be conspicuous in this gallery." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 11 April 1885.

No. 192 Edwin Howland Blashfield (1848 Brooklyn, NY -1936)

Training: Paris, France (Léon Bonnat)

Roman Ladies Fencing \$3000

Reviews: "In the Arena, a pretty, but weak picture of gladiatorial scene in a Roman amphitheater. The retiarius, or bearer of the net to entangle gladiator, is a pretty girl in tights, and looks as if she were borrowed from the stage of an opera bouffe. The artist is E. H. Blashfield at Paris." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "In another vein, historic rather than realistic, is a picture which attracts much popular notice. It is No. 192, by E. H. Blashfield, of New York. It was painted in Paris, and is entitled 'Roman Ladies Fencing.' That the combat is a bloodless

one is shown by the bored and dissatisfied expression on one of the lady spectators. Nothing so delighted and entertained the Roman fair as a show where blood flowed freely. They thirsted for it like tigers. These reflections on Roman manners at once direct the observer to the great picture of Rothermel, No. 208, the Christian Martyrs, when for their faith strong men, old men, women tender and beautiful or matronly and lovely in their age, and children were thrown to the lions." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 27 April 1885.

No. 193 Frederick Samuel Dellenbaugh (1853 McConnellsville, OH - 1935)
Training: Paris, France (Carolus Duran); Académie Julian, Paris, France
The First Snow
No Reviews

No. 194 G. Van Hoesslin (unknown)
Roman Winter \$350
No Reviews

No. 195 Abraham Archibald Anderson (1874 New Jersey -1940 New York)
Training: Paris, France (Léon Bonnat)



From Riches to Poverty, 1884. \$2000 Oil on canvas. 76 x 60 in. Owner: The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, New York, New York. Image provided by the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen.

Reviews: "Archibald Anderson's *From Riches to Poverty* tells its own story, and tells it well." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 196 George William Joy (1844 Dublin, Ireland -1925) Active London and Bristol
Leodomais

Reviews: "No. 196, *Leodomais* by Geo. W. Joy of London, a nearly nude figure of a woman, reclining, face downward on a tomb. The picture has no marked expressiveness, but is a pretty piece of color." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885. "No. 196, in the main gallery is G. W. Joy's *Leodomais*. She is represented as reclining in an attitude of despairing grief over the sculptured stone tomb of Protesilus. About her are offertory flowers. At her feet spring up bunches of daisies and buttercups. So they seemed, but of their Greek names the reporter is not acquainted. Among the grasses of the Trojan shore, and afar off the ice dark blue waters of the Aegean Sea. The picture while a piece of almost nude realism is yet interpreted in cool, sweet tones that do not irritate one's sensibilities as the vivid and sensuous figure drawings of Bouguereau or Gerome of Lefebvre often do. Joy appeals more to the lovers of art than to surgeons and anatomists. Still we are at a loss, by any chain of progressive suggestions to trace the relation of this dejected nude figure bedecked with flowers and reclining in the open to the daughters of Astydamis. It may just as well represent any other woman with the divine right to

grieve. In the mind's eye one follows the easy rhythms of Wordsworth, he had rather picture Leonamais even while she wept for Protesilius slain by the hand of Hector in the Trojan war, of women the most beauteous, clad in the haughty apparel of the woven sea purple threads in her sumptuous garments vying with those of Helen as she vied with Helen in beauty. It seems so long after the disillusioning and disinhibited Garden of Eden of which Togetti forcibly reminds one in this canvas hard by the painter of today needs must turn to gowns, coats and trousers to further his idea unless he lends his pencil to the intangible forms of pilgrims and fairies of folklore to nymphs of the sea of the mysteries of the air." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 3 March 1885.

No. 197 William Henry Buck (1840 Bergen, Norway -1888 New Orleans, LA)

Training: Boston, MA; New Orleans, LA (Ernest Ciceri, Richard Clague, Andres Molinary and Achille Perelli).

Live Oak

No Reviews

No. 198 Andres Molinary (1847 Gibraltar - 1915 New Orleans, LA)

Training: San Lucas Academy, Rome, Italy; Fine Art Academy, Seville, Spain

La Pordiosera

Reviews: "No. 198, La Pordiosera, by A. Molinary, of New Orleans, represents a Mexican or Spanish beggar girl. It is a good piece of expression, and is strongly presented. It is a credit to Mr. Molinary." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885. "La Pordiosera, by A. Molinary is a charmingly rendered little beggar girl. She stands against a weather-stained and crannied wall with a basket that has known long service on her arm. Wrapt about the head and drawn close around the figure, is an old shawl, once as gorgeous as Joseph's coat of many colors. The tender eyes are full of life harming heaviness, the beseeching mouth and oval face are full of the dark beauty of Andalusia. The entire picture is marked by color feeling of extraordinary power. Molinary, a Spanish artist, is worthy representative of the school of Fortuny, of the Madrazas and Zamacois, the school that today leads all others in its high conception of art." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 199 William Preston Phelps (1848 Dublin, NH-1923)

Training: Germany (Wilhelm Velten)

Midsummer \$575

No Reviews

No. 200 Frederick Stymetz Lamb (1863 New York, NY -1928)

Training: ASL, New York, NY; Paris, France (Lefebvre, Boulanger, M. Millet)

Waiting for the Boats \$200

Reviews: "F. S. Lamb's Waiting for the Boats represents a little bit of hilly seacoast, near Boulogne. Among the grasses the occasional cowslip springs and the mullein and foxglove. Two fish girls in their coarse gowns and white caps, wait, looking out at the sea, whither the boats sailed out at the ebb of the tide. It is withal a very graceful composition, with perhaps a little too much vagueness in some of its tones to be consistent with a satisfactory illusion." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 201 Euphemia B. Wilmarth (1856-1906)

Chrysanthemums \$125

No Reviews

No. 202 Newbold Hough Trotter (1827 Philadelphia, PA -1898 Atlantic City, NJ)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; The Hague, Netherlands (van Starkenbort)

Waiting \$150

No Reviews

No. 203 J. Rogers Rich (1847-1910)

At Grand Menan \$1000

Reviews: "A very pleasing landscape is No. 203, the Grand Menan, an island in the Bay of Funday. It shows a wheat field with golden grain projected against a background of blue sky and bluer sea, while a group of noble beech trees, growing against a rocky bank, relieves what would otherwise be a monotonous flatness in the scenery. The charm of the picture is in the harmonious although simple coloring, which makes the observer feel as if he were looking on a real scene instead of a picture. The execution, save in the matter of the beech trees, which are painted with great exactness, is not particularly good. The wheat looks more like a solid mass than a waving, swaying sea of slender stalks; but for all that, through the excellence of the coloring the picture is very pleasing. It is by J. Rogers Rich, of Boston." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 13 April 1885.

No. 204 Newbold Hough Trotter (1827 Philadelphia, PA -1898 Atlantic City, NJ)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; The Hague, Netherlands (van Starkenbort)



Prairie Fire, 1882. \$450 Oil on canvas, 29 ¾ x 48 in. Owner: American Museum of Western Art, The Anschutz Collection, Denver, CO. Illustrated in Joshua C. Taylor, *Painters of the American West: Selections from the Anschutz Collection*, Munich, Germany: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1982, Fig. 16, n.p. No accession number given.

No Reviews

No. 205 J. Rogers Barber (unknown)

Cattle on the Bay Shore \$400

No Reviews

No. 206 Edward Lamson Henry (1841 Charleston, SC -1919 Ellenville, NY)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Paris, France (Charles Gleyre, Gustave Courbet)

Bracing Up \$400

Reviews: "A jolly specimen of colonial masculine humanity has sought the solitude of his chamber for a "spiritual" bracing up; he is standing without a bit of awful solemnity about him before the cupboard with its sympathetic doors ajar, and from a bottle off its shelf he fills a glass brimming full of the wine that is red. No facts of rude entertainment serve to chill the ardor of his thirsting soul, no vision of the woman finely frenzied breaks upon his healthy presence. The

merit of the picture is in the very funny expression on the man's face. It is all the more rewarding for it awakens a fresh and keen activity in each individual mind. Henry has recorded some humorous little bits of colonial life which hold a place as epoch marking pictures." *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 7 April 1885.

No. 207 Marie Antoinette Fisk Kennicott (1825-1885)

Fruit and Flowers \$300

No Reviews

No. 208 Peter F. Rothermel (1812 Pennsylvania -1895 Linfield, PA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum. \$5000 Painting is lost, seen here is Frederick Debourg Richards photograph carte, of the painting, 3 ¾ x 2 7/16 in., ca. 1862. Illustrated in Mark Thistlethwaite, *Painting in the Grand Manner the Art of Peter Frederick Rothermel*, Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania: Brandywine River Museum, 1995, fig. 19, pg. 86.

Reviews: "The Christian Martyrs, a celebrated and large picture by P.F. Rothermel is worth mention." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* 23 February 1885. "No. 208, The Christian Martyrs, by P. F. Rothermel, of Philadelphia, is a powerful picture, expressed with much sentiment and idealization. It represents a cell or prison under the gallery of a Roman Amphitheatre. Through a grated door naked men can be seen fighting with lions, while the prisoners, men, women and children, are awaiting their turn to be thrown to the wild beasts. The various expressions of anxiety, horror, apprehension and despair on the various faces are shown with masterly skill, while the beautiful and tender woman, standing in the grasp of the rough soldier who is about to drag her to the lions, is indeed the heroine of faith. The picture tells its own story and is worthy of, next to Washington Allston, the greatest of American painters." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune* 29 March 1885. "In the long gallery that is devoted to contributions from all countries, but more especially representing American art, a most conspicuous canvas is The Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum by Peter F. Rothermel, a Pennsylvanian by birth and a historical painter of many excellencies (sic). This picture tells its own tale of horrors, and brings up before us those dark days of the Roman Empire, when many suffered for conscience sake. Inside a spacious room, waiting their hour are gathered aged men and women, women young and beautiful, and even little children. Through a barred window these despairing and dying ones may see in the arena beyond the devouring lion, loosed and burying his bloody claws in the quivering flesh of his victim. This canvas represents Rothermel at his happiest in execution and in choice of dramatic situations. It is held the painter did not carry out his original idea of admitting the light from the arena, but it is a question whether the picture would have gained by a different treatment." *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 209 George Frederick Wright (1828 Washington, CT. -1881Hartford, CT)

Training: NAD, New York, NY
Belle of the Ship \$300
 No Reviews

No. 210 Herman Fuechsel (1833 Brunswick, Germany -1915 New York City, NY)
Hunters in Camp \$500
 No Reviews

No. 211 Jules-Arésne Garnier (1847-1889) Active Paris, France
Distribution of the Flags
 No Reviews

No. 212 Frederick James (1845-1907)
 Training: Paris, France (Jean-Léon Gérôme)
Planning the Attack \$200
 No Reviews

No. 213 Alfred Thompson Bricher (1837 Portsmouth, NH -1908 New Drop, NY),
 Training: Self taught
Cliffs at Appledore \$450
 No Reviews

No. 214 Oliver Cheron (unknown)
Sands at Low Tide
 No Reviews

No. 215 Alfred Wordsworth Thompson (1840 Baltimore, MD -1896 Summit, NJ)
 Training: Paris
Noonday in the Olden Time \$500 American Art Association
 No Reviews

No. 216 John Hemming Fry (1861 Indiana - 1946 New York, NY)
 Training: Paris (Boulanger, Lefebvre)
The Blacksmith Loaned by W. S. Stuyvesant, St. Louis, MO
 No Reviews

No. 217 Gabriel Max (1840 Prague, Czechoslovakia-1915 Munich, Germany)
 Training: Munich, Germany (Karl Theodor von Piloty)
Japanese Girl Loaned by Benjamin W. Clark, St. Louis
 No Reviews

No. 218 Maria A'Becket (d. 1904, Boston)
Woods Near Glen House, White Mountains \$175
 No Reviews

No. 219 John Franklin Waldo (1835 Chelsea, VT – 1920 Los Angeles, CA)

On Deer Creek, Colorado \$350

No Reviews

No. 220 M. De Forest Bolmer (1854 Yonkers, NY -1910 New York, NY)

The Moorland Path \$350

Reviews: "We would especially commend to all lovers of nature the earnest expression of sympathy with her to be found in Moorland Path. This work is exceptionally agreeable for its solid touch and its mastery over the plain realities of the bare moorland site. The foreground is carefully but not overworked; the sky is good, the atmospheric effect fine. The only fault in the picture, even to the most cautious critic, is disregard for the vanishing point. The background is rendered almost as strong as the foreground, and serves to strengthen the uncertainty whether this is meant to be a tip-toe prospect, or a sterile waster that is disposed to lose itself with a distant horizon." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 11 April 1885.

No. 221 Rhonda Holmes Nicholls (1843 Coventry, Great Britain -1930 Stamford, CT)

Training: London; Rome

Medicant Monks \$450

No Reviews

No. 222 Jacques Pilliard (1814-1898)

Boats on the Seine \$350

No Reviews

No. 223 Abraham Archibald Anderson (1874 New Jersey -1940 New York)

Training: Paris, France (Léon Bonnat)

Judith \$500 (SIRIS lists this painting as unlocated)

Reviews: "No. 223, Judith, by Archibald Anderson, of New York, represents the Jewish heroine who slew the Assyrian general, the despoiler of her people, Holofernes. Judith must have been a Lady Macbeth of a woman; but this picture shows a pretty, rather plump brunette, with a big knife, or cutlass, in her hand. There is nothing tragic in her style, and the picture probably a portrait of a comedy girl posing for the character." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 224 Fritjof Smith-Hald (1846 Norway -1903 Chicago, IL)

Drawing the Seine \$200

No Reviews

No. 225 Joseph Lyman (1843 Ravenna, OH – 1913 Wallingford, CT)

Evening \$200

No Reviews

No. 226 Jules Emile Saintin (1829 Leme, France – 1894 France)

Solitaire \$750

No Reviews

No. 227 J. Bodenstein (unknown)

Evening on the Sands \$450

Reviews: "J. Bodenstein, of Munich, is represented by two of his admirable works: Fishing Boats at Low Tide, And Evening on the Sands. In the first the receding water has laid a wide stretch of sandy beach quite bare, and here a number of fishing craft are moored, a lot of fisher folk are gathered here and there to add that bit of life most painters feel essential to the picture; a lowering sky and distant line of water furnish what is a most pleasing scene. The positive craft, drawing the contrast of colors in the rigging, the transparencies of the water as it percolates through the wet sand into little pools, and the reflection on the body of the water are so finely express no one can be unconscious of them. The second picture by Bodenstein Evening on the Sands is not less pleasing. Bodenstein needs no panegyric from us, the deep feeling and earnest motive that underlies his every touch in these pictures will do enough to make a place for him among those who deserve to be conspicuous in this gallery." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 11 April 1885.

No. 228 Jeanne Samson (unknown)

Young Milliner \$200

No Reviews

No. 229 Alfred Cornelius Howland (1838 Walpole, NH -1909 Pasadena, CA)

Training: Düsseldorf, Germany

Rendezvous of the Veterans \$750

No Reviews

No. 230 Thomas Hill (1829 Birmingham, Great Britain -1908 Raymond, CA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA



Driving of the Last Spike, 1875. Oil on canvas, 96 x 144 in. Owner: State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, California State Railroad Museum, Sacramento. Illustrated in *Thomas Hill: The Grand View*, Oakland Museum of Art, Oakland, California, 1980, pg. 26. Reviews: "On the opposite end of the Grand Gallery from Chelmonski's Return from the Market is the big picture of Thomas Hill, an American, of the Driving of the Last Spike on the Pacific railroad. It is full of portraits and technically is full of merit, but is interesting as a portrait is, only to friends. The visitor will turn away to linger longer on some of Mr. Hill's fine landscape scenes in the Sierras and Rocky Mountains. There he is at home and has made a name." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 231 J. Rogers Rich (1874-1910)

Sheep Pasture

No Reviews

No. 232 Frank Knox Morton Rehn (1848 Philadelphia, PA – 1914 Massachusetts)

A New England Harbor, Low Tide \$400

Reviews: "F. K. M. Rehn is represented by a New England Harbor a picture with strong effects and positive drawing." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 233 Henry Koch (unknown)
The Koenigsee, Bavarian Mountains \$1800
 No Reviews

No. 234 Samuel Marsden Brookes (1816 England-1892 San Francisco, CA)
Fish and Vegetables Loaned by Irving M. Scott, San Francisco
 No Reviews

No. 235 C. C. Cooke (unknown)
Morning Jersey Coast \$200
 No Reviews

No. 236 Lovell Birge Harrison (1854 Philadelphia, PA -1929 Woodstock, NY)
 Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Paris (Cabanel, Carolus-Duran)
Calling Home the Cows \$450
 No Reviews

No. 237 Joseph Jefferson IV (1829 Philadelphia, PA -1905 Palm Beach, FL)
Landscape

Reviews: "No. 237 arrests the attention of the visitor who looks through the gallery catalogue, because it is labeled 'Landscape by Joseph Jefferson.' This is Joseph Jefferson, the eminent actor, so well-known for his excellent character impersonations on the stage, and particularly for his *Rip Van Winkle*. Mr. Jefferson spends much time at a plantation which he possesses on the Bayou Teche, in Louisiana, and it is known that much of his attention while there is given to painting. The painting probably represents a scene in Louisiana, it shows that the great comedian has his notions of his own in art and certainly his picture is by no means the worst in the gallery." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 13 April 1885. "The landscape by Joseph Jefferson representing great trees overhanging a brook, which finds its bed in a quiet, cool spot, where one's measured thought would never fear sudden interruption by anything more disturbing than the quacking of the wild ducks on the water." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 6 May 1885.

No. 238 Edgar M. Ward (1839 Ohio -1915 New York, NY)
 Training: NAD, New York, NY; Paris, France
Brittany Interior \$200
 No Reviews

No. 239 Alfred M. Turner (1851 Great Britain – 1932 New York, NY)
 Training: Great Britain (Edward Turner, father)
In the Doorway Grady & McKeever, New York
 No Reviews

No. 240 Ignaz Marcel Gaugengigl (1855 Passau, Bavaria -1932 Boston, MA)
 Training: Munich, Germany

The Amateur \$1200

Reviews: "The reporter was particularly struck by this manner of schooling while standing before J. M. Gaugengigl *The Amateur*, which is justly popular. [The reference is to the previous passage that alludes to student's needing to move beyond their teachers and training to establish an identity for themselves.] Whether it belongs to the Fortuny, the Franco Roman, the Romanesque, the Florentine, the Milanese, or any other school it is ascribed to, as it was variously discussed. A youth in satin trousers and crimson coat and most emphatic gesture brings forcibly before one the works of the Eastern Queen. 'The quick comedian extemporize shall sly us; Anthony shall be brought drunken froth, and I shall see some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness.' In sentiments of comedy, the brilliancy of color, the carefully studied texture the animated pose show how well Gaugengigl considers his subjects." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 3 March 1885.

No. 241 Ignaz Marcel Gaugengigl Gaugengigl (1855 Passau, Bavaria -1932 Boston, Mass.)

Training: Munich, Germany

Fruit

No Reviews

No. 242 Frank Fowler (1852 Brooklyn, NY – 1910 New Canaan, CT)

Training: EcBA, Paris, France

Young Bacchus \$300

No Reviews

No. 243 William Sartain (1843 Philadelphia, PA -1924 New York, NY)

Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Schussele); EcBA, Paris (Leon Bonnat)



Rosa, c. 1880. \$300 Oil on canvas, 20 1/8 x 16 1/16 in. Owner: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Lucie Washington. Accession #1938.22.6

Reviews: "Rosalie is a simple head of a young girl, full of exquisite relations of light and shade. In all the matured art forms that bear the impress of Sartain's imagination one see that his genius needs no coaxing or fretting to tell its story, but speaks simply out of its own spontaneity and without hesitation." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 23 April 1885.

No. 244 Daniel Folger Bigelow (1823 Peru, IN-1910 Chicago, IL)

Scene in Vermont \$200

No Reviews

No. 245 Philip Weber (1849-1921)

Grand Menan \$1200

Reviews: "Philip Webber's scene at Grand Manan very happily pictures a water walled shore where a boisterous jet of spray has frightened the seagulls from their crannied homes. There is nice concentrated effect in the work. The light of the moon, breaking from behind a cloud and flashing across the water is a fine idea." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 246 Thomas Waterman Wood (1823 Montpelier, VT – 1903 New York City, NY)

Training: Boston (Chester Harding); Düsseldorf Academy, Germany

Putting on Airs \$1000

Reviews: "A pretty piece of realism is No. 246, in the American Gallery, is entitled 'Putting on Airs' and shows a rosy schoolboy swelling with importance and mock dignity, as he has his shoes shined up by a humbler urchin. It is an excellent presentation of a trivial theme." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 April 1885. "Thomas Woods' Putting on Airs is a clever piece. It tells a humorous story in a very direct way. It is a good reproduction of two models, and shows some studious contrast of white boy nature and black boy nature. It is left to us to decide whether the facilis decensus of the ebony shiner was accomplished after the Tom Sawyer method or on the principle of give and take, toward which explanation the scattered orange peels rather tends." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 247 Henrietta Ronner (1821 Amsterdam, Holland -1909 Brussels, Belgium)

Returning from the Market

No Reviews

No. 248 Carl Milner (unknown)

Bavarian Alps Loaned by George Cecil, New York

No Reviews

No. 249 George Herbert McCord (1848 New York, NY – 1909 New York, NY)

The Ice Harvest \$650

The painting was owned at one time by the Brooklyn Museum of Art (BM31.689). They do not have an image on file, and cannot provide additional information about the painting. The work was traded for another work, private collector, owner restricted.

Reviews: "G. H. McCord's Ice Harvest is a most sincere expounding of the conditions of the season when winter has grappled with her icy fingers all the things of earth. The snow lies heavily on the land, and the waters of the lake are solid, like glass. This colorless snow scene is relieved by the warm setting sun, which fires the proud tops of the eastern pines. Figures are moving to and fro, filling the ice barn hard by. Of the four works by this painter in the gallery there is not one that is not excellent in color qualities." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 250 Peter Moran (1841 Bolton, Great Britain -1914 Philadelphia, PA)

The Downs \$130

No Reviews

No. 251 A. L. Crook (unknown)

Lilies \$75

No Reviews

No. 252 Emily Sartain Sartain (1841 Philadelphia, PA -1927)

Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Schussele)

Study Head

No Reviews

No. 253 Alfred Kappe (1850 New York, NY – 1894 New York, NY)

Is Life Worth Living Loaned by Thomas B. Clark, New York

Reviews: “A capital genre is Alfred Kappe’s *Is Life Worth Living?* An old crone, after a day spent in street scavenging ceases her labor and sits down close to a wall to solve this doughty question. A question which has puzzled wiser and soberer heads than hers. This thinker in petticoats wear as half quizzical, half maudlin expression. In the street scrapings of buckets, and begrimed clothes, there is all the realism of dirt. The old crone is left to the Mallcock for a profound dissertation on the merits of the question, for it is hardly possible even Mallock could shock here sensibilities. It is not a little amusing to hear the crowds who throng the galleries attempting to classify every picture they are as the reflex of such and such schools. The enormities our best schools are thus made responsible for is enough to break the backbone of the toughest fish. As a rule an artist’s first endeavor after leaving any school is to work out his own idea of methods, and to free himself as nearly as possible from any execution suggesting the palpable characteristics of a school and nearer he succeeds in this the nearer he evinces originality of the highest order.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 3 March 1885.

No. 254 S. H. St. John (1824-1908)

St. Bernard Puppies \$800

No Reviews

No. 255 Fritz Zubler-Bühler (1822 Le Locle, Switzerland – 1896 Paris, France)

Training: Switzerland (Louis-Aimé Grosclaude); France (François-Edouard Picot)

Indolence

No Reviews

No. 256 Christopher Pearse Cranch (1813 Alexandria, VA -1892 Cambridge, MA)



Venice, n. d. Oil on canvas, 18 ½ x 29 in. Owner Walter and Lucille Rubin, unable to confirm exhibition history. Illustrated in William H. Gerdts, *America the Beautiful: 19th & 20th century Paintings from the Walter and Lucille Rubin Collection*, Boca Raton, FL: The Boca Raton Museum of Art, 2003, pg. 33.

No Reviews

No. 257 Enoch Wood Perry (1831 Boston, MA -1915 New York City, NY)

Training: Düsseldorf, Germany and Paris, France



The Young Ben Franklin, 1884. \$1500 Oil on canvas, 37 x 29 in. Owner: The Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky Accession #1964.31.23. Photograph courtesy of the Speed Art Museum. The Albright-Knox Museum of Art owns an earlier version of the painting, c. 1876, oil on canvas, 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 29 in., accession #1877:3, which was purchased by the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy after it was shown at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. This painting was not lent to the Cotton Centennial as far as the Albright-Knox is aware and they think that it is doubtful. Although the Speed has no record of their version being shown in New Orleans, it seems likely that Perry created this second version to present at the Cotton Centennial since the first version presented at Philadelphia resulted in a sale. There are no other known versions of the painting. "Enoch Wood Perry," Speed Museum of Art, curatorial files.

No Reviews

No. 258 Albert Bierstadt (1830 Solingen, Prussia -1902 New York City, NY)

Training: Düsseldorf, Germany (Emanuel Leutze)

Hetch-Hetchy Valley \$5000

No Reviews

No. 259 Adolf Humborg (1847-?, Austrian)

Fast Day in the Monastery \$1000

Reviews: "Among the interior and genre paintings, *The Monks and the Fish Vendor*, by Humborg, is a most excellent and humorous affair. He paints like a Fleming." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885.

No. 260 Charles Adams Platt (1861 New York, NY -1933 New York, NY)

Training: NAD, ASL, New York, NY; Paris, France (Boulanger, Lefebvre)



Dordrecht, 1883. Oil on canvas, 18 x 24 in. Owner: Phillips Andover Academy, Addison Gallery of American Art, Accession#1928.46. Image from their website:

<http://www.andover.edu/Pages/default.aspx>

No Reviews

No. 261 William Trost Richards (1833 Philadelphia, PA -1905 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: Philadelphia (Paul Weber); Düsseldorf, Germany

Shores at Narragansett \$500

Reviews: See No. 24

No. 262 Bertha Von Hillern (unknown)

The Monk Felix \$400

No Reviews

No. 263 Fred Batcheller (unknown)

Fruit \$175 American Art Association

No Reviews

No. 264 Arthur Hill (1868 New York -1929 New York)

The Tambourine Girl \$5000

Reviews: "A picture which might be almost classed a nude among the nude figures is No. 264, 'The Tambourine Girl.' It is a picture of a woman with a tambourine, standing against the wall in an attitude of waiting. The chief excellence of the picture is that the limbs and prominences of the form are shown through the black drapery in which the figure is totally enveloped, and suggesting all that an undraped figure could display. It attracts much attention and displays no little ingenuity." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 265 George Loring Brown (1814 Boston, MA - 1889 Malden, MA)

Training: Paris, France (Eugene Isabey)



Niagara at Sunrise, 1861. Oil on canvas, 33 x 71 in. Auction at Sotheby's May 24, 2006. Image from sale catalogue, Private collection.

Reviews: See No. 148

No. 266 Walter Blackman (1847 Chicago, IL – 1928 Chicago, IL)

Training: Paris, France (Gérôme)

Kitchen Interior \$250 American Art Association

No Reviews

No. 267 Olivier Cheron (1854-?)

Normandy Cottage

No Reviews

No. 268 Paul Soyer (1823 Paris, France – 1903 Ecouen, France)

Training: Paris, France (Leon Cogniet)

The Blacksmith Loaned by H. C. Ives, St. Louis, MO

No Reviews

No. 269 E. M. Howe (unknown)

Winter

No Reviews

No. 270 Gaines Ruger Donoho (1857 Church Hill, MS -1916 New York City, NY)

Training: ASL, New York City; Paris

Primavera \$1000

Reviews: See No. 37

No. 271 Charles Henry Miller (1842 New York -1922 New York, NY)

Training: Munich, Germany (Adolf Lier)

Birthplace of the Author of Home, Sweet, Home \$1700

No Reviews

No. 272 Frederick Henderick Kaemmerer (1839 – 1902)

Training: Paris, France (Gérôme)

The Letter

No Reviews

No. 273 Carleton T. Chapman (1860 New London, OH – New York City, NY)

Training: France (Jean Joseph Constant)

Spanish Gipsy \$35

No Reviews

No. 274 A. Hastings (unknown)

Ole Marse Robert

No Reviews

No. 275 Peder Severin Krøyer (1851 Denmark – 1909 Skagen, Denmark)

Training: Denmark (Wilhelm Marstrad, Frederik Vermehren) Paris, France (Léon Bonnat)



The Danish Smithy AKA *Smithy in Hornbaek*, oil on canvas, 1875. \$2500 Owner: Hirschprung Collection, Copenhagen. Image from their website: <http://www.hirschsprung.dk/>

Reviews: "It is with pleasure we turn to the thoroughly conscientious work done by Kroyer in his *The Danish Smithy*. It is full of good points. It represents a grandsire, his son and grandson at work in their forge on a heat. The most noticeable feature of the picture is the play of firelight from the forge with its different reflections, and the light of the sparks that re touched off by every stroke of the hammer on the red-hot bar, contrasted with the cold light of day that modestly enters through an opening beyond. The figures are finely posed, full of motion and strong muscular drawing. There is excellent rendering of materials and very realistic interpretation of the Sweat of the Brow. Kroyer is a Danish artist. The Smith took the first prize in the Manchester and the London exhibitions." *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 26 February 1885.

No. 276 Herman N. Hyneman (1859 Philadelphia, PA – 1907 Philadelphia, PA)

Marguerite in Prison \$1000

Reviews: "A Marguerite, by J.W. Champney, American, is near another Marguerite by H. N. Hyneman, with advantage to the former." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "Faust's Marguerite is apparently a favorite subject with painters in all countries. There are four of them in the collections. Marguerite praying before the Virgin's shrine is in the Mexican Gallery. In the great hall are three—one by J. W. Champney, showing the conventional Marguerite, in the style represented by Ary Sheffer, but not a copy; another, by H.N. Hyneman, represents the poor girl in prison, and the third, by E. Richter, presenting the pretty spinner in a low-necked, blue dress, cut in modern style, just as she stands by her flax wheel." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885. "No. 276, Marguerite in Prison, by H. N. Hyneman, of New York, a conventional girl in the conventional straw of a conventional prison." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 277 John J. Hammer (1842 Westhofen, Germany – 1906 New York, New York)
Morning \$400

Reviews: "In Hammer's two pictures is this gallery there is an exquisite purity of color the very exultation of the new day, even were they doomed to the dullest environments, these pictures would enliven a place for themselves." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 April 1885.

No. 278 George Cochran Lambdin (1830 Pittsburg, PA - 1896 Germantown, PA)
Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA
Roses
No Reviews

No. 279 Alfred Fredericks (active 1853-1907, died 1923, American)
An Eastern Smile
No Reviews

No. 280 James A. Fairman (1826 Glasgow, Scotland – 1904 United States/immigrated 1832)
Sunset over Sterling Castle \$500
No Reviews

No. 281 Mauritz Frederick de Haas (1832 Rotterdam, Holland -1895 New York, NY)
Training: The Hauge, Netherlands; Paris, France (Louis Mayer)
Moonlight off the Isle of Shoals
Reviews: See No. 173

No. 282 George Inness (1825 Newburgh, NY - 1894 Bridge of Allan, Scotland)
Training: Régis Gignoux
Mount Washington American Art Association

Reviews: "No. 282 is a very large canvas by George Inness, of New York, and entitled Mount Washington. It shows how a great painter, for such is the reputation of Mr. Inness, can make an ugly picture out of a fine subject. There is the Monarch of the White Mountains, crowned with snow and standing out against a blue and gray sky, while in the foreground is seen a hill covered with gray stones and verdure, and studded with clumps of aspen trees clad in the pale green of early spring. There is something dull and monotonous in the coloring, and a lack of height and distance in the mountain, and a want of luminousness and transparency in the atmosphere. The

object of the artists should be to make the observer feel as if he were actually looking upon the scene itself rather than upon a picture of it. Art is to conceal the art or rather the method, while the mind recognizes the result. This picture does not take hold on the mind and spur the imagination, and arouse memory. It is only a combination of paint and canvas.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 13 April 1885. “It has been said that the true art in painting a landscape is not merely to imitate nature so as to deceive the eye, for the eye which might possibly be conceived by the representation of a fruit or flower or a sausage, cannot of course be influenced to accept a pictorial tableau of scenery for the reality. The art consists rather in so operating on the mind by means of a picture that the memory is aroused as if to the recollection of some such scene once visited, or the imagination is excited so that the observer is made to experience a mental sensation such as the immediate presence of such a scene would produce. A landscape on canvas which does not produce some such result fails of its purpose. Take the large painting No. 282, Mount Washington. The picture as a whole is not pleasing, but it is excellent in one respect for this mental effect it produces. When one looks at the picture the impression is irresistibly made that it represents a spring scene. It is not merely the delicate green of the poplars just “leafing” into April verdure, but there is a vernal languor to be felt in the atmosphere of the scene and an April aspect in its sky which assert themselves. The picture is far from pleasing as a thing of beauty, but the eminent artist, Mr. George Inness, has shown his ability in making the observer feel that the season of the year can be painted so as to speak to the mind rather than to the eye.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 19 April 1885.

No. 283 Rosina Emmet [Sherwood] (1854 New York, NY - 1948 New York, NY)
 Training: ASL, New York, NY (William Merritt Chase); Académie Julian, Paris, France
One Morning \$200
 No Reviews

No. 284 George Eichbaum (1837-1919)
Pickwich and Sam Weller Loaned by James Franklin, St. Louis, MO
 No Reviews

No. 285 Emil Carlsen (1853 Copenhagen, Denmark – 1932 New York, NY)
Still Life Loaned by Thomas B. Clarke, New York
 No Reviews

No. 286 Edward Jean Hamman (unknown)
Les Preludes de Bach \$1500
 No Reviews

No. 287 James Henry Beard (1811 Buffalo, NY -1893 Flushing, NY)
Heirs at Law \$3000
 No Reviews

No. 288 Bertha Von Hillern (unknown)
Kitchen Interior \$135
 No Reviews

No. 289 Cadurcis Plantagenet Ream (1837 Lancaster, OH – 1917 Chicago, IL)

Stuck \$1000 Vincennes Gallery of Fine Arts, Chicago

Reviews: “When before C. P. Reams Stuck we felt some perplexity from an indifferent nomenclature chosen by the painter. As long as there is no circumscribing law of root and derivation for slang terms, as long as their meaning may be as vacillating as a woman’s mind, no one can condemn the choice of title Ream attaches to his picture, however, it is a pity there is not a more significant relationship between subject and title, for unlike Rose Dartin, we can’t always find the good of asking questions. It remains to us a dead letter what is stuck. The little girl paper seller stands ragged and uncombed against a stuccoed pillar. There is April in both her eyes and a begriming little fist besides in one. A tear on the cheek but an eye to business. It is a clever enough idea. But Ream has done little in way of composition or management of his pigments. This picture is entirely without relief and the impression it makes is neither remarkably serious or happily suggestive.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 290 James Brade Sword (1839 Philadelphia, PA -1915 Philadelphia, PA)

Evening \$800

Reviews: See No. 34

No. 291 James Crawford Thom (1835 New York City, NY – 1898 Atlantic Highlands, NJ)

A Northern Winter

No Reviews

No. 292 Carl Christian Brenner (1838 Lauterecken, Germany -1888 Louisville, KY)

Training: Germany (Philip Frolog)

Woodland Brook \$750

No Reviews

No. 293 August Wilhelm Leu (1819-1897)

Off the Island of Capri \$450

No Reviews

No. 294 Walter Satterlee (1844 Brooklyn, NY - 1908 New York, NY)

Training: NAD, New York; Paris (Léon Bonnat)

A Follower of El Mahdi \$250

No Reviews

No. 295 Thomas Eakins (1844 Philadelphia, PA-1916 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (Christian Schussele); ÉcBA, Paris (Jean Léon Gérôme, and Léon Bonnat)

Shortening the Sail

No Reviews

No. 296 Guy Leber (unknown)

Isola Bella

No Reviews

No. 297 John Mulvany (1844-1906)

First Step in Life \$150

No Reviews

No. 298 George Herbert McCord (1848 New York, NY -1909 New York, NY)

Autumn Landscape

No Reviews

No. 299 Phoebe Jenks (1847 Portsmouth, NH – 1907 New York City, NY)

The Triumph \$550

No Reviews

No. 300 Overton Smedley (unknown, Harrodsburg, KY)

Harvest of Roses \$500

No Reviews

No. 301 Thomas Moran (1837 Bolton, Great Britain – 1926 Santa Barbara, CA)



Ponce de Leon in Florida, 1878. \$5000 Oil on canvas, 64 ¾ x 116 in. Owner: Cummer Museum of Art and Gardens, Jacksonville, Florida. Accession #AP1996.2.1. Illustrated in Charles C. Eldredge, *Tales from the Easel: American Narrative Paintings from Southeastern Museums, 1800-1950*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004, pg. 24.

Reviews: “The American idea in the galleries is represented by Thomas Moran’s ‘Ponce de Leon in Florida.’ There is something bold and heroic in this expression of the artist, and the rich color of this tropic sky and overpowering Southern vegetation is very fine. It is a scene from the epic time of America when daring adventurers braved the seas and stormed the enchanted isles and ravished the gardens of the West of their golden fleece and golden fruit. The voyage of Jason made a theme for the master singers of the Greeks, but in the history of the Argonauts of the New World there is suggestion for more than one Iliad and material for the richest pallet and the noblest brush that was ever laid to canvas.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 22 March 1885.

No. 302 Thomas Lochlan Smith (1835 Glasgow, Scotland – 1884 New York)

Winter Evening

No Reviews

No. 303 Schultz (unknown)

Tipping His Hand

No Reviews

No. 304 Theodore Frère (1814-1888)

The Nile at Nagadi

Reviews: “In No. 304 a sense of heat is strikingly presented. The whole force of the picture is in the sky. A couple of palm trees and a mean group of buildings on a point jutting out into the

great African river make the center of a canvas of considerable size. A small caravan of camels is moving along the river's bank and a few vultures are soaring in the sky, which is hot and hazy, while the river lies hot and lazy beneath. The sky is blue, and blue is a cold color, but it is here just enough mixed with white to produce that hot, hazy effect, in which one can almost see the atmosphere quiver and dance above the hot and level sand. The river is hot too, for no shaded nooks under high banks or overhanging trees are seen, but the entire scene quivers in the burning ether. This sense of heat is the one thing in the picture, and that has made it a work of art instead of a tame and spiritless tableau." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 19 April 1885.

No. 305 L. L. Williams (unknown)

Good Comrades \$800

No Reviews

No. 306 Jules Salles (1814 Nimes, France – 1898 Nimes, France)

The Language of Flowers \$500

No Reviews

No. 307 John George Brown (1831 Durham, England -1913 New York, NY)

Training: Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Royal Academy, Edinburgh (William B. Scott); NAD, New York, NY



Street Gallantry, 1880. \$2500 Oil on canvas, 27 ¼ x 43 ½ in. Owner: The San Antonio Museum of Art, Gift of the Friedric Estate, Accession # 71.273.29. The San Antonio Museum of Art has no record of this painting being exhibited in New Orleans, but it is the only work by this title in the known works of Brown. Illustrated in Lisa Reitzes, Stephanie Street, and Gerry D. Scott, III, *The National Image: The American Painting and Sculpture Collection in the San Antonio Museum of Art*, San Antonio, TX: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2003, Fig. 34, pg. 108. Reviews: "In Brown's *Street Gallantry*, one is agreeably impressed. A group of little flower vendors proffer a whiff from their cut and tied flowers to a sweet faced little girl who seems not averse to such pleasant attentions. Brown's boys look like boys, tis true, but they are all of a pattern—he seldom attunes their faces to their condition of life—he deals with the superficial without any expressional power." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 308 James Wells Champney (1843 Boston, MA – 1903)

Training: Lowell Institute, Boston, MA; Ecouen, France (Edward Frère); Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium

Ophelia \$2000

Reviews: "No. 308 is *Ophelia*, by J. Wells Champney, of New York. If not original nor suggesting anything new in the ideal of the gentle lady of the violets, the picture does not violate any cherished conception of this fair girl who went mad for the death of her father and for love of his murderer, and every lover of *Ophelia* will thank the painter for this kind treatment of their predilections." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 309 Charles Morgan McIlhenny (1858 Philadelphia, PA – 1904)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA.

Spring Landscape

No Reviews

No. 310 John Dolph (1835 Fort Ann, NY – 1903 New York, NY)

Choice of Sword \$1500

Reviews: “No. 310, ‘Choice of a Sword,’ by J. H. Dolph of New York, is excellent in execution and tells its story admirably. It is not a lofty piece of idealization, but who sees it knows what it means.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 311 Miss S. C. Davis (unknown)

The Return from the Garden \$250

No Reviews

No. 312 Augustus G. Heaton (1844 Philadelphia, PA – 1931 Palm Beach, FL)

Training: EcBA, Paris, France (Alexandre Cabanel)

Bathing Hour at Trouville \$2500

Reviews: “We remarked the great attention paid to A.G. Heaton’s *Bathing Hour at Trouville*, though for ourselves we were at a loss to understand why it was so favored, unless that it illustrates the old saying: There is no accounting for tastes. While observing the crowd around this picture we saw another much more to our liking.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 24 February 1885.

No. 313 Mrs. Spofford (unknown)

Lilies

No Reviews

No. 314 Carl Christian Brenner (1838 Lauterecken, Germany -1888 Louisville, KY)

Training: Germany (Philip Frolog)

November Snow \$125

No Reviews

No. 315 Edgar J. Bissell (1856 Aurora, IL – 1928 St. Louis, MO)

Training: Paris, France (Boulanger, Lefebvre)

Contentment \$150

Reviews: “A canvas on the order of infinitesimal school is *Le Journal Amusante*, No. 315 by Edgar Julian Bissell. A Frenchman, spick and span, is seated in a café enjoying a column in the *Journal* along with his claret and seltzer. Bissell has taken great pains to draw à la mode the garments of the subject, not forgetting a crease or a bias or the seal ring or even the ornaments on the umbrella handle.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 3 March 1885.

No. 316 Jean-Baptiste Robie (1821 Brussels, Belgium – 1910 Saint-Gilles, Belgium)

Training: Belgium (Francois Tasson)

Flowers

No Reviews

No. 317 E. M. Howe (unknown)

Landscape

No Reviews

No. 318 After Carlo Dolci (1616-1687)

Ecce Homo Loaned by R. J. Menefee, Louisville, KY

No Reviews

No. 319 James Carroll Beckwith (1852 Hannibal, MO – 1917 New York City, NY)

Training: Paris, France (Carolus Duran); EcBA, Paris, France



Portrait of William Merritt Chase, 1881-1882. Oil on canvas, 78 x 38 in. Owner: Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift of Artist, Accession #10.8. Image provided by the Indianapolis Museum of Art.

Reviews: “No. 319 in the galleries is James Carroll Beckwith’s *Portrait of William Merritt Chase*. Of the artist W. M. Chase we all know much, his studio is among the wonders of New York City . . . with its objets d’ art, quaint jars, Egyptian pots, wood carvings, Venetian studies, Renaissance chests, Japanese robes and dainty slippers, musical instruments and rare old books.” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 26 February 1885.

No. 320 William T. Trego (1859 Bucks County PA – 1909 North Wales, PA)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Paris, France (Fleury, Bouguereau)

Bugler

No Reviews

No. 321 M. A. Fuller (unknown)

Too Utterly Utter

No Reviews

No. 322 Pierre Paul Hasenclever (unknown)

Cellar Bacchantes Loaned by H. Overstolz, St. Louis, MO

No Reviews

No. 323 Thomas Anshutz (1851 Newport, KY – 1912 Fort Washington, PA)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Paris, France (Doucet, Bouguereau)

The Courtin \$250

Reviews: “The Courting by Anshutz is an exceedingly clever rendering in color of James Russell Lowell’s little poem. One is struck by the simplicity of the rustic scene, with its rude appointments, by the native grace of the simple girl and the diffident beau who, metaphorically

hold his heart in his hand and is not sure but that he will have to keep on holding it.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 April 1885.

No. 324 Gustav von Cederstrom (1845 Stockholm, Sweden – 1933 Stockholm, Sweden)

Active Düsseldorf, Germany, Paris and Fontainebleau, France

Training: Paris, France (Léon Bonnat)

Dark Moments \$750

No Reviews

No. 325 Marie Christine Westfield Reid (unknown)

Melons \$100

No Reviews

No. 326 William Sartain (1843 Philadelphia, PA -1924 New York, NY)

Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Schussele); EcBA, Paris, France (Léon Bonnat)

New England Landscape \$350

“Sartain’s pictures are nature all through, not the mere flat surfaces of those monomaniacs the impressionists, nor the mere accurate transcriptions and irrational imitation of nature’s material conditions which characterizes the work of the pre-Raphaelites. In *New England Landscape* a quiet sky defines a line of firmly drawn trees and a pleasant foreground of green meadow.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 23 April 1885.

No. 327 C. B. Colman (unknown)

Near Dordrecht, Holland \$200

No Reviews

No. 328 Wesley Webber (1839 Gardiner, ME – 1914 Boston, MA)

Moonlight at Nahant \$200

No Reviews

No. 329 John Martin Tracy (1843 Rochester, OH – 1893 Ocean Springs, MS)

Training: EcBA, Paris, France

Jersey Cow and Calf \$200

No Reviews

No. 330 Sarah M. Barstow (unknown)

White Mountain Path \$150

No Reviews

No. 331 Frederick Stymetz Lamb (1863 New York -1928)

Training: ASL, New York, NY; Paris, France (Lefebvre, Boulanger, M. Millet)

Corner of an Old Garden \$150

No Reviews

No. 332 Eberhard Stammel (1833-1906)

The Marriage Party

No Reviews

No. 333 Oswald Achenbach (1827-1905)

Bay of Naples \$1500

No Reviews

No. 334 Mary Kollock (1840 Norfolk, VA – 1911)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Académie Julian, Paris, France

Summer on Roundout Creek \$500

No Reviews

No. 335 Frederick Meyer (1869-1922)

After the Church Festival \$875

No Reviews

No. 336 James William Pattison (1844 Boston, MA – 1915 Asheville, NC)

Good Morning \$750

No Reviews

No. 337 Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684 Valenciennes, France – 1721 Paris, France)

The Dance Loaned by Frank T. Robison, Boston

No Review

No. 338 Emily Maria Spaford Scott (1832 Springwater, NY – 1915 New York, NY)

Training: ASL, New York, NY; Paris, France

Roses

No Reviews

No. 339 James Carroll Beckwith (1852 Hannibal, MO – 1917 New York City, NY)

Training: Paris, France (Carolus Duran) EcBA, Paris, France

*Azalie*, 1882. \$400 Oil on canvas, 28 x 19 ¼ in. Owner: National Academy of Design.Illustrated in David B. Dearing, ed. *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design*, New York and Manchester: Hudson Hills Press, 2004, v. 1, pg. 36.

No Reviews

No. 340 Peter Moran (1841 Bolton, Great Britain -1914 Philadelphia, PA)

Labor

No Reviews

No. 341 Schmidt (unknown)

The Chess Players \$100

No Reviews

No. 342 Frank Bromley (1860-1890)

After the Storm, Devonshire, England \$2500

Reviews: "Mr. F.C. Bromley, the distinguished artist, and his wife are for a few days visitors to the city. Mr. Bromley we all know through his genius and its visible instrument, his brain. Never has painter more truthfully pictured rocks impregnable and stalwart amid the pouring waters than Mr. Bromley has in his *After the Storm*. A work so far beyond criticism that even the most damning of picture reviewers grow enthusiastic over it." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885. "Frank C. Bromley's *After the Storm* coast of Devonshire England is a truly great work, showing marked breadth of purpose and sincerity of execution. Old England's coast, whose rocky shore best back the envious tide never for a good propounding fell into surer hands never was the jasper sea more enrapturing. As she breaks against the black and weather beaten rocks we are carried in imagination back to those ages without record, when those bold forms were wrought out by the Creative mind, and we feel ourselves akin to elder forces. One most perforce grow enthusiastic over the picture, it may so worthily mark an epoch in American art. We have seen water roll on in its deep, impenetrable way, but never with more liquid qualities." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 343 Thomas Addison Richards (1820 London, Great Britain – 1900 Annapolis, MD)

Training: NAD, New York, NY

Anne Hathaway's Cottage, Shottery, England \$200

No Reviews

No. 344 Theodor Thurneysen (unknown)

Horses at Pasture \$600

No Reviews

No. 345 Byford Leonard (unknown)

Hounds

No Reviews

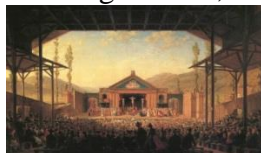
No. 346 Carl Mueller (unknown)

Virgin and Child \$700 Frank T. Robison, Boston

No Reviews

No. 347 Edward Lamson Henry (1841 Charleston, SC -1919 Ellenville, NY)

Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Paris, France (Charles Gleyre, Gustave Courbet)



Passion Play, Oberammergau, 1872. \$400 Oil on canvas, 20 9/16 x 34 3/4 in. Owner: Santa Barbara Museum of Art. Anonymous gift. 61.11. The Santa Barbara Museum of Art has no

record of this painting being exhibited in New Orleans. It is, however, the only painting of Henry's 488 known works with this title. Illustrated in Katharina and Gerhard Bott, et al, *Vice Versa: Deutsche Maler in Amerika/Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland, 1813-1913*, Berlin, Germany: Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, 1996, Fig. 98, pg. 417.

No Reviews

No. 348 Charles E. Tripler (unknown)

The Good and the Evil \$200

No Reviews

No. 349 Edmond De Pratere (1826 Courtrai, Belgium – 1888 Ixelles, Belgium)

Brewery Team

Reviews: "People who like pictures of animals will find a fine lot of sheep, by Eugene Verboecken, and two capital things in donkeys by E. de Pratere." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune* 23 February 1885. "Edmond de Pratere's Au Boeddu Chenal a Nieuport. A Group of donkeys are having a family gathering. From their very serious expressions one may infer the importance of the subject under discussion. The dark member of the family is evidently giving the dissenting voice. There is little more picturesque than the coat of the long-eared animal, so inviting to a vigorous touch. Thus it is common opinion that the ruggedness of the subject makes it one to be readily handled—that by fling a pot of paint on a canvas it will result in a lively donkey. Now we won't deny this in toto, though we stoutly maintain the donkey is not apt to be on the canvas. The painter gives a very real foreground with the field daisies and snake grass mirrored in little pools of water and from the distance we see the plodding now coming slowly up to investigate the matter. The second canvas, by Edmond de Pratere, handles the same subject, introducing two donkeys waiting for their riders. As we stand before these two homely be bridled beast in their shaggy coats, with that peculiar nil admirari look that find its fullest expression in a donkey's eye, we feel sure we three may hope to meet again. Aye, often." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 350 C.T. Weber (unknown)

Don't You know me Mena?

No Reviews

No. 351 C.T. Weber (unknown)

Morning in the Catskills

No Reviews

No. 352 S. R. MacKnight (unknown)

Castles in Spain \$125

No Reviews

No. 353 Francis David Millet (1846 Mattapoisett, MA – 1912 lost at sea, the Titanic)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium

A Spring Offering \$500

No Reviews

No. 354 Charles H. Miller (1842 New York – 1922 New York, NY)

Training: Munich, Germany (Adolf Lier)



The Old Mill \$375 . Illustrated in S. G. W. Benjamin's *Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch*, New York, 1881, pg. 193.

No Reviews

No. 355 Edgar Melville Ward (1839 Ohio – 1915 New York City, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; Paris, France

The Tobacco Field \$800

Reviews: "Who can look at Ward's Tobacco Field and help wondering if the painter ever saw a negro? Such prodigies of long legs and spindling shanks as he pictures them, with not a bit of motion or industry about them?" New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 9 May 1885.

No. 356 Warren Sheppard (1858 Greenwich, NJ – 1937 Brooklyn, NY)

A Moonlight Cruise on the Montauk Loaned by Samuel R. Platt, New York

No Reviews

No. 357 George Willoughby Maynard (1843 Washington, D. C. – 1923 New York, NY)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium

Aurora

No Reviews

No. 358 Cornelia Conant (unknown, American painter exhibited 1863-1890)

Feeding the Doves

No Reviews

No. 359 George Inness (1825 Newburgh, NY-1894 Bridge of Allan, Scotland)

Training: Régis Gignoux

Morning \$400

No Reviews

No. 360 William Merritt Chase (1849 Franklin, IN – 1916 New York, NY)

Training: Indianapolis, IN (B. F. Hayes); NAD, New York, NY; Munich, Germany (Alexander Wagner, Karl von Piloty)



The Smoker/Portrait of Frank Duveneck, 1875. Properties unknown, the image is known only through an etching made of the painting by William Unger in 1880. Illustrated in Ronald K.

Pisano, *William Merritt Chase, The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase* (1849-1916. Vol. 2 Portraits in Oil. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006. v. 2, pg. 12, Cat. #OP.30, pg. 12.

Reviews: "W. M. Chase gives us, in his exceedingly broad manner, his *The Smoker*. A gray trousered, gray coated, gray hatted youth, seated in a brownish chair, with brownish upholstery against a brownish background and resting on a brownish floor. The only bit of color is a suggestion of blue in the eye of the youth and nearly lifeless coal in a pipe which he indifferently smokes. The figure may be strong in drawing, but the chair is responsible for the greater portion of it. Of W. M. Chase we all know much. Among the wonders of New York City is his superb studio with its objets d'art, quaint jars, Egyptian pots, wood carvings, Venetian studies, renaissance chests, Japanese robes and dainty slippers, musical instruments and rare old books. That he made remarkable studies of Velasquez; that he has done much that is good, that he gives the impetus to the method of the Art Students League we all know. He was a pupil of Wagner and Piloty, those Munich masters, of whom Henri Taim says: They regard the idea as principal and execution as secondary, the master conceiving, the pupil painting. They are wholly philosophical and aim to excite the spectator to reflect on some great moral or social verity. Chase's fellow artists accord him freedom from mannerism or individual trick. Still it seems to us many of the canvases turned out of his studio are characterized to an exaggerated degree by a most personal mannerism. Can it be that the painter has so entirely the courage of his own convictions that he allows himself to be carried away by them into all sorts of carelessness in execution and remoteness in selection of subjects? Many of Chase's pictures are mere sketches—sketches it is true, full of élan, and almost incomparable. But a sketch, whilst it may be full of good things, cannot command a permanent place in a maturely conceived and truthfully executed pictures as of a Munkacsy or some even of our own artists." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 26 February 1885.

No. 361 C.T. Weber (unknown)

Sworn Off

No Reviews

No. 362 John Martin Tracy (1844 Rochester, OH -1893 Ocean Springs, MS)

Training: EcBA, Paris, France

A Staunch Point \$200

No Reviews

No. 363 L. Thompson (unknown)

Calves

Reviews: "It would be hard to tell whether L. Thompson's work is more a travesty on a calf or on modern art. The painter has flung a lot of green paint, but no nature, on a small canvas; not that we complain of its meager proportions; indeed if it should continue growing small by degrees and beautifully less until it became a speck invisible, our soul would not the less set her down in a sweet content. Oh for a sincerity in art that shall give us even an elaborate lifelessness rather than such careless nothingness." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 28 March 1885.

No. 364 Emily Sartain(1841 Philadelphia, PA -1927 Philadelphia, PA)

Training: Philadelphia, PA (John Sartain, her father); PAFA, Philadelphia, PA (Christian Schussele); Paris (Evariste Vital Luminais)



Marie, 1881. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 in. Owner: Moore College of Art and Design Permanent Collection. Illustrated in Rydell and Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City*, 313.
No Reviews

No. 365 J. M. Stone (1841 Dana, MA - 1930)
Training: Boston, MA; Munich, Germany
The Last Hitching Post \$500
No Reviews

No. 366 C. T. Webber (unknown)
Blue Monday
No Reviews

No. 367 Antonio Mancini (1852-1930, Italian)
Storm
No Reviews

No. 368 Frank Moss (unknown)
Cardinal's Snuff Box \$300
No Reviews

No. 369 E. M. Burns (unknown)
Peonies \$75
No Reviews

No. 370 Albert Bierstadt (1830 Solingen, Prussia -1902 New York City, NY)
Training: Düsseldorf, Germany (Emanuel Leutze)
Sunset \$500
No Reviews

No. 371 Rowell Morse Shurtleff (1838 Ridge, NH – 1915 New York City, NY)
Training: NAD, New York, NY
A Shady Nook \$200
No Reviews

No. 372 Charles Albert Fiske (1837 Maine – 1915 Greenwich, CT)
Landscape and Cattle \$200
No Reviews

No. 373 Jacob Wagner (1855-1898)
An Unpardonable Offense \$150
 No Reviews

No. 374 Emily Noyes (Vanderpoel) (1842-1939)
Roses
 No Reviews

No. 375 Sanford Gifford (1823 Greenfield, NY – 1880 New York City, NY)
 Training: NAD, New York City, NY



Mt. Mansfield, 1858. \$175 American Art Association. Oil on canvas. 7 x 14 in. Current owner: The George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, Springfield, Massachusetts. Illustrated in Dean Flowers and Francis Murphy, *A Catalogue of American Paintings, Water Colors and Drawings in the George Vincent Smith Art Museum*, Springfield, Massachusetts: George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, 1976, pg. 44.
 No Reviews

No. 376 Mary Kollock (1840 Norfolk, VA – 1911 Elizabethtown, NY)
 Training: PAFA, Philadelphia, PA; Académie Julian, Paris, France
A Quiet Sunday Morning \$150
 No Reviews

No. 377 Ralph Albert Blakelock (1847 New York, NY – 1919 Elizabethtown, NY)
Landscape, Morning \$650
 No Reviews

No. 378 Andrew John Henry Way (1826 Washington, D.C. – 1888 Baltimore, MD)
 Training: Cincinnati, OH (John P. Frankenstein); Baltimore, MD (Alfred J. Miller)
A Wealth of Purple Glory. \$175
 No Reviews

No. 379 Andrew John Henry Way (1826 Washington, D.C. – 1888 Baltimore, MD)
 Training: Cincinnati, OH (John P. Frankenstein); Baltimore, MD (Alfred J. Miller)
The Golden Pride of Alexandria \$175
 No Reviews

No. 380 L. Kords (unknown)
Peonies \$200
 No Reviews

No. 381 Jose Maria Velasco (1840 Temascalcingo, Mexico – 1912 Mexico City, Mexico)
 Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico (Pelegrín Clavé, Eugenio Landesio)



Valley of Mexico, 1875. Oil on canvas, 12 x 19 in. Owner: Narodni Muzeum, Prague.
 Illustrated in Fausto Ramirez, ed. *José María Velasco: Homenaje*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986, pg. 102.

Reviews: “A fine landscape of the Valley of Mexico by J. M. Velasco is about the only landscape in the collection, [Mexican] but it is rich in color and excellent in perspective. The painting was also exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 382 Luis Cato (unknown, Mexican Gallery)
The King's Mill
 No Review

No. 383 Luis Cato (unknown, Mexican Gallery)
The Ravine Metlac
 No Reviews

No. 384 Gonzalo Carrasco (1859-1936, Mexican Gallery)
Job
 No Reviews

No. 385 Gonzalo Carrasco (1859-1936, Mexican Gallery)
Landscape
 No Reviews

No. 386 Gonzalo Carrasco (1859-1936, Mexican Gallery)
Woodlands of Chapultepec
 No Reviews

No. 387 Felipe Ocadiz (unknown, Mexican Gallery)
Marguerite

Reviews: “There are two pictures in the collection [Mexico's] which are decided departures from the general style and deserve marked attention. One is Faust's Marguerite, praying at night before the Virgin's shrine. It is by Felipe Ocadiz, and is a study in blue. Marguerite is a blue-eyed fair-haired girl, clad in . . . [unreadable] She kneels before the Virgin illuminated by the flame of a single lamp . . . [unreadable] nimbus or golden haze around the Virgin, while the fair penitent barely has her forehead illuminated. The moon is rising outside from a clear night sky fills the chapel with a weird blue light, in the gloom of which the poor girl makes her prayer.”

New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "Faust's Marguerite is apparently a favorite subject with painters in all countries. There are four of them in the collections. Marguerite praying before the Virgin's shrine is in the Mexican Gallery." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885. "Neither of these essays [on Hyneman's and Richter's Marguerites] to present the ill-starred spinner can equal No. 387, Marguerite praying at the Virgin's shrine, by Felipe Ocadiz, in the Mexican collection. It is a picture full of merit and comes very near to a proper idea of the personage who has been better painted by Ary Scheffer than by any other." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 29 March 1885.

No. 388 José María Ibarrarán Ponce (1854-1910, Mexican Gallery)



A Martyr in Prison, 1877. Oil on canvas, 81 x 56 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Inv. 211. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>

Reviews: "Jose Ibarraran exhibits a Martyr in Prison in the cold empty room is the sleeping figure of the martyr. His feet are galled with the iron shackles, above him scratched into the wall are the words Jesus Christus Vita Mea Est." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 9 March 1885

No. 389 José María Ibarrarán Ponce (1854-1910, Mexican Gallery)

The Poplars of Tlaxpana

No Reviews

No. 390 José María Ibarrarán Ponce (1854-1910, Mexican Gallery)

The Life of the Martyr

No Reviews

No. 391 José María Ibarrarán Ponce (1854-1910, Mexican Gallery)

Landscape

No Reviews

No. 392 Carlos Rivera (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

The Court off the Royal Hospital

No Reviews

No. 393 Antonio Bercerra (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Death of Achas

No Reviews

No. 394 Pablo Valdez/Valdes (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Ishmael

No Reviews

No. 395 Manuel Ocaranza (1841-1882, Mexican Gallery)
Cupid Destroying a Flower
 No Reviews

No. 396 Manuel Ocaranza (1841-1882, Mexican Gallery)
Landscape
 No Reviews

No. 397 Manuel Ocaranza (1841-1882, Mexican Gallery)
Landscape
 No Reviews

No. 398 Manuel Ocaranza (1841-1882, Mexican Gallery)
A Patio of the Royal Hospital
 No Reviews

No. 399 Manuel Ocaranza (1841-1882, Mexican Gallery)
Patio
 No Reviews

No. 400 Joaquín Ramírez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)
The Israelites in the Desert
 No Reviews

No. 401 Ramón Sagredo (unknown, Mexican Gallery)



The Death of Socrates, 1858. Oil on canvas, 52 x 66 in. Museo de Arte, Mexico City. Inv. 96.
 Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>
 Reviews: "The Death of Socrates represents Athenian philosopher in the presence of his pupils with the deadly bowl of hemlock in his hands. The canvas is not devoid of compositional merits. The draperies are at best conventional in their textural folds." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 19 March 1885.

No. 402 Luis Monroy (unknown, Mexican Gallery)



The Prodigal Son, 1869. Oil on canvas, 69 x 46 in. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, inventory # 181. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>
 No Reviews

No. 403 Tiburcio Sanchez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Sappho

No Reviews

No. 404 Luis Monroy (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Charity

No Reviews

No. 405 Joaquín Ramírez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)



Moses, 1856. Oil on canvas, 99 x 79 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Inv. 1090. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>

No Reviews

No. 406 Rafael Flores (19th century, Mexican Gallery)

Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico



The Holy Family, 1857. Oil on canvas, 95 ¼ in. x 65 ¾ in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte. Illustrated in Widdifield, Staci G. *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996, pg. 53, no. 6.

Reviews: “The Holy Family in spite of the very high esteem in which it is held by the Mexicans, is of the least interest. It is full of heavy and short-limbed figures and conventional treatment.”

New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 19 March 1885.

No. 407 Juan Urruchi (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Marsyas Olmpus

No Reviews

No. 408 Juan Manchola (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Eneas Saving His Father

No Reviews

No. 409 Félix Parra (1845 Morelia, Mexico – 1919 Mexico City, Mexico)

Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico



An Episode from the Conquest AKA *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 141 in. x 106 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, Mexico, inv. 198. Illustrated in Stacie Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996, color plate 20.

Reviews: "The most original and striking picture in the whole collection [Mexico's collection] is a characteristic Mexican scene. It shows the porch of an ancient Aztec temple sculptured in grotesque style and flanked by strange and monstrous carven idols, all in white stone. On the steps lies extended an Aztec chief, fainting from wounds and exhaustion. Over him, with crucifix raised and hands uplifted, stands a Spanish priest, protecting the fallen man from the attacks of the Spanish soldiers, while an Aztec woman, the wife or lover of the chief, clings to the priest's feet, beseeching him to save her loved one. The figures are very fine, the expressions of the faces are magnificent, and the entire scene is powerfully executed. The painter is Felix Parra." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "The crowning expression of Mexican art is by Felix Parra, of the newest school of Mexican art. It represents an episode of the conquest of Mexico, when the Aztecs, beaten by the victorious Spaniards, flee for sanctuary to one of their temples. A grotesque idol stands in the vestibule, helpless to guard his altars, while the characteristic sculpture on the marble façade tells of the strange art as well as the strange religion of a people of the New World in many respects more civilized than the white men who destroyed them. An Aztec Chief lies dead on the portico of the violated fane, while a dusky woman has thrown herself on the steps and clings to the feet of a Spanish priest, Las Casas, who, with crucifix advanced, and face uplifted, prayed to heaven for help for the beleaguered natives, while he commands his countrymen to desist from the bloody work. The picture is conceived with a high sense of the majesty and force of the subject and is painted with great truth and feeling. It glows with genius and even in the technical treatment is full of originality." *New Orleans Daily - Picayune*, 22 March 1885. "The last picture we will mention today in this collection is "El Padre las Casas," by F. Parra, 1875. The conquerors of Mexico won for themselves a melancholy celebrity as much for their cruelties to the native Indians as by the brilliancy of their exploits. This subject has been masterfully handled by F. Parra. El Padre stands in the doorway of an Indian house clad in his coarse white gown and brown cloak. His hands are crossed over his ample breast: in one he holds the crucifix. His venerable head is uplifted, and his eyes full of compassion for an oppressed people. At his feet lies the dead body of an Indian victim in full foreshortened position, the hideous blood flowing from a wound in the head, courses in its crimson track through the grooves and patterns of the stone work on the steps. On the other side of El Padre, in crouching agony, is an Indian woman, clasping with her arms the body of El Padre, for her people. She makes supplications. The walls of the house are sculptured after the Egyptian manner. This sculpture, so frequent among the Aztecs, denotes, as Prescott asserts, a lesser knowledge of anaglyphs, hieroglyphs and sculptured forms among the people than was possessed by the Egyptians. On a pedestal yet stands the household god with its grotesque caricature of the human figure. A wreath of sacred flowers, the yellow zempascuchtl and the white florifundio, remain as the last act of homage to the god of stone. The broken pillars and

shattered walls tell the story of devastation meted out to the Indians. In the figure of the woman the face is bowed upon the bosom, hid from the gaze of the viewer, an exquisite judgment on the part of the painter, as he thus avoids the repetition of the expression of suffering necessary to such a face. The picture as a whole is superb in drawing, especially the heads and the feet are full of anatomical niceties. We see the dirt on the feet of the woman, temporary despoiler of their pure state. The texture of the garments, the admirable catching and fixing of shadows, the excellent gradation in color makes the picture worthy of long and repeated study.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 February 1885. “Of Parra’s grand work, *El Padre las Casas*, too much cannot be said. It outranks every figure piece in this collection, through its masterly conception, its admirable composition and its color contrasts.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 19 March 1885.

No. 410 Tiburcio Sanchez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Portrait of Porfirio Diaz

No Reviews

No. 411 Joaquín Ramírez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Portrait

No Reviews

No. 412 Petronillo Monroy (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

The Marys at the Tomb

No Reviews

No. 413 José Obregón (1832-1902, Mexican Gallery)

Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico



The Young Colonist AKA *The Inspiration of Christopher Columbus*, 1856. Oil on canvas, 58 x 42 in. Inventory, 82. Owner: Museo Nacional De Arte, Mexico City. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>

No Reviews

No. 414 Rodrigo Gutiérrez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Fall of the Rebel Angels

No Reviews

No. 415 Rodrigo Gutiérrez (1848 San Luis Potosi, Mexico – 1903 Mexico City, Mexico)

Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico (Pelegrín Clavé)



Bacchus and Ariadne, 1873. Oil on canvas, 55 x 69 ½ in. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, Mexico. Illustrated in Staci Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996, pg. 128, no. 30.

No Reviews

No. 416 Santiago Rebull (1829 Mexico City, Mexico – 1902 Mexico City, Mexico)

Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico (Pelegrín Clavé)

Moses

No Reviews

No. 417 Pelegrín Clavé (1810 Barcelona, Spain – 1880 Barcelona, Spain, Mexican Gallery)

Training: Madrid, Spain, Rome, Italy

Portrait

No Reviews

No. 418 Miguel Mata (1814 – 1876, Mexican Gallery)

Portrait

No Reviews

No. 419 Juan Cordero (1824 Teziutlán, Mexico – 1884 Mexico City, Mexico)

Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico (Miguel Mata); Academy of St. Luke, Rome, Italy (Natale Carta)



Portrait of Two Young Mexican Sculptors, 1847. Oil on canvas, 42 x 33 in. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Inv. 1906. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>

No Reviews

No. 420 Rafael Ximeno y Plano (1759-1825, Mexican Gallery)

The Virgin

No Reviews

No. 421 Rafael Ximeno y Plano (1759-1825, Mexican Gallery)

Calvary

No Reviews

No. 422 Juan Cordero (1824 Teziutlán, Mexico – 1884 Mexico City, Mexico)
 Training: Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City, Mexico (Miguel Mata); Academy of St. Luke,
 Rome, Italy (Natale Carta)

The Annunciation

No Reviews

No. 423 Primitivo Miranda (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

Death of Abel

No Reviews

No. 424 Miguel Carrera (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

St. Anselmo

No Reviews

No. 425 Miguel Carrera (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

St. Bernard

No Reviews

No. 426 Nicolás Rodríguez Juárez (1667 Mexico City, Mexico -1734 Mexico City, Mexico)

Child's Portrait

No Reviews

No. 427 José María Vázquez (1765- ?, active until 1826, Mexican Gallery)

Tobias

No Reviews

No. 428 Jose de Ibarra (1688 Guadalajara, Mexico – 1756 Mexico Gallery)

Circumcision

No Reviews

No. 429 Francesco Martinez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

St. Luke

No Reviews

No. 430 Francesco Martinez (unknown, Mexican Gallery)

St. Mark

No Reviews

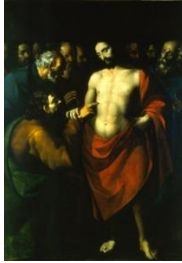
No. 431 Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675 Mexico City, Mexico – 1728 Mexico City, Mexico)



The Duke of Linares, 18th Century. Oil on canvas, 82 x 50 in. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, Mexico. Inv. 3180. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>
No Reviews

No. 432 Christóbal Villalpando (1650-1714, Mexican Gallery)
Fall of the Rebel Angels
No Reviews

No. 433 Sebastian López de Arteaga (1610 Seville, Spain – 1652 Mexico City, Mexico)



St. Thomas, 17th Century. Oil on canvas, 88 x 61 in. Owner: Museo de Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, Mexico. Inv. # 3129. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>
Reviews: “The third and best canvas belonging to the same period, by Sebastian de Arteaya represents our Savior after the Resurrection with his disciples, whilst Thomas doubting except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails and thrust my hand into the side I will not believe, thrusts his hand into the Savior’s side. A rendering of our Lord can only at best reveal to us a Godlike human form so when the artist discovered to us in this countenance a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief he did all that man may. Time has much embrowned this canvas, originally interpreted in somber colors, but there yet remains a superb play of light and shadow.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 February 1885.

No. 434 José Juárez (1619 Mexico City, Mexico – 1662 Mexico City, Mexico)



The Apparition of the Virgin to St. Francis. Oil on canvas, 104 x 113 in. Owner: Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City. Inv 3115. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>
No Reviews

No. 435 Baltasar de Echave Orio (ca. 1558 – ca. 1620 Mexico City, Mexico)



The Adoration of the Infant Jesus 17th Century. Owner: Museo de Nacional de Arte, Mexico City, inv. # 3149. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>

Reviews: “No. 435, Adoration of the Infant Jesus by Balthasar de Echave Orio deserves attention. Before us is the entrance to the manger. She who had kept all the things in the least affecting the little one, and pondered them in the heart held the child up in the light saying, He is my son. We see the kings and the wise men, who have beheld lo in the East a dark speck on the desert, through the hills of Judaea until they stop before the young child to worship him, laying before him, rich gifts, and abating nothing of the worshipful speeches. In the Ramis and the Aba, the outer garments, rich in stuffs and embroideries, we note the arduous work of the painter. Mary’s face was a touch of infinite purity, of infinite tenderness, whilst the child is but as other children. The picture is strongly characterized by the reverence and religious inspiration of the Italian school.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 436 Luis Juárez (1558 – 1638, Mexico City, Mexico)

The Nativity

No Reviews

No. 437 José Salomé Pina (1830 Mexico City, Mexico – 1909 Mexico City, Mexico)

The Education of the Virgin

No Reviews

No. 438 José Salomé Pina (1830 Mexico City, Mexico – 1909 Mexico City, Mexico)



Abraham and Isaac, 1856. Oil on canvas, 76 x 57 in. Owner: Museo de Nacional Arte, Mexico City, Mexico. Inv. 70. Image from their website: <http://munal.mx/munal/>

No Reviews

No. 439 Agnes Dean Abbatt (1847-1917)

Training: Cooper Union and NAD, New York, New York

Early Summer \$165

No Reviews

No. 440 Adam Lehr (1853 Cleveland, OH - 1924)

Game Studies \$100

No Reviews

No. 441 Henry Grant Plumb (1847 Sherburne, NY – 1930 New York City, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; EcBA, Paris, France (Gérôme)

Little Jack Horner \$150

No Reviews

No. 442 Caroline Cranch (1853 -1931)

Training: Christopher Pearce Cranch, father; Cooper Union, New York City, NY

A Portrait

No Reviews

No. 443 William Formby Hansall (1841 Kirkdale, England – 1919 Provincetown, MA)

Training: Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass.

Niagara

No Reviews

No. 444 Adam Lehr (1853 Cleveland, OH – 1924)

Game Studies \$100

No Reviews

No. 445 Lizzie Boyce (unknown)

Marigolds \$45

No Reviews

No. 446 Louis Gallait (1810 Tournai, Belgium – 1887 Brussels, Belgium)

Training: Philippe Auguste Hennequin, French; Ary Scheffer, Dutch

Massacre St. Bartholomew \$1500

No Reviews

No. 447 George E. Hopkins (1855 Covington, KY - active in the 1880s)

A Court at Cioggia, Italy \$125

No Reviews

No. 448 Helen Mary Knowlton (1832 Littleton, MA– 1918 Needham, MA)

Training: Boston, MA (William Morris Hunt)

Glen Woods, NH \$150

No Reviews

No. 449 John M. Falconer (1820 Edinburgh, Scotland – 1903 New York, NY)

New Jersey Barn \$150

No Reviews

No. 450 Charles Baugniet (1814-1886, Belgian Gallery)

Solicitude

No Reviews

No. 451 J. Van Leuppen (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Overflowed Forests

No Reviews

No. 452 Baron Léon Frédéric (1856-1940, Belgian Gallery)



The Chalk Merchants, 1881-1883 from the triptych, *The Chalk Sellers*, 1881-1883. Owner: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels. See also 453, 544. Central panel, 6 ft. 8 in. x 8 ft. 11 in., side panels 80 x 46 in. Illustrated in Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, *19th-Century Art*, Revised and Updated, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005, fig. 411, pg. 424.

Reviews: “Nos. 452, 453, and 544, by Frederick Leon, of Brussels, entitled ‘The Chalk Carriers,’ are excellent examples of commonplace realism. Two of them represent a family of man, woman and children, with baskets of chalk on their backs trudging to market. The figures are of life size, and represent, one a view of the group advancing to the front, and the other shows the same persons retiring to the rear, while the third tableau represents the group seated on the ground at a homely wayside lunch. Nothing could be better done than the drawing, while every detail is wrought out with painful accuracy. The perspective in the landscape is entirely correct and the coloring is well adapted to the subject, but the theme is commonplace in the extreme and the wonder is that a painter of such ability in execution would have spent time and talents on such bulky and unpleasing tableaux.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 27 April 1885. “Fredericks’ The Chalk Carriers are conspicuous rather than interesting, the group of three occupying a goodly amount of space that it would have been possible to fill with something better. The central picture of the group represents a family of chalk vendors. The picture throughout is cold in tone and manifestly unfelt. The figure drawing is at best without grace, and all in all we find ourselves face to face with the most unattractive soapless poverty imaginable. Three great ugly pictures are all evolved from a disturbed apprehension of what is either perspectively true or pleasing. Such enormities against the force of gravitation as are to be found in these pictures and a very few others in the gallery are quite beyond all patience since the days of Newton. Granting these painters aim at a mere studio scheme of color, then the figures are necessarily expected to be the considered and considerable features of the picture. But when the picture is obvious of a hill, and a hill inclines at 45 degrees it is much more harrowing to a spectator to see figures a standing upright on it than it would be if they followed the laws of accelerate motion and topple on their faces.” New Orleans *Time-Democrat*, 31 March 1885.

No. 453 Baron Léon Frédéric (1856-1940, Belgian Gallery)

The Chalk Carriers, 1881-1883 from the triptych, *The Chalk Sellers*, 1881-1883. See No. 452

Reviews: See No. 452

No. 454 Cornelius Van Leemputten (1841 - 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Sheep in the Stable

Reviews: "Con Van Lemputten, as a painter of sheep, approaches very nearly his great contemporary, Verboeckhaven. He is represented by two pieces in the Belgian gallery. Sheep on the Downs and Sheep in the Stable. In the first the painter gathers his flock near high noon on the downs, and places their little keeper hard by with his staff and dog to watch over them. The down has many a bare spot, giving evidence of its popularity with the herbivorous tribes. A few clumps of the furse it is little before primrose time mingles with the scanty grass, and the spruce pines look very strong against the cold, blue sky, which is so full of white cirri. The entire picture is painted in a low color key, but well considered throughout. The second canvas by Lemputten is if possible more pleasing than the first. There are some such admirable effects of light one is quite lost in admiration of them. The painter in making his sheep manifest their sheep nature has not cared to slight their surroundings the bearded close, the hayrick, where two of the wooley creatures are having what is better to them than a feast of reason, the pail of water and intruding hen are truthfully put before us. Through an outer opening into the stable true daylight streams in, throwing that side of the wall, its chinks and the sleepers in the upper flooring all in absolute light. There is something very buoyant in Lemputten's brush as if he was not merely repeating an old song, an objection which may be sometimes brought even against such masters among sheep as Verboeckhaven." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 28 March 1885.

No. 455 Frederic Tschaggeny (1851 - 1921, Belgian Gallery)

Wild Flowers

No Reviews

No. 456 Miss Marie Collart (1842 - 1911, Belgian Gallery)

A Cottage

No Reviews

No. 457 M. Paulin (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Interior

No Reviews

No. 458 Léon Becker (1826 Brussels, Belgium – 1909 Brussels, Belgium)

A Messenger of Love

No Reviews

No. 459 Frans Van Leemputten (1850-1914, Belgian Gallery)

Beet Roots

No Reviews

No. 460 Theodore Verstraete (1850 Ghent, Belgium -1907 Antwerp, Belgium)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium (Jacob Jacobs)

The Edge of the Woods

No Reviews

No. 461 Gustave Vanaise (1854 - 1902, Belgian Gallery)

A Mother
No Reviews

No. 462 Joseph Stallaert (1825 - 1903, Belgian Gallery)
The Doves
No Reviews

No. 463 Gustave Vanaise (1854 - 1902, Belgian Gallery)
Boy and Pigeon

Reviews: "In the Belgian room there is but one naked figure, and that is No. 463, Boy and Pigeon by G. Vanaise, of Ghent, showing a bony, angular, naked boy reclining in an ungraceful attitude against a yellow curtain, and playing with a bird. The picture is destitute of expression, trivial in conception and in every sense ugly. Nudity can have but one thing to recommend it, either in sculpture or pictorial art, and this in the first place beauty, and in the second some obvious reason for the nudity, but beauty of form will always excuse any want of cause or excuse for being undraped on canvas or in marble. To make an ugly naked figure is an unpardonable sin in true art. The human form as the repository and outward manifestation of human intellect and the embodiment of human passions as a subject for artistic delineation stands preeminent." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885. "In Gustave Vanaise's Gamin and Pigeon we in vain look for the raison d'être why a dirty little gamin should be reclined on a glaring yellow satin-or satin at all—drapery with a pigeon that looks more like the carved ornaments on a ship's prop, is hard to discern. We look in vain for a single excellence or even a good quality in the entire canvas. The figure drawing is entirely without relief, the flesh tones are muddy, the boy looking hardly more like life than the toneless frescoed child on the background. The picture is unredeemably stupid." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 464 Gustave Walckiers (1831 Brussels, Belgium – 1891 Brussels, Belgium)
Royal Street Brussels
No Reviews

No. 465 J. E. Vandenbussche (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
Place de la Guillotine, Paris
No Reviews

No. 466 Conmtesse Villermont (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
Spring
No Reviews

No. 467 Asselberghs (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
Pool Near Brussels
No Reviews

No. 468 Edgar Farasyn (1858 – 1938, Belgian Gallery)
Drawing Lesson

Reviews: "In the Belgian gallery there is such a masterfully handled group of little folks one would no pass them by. It is from the brush of E. Farasyn and is entitled the Drawing Lesson. In

a room rich in Persian carpet, tiger skins, carved furniture and objects of art, sit five little girls drawing from a study of house palms. Three of the five little maiden are diligent students, while the others, two roguish little blondes make of themselves self-imposed critics, and are chattering like magpies. It is an exceedingly graceful piece of composition, full of color feeling, admirable in the various conceptions of the little misses, from the dignity of the eldest to the merry little blondes who have still to learn life in earnest. Farasyn has displayed his taste in textured discrimination and in disposition of light. The picture is decidedly good.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 14 March 1885.

No. 469 E. Slingenyer (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

A Roman Type

No Reviews

No. 470 Gustave Vanaise (1854 - 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Reverie

No Reviews

No. 471 Edmond de Pratere (1826 Courtrai, Belgium – 1888 Ixelles, Belgium)

Gathering for the Chase

Reviews: See No. 349

No. 472 J. E. Vandenbussche (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Retreat from Moscow

No Reviews

No. 473 Francois Joseph Huygens (1820 – 1908, Belgian Gallery)

Hawthorn

No Reviews

No. 474 Evariste Carpentier (1845 – 1922, Belgian Gallery)

The Tempter

No Reviews

No. 475 Jenny Montigny (1875-1937, Belgian Gallery)

The Surprise

No Reviews

No. 476 Juliette Trullemans (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Flowers and Fruit

No Reviews

No. 477 A. Hennebie (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Church Stairway Rome

No Reviews

No. 478 Eugène Joseph Verboeckhoven (1798-1881, Belgian Gallery)

Training: Balthazar Paul Ommeganck, Flemish
Flock of Sheep.

Reviews: "Of Eugene Joseph Verboeckhoven is contributed an inimitable sheep fold. The works of no painter are better known, both in Europe and America, than those of Verboeckhoven. As a cattle painter, and especially a painter of sheep, he ranks preeminent. Verboeckhoven was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, of the Orders of Leopold of Belgium and Michael of Bavaria and Christ of Portugal. He was decorated with the Iron Cross and was a member of the Belgium, Antwerp and St. Petersburg Academies. Verboeckhoven had escaped the pernicious influence of the go as you please school that school which puts you off at a long range to discover a field daisy, in what at shorter distance looked very like a whale or something as broad." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 479 D. De Reghel (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
Corner in a Flower Market
 No Reviews

No. 480 Gustave Walckiers (1831 Brussels, Belgium – 1891 Brussels, Belgium)
Church of Auswyck
 No Reviews

No. 481 A. Hennebie (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
An Art Auction
 No Reviews

No. 482 L. Bullerkotten (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
In Flanders
 No Reviews

No. 483 Théodore Gerard (1829 - 1895, Belgian Gallery)
A Questionable Likeness
 Reviews: "A small interior in this gallery which again is a little out of the ordinary range of the eye, is the Questionable Likeness by Gerard. It represents an old peasant woman, seated by an open casement, looking at a photograph. Her young granddaughter standing near her is earnestly interested over the result of the inspection. The feature of the picture, beyond question is the really superb effect of sunlight coming in through the casement, caught on the folds of the girl's cotton kirtle and brightly shining along the board floor. This sunlight is not accomplished by a mere trick of legerdemain, but by a careful considering of the nature of such light and by careful gradations in its vanishing tones. Burke in his lectures on the sublime and beautiful says such a light as that of the sun immediately exerted on the eye as it overpowers the sense is a very great idea. Besides this nice insistence of sunlight the figures are good in pose, the motif however is a little insufficient. It suggests dramatic interests, but does not work out the suggestion." New Orleans, *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 484 Marguerite Stroobant (unknown, Belgian Gallery)
Flowers and Fruit
 No Reviews

No. 485 Edmond de Pratere (1826 Courtrai, Belgium – 1888 Ixelles, Belgium)

Donkeys

Reviews: See No. 349

No. 486 Edmond de Schampheler (1824 Brussels, Belgium – 1899 Belgium)

Lake of Abconde

Reviews: “In Edmond de Schamphelie’s Lac d’Abconde the lake spreads out before us, almost unrippled, in the fullness and breadth of distance. Low over its surface the white plumaged gull swoops. On the loamy shore tall marsh grasses are supple to the wind, and brave bois de chene sturdily rear their heads and stretch their arms, giving a substantial impression of power to the scene. Many a span away, Amsterdam lifts its lofty spires and windmills and farther still the rain-clouds gather dark and angry against the horizon. A herd of cattle all of one mind, are fording the shallow water. The work is characterized by firm brush-handling and great artistic feeling. This painter has exhibited with great success in Paris, London and Philadelphia. His pictures are distinguished for high aim and harmonious natural tones.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 487 Franz Courtens (1854 Dendermonde, Belgium – 1943 Brussels, Belgium)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium (Jacob Rossels, Isidore Meyers)

Going Fishing

No Reviews

No. 488 Joseph Stallaert (1825 - 1903, Belgian Gallery)

Betrothed

No Reviews

No. 489 A. Fischer (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

A Rose Bay

No Reviews

No. 490 Charles Soubre (1821 - 1893, Belgian Gallery)

The Widow

No Reviews

No. 491 Hubert Bellis (1831 – 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Crawfish

No Reviews

No. 492 Theodore Verstraete (1850 Ghent, Belgium -1907 Antwerp, Belgium)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium (Jacob Jacobs)

Autumn Evening

No Reviews

No. 493 François Etienne Musin (1820 – 1888, Belgian Gallery)

View of Venice

Reviews: "F. Musin has made a rich color piece of a view in Venice." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 494 Felix Cogen (1838 – 1907, Belgian Gallery)

Fishermen

Reviews: "Fording the River," is a strong night scene by Felix Cogen. The old Flemings were celebrated for their night landscapes and Mr. Cogen seems to have caught the spirit." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "No. 494 by F. Cogen, in the Belgian collection, is a god example of a night scene where there is very little light. A party of fishermen, with their nets, are riding on horses across a broad and shallow sheet of water. The strange, weird, and almost terrifying sensations felt when fording a river in the dark are forcibly expressed in this painting." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 19 April 1885. "Felix Cogen, in his large canvas Fishermen portrays a late twilight effect on a strip of the feline sea, that licks the feet of the horses as burdened with fish baskets and tackle and fishermen they ford its shallow margin. It is one of the very best pictures among the marines." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 495 François Antoine Bossuet (1798-1889, Belgian Gallery)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium

Xeres

No Reviews

No. 496 Mlle Bourtzorf (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Japanese Peach Branch

No Reviews

No. 497 Franz Van Severdonck (1809 Brussels, Belgium – 1889 Brussels, Belgium)

Happy Lot

No Reviews

No. 498 Alphonse Asselberghs (1839 Brussels, Belgium – 1916 Uccle, Belgium)

Autumn near Brussels

No Reviews

No. 499 Hubert Bellis (1831 – 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Corn-Poppies

No Reviews

No. 500 Miss Marie Collart (1842 – 1911, Belgian Gallery)

Cherry Tree

No Reviews

No. 501 Franz Courtens (1854 Dendermonde, Belgium – 1943 Brussels, Belgium)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium (Jacob Rossells, Isidore Meyers)

The South Down

Reviews: "Another landscape in this gallery worthy of kind consideration is Franz Courten's. A low Dutch plain is intersected by a narrow lagoon, the energy of whose waters are embraced to

turn a thriving mill built on its shores; herdsmen are driving their flocks along over the field; a heavy gray sky frowns down upon the world, and throws the entire color scheme into a low key. The work is seriously good, positive in intention, and admirable in perspective.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, May 10 1885.

No. 502 Francois Bossuet (1798-1889, Belgian Gallery)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium

Rome

No Reviews

No. 503 Franz Van Severdonck (1809 Brussels, Belgium – 1889 Brussels, Belgium)

Coursing

No Reviews

No. 504 Joseph Stallaert (1825 - 1903, Belgian Gallery)

The Last Days of Pompeii

Reviews: “Just here, as another episode in Roman manners, may be noticed J. Stallaert’s picture, No. 504, in the Belgian Gallery, representing a scene from the terrific calamity of the Last Day of Pompeii, which city, with others, was in the year A. D. 79 swallowed up by an eruption of the volcano Versifies. The picture represents the family of Diomede, a rich Roman, gathered in the cellar of their villa to escape the showers of fire that were setting the city in flames. It was buried in the vast quantities of ashes that were vomited from the volcano but the picture represents them before the completion of the catastrophe. The fair Julia, the rich man’s daughter, has brought her jewels, while the mother’s most precious treasures are her children. The heiress has fainted, while the expressions of the various faces are powerfully drawn. The baskets of bread, and the amphorae or jars of wine and water, show the provision has been made for an imprisonment that was to the wretched victims eternal as far as life was concerned. The picture tells its story and delineates a scene told with so much startling vigor in Lord Lytton’s celebrated novel, ‘The Last Days of Pompeii.’” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 27 April 1885. “La Cave de Diomede, by J. Stallert, first attracts us. It is a scene at the destruction of Pompeii. Before us is the cellar of Diomede’s house. Old Diomede’s daughter, the fair Julia, with her amazed and terror-stricken neighbor and her bewildered slaves seek protection within its strong walls from the wondrous storm. Around is the profusion of food and oil fetched by Diomede’s slaves lest the storm should continue. Already the sulphurous (sic) smoke invades this last retreat, and the lurid crimson of the flames leaps through the columns of smoke, lighting up the cave and its inmates. Julia in terror lies prostrate, clad in her rich roves. Her jeweled veil falls from her dark hair, and near her are the scattered contents of a jewel casket caught up in her flight. The woman who sought the protection of Diomede for her child—she whose ominous voice had been so often raised in anticipation of the merry show, stands prominent in the red glare of the angry flames. The treatment is wonderfully dramatic. A fine tone of coloring and fervent imagination characterize the picture.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 15 February 1885.

No. 505 Joseph Stallaert (1825 - 1903, Belgian Gallery)

Spring

No Reviews

No. 506 Albert Glibert (1832 – 1917, Belgian Gallery)

In A Country Box

No Reviews

No. 507 Frederic Tschaggeny (1851 - 1921, Belgian Gallery)

Meal Time

No Reviews

No. 508 François Stroobant (1819 Brussels, Belgium – Brussels, Belgium)

View of Nuremberg

No Reviews

No. 509 A. Bouvier (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Rocks

Reviews: “Bouvier showed much discretion in calling his picture Rocks, although the greater part of the picture is badly considered water.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 510 L. Diricks (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Rain

No Reviews

No. 511 Hubert Bellis (1831 – 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Daisies

No Reviews

No. 512 Théodore Gerard (1829 - 1895, Belgian Gallery)

Yellow Bouquet

No Reviews

No. 513 Miss Euphrosine Beernaert (1831 Ostend, Belgium – Brussels, Belgium)

At Neerhaeven

No Reviews

No. 514 Juliette Trullemans (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

A Dessert

No Reviews

No. 515 A. Bouvier (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Scheldt

No Reviews

No. 516 Henri De Braekeleer (1840 Antwerp, Belgium – 1888 Antwerp, Belgium)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium (Jacob Jacobs)

Interior with a Figure from the XVI Century

No Reviews

No. 517 Ernest Hooricks (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

In the Downs

Reviews: "In the Sand Dunes is a pretty little landscape by Ernest Hooricks." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 518 Theodore Verstraete (1850 Ghent, Belgium -1907 Antwerp, Belgium)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium (Jacob Jacobs)

April Morning

No Reviews

No. 519 Fannie Laumans (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

During the Artist's Absence

No Reviews

No. 520 E. J. B. Plasky (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Blossoming Cherry Tree

No Reviews

No. 521 E. Slingeyer (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Forsaken

Reviews: "Ernest Slingenyer has interpreted no little pathos in a tiny canvas, *The Forsaken*. In the dismal fog of an early morning a craft, high in mast and gay of shroud, has set out to sea. Standing alone in the ribbed sea sand is a noble dog, which has been let us hope inadvertently left behind. He looks a longingly after the vanishing ship, and with uplifted head utters his cries of distress. We can almost hear the lapping of the sheeny waves as they wash the brown paws of the dog. The admirable effect of the humid atmosphere and the tasteful composition of this little gem is so apparent that he who does the gallery must recognize it." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 28 March 1885.

No. 522 Thre Cleyhens (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Purchase

No Reviews

No. 523 Francois Joseph Huygens (1820 – 1908, Belgian Gallery)

White Thorn Roses

No Reviews

No. 524 Andre Plumot (1829 - 1906, Belgian Gallery)

Farm near Spa

Reviews: "Plumot's *Farm Near Spa* most admirably pictures the common Dutch scene, with its low cottages and thatched roofs and its old peasant women and little peasant children. There is such earnest expression in the work it is delightful to follow it. Even the quick grasses that spring along the roadside as an occasional joy to the grass eating brute are the same soft and tender pearls that nature delights in putting forth. It is not often we find such exceptionally good work throughout a picture as Plumot has done in this." New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 17 March 1885.

No. 525 J. Van Kerisbilck (unknown, Belgium Gallery)

Nap After Dinner

No Reviews

No. 526 Frans Van Leemputten (1850-1914, Belgian Gallery)

On the Wharf

No Reviews

No. 527 Hubert Bellis (1831 – 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Oysters

No Reviews

No. 528 Auguste Serrure (1825 - 1903, Belgian Gallery)

The Harpist

No Reviews

No. 529 Theodore T'Scharner (1826 Namur, Belgium – 1906, Belgian Gallery)

Fisher Woman

No Reviews

No. 530 E. J. B. Plasky (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Autumn near Brussels

No Reviews

No. 531 Van Engelen (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Game Dealer

No Reviews

No. 532 Constant Aimé Marie Cap (1842 Saint Niklaas, Belgium – 1905 Antwerp, Belgium)

Conjugal Oversight

No Reviews

No. 533 J. Van Leuppen (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

View near Dinant

No Reviews

No. 534 Edmond De Pratere (1826 Courtrai, Belgium – 1888 Ixelles, Belgium)

On the Shore at Nieuport

Reviews: See No. 349

No. 535 A. Robert (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Manola at Her Balcony

No Reviews

No. 536 Jean-Baptiste Robie (1821 Brussels, Belgium – 1910 Saint-Gilles, Belgium)

Training: Belgium (Francois Tasson)

Flowers

No Reviews

No. 537 Jan Stobbaerts (1839 Antwerp, Belgium – 1914 Schaerbeek, Belgium)

Her Daughter

No Reviews

No. 538 C. Petit (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Grandfather's Arm Chair

No Reviews

No. 539 E. J. B. Plasky (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

After Winter

Reviews: "In the Belgian gallery, occupying a place about the center of the outer wall hangs Eugene Palasky's *Après l'hiver, Holland*. It is so admirable in harmonious grays so full of color feeling we are inclined to remark it early. There is the cold sky of early spring a little away, lines of purplish forest trees, those nearest us making with their bare arms, fantastic curves, interrupting their neighbor's symmetry as they make their own way in life. The sword of the clearing shows much acquaintance with hoar frosts, and has not yet put on its verdant dress. In the canvas we readily appreciate the humidity of the atmosphere and semi-transparent mists that Taim often remarks in the Flemish pictures, and from which he draws such fanciful conclusion." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 26 February 1885. "There could not be a more exquisite color poem than Plasky's *After Winter, Holland*. The scene is worked out in concordant grays; there is the cold sky of early spring, and an earth that has been much over snowed by the lusty winter. Between earth and heaven a mist rests on the top of the purple, sapless trees like a heavy crown on a frost king. A spirit of perfect peacefulness pervades the scene. The fantastic curves of the arms of the trees seem each to make a fit place for the alarming owl. The picture hangs a little high, and it will take some neck twisting to see it, but in the end it will not prove a delusion and a snare." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 16 May 1885.

No. 540 Felix Cogen (1838 – 1907, Belgian Gallery)

Returning from Shrimp Fishing

Reviews: See No. 494

No. 541 Jenny Montigny (1875-1937, Belgian Gallery)

The Artist in the Country

No Reviews

No. 542 Théodore Gerard (1829 - 1895, Belgian Gallery)

Childhood

No Reviews

No. 543 Francois Bossuet (1798-1889, Belgian Gallery)

Training: Royal Academy, Antwerp, Belgium

Grenade

No Reviews

No. 544 Baron Léon Frédéric (1856-1940, Belgian Gallery)

The Chalk Sellers, 1881-1883 from the triptych, *The Chalk Sellers*, 1881-1883 (see No. 452).

Reviews: See No. 452.

No. 545 Francois Joseph Huygens (1820 – 1908, Belgian Gallery)

Fruit and Flowers

No Reviews

No. 546 F. Vanacker (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Summer in the Country

No Reviews

No. 547 A. Robert (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Ciociari at Rome

No Reviews

No. 548 Edmond Theodore Van Hove (1853 - 1913, Belgian Gallery)

At the Armorer's

No Reviews

No. 549 Cornelius Van Leemputten (1841 - 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Sheep on the Downs

Reviews: See No. 454

No. 550 Auguste Henri Musin (1852 Ostend, Belgium – 1920, Belgian Gallery)

At Ostend

Reviews: "Musin's At Ostend has no water qualities at all, but more bulky massings of paint, and the ships are no less painted upon the painted ocean." New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 551 Auguste Dael (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Repose

Reviews: "In the Belgium Gallery are many pictures of merit. In addition to those referred to may be mentioned the *Repose*, a picture by Aug. Dael, showing a group of dancing girls resting after a street performance." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 24 February 1885.

No. 552 E. Slingeny (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Fireside

No Reviews

No. 553 Cornelius Van Leemputten (1841 - 1902, Belgian Gallery)

Sheep on the Heath

Reviews: See No. 454

No. 554 Joseph Theodore Coosemans (1828-1904, Belgian Gallery)

Autumn

Reviews: "Autumn by J. Thos. Cosemans is a very harmonious prospect, a gently rolling country, groves of trees bordering a narrow dell where the late summer grass, no longer in tender green, the brown fruse and tall weeds intermingle against a war evening sky. The trees are full of life as in their considered masses they withstand the west wind. It is the hour of the evening when the birds fly low. What contrast is this earnest regard to the picture as a whole, and this lateness understanding of all fair things of earth to be found in Coseman's canvas from the green versions of Donoho and morbid hill tilting verdures of Fred Waugh. For the life off us we cannot see that Coseman or any other painter sacrifices a want of the strength of his pictures by adhering to nature rather than to himself. However, if Donoho's conception of nature is green enough now to make him a king among Fenians, he is still very young and time may temper his optics." *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, 14 April 1885.

No. 555 Jan Baptiste Huysmans (1826 – 1906, Belgian Gallery)

The Little Captive

Reviews: "No. 555, in the Belgian Gallery, by J. B. Huysmans, of Brussels, and entitled 'The Little Captive.' It represents another Oriental harem scene in which the ladies are amusing themselves with a kitten held by a black slave girl. The picture is well conceived, but the richness of the costumes and the brilliance of their hues is marred and confused by the gay colors and elaborate detail of the background wall decorations of the apartment represented, which distracts attention from the human figures, which should be the most conspicuous features of the picture. It is greatly hurt by the excessive prominence of what should be an inconspicuous conventionality. The dark archway which makes the center of the background in the Marabout's Lion adds much to the beauty and effect of the brilliant figures projected upon it." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 556 Alexandre Struys (1852 – 1941, Belgian Gallery)

The Disappointment

Reviews: "Certain realistic pictures attract much popular attention, such, for instance, as No. 556, 'The Disappointment' in the Belgian Gallery, by A. Struys, showing an old and wrinkled woman in front of a butcher's stall counting over some small coins and disappointed at the discovery that she is unable to afford the tempting tripe and the seductive sausages. The little girl at her side plainly shares the feelings of the elder. The entire picture is nothing but realism, but it has in it touch of nature that attracts sympathy despite the fact that it has few pretensions to beauty." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 27 April 1885.

No. 557 La Boulaye (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Sorcerer and Her Black Cat

Reviews: "'The Sorcerer and Her Black Cat' is a strong picture, by Le Boullage." *New Orleans Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885. "It is hard to analyze one's feeling when studying La Boulaye's conception of The Sorcerer. While it is certainly a striking picture emphatic in malevolent forms, and blood curdling commination, it nevertheless leaves the same rasping effect upon the mind that a green persimmon does on the tongue. The wizard is seated on chair, odd in a symbolic device, her loosened chemise has fallen from her meager shoulders leaving the bosom bare, her raven hair flies in wild locks about her face, enhancing greatly its innate diabolicalness. A black cat, with mesmeric eyes is in comfortable posture on the wizard's shoulders, and serves with great effect against the white bare flesh. A skull and an open book of

magic art are within reach. There is a crimson light diffusing itself from the flames of a tripod and doing much in the way of bedeviling her demonship. It would be difficult matter to make a soothsayer very taking in her ways save to those who fret their distempers with love philters and mystic incantations but La Boulaye has achieved as much a success as possible with his treacherous subject.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 17 May 1885.

No. 558 D. I. Desrachez (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Engraving

No Reviews

No. 559 D. I. Desrachez (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Portrait, Charles I

No Reviews

No. 560 D. I. Desrachez (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Christ and the Two Thieves

No Reviews

No. 561 Émile Claus (1849-1924, Belgian Gallery)



The Cockfight, 1882. Oil on canvas, 108 x 79 in. Owner: Private Collection. Illustrated in Johan de Smet, *Émile Claus & la vie rurale*, Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Gand, 2006, pg. 16.

Reviews: “The Cockfight, by Emile Claus, will interest the sportsmen.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 562 Ed. Courteau (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

White Iris

No Reviews

No. 563 Ed. Courteau (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Clover

No Reviews

No. 564 Ed. Courteau (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Clover

No Reviews

No. 565 Ed. Courteau (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Iris

No Reviews

No. 566 Mlle S. Bourtzorf (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

Bouquet

No Reviews

No. 567 Charles Baugniet (1814-1886, Belgian Gallery)

Spring

No Reviews

No. 568 Jean Joseph Delvin (1853 – 1922, Belgian Gallery)

Horse-Fight

Reviews: “An immense, empty-looking canvas by J. Delvin, inscribed simply Chevaux has been the subject of some interesting criticisms. It represents two horses fighting; one thrown back on its haunches and the other following up the advantage by getting a generous clutch of the antagonist’s side. A kindly old man stood carefully studying the picture for some moments and then turning to his friend remarked: I have owned horses all my life and so did my father before me and my grandfather before him, but never have I seen one horse bite another on the side.”

New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 28 March 1885.

No. 569 A. Bouvier (unknown, Belgian Gallery)

The Sea

No Reviews

No. 570 Claude Raguet Hirst (1855 Cincinnati, OH - 1942)

Training: Cincinnati Art Academy

Flowers \$65

No Reviews

No. 571 Clement Rollins Grant (1849 Freeport, ME – 1893 Boston, MA)

Springtime \$75

No Reviews

No. 572 Sarah Levis (unknown)

Early Autumn \$300

Reviews: “Early Autumn a sketch by Sarah Levis, is thoughtful and harmonious like the music of old-fashioned village churches. A foreground brown in unprofitable furze, the scraggy, low-branching tree, with its sparse foliage overhanging a wheel-worn road, and a gray sky defining distant clumps of trees complete the picture. There are sketches and there are sketches, sketches full of the decision of the first free touches, and sketches lifeless with amendments and afterthought, Sarah Levis’ Early Autumn is the very perfection of a sketch.” New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, 31 March 1885.

No. 573 Victor Bazzi (unknown)

Flowers \$400

No Reviews

No. 574 Henry Grant Plumb (1847 Sherburne, NY - 1930 New York, NY)

Training: NAD, New York, NY; EcBA, Paris, France (Gérôme)
Innocence Abroad \$150
 No Reviews

No. 575 George E. Hopkins (1855 Covington, KY – active 1880s)
Bavarian Interior \$125
 No Reviews

No. 575 George E. Hopkins (1855 Covington, KY – active 1880s)
Bavarian Interior \$125
 No Reviews

No. 576 J. A. Reed (unknown)
Apples \$75
 No Reviews

No. 577 William Merritt Chase (1849 Franklin, IN – 1916 New York, NY)
 Training: Indianapolis, IN (B. F. Hayes); NAD, New York, NY; Munich, Germany (Alexander Wagner, Karl von Piloty)



The Turkish Beggar Boy. 1876. Loaned by H. Overstolz, St. Louis. o/c 48 ½ x 37 ½ in. Owner: Cincinnati Museum of Art, Gift of the John Levy Galleries Accession # 1923.763. Illustrated in Ronald K. Pisano, William Merritt Chase, *The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase (1849-1916)*. Vol. 4 Still Lifes, Interiors, Figures, Copies of Old Master, Drawings. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010. v. 4, pg. 133, Cat. #F.9, pg. 134.
 Reviews: See No. 360

No. 578 Donaghey (unknown)
Landscape \$100
 No Reviews

No. 579 Ida G. Hopkins (unknown)
Chrysanthemums \$80
 No Reviews

Nos. 580 – 666: watercolors, pastels and drawings, artists and titles not noted in catalogue, labels were attached to works however in the galleries.

Nos. 667 – 822: etchings, artists and titles not noted in catalogue, labels were attached to works however in the galleries.

Nos. 823 – 852 all appear to have been sculpture

No. 823 Albert Joy (unknown)

Mary Anderson

No Reviews

No. 824 J. Udney (unknown)

Shepherd and Goat

No Reviews

No. 825 Ephraim Keyser (1850 Baltimore, MD - 1937)

Training: Royal Academies, Munich and Berlin

Bust of Sidney Lanier

No Reviews

No. 826 Karl Gerhardt (1853 Boston, MA – 1940)

Eve's Lullaby

Reviews: “No. 828, Eve’s Lullaby, by Karl Gerhardt, of Hartford, a cast in plaster of Paris. It is simply a naked woman with a naked infant on her lap, the whole lacking in special beauty but in no way objectionable.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 6 April 1885.

No. 827 Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845 Albany, NY – 1912 New York, NY)

Training: Albany, NY (Erastus D. Palmer); Paris, France; Rome, Italy

William Cullen Bryant

No Reviews

No. 827 Ephraim Keyser (1850 Baltimore, MD - 1937)

Training: Royal Academies, Munich and Berlin

Titania

Reviews: “‘Titania,’ the queen of the fairies, drawn in a pigmy chariot by dormice, is a bronze by Keyser.” New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 828 Civilari (unknown)

The Parisienne

No Reviews

No. 829 Preston Powers (1843 Florence, Italy - 1931)

Evangeline

No Reviews

No. 830 Ephraim Keyser (1850 Baltimore, MD - 1937)

Training: Royal Academies, Munich and Berlin

Ye Olde Stories

No Reviews

No. 831 Giovanni Turnini (unknown)

La Capricieuse

No Reviews

No. 832 Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845 Albany, NY – 1912 New York, NY)
 Training: Albany, NY (Erastus D. Palmer); Paris, France; Rome, Italy



Wildflower, 1880. Terra cotta, 20 ¼ x 10 3/8 x 8 ¼ in. Owner: Smithsonian American Art Museum, Accession # 1986.5. Image from their site.

No Reviews

No. 833 Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845 Albany, NY – 1912 New York City, NY)
 Training: Albany, NY (Erastus D. Palmer); Paris, France; Rome, Italy

Daisy

No Reviews

No. 834 Giovanni Turnini (unknown)

Infancy

No Reviews

No. 835 Merlini (unknown)

Shepard Dog

No Reviews

No. 836 Edward Valentine (1838 Richmond, VA – 1930 Richmond, VA)

Training: Paris, France (Couture, Jouffroy); Rome, Italy (Bonanti)

Beethoven

No Reviews

No. 837 Karl Gerhardt (1853 Boston, Mass. – 1940)

Mark Twain

No Reviews

No. 838 George D. Peterson (unknown)

Pearl Diver Owned by Delaware Museum of Art, no image available.

No Reviews

No. 839 J. Udney (unknown)

Shepherd Boy

No Reviews

No. 840 George D. Peterson (unknown)

Tigress

No Reviews

No. 841 Albert Pries (unknown)

Lohengrin's Departure

No Reviews

No. 842 Albert Joy (unknown)

Mrs. Scott Siddons

No Reviews

No. 843 Albert Joy (unknown)

Dr. Longstaff

No Reviews

No. 844 Albert Joy (unknown)

Mr. Meech

No Reviews

No. 845 Ephraim Keyser (1850 Baltimore, MD - 1937)

Training: Royal Academies, Munich and Berlin

The Fencer and The Hawker

Reviews: " 'A Fencer,' with foil in hand, about to place himself on guard, bronze statue by E. Keyser, of Baltimore, is good in style and effect. He guards the entrance into the great hall. His companion to the right side of the door, 'The Hawker,' in bronze, a fair dame with a falcon on her hand, is not equal in grand elegance to the other." New Orleans *Daily-Picayune*, 23 February 1885.

No. 846 Albert Joy (unknown)

Henry F. Gillig

No Reviews

No. 847 Albert Joy (unknown)

The Duke of Albany

No Reviews

No. 848 Helen Reed (unknown)

Training: Florence, Italy (Preston Powers)

Italian Boy

No Reviews

No. 849 Ephraim Keyser (1850 Baltimore, MD - 1937)

Training: Royal Academies, Munich and Berlin

The Page

No Reviews

No. 850 Mary Johnson (unknown)

Young American

No Reviews

No. 851 F. Bauer

Triumph of Love

No Reviews

No. 852 Preston Powers (1843 Florence, Italy - 1931)

The Fisherman's Children

No Reviews